

DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities Denied Human Rights

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No. 13

ADVANI

DEFEATED : CASTE WAR IN BJP

Danger of
separate
Muslim party

Jalandhar
clash blot
on Sikhism

Definition of the term *Adivasis* :

THUS SPAKE AMBEDKAR

Thus Spake Ambedkar

Now, coming to the question of the scheduled tribes and as to why I substituted the word "scheduled" for the word "aboriginal", the explanation is this. As I said, the word "scheduled tribe" has a fixed meaning, because it enumerates the tribes, as you will see in the two Schedules. Well, the word "Adibasi" is really a general term which has no specific legal *de jure* connotation, something like the Untouchables, it is a general term. Anybody may include anybody in the term Untouchable. It has no definite legal connotation. That is why in the Government of India Act of 1935, it was felt necessary to give the word "Untouchable" some legal connotation and the only way it was found feasible to do it was to enumerate the communities which in different parts and in different areas were regarded by the local people as satisfying the test of untouchability. The same question may arise with regard to Adibasis. Who are the Adibasis? And the question will be relevant, because by this Constitution, we are conferring certain privileges, certain rights on these Adibasis. In order that, if the matter was taken to a court of law, there should be a precise definition as to who are these Adibasis, it was decided to invent, so to say, another category or another term to be called Scheduled tribes and to enumerate the Adibasis under that head. Now I think my friend, Mr. Jaipal Singh, if he were to take the several communities which are now generally described as Adibasis and compare the communities which are listed under the head of scheduled tribes, he will find that there is hardly a case where a community which is generally recognised as Adibasis is not included in the Schedule. I think, here and there, a mistake might have occurred and a community which is not an Adibasis community may have been included. It may be that a community which is really an Adibasi community has not been included, but if there is a case where a community which has hitherto been treated as an Adibasi Community is not included in the list of Scheduled tribes, we have added, as may be seen in the draft Constitution, an amendment whereby it will be permissible for the local government notification to add any particular community to the list of scheduled tribes which have not been so far included. I think that ought to satisfy my friend, Mr. Jaipal Singh. He asked me another question and it was this. Supposing a member of a Scheduled Tribe living in a scheduled area of a member of a scheduled tribe living in a tribal area migrates to another part of the territory of India, which is outside both the scheduled area and the tribal area, will he be able to claim from the local government, within whose jurisdiction he may be residing, the same privileges which he would be entitled to when he is residing

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Vol. 13, (pages 407 - 408) 1994, Rs. 190. Govt. of Maharashtra, Bombay. The book may be had from Director, Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay - 400 004.

Definition of the term *Adivasis*

within the scheduled area or within the tribal area? It is a difficult question for me to answer. If that matter is agitated in quarters where a decision on a matter like this would lie, we would certainly be able to give some answer to the question in the form of some clause in this Constitution. But, so far as the present Constitution stands, a member of a Scheduled Tribe going outside the scheduled area or tribal area would certainly not be entitled to carry with him the privileges that he is entitled to when he is residing in a scheduled area or a tribal area. So far as I can see, it will be practically impossible to enforce the provisions that apply to tribal areas or scheduled areas, in areas other than those which are covered by them.

Sir, I hope I have met all the points that were raised to this clause, and speakers when they spoke upon the amendments to this clause, and I believe that my explanation will give them satisfaction that all their points have been met. I hope that the article as amended will be accepted by the House.

Mr. Vice-President: I shall now put the amendments which have been moved, which number thirty, to the vote one by one.

(Following amendments were accepted by Dr. Ambedkar and were adopted by the House. Rest 28 amendments were negatived).

(i) "That in clause (1) of article 13, the words "subject to the other provisions of this article" be deleted".

(ii) That for clause (2) of article 13, the following be substituted:-

"(2) Nothing in sub-clause (a) of the clause (1) of this article shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it relates to, or prevent the State from making any law relating to libel, slander, defamation or any matter which offends against decency or morality or which undermines the security of, or tends to overthrow, the State".

(iii) "That with reference to amendment No.454 of the List of amendments — (i) in clauses (3), (4), (5) and (6) of article 13, after the words "any existing law" the words "in so far as it imposes" be inserted and (ii) in clause (6) of article 13, after the words "in particular" the words "nothing in the said clause shall be affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it prescribes or empowers any authority to prescribe, or prevent the State from making any law" be inserted."

(To be continued)

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Advani suffers another defeat : Caste war within Brahmana Jati Party

Truth never comes out in India because all the crimes committed by the ruling upper castes are either hushed up or sugar-coated by the media which again is a monopoly of the same rulers.

So the latest Vajpayee-Advani leadership controversy is again hushed up by the media which otherwise becomes very vocal and instantly "investigative" when it comes to our interests, say for example Laloo Prasad Yadav.

Venkaiah Naidu, the *shudra* Khamma slave of *vaidiks* from Hyderabad, who wormed up his way with the help of another *shudra* nazi leader, L.K. Advani, started the controversy to test the reaction inside this *vaidik*-dominated party with the full blessings of Advani. But the *vaidiks* who decide everything put the foot down and the *Shudra* Naidu was asked to shut up.

No doubt Advani, a very obedient *Ram Bhakta Hanuman*, is needed to do all the dirty work for the *Brahmana Jati Party* (BJP). The *Vaidik* Vajpayee is there as the boss only to enjoy the good things of life.

Breaking the Muslim back: The BJP is fully controlled by the RSS which is a 100% *vaidik* monopoly. But the *vaidiks* are feeling helpless. Nay, restless. They are impatient. They are not able to get what they want: *Hindu Rashtra*.

They want their party to rule on its own strength in Delhi getting rid of the present "dirty" coalition politics. Then only the *vaidiks* can impose their *vaidik* dictatorship by throwing the Dr. Ambedkar-made Constitution to the Arabian Sea. The one and the only person capable of doing this is Advani but he is not a *vaidik*. This is his problem.

Vajpayee is too old, incompetent and incapable of handling the upsurge of Dalits and Muslims. Only Advani is capable of this job. The Babri Masjid demolition, the Gujarat Genocide-2002 and many other incidents to break the Muslim back are Advani's splendid job. Togadia, Narendra Modi and such other nazi rabble-rousers are his *chelas*. Including the *shudra* Naidu. Advani is carefully building up his leadership.

Already Vajpayee has yielded quite a lot, including making him Dy. Prime Minister. Now Advani wants to become the PM after the election.

To become the PM, BJP has to win the elections. If Advani is projected as the PM, SC/ST/BC "tame animals" may get scared and go over to the Congress which means helping Mrs. Sonia Gandhi to become PM though they are sure their *vaidik jatwalas* inside the Congress will not allow the "Italian woman" to take over. This is not a big consolation. The *vaidiks* want

BJP to win and also want Vaidik Vajpayee to continue as PM.

Vaidik dilemma: If Vajpayee is projected as the PM candidate, he has the deceptive face to deceive the gullible "tame animals" but he does not possess the stamina of the young "Italian woman".

This is the dilemma facing the *vaidiks*. They are seriously worried. Advani has the energy which Vajpayee lacks to carry the burden of electioneering. If the BJP wins, he has the capacity to "finish" Muslims and Dalits, the twin bones in the throat of every *vaidik*. From every point of view Advani is the best choice.

But he will not take up all these risks and responsibilities unless he is projected as the PM. The *vaidiks* are not ready for it. Too much

confusion. Be that as it may, the Sindhi Khatri and his non-Brahmin *chelas* in BJP suffered yet another defeat. In this Brahmin-non-Brahmin caste war inside BJP, the *vaidiks* again won.

The "national" toilet papers will not disclose all the secrets about this "caste war" within the *Brahmana Jati Party*. Only DV can. ■

DV Edit Nov.16, 2002: Fear of Congress victory forces Hindu nazi party to jugglery: Vajpayee-Advani war stage-managed".

DV Edit Nov.1, 2002: "Brahmin-Nonbrahmin fight in Hindu nazi party: Vaidiks hoist M.M. Joshi against Advani."

DV Feb. 1, 2001 p.8: "Vaidiks crush another non-Brahmin revolt in Hindu nazi party".

DV Edit July 16, 2000: "Vaidiks deliberately fool Advani pushing him to extremism so that he doesn't succeed Vajpayee".

DV Nov. 1, 1999 p.3: "Advani bid to curb *vaidiks* in BJP".

DV Feb. 16, 1998 p.7: "Vajpayee-Advani rift reaches flash point" ■

COMMUNICATION

Threat to Editor's life

GURNAM SINGH MUKTSAR, 2 - BHAGAT SINGH NAGAR, B/H BUS STAND, MUKTSAR - 152 026

I have come to know of the Israeli Embassy warning to you (DV Feb. 1, 2003 p.13). I am deeply worried about this Zionist threat. In my several letters I had expressed my appreciation about your work. A missionary like you rarely takes birth in our Brahminical society which is our main enemy. We have to expose its treachery. For this we have to awaken our people and alert them to the danger. But we have no media to do this work at the all-India or international level. Your paper is the only one. You have built up *Dalit Voice* over the years like a dedicated missionary. So we want your services. Missionaries like you must have a long, active life but I hear about the latest threat of Zionists. I am deeply worried. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar's life was cut short by the Brahminical rulers. I don't want this to be

repeated in your case. So, in the interest of serving the society, you may have to make some tactical compromises. You may not agree with my suggestions as you are man of principle. But in the interest of Bahujan revolution, we need V.T. Rajshekar. In the interest of our society, please stoop to conquer. The Enemy we are facing is very powerful, deadly, ruthless, unscrupulous. I am much younger than you and hence not competent to advise. But I am taking this liberty in the interest of our society which needs V.T. Rajshekar. Without changing the spirit of *Dalit Voice*, please make necessary modifications. Brahminism is acquiring international support. So soften your words. Wait for the good days which will come soon. ■

Ready for dialogue

Formerly we had one Enemy — Brahminism. Now we have another, Zionism. We have received many letters, calls and warnings on this latest development. We are fully aware of the danger. The Zionist threat began with the World Trade Centre attack. It got aggravated after the Iraqi war in which we ruthlessly exposed the Zionist hand. We expected the Israeli Embassy in Delhi to be fair and just. We had

all praise for the work of many Jewish scholars like Leon Poliakov. We are not critics of Jews. We criticise only Zionists. We expected the Israeli Govt. to answer our question: "Why the Jewish victims of Brahminism, which inspired Hitler and his German nazis to kill them in thousands, joined hands with their very killers?" Dalits are victims of Brahminism. So too Jews. Naturally the Jews being such an awakened community should have joined with us. But the Israeli

Govt. was simply avoiding this question. We are ready for any reasonable dialogue. As for the threat to our life, it is beyond our control. We are not afraid of death. We have suffered all other punishments: sama, dana, beda. The last one, danda, is reserved. Cowards die many times before their death. But the hero dies only once. If the Enemy wants to make us a hero, why reject the offer? — EDITOR.

Blot on Sikhism : Jalandhar clash proves hinduisation of a revolutionary religion

V.T. RAJSHEKAR

When we, during the 1982-84 period when the Sikh struggle for self-determination in Punjab reached its peak, supported the movement there were some criticisms from the Dalits of Punjab. Even some Dalit Sikhs were not happy with our all-out support which finally culminated in our arrest under TADA (1986) and detention in the Chandigarh jail. (DV Edit Oct.1, 1986: "15-day in Chandigarh Jail: Pen is mightier than sword").

