

DALIT VOICE

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Hindu model of govt. rejected :

THUS SPAKE AMBEDKAR

Thus Spake Ambedkar

One likes to ask whether there can be anything new in a Constitution framed at this hour in the history of the world. More than hundred years have rolled over when the first written Constitution was drafted. It has been followed by many countries reducing their Constitutions to writing. What the scope of a Constitution should be has long been settled. Similarly what are the fundamentals of a Constitution are recognized all over the world. Given these facts all Constitutions in their main provisions must look similar. The only new things, if there can be any, in a Constitution framed so late in the day are the variations made to remove the faults and to accommodate it to the needs of the country. The charge of producing a blind copy of the Constitutions of other countries is based, I am sure, on an inadequate study of the Constitution. I have shown what is new in the Draft Constitution and I am sure that those who have studied other Constitutions and who are prepared to consider the matter dispassionately will agree that the Drafting Committee in performing its duty has not been guilty of such blind and slavish imitation as it is represented to be.

As to the accusation that the Draft Constitution has produced a good part of the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, I make no apologies. There is nothing to be ashamed of in borrowing. It involves no plagiarism. Nobody holds any patent rights in the fundamental ideas of a Constitution. What I am sorry about is that the provisions taken from the Government of India Act, 1935, relate mostly to the details of administration. I agree that administrative details should have no place in the Constitution. I wish very much that the Drafting Committee could see its way to avoid their inclusion in the Constitution. But this is to be said on the necessity which justifies their inclusion. Grote, the historian of Greece, has said that:

"The diffusion of constitutional morality, not merely among the majority of any community but throughout the whole, is the indispensable condition of government at once free and peaceable; since even any powerful and obstinate minority may render the working of a free institution impracticable, without being strong enough to conquer ascendancy for themselves."

By constitutional morality Grote meant "a paramount reverence for the forms of the Constitution, enforcing obedience to authority acting under and within these forms yet combined

Why Constitution rejected "Hindu model" of govt.

with the habit of open speech, of action subject only to definite legal control, and unrestrained censure of those very authorities as to all their public acts combined too with a perfect confidence in the bosom of every citizen amidst the bitterness of party contest that the forms of the Constitution will not be less sacred in the eyes of his opponents than in his own". (*Hear, hear*).

While everybody recognizes the necessity of the diffusion of the Constitutional morality for the peaceful working of a democratic Constitution, there are two things interconnected with it which are not, unfortunately, generally recognized. One is that the form of administration has a close connection with the form of the Constitution. The form of the administration must be appropriate to and in the same sense as the form of the Constitution. The other is that it is perfectly possible to prevent the Constitution, without changing its form by merely changing the form of the administration and to make it inconsistent and opposed to the spirit of the Constitution. It follows that it is only where people are saturated with Constitutional morality such as the one described by Grote, the historian that one can take the risk of omitting from the Constitution details of administration and leaving it for the Legislature to prescribe them. The question is, can we presume such a diffusion of Constitutional morality? Constitutional morality is not a natural sentiment. It has to be cultivated. We must realize that our people have yet to learn it. Democracy in India is only a top-dressing on an Indian soil, which is essentially undemocratic.

In these circumstances it is wiser not to trust the Legislature to prescribe forms of administration. This is the justification for incorporating them in the Constitution.

Another criticism against the Draft Constitution is that no part of it represents the ancient polity of India. It is said that the new Constitution should have been drafted on the ancient Hindu model of a State and that instead of incorporating Western theories the new Constitution should have been raised and built upon village Panchayats and District Panchayats. There are others who have taken a more extreme view. They do not want any Central or Provincial Governments. They just want India to contain so many village Governments. The love of the intellectual Indians for the village community is of course infinite if not pathetic (*laughed*). (*To be continued*)

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Vol. 13, (pages 59 - 61) 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.

No hope in Delhi summit on Kashmir : Nazis can achieve "Hindu unity" only on anti-Muslim war & violence

After months of dithering, the Hindu nazi rulers of India have bowed to American pressure to invite the Pakistani chief, Gen. Musharraf, for talks in Delhi. But we have no hope of the summit succeeding because the three parties to the dispute are pulling in three different directions. Indian rulers continue to doggedly

stick to their stand that "Kashmir is an integral part of India". The Kashmiris, who are caught in between the 53-year-old India-Pakistan "dispute", rightly want self-determination. Musharraf may want its accession to Pakistan. When the three different horses yoked to the Kashmiri cart are pulling in different directions, how can there be any progress?

