

DALIT VOICE

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The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities Denied Human Rights

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No. 11

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Report on Hindu law codification :

Thus Spake Ambedkar

Thus Spake Ambedkar

Report on Hindu law codification

(f) The resolution adopted by the Constituent Assembly is clear enough and Government do not consider it necessary to issue any statement in regard to it at this stage.

Report of Hindu Law Codification Committee

Shri K. Santhanam: Will the Honourable Minister of Law please state -

(a) Whether the Committee on the Codification of Hindu Law has submitted its final report; and

(b) whether and, if so, when it is proposed to introduce the Bill as recommended by the Committee ?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: (a) Yes

(b) A Government Bill in exactly the same terms as the draft Hindu Code prepared by the Hindu Law Committee was introduced in the last Indian Legislative Assembly on the 11th April 1947. A motion for the continuance of the Bill has also been adopted by this House on the 17th November, 1947.

Misappropriation of income by Hindu charitable and religious trusts

Dr. P. S. Deshmukh: (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Law be pleased to state whether Government are aware of the extent of waste and misappropriation of the income from Hindu Charitable and Religious Trusts ?

(b) Do Government propose to consider the advisability of introducing legislation for abolishing all these Trusts so as to utilize the properties for nation-building purposes ?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: (a) No, Sir.

(b) No, Sir. Quite apart from the question whether legislation abolishing all Hindu religious and charitable trusts is necessary or even desirable, such legislation falls within the provincial field under entry 34 of the Provincial Legislative List and the Central Government cannot therefore, initiate the suggested legislation.

Number and names of tribunals appointed by

Ministry of Home Affairs

Shri Mohan Lal Saksena: (a) Will the Honourable Minister of Law be pleased to state how many tribunals

appointed by the Ministry of Home Affairs are still functioning ?

(b) Is it a fact that many of the members of these tribunals now belong to Pakistan ?

(c) If so, what is the position of such members and have any substitutes been appointed in their place ?

(d) Do Government propose to lay on the table of the House a statement giving the following information:

(i) the names of the different tribunals;

(ii) the number of cases tried as well as of those disposed of; and

(iii) the period for which each of the tribunals has worked and the costs incurred by Government in each case ?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: (a) It is presumed that the honourable Member is referring to the Special Tribunals constituted under the Criminal Law Amendment Ordinance, 1943. The number of such Tribunals still functioning is four.

(b) and (c) There were three Special Tribunals with headquarters at Lahore, some members of which now belong to Pakistan. Under the Indian independence (Special Tribunals) Order, 1947, these Tribunals and the cases pending before them were reshuffled and one of the Tribunals was assigned to West Punjab with members belonging to Pakistan and the pending cases relating to Pakistan. The other two Tribunals with members belonging to India and pending cases relating to India were transferred to India and redesignated as the East Punjab and the Bombay Special Tribunals. One new member who is required to complete the composition of the East Punjab Tribunal has already been appointed by the East Punjab Government and the two new members required to complete the Composition of the Bombay special Tribunal are being appointed by the Bombay Government.

Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar: Sir, how long will the Tribunals take to dispose of the pending cases?

The Honourable Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: I am quite unable to give any definite reply. *(To be continued)*

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Vol. 15, (pages 996- 999) 1997, Rs. 110. Govt. of Maharashtra, Bombay. The book may be had from Director, Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay - 400 004.

DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities
Denied Human RightsAryans in Congress waiting for
"Calcutta Kali" to jump into
BJP via Mahajot mesmerism

Dr. Babasahb Ambedkar described the Congress as the original brahminical party of India. The party of M.K. Gandhi ruled India for decades without any credible opposition and beautifully fooled Bahujans through its sweet slogans and promises and kept them as slaves. The Aryan upper castes, who are not even 15% of the country's population, had a smooth ride over the Bahujans but as consciousness grew and the oppressed majority realised the power of caste, they soon started asserting their identity. They started fighting for their human rights (reservations) which the Aryans were reluctant to concede. Demands like land reforms, SC/ST/BC reservations, right to education, etc. made the Aryans furious forcing them to found their own party to preserve their *sanatana dharma*, the latest name of which is Hinduism. The Aryans slowly drifted into another party called the BJP (*Brahmana Jati Party*) which can be called as the child of the Congress. While the more dangerous "Socialist Brahmins" controlled the Congress, the BJP had honest "Sacred Brahmins" in charge of it. But both belonged to the same Aryan *vaidik* stock.

BJP is still weak: But as the country's entire media has become the monopoly of the Aryans, they managed to weaken the Congress on one side and strengthen the BJP.

The Aryan rulers finally managed to put BJP on the Delhi throne with over two dozen parties carrying the throne on their shoulders. However, the BJP continues to be weak. From the previous parliamentary election to the latest one, BJP could not improve its tally much.

Besides, the BJP having violently pricked the Muslims and Christians there is no chance of the minority communities voting for the BJP. In some states even the SC/ST/BCs continue to be with the Congress. Hence all-out efforts are going on to weaken the Congress.

Only stumbling block: But the only stumbling block is Sonia Gandhi who continues to be popular with the SC/ST/BCs. The Congress cannot be killed without first "killing" Sonia

Gandhi. The current West Bengal *Mahajot* experiment is part of this exercise. Because once Bengal goes *Mahajot*, the Aryans in the rest of India will simply jump into the BJP bandwagon. Because the Congress has ceased to be the Aryans' first love. Today's heart-throb is BJP and *Hamara Vajpayee* is their hero sitting on the Delhi throne. **The Aryans are in a great hurry to weaken the Congress by "killing" Sonia Gandhi. They are deeply worried because while they are finding it difficult to "kill" Sonia Gandhi, Hamara Vajpayee's health is sinking. The allies of the BJP are rebellious. The thinking sections among the *vaidiks* are restless. Hence all-out efforts to push the Mahajot.**

"What Bengal thinks today, the rest of India will follow tomorrow". Such a saying of some decades back may prove correct even today if the Congress and BJP come together in Bengal and the rest of India follows the Bengali example. **India's only ideology:** But under India's peculiar caste-ridden society to describe a situation in political terms will not prove correct. The society in India cannot be neatly divided into political parties because no party here has any ideology. The only ideology in India is caste ideology because caste is the only permanent, deathless institution in India.

Bengal has been always led and ruled by three Bhadrakolok upper castes — Brahmins, Baidyas and Kayasths — whether it was under the Congress then or marxists today. And that Bhadrakolok, who form not even 10% of the Bengali society, rule shall continue.

How to continue it? The ageing *Maha Manu* *vaidi* marxist chief minister is threatening to resign and the *Bhadrakolok* are worried that no other leader in the marxist party (CPM) has Jyoti Basu's capacity and status to fool the Bengali masses and rule the state.

So, the *Bhadrakolok* of Bengal have long back groomed the *Calcutta Kali*, the young Brahmin woman, after finding her eminently suitable to succeed Jyoti Basu.

We had predicted this long back. (DV April 1, 1998

p.5: "Calcutta Kali set to complete unfinished work of Jyoti Basu", and DV Jan. 1, 1998 p.5: "Bengali Bhadrakol manufacture a Calcutta Kali".

If this "Calcutta Kali" is not ready to take over, they have prepared another Brahmin, Buddhadeb Bhattacharya, as a standby (DV Jan. 1, 2000 p.9: "How Bhadrakols manage Bengali slaves?").

In spite of all these preparations, the *Bhadrakols* are nervous and that is why all this hurry regarding a humbug called *Mahajol*. Upper castes in all the parties are deeply worried over their future. That is why this sudden rush to form a new front under the leadership of the "Calcutta Kali".

The Congress is taking the lead in embracing the "Calcutta Kali" to save Bengal from the impending disaster. P.V. Narasimha Rao, the top *vaidik* brain in the Congress, is taking a leading part in managing the *Mahajol*.

It is now certain the Congress will shed its

Yet another false promise on SC/ST reservations

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: How many promises Prime Minister Vajpayee has so far given to SC/STs on the burning issue of reservations, their human rights? We have actually lost count. However, here is the latest:

New Delhi: In a move aimed at wooing the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee on April 17 announced that the NDA-led govt. would bring forward legislation in the current session of Parliament to amend the Constitution to expedite the process of promotions for this category which had faced neglect for the past 50 years. "The rules and regulations governing promotions for the SCs and STs would be further liberalised paving the way for quick and just promotions in govt. jobs and merit would not be the only consideration. We should not forget that we are dealing with that section of society which has faced criminal neglect over the past five decades and now things have to be set right", he declared at a poorly-attended Dalit rally held at the historic Red Fort grounds on April 17. (*Hindu*, April 18, 2000).

On one side the Vajpayee Govt. wants to destroy the existing Constitution to impose its favourite Hindu nazi dictatorship and on the other the same person promises to amend the Constitution to save the SC/ST human rights. Which one is to be believed? The upper caste rulers have already killed the reservations. What then is the use of this promises? Here lies the beauty. Vajpayee knows that the innocent SC/ST/BCs blindly believe in promises. So, he wants to exploit their innocence. ■

pro-Muslim, pro-Dalit fancy dress and openly align with the Hindu nazis — via the "Calcutta Kali".

The W. Bengal example will then be extended to the rest of India. And with the Hindu nazi party of BJP, born to the Congress, becoming the son and successor to M.K. Gandhi, "Father of the Nation", will be then complete.

Once the BJP and the Congress join hands in Bengal, the upper castes in the rest of India will simply rush with great speed.

Vaidik Vajpayee is already close to Vaidik P.V. Narasimha Rao.

Aryan *vaidiks* have no party. They have only permanent interests. When the dying Congress merges with the BJP to ensure the *vaidik* rule, the whole country will sing and dance over the Hindu nazis "shedding" their nazism. And thereby the Bahujans (85%) are once again fooled. The Aryan rule will then further get cemented. The country gets the govt. it deserves. DV is the first in the country to give such a warning. ■

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Dated May 16, 2000 Sd/- V.T. RAJSHEKAR

FRENCH DAILIES EXPOSE INDIA'S DOUBLE-FACE ON UNTOUCHABLES

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: That President K.R. Narayanan is an Untouchable is a fact. And that he is treated as an Untouchable by the ruling upper castes inside India even after he became the President is also a fact.

If both are facts then why the same rulers should be so upset and demand apology from three prestigious French dailies for stating this fact?

The **Hindu** (April 24, 2000) said: Three French papers, **Le Figaro**, **Le Monde** and **France Soir**, carried the despatches describing the President as an "Untouchable" and dealing with his humble beginnings. The writings lacked grace and, in some ways, were factually incorrect. Here is a sample of a story by **Le Figaro** on the day Mr. Narayanan was to meet his French counterpart: "A rare event today in the Elysee protocol: Chirac will shake hands with an Untouchable, the President of India". Some balancing words followed, but did not quite mitigate the damage—"However Kocheril Narayanan can feel at ease: another famous untouchable, a prophet of the emancipation of the "lower castes", had the same motto, "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity". After having taught English literature, he studied at the London School of Economics. Then went on to choose diplomacy. Another para: "Son of a poor family of Kerala on the southwestern coast, he had to

walk miles to go to school. He thus moved up from the fisherman caste, the Pravans, to rise to the top of the largest democracy", said the **Hindu**.