Our support to Sikhs was based on the well known principle of self-determination. *Dalit Voice* has been supporting every such struggle in the world for self-determination. The world-famous cases are of Palestinians, Tamils in Lanka, Kashmiris, Khurds etc.

No racism inside Punjab: Some Dalit leaders inside Punjab argued that the Sikhs were not the only people living inside Punjab. There were Dalits and also Dalit Sikhs who together formed a sizeable population. Though there was no racism inside Punjab because of the egalitarian Sikh religion, both upper caste Sikhs and upper caste Hindus did practise some caste discriminations against them. Caste was there in tact in Punjab including the Sikhs. But it lost its rigours because of the egalitarian principles of Sikhism. The Sikhs are not a homogenous community. There is no inter-marriage. *Gurdwaras* are separate.

Bhindranwale assurance: But we tried to convince the Dalits then saying that we had received an assurance from Sant Bhindranwale, just declared a martyr by the highest Sikh religious body, that once the Sikhs established their "nation" separate from the Hindus, the interests of the Sikh Dalits and Dalits would be protected. It was a solemn assurance and the Sant had the authority and the stature to give such an assurance.

It was because of this assurance the Dalits and Dalit Sikhs of Punjab did not openly oppose the Sikh nationality struggle. But it was the Hindus of Punjab who violently opposed the Sikhs and finally used the state power itself to launch the "Blue Star Operation" (1984) in which Sant Bhindranwale was killed.

Surrender to Hindus: So much was the DV support for Sikhs that not only we were arrested under TADA and jailed at Chandigarh, but we brought out a document itself. (*The Birth Pangs of Khalistan*, DSA - 1985). Our support to Sikh self-determination was sincere and total.

The Brahminical forces killed the Sant, broke the backbone of the Sikh struggle, murdered thousands of dedicated, innocent Sikhs. But what happened? The Sikhs simply surrendered to Hindus and their Sikh political party, Akali Dal, joined hands with the *Brahmana Jati Party* (BJP).

It is the Sikhs who surrendered to the Brahminical forces. But *Dalit Voice* did not. It is the Sikhs who forgot the Editor and the *Dalit Voice* and the promises given to us by Sardar Sukhdev Singh Dhindsa, general secretary of the Akali Dal, who had met us in the jail.

Are Sikhs a nation: However, our support to the Sikh nation's struggle for self-determination continues because the support is based on the well known principle of nationality question. But the question is are the Sikhs a "nation"?

The Debate that is going on in *Dalit Voice* for the past several years has shown that the nation-formation among Sikhs is not complete. The Sikh religion is great. There are no two opinions on this. It was founded and strengthened by great gurus who wanted to forge Sikhs into a "nation" but the upper caste Arora, Khatri and Jat Sikhs who joined Sikhism carried their caste into the revolutionary religion and built human barricades obstructing the nation-formation. All these things have come out during the DV Debate on "*Slow death of Sikhism*". The Debate is five years old.

Clash over gurdwara: For the first time in the recent history of Punjab such barricades became very clearly visible when Jalandhar exploded in bloody caste violence on June 5, 2003 in a clash between Jat Sikhs and Dalits in the nearby Talhan village. The cause of the clash was the tussle between the two castes over a cash-rich grave of a Sufi saint with Rs. 5-crore annual income. The shrine was being managed by the Jat Sikhs but the majority Dalits of the village wanted it to be the property of the whole village. This was opposed by the Jat Sikhs saying it was a *gurdwara*. This led to a pitched battle between the two castes. The police were silent favouring the Jat Sikhs.

Press reports said such a clash between the Sikhs and Dalits was unprecedented in Punjab which hardly witnessed any communal or caste clashes.

Sikhism is close to Islam and was founded to liberate Dalits and other oppressed sections from Brahminism. Jat Sikhs, who today are the controllers of Sikhism in

Punjab, committed a grave and unpardonable crime against Sikhism by violating their religious principles.

Dalits and Dalit Sikhs were not happy with the Sikh struggle for a separate nation. Yet they did not publicly oppose it during the crucial 1982-84 peak militancy period.

Loving the very killers: Brahminical forces have infiltrated deep into the Sikh society. Not only that. Sikhs have failed to resist the Brahminical bid to *hinduise* them. It is such a *hinduisation* of the Sikhs that led to the Jalandhar clash.

After the "Blue Star", the upper caste Sikhs did not retaliate against the Brahminical forces that killed thousands of Sikhs. Instead the Sikhs started tormenting the Dalits and Dalit Sikhs. Instead of gaining confidence of Dalits, the Sikhs went with their very killers.

The Hindus had earlier driven out the Muslims from Punjab during the partition (1947) and made the Sikhs to kill the fleeing Muslims. Later, these Sikhs failed to take revenge on the murder of Sant Bhindranwale and other thousands of Sikhs. Did they not prove to be traitors to their own great Sikh saint, Sant Bhindranwale, who is considered next only to Guru Govind Singh? Finally they surrendered to the Hindus calling Sikhism as branch of Hinduism.

It is this gradual *hinduisation* (enslavement) of the brave Sikhs that finally culminated in the Jalandhar riots. What a shame on Sikhs and Sikhism. We have many committed, honest upper caste Sikhs who are deeply pained by the "*Fall and slow death of Sikhism*". So, we can't blame the Sikh religion for the shameful Jalandhar act. It is the corrupted and co-opted *hinduised* Sikhs who brought the shame on the entire Sikh society.

In the light of these developments we call upon our sincere, upper caste Sikh Brothers in Punjab and outside to immediately go in for a major surgical operation of Sikh society by taking into confidence both Dalits and Dalit Sikhs who have been consistently fighting Brahminism.

Already, the Brahminical forces have called off their battle against Sikhs after the 1986 "Blue Star Operation" which secured the surrender of Sikhs. They no longer consider Sikhs hostile to Hindus. Rather, they say Sikhs are also Hindu. But the Sikhs are silent. Only the Muslim and Christians remain on the Hindu hit list. If such a great, revolutionary religion that once terrorised the Hindus ends up so ignominiously and upper caste Sikhs can be so willingly melted and moulded within the Hindu steel frame, can there be a greater Sikh betrayal of Guru Nanak, Guru Govind Singh and Sant Bhindranwale? ■

DV Editor's meeting with Sant Bhindranwale

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: We congratulate the Sikhs and their apex religious body, Shiromani Gurdwara Prabhandak Committee (SGPC) for declaring Sant Jarnail Singh Bhindranwale as a martyr at the Golden Temple, Amritsar, on June 6, 2003 - though this highest honour for a Sikh leader who sacrificed so much to liberate the community comes 19 years after his death.

The Sant is considered next only to Guru Govind Singh by the Sikhs though the Brahminical society (BSO) which waged the **Blue Star Operation** to kill him and his movement for self-determination continues to call him a traitor.

One nation's traitor is another nation's hero. M.K. Gandhi was called a traitor by the British but the Hindus hailed as **mahatma**.

EDITOR PROVES RIGHT

Our Editor had the unique privilege of meeting this great saint about two years before his martyrdom in Delhi. The meeting was arranged by some Sikh friends to seek the Dalit support for the Sikh struggle. We offered him full support on the condition that he should avoid armed fight.

The fight against Brahminism was essentially intellectual and but not physical. But the Sant disagreed and what followed was now history. The Editor proved right.

The Editor also requested the Sant

to purify the Sikh religion by purging the Hindu poison injected into his religion. The Sant admitted that the Sikhs were getting **hinduised** and that he would fight against such forces inside simultaneously along with his war against Hindus. Here also he failed.

On the day **Blue Star** was launched under the leadership of two **vaidik** army generals and the Sant was killed, our Editor wept like a child and decided to offer a fitting tribute to the brave Sant. The result was our document, **Birth Pangs of Khalistan**, dedicated to Sant Bhindranwale. (Copies sold out any offer to reprint it is welcome).

Aryans finally admit existence of caste as a "nation"

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: The talk of reservations is in the air. For the first time the Brahmins and other upper castes (Aryans/Hindus) have admitted the existence of caste when they demanded caste-based reservation to their Aryan **jatis**. This is a welcome development.

There may be some difference between the Bahujan demand for reservation and that of the Aryans. But the difference is minor.

CREAMY LAYER MISCHIEF

All these years the Aryans used to deny the very existence of caste and assert that SC/ST/BCs were all Hindus and brothers and that India was a "nation". When Mandal reservations were announced in the early 90s, the Aryans launched a violent agitation against BCs and also SCs and opposed caste-based reservations.

Their **mantra** then was merit-based reservation which prompted us to come out with our booklet **Merit, My Foot** (DSA-1987).

The Supreme Court, which like all other institutions in India is also loaded with choicest Aryans, extended its helping hand to their **jatwalas**, propounding the mischievous "creamy layer theory".

After a two and a half decade-long fight, the Aryans finally admitted their defeat - of course without saying so. How do we say they are defeated?

All these years they were not prepared for caste-based reservation. Their formula was poverty-based reservations which is not provided in the Constitution.

Now for the first time they have come round to caste-based reservation though there is mix of mischief in this also. They want a quota for the upper castes but the "poor" among them. This is the mischief.

DEEP LOVE OF JATI

The Aryans in the **Brahmana Jati Party** and also in the Congress, the original brahminical party of India, are all agog over this new formula. The **Vaidik Vajpayee** is so overjoyed. Look how deep is their love for their **jati**.

Be that as it may, we welcome the Aryan belated realisation that caste is a fact of life and that reservations must indeed be caste-based.

The upper caste mischief in this caste-based quota for the upper caste "poor", however, goes against the Constitution which does not recognise "poverty" as the cause for deprivation. Only the SC/ST/BCs are deprived. Even if they become "rich".

The upper castes even if they are "poor", they are not deprived.

Poverty is no problem in India. The SC/ST/BCs are oppressed by the Aryans not because they are "poor" but because of their **jati**.

That means to incorporate the Aryan mischief it needs an amendment to the Constitution which is a difficult job.

WOMEN'S QUOTA

Did not the Women's quota Bill fall repeatedly in the Lok Sabha because the MPs scented the Aryan mischief? The same mischief is now found in the quota for the upper caste "poor".

Anyway we are happy that the Aryans, so far hiding the stinking caste under their carpet, have finally admitted that there is a stink. They are not ready to dismantle their caste system to get rid of this stink.

The only permanent solution to get rid of this stink is to give reservation to each **jati** in proportion to its population by recognising the existence of caste which DV has already proved as a **Nation Within the Nation**.

(V.T. Rajshekar: **Caste - A Nation Within the Nation**, Books for Change - 2002).

Conspiracy behind reservations to upper caste "poor"

DR. V.D. CHANDANSHIVE, COTTAGE VAISHALI, SHAHU NAGAR, NANDED - 431 602

A dangerous talk of giving reservations on the basis of "economic backwardness" to upper castes has started with Rajasthan Chief Minister Ashok Gehlot demanding a 14% quota. It is interesting to know that he is a Congressman. May be it is a ploy to retain the Congress rule in Rajasthan in coming elections. It is again interesting to know that Ashok Gehlot does not belong to the upper caste. Similar demands from other states are pouring. After the Prime Minister's assurance to set up a commission to study the viability to allot quota to the upper caste "poor", the trend has picked up.