US - VAIDIK TRAP ?

BRIG. (RETD.) USMAN KHALID, LONDON

To. Gen. Musharraf India's invitation is a triumph. Because he was from the very beginning insisting upon a tripartite talk but India's nazi rulers, to whip up anti-Muslim sentiment using the Kashmir question, went on doggedly refusing to talk to Pakistan. How did they now agree after America boxed its ears?

Gen. Musharraf has been invited to Delhi for talks on Kashmir. This volte-face by India's brahminical rulers has the US hand behind it. The visit by the Chinese Prime Minister to Pakistan and four other neighbours of India conveyed the message loud and clear that the US scheme to encircle China with India as its anchor is dead on the drawing board. It is India that is surrounded by neighbours filled with fear and hate because of having been bullied and invaded continually. India, on prodding by the US, its new strategic partner, responded quickly to neutralise the effects of the South Asian tour by the Chinese Premier.

Self-determination: India's rulers have been closely watching Musharraf for some time and it believes that the General can be easily cornered and put on the defensive over his support for Afghanistan and Mujahideen in Kashmir. The people of Pakistan have a lot to fear even though time is on Pakistan's side. India is losing the war in Kashmir and its value as an ally to the US is doubtful.

We must repeat that (1) there can be no lasting solution in Kashmir without the consent of the Kashmir fighters for self-determination, (2) the resistance in Kashmir is the result of India going back on its undertaking to hold a plebiscite, (3) peace could come in an instant if India agrees to hold the plebiscite.

Congress dishonesty: This is yet another proof of lack of any principle or scruples. The Hindu rulers' only one-point agenda is to see that they continue to rule at any cost. The Congress, the original brahminical party of India, was equally dishonest and crooked on the Kashmir issue. And

in every other issue. The Hindu nazis are still worse. With such heartless, inhuman rulers controlling Delhi what else we can expect except war of words. And Kashmir continuing to be a bloody theatre of war. What is most shocking is the total indifference of our global "leaders" to solve the world's longest lasting dispute in which thousands and thousands of innocents have died. That is how DV proved right on Kashmir. (DV Edit May 16, 2001: "Kashmiris refuse to be fooled by K.C. Pant natak: Gurns can't silence a struggling people").

"National" toilet papers, which are the Hindu nazi opinion-makers, have also admitted that the latest nazi circus in Kashmir has been a total failure. The six-month-old "unilateral ceasefire" produced no result. There was no breakthrough in the 12-year-old Kashmir imbroglio. A major "separatist" political alliance is still out of the process; militant violence has increased; and the Army and State are divided over the usefulness of the ceasefire.

"Srinagar: When Prime Minister Vajpayee announced the non-initiation of combat operations (NICO) in the last week of November, which later on was referred to as "ceasefire", there was a surge of hope in

Kashmir. Though the impact of the ceasefire was visible in the first few weeks, it fizzled out soon, particularly with all the militant groups rejecting it outright. There was a spurt in violence,

resulting in more civilian casualties and less deaths among militants. Officials started believing that the announcement of NICO was not so well-thought-out after all. Militants started making a comeback and their targets became more clear. The victims included policemen and activists of the ruling National Conference, apart from a number of civilians who became targets of IEDs (improvised explosive devices)". (*Hindu*, May 24, 2001).

Brajesh Mishra cut to size: The only change that we find is that the Kashmir affairs have been transferred from the Prime Minister's Office (read Brajesh Mishra) to L.K. Advani's Home Ministry. **But both are nazi-controlled. And the staple food of the nazis is anti-Muslim war and violence. If they don't eat this food every day the nazis will die a natural death.**

Babri Masjid, Muslim Personal Law, Kashmir are the top items on the anti-Muslim agenda on which the nazis thrive. It is only by instigating the innocent Bahunyas against Muslims, the nazis can achieve "Hindu unity".