Apartheid in India: This latest development during the President's visit to France (**Hindu** April 20, 2000 "French editor apologues to Narayanan") is the result of a drama played by India's rulers who maintain a double-face — one inside India and other for outsiders. These rulers are so worried over the South African Apartheid while a more gory form of Apartheid is practised inside India.

The President did the right thing in exposing this double-face of our Aryan rulers when he said on return to Delhi that what the French dailies wrote about was a "reflection of what the Indian media had been writing in the past three years". (**Hindu**, April 23).

Daily insults: The President, an Untouchable from Kerala, has been facing daily insults. In Kerala, where caste exhibits itself in its most naked form, he continues to be treated as Untouchable by its ruling Namboodiri and Nayar castes even to this day. The upper castes and their monopoly media have been pouring daily insults on him.

At an award-giving function in Bangalore, the holy **vaidiks** refused to shake hands with him fearing pollution. Close friends who met the President told us that he was unburdening his agony with the visitors. Particularly after the **Vaidik Vajpayee** Govt. came to power, the

President was subjected to all sorts of humiliations.

The French daily, **Le Figaro**, disclosed nothing but this fact when it called Venerable Narayanan an Untouchable. Yes he is. Over 20% of India's population is Untouchable. Read the latest Human Rights Watch report on India: **Broken People: Caste Violence Against India's Untouchables**, New York, 1999.

Editor's passport case: DV Editor's passport was impounded in 1986 exactly for this very same reason that he exposed the double-face of the rulers during his visits abroad. The rulers did not like the Editor speaking about the Untouchables and their persecution outside India because they have been projecting a false picture for outsiders: about its non-violence, democracy, human rights in Gandhi's India. But over 85% of its population have none of these. The Untouchables are the worst persecuted. **Le Figaro** is right in calling President Narayanan an Untouchable and thereby exposing the racist rulers of India.

We congratulate **Le Figaro** and call upon it to send a special correspondent and find out for itself how India is the original home of racism. The Aryan rulers exported racism to the West from India. (**Brahminism — Father of Racism, Fascism, Nazism**, Dalit Sahitya Akademy (1994). (See also page 24).

Dr. Ambedkar Awards given to enemies of Dalits

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Dr. Babasahab Ambedkar had called M.K. Gandhi as the Enemy No. 1 of Untouchables. But the Dr. Ambedkar Foundation established by the Govt. of India has been continuously giving its yearly "Dr. Ambedkar Award" to gandhians.

From this we can make out the thinking of the ruling upper caste Aryans who control the govt.

On April 14 last, the "Ambedkar Jayanti Day", the President of India conferred the awards on the Ramakrishna Mission Ashram in Narainpur in Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh and the Nagapattinam district-based Kasturba Gandhi Kanya Gurukulam in Tamil Nadu who were the two chosen for the award.

Sashi, <skanth@parker.com>: I heard that the Dr. Ambedkar Foundation Award is given to organisations working for the cause of Dalits. The award was discontinued from 1995 and now they have decided to continue the tradition of giving it every year. This year, they are planning to give award for 1997 and

1999, I don't understand the logic why 1998 is not announced. Here comes the funny part. The award for 1997 goes to Ramakrishna Mission and the award for 1999 goes to some Kasturba Foundation from Madras. Has anyone heard anything about this Foundation? Please educate me.

Next, we are anticipating the award will be given to the Shankarachari of Kanchi, Tamil Nadu. Now the Brahmins (BJP) want to prove that Dalit organisations are fit-for-nothing and that only Brahmin organisations can alone work for the upliftment of Dalits. I think it is high time we wake up and fight this menace. I hope this topic gets attention during Babasahab's birth anniversary celebration throughout the world.

Rama Krishna bhupathi <ramak_b@yahoo.com>: I was wondering on what basis have these awards been given to gandhians and Hindu nazis. I hardly find any Dalit content or material in these organisations. ■

A Maharashtra model for "Dalit unity"

R.U. RANGARI, M.S.E.B. COLONY, 10/10, VASAI RD. (E), THANE DT., MS - 401 202

This refers to your report on "DV bid to unite warring Dalit subcastes in Maharashtra" (DV April 16, 2000).

Congratulation to Dr. Ashok Adhav and his colleagues for arranging this intellectual dialogue with non-Mahar Dalit groups for unity of Dalits on March 1, 2000 at Pune.

Dr. Yadalath's statement that "Dalit unity" is not possible as long as the Mahars in MS continue to corner a major portion of reservation benefits is not true.

The reservation sector comprises employees in Central and State Govts. and its undertakings and local borias. This sector is nearly 10% of the population and mainly dominated by the upper castes. Dalits constitute just 2-3% of this sector. The remaining 97% Dalit population is outside this sector.

They are landless labourer and workers in other private establishments. "Dalit unity" is possible only if this 97% Dalit population is included. Unity comes only through agitation on a common agenda. There is a huge backlog in universities of Maharashtra. If Dr. Ashok Adhav, Dr. B. V. Bhosle, Prof. P.G. Jogdand and Ekhnath Kamble chalk out a programme of agitation for wiping out this backlog in universities then the practical solution of unity of Dalit will be visible and can be extended to other fields.

We are running a Backward Caste trade union in the Maharashtra State Electricity Board. We are running a monthly paper, *Ujja Shramik*. Through our trade union, Mahars, Charmakar, Dhor, Matang, Katiks and minorities are all jointly agitating for wiping out the backlog and thus we are practically uniting all the Dalit subcastes. You have rightly said in your Editor's Note to the Letter of Arthur Bonner that:

"Genuine Ambedkarites and suffering Dalits yearning for social change are in millions. They are hurling for Truth and fresh air. How to reach this grassroot?"

In Maharashtra, there are 27% landless labourers, 28% labourer in unorganised sector other than agriculture and 32% are small farmers having land below 5 acres. Our trade union has decided to organise the landless labourers who are the grassroot workers and have the natural instinct for social change.

"Dalit unity" is possible only by addressing the problems of Dalits through agitation.

We congratulate Adv. Bajirao Kamble for publishing the Marathi DV and we assure full support to him. Marathi DV and Dalit intelligentsia from Maharashtra and India is requested to share their experience and knowledge with us for creating this landless labour front. ■

Chinese document on American human rights violations

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: The American Govt., acting as the policeman of the world, is advising every country on human rights without following even the minimum standards inside its own country. Its anti-Muslim, anti-African, anti-China and anti-poor policies are well-known to impartial observers.

During Clinton's recent visit to India, he had not a word against the widespread human rights violations inside India but had all praise for its Aryan brahminical rulers. All this is because the American rulers are White and hence consider themselves Aryan. This is the secret of the Aryan Brahminical Social Order's (BSO) admiration for US.

Zionist hold on media: Since the entire world media is controlled by the White Western racists and their Zionist masters, we don't get any truth about the rampant human rights violations inside the US.

Runoko Rashidi, DV representative in America, during his last year's visit as leader of the American Black delegation had spoken about US as a racist country where 20% of its Black population is subjected to all sorts of persecutions. We have in our DV library about 100 books dealing with racism

in US which has virtually impounded and killed off its entire Red Indian original inhabitants of USA.

Now, China has come out with an exhaustive document titled "Human Rights Record of the US in 1999". The 8-page document is compiled by the Information Office of the State Council dated Feb.27,2000.

Those interested may order a photo copy of the document by sending Rs. 8 (postage included).

Friend of Bahujans: China is fast emerging as the world's most powerful country having close relationship with all African, Muslim and other poorer countries. India's oppressed Bahujans have a great friend in need in China. The US and its barking dogs (like the Dalai Lama) are carrying on a campaign against human rights violations inside China but there is hardly any truth in this allegation because the Editor of DV had visited China twice and we also have the opinion of impartial observers. It is the BSO which is dancing to the tune of US but we the victims of the BSO must always go by facts. Hence we request our readers to make a study of the Chinese document. Know the Truth and Truth shall make you free, says the Bible.

ROBBERS HIDE STOLEN PROPERTY

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: How much of the properties and posts belonging to the Bahujans, comprising over 85% of the country's population, have been robbed by the ruling upper castes since "independence"?

This can be verified if the forthcoming census in the year 2001 includes caste-wise enumeration. The robbers don't want this top secret to be known by the oppressed Bahujans. Hence caste enumeration is banned.

New Delhi: The govt. has decided not to include the question of caste/community in the census 2001, Home Minister L.K. Advani informed the Lok Sabha on April 18. The only exception is that for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, he said. (UNI).

Since the robbers themselves are in charge of the census, they want to keep what they have robbed as a secret.

But what will those Bahujans who are robbed do now? Will anybody get angry?

Reference:

DV June 16, 1999 p.21: "Goodbye to caste census".

DV May 16, 1999 p.22: "Upper caste conspiracy to sabotage caste-wise census", Manjoor Gopalan.

DV June 16, p.21: "Bahujans must force govt. to enumerate caste in census", V.T. Rajshekar.

DV July 16, 1998: "In defence of caste enumeration in 2001 census", A.K. Biswas.

Dalit Voice — A new experiment in Indian journalism

V.T. RAJESHEKAR

Dalits (Untouchables) who together with Tribals constitute over 30% of the Indian population of 1,000 million did not so far have an organ of their own in English with an all-India circulation until *Dalit Voice* was launched in 1980.

Because of this big handicap Dalits in one part of India did not know what is happening elsewhere due to the language barriers. Even Dr. Babasaheb B.R. Ambedkar, the Saviour of the Untouchables, was known to only a selected few Dalits in India. His books were read by still less. Dalit movement, therefore, could not gain strength because of all these handicaps. And India's ruling upper castes (Aryans) wanted this situation to continue, even while putting all sorts of hurdles to check the Dalit movement.

UNIQUE FEATURE

A big communication breakthrough was achieved with the launching of the *Dalit Voice* in 1980-1981. The beauty of *Dalit Voice* is that though it bears the name of Dalit, it is the "Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities: Denied Human Rights" which is also its subtitle. The secret of DV's popularity is that it fights for the entire Bahujan Samaj comprising Untouchables (20%), Tribals (10%), Backward Castes (35), Muslims (15%), Christians (2.5%), Sikhs (2.5%). All these six segments constitute the original inhabitants of India and together they form over 85% of the Indian population. Hence, the significance of its subtitle. This is unique because every journal in India caters only to one of this six

sections while DV covers all the six giving it an all-India sweep.

SHIFT TO DELHI

The popularity of the journal can be made out from the fact that within an year it launched a Tamil edition, *Dalit Kural*, from Madras. *Dalit Voice* has circulation all over India and almost every major country in the world. Edited by a noted journalist and writer who had worked for 25 years in different "national" English dailies in Bombay, Delhi and Bangalore, *Dalit Voice*, a fortnightly, is being regularly published for the past 20 years.

In 1998, it shifted its office to the capital of India because that is where leaders of all national organisations are located. Since DV has now become India's oldest and the largest circulated journal of the Bahujans, Delhi will be the natural choice for its office. Besides, Delhi is the heart of the Aryan world from where all the problems flow to the rest of India.