The basic building brick of the Indian society is caste and subcaste. Not only poverty but also social and educational backwardness prevails in all castes and subcastes. The Indian caste system has racial overtones but this has been intentionally overlooked by the Hindu rulers who want to bundle up the entire society under the dubious word Hindu. The racial approach to caste system (read V.T. Rajshekar's book, *Caste — A Nation Within the Nation*, Books for Change, 2002) has clear-cut revelation of two kinds of castes: the first kind is of those Aryan castes who have been enjoying all kinds of privileges and who are called upper castes (a minority of just 15%). The second are the non-Aryan castes nearly 65-70% of Indian population (popularly know as Bahujan Samaj).

Racism in India: The UN has also taken note of racism in India. The non-Aryan castes have been reduced to subhuman level and beset with all kinds of problems. As compared to the non-Aryan castes, the Aryan "poor" have virtually no problems. But they are to be given 14% (they are just 15%) reservations in Rajasthan. Whereas the 70% Bahujan Samaj has been clamouring for 50% reservations and its implementation. But this has been neglected since a long time.

What is the logic behind providing 14% reservations to the Aryan poor? The logic and the mind-set is the same as providing 33% reservations to women without the caste break-up of women in the Indian society. Reservations to whom? Their answer is it is for women. If you ask: which women? They have no answer. The same mindset works behind the 14% reservations for the Aryan "poor". If you ask: which poor high castes, they have no answer. This is happening despite abrogation of reservations brought by Hindu rulers on

the alibi of LPG (liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation).

The Hindu rulers have already cornered the private sector particularly the IT industry. They have not yet published the statistics of how many Indians have taken up jobs in foreign countries in private sector. No statistics on Indians in our private sector and their caste details. Now by giving 33% plus 14% (47%) reservations to women and "high caste poor" respectively, whose share of services are they going to eat up? Already the backlog of SC/ST/OBC reservations has piled up. Creation of new posts has been stalled. Jobs advertised to fill up the backlog are being postponed repeatedly. Future jobs will have to be filled up with backlog. Will they be filled up sincerely? General elections are nearing.

Benefit to Brahmins: By taking to poverty yardstick within the caste, the Brahmins want to appropriate reservations in the name of "upper caste poor" and also in the name of women. The 70-80% Brahmin monopoly in services has been disturbed by 27.5% reservations of OBCs. Thanks to Mandal Commission. Reservations to SC/ST/OBCs are given on caste basis. Why? Because caste is the only parameter available to measure the true poverty of a social group in India. If caste criterion is not applied, the magnitude of poverty cannot be gauged. It is clear from the moves of Hindu rulers that they want to make good the loss of their monopoly in bureaucracy by giving 33% and 14% reservations to women (high caste women) and the upper caste poor.

The Indian Constitution has made caste as the base to the reservation policy. Mandal, very categorically, mentioned caste unit as a measure for OBC quota. There cannot be two opinions about giving a quota of services to "upper caste poor". But the problem lies in economic criterion. Let the upper caste "poor" also be given the quota on the caste basis so that no "clever" caste can manipulate the facility. In fact all castes, including religious minorities should be given reservations in proportion to their population. That is the only means available to impart social justice in caste-ridden India.

This conspiracy of Hindu rulers should be condemned outright.

Muslim interests safe with regional parties: Beware of Brahminical trap

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There is much talk of forming an all-India Muslim political party. Some Delhi Muslims are behind it. For over 50 years Muslim elites and moulanas from the *Aryavarta* (Delhi/UP) tried to serve Islam as against Muslims and for this purpose they created various brands of doctrinaire Islam making Islam itself as a big divisive force. Each group hated and opposed the other while the moulanas, their *jamats* and adherents and the elites and their associations went away from the mainstream. Muslim masses remained stubborn, unconcerned content with the Islam prevailing in the society and inherited from their ancestors. They totally rejected the various brands of Islam sought to be projected by different *jamats*. This resulted in total failure of the Muslim leadership and organisations particularly in the *Aryavarta*. The only left-over asset of the Muslims after 1947 was the Muslim faith in Islam, which was fully exploited.

Wise Dalits & BCs: Beaten by the Congress party — the hidden enemy of Muslims — and totally ignoring the open enemy, *Brahmana Jati Party* (BJP), both with all-India (national) aspirations, Muslims found themselves pulverised. Dalits and Backward Castes who suffered more than the Muslims at the hands of the ruling Brahminic clique took into account the changing scenario and realised both their potential and weakness. Potential of their large numbers and weakness of their regional division. Once this realisation came they formed regional parties — DMK, RJD, SP, BSP, JMM, PMK etc., their co-sufferers, Muslim masses, also joined these parties and today over 90% of them are with regional and caste-based parties. The national parties had to retreat and the era of coalition politics started. Day by day, India is going on the regional road map as against the all-India road map. This is because India is not a "nation" but a country of many "nations".

The extraordinary political consciousness and sagacity of the Muslim masses and the Islamic teaching of support and co-ordination with neighbours shifted from all-India to regional, rather constituency-level. The Muslim vote-bank shifted from the Congress to regional parties. Both Congress and BJP got worried. Both being Brahminic, they wisely concluded that it is not possible to cash the rich Muslim vote-bank and,

therefore, it must be crushed and pauperised. That is why both are encouraging the formation of a Muslim political party to split and weaken the Muslim support to regional and caste-based parties which will be order the day in future. These feelers were well projected during the Gujarat Genocide-2002. Elites after elites and moulanas after moulanas from the *Aryavarta* were invited to their latest indoctrinating centres — the live talk shows on TV and words to this effect put into their mouths. And the gullibles fell into the trap.

Ignorance of demography: The promoters of Muslim party are not at all talking of demographic factors, constituency-wise Muslim percentage, caste factors, caste alliances, regional aspirations and the like which decide every election results. They are giving only hypothetical, emotional and quixotic arguments.

If they are sincere in forming a Muslim political party, they should know that Muslims already have the Indian Union Muslim League and its Kerala unit is already a ruling party in Kerala since 40 years and has 3 MPs.

If they are shy of the phrase Muslim League there is the *Ittihadul Muslimeen* in AP which also has one MP and many MLAs. The National Conference of Kashmir, though with the adjective national, is actually a Muslim party. Why not adopt these parties instead of going for a new party? It is because the leadership of these three parties is from non-*Aryavarta* regions and, therefore, not worthy of all-India label. Or according to them these regions are not part of India? If an all-India party of the *Aryavarta* Muslims comes up it has the potential to weaken the above three parties also. And consequently the Brahminical Congress and BJP will be the beneficiaries.

All those behind forming a new party for the Muslims must know that the days of "national" parties are numbered. Muslim security and future is with regional and caste-based parties. The leadership and ideology of which is highly sensitive, liberal, original and accommodative.

Muslims of the South and East will not fall into the trap as they are very conscious and farther away from Delhi/UP *walas*. But the Muslims of UP, Bihar, Gujarat and Rajasthan must be very careful. ■

Jewish stranglehold on Bush Govt. makes Muslims hate America

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Pat Buchanan, the former US Presidential candidate and a prominent member of the US Republican Party, has in an extraordinary article in the March 24, 2003 issue of the *American Conservative* exposed what many of you will have suspected: this war against Iraq has precious little to do with liberating the people of Iraq from Saddam but a lot to do with securing the interests of Israel and its friends. (http://www.amconmag.com/03_24_clover.html#anchorWhoseWar?)

In a rare moment in US journalism, Tim Russert put this question directly to Richard Perle:

"Can you assure American viewers.. that we're in this situation against Saddam Hussein and his removal for American security interests? And what would be the link in terms of Israel?"

ISRAELI CONNECTION

Suddenly, the Israeli connection is on the table and the War Party is not amused. Finding themselves in an unanticipated firelight, our neo-conservative (the name assumed by the Jewish lobby) friends are doing what comes naturally, seeking student deferments from political combat by claiming the status of a persecuted minority group. People who claim to be writing the foreign policy of the world superpower, one would think, would be a little more mainly in the school-yard of politics. Not so. A passionate attachment to Israel is a key tenet of neo-conservatism.

Lawrence Kaplan of the *New Republic* charges that our little magazine "has been transformed into a forum for those who contend that President Bush has become a

client of... Ariel Sharon and the neoconservative war party".

Referencing Charles Lindbergh, he accuses Paul Schroeder, Chris Matthews, Robert Novak, Georgie Anne Geyer, Jason Vest of the Nation, and Gary Hart of implying that "members of the Bush team have been doing Israel's bidding and by extension, exhibiting dual loyalties".

CRITICS CALLED ANTI-SEMITE

Since Israel's founding in 1948, these thinkers have never been in very good odor at the State Department, but now they are well ensconced in the Pentagon, around such strategists as Paul Wolfowitz, Richard Perle and Douglas Feith.

Perle, Wolfowitz, and Feith are members of a pro-Israel network inside the administration, says David Wurmser of the Defense Department and Elliott Abrams of the National Security Council. (Abrams is the son-in-law of Norman Podhoretz, editor emeritus of the *Commentary*, whose magazine has for decades branded critics of Israel as anti-Semites).

When the cold war ended, these neoconservatives (Neo-Cons) began casting about for a new crusade to give meaning to their lives. On Sept.11 their time came. They seized on that horrific atrocity to steer America's rage into all-out war to destroy their despised enemies, the Arab and Islamic "rogue states" that have resisted US hegemony and loathe Israel.

The war party's plan, however, had been in preparation far in advance of 9/11. And when President Bush, after defeating the Taliban, was looking for a new front in the war on terror, they put their precooked meal in front of him. Bush dug into it.

Before introducing the script-writers of America's future wars, consider the rapid and synchronized reaction of the Neo-Cons to what happened after that fateful day.

On Sept.12, Americans were still in shock when Bill Bennett told CNN that we were in a "struggle between good and evil", that the Congress must declare war on "militant Islam", and that "overwhelming force" must be used. Bennett cited Lebanon, Libya, Syria, Iraq, Iran and China as targets for attack. Not, however, Afghanistan, the sanctuary of Osama's terrorists. How did Bennett know which nations must be smashed before he had any idea who attacked us?

ULTIMATUM TO BUSH

The *Wall Street Journal* immediately offered up a specific target list, calling for US air strikes on "terrorist camps in Syria, Sudan, Libya and Algeria and perhaps even in parts of Egypt". Yet, not one of Bennett's six countries, nor one of these five, had anything to do with 9/11.

On Sept.15, according to Bob Woodward's *Bush at War*, "Paul Wolfowitz put forth military arguments to justify a US attack on Iraq rather than Afghanistan". Why Iraq? Because, Wolfowitz argued in the war Cabinet, while "attacking Afghanistan would be uncertain.. Iraq was a brittle oppressive regime that might break easily. It was doable".