Media monopoly: The nazis have all the advantage in whipping up anti-Muslim hysteria

Nepal no longer Hindu kingdom ?

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Hindu rulers of India once called Nepal as the "world's only Hindu nation" and stacked their enormous ill-gotten wealth in Nepalese banks. Since hate is their staple diet they soon kicked up a quarrel with Nepal also. The hijacking of the Indian plane from Kathmandu led to severe strain. Nepal no longer trusts India. The Indian rulers have now added Nepal also to their hate list. Adding insult to injury comes the report that Nepal is no longer a Hindu country but non-Hindus are in a big majority.

Kathmandu: Nepal may no longer be a Hindu kingdom if a bid by minority communities not to register themselves as Hindus succeeds in this year's census. After three centuries of being huddled under the "Hindu" umbrella, the *janajatis*, or minority communities and tribes are demanding the right to propagate their independent culture. To avoid enumeration as Hindus, *janajati* organizations have been running a campaign in their communities to create a consensus about responses to queries about mother tongue, second language, religion and ethnicity. Nepal has 20.3 million people and its minorities comprise roughly 60%. According to the 1991 statistical year book, about 84% of the

because the entire media in India is nazi controlled. Bahunyas have none except the tiny *Dalit Voice*.

Muslim silence: Kashmir is the more explosive part of the anti-Muslim agenda because it has the Pakistani connection and hence easier to whip up mass hysteria.

The Aryan upper castes have become rulers of India by exploiting the Bahunyan weakness. Muslims are a vital part of the Bahunyas. Yet there appears to be no thinking in this direction in India.

Muslim leadership has not even identified brahminism as its principal enemy. It dare not.

This indifference, if not the silence, of this Muslim leadership, has resulted in pushing the Muslim masses of India to the wall. It can neither go back nor push forward.

Over 15% of India's population, endowed with a revolutionary religion, is silently suffering and dying daily.

Human rights organisations are silently enjoying the fun. Because they are all upper caste. So, in the light of these developments we see no hope in the forthcoming Kasmir summit.

population is Hindu and hence Nepal is a Hindu kingdom. The *Janajati Mahasangha* says 49% of the Limbus, 65% of the Rais, 57% of the Thakalis and 96.5% of the Sunuwars registered themselves as Hindu in 1991. As a result, the census data reflected the fact that 50-75% of *janajatis* were Hindu. But this time, Thakalis, Gurungs, Tamangs, Dhimals and others have decided to call themselves Budhists. (ANS - *Times of India*, May 25, 2001).

Our family member in Kathmandu, Gopal Gurung, has written several articles in DV to prove that Nepal is not a Hindu country. Like India, it is being oppressed by a less than 10% Aryan Brahmins and Kshatriyas. ■

Reference:

- DV July 16, 2000 p.10: "Why Hindu Nepal & Lankan Hindus do not trust Hindu nazis of India?"
- DV Feb. 16, 1996 p. 17: "20% of Nepal's Dalit population facing Hindu racist fury".
- DV Dec. 1, 1995 p. 11: "Anti-Hindu movement in Nepal".
- DV Sept. 15, 1995 p.23: "Minority Hindus persecuting non-Hindu Majority in Nepal".
- DV July 16, 1995 p.24: "Hidden facts in Nepal politics".
- DV Jan. 1, 1995 p. 11: "Hindu Nepal revolt against Hindu India". ■

World's largest Muslim country heading for blood-bath?

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: We have already expressed our fears over Indonesia (DV April 16, 2001 p.11: "*Christian takeover of Muslim Indonesia?*").

Now, Ms. Megawati, Vice-President of Indonesia, has herself hinted about the break-up of the world's largest Muslim country.

The White Western racists and their Zionist masters may at last succeed in their conspiracy though there appears to be no concern in the Muslim part of the world.

Even when the Palestinian Intifada is turning into a bloody war the Muslim world is cool. To that extent the Muslim leadership of the world has become a slave of the West.

Jakarta:As Indonesia's political crisis intensifies, the Vice-President warned on May 21 that the nation could break up and become "the sick man of Asia".