Many major academic, research institutions in India and abroad are subscribers of the journal including some of the important libraries. In many important cities, *Dalit Voice* Readers Forums are formed to discuss what is appearing in the DV.

INTERNET EDITION

In Japan, a group of people are translating *Dalit Voice* into Japanese and bringing it as a monthly newsletter. In Germany, DV is duplicated and distributed to different universities. An Internet edition of DV is planned by our readers in West.

The secret of the popularity of *Dalit Voice* is its unique Editorial policy. It neither supports an individual nor criticises anybody except on ideological issues. Nor it is the organ of any political party. It is not the mouthpiece of any organisation. It is not only against every "national" political party but maintains that socio-cultural revolution has to precede political revolution. This stand is fully in conformity with the thoughts of Dr. Ambedkar.

POVERTY IS NO PROBLEM

The problem of Dalits or any other persecuted nationality in India is not poverty. If the Dalits, Tribals or any other segment is "poor", this poverty is caused by deprivation. Its human rights has been robbed. Restore its human rights (reservation) in proportion to its population, every section will automatically recover and become rich.

The problems of India, essentially caused by the nationality question, cannot be solved through political changes, not even through economic changes but only through social and cultural transformation.

DV is the one and the only journal in India to discover that loss of cultural identity is the cause of deprivation. Hence every nation "has to search for its roots and strengthen it. Only then it will get strength to fight its oppressors.

Hinduisation of all these six oppressed segments of India is aimed at destroying their identity. India is not a "nation" but a country of hundreds of "nations". And what

is called caste or subcaste comes nearest to the concept of "nation".

GANDHIAN HUMBUG

The Hindu nazi rulers of India hate DV only because it is waking up the sleeping giants and strengthening their roots (**identity**).

DV is not only critical of the Gandhian approach but also of Indian communist parties. In fact, the Left movement poses a greater danger to the Dalits and other persecuted nationalities as the Indian Left parties are also controlled by the upper castes.

While it is critical of the Indian Left parties, it fully supports the marxian philosophy which was improved upon by Ambedkarism. DV was the first in the country to divide the upper caste rulers into two: "Socialist Brahmins" and "Sacred Brahmins" and declare the former as more dangerous.

Because of this unique and yet refreshing editorial policy, DV has cut a new line of thinking inspiring a large number of Dalit intellectuals. It appeals to Muslims and other "minorities" as well. A large number of Jesuit priests have taken a great fancy to DV.

NO ADVERTISEMENT

Muslims as the single largest persecuted community of India have taken to DV in a big way because there is no non-Muslim journal in India to speak for them. Many Muslims have declared DV as a better Muslim journal compared to others.

At the same times DV has found out that the elite Muslims comprising less than 5% of community is checking the revolutionary fervour of the

oppressed Muslims mainly fired by the "Spirit of Islam". In fact, dividing Islam into "Rituals of Islam" and "Spirit of Islam" is the unique contribution of DV. That is why DV has a great appeal for revolutionary Muslims worldwide.

DV is actively involved in the movement of the Backward Castes who constitute over 35% of the Indian population. Many articles and Editorials of DV on the Mandal Report have received wide attention.

Radical Christians are also attracted to DV because of its bitter criticism of the upper-caste-

CONCLAVE OF 100 BEST BRAINS

The setback suffered by DV in Delhi has been explained in two Editorials brought out as a reprint: **Second Partition of India** — **Sunset on the Dalit world (2000 pp.20 Rs. 5)**. The ruling upper castes will naturally do their best to check our progress. It is in their interest. But is it not in our interest to see that we assert and refuse to surrender? This is where we failed.

The above article written way back in 1985 will prove that our readers have accepted the DV editorial policy. Every DV prediction has proved correct. Every new theory propounded by DV became part of history. Hence our claim that DV will be the future media of India. Then how did DV suffer a setback? If our readers had stood by us how DV could suffer the setback? It is to discuss this we have proposed a "Conclave of 100 Best Brains" — EDITOR.

controlled Church. DV criticises the church on two counts. No. 1. church is not only encouraging caste division inside it, but segregating the Untouchable converts. Besides, (2) the Church through its educational institutions and hospitals is serving the needs of India's rich, meaning the upper castes neglecting the needs of the "poor" — mainly the Dalits. DV was the first in India to take up the cause of Dalit Christians who constitute 80% of the Christian population.

Started with a modest capital of Rs. 10,000 and no big business or

political party support, DV never became a commercial proposition as it did not get any advertisement either from the govt. or the private sector. For any publication, the revenue is from the advertisement and not circulation. In fact, more circulation means more loss. As DV is highly intellectual in content, it can hardly gain mass readership. That is why DV is still running at a loss though a part of the loss is covered by the sale of our books published by the Dalit Sahitya Akademy (DSA).

LINK-UP WITH BLACKS

Some of the DSA books are translated to Japanese, Chinese, German and French and many Indian languages. Some DSA books are out of print and some have gone into many editions. Though DV still has a small circulation, what is published in it is not only translated and reproduced in several Indian language journals of the Dalits and minorities but reproduced in some English journals also. Each copy of DV is read by a minimum of six persons. DV is being published in six

Indian languages Hindi and Punjabi (Delhi), Marathi (Pune), Telugu (Hyderabad), Malayalam (Cochin), Orya (Bhubaneswar).

The most important attraction in the DV is its Editorial. A back issue of the DV (Rs. 10 a copy — annual subscription Rs 200), is sometime sold at Rs 20. Bound volumes of DV are available and scholars, mainly foreign, are its customer. Though still confined to a subscriber-oriented service, DV is also sold in newsstands.

Social scientists and researchers — a profession gaining in importance — have found in DV a rich source

for analysing the different social, economic, political and religious developments.

Outside India, DV has established an international network by trying to link up the struggle of the Untouchables of India with the African-Americans in USA, Burakumin of Japan, Aborigines of Australia, Palestinians, French-speaking Canadians.

The Chinese have taken a great liking for DV. Many foreign social scientists specialising on India, like Dr. Barbara Joshi, Leilah Dushkin, Arthur Bonner, Marc Galanter, Gail Omvedt, Jan Myrdal (Sweden), Leon Poliakov (France) are great admirers of *Dalit Voice*. Amnesty International, Minority Rights Group, International League of Minorities' and many other human rights organisations are collaborating with DV. Dalit Sahitya Akademy and DV are recognised as one among the few human rights organisations in India. Many foreigners after reading DV have confessed that they got an entirely new vision of India, correcting many of their previous beliefs.

DV circulation is still small. No intellectual journal can claim mass circulation in India particularly because of the expanding intellectual desert. But considering some of India's scholarly journals, DV is doing much better.

Hence its modest circulation is indeed big considering the terrible hostility it faces from the ruling upper castes and its total blackout in India's national toilet papers.

But India has no journal exclusively devoted to social issues. There are any number of journals to analyse economic issues but none for social and cultural issues. It is not in the interest of the ruling class to publish social problems. *Dalit Voice* is the

only one dealing with social issues and that is why the ICSSR Annual Documentation carries a half-page advertisement on its cover page recommending DV to all Indian and foreign social science institutions.

FRESHNESS & FRAGRANCE

Hindu nazi ideologues keep a strict watch on DV and our books. They say they learn more about India, its problems including developments inside their own organizations only from *Dalit Voice*. That is why DV has good many subscribers from among the Hindu nazi circles also though in some places DV copies are purchased and destroyed. This happened mainly at Nagpur, Pune, noted RSS centres, and also Trivandrum. Once several hundreds of copies were missing in postal transit. All sorts of pinpricks including threats to the Editor are continuing. The beauty is DV is facing problem both from the Right and Left.

All this is because DV is a new experiment in Indian journalism, breaking an entirely a new path. Our Aryan ruling class never allows any new thinking that challenges the brahminical value system. DV has challenged this stereotype and blazed a new trail in Indian journalism. Hence its freshness and fragrance.

ELITE DALITS

In a country where less than 10% of its population is English-speaking and not even half of this take the trouble of buying and reading an English journal, that too an intellectual journal, we can very well imagine the uphill task facing the *Dalit Voice* which has its readership mainly from among the newly-educated Dalits.

Even this tiny section of Dalits

having turned elite rarely bothers about what is happening in the country. Whatever it is, DV is able to discover the most dedicated among them and win the confidence of a large section of Dalits.

DV has been able to bring about such a miraculous transformation in the outlook and life-style of these Dalits that DV subscribers today call themselves one single family. It is the DV family world-wide. They have become so close.

However, DV is facing one serious dilemma. If all its subscribers had promptly renewed their subscriptions by this time the circulation would have crossed over 50,000. As every day new subscriptions are pouring in, old ones are getting lapsed. This is the main worry facing DV.

So much so, the circulation is almost static. Some experts say this is only a passing phase. Once DV takes off, it is sure to gain speed. Whatever it is, DV has a big future as more Dalits and persecuted minorities are bound to wake up with the passing of time.

MONOPOLY OVER ENGLISH

The ruling class is bent upon denying English knowledge to the people. While it sends its children only to English schools, it will continue to tell the "poor" that English is a foreign language and they should not study it. Dalits must blast this myth and consider English as the language of India.

But none of these tricks will work because inside the ruling class itself there are divisions. Coming days, will be full of violence and bloodshed. National and sub-national feelings are bound to tear up the country to pieces. Caste has acquired new power and muscles. Caste itself is

turning into a "nation". "Caste identity" is developing very fast. All these are the theories propounded in DV.

The ruling class, whose properties and privileges will come under increasing attack, will have to unleash more and more violence which in turn will only help sharpen caste and class contradictions. DV will have to shortly change over from a fortnightly to a weekly, besides increasing its pages and

layout, to cope with this new situation and rising consciousness.

DYING DAILIES

The most important impact of DV's new experiment in Indian journalism is that well-established "national" dailies and periodicals are dying. Country's biggest dailies and journals are selling their products like soap or any other consumer items inducing readers with a plethora of gifts. This is because

India's tiny English-speaking ruling class is solely preoccupied with entertainment, sports, religion, drink, eating, sex, crime, politics, godmen and gossip. They expect the media to cater to their animal instincts. So, today media is full of such trash. And as days pass trash and trivia alone will be sold. DV is a new experiment in Indian journalism and hence it will be its future media. Bahujans must get ready to welcome the 21st century: Dr. Ambedkar Era when DV will take over. ■

Dilemma of MP: Why a mere 10% of Aryans rule 90% Bahujans ?

PRAMOD MESHARAM, 1/31-KALIDAS ROAD, BEHIND A.K.BUILDING, FREEGANJ, UJJAIN - 456 010

A mere 10% of Aryans are ruling over 90% Bahujans in MP. This is true all over India. Kanshi Ram had already propogated the theory of the 15% versus the 85%.

Madhya Pradesh has the largest land area in India with a population of about 7 crores of which 1 crore is SCs and 1.60 crores is STs.

As the name indicates, MP is in the middle of India. There are mainly four religions — Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism and Islam. But there is also a large number of religionless people like the Tribals.