On Sept.20, 40 Neo-Cons sent an open letter to the White House instructing President Bush on how the war on terror must be conducted. Signed by Bennet, Podhoretz, Kirkpatrick, Perle, Kristof and the *Washington Post* columnist Charles Krauthammer, the letter was an

ultimatum. To retain the signer's support, the president was told, he must target Hezbollah for destruction, retaliate against Syria and Iraq if they refuse to sever ties to Hezbollah, and overthrow Saddam. Any failure to attack Iraq, the signers warned Bush "will constitute an early and perhaps decisive surrender in the war on international terrorism".

Here was a cabal of intellectuals telling the Commander-in-Chief, nine days after an attack on America, that if he did not follow their war plans, he would be charged with surrendering to terror. Yet, Hezbollah had nothing to do with 9/11. What had Hezbollah done? Hezbollah had humiliated Israel by driving its army out of Lebanon.

PERLE AS THE CHIEF VILLAIN

President Bush had been warned. He was to exploit the attack of 9/11 to launch a series of wars on Arab regimes, none of which had attacked us. All, however, were enemies of Israel. "Bibi" Netanyahu, the former Prime Minister of Israel, like some latter-day Citizen Genet, was ubiquitous on American TV, calling for us to crush the "empire of terror. The "empire" is turns out, consisted of Hamas, Hezbollah, Iran, Iraq, and the Palestinian enslave.

Nasty as some of these regimes and groups might be, what had they done to the US?

What these Neo-Cons seek is to conscript American blood to make the world safe for Israel. They want the peace of the sword imposed on Islam and American soldiers to die if necessary to impose it.

The Neo-Cons seek American empire and Sharonites seek hegemony over the Middle-East. The two agendas coincide precisely. And though Neo-Cons insist that it was Sept.11 that made the case for war on Iraq and militant Islam, the origins of their war plans go back far before. The principal draftsman is Richard

Perle, an aide to Sen. Scoop Jackson.

In the Perle-Feith-Wurmser strategy, Israel's enemy remains Syria but the road to Damascus runs through Baghdad. Their plan, which urged Israel to reestablish "the principle of preemption", has now been imposed by Perle, Feith, Wurmser & CO. on the United States. In his own 1997 paper, "A strategy for Israel", Feith pressed Israel to reoccupy "the areas under Palestinian Authority control" though "the price in blood would be high."

ANTI-SEMITIC CARD

About the Perle-Feith-Wurmser cabal, author Michael Lind writes: The radical Zionist right to which Perle and Feith belong is small in number but it has become a significant force in Republican policy-making circles. It is a recent phenomenon, dating back to the late 1970s and 1980s, when many formerly Democratic Jewish intellectuals joined the broad Reagan coalition. While many of these hawks speak in public about global crusades for democracy, the chief concern of many such Neo-Cons is the power and reputation of Israel.

As the Neo-Cons have played the anti-Semitic card, they will not hesitate to play the Munich card as well. A year ago, when Bush called on Sharon to pull out of the West Bank, Sharon fired back that he would not let anyone do to Israel what Neville Chamberlain had done to the Czechs. Frank Gaffney of the Center for Security Policy immediately backed up Ariel Sharon: With each passing day, Washington appears to view its principal Middle-Eastern ally's conduct as inconvenient — in much the same way London and Paris came to see Czechoslovakia's resistance to Hitler's offers of peace in exchange for Czech lands.

If Bush cannot support Sharon there can be no peace. And if there is no

peace in the Mideast there is no security for us, ever — for there will be no end to terror. As most every diplomat and journalist who travels to the region will relate, America's failure to be even-handed, our failure to rein in Sharon, our failure to condemn Israel's excesses, and our moral complicity in Israel's looting of Palestinian lands and denial of their right to self-determination sustains the anti-Americanism in the Islamic world in which terrorists and terrorism breed.

US and Israel interests are not identical. They often collide, and when they do, US interests must prevail. Moreover, we do not view the Sharon regime as "America's best friend".

INTIFADA

Since the time of Ben Gurion, the behaviour of the Israeli regime has been Jekyll and Hyde. In the 1950s, its intelligence service, the Mossad, had agents in Egypt blow up US installations to make it appear the work of Cairo, to destroy US relations with the new Nasser government. During the six day war, Israel ordered repeated attacks on the undefended *USS Liberty* that killed 34 American sailors and wounded 171 and included the machine-gunning of life rafts. This massacre was neither investigated nor punished by the US Government in an act of national cravenness.

Though we have given Israel \$20,000 for every Jewish citizen, Israel refuses to stop building the settlements that are the cause of the Palestinian *intifada*. Likud has dragged our good name through the mud and blood of Ramallah, ignored Bush's requests to restrain itself, and sold US weapons technology to China, including the Patriot, the Phoenix air-to-air missile, and the Lavi fighter, which is based on F-16 technology. Only direct US intervention blocked Israel's sale of our AWACS system. ■

Letters to Editor

Michael Palmer, (13827-016), United States Penitentiary, PO Box - 1000, Lewisburg, PA 17837, USA: I am interested in announcing in your revolutionary journal that I am a fair-complexioned 6" with brown eyes, who is of Jamaican parents born in England, presently incarcerated in the United States on a drug conspiracy. I am trying to meet a female who will not mind exchanging letters. My grandmother is from India. I love India. So, please if its not too much. I patiently await a response to my request.

Naveed Hussain, 2425 - LarkDrive, Montgomery, AL-36108, USA: Many thanks for publishing the article "*Destroying identity is master plan of Brahminism for 21st century*" (DV May 1, 2003 p.22). However, there was a reference in your Editorial about "women human bombers. Muslims are sharply divided on this issue. I need a proper clarification and explanation on this issue. Islam does not encourage suicide hence some Muslims condemn this way of war in Palestine as a last resort. For others this is a way of warfare and such people are heroes and martyrs. I neither discourage nor encourage human bombs. I request DV and our Muslim religious *ulemas* to clarify this point with examples from authentic sources and traditions. The matter has become so serious that this subject needs clarification. I want the Islamic Academy of Comparative Religion, Hyderabad, to bring out a pamphlet on this issue and also report it in DV for the benefit of DV readers.

Dr. Anwar Ul Haque, 116 St. 49F 11/3, Islamabad, Pakistan - 44000: A German ex-Chancellor was murdered in an accident fashion. His fault? He raised voice against Israel. When Diana tried to marry a Muslim, she was killed in an accident form. A poison (antihistamine-like drug) was added to the drink of her driver. Even after the so-called accident Diana was not dead and a pneumonectomy could have saved her life so she was let bleed to death. American President John F. Kennedy was shot to death and his murderer was also killed. Recently Rachel Corrie was killed by zionists and yet the entire USA remained dumb and deaf. The *USS Liberty* was attacked by Israel and the US Congress did not dare investigate despite all requests by a US Admiral. All this shows that the world is under the tight grip of the zionists. Some world leaders like Putin are zionists while others are slave servants of the zionists. These dogs have zionist chains in their necks e.g. Bush, Blair, Musharraf, leaders of Arab countries etc. Some of these act as enemy of zionists e.g. Saddam, Qaddafi, Yaser Arafat etc. As the zionists have changed the Bible over

centuries. Saint Paul being the first zionist killing the message of Jesus by inventing the sword of Jesus worship. His schizophrenic approach (kill the message through personality glorification) was quite successful. The Bible had lost all its motivating power due to enormous change made by zionists. The Quran on the other hand had saved the original Torah and Injeel and even protected the true accounts of the personalities of Moses, David, Solomon, Mary and Jesus. Zionists are, therefore, after the Quran. Sometimes they through their agents like Mustafa Kamal Pasha were able to change the script of the language from Arabic to English so that the masses may not be able to read the Quran some times they carry out terrorism and put the blame on Muslims eg. Putin destroyed two buildings in Moscow to create justification to attack Chechnya. WTC was attacked twice by zionists and blame was put on Islam and Muslims. The WTC attack provided justification to attack Afghanistan and re-open the heroin mafia for CIA and Israeli cover operations which Taliban had blocked. So the murder of ex-German minister, Juergen Moellemann, did not surprise anyone who had little knowledge of zionist operations. His parachute simply did not open. When a Christian leader of Lebanon wanted to give witness about Sharon's role in killing thousands of innocent human beings in Shatilla and Sabira camp his car was blown off killing him. Moellemann was the loudest advocate of the Arab cause and he even issued an anti-Israeli leaflet during last years elections. This was all because he had a mind that could think. He realized the Israeli atrocities and voiced against them. However, as usual the Israelis wanted to keep his mouth shut, so they simply murdered him in way that will look like an accident. Few people know that Hitler and zionists cooperated in killing several thousand poor Jews in order to create a terror among Jews and forced them to migrate to Palestine. All efforts to settle those Jews in Australia, America etc. were vehemently blocked by the zionists. Germany was then and today under strict zionist control. Germany is under Israel's control and does not have a say of their own. Germany, prior to killing him, suspended his immunity. The only way people who can stand up again and against the zionists and save this world from them are the Muslims. (pathowiz@yahoo.com)

Dheeman Chandradhwaj Majhi, President, Dist. Dalit Jati Bikash Parishad, Nabarangpur - 764 059: After a long ideological war with the district collector and the addl. tahasildar of Nabrangpur dt., we were able to get a "religion certificate" of Budhism from the govt. to Manaj Kumar Deep, our vice-president (vide RMC No.141/2003 dt. 02.05.2003). He is the first person in the whole

of Orissa to get such a certificate. Our legal adviser, R. Srinivas Rao, founder of the Orissa Dalit Samaj, helped us in our battle.

Manjoor Gopalan, Kanakkary PO, Kerala - 686 632: This refers to your famous Editorial of June 1, 2002 ("*Who is enemy of Dalits: Brahmins or Backwards? Babasaheb thoughts distorted to confuse Dalits & Muslims*") and the article of Nagesh Chaudhary in DV March 16, 2003 (*Vaidik brain behind Backward Caste violence against Dalits*). Some mischievous Dalit writers have launched a new theory saying that Brahmins are not the enemies of Dalits but the Backward Castes. Such stooges of the upper castes want to divide the Dalits and BCs and then make them fight. Both Dalits and BCs are the original inhabitants of India. The famous historian, Gustav Oppert, has said in his book, *The Dravidians* (Asin Ed. Sciences, PO Box 4534, New Delhi - 110016) that the Dalits and BCs are the original inhabitants of India. They are blood brothers. Racially they are one and the same. Their colour, feature, shape etc. are the same. Their physique, culture and style of living are the same. Nagesh Chaudhary says:

"The Mandal Commission united the Dalits and BCs in the 90s. Dalits gave whole-hearted support to the Mandal Commission. In many places Dalits led the agitation for Mandal implementation. It was this unity which frightened the Brahminic forces who then conspired to break this unity."

Before the invasion of Aryans, there was no caste system or untouchability in India. Jonathan Duncan, in his book, *Remarks on the Caste of Malabar*, says that:

A Nayar may approach a Namboodiri Brahmin but must not touch him, a Tiyan (toddy-drawer) must remain 36 paces off, a Malayan (i.e. Penan, exorcist basket-maker) must remain three or four paces farther, a Pulayan (cultivator and Untouchable) must keep 96 paces from a Brahmin. A Tiyan must not come within 12 paces of a Nayar; a Malayan (Panam) must keep 3 or 4 paces farther off, and a Pulayan must still keep his 96 from a Nayar as well as a Brahman. A Panam may approach but not touch, a Tiyan, but a Pulayan must not even approach a Panam" (*Caste In India*, J.H. Hutton, p.69).