Vice-President Megawati Sukarnoputri's comments come nine days before the parliament is expected to demand the impeachment of President Abdurrahman Wahid over allegations of corruption and incompetence. If Wahid is ousted over the coming months, Ms. Megawati, the daughter of Indonesia's founding leader Sukarno, is almost certain to take the top job. (*Deccan Herald-AP*, May 22, 2001).

Malaysia next target: If Indonesia (population 210 million) breaks up and Ms. Megawati, the darling daughter of the Western conspirators, takes over, then their next target will be the Muslim Malaysia.

If they succeed then it is a big victory for the Huntington thesis as outlined in his book, *Clash of Civilisations*. (DV Edit June 1, 1998: "*Big leap for Huntington's theory: India's nuclear viagra & bid to destroy Muslim Indonesia*").

The squabbling Muslim leaders of Indonesia are so much gripped with envy and power craze that they appear to have all fallen into the Western trap. President Wahid's Muslim followers have vowed to slit the throat of his chief opponent, Amien Rais, who as the Speaker of the Supreme Assembly is out to impeach Wahid.

Rais is also a noted Islamic scholar leading the Muhammadiyah with the second biggest following.

The Western experts expect the religious blood bath in July or August.

Hindu influence: President Abdurrahman Wahid's Nadwatul Ulama is said to be the world's largest Islamic organisation in the world claiming a following of 60 million Muslims.

Religion did not unite Muslims: The problem with the Indonesian Muslims is that their Islamic roots are not deep enough. All the three squabbling leaders are Muslims and also claim to be religious. But Islam came to Indonesia very late in the 16th century.

However, religion did not unite the Indonesian Muslims who are divided on the basis of their tribal loyalties.

Lot of Hindu-like names, features, customs and manners are still found in Indonesia. The second part of Megawati's name, Sukarnoputri (daughter of Indonesia's founding father Sukarno) sounds "Hindu". This has attracted many Hindu nazis from India as advisers of the West.

The Hindus are also playing a prominent part in fighting Islam and Muslims globally. The West is convinced of their ability, well tested in India which has the world's largest Muslim population.

We hope the Islamic religious leaders will immediately intervene in the "holy war" that is likely to engulf Indonesia in a blood bath and thereby save the world's largest Muslim country falling a prey to Huntington hound.

Reference:

DV April 16, 2001 p.11: "*Christian takeover of Muslim Indonesia*."

DV March 16, 2001 p.22: "*Western mischief in Muslim Indonesia*."

DV July 1, 1998 p.23: "*After finishing Muslim Suharto, next target is Mahathir*."

DV Dec.1, 1998 p.8: "*DV fears over Malaysia: Why West is glamouring Anwar?*"

DALIT EDUCATION

A journal of principle and thoughts of Ambedkarism
Released on April 22, 2001 on the occasion of
birth centenary of Babasaheb Ambedkar
2001 pp.26 Rs. 3 for postage

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Education Foundation
Shri Guru Ravi Dass Ji Maharaj Bhawan
Krishna Nagar, Jammu - 180 001

If Buddhism destroys caste how every one remembers Budha's caste even today ?

SURESH JADHAV, MUKTIDHAM, CHS NO. 2, R. NO. 1, KONKAN NAGAR, JOGESHWARI (E), BOMBAY - 400 060

This refers to those who endorsed or opposed your "caste identity" thesis and yet consciously or unconsciously propagating a "casteless society". In Maharashtra, our Buddhist leaders are misleading the innocent people saying that after embracing Buddhism caste is dissolved just as a river merges with the ocean. When the river dissolves into ocean its original form disappears.

If so, how even after over 2,500 years it is possible for us to recognise that Budha belonged to the Lichavi tribal clan and Sariputta, the chief disciple of Budha, was a Brahmin? Did their castes "dissolve" after becoming Buddhist?

What Babasaheb wanted: According to Babasaheb "existence of caste is always in plural" (*Castes in India*). Then how it can be dissolved? Did Budha seek dissolution of "ethnic identity"?

Budha, Babasaheb, Mahatma Phule etc. wanted the dissolution of only caste superiority and social degradation. But none wanted the dissolution of the "caste identity".