We have 40 Lok Sabha seats of which 5 are reserved for SCs and 9 for STs. In the State Assembly, of the total 119 seats 44 are reserved for SCs and 75 for STs.

The absence of a dominant OBC like the Yadavs of Bihar and UP and the absence of a prominent leader may be the reason blocking the formation of a third front and social justice movement in MP.

Divided OBCs: The OBCs are over 48% of the population. They are split into small caste groups. Besides, they are also politically inactive. A large number of OBCs are with the BJP or the Congress. That is why they are powerless and toothless.

Muslims lack strength: As in the rest of India, OBCs eat the fruits of the struggles of SC/STs. Only after the Mandal Commission recommendation they are waking up.

As for Muslims they lack the strength of numbers. They form only about 5 to 6% of the electorate. If this 6% Muslims joins the Dalits who form 15% of the state

the total comes to 21%. If they join the BSP then the political scenario of MP will change. The OBCs though big in population (48%) they are directionless and leaderless.

Aravind Netam's folly: The Scheduled Tribes have a massive population in MP. But as in other states, they are not able to recognize the power of their population strength. At one stage Arvind Netam joined the BSP but his followers did not follow him. This was because Netam was purely a Congress product and he did not come to politics by organising the tribals.

So there is an urgent need to "educate" the tribals through the tribals and for the tribals. As our Editor always says: "No society can make real progress unless there is equal opportunity for all".

As for the third front in MP there is BSP. But BSP is not been well recognized by the SC/ST/OBCs and Muslims (Bahujan Samaj). The moment they realise that they are not slaves of Aryans, they will forge Bahujan unity constituting 90% of the MP population. But still they continue to follow the mere 10% of the blood-sucking Aryan leadership. ■

Latest Hindi book

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Pramod Meshram

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Write to author at:

1/31, Kalidas Marg, Behind A.K. Building,
Freeganj, Ujjain - 456 010

Letters to Editor

Mrs. Surinder Kaur, Flat No. 32, 247/1, Minto Park, Alipore, Calcutta - 700 027. My husband, Sardar Sher Singh, IAS, has finally won in his case (OA No. 1321 of 1997) in the Central Administrative Tribunal, Calcutta Bench, on 8.12.1999 when it passed the final order to quash the chargesheet against his vide Memo No. 720-PAR (Vig.) dated 2.6.1994 by the West Bengal Govt.

"Accordingly, we hereby direct the respondent No.4 to complete the departmental proceeding and submit its report to the competent authority within 3 months from the date of communication of this order. Thereafter, the competent authority shall pass final order in accordance with the rules and after giving proper opportunity of being heard to the applicant within one month from the date of receiving such report, in default of compliance of this order, entire proceeding against the applicant shall stand quashed".

The inquiring authority submitted his report on Jan.1 and Vigilance Commissioner R.N. Kail submitted it to the competent authority vide his Memo No. 328/V/ Home-47/92, dated Jan.19. And the State Govt. could not pass any final order within one month from the date of receiving the inquiry report on Jan.19. With effect from Feb.19 the chargesheet stands quashed. This order given by CAT follows the latest Supreme Court ruling in the service matters. Other Dalit employees facing similar charges may move the courts to get their chargesheets quashed by following time-limit for completing the proceedings. Dalits in trouble may get in touch with me to have a photo copy of the High/Supreme Court rulings in this regard at a nominal price.

Dr. R.K. Jadhav, Jammalal Bajaj Inst. of Management Studies, Dadabhai Naoroji House, 164-Backbay Reclamation, Road No.3, Bombay - 400 020: The recent judgment of Sept.16, 1999 of the Supreme Court in the case of Ajit Singh Juneja v/s State of Punjab, 1999-SCC (L&S) 1239 dt.16.9.1999 has declared that right to promotion is not a fundamental right of SC/STs. It is fundamental right of open category. This has raised hue and cry among the SC/ST all over the country and created a feeling of insecurity due to the approach adopted in the interpretation of the Constitution.

R. Anbarasu, <fbambu@bheltry.co.in>: This email is on the murderous attacks on Dalit youths for garlanding the Budha statue on Jan.19, 2000 at Paravai village, Perambalur, Tamil Nadu by Vanniar community rowdies. The rowdies were arrested under a bailable case but Dalit victims were arrested under

non-bailable cases. So far no compensation to Dalits.

L.K. Suryawanshi, D-207-B-1, LIG, Prapat Vihar, Gazhiabad - 201 009: I read your report, "DV seeks dialogue with non-Mahar subcastes at Pune" (DV Feb.1, 2000 p.11). I read it twice. The question raised by Dr. Ashok Adhav of Pune is very important for the Mahars (Budhists) and even rest of India. The report says the Maharashtra Dalits are the pioneers of Dalit movement because Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was a Maharashtraian. This is incorrect. The Mahars (Budhists) were not pioneers of Dalit movement in UP, Karnataka, Rajasthan, MP, Delhi, Bihar, Orissa, Haryana, Gujarat, Jammu etc. The credit goes to different castes. However, you criticised the awakened Mahars for stooging the enemy and thereby they got divided. This is absolutely correct. They are also corrupt. Their stooging of Marathas and Brahmins led to division in RPI. There are six RPI and seven Dalit Panthers. The third point is that it is only the Mahar subcaste people who are embracing the weaker and younger subcastes like the Mangs, Matangs, Chamars but not antagonising them. Only the Mahars embraced Budhism and embraced other Dalit subcastes but other subcastes did not embrace Budhism.

Binod Biplabi, Ward No. 12, Bargarh, Orissa - 768 028: The hidden agenda of BJP (*Brahmana Jat Party*) Govt. is gradually coming to light. Some of the Hindu nazi leaders are so much intoxicated with power that they do not care making anti-social and anti-national statements in public. Recently, while unveiling a statue of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in Lucknow, Chief Minister Ram Prasad Gupta of UP said:

"We should practice the caste system. It strengthens the society and the country".

The upper castes have never learnt anything from history. They must know that whenever India lost its independence it was due to the obnoxious caste system. On the other hand it is our tragedy that our Dalit MPs and MLAs have become spineless.

Mrs. Sunanda Anand Sable, "Tapodhan", Room No. 16, Four Bunglow, J.P. Road, Andheri (W), Bombay - 400 053: President Narayanan's Republic Day speech has provoked lot of criticisms from upper caste writers. They are ridiculing the President because he is an Untouchable. This mere 10% of the ruling upper castes have created a great deal of chaos and social injustice in the country.

Kartar Singh, 403-A, Jai Bharati, Veer Savarkar Nagar, Thane (West) - 400 606: As a poet and writer, I send a few points for the consideration of Chief Justice A.S. Anand of the Supreme Court. In a secular country like India, where in the name of religion, certain

disabilities/infirmities are imposed on a major group of people, by birth, I invoke justice and equity that is:

Medical profession is forbidden for a *dvija* (Brahmin) as per the Hindu scriptures like *Yajurveda*, *Manusmriti* etc. and if a person does a medical profession he loses his Brahmin status, so says Yashisht. The food served in the house of a medical practitioner is like a pus and hence should be avoided. Ashwini brothers, the medical caretakers of the Devas, are looked down upon like shudras.

Then how a *dvija* (Brahmin) can take to medical profession? Who else remains in the field for the purpose? Only shudra, the dirty worker. A *dvija* (twice-born) traditionally has no interest in and contempt for manual skill and dexterity, which is exclusively the forte of a shudra. As a matter of fact, a shudra is most suitable for both medical and technical fields by all standards. A shudra is denied human rights by reason of birth whereas a *dvija* (Brahmin) is granted everything by virtue of birth, without any merit when rights can be snatched away on the basis of birth, why these cannot be restored on the same basis? Why the question of "merit" is raised? Perhaps no national interest can be served by harming the SC/ST because national interest include the matter of SC/ST as well. Can centuries-old injustice be remedied within few years? Though able/capable people were in-charge of the country's affairs, yet India remained slave and miserable for centuries. Does it not speak volumes of merit of the ruling class of India? How can they raise the question of merit of SC/ST?

Nilesh Kathad, Asst. Manager, State Bank of Saurashtra, Majevadi, Junagadh dt. - 362 001: I heard you last year at the BAMCEF conference in Bombay. I have read issues of English DV and also the December issue of Hindi DV which carried your Bombay speech. I write Gujarati Dalit poems. My three books are published. One poetry collection was released at Gandhinagar by Joseph Makewan. I am spreading Dalit literature in Junagadh area. In the Keshad taluk of this district there is a village called Yonkhon where Dalits were attacked. Their hands and legs were cut. Three Dalits were shot. My small book on this incident is under print.

C.J. Krishnan, secretary, Mavilan Cultural Movement, Chersers, Poodumkallu, Rajapuram, Kasargod, Kerala - 671 532: I am a Dalit youth, graduate in civil engineering, now working in a private firm. I belong to SC (Mavilan). Our organisation wants to get in touch with Dalit organisations in Kerala and outside.

C.C. Hadke, Dy. SE (C), ONGC, Civil Section, IEOT (GF), Panvel, New Bombay - 410 221: Hazlitt has said:

"A nickname is the hardest stone that the devil can throw at a man".

(Quotation from *Great Masters*, Author: Chho Dev p.101).

In view of the above quotation, M.K. Gandhi is indeed a devil because he gave us a nickname, *harijan*. That is why Dr. B.R. Ambedkar had declared him as our Enemy No.1. Raju Thomas has very correctly said that Gandhi is dead, buried and forgotten by history. Whereas Dr. B.R. Ambedkar has been resurrected and become deadly to the upper castes.

Santosh Behera, at: Bhandi Street, PO/dt: Koraput, Orissa - 764 020: "Thread ceremony" is a practice confined to the Brahmins. Lately, this disease is spreading among the others also. This thread is the symbol of social discrimination and encourages untouchability. It is this thread that finally forced the reservation policy on the Indian society. It is a crime like the *satidha* or *satipratha*. "Thread ceremony" costs about Rs. 20,000 to Rs. 50,000 and such a huge expenditure is made to establish the superior status of the *vaidiks*. So, I appeal to members of the DV family to file writ petitions for the abolition of such discriminatory practises. "Thread ceremony" should be treated as a heinous crime like the *satpratha*.

Miss. K. Srujana, Dalit Women Research Centre, Lumbhini Vanam, Ambedkar Colony, Ponnur - 522 124: I am the daughter of Kathi Padma Rao and a regular reader of *Dalit Voice*. In the book, *Thoughts on Linguistic States*, Dr. Ambedkar talks of the essentiality of two capitals for India. The feelings of the South about its alienation from the administrative sector of the Union is a point to be discussed and given due importance. In the light of Babasaheb's thoughts why can't India have two capitals? Even the Mughals and the British had two capitals. For all practical purposes Delhi is far away from most of the southern parts of India. Babasaheb says:

"Now we have popular Government and the convenience of the people is a important factor. Delhi is most inconvenient to the people of the South. They suffer most from the distance as well as cold. Even the Northern people suffer in the summer months. They do not complain because they are nearer home and they are nearer to the seat of power". (*Thoughts on Linguistic States*, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar p.86).