Dr. Ambedkar says:

The whole tradition of the Hindus is to recognise the Untouchable as a separate element and insist upon it as fact. The traditional terminology of the Hindus to distinguish Hindus and Untouchables furnishes the best evidence in favour of the contention of the Untouchables. According to this traditional terminology, Hindus are called *Savarnas* and the untouchables are called *Avarnas*. It speaks of the Hindu

as Chathurvarnikas and of the Untouchables as Panchamas. (W&S Vol. 9 p.184).

The Dalits and BCs (*Avarnas*) cannot join with the upper castes since they are *savarnas*. Our Editor says:

"The Black Untouchables were never completely assimilated into the Aryan (Hindu) culture. All over India, they have their own gods, shrines, food habits and cultural identities, despite the fact that they also worship Hindu gods. The hatred and violence constantly manifested against Black Untouchables to the present time is a clear sign that the war between the invaders and the original sons of the soil continues even today". (*Dalit — The Black Untouchables of India*, p.44).

Our Editor raises some questions in his above-referred editorial:

"Can the wolf and the lamb sleep together? Can oil and water mix? Can Aryans and Dravidas become friends?"

The answer to the questions will surely be negative. The Dalits and BCs cannot join with the upper castes. As a principle the proposed alliance between the Dalit and Brahmin will be disastrous. Sister Mayawati (BSP) became the Chief Minister for the third time on May 3, 2002 with the support of the BJP. Considering the importance of the political power as emphasised by Dr. Ambedkar, the action of Sister Mayawati can be appreciated. In some parts of our country atrocities on Dalits had been committed by BCs at the behest of the Brahminical forces. Our Editor says:

"The problem of exclusive adherence to caste struggle is that the beneficiaries of such a struggle will soon join the ranks of exploiters and start attacking the castes lower below the hierarchy. This is what is happening in Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and elsewhere also". (*Class-Caste Struggle: Emerging Third Force*, DSA 1980, p.20).

The *hindutva* forces are trying to convert the Dalits and BCs as their slaves. At this juncture the intellectuals and writers from Dalits and BCs have to explain the consequences of becoming stooges of the upper castes. The uneducated Dalits and BCs have to be enlightened that the *trishuls* will never liberate them. The *trishuls* can in no way empower the Dalits and BCs.

S. Akhtar, Khanpur Deh, Bharuch dt. - 392 150: According to press reports Gujarat state Samajwadi Party Secretary Fazal Muhammad Patel on the eve of Justice Nanavati's visit here asked the commission to bear in mind that on March 1, 2002 Hindu nazi mobs in the presence of police at Bharuch Rly. Station raised the slogan *Ye andar ki baat hai - police hamare saath hai*, the scene which was also shown on TV. Among a number

of other justice-loving gentlemen who had taken a lot of pain to help the riot victims were Raees Khan of the *Communalism Combat*, Advocate Ziyauddin Pathen, Ahmedbhai Raje and Gujarat Jamiat secretary, Advocate Dayamakumar.

Raja Singh, 22-B, Chankiya Vihar, GTB Nagar Extn., Jalandhar - 144 003: I do agree with you that the Akali Dal not only compromised with Brahminism but is working as its puppet till date. The result is its utter failure in the only state in the last Assembly elections. They are responsible for lowering down the prestige of our highest authority Sri Akal Takhat. (rajasingh922@yahoo.com).

Dr. Mohan Lal (Scientist), 1A-1, NPL Colony, New Rajinder Nagar, New Delhi - 110 060: In India, caste is paramount thing to identify the people of one group from another group and therefore some castes are practicing caste discrimination against other castes. The time and reasons of such caste-based discrimination are not known yet to the world. After "independence" the discriminated castes, called Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes, got the right of reservation incorporated in the constitution of India by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's constant fight against injustice being done on them in the past. At his behest the then government decided to provide reservation in services for all the SC/STs in respect of all direct recruitment posts/services. The reservation issue should be continued in scientific and technical services/posts or not? The reservation orders were revised by the then Govt. of India with ulterior motive to deny the reservation. It had directed that the reservation will not apply in the case of the appointments to posts for conducting research or for organising, guiding and directing research (as per simple Cabinet Secretariat order). Since then, scientific and technical posts were exempted from the purview of orders relating to reservation. We have different councils to organise research and for providing infrastructure, namely Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR) and Indian Council of Agricultural Research (IACR) under their respective Ministries. Each council is responsible for funding and controlling research activities in about 50 institutes. Total strength of scientific and technical personnel in these councils is about 50,000. The number of SC/STs in these institutes under each council in class A and above is very few. No director post was given to SC/STs of such institutes. This is the result of the monstrously oppressive system that exist in these council's governance. I will quote only the case of National Physical Laboratory, New Delhi, in which SC scientists got their PhD degree in science. In 1975, the existing orders for exemption were

partially modified again and it was decided that the reservations for SCs/STs should also cover appointments made to scientific and technical posts up to and including lowest grade of class-I in the respective posts/services wherever they were exempted from the perview of the scheme of reservations. These amended orders were, however, not made applicable to the Dept. of Space, Dept. of Electronics and in regard to recruitment of trainees to the training school of the Dept. of Atomic Energy. Thus, exemption from the perview of reservations for SCs/STs in higher grade of scientific and technical posts up to the Director level still exists, whereas in all the other services reservations have been provided for SCs/STs. In my opinion, the decision taken by the Govt. of India in regard to exemption from the perview of reservations in scientific and technical posts for SC/STs was based on illogical/unjustified premise and against the spirit of the Constitution in respect to safeguarding the interests of SC/STs. Because SC/STs are always available with high degree of excellence and requisite qualifications required for these posts/services. None of them was selected against the general category post on one hand and reservation category of higher post was denied through exemption on the other. Presently, the existing and emerging scientific and technical posts are very large in number in various scientific and technical establishments of the country. Therefore, the existing exemption rule will adversely affect the interests of a considerably large number of talented SC/STs. Unless the SC/STs scientists and technical personnels are given adequate representations their genuine grievances will remain. The govt. should take immediate steps to remove the existing exemption rule in the interest of natural justice of these communities. The Govt. of India has no excuse to discriminate against SC/STs in the life of nation by putting merit as a measuring scale. What is this "merit"? Who has the rights to decide these parameters just merely by passing the discriminatory orders like this to suit some? "Merit" is humbug and the very people who had actually worked against the interests of India, now want to get all the benefits putting faulty and unjustified yardsticks of merit for SC/STs due to their social origin. (mohanlal@csnpl.ren.npl.in).

Syed Haider Abbas Rizvi, 390/29/5 - New Model Colony, Rustam Nagar, Lucknow - 226 003: If you remember, I had always been in your admirer. Some ten years ago I wrote to you for the first time. I called you Martin Luther King of India. Udit Raj was here on April 13, 2003 on the invitation of Jamiat-ul-Ulema-Hindi and the spectacle was too beautiful to be described. Muslims had food with the Dalits from the same plate and on the

same table. JUH chief, Maulana Asad Madani, was present. Udit Raj lambasted the Valmiki and Kathiks for becoming the armed force of Hindus in the riots against Muslims. It was not the Muslims but the Hindus who were against reservation granted to Dalits and parading Dalit women naked and then even burning them alive. He very categorically said that Dalits were not Hindus and only upper castes were Hindu. The function was held at the Amir-ud-Daula Islamia Degree College. *Biryani* and *zarda* was served at the luncheon. As for Muslim MLA's not deserting BSP, please note that today staying in power was the only *mantra* in UP. Despite so much of hiccups in the coalition the BJP is still persisting with the alliance because BJP wants to fight the next Lok Sabha election with its partner as BSP.

Ram Deo, 1/1 - Vikas Nagar, Kursi Road, Lucknow - 226 022: I am surprised and shocked to read Dr. Jamanadas' Guest Editorial on S.N. Goenka in your May 16, 2003 issue. The so-called famous writers referred to in the Edit must be crazy. Their bookish knowledge must have confused them about the spirit of Buddhism. Just because someone is a noted Ambedkarite does not mean that he understands Dr. Ambedkar and his mission, not to speak of Buddhism. It took 20 years for Babasaheb to accept Buddhism. Today, Babasaheb's name is used by politicians, Dalit writers and social workers as a trump-card and an excuse to gain some momentum. They never bother to remember that Dr. Ambedkar used to say that politics is the last resort of the scoundrel. These so-called Ambedkarites have let down Babasaheb's mission and reduced him as a leader of the downtrodden. He was the builder of modern India and its political, religious and legal ways of life. Goenka is the greatest personality in the present-day world who has not only understood Buddhism and its human approach by his lifelong practice but is a wonderful teacher for the principle. The ten-day courses designed and run by the International Vipassana Academy and its branches throughout the world have changed the lifestyle of thousands of people belonging to various creeds and nationality. There was no Christianity or Islam at the time of Budha. His eightfold path were ideal for human beings and are equally valid today for all. Goenka has practised the meditation system in its pure form under the guidance of his Burmese Guru, late U. Ba Khin. He has clear conception about the spiritual needs of the people in general and Indians in particular. He is the only teacher who does not differentiate between a Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian or Jain. For him, everyone is same and a good lifestyle for all the humans is the same. Buddhism failed because it was not organized like other religions in the form of a

management system, school of thought and centre of control. It developed and spread in India and abroad under the royal guardianship of Asoka and Kanishka but no organization could continue it as a sect or religion. All the three points mentioned in the Guest Editorial about the so-called agreement between Goenka and Kanchi Shankarachari have been appreciated by the author and yet he criticises Goenka. The entire human society is bound in a triangle form with its three apexes: religion or *mazhab*, priest and *devalaya* or the abode of god. Only a person like Goenka rescues the human society from this triangle and makes it a common human world. It is not incorrect to rank Goenka with Dr. Ambedkar so far as the revival of Buddhism is concerned. In fact what Babasaheb could not complete due to his untimely death, is being fulfilled by Goenka who is trying to break all the socio-religious boundaries and give a common message to all to have a world worth living. Dr. Ambedkar had a multifaceted personality as a political leader, a scholar, a social reformer, constitution-maker, master of economics and development of society in general. Goenka is only a humble servant of society, guru and teacher for *Vipassana* meditation and social reformer. He very humbly and with confidence admits that he studied only up to matriculation and then became a businessman. But he has crossed the boundaries of his conservative community and has become a world leader for a particular cause. He has nothing to do with business and financial development etc. Neither Goenka wants fame nor name and status. He contends himself with whatever he is preaching the best way of life for modern man. As he has no ambition, it is immaterial and rather unfortunate if Buddhists do not want to accept him as their representative before various godmen in other social orders. For Goenka, there is no difference between a Brahmin or a *shudra*. He is really a leader of Bahujans. He does not give any importance to who becomes the Shankarachari or *mathadhish*. He lives it to the people to understand his teachings and then follow it in real practice. For him, rituals and this god or that god has no meaning. The main thing is the regard or *shraddha* that one has for his god or deity. I consider Goenka as a reviver of Buddhism and wonderful spiritual teacher.