In a casteless society, none can identify either the oppressor or the oppressed. Those who oppose the "caste identity" theory should know that if the Hindu nazis do not like any kind of identification except their Hindu identity, why do all Hindu nazi leaders like Vaipayee, Muri Manohar Joshi, Advani, Sharma, Shukla, Godse, etc. continue to hang on to their caste names?

Death blow to Hinduism: The Hindu nazi plan is to destroy our unity by first destroying our **identity**. Because, as experts in the law of contradictions, they know that "caste identity" will give a death-blow to their Hinduism. Babasaheb himself had demanded caste-wise representation to Dalits before the Simon Commission. In his Marathi fortnightly, *Bahishkrit Bharat* (Feb. 1, 1929) he wrote:

"Caste-wise representation is a superficial inequality which is needed to establish equality".

I have been reading the marathon 5-year-long DV Debate on "caste identity". I am surprised why no Maharashtrian Buddhist thinker wrote to DV about the above Marathi quotation of Babasaheb. Being an intellectual giant, Babasaheb knew that in generic representation Dalits cannot get proportional share.

The only **identity** of Dalits is through their caste or subcaste which is their real **identity**. As an expert on caste, Babasaheb knew that the Dalits also have majority and minority castes, dominant and weaker castes. If we are indifferent towards our weaker castes they will go on burning inside their heart and mind and finally out of anger they will join and swell our Enemyranks. Babasaheb had also warned us against treating unequals as equals. Weighage had to be given to the weaker among the different Untouchable *jatis*.

Warning on Dalit movement: So, the "caste identity" thesis of the Editor must be made the most critical part of our Dalit movement or else it will die.

DV should launch a Debate on the Simon Commission, Hunter Commission, Royal Commission etc. with quotations of Mahatma Phule, Babasaheb and Hindu nazis. Those beating the nazi drums on "casteless society" will automatically disappear. ■

New book to free Buddhists from *vaidik* ceremonies

ANIL RANGARI, BUDDHA KUTI RD.,
SHANKAR NAGAR, DURG - 491 001

Many Buddhist societies and bhikkus have published different types of *Baudha Achar Sanhita* (*Baudha Sanskar Vidhi*) to conduct ceremonies. Many of these are unnecessary, useless Pali *suttas*. These *Achar Sanhitas* have not made the Buddhists free from superstitions, blind faith, brahminical nonsense customs. To make the Buddhists free from superstitions, blind faith, brahminical bullshit, I have drafted a rational *Baudh Achar Sanhita* in Hindi prescribing a simple way.

This small book (Rs. 5) is being published by the Ambedkar Mission, Chitkohara, Anisabad PO, Patna (Bihar) - 800 002.

This book will force the bhikkus and Baudhacharyas to think scientifically and work towards solving the problems of Buddhists. Even a common householder can himself perform the ceremonies by using this book. Every Buddhist/Ambedkarite must read, use this booklet and gift a copy to their relatives and friends to free them from brahminism. ■

Dalits complain of racism in Gujarat relief work

EUGENE CULAS, VOD INTERNATIONAL, 1-AMWELL STREET, LONDON EC1R 1TH

I am from Voice of Dalit International. We met at the Global Conference on Caste at Delhi. After Delhi, I went to Punjab and from there to Kutch in Gujarat. I was there in Kutch for four days and made a film about the discriminations in relief. We had a Seminar on Relief and Discrimination on the May 5. The representative of the Indian High Commission and many others participated. We have prepared a statement to be circulated.

London meet: I request you to participate and speak at our forthcoming International Conference on "Dalits in the New Millennium" to be held on Aug.25, 26 in London. I know that there is some problem with your passport. If we send you the official letter of invitation, can you take it to the passport officer and ask for the passport? Will that help you? We could talk with the Indian High Commission here if needed. Alternatively please advise us regarding the steps to be taken from our side for getting your visa.

Our statement which is the outcome of the seminar on relief and discrimination held on May 5, will be sent to the Indian High Commission, Aid agencies, UN bodies, international organisations etc.

Statement: This statement comes from a conference attended by 50 representatives of Dalit communities in the UK, aid agencies, human rights bodies, the Indian High Commission and other concerned institutions on May 5, 2001 on the subject of "Relief and Discrimination after the Gujarat Earthquake".