Considering the defence point of view also a capital should not be at a bombing distance from other countries. Hyderabad fulfills all the requirements of an ideal capital. It is more advantageous to keep Hyderabad as the summer capital as it is much advanced in facilities such as administrative buildings at a comparatively less finance. (Since the capital is

situated in the Northern part of the country, the voice of the Southern people in Parliament is controlled by the North). Even the calculated distance point out that Hyderabad is equidistant from almost all the states. If the Northern states unite on linguistic basis over a particular point in Parliament, the Southern states have to see a setback in the union in spite of the cultural maturity. A few Southern parliamentarians left a mark on the decisions of the union. I would request President Narayanan and Speaker Balayogi to take a proper decision representing the Southern part of the country. Why should certain states such as UP remains so big and vast? Governance in a large state is not possible in a proper manner. Moreover small administrative blocks curtail the possibility of their union and large linguistic group domination over the smaller. Development of regional parties is a clear indication to the slow disappearance of "national unity". This will lead to a serious threat to the Indian union itself. Some day or other regional parties would lead to linguistic breakup or formation of a federal form of government as seen in the USA. This important issue has to be taken into due consideration.

N.G. Das, 17-Dattabhad Road, Salt Lake, Calcutta - 700 064: Brother Baiwant Singh of Saharanpur, UP, has criticised me for supporting your "*caste identity*" thesis and says by this I am dividing the Dalits. But he does not know that to promote "Dalit unity" I have disregarded my subcaste and got my two sons married to subcastes other than mine. They are married to Rajbhanshi and Poundra Kshatriya though I am a Namashudra. I also did not take dowry though my sons are well-placed in govt. services. The Namashudras of Bengal were divided into 8 sections. Our social reformer, Guru Chand Thankur, tried his best to make them one single Namashudra community but he could not succeed. After the division of Bengal, we have come here and subcaste divisions are gradually fading though it will take much time. When I go to Bombay and ask for shelter in a SC family other than the Namashudra, they will not agree. So, to reach a higher level we have to start from the bottom. Our Editor is not a narrow-minded person. He is a supporter of all Dalit subcastes. But heavens cannot settle the disputes among the Malas, Madigas. So, he has started from the root. Please do not misunderstand the Editor. The second edition of my book, *Was Gandhi a Mahatma?* is out. Many hitherto unknown incidents in the life of Gandhi have been narrated in the new edition.

Rajula V., Programme Secretary, Ecumenical Christian Centre, Post Bag No. 11, Whitefield,

Bangalore - 560 066: Eleven staff of ECC under the leadership of the Director, Rev. Dr. M.J. Joseph, visited Kambalapalli on March 27 to express our solidarity with the afflicted Dalits there. We visited the gory and gruesome scene at Kambalapalli in Kolar dt., about 100 km, where 7 Dalits were burnt alive on March 11, 2000. It is very shocking that many churches and Christian organisations are silent over the Kambalapalli carnage.

Mrs. Samata B. Deshmane, Lecturer in Sociology, Bangalore University, D.N. 134, 17th Cross, Lakkasandra, Bangalore - 560 056: I have some comments to make on the "Status of women in emerging India" which I prepared for Bharatiya Dalit Sahitya Akademy's national conference in Delhi. We have no organised women's movement making the Indian society completely hypocritical. Even in the freedom struggle men dominated. Forms of exploitation are varied and range from more acute forms such as child marriage, dowry, taboo against remarriage of widows and domestic confinement to more subtle pressure such as the absolute dominations of the male at home, making the wife perform menial tasks and regarding her as merely a sex object and thereby stunting her personality. The change from a position of utter degradation of women in the 19th century to a position of equality in the middle of the 20th century is not a simple case of the progress of women in the modern era. Under the Hindu society, the woman is considered a

"completely inferior species, inferior to the male, having no significance, no personality, socially, she was kept in a state of utter subjection, denied any right, suppressed and oppressed. She was further branded as basically lacking the ethical fibre. The patriarchal joint family, the customs of polygamy, the *purdah*, the property structure, early marriage, self-immolation of widows (*sati*) or a state of permanent widow-hood, all these contributed to the smothering of the free development of women",

says Neera Desai. Vivekananda (1863-1902), said "that country and that nation which did not respect women have never become great nor will ever in the future and, however, when she is no longer oppressed she will become a lion".

Gobind Roy, Nanded, Maharashtra: Dr. R.P. Harsh is thanked for drawing the attention of Sikh intelligentsia towards a few intellectual corruption perpetuated by the agents of *sanatana dharma* by using the 10% "creamy layer" in his article, "*Brahminical sabotage of Sikh history: Guru Nanak is called Khatri*" (DV Dec. 1, 1999 p. 8-9). Such calculated and well-planted traps have given death blows to

Sikhism in a planned and phased manner. By adopting similar tactics and strategies, less than 15% Aryans had earlier finished Budhist, Jains, Yadavs etc. Those very tricks worked well on the Sikhs. As a result most of the Sikh intelligentsia had become either silent spectators or spokesmen of the Brahminical Social Order (BSO) soon after the passing away of the 10th Guru. Intelligentsia are many but honest ones among the Sikhs are a rare commodity. Most of them are notorious for not listening to reasoning. Such a people had made mess of Sikhism and a laughing stock of the Sikhs nationally/internationally. An organisation raised to free the weaker sections of the society (Dalits, women etc.) from the brahminical tyranny has itself become a tyrant and perpetuating the worst type of tyranny against the Bahujians including the Sikhs. Who is responsible for blocking the way of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and his lakhs of disciples from embracing Sikhism? Why the Sikh leadership is silent on the character assassination of Guru Gobind Singh in the nazi bible, *Bunch of Thoughts* (p.139), written by Golwalkar who says:

"A true Sikh is one who has faith in the Vedas and Bhagvat Gita and who worships Rama and Krishna."

Why the Sikh leadership is hesitating to honour Editor V. T. Rajshakar as one of the *nirmalas* of Guru Gobind Singh for his wonderful work?

Dr. Jotirmay Mandal, Qtr. No. G-69/36, South T.T. Nagar, Bhopal - 462 003: In the last many issues I have been reading about your defection over the failure to set up our own "Media Centre" in Delhi. I assure DV readers, who are aware of the needs of society, will be ready to contribute generously for the cause and I as a Class III employee of the State Govt. besides having lot of liabilities at the age of 50 am willing to contribute Rs. 1,000 towards this. Similar contributions must come from other and 2000 will be the year of establishing the coveted "Media Centre". The widely circulated and famous Dait media (*Dait Voice*) has been safeguarding the human rights of Bahujians. I came to know of many Bahujan social and employees' organisations through DV. For the past three years I have been reading the views of our Bahujan intellectuals on "*caste identity*". I myself had a chance to express my views (May 1, 1999 p.19). Sorry to note that no reader has so far tried to guide the Bahujians to establish "*caste identity*" free from vilification. We have hundreds of organisations for SC/ST/BC and minorities and almost all of them are either after political power or employment benefits. The day the BSP entered Parliament the *vaidiks* launched their looting era. Misuse of funds by the *vaidik* rulers is

rampant. Bribery has become deep-rooted. These two modes of economic frauds are very simple to speak and hear but has anybody in the Bahujians ever thought of its repercussion on the Bahujan population? The Aryan rulers are terrified with the Bahujan awakening. Hence they are planning to bury the country under a heavy burden of debt. Even if the aborigin Indians succeed to take over the rulership, they will soon fail because of dearth of funds. The Aryan rulers are draining all our resources. Cases of cheating and embezzlement of millions of rupees are not punished by the BSO-manipulated judiciary and administrative machinery while a theft case of mere Rs. 50 or a kilo of *atta* or rice is sternly punished because the thief is a Bahujan. There are hundred other ways the Bahujians are cheated by the Aryans. So, in this context I don't understand what can be achieved by gaining "political power" in a devastated or economically impoverished land. As our Editor has reached the final conclusion on the "*caste identity*" as the only forceful weapon to fight the political battle, it has been accepted by a majority of the Bahujan intellectuals. He says that political power can be achieved faster and with greater strength if the Bahujan leadership thoroughly studies the origin and development of caste as discovered by many earlier scholars. But this needs elaborate discussion and good lot of education. But the *vaidiks* have destroyed our education system which is now converted into brahminical education. This aspect of the Aryan strategies has not been seriously studied by the Bahujians. Our highly educated and highly placed Bahujians are "educating" their children in the *vaidik* system and wasting a large portion of their income which is directly helping the enemy and indirectly damaging their own community. Hence what is the use of achieving "political power" if we ourselves become Aryan slaves? The existing education system is preparing good slaves for the Aryans. I am deeply worried over this *vaidik* mischief because even if we get "political power" our children would have been then turned into Aryan slaves. Ambedkarites, who always advocate Buddhism, admit their children in Saraswati Vidya Mandir or Maharshi Vidya Mandir but never try to establish their own educational institutions or force the govt. to make govt. institutions functional to impart education suited to Bahujan needs. We the readers of *Dait Voice* do not impart social education to the illiterate Dalits and guide them for economic betterment. Hence "*caste identity*" in the prevailing circumstances, though helpful to capture political power, may not be result-oriented until the correct education system is introduced and come out of the

trap laid by vaidiks. So, I request the Bahujan politicians and intellectuals to bestow serious thought on the economic and educational deception of vaidik rulers.

Brother Jyotirmay is repeating what Dr. Ambedkar has said that political revolution will be successful only when preceded by social and cultural revolution. This was the theme of our May 1, 2000 Editorial. More than the economic devastation, the Aryan havoc is felt particularly in the cultural field. Union HRD Minister M.M. Joshi has started hinduising (enslaving) the Bahujans right from the primary class or even before that. All plans have been finalised and implementation is about to begin — silently but surely. The vaidiks have never met with any failure right from the days they destroyed Buddhism. But our Dalit leaders and intellectuals have bestowed no thought on the finer aspects of life. That is why we had warned of "Sun set on Dalit world". In this mad, mad race "to capture political power", our people have become blind to the nazi mischief: "Political power" has been so much diluted that if and when the Dalits actually get it there will no "power" left. We are tired of giving this warnings after warnings but nobody is listening to us. We had several rounds of ticks with Kanshi Ram. He agrees with us but he has no time to spare for a cultural revolution — EDITOR.

K. Rajendra, Ambedkar Pratishthana, Thorlakkhi PO, Malur Tq., Kolar dt., Karnataka - 563 137: I read about your shifting back to Bangalore. It is not that anybody sent you back from Delhi. We Dalits are not fortunate enough to retain you in Delhi. We Dalits lack the consciousness to make use of you. Even after your 20-year-long service, we have failed to become a thinking people. Like Periyar E.V. Ramaswamy, you too have wasted your life. You have done the best as per your conscience. Hope your services and sacrifices will bring the necessary consolation to you.

A. Balu Vardha Raju, "Sunil Niketan", 8-58 E/3, Shedigurre, Ashok Nagar, Mangalore - 575 006: It is disheartening to note (DV March 16, 2000) that you made a second "retreat" to Bangalore after undergoing a great disappointment in New Delhi. My heart bleeds. It is a matter of shame on Dalits in particular and BCs and minorities in general that none heeded your words and helped you in establishing our own "Media Centre" though many promised heaven and earth. Do not treat your disappointment seriously. As a human rights leader and writer you have done your duty more than your capacity. You shall be remembered for ever for your yeomen services to free the slaves from the tharldom of mental slavery. Who can help the slave if

he wishes to be a better slave even after telling him of his slavery?