Bhimrao Ganvir, LIC of India, 97F Branch, Giri Complex, Bhande Plots, Umred Road, Nagpur - 440 024: The DV Debate on *Vipassana* has awakened me to the dangers of dirty thinking, rightly set aside by Dr. Ambedkar.

Anilkumar Thaware, PB No. 209, Camp Amravati, MS - 444 602: In your Editorial of DV June 1, 2003, "*Zionists destroy...*", you have come to the right conclusion and

given the right warning. You have also warned both the Christians and Muslims that how Zionists are destroying them slowly. I want to read the book, *Zionist Arthashastra*, the secret book of conspiracy. Hindu nazis of India are also applying the same formula to destroy Buddhism. The Meditation of Goenka is one such conspiracy.

Dr. K. Jamanadas, "Shalimar", Main Road, Chandrapur - 442 402: It was a happy news (*Indian Express* 7.6.2003) that the Maharashtra Govt. has sanctioned land and a Rs. 5 lakh aid and that Madan Bafna, and (earlier) Munde Rs. 1 lakh each to the proposed project pioneered to build a memorial with Vijay Stambha and lifesize bronze statue, at Wadgaon, 45 km from Pune on the Pune-Bombay highway in memory of that great Maratha — Mahadji Shinde. The Battle of Wadgaon (1779) was the part of what goes in history as the First Maratha War. The hero of the battle, where the British troops had to surrender, was Mahadji Shinde. Unfortunately, we are not taught in schools about this great Maratha popularized by TV serial of that name by Sanjay Khan. They teach in schools only fables of Nana Phadnavis. But it was Mahadji, survivor with only leg injuries, of Panipat — which decided the fate of India — who resuscitated the Maratha power after the disaster of 1761 Panipat and brought back the power of Maratha empire to original glory. It was Mahadji who established the Maratha control over the British and thus wiped out the disgrace of disastrous Panipat caused mainly by the attitude of the Brahmin Peshwas. Mahadji had to face the opposition not only from foes but also from "friends". He was even called a cheat, a disloyal servant, a selfish upstart selfishly robbing his "holy Brahmin Shrimant" of Delhi's fabulous wealth. He tolerated all this in the great interest of the nation and so it is said of him that "He towers over Maratha history in solitary grandeur, a rule of India without an ally, without a party." He was observing no caste or communal barriers. His best friend, philosopher and guide was a Muslim — Rana Khan, his chief adviser — who saved him in Panipat and nursed his leg wounds to recovery. His many sardars were Untouchables and his religious guide was Mansur Shah. Nana Phadnavis was jealous of Mahadji and always tried to keep him away from Poona. The battles of Ashti and Koregaon also formed part of that war. British victory of Mahar Battalion in the battle of Bhima Koregaon — where the pillar in memory of the martyrs of battle erected by the British in 1882 stands today and which Dr. Ambedkar used to visit to pay respects to bravery of Mahar warriors every year, whenever he could — led to Bajirao being deposed in 1818. Thus ended the tyrannical

Brahmin rule of debaucherous Peshwa Bajirao-II. Not a single soul, shed any tears for the end of Peshwa rule. The men in the Peshwa army joined the service of the East India Company within 36 hours. Untouchables — Mahars/Mangs — were happy. In the Peshwa rule, they had to have earthen pot in neck and a spittoon and a broom to waist. One wonders what would have been the history of Marathas and the history of India if Nana had not poisoned Mahadji Shinde — the Great Maratha.

K. Prakash, TGT (M), Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya, Chikkajogihalli, Bellary dt. - 583 126: The 20th century saw a big awakening among the Dalits who had been suppressed for centuries through Hindu religious sanctions. The rise of the *hindutva* movement backed by the Brahminical media network has begun to block the Dalit movement. Now the Dalit movement is nothing more than a set of publishers criticising Brahmins and Brahminism. The failure of the Dalit movement to criticize the education and economic policies from a Dalit view point has resulted in the upper caste control of the country once again. The Dalit movement is basically unorganized. Its aim is to destroy the caste system and untouchability. Mahatma Phule, Periyar etc., built the Dalit movement against casteism. With the rise of Dr. Ambedkar the aim of the movement became a casteless and a classless society. According to Dr. Ambedkar this would become possible only when the spirit of Brahminism gets destroyed. Thus Brahminism became the target of the Dalit movement. Volumes of critical literature flowed out from the Dalit writers on the Brahminical Social Order. The Dalit literature began to influence every section of the society including the Brahmins. It thus brought about visible changes in the society. At least a handful of Dalits have attained honourable status in the society due to constitutional reservations. In elections, the Dalits have separate reservations due to which they have a decisive role to play. In spite of this, in the words of V.T. Rajshekar, Editor of *Dalit Voice*, "Sunset" has begun on the Dalit world (DV Edit March 16, 2000). This is because the Dalit leaders of all hues have preferred to give up the path of social revolution in favour of vote politics. *Reservationwalas* are engaged in building nests for themselves neglecting their community. The Dalit movement has thus become stagnant, idle, confused and aimless. The cause for such a state is primarily the Dalit leaders who held their personal interests above the rest. India gained "independence" in 1947. The middle path strategy of the Congress prevented a possible revolution in India. The worst hit was the Dalit movement which lost its impact due to the petty gains thrown by the

Congress. Dr. Ambedkar's conversion to Buddhism also could not revive the Dalit movement. The upper castes began to migrate to urban areas and the rural scene began to change. The Backward Castes became the landowners replacing the upper castes. They also became the agents of *sanskritisation* and Brahminism. In the 1980s, the Hindu nazi movement gained strength and anti-Muslim riots became common. The Dalit movement which was targeting Brahmins and Brahminism very soon began to appear outdated, for it was unable to assimilate the socio-economic changes that had occurred. The absence of a powerful media very much handicapped the Dalit movement. On the other hand, the growth of the electronic media, especially the TV, influenced the rise of the Hindu nazi movement. Another aspect that weakened the Dalit movement was its inability to criticise the education and economic policies from a Dalit point of view. The *hindutva* movement on the other hand seriously criticized the history written by the marxist historians which influenced the society. The Dalits could not convert the anger against Brahminism into votes. The idea that 85% of the voting strength rests with the BCs, minorities and Dalitism which would make way for the BSP to form govt. at the Centre, also failed to make its impact. The serious setback for the Dalits was the reluctance of Muslims to join the Dalit-Muslim unity movement which would have made strong impact on the society challenging the Brahminical control. The Muslims preferred "Hindu-Muslim unity" instead of "Dalit-Muslim unity" for they wanted a chance to please the upper castes. The elite Muslims liked to have the Hindu support for remaining in key positions. However, the efforts of V.T. Rajshekar successfully built a bond between the deprived Muslims and Dalits. The BCs altogether failed to identify with the Dalits despite the Dalit support to BCs during the Mandal agitation. But the BCs did not support the Dalits. Instead they joined hands with the upper castes for exploiting the Dalits. Many instances of attacks on the Dalits have been stage-managed by the BCs. Both Muslims and BCs instead of joining with the Dalits and supporting their struggle went with the upper castes. The Dalit movement thus began to lose its impact being the lone attackers on Brahmins and Brahminism. Hence the need for the Dalits to change their strategy and their ideology. Targeting the Brahmins and Brahminism was easy. But the opponent was strong enough to nullify it. Hence the modern strategy should be that of combining other problems along with targeting Brahminism. A defect of the Dalit movement is it has not so far given any serious attention to poverty of the Dalits. Because of this the masses remained away from

the movement. It is thus necessary for the Dalit leaders to give proper attention to the poverty problem. Reservations have raised only a handful of Dalits to respectable professions. However, those who were benefited from reservations did not bother about their community. The absence of a strong media resulted in an ineffective Dalit movement. Hence Dalit leaders need to do something to tackle poverty and media. The inability of the Dalits to adjust to the changing circumstances stagnated the Dalit movements altogether.

P.M. Krishna Rao, H.No. 26 - Venkatapuram, Thirumalgherry, Secunderabad - 500 015: I am proud to be a member of your unique, unparalleled fortnightly journal *Dalit Voice*, "*Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities Denied Human Rights*" which has earned international reputation. I was introduced to the international community because of DV. I read your books *Aggression on Indian Culture, Christians & Dalit Liberation* and *The Zionist Plot to Dominate World* authored by B. Shyam Sunder. These have greatly enhanced my knowledge.

G.L. Naik, H.No. 931 - Khursawada, Kajubag, Karwar - 581 301: A high-powered propaganda about the *hindutva* culture as Indianess is going on in the media since the start of the year by the stalwarts belonging to the legacy of Hegdewar, Savarkar and Godse. But the truth is other way round. A well defined and well developed culture has been in existence in this subcontinent before the Aryan aggression. That was the true Indian culture and was also called the Dravidian culture which had many essential qualities and characters like any other great and glorious cultures in the world. Those qualities were freedom, equality, secularism, solidarity and democracy. The Dravidian culture had encompassed all the righteous qualities in the world and had uniformly spread to all the parts of the Indian subcontinent right from the north from Kashmir to the South to Kanyakumari and from the West from Sindh to the East to Assam. The Aryan barbarian pastoral tribes were uncivilised and had aggressed on the Indian subcontinent in the year 1500 BC or so, from the central parts of Asia and had unsettled the whole ruling and cultural system in the region.

"The cruelties which the European settlers practiced on the new world had certainly their parallel in India, in the advent of the Aryans and their subjugation of the aborigines... This in short is the history of Brahman domination in India. They originally settled on the banks of the Ganges whence they spread gradually over the whole of India. In order, however, to keep a better hold on the people they devised that weird system of

mythology, the ordination of caste and code of crude and inhuman laws to which we can find no parallel among the other nations."

So said Mahatma Jyotirao Phule in his book, *Gulami*, in English preface. The present-day untouchability as well as the minority problems were the results of the extreme brutalisation of the caste system in the Hindu religion. Besides, this *hindutva* has deceitfully seized the political power of the country by the misuse of the Hindu religion, and is ruling through communal fascist dictatorship and is engaged only in multi-crore rupee corruptions and scams on daily basis. Hence for the people of India, this *hindutva* is nothing but the Brahminical suppression and enslavements and cannot become "cultural nationalism".

DOCUMENT

Top Hindu nazi leader accuses Vajpayee: Deen Dayal Upadhyaya murder

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: The people who murdered M.K. Gandhi, their own man, can stoop to any depth. This is clear from the Balraj Madhok's latest Hindi book, Part-III of his autobiography. *Deendayal Upadhyah ki Hathithya se Indira Gandhi ki Hathithya Tak*, by Balraj Madhok (which is part 3 of his *Zindagi Ka Safar*) is available from Dinman Prakashan, 3014 - Chharkhaywalan, Delhi-6, Paperback, price Rs. 150, pp. 272).

The stunning revelations in the book accuse the top leadership of today's ruling *Brahmana Jati Party* (BJP). Madhok (born 1920) was the topmost leader of the Hindu nazi party, ultimately becoming its president. In the third part his just published autobiography his direct accusation is against Prime Minister *Vaidik* Vajpayee himself.

Excerpts from the book are published in the *Milli Gazette* (June 1, 2003).