Dalits & Muslims hit: We deplore the continued existence of caste discrimination in Asia, and particularly in India after more than 50 years of "independence". The earthquake in Gujarat affected the Dalit communities more seriously because of the poverty and oppression under which they labour. Dalits are doubly affected because of the mental pressure of untouchability on top of this great tragedy. The earthquake has provided a dramatic illustration of caste oppression, and now offers a tremendous opportunity to overcome past divisions. We therefore view with very grave concern reports of discrimination in the distribution of assistance in the aftermath of the earthquake in Gujarat. We look for the building of new communities on a basis of equality in the

reconstruction process. We are deeply troubled about the following recent reports:-

- (1) That assistance did not reach certain villages or areas of villages occupied by Dalits or other minorities;
- (2) That people from the upper castes raised money from everyone but distributed it largely to their own communities, and also diverted state assistance to their own caste people;
- (3) That agents of Hindu nazi groups sought to control the distribution of aid and prevent it reaching Dalit communities;
- (4) That government agencies did not ensure that distribution went first to those in greatest need, because of historical conditions almost always Dalits;
- (5) That certain villages were given a lower classification in terms of damage they suffered because they were inhabited by Dalits or other minority communities;
- (6) That reconstruction projects may be taking place divided on caste lines instead of the reconstruction work being used as an opportunity to overcome caste divisions.

Casteists defeated at UN?

Geneva: Despite the Indian Govt.'s stand that "racism" and "caste system" were different, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Mary Robinson has emphasised that contradictory views of the human rights organisations should also be presented at the forthcoming World Conference on Racism.

Both the views that of the govt. and NGOs, should be presented at the Durban conference from Aug.31 to Sept.7, she said.

The NGOs have been maintaining that casteism is racism. (PTI - *Deccan Herald*, May 30, 2001).

DV Edit April 1, 2001: "Untouchability, Indian brand of racism, hits international heights".

Latest Hindi books by L.R. Bailey

1. **KYA GANDHI MAHATMA THAE ?**
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Brahminical rulers afraid of UN scrutiny of Indian racism

JOHN DAYAL, 505 - MEDIA APTS., LINK SOCIETY, 18 -JP EXTENSION, DELHI - 110 092

A group of 40 academicians, jurists and representatives of NGOs and civil society organisations, mostly from Dalit communities, who met at a one-day conference at the Indian Social Institute, here on May 7, 2001 have denounced the Indian subcontinent's caste system as "worse than racism".

The plight of the victims of the pernicious caste system demands an international scrutiny and debate, the experts have said in their statement.

It is in this context that the meeting has taken serious exception to the political and diplomatic stratagems employed by the Government of India in trying to scuttle a discussion on caste in the forthcoming World Conference Against Racism organised by the United Nations scheduled to be held from Aug.31 to Sept.7 2001 in Durban, South Africa.

The Delhi meeting has also taken serious note of media reports that the Indian Government may not allow NGO and independent groups to go to South Africa to participate in the conference.

This is a measure more characteristic of authoritarian governments to stifle dissent and curb democratic rights, which is utterly inimical to democratic ethos of India.

3,000-year-old case: The Indian Government has never satisfactorily disclosed its real political compulsion in opposing an international discussion on caste, which afflicts societies not just in India but also in other countries of the subcontinent, including, Nepal, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, nations with a sizable Indian emigre population, and even social groups in countries such as Japan.

There seems to be an abiding fear in the Indian establishment, particularly among the ruling upper castes that such international scrutiny will expose the brahminical society's failure in eliminating this 3,000-year-old evil and the failure of the state in ensuring implementation of constitutional safeguards for victims of caste persecution and domination.

There is also a fear that bringing the subject covered under the "national" carpet to the light of the day on the world stage will embolden, and empower, the still stifled voices of the Dalit community, who at over 15%

of the 1 billion Indian population today number more than scores of the world's important countries, and encourage them to strongly demand their share in the fruits of development.

Savitri Kunadi, India's permanent representative to the UN office, has put on record India's official position that the caste system does not fall within the purview of racial discrimination. (Ms. Kunadi's statement on "Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and all forms of Discrimination" at the 57th session of the Commission on Human Rights).