Prof. Nizam Uddin Ansari, 205/92, Sahukara, Ujhani (Budaun) - 243 639: The news that the Kesho Bhai Patel Govt. of Gujarat has lifted the ban on its employees to join RSS created fear in the minds of various sections of society because RSS is a Hindu nazi force. The RSS was founded (1925) by K.B. Hedgewar to establish the supremacy of vaidiks and establish the *Hindu Rashtra*. RSS was against India's freedom movement against the British. RSS is specifically anti-Muslim and anti-Dalit. The RSS was declared illegal during the British rule. Again the RSS was banned when M.K. Gandhi was assassinated by one of its followers and that was why it was banned. Hedgewar was succeeded to by Golwalkar who turned more anti-Muslim and declared that Muslims had no place in India. If non-Hindus want to stay in India they can live here as second-rate citizens. "Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan" was the slogan of RSS. RSS was again banned in 1975-77 during the Emergency. India is a country of several diversities, the diversities of religion, faith, creed, language, culture and customs and traditions but RSS is not prepared to accept this historical fact. It launched a campaign to demolish the historic Babri Masjid and construct a Ram temple on its very place. It also formed a religious parliament which also recommended a draft constitution of India for the country where a Constitution is already working very well. After the imposition of the Emergency on June 25, 1975, Deoras, the RSS chief, wrote a letter to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, tendering apology and seeking the lifting of ban on RSS. Every action of the RSS proves that it is a political party. These facts are sufficient to verify that RSS is a political organisation and its cultural face is a total farce. The fact is that if the BJP had secured a clear majority without the necessity of a National Democracy Alliance, it would have been radically different from what it is today. But still events indicate that BJP is not so apart from Gujarat Govt. The UP Govt. has a scheme to transfer officers recommended by the RSS and the govt. has allowed its employees to join the RSS.

Obaidur Rahman Nadwi, Mazhar Library, West Bengal Mazhar Educational & Welfare Society, Village Hossainpur, Telagachi post, Goalpara, WB - 732 126: We are running a public library here. We shall be grateful if you request your members to send their publications including the *Dalit Voice* for the benefit of our readers.

Syed Shah Ghaziuddin, Advocate, 209-Shanwar Peth, Solapur-2: The DV "failure to build a dedicated

work force" (Raju Kamble) and your reply (DV Feb. 16, 2000) can be a good subject for a debate in DV to discuss its achievements (and also failures if any) during the last two decades. Kamble laments:

"... We also noticed that you have not created a movement around DV. You should have created a work force of at least 20 people in Delhi who should all the time rally round DV."

You have published your own rejoinder. I am of the opinion that readers of DV for the last two decades are best judges to give their own verdict and to opine as to what DV has achieved. They may point out your failures also if any. In my opinion, DV has revolutionized the thinking of a large number of SC/BC/Muslim/Sikh/Tribal intellectuals. It has influenced international human rights bodies — not a small achievement. During the last two decades, it has provoked debates between social activists, journalists, intellectuals, community leaders working for the oppressed sections where any discussion remains incomplete without the mention of V.T. Rajshekar and his DV. Which national (read toilet) paper can boast of such lively "Letters to Editor" column in which people participate not only on national level but across the globe. DV was never polluted with humbugs like *Sitaron ki Dunya*, filmi gossip, fabricated letters (without addresses), planted stories, fact twisting, which are all the mainstay of our "national" (toilet) papers. It has falsified the theory that without advertisements no paper can survive. DV can never be a mass paper as it is published in English but it influences those who influence the masses. All these achievements are not small but remarkable, a heroic deed solely managed by its Editor. In short, it is a unique experiment in journalism. This is my assessment of DV. I invite readers for their appraisal and I hope our Editor will provide space for the same. My only worry is after V.T. Rajshekar, what?

Mustaq c/o Ahmed Pasha, Popular Transport, Opp. Saat Kacheri, PO Raichur - 584 101: Most of the Arab govts have not given special privileges to Muslim expatriate workers most of whom in the skilled, non-skilled and white-collar categories come from India. And these Indian-born Muslim expatriate workers working in the Aaab countries are the most discriminated, hated, oppressed and denied human rights people in their own country. These Arab Govts. should have given special privileges and status to the Indian expatriate workers. We have some proposals. We also appeal to the Muslim intellectuals and organisations to take up this issue.

1. A Muslim expatriate worker who has completed a

two-year term should get a certificate assuring special privileges and status over his non-Muslim expatriate counterpart.

2. To ensure that the expatriate is really a Muslim the respective Arab Govt. should regulate certain tests.

3. To obtain this certificate the Muslim expatriate must fulfil certain requirements and appear for a test.

4. He must produce a certificate by his company saying that he observes *salat*, i.e. Islamic rituals and Ramadan fasts.

5. The respective Arab Govt. shall have a dept. to test the candidate who is applying for the certificate. The candidate must appear before the officials with the testimony from his company. (A) The Candidate must be able to read the Arabic text of the *Quran*. (B) Must have memorised at least 10 to 15 short chapters of the *Quran*. (C) Able to give a practical demonstration of the abluion (*wadhy*) and ritual work (*salat*). (D) No company shall refuse a testimony letter to the Indian Muslim expatriate. Law should be regulated to ensure this. (E) And to ensure that every company should allow its every Muslim worker to observe at least the obligatory *rakats* of *salats* (i.e. the *faraidh rakats*).

6. (A) The Arab Govt. should fix a quota for each country for the import of work force. (B) Law should be regulated that each company should hire at least 70% Muslims in its work force. The company should provide certain incentives and privileges for employing 70% Muslims.

7. When the candidate has fulfilled all the requirements and passed through the tests, the Arab Govt. must issue him a certificate saying that the person is a proven expatriate Muslim. (A) Later, the Muslim expatriate is free to either stay in the same company or find another company and job according to his choice without obtaining employment visa for that company for at least 1 year. If the certified expatriate likes the company and the job he may try to get the company's *kafala*. (B). He may even go on changing the companies and the jobs till he finds his choice. He should enjoy total freedom. (C) The only restriction should be that he should not remain unemployed for over 1 year, after that he should go back to his native country and he may come back after a year's (or 1/2 year's time) time and continue to avail the earlier privileges.

8. Recruiting agents exploit the job-seekers. Hence the above measures will check such an exploitation. It is already late. The Arab Govts. must act immediately. The Arabs had been all these years totally unconcerned with the non-Arab Muslim expatriates and their success and well being. History will never forget their treatment of Muslims. ■

Ram found in Sikh scriptures is not Hindu god Ram

GURNAM SINGH MUKTSAR, GURU ANGAD NAGAR, MUKTSAR, PUNJAB - 152 026

Following the advice of those who believe in rationalism as well as logic, I am going to argue on Dr. Harsh's logic about the logic of Sikhism. (Dr. R.P. Harsh: "*Brahminical sabotage of Sikh history: Guru Nanak called Khatri*").

Guru Nanak rejected brahminism, preached brotherhood, equality and love among all humans being creatures of one god: *ek-onkar*— not *om* or *Hari om*. Dr. Harsh could not understand the word *ek-onkar* which means one common *akal purkh* or *parbrahm*, *anant*, *karta*, *karta*, *purkh*. These are scientific terms of *brahmand*, the very universe.

***Ek-onkar* is totally opposed to the word *om* but not to *ekom*.**

Inequality of Hinduism: The one common creator has created every human and all other things. All this is detailed in the *Guru Granth*. This is universal truth. So, a Brahman, a Kshatriya, a Vaish, a Shudra, are all created by *ek-onkar* (one creator), all with his common contents. So no one is high or low unlike in Hinduism.

Secondly, this term of one single creator was not the discovery of Guru Nanak. The same is said by Sant Namdev, Sant Kabir and Sant Ravidass, but later followed by Guru Nanak. This is also mentioned in the *Guru Granth*.

Confused Sikhs: As for Ram, this term was coined by Sant Namdev, the very founder of the basic tenets of Sikhism (as stated in the *Guru Granth*). Every sant and every guru who has written the *Bani*, has cleared the term Ram. It is mentioned again and again that "Our Ram is not the son of Dasrath and the husband of Sita. He is the creator of all human beings".

In our (Sikh) Ram's universe, brahminism is totally rejected and the rule of equality and brotherhood is accepted.

The Hindu god Ram — the son of Dasrath, brother of Lakshman and husband of Sita — is nothing but a man of simple common habits and one who is always guided by his Brahman gurus, who loses his wife, fights with Ravan, kills Bali in disguise, kills Shambuka for being a shudra. All this is detailed in the *Guru Granth*.

We should not confuse the creator Ram with a created Ram. Sikhism rejects the Hindu god Ram and Krishna.

But the problem with the Sikhs is they themselves are

a confused lot. That is why they explained the *Bani* in brahminical terms and failed to tell the truth of *Baḥi* to the world.

In my book in Punjabi, *Bhartiok Neeti Kiven Bane*, I have explained all these. So, never confuse *ek-onkar* with *om* and the Sikh Ram with Hindu Ram. The last one is an Aryan invader who killed our forefather, Mahatma Ravan.

Guru Angad was appointed Guru Nanak's successor only due to his merit of human quality, not merit of caste. Anyone who believes in brahminism and casteism can never be a Sikh or Sikh guru. This is the basic principle of Sikhism. Any man who has faith in brahminism and casteism can't be a Sikh.

To become a Sikh one must reject and denounce the system of *om-brahma*, Brahmins and Ved-Shastras. That is why we don't find a real Sikh in the present world.

Om is a brahminical term and *ek-onkar* or *ekom* is a Sikh term.

Who founded Gurumukhi: I am a born Sikh but being an Ambedkarite, I have deeply studied marxism, Budhism, Sikhism, Hinduism and Ambedkarism. I want to go deep into Christianity as well as Islam. But I have no proper guide and literature.

Gurmukhi script was not founded only by Guru Nanak. But this is written by Sant Kabir and Sant Ravidass. This is stated in the *Guru Granth*.

Punjabi or Gurmukhi is a product of our country's oldest language, Pali. This is a historical fact. Sant Kabir has written Ura, Ara, Eeri, Sassa, Haha and so on. Sant Namdev has used the same words in his *Bani*. In North India, the great Baba Farid also wrote his *Bani* in the same script.

Gurmukhi is evolved out of Pali in which the *Bani* is written and preached in North, South, East and West India. Sanskrit was unknown. Pali was the only language of common masses.

So, Sant Namdev, Sant Kabir and Sant Ravidass wrote the *Bani* in the language of the masses as Kabir has detailed it. Ura, Ara, Eri, Sassa, Haha are found in *Guru Granth*.