Balraj Madhok in his autobiography makes very serious allegations against Atal Behari Vajpayee and Nana Deshmukh for thwarting any investigation about the real murderer of Deen Dayal Upadhyaya. Whatever public posture RSS may be taking about Upadhyaya's death, Atal Beharji Vajpayee treated it as a simple accident. When Balraj entered into a debate with Vajpayee on this issue, he retorted in the following words, as quoted in the autobiography: "Why are you describing it as Murder? Deen Dayal was a hot-headed (*jhagraaloo*) person, might have picked a fight with someone in the train and in the scuffle got pushed out and died, do not call it murder". (p.16).

Over 95% of people reject this fraud of *Hindutva* culture as a culture of subjugation and cut-throat economical exploitations of the masses. The true national culture of India is the great Dravidian culture which is more superior and ancient than the so-called *hindutva* culture.

Abu Haamid-ul Hujjathi, Dilmun Ecstasy, Mhaisal Road, Miraj - 416 410: Having gone through the Dalit Sahitya Akademy books, one will feel sorry for being born in a country like this. But it is not the country at fault. It is the self-styled and make-believe saviours of humanity that have taken the country to the dogs. We have to educate our people, victims of these saviours about it. ■

Madhok's latest book deals with the mysterious death of Deen Dayal Upadhyaya, then topmost *vaidik* leader of the nazi party.

The autobiography goes on to relate developments which seem to be refreshing or replicating some Mughal court intrigues. "It has been the tradition of Jana Sangh that if the president expires before completing his term, senior vice-president is given the responsibility for the rest of the term. So, I thought that Shri Pitamber Das or Principal Dev Prasad Ghosh will be given this responsibility. Atal Behari Vajpayee was nowhere in the reckoning (*Atal Behari Vajpayee kisi ginti mean nahin tha*). I was stunned when informed that Sangh leaders wanted to make Atal Behari Vajpayee president.

New girls: Hindu Nazi party insiders have told us many times about Vajpayee's love for wine and women but Madhok confirms it. (DV Aug.1, 2001 p.17: "*Two documents on Vajpayee's false claims*" and DV July 1, 2002 p. 14: "*Vajpayee's hidden face*").

Who these characterless self-seekers were, Balraj minces no words in telling their names. According to the autobiography, even Balraj was familiar with them as president of BJS. "Some time back when I was the president of Jana Sangh, Jagadish Prasad Mathur, in-charge of the Central Office, who was staying with Atal Behari at 30 - Rajendra Prasad Road, had complained to me that Atal had turned that house into a den of immoral activities. Every day new girls were coming there."

These are the types of leaders who rule us. ■

"Caste identity" thesis wakes up Karnataka's Vadda community

CHENNAPPA, DALIT & WOMEN'S MOVEMENT, KALENAGRAHARA, BANNERGHATTA ROAD, SOS POST, BANGALORE - 560 076

I belong to the Vadda community. For the past 12 years I have been working with a variety of toiling grassroots communities. Understanding their life, I have broadened my own perspectives.

We bring out a Kannada monthly, *Dani*, concerned with the philosophical analysis of the grassroots communities and thus entered into debating on the issue.

The conceptual terms of our Vadda community were born out of the broad base of work/toil/labour which constitute the ethnic life of this community. Through these processes the Vaddas have arrived at the multiple possibilities of **identity**-building and symbolic reality of culture-meaning systems that protect their fabric of interdependency. This has inbuilt process of resistance to the encompassing power of domination, exploitation, hegemony of the nation-state.

Hinduised elites: The greatness of the ethnic (*kula*) Vadda community is it has not forsaken its **identity** but maintaining its own uniqueness. All these needs an in-depth study.

So far there has been no study that looks into the cultural, ideological and philosophical reality of this community. There may be certain data pertaining to the Vaddas by its community association but that data is not being processed. Such a data has not focussed on the survival of the community despite the onslaughts of imperialist designs of nation-state. Most of the Vaddas (Population: 40-50 lakhs next only to the Holeyas and Madigas under the Scheduled Caste list) in the elite sections alienate themselves from the community. Their assumption is that the community is not into "modernity, science and technology and it has remained uncivilised, unscientific, traditional, superstitious, backward, defeated, innocent, poor and

so on". All these notions are due to the prevailing caste system, centralised nation-state, colonial perspectives. People who are having these stereotype conceptual frames have neither developed sensitivity nor a concern towards the community. The behaviour of these elites is due to the enslavement to mono cultural Hinduism and the attraction of global capital. They are full of confusion about their **identity**. To them the community is a source of vote bank.

The Vaddas strangely are not very much affected by the Dalit movement though part of the Scheduled Caste community. I am curious about this fact and try to raise questions about it. Why it has not made that movement as its mother and grown into its fold? What is the politics or pressure that acted upon them? These are the questions I want to examine in my study. The intellectuals, cultural theoreticians too have neglected the Vadda community.

Hampi university silence: I have a great regard for the Hampi University. Its perspectives are drawn from the grassroots communities. It is introducing to the literate world the insights drawn from the folk studies, Adivasi worldviews and recent developments in the field of cultural studies. But it is surprising that this university too has not much to say on the Vaddas.

The geographical places that I would like to cover for the study are North and South Karnataka, Bangalore urban and rural districts and other districts and villages. May be I need little more than a year to visit these places.

Hence the proposed study needs support and guidance. When the study is complete it should be published (if there is financial support). Looking forward for support from well-wishers. ■

*Brother Chennappa, who is closely associated with the **Dalit Voice** for sometime, appears to have been deeply influenced by our "caste identity" thesis. Many submerged castes and communities in the country are waking up under the*

pressure of vote politics plus rising literacy. The Vaddas of Karnataka are construction workers, almost close to Dalits and equally poor and culturally oppressed. They also have a fairly good population strength. But the Holeyas and Madigas say the Vaddas are not

subjected to untouchability though officially called SCs. Caste consolidation will follow only when there is caste consciousness. To build up such a consciousness, studies like this are needed. Hence it needs full support —
EDITOR.

THE HUMBUG CALLED DESH BHAKTI

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: What happened to all our *Desh Bhaktas*? Inside and outside India, these upper castes (Hindus) shout from their house-top that they alone are the greatest lovers of this *Punya Bhoomi* and the rest are anti-national, meritless morons, and a drag on the society.

With this complaint on the tip of their tongue, they kept the martial races like the Dalits, Muslims, Sikhs, BCs out of the armed forces. Except the lowest post of *jawan*, they occupied all top positions in the Defence Services on the ground that they alone possessed the "merit and efficiency". (V.T. Rajshekar, *Merity - My Foot*, DSA-1987). But what is the position today?

New Delhi: The Indian Army has been unable to arrest the slide in the numbers of its young officers. There is a shortage of 12,554 (about 25.8%) lieutenants, captains and majors, and a Rs. 15-crore image projection campaign to refurbish its image has failed. The recruitment of officers is witnessing a drop every year. The figure speak for themselves — officer recruitment fell sharply from 2,695 officers in 2000 to 1,911 officers in 2002. The Army

is short of at least 3,500 majors and 9,000 captains and lieutenants. The shortage is most acute in the ranks of major and below. With poor service conditions, many young officers, finding little career prospects, have preferred to quit the Army in the recent past. (*Asian Age*, June 6, 2003).

How the *Desh Bhakti* has suddenly dried up in the hearts of our Hindus?

The cause is they find more lucrative jobs in the corporate sector, particularly IT. Foreign jobs still attractive. If there is better pay outside, hell with this country. Where then is the *Desh Bhati* of the Hindus?

That is why we once recommended compulsory military training and conscription to test their *Desh Bhakti*. (DV Sept.1, 2002: "If upper castes alone are patriotic why they are not joining Defence?" & DV Aug.16. 2000 p.19: "To stop all wars force Aryan youth to join Army"). You can take it from us, the upper caste yuppies will be the first to oppose it. These *Desh Bhaktas* do not love India because India is not their *Desh*. The Aryans are foreigners.

PALESTINE

Better commit suicide rather than get killed by zionists

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Even before George Bush met the Palestinian stooge Prime Minister, Mahmud Abbas, and Israeli war-monger Prime Minister Ariel Sharon in Jordan risking all his presidential prestige and power to implement the "road map", we had predicted that this zionist-inspired mischievous solution to the decades-old Palestine-Israeli conflict would fail. DV has proved right. (DV June 16, 2003 p.10: "*Palestine road map defective & hence bound to fail*").

Expel Arafat, kill Yasin: As this is written the zionist-controlled Bush Administration, instead of trying to impartially implement the peace plan, is backing Sharon to wage war against Palestine. How can the poor Palestinians — victims of White Western Christian conspiracy — trust America?

Sharon is planning to expel Palestinian President

Yasser Arafat and kill the founder of Hamas, the respected Sheikh Yasin Malik, who is blind.

As the entire "civilised" world, the UN and the blood-related Arabs are simply watching the bloodbath, Israeli forces are recklessly killing the Palestinians who out of desperation are resorting to suicide bombing — their ultimate weapon in self-defence.

Suicide of a nation: It looks that the entire nation of Palestine will have to commit suicide in the face of the total silence of the Arab world. (DV June 1, 2003 p.9: "*Palestine: Suicide of a nation*").

We have exhausted all our words. But every word we have so far said on Palestine has proved right.

Instead of getting killed by the blood-thirsty zionists, is it not better the Palestinians commit suicide? Such a sacrifice is worth making. (June 17, 2003). ■

Dalit Muslims demand reservation

DR. K.Z. AMANI, PROFESSOR OF GEOGRAPHY, ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY, ALIGARH - 202 002

The caste system is so pervasive in India that it has become a feature of life of all the religious groups in the country. While the Hindus are divided into four classes (Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Shudra) which had divine sanction, the Indian Muslims were placed in two well-defined social divisions (1) *Ashraf* (noble) and (2) *Ajlaf*. The first included all undoubted descendents of foreigners and converts from upper castes (Hindus). All other Muslims, including the occupational groups and all low caste converts were known by the contemptuous term *Ajlaf* (mean people).

Within these groups, there are divisions with social precedence of exactly the same nature as one finds among the Hindus. It must, however, be mentioned that this division is unique and has been practiced and perpetuated only in the Indian subcontinent. Elsewhere in the Muslim world, no such gradation of Muslim society is found because it is not permitted in Islam.

CASTE AMONG MUSLIMS

The census reports, district and state gazetteers of the British Raj provide invaluable information about various population characteristics including the caste divisions and subdivisions of Indian society. The 1921 census had a special report on caste among Muslims. The detailed discussion about the Muslim castes, their place in the social hierarchy and educational status was not to the liking of the intelligentsia, mostly *Ashrafs*, who argued that an analysis of caste stratification

among the Muslims was uncalled for since it was against the Islamic principles of equality and social justice. However, caste has been a social reality and sociologists on the basis of empirical research have come to accept that caste divisions exist in Muslim society. The basic difference between the Muslim and the Hindu castes is that while the Muslims have caste division and have practiced it, among the Hindus one finds not only the practice but also the theory of caste.

U.P. EXAMPLE

But the practice of collecting caste-wise data among Muslims was discontinued after the "independence". However, research on social stratification among the Muslims continued and social scientists have made seminal contribution in this field.