Aryan conspiracy: The participants in the Delhi meeting were clear that "caste is race plus". Inflicted by birth, sanctified by religion, glorified by tradition, caste has had brutal repercussions for a fifth of India's population through the generations. Social scientists (ref. Prof. T.K. Oommen, JNU, et al) have highlighted the Aryan conspiracy in India to subjugate the Dalit Bahujans by attempting to construct the Indian nation on the basis of purity of blood, language and culture. With brahminical revivalism, a fascist culture centered on purity of the Aryan race, superiority of Sanskrit over other languages and brahmanic culture are imposed on the country.

Constitution recognises caste as race: The Indian legal system has consistently recognised and acknowledged the existence in Indian society of discrimination based on caste as a form of racial discrimination. In other words, the existence of discrimination on the basis of descent and occupation has been the subject matter of a number of legislative measures including constitutional provisions and judicial decisions of the Supreme Court of India and the high courts of different States. The discrimination based on caste is at least equated with, or dealt at par with discrimination based on race.

Reference

DV Edit April 1, 2001: "Untouchability, Indian brand of racism, hits international heights at Delhi global conference".

p.7, V.T. Rajshakar: "Casteism or brahminism is world's worst form of racism".

p.9, Henry Tiphagne: "Founding father's of racism condemned for hiding their ugly face".

DV is fully right in exposing Gandhi

RAJU THOMAS, RESEARCH STUDENT (PH.D.), NON-NOBIS HOUSE,
27 & 28 LECKFORD ROAD, OXFORD, OX2 6HX, UK

My Ph.D. thesis proposal is on Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Father of India, and the Conversion of Dalits. I had an opportunity to discuss about my thesis with Dr. Ronald J. Sider, close friend of the late Dr. Donald McGavran who was our DV family member, now teaching in the Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, USA.

He was unhappy over my criticism of Gandhi but after listening to me for over three hours he was convinced of our stand on Gandhi and I also asked him to read the book: *What Congress & Gandhi Have Done to the Untouchables*, a book wholly dedicated to the overseas scholars. He told me that they did not have such books in the USA.

African ignorance: However, though there was no chapter on Gandhi in my thesis, after listening to me Dr. Sider asked me that I should include one on Gandhi. I am now revising my thesis because

without exposing Gandhi no one can write on Dr.

Ambedkar, I was told. He also asked me to expose Gandhi mercilessly because he was the Enemy No. 1 of Christianity, says the late first Anglican Bishop of India, V.S. Azariah, with whom Gandhi had bitter battles on the question of conversion of Dalits in India. Yes, the people in the West must be properly educated and informed about Gandhi and his cunning tricks. Here some people elevate Gandhi even to the level of Jesus Christ.

Here I meet many African research scholars who also know nothing about Gandhi. Gandhi must be exposed inside and outside India. DV can never be wrong on any of its assessments and evaluations of events, individuals or ideologies. DV never failed in the past and will never fail. Those who stand for Truth and Justice and Truth alone shall never fail.

Mala-Madiga rift hurts AP Dalit movement
DR. D. YADAVIAH, B2-24, MIG HUDA, CHANDANAGAR, HYDERABAD - 500 050

The April 28 book release function here was a big success. Comments of the different speakers on the book were very encouraging. Bojja Tarakam and Gaddar were very excited about the function. Your speech was well received and particularly your suggestion to both Gaddar and Tarakam was widely welcomed.

We have to wait and see how both are going to take further steps. (DV June 1, 2001 p.5: "Editor asks Gaddar to jump into AP cultural revolution".)

Monopoly over Babasaheb: Prem Kumar and myself were expecting a good participation from universities. We contacted a good number of professors and students from all the universities here. But to our surprise only middle level Dalit movement workers attended our function. Though we had invited industrial workers also they did not turn up. Student activists also did not come. So also Christians and Muslims. Though the seminar was a big success it was lacking in intellectual participation.

In AP, the Dalit movement is divided. Ever since the MRPS (Madiga) agitation took place under Krishna Madiga and Mala Mahanadu under P.V. Rao, even the little unity has disappeared. Madigas are not

attending any function organised by the Malas and vice versa. And the Malas want to monopolise Babasaheb's philosophy. If anything is organised by non-Malas they will not turn up. Ambedkarism is on the decline among the Dalits. We are deeply worried. We will organise a bigger function when your "Caste identity" book is going to be released here. We have high hopes in Gaddar and Tarakam taking up your suggestion.