Guru Nanak has said that at last "Only truth stands and falsehood shakes". Where there is truth, there is emancipation and salvation. ■

Dr. Ambedkar refused to embrace Sikhism because of casteism

SUBHASH CHAND MUSAFIR, NATIONAL INSURANCE CO., D. O. PALAMPUR, KANGRA DT. - 176 061

This refers to the article, "Beef-eating banned under Sikhism: Dalit criticism of Jats must stop", by Principal Gurdial Singh (DV Oct. 1, 1999 p.7).

It looks Sant G. Singh is so brahminised that he cannot tolerate even a single word against brahminical pollution as well as hegemony of upper caste Sikhs. He is not even ready to consider the questions raised by Sikh scholars like Dr. (Mrs.) K.K. Sidhu and Prof. Gurnam Singh and a respected Punjabi Dalit scholar, L.R. Bailey. DV has raised the Debate on the "Slow death of Sikhism" with all good intentions. Both DV and its Editor are great friends of Sikhs. The Editor suffered a jail sentence for the sake of Sikhs. Yet the Sant is not prepared to tolerate the criticisms of a well-wisher.

Some Sikhs are busy misinterpreting the *Gurbani* by writing *Kranti Gita* to please the *Manuwadis*. This *Kranti Gita* used to be published regularly on every Monday in a *Manubadi* paper, *Daily Punjab Kesari*, from Jalandhar. The brahminical forces are reinterpreting the *Gurbani* to see that Sikhs remain subordinate to brahminism.

All the three scholars — Sardar Gurnam Singh Muktsar, Venerable L.R. Bailey and Dr. K.K. Sidhu are well-versed in the principles of Sikhism.

Dalit gurus ridiculed: Though Sikhism was established to found a casteless society, today it is steeped in casteism. The Sikh intelligentsia has failed to establish a parallel Sikh social order as well as a Sikh culture.

In the Sikh holy book there is the collection of verses of 36 sants and gurus of Sikh *dharma*. A majority of them, out of the 36, belonged to Dalit-Bahujan community. Sikh *ragies*, *pathies* and other *kirtan-walas* when reading the *baries* of Guru Kabir Sahib and Guru Ravidas, they deliberately call them as *bhakatas* while the fact is they too are Sikh gurus. Who is insulting the *Guru Granth Sahib* by calling the gurus as *bhakatas*? Will the Sant Gurdial Singh answer this question.

Badal stooging Hindus: Punjab Chief Minister P.S. Bédal has become the darling of the *Vaidik* Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee only because he helped the *Manuwadis* to play havoc in Punjab.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar had studied Sikhism deeply. He observed that Chamars who became Sikhs were called Ramdasia, Chura called Majahbi, Julaha as Kavirpanthi. This gave him a shock and he decided

against embracing Sikhism which was discriminating against Dalits as under Hinduism.

Surki-bindi: Gurdial Singh has defended *surki-bindi* by saying that Sikh women applied it only as a makeup. But they do not apply the *surki-bindi* merely for the makeup but to please the Hindus. *Karva chauth varta* and also worship the Hindu gods are part of their *hindusisation* (enslavement).

I belong to Himachal Pradesh which is called the land of gods (*devbhumi*), beside the Punjab. Huge crowds of Punjabi Sikhs come on every Tuesday and every *navratra* days to the Hindu temples in HP. Are they not insulting the *Guru Granth Sahib* in which idol worship and having the *varta* are strictly prohibited? Is Sikhism not dying in the land of the gurus?

President Zail Singh was a great person of this country. Why he was ridiculed as guli-garth, a Backward (Tarkhan) caste in Punjab.

Gurdial Singh says that the "Sikh loves all and all love Sikhs". But I don't agree with this. If so how could such mass murders of over 3,000 Sikhs took place in the 1984 "Blue Star Operation" and again after the assassination of Mrs. Indira Gandhi? If the Sikhs are loved by all why thousands of Sikhs were killed? ■

Massacre of Sikhs in Kashmir : DV proves right

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: DV proves right on its story, "Doubts over massacre of Sikhs in Kashmir", (DV May 1, 2000 p.5). Even in the Rajya Sabha, a Sikh member said the same thing on April 19:

On the suggestion by nominated member Kantar Singh Duggal that a majority of the Sikhs in Kashmir were blaming Indian security forces for the massacre, Home Minister Advani said this was part of a systematic disinformation campaign by the ISI. "As per information we have, this (Chittisinghpur massacre) is the handiwork of militants trained by the ISI", he said.

We have received a number of communications from both Sikhs and Muslims that the massacre of Sikhs was the handiwork of RAW. If the Sikhs were killed by Kashmiri Muslims then the Sikhs should have been furious. Except the Hindu nazi-sponsored demonstrations, there was not a single show of anger from Sikhs. There was no retaliatory Sikh action against the Kashmiri Muslims or Muslims outside. Our "national" toilet papers who boast of "freedom of press" in India have nothing to say on this incident. ■

Sikh history needs review to help launch new revolution

DR. R.P. HARSH, HARSH CLINIC, BARNALA ROAD, SIRSA - 125 055

Unless Sikh historians and intellectuals do not study the brahminic literature and Manu laws and try to find out how Hindu nazis threw out Budhism from India, they will not be able to understand how Sikhism was sabotaged.

Hindu nazis do not believe in social equality. They established their social roder based on castes, hate and graded inequality.

Any religion which teaches "liberty, equality and fraternity" is the enemy of the Brahminical Social Order (BSO).

These principles are a great threat to the BSO. *Sam, dan, bedh* and *dand* are the great weapons of BSO to sabotage any egalitarian religions. How they destroyed Budhism from India and sabotaged Sikhism by using these three weapons can be explained as follows:

1. They entered into Budhism with their "Hindu mind". Externally they appeared to be Budhist but internally they practised brahminism. In the same way they entered Sikhism as Sikhs but sabotaged it from inside.
2. When they failed to destroy Budhism, a Brahmin general killed the Budhist ruler, Brahdtrath, in 185 BC. The attack on Akal Takht (1984) by a Brahmin General, Sunderji, was exactly on the same lines. (DV March 1, 1999 p.5: "General who led Army into Golden Temple dead").
3. After killing Budhist emperor they destroyed their property and indulged in mass murders. The same thing happened with

the Sikhs in 1984. They not only massacred Sikhs but their properties were also destroyed.

4. During the period of Kanishk, Budhism was divided into *Mahayan* and *Hinyan*. The *Mahayans* were the brahminical Budhists. Sikhism was also divided into *Keshdhari* and *Sahajdhari*.

5. Even the Budhism survived up to 1200 AD. When Hindu nazis could not succeed in their evil design, they changed their tactics by giving their daughters to Mughal rulers and established blood relationship to protect their properties, their social system and sabotaged Budhism, Sikhism, even Islam.

BHAGWAN DAS TESTOMONY

Sikh Gurus who launched their 250-year-long social revolution against brahminism destroying brahminical virus of caste and inequality reappeared in Sikhism. To prove this I have the testimony of Bhagwan Das, Supreme Court advocate and Chairman, All-India Samata Sainik Dal, before the UN Human Rights subcommission at Geneva. Bhagwan Das says:

"Sikhs claim to be more progressive and egalitarian but they have not been able to keep the society free from caste system and untouchability. Even in a country like Britain they rigidly follow caste system and practise untouchability and discrimination against Untouchables (Ramdassia and Mazhabies) living in England. A Jat sikh shuns the company of untouchable and avoids going to the pubs patronised by Balmikies and Ravidassias, two Untouchable castes of Punjab (A Jat, Khatri,

Arora, trading community of Punjab), never miss an opportunity if he can offend an Untouchable by referring his caste".

KAPOOR SINGH'S REVOLUTION

Yet another document, the report of D. Petrie, Asst. Director, Criminal Intelligence of the Govt. of India, Simla, 11 Aug. 1911, published in the *Sachi-Sakha* written by a great Sikh scholar, Sardar Kapoor Singh p.117:

"Hinduism has always been hostile to Sikhism whose Gurus powerfully and successfully attacked the principle of caste which is the foundation on which whole fabric of brahminism has been reared. The activities of Hindus have, therefore, been constantly directed to the undermining of Sikhism both by preventing the children of sikh father from taking *pahul* (baptism) i.e. taking *amrit* and by reducing the professed Sikhs from their allegiance to their faith. Hinduism has strangled Budhism, once a formidable rival to it and it has already made serious inroads to the domain of Sikhism".

TARA SINGH CONSPIRACY

Had an upper caste Sikh, Master Tara Singh, not made a conspiracy against Dr. Ambedkar 7 crores Untouchables would have embraced Sikhism and India could have been a country of Sikhs. Here is an extract of the "conspiracy" of Master Tara Singh in the *Sachi Sacki* of Kapoor Singh p. 123-124:

"Dr. Ambedkar came to Amritsar wearing turban on the day of

Baisakhi along with his companions in 1936 to attend the function held by *Sarb Hind Sikh Mission*. The aim of Dr. Ambedkar was to get entry of 7 crores Untouchables into Sikhism and his nephew entered into the sikh fold after taking *amrit* (baptised).

But Master Tara Singh suddenly made a policy (conspiracy) so that Dr. Ambedkar and his Untouchable companions may not come nearer to "Sikhs and Sikh". Because he feared that if Dr. Ambedkar and his Untouchable companions succeeded in embracing Sikhism, the supremacy of Master Tara Singh will go down.

In 1936, the elections of Bombay Legislative Assembly came nearer. Dr. Ambedkar sent a message to Master Tara Singh to send Rs. 25, 000 so that the members of their party, could succeed. The selfish Master Tara Singh called Amar Singh from the "Shere Punjab office" near to him. He repeated the message of Dr. Ambedkar before him and said: "see this Ambedkar, he is asking money from Sikh". Amber Singh promptly replied, "what are you saying, Masterji?" If Ambedkar had any desire of money, he can take crores of rupees from Muslims and Christians, what was the need to embrace Sikhism? He has asked this meager amount by realising that Sikhs are our religious brothers. Therefore, to doubt the integrity of Ambedkar is unfair. Master Tara Singh suddenly changed the direction and replied "you will oppose me tomorrow at the *Sarb Hind Sikh Mission*, why you have given this money to him? If you agree, I will send this money to Dr. Ambedkar tomorrow." Sardar Amar Singh promptly replied: "please remember do not be late. Master Tara Singh took out the money from treasury of *Sarb Hind Sikh*

Mission but instead of giving the cheque, he gave this whole amount of money to his tool Master Sujan Singh Sarhali and sent a message to Amar Singh that money has been send to Dr. Ambedkar. When election was over, it came to the notice that money did not reach to Ambedkar and eaten up by both Master Tara Singh. This money was neither deposited in the account of *Sarb Hind sikh Mission* nor reached Ambedkar".

Translation from Punjabi to English by me).

BRAHMINS DESERT KHALSA

In this way upper caste Sikh Tara Singh sabotaged Sikh revolution and prevented Sikhism from becoming the main religion of India and thus helped his counter part Hindu nazis and prevented 7 crores Untouchables from entering Sikhism.

Though Hindu nazis entered the Sikhism their mind continued to remain Hindu. When Guru Gobind Singh established Khalsa Panth and gave it a separate identity and asked his followers to rigidly follow the rules the upper castes quickly deserted the *khalsa*. Guru Gobind Singh welcomed their departure.