A study of Muslim castes in UP made by Ghaus Ansari discusses the origin and existence of caste, caste structure and organization and inter-caste relation among the Muslims. Writing about the Awadh region (central UP), he says:

The region is well known for majority of Muslim zamindars (landlords) while the cultivators and serving castes are derived from the lower ranks of both Hindus and Muslims. The *Ashraf* (Sayyed, Sheikh and Pathan) have been associating themselves with the high status of the feudal system — the zamindars, while serving castes of the villages have been regarded as people of inferior or low birth. Birth alone decided an individual's social status. Even if a person of low caste, such as Nai (barber) or

Gaddi (grazier) acquired some property and thereby raised his economic status, he would never rank equal with those born as *Ashraf*, no matter how poor these *Ashraf* might be. In spite of his wealth, he has to remain within his class and caste limits. In the rural areas, the caste impact is still great and the *Ashraf* (Sayyed Sheikh, Moghal or Pathan) are clearly distinguishable from the rest of the serving castes (Julaha, Kabaria, Dhunia, Manihar, Nai, Qassab, Teli, Gaddi and others).

Ansari further adds that in the urban areas the picture is not much different. In towns most of the professions such as office clerk, school teacher, lawyer, doctor and businessman are predominantly monopolised by those who claim *Ashraf* descent. However, in the urban centers, in contrast to the rural life in the villages, education and economic condition played a significant role in reducing the importance of birth.

Here one can find examples of educated individuals of lower rank who hide their caste distinctiveness and identify themselves with *Ashraf* by adding to their names titles like Sayyad, Khan, Siddiqi and Kidwai.

LITERACY LEVEL

Studies made by Imtiaz Ahmad, Zarina Bhatti, M.K.A. Siddiqui and published in *Caste and Social Stratification among the Muslims*, have further supported the findings of Ghaus Ansari. It is obvious from the studies that the Muslims of low social ranking had no opportunity of education and upward mobility.

The following table shows the level

of literacy of selected Muslim castes of UP and is self-explanatory.

caste	total population	literate (% of the total)
Sayyad	2,79,470	12.7
Mughal	58,864	9.0
Nau Muslim	55,972	2.3
Julaha	8,06,397	1.9
Darzi	2,28,536	1.9
Manihar	90,224	1.4
Qassab	1,52,019	1.2
Dhunia	3,53,000	0.7

Source: Census of India 1921 United Provinces of Agra and Audh, Vol. XVI, Part-II, Table IX pp.136-137.

DR. AMBEDKAR ON MUSLIMS

Hindus had political leaders and social reformers like Gandhi, Phule, Periyar and Dr. Ambedkar who were not only concerned about the plight of Dalits but also actively fought against the evils of the caste system. However, it would be hard to find a solitary example where Muslim social reformers, religious preachers or politicians have written, spoken or made any concerted effort to get rid of a social evil which is opposed to the teachings of Islam.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar admirably sums up the realities of Muslim society in India where a privileged minority has believed in, practiced and perpetuated a hierarchy, which is based on the concept of high and low social gradation:-

The existence of the evils (caste system) among the Muslims is disturbing enough. But far more distressing is the fact that there is no organized movement of social reforms among the Musalmans of India on a scale sufficient to bring about their eradication. The Hindus have their social evils. But there is this relieving feature about them — namely,

that some of them are conscious of their existence and a few of them are actively agitating for their removal. The Muslims, on the other hand, do not realize that they (castes) are evils and consequently do not agitate for their removal. (B.R. Ambedkar: *Pakistan or the Partition of India*, Thacker & CO, p. 223).

One interesting area of research on caste among Muslims has remained unexplored so far. Vertical stratification based on high and low social ranking has been studied but horizontal segmentation of Muslim castes in most urban and rural settlements of North India remains to be investigated closely. In the towns and cities, having a sizeable Muslim settlement, it is common to find localities having names, which indicate the caste configuration of the population. For example, localities such as Mohalla Sayyadwara, Qazitola, Qazipara, Pathanan, Sheikhpura, Minyan Pura, Sarai Minyan, Mir Ka Mohalla, Jolahtola, Basti Jolahan, Basti Bhishtiyar, Qassabpura, Basti Atishbazan, and Kanjar Wali Sarai etc. make it obvious that members of a particular class inhabit these localities. Moreover, like the Hindus, among the Muslims also the top-ranking castes have their settlements near the city center but those placed at the bottom are to be found close to the periphery of the urban settlement.

WANTED RESERVATION

The Constitution of India provides a blue print for an egalitarian society. It promises equality of opportunity to all the citizens of the country. However, it is not possible to eradicate age-old inequalities simply by adopting new principles in a constitution. It, therefore,

becomes imperative to adopt special measures in order to at least minimize, if not, bring to an end the inequalities of the past. Reservation is aimed at reducing the levels of inequalities where people are segregated and denied opportunities of education and upward mobility on grounds of birth. It should be noted that equality of status is not possible unless all sections of the people are impartially in a position to benefit from the existing social order.

MANDAL COM. REPORT

The Constitution says that the state may take such steps as are needed to safeguard the interest of the socially deprived groups of communities. Such communities fall into three broad divisions: (i) Scheduled Castes, (ii) Scheduled Tribes, and (iii) Other Backward Classes. The basic argument in favour of reservation for socially deprived has been that special opportunities should be created for this section over and above the general provision for equality of opportunity for all.

Dr. Ambedkar, while placing before the Constituent Assembly such a proposal argued that the aim of providing equal opportunities to all irrespective of caste, creed and community is very important. However, he was of the view that special opportunities must be created for those sections of society which have been severely deprived and disadvantaged.

In the Constitution of 1950, special provisions were made for SC/ST. However, one of the directive principles of state policy said that some measures might also be adopted for the benefit of OBCs without specifying what these measures should be and who the

OBCs are. Therefore, commissions (Kalekar 1953, Mandal 1980) were set up which identified caste and communities and placed them in the category of OBC. Mandal Commission Report makes interesting revelations about the representation of different social groups in government jobs.

But reservation has provided some scope for SC/ST/BCs, nearly half of India's population, were hopelessly behind.

So the casteless Indian Muslim is a complete myth. No non-tribal Indian community is free of the evils of caste system. Imtiaz Ahmad's pioneering work on social stratification, caste and kinship among the Muslims has shown that conversion to Islam could not break the caste structure, specially those based on occupation and hierarchal division of labour. It perpetuated discrimination, inequalities and its removal required affirmative action and positive discrimination. The Kalekar and Mandal reports took into consideration this fact and included "low caste Muslims" in the list of OBC on the ground that they are socially and educationally backward as the Hindu backward classes and need the benefit of reservation.

The Muslim backward classes feel that their deprivation, because of low social ranking on grounds of birth, has been noted and they will get the benefit of reservation.

DV Aug. 16, 2000 p. 20: "Muslims failed to realise the fact Dalits also fight Hindu nazis".

DV Edit Oct. 1, 1999: "Backward Muslims forced to demand separate quota because of elite Muslim preference to go with Aryan rulers".

DV April 16, 1999 p. 9: "Elite Muslims divide community into castes to remain as rulers". &

p. 10: "Dalit Muslims demand Constitution amendment to get reservations".

However, it is strongly felt that two decisions need to be reviewed and changed if they are to get any worthwhile advantage from the policy of affirmative action. Under the Government of India Act of 1935, a list of extremely backward castes was drawn up and was known as SCs. Some of these castes such as Dhobi (washerman), Mochi (cobbler) and Halalkhors (sweepers) had both Hindu and Muslim members and special provisions were made for their social and economic uplift. However, in 1950 a Presidential Order was issued according to which these special benefits would be available to Hindu SCs only. In this way non-Hindu SCs were denied the benefits that 1935 Government of India Act had provided to them. Through an amendment in 1956, the benefits were extended to Sikh SCs and in 1990 this was extended to neo-Budhists.

The Muslim backward classes feel that the denial of benefits of reservation to Muslim SCs is unjust and contrary to the spirit of the Constitution and its principles of secularism and equality.

Much is also being made out of the advantages, which have come to the backward classes because of the implementation of the Mandal recommendations. It should be noted that in giving assent or its implementation the Supreme Court in 1992 not only limited the overall reservation to 50% but also

inserted an economic exclusion clause under the name of "creamy layer". It meant that BCs having slightly improved economic condition were out of the purview of reservation. It is obvious that the decision not to provide benefits to Muslim SCs which is given to Hindus, Sikhs and neo-Budhists and denial to the creamy layer among BCs, the advantage of affirmative action is bound to seriously jeopardize the cause of social justice.

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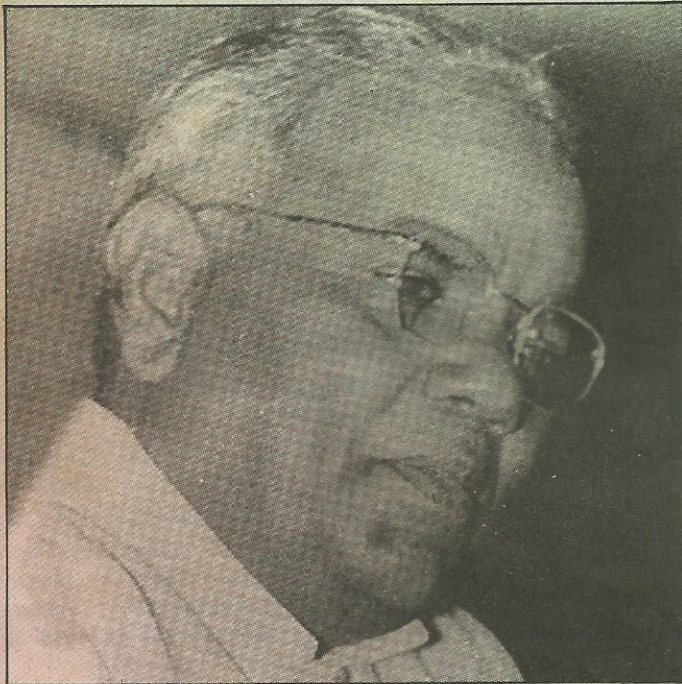
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ZIONIST PLOT TO DOMINATE WORLD

(Dalit leader predicted it 32 years ago)



B. Shyam Sunder

This is the hitherto unpublished presidential address of B. Shyam Sunder, ranked next only to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, delivered at a two-day "Palestine Movement Conference" at Allahabad on Sept.27 and 28, 1969.

The great Bhim Sena leader, familiar to *Dalit Voice* readers, is the father of the Dalit-Muslim unity movement. The speech proves his extraordinary foresight and depth of knowledge in warning the Muslims about the dangers of zionism which has become a deadly international menace after it joined hands with White Western racism and India's Hindu nazism.

The subject is topical in the light of the Sept.11, 2001 devastating "terrorist" attack on United States triggering a war between Christians and Muslims — a "Clash of Civilisations" as envisaged by the zionists.

A Muslim friend at Hyderabad remembered about the copy of this speech with him when America was attacked and rumours started flying about the zionist hand in this tragedy which may well change the world history.

The speech originally published in the *Dalit Voice* (Oct.16, 2001 p.11) is reprinted as the Christian-Muslim clash has all the potentials of exploding into a Third World war.

Shyam Sunder's warning has great historical importance to cement Dalit-Muslim unity in India.

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