In short 80,000 men became Guru's followers, the number went on increasing a large number of Brahmins and other twice born deserted the Sikhs fold when he insisted on the observance of these disciplines. Guru Gobind Singh welcomed the departure of the concorrigibles who clung to their old customs and caste and in their place admitted thousands of humble peasants and hill tribes who were thus enabled to realise their manhood and became responsible citizens of *khalsa* state. Gobind Singh appealed to the eternal instincts of equality, liberty and brotherhood, broke

for ever the caste prejudice and received into the *khalsa* people of all classes who had hitherto been debarred from bearing Arms and participating in religion".

(*Hindu Imperialism* by Swami Dharm Teerth p.14).

WHO KILLED SIKH GURUS

The Hindu nazis tried to swallow the Sikh revolution during the Shivaji rule but Guru Gobind Singh saved Sikhism:

"As in the case of Shivaji whom the priests succeeded in persuading that he was a special vehicle of goddess Bhavani, so an attempt was made to impose on Guru Gobind the authority of goddess Kaili. (Ibid p.146).

Now the question arises who killed the "spirit" of Sikhism and the Sikh Gurus. Let us examine the historical evidences — both direct and circumstantial.

1. When the only surviving sons of Guru Gobind Singh, Janaber Singh and Fateh Singh, were brought to the court of Aurangzeb, the Kazi refused to issue *fatwa* against them. The Kazi said there is no provision in the *shariat* to issue a *fatwa* against minor children. Sucha Nand, a Brahmin, a Darbari in the court of Aurangzeb said: "They are kids of Snake". So on the advice of a Hindu Nazi Sucha Nand, the last sons of Guru Gobind Singh were planted in the wall. (*Punjab Keshri*, Jan. 11, 1999).

2. The other two sons were killed at Chittorgarh. Rajputs surrounded the Sikhs on all sides and destroyed all of them with bullet. If we rely on the authority of Abdur Rasul, one of the sons last his life at the hands of Hindu Rajputs.

"On the authority of Abdur Rasul, the Pakistani Radio frequently broadcastes that only one son of Guru Gobind Singh was killed at Sarhad and the

other lost his life at the hands of Hindu Rajputs".

(*Sikh History*, Vol.1, P.318, Hari Ram Gupta).

3. The 9th Guru, Guru Teg Bahadur, was a victim of conspiracy of Kashmiri Pandits. If upper caste Sikhs were so honest why they did not come forward to pick up the head of Guru Teg Bahadur lying on the ground in Chandni Chawk?

MUGHALS WERE NOT ANTI-SIKH

What was the fault of Guru Arjun Dev? In my opinion his fault was that:

He attained a life style of a king

He became Guru

He wrote Guru Granth

He taught it to the masses

As per laws of Manu, a Brahmin could be only a Guru, a teacher, a king. But all actions of Guru Arjun Dev were against the laws of Manu.

5. None of the Mughals like Baber and Akbar ever penalised Sikh Gurus.

6. Both the Gurus Arjun Dev and Tej Bahadur were killed by sons of Hindu nazi princes. Their life could have been saved if Hindu nazi princes requested their sons and Aurangzeb not to kill them. But they could do because the behaviour of the Gurus was anti-Hindu. Because they were preaching equality, liberty and fraternity.

BEEF-EATING & SIKHS

Did Guru Gobind Singh ban beef-eating among the Sikhs, the answer is no. Cow is the mother of only Hindus while Sikhism is based on *na koi Hindu, na koi Musalman*. The Sikh Gurus adopted middle path. They did not give preference to any animal whether it is cow or other.

Hindus who live outside India eat pork and beef. Then why Sikhs are in love with cow which is not their

mother. The cow was not the mother of Hindus during the Vedic and Ramayan periods. Even today they do not respect their mother cow.

WHEN HINDUS ATE BEEF

We find plenty of references in *Rigveda* and *Valmiki Ramayan* that Hindus ate beef. Even Sita, wife of the Hindu god Rama, while crossing Ganga and Kalidi rivers

"promised to offer dishes mixed with rice and beef and alcoholic drink to goddess after returning to Ayodhya".

(*Valmiki Ramayan Ayodhakanda 52-09*).

Even today the mother cows are allowed to roam on busy streets without food or water. When the real mother of Hindu dies, they take her to river Ganges cremate her but when the mother cow dies the upper castes do not show the same reverses. Dead cows are found on the road, eaten by hungry dogs and other animals. Why the Aryans do not pay respect to their dead mother cow, like their own mother? Why they call a sweeper Untouchable to dispose the body of dead cow?

CONCLUSION

When the Aryans do not respect their mother cow why Sikh who are not Hindu are expected to worship the cow?

Hindu and Muslims and others were the disciples of Sikh Guru. Therefore, the sikh Gurus did *not give any performance to any animal including the cow.

As per Hindu scriptures, the god takes birth to protect Brahmins, cow and Devas. It does not take birth to protect Sikh, Muslim, Buddhist and Christians. There is no place for incarnation under Sikhism. Then why Sikh intellectuals are coming forward to protect the cow?

Cow-lovers are the killers of Sikh Gurus and more important the "Spirit of Sikhism" .

Merely by changing the dress (hair, *kachha, kada, kanga, kirpan*), a man does not become *khalsa* unless his mind is also changed. When we go through the matrimonial columns we find Jat Sikh, Saini Sikh, Ramgarhia Sikh, Amar Sikh, Khatri Sikh, Ramdassia Sikh, Mazhabi Sikh and so on. Why this is so? Are these some people or entire Sikh masses of this "Hindu mind" did not change despite continuous struggle for 250 years by Sikh gurus against this evil.

No Sikh Guru banned the meat of any animal because Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christians all were the disciples of Sikh Gurus. Mardana, a companion of Guru Nanak, was a Shia Muslim and ate beef. The foundation of Akal Takht was also laid by a Muslim, Mia Meer. There is mainly drawn from "low castes" (SC/BCs) who are all beef-eaters.

When Sikh Gurus launched their social revolutions against brahminism cow-worship is a anti-Sikh. So, Sikh history has to be reviewed because we find many inconsistencies with the philosophy of Sikh Gurus.

Guru Nanak defended meat-eating "by declaring that baby which drew nourishment from the mother virtually lived upon the flesh but he forbade the cow slaughter".

"Forbade" does not mean ban on beef. It appears to be a later interpretation because this is inconsistent with the basic philosophy of Sikhism based on *nai koi Hindu, na koi Musalman*.

Those "Sikh intellectuals" supporting cow-worship and threatening critics are applying double-standards. Why they are not criticising anti-Sikh behaviour of Sikhs who observe caste, eat other animals, like pig, lamb, chicken etc. and drink alcohol? Why they are not criticising Sikhs who are losing their *khalsa identity*? So, I request Sikh intellectual to

review Sikh history and launch a new "Sikh revolution" based on equality, liberty and fraternity.

Regarding the Letter of Sant Gurdial Singh, Principal of Ludhiana who commented on my article in DV Dec.1, 1999 p.8. Budha launched his revolution against the Brahmimical Social Order 2,500 years ago. Is there is any person of equal stature who launched a similar revolution against the BSO it was only Guru Nanak. He was not only a great revolutionary but also a great intellectual, a great liberator, a great humanist. A humble person like me dare not use any derogatory word against such a great revolutionary. A humanist, a

liberator is above any caste and he cannot be the personal property of any caste or section of the society. He becomes the property of the entire humanity. Hindus have been always hostile to Sikhs and 1984 Blue Star operation is the latest example of Hindu hatred of Sikhs. The Sant has not taken my article in the "Real spirit of Khalsa". For the knowledge of the Sant I am reproducing the extract from Sikh history. In one story called *Sakhi Sachcha Saudedi*, Guru Nanak is made to say:

"In Dwapar Yug, we worshipped God (Narankar). We completed our devotion (Bhakti). Then some low craving arose in our mind. This led to our birth in a

low class family of an oil prosser (Teli).
(*History of Sikhs*, Vol.1, P. 48, Hari Ram Gupta).

Whether Bala was a genuine person or not it is upto the Sikh intellectual to decide. But Dr. Trilochan Singh declares that Bala's *Janam Sakhi* is authenticated (*Sikh History*, Vol.1, p. 43, Hari Ram Gupta). I have no intention to hurt the sentiments of my Sikh brothers. If Sant thinks that my article in DV is contrary to what is written in Sikh and Hindu literature, he may respond suitably and ask for my unconditional apology. My intention was only to strengthen Sikhism and restoration of the "*Real Spirit of Sikhism*". ■

Sikhs are not Hindus but Guru Nanak hated no religion

PRINCIPAL GURDIAL SINGH, 179-MODEL GRAM, LUDHIANA - 141 002

I have gone through your writings on p.3 and 4 of Dec.16, 1999 issue of DV and also interpretation of *Gurbani* on p.23 of the Jan.16, 2000 issue. I think I have a right to disagree with what I find incorrect. On going through all these, I had a mind to see you in New Delhi for exchange of views. But my health stands in the way of long journey.

I have great regard for your services to Sikhs. You had to suffer physically in the Chandigarh jail for the sake of Sikhs. People like you do not get annoyed when honest criticisms are made.

Dr. R.P. Harsh article on p.8 of Dec.1, 1999 issue of DV. is quite contrary to the facts and the historic events. Any person writing something about the founders of a religion must first study their life and then only write. It is quite incorrect to say that Guru Nanak rejected the Vedas, Smritis. He rejected certain rituals and customs prevailing in those days. It is correct that he refused to wear the thread (*Janeeo*) and gave reasons for it. He preached the worship of one god, in place of many gods and goddesses. But he did not reject Sanskrit or any other language. He had no hatred against any religion. Dr. Harsh has neither studied the Sikh history nor the *Gurbani*. It is not necessary to separate Hinduism from Sikhism because it is already quite separate as Guru Nanak himself declared, *Na hum Hindu na Musalman, Allah*

Ram Ke Pind Pran. There are a number of books published proving that Sikhs are not Hindus. Sikhs belong to all and all belong to Sikh. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar had studied all the religions very carefully including Christianity, Islam and Buddhism but Dr. Harsh stands no where.

Guru Nanak was not called a Khatri. Hindus took him as an incarnation of God, a Guru, and Muslims took and respected him as their *peer*. There is a common saying:

"Nanak Shah Faqir
Hindu Ka Guru Muslim Ka Peer"

Historians differ here and there. Only great intellectuals understand the correct position. Dr. Harsh is ignorant when he says that in *Janam Sakhi*, Bhai Bala gives Guru's caste as Teli. *Janam Saakhi* was written by Bhai Bala. Our organisation has a number of books on Guru Nanak including *Janam Saakhi* but none of the readers of such books has tried to invent a new caste of Guru Nanak like Dr. Harsh. Will it be possible for him, to quote the correct name of *Janam Saakhi* and page number where the casteless Nanak has been described as a Teli by caste? I request the learned Editor of DV to kindly scrutinise the articles before publishing it. Efforts to tarnish the basic principles of Sikhism need not be given space in such a prestigious paper like *Dalit Voice*. ■

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