Whites a minority in US

Washington: Whites are now in a minority in almost half of America's 100 biggest cities, according to figures from the 2000 census published on May 1.

Although the great metropolitan centres such as New York, Los Angeles and Chicago have long been ethnic melting pots, smaller and more traditionally European-American cities have joined the list of places where the Blacks, Hispanics and Asians combine to outnumber Whites. They include Boston, where the White population has fallen from 59% in 1990 to 49.5%. (*Hindu* — Telegraph Group, May 2, 2001).

Privatisation, globalisation are Aryan weapons to further enslave Dalits

V.T. RAJSHEKAR

Speech delivered at Hyderabad on April 29, 2001 at the seminar on "Liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation: Threat to employment opportunities of weaker sections".

I learn this is a joint function of two organisations, Mahatma Joti Rao Phule Institute of Social Justice representing the Backward Castes and Dr. Ambedkar People's Education Trust of the Dalits. The coming together of BCs and Dalits (SCs) in Andhra Pradesh is a step in the right direction though such a unity is rare in India.

You may be surprised to hear that Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar was a product of BC movement. All the great leaders like Mahatma Phule, Sri Narayana Guru, Sahu Maharaj, Periyar E.V. Ramaswamy, who preceded Babasaheb, belonged to the BCs.

SLAVES OF INDIA

Whether we like it or not the Aryan upper castes, who today go by the name of Hindus, have become India's ruling class. They constitute a mere 15% of the country's population.

But the SC (20%), ST (10%) and BCs (35%) together make up a total of 65%. But such a large segment of our population has become slaves. To this must be added Muslims, Christians, Sikhs — 20%. A total of 85% of the Indian population has become second-grade citizens, if not slaves.

SECOND PARTITION OF INDIA

In 1947, India's first partition took place. That was a physical partition — a geographical division — of India. Since 1947, the 15% upper castes have been politically and religiously enslaving us.

So much so, a second partition is silently taking place without even our knowledge. This "second partition" has completed our economic enslavement which is ensured through liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation. And this "second partition" has made the 15% ruling upper castes to leave the rest of the slaves and take off. You have asked me to discuss this very subject of "liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation".

All these three are the instruments used by the Aryan upper caste brahminical forces to enforce the "second partition" of India.

Who made this 15% Aryan upper castes as the rulers of this land? Our lords? Sorry, we have to admit the fact that it is we the 85% Bahujan Samaj (of SC/ST/BCs and Muslims/Christians/Sikhs) who made the Aryans as our rulers.

TALK SWADESHI & DRINK VIDESHI

Having become rulers what is wrong if the rulers do whatever they want to keep themselves as rulers.? How can we blame the rulers today?

A leader of the "Swadeshi Manch" spoke here before me condemning the *videshi*. But this poor man does not know that his own Hindu nazi party Prime Minister (A.B. Vajpayee) only talks *swadeshi* but drinks only *videshi* (*laughter*). Talk *swadeshi* drink *videshi*. (loud cheers).

In the year 1947, the upper castes for the first time gained political and

social power over us. And now they have gained total economic power also over us. And that means we are totally enslaved.

The rulers may like to keep us as slaves. But what have the slaves done to get rid of their slavery? Have we heard or read of any resistance of the slaves against their slavery?

You say you are fearing threats to your employment opportunities. Sorry, you are too late.

Today, it no longer remains a threat. It is a fact. The rulers have enforced your slavery without your even being aware of it.

BABASAHEB SUPPLIES BOMBS & GUNS

You have not only become slaves but slaves enjoying your slavery. (cheers).

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, the Father of India, India's tallest intellectual titan, had foreseen this threat even as early as 1932 when he demanded separate electorate for Untouchables.

M.K. Gandhi under the leadership of this very same upper castes then deceived Babasaheb and the notorious "Poona Pact" was signed in 1932. That was the first stab on our back by the upper castes. As early as 1932. But you are waking up only now in the year 2001. You are too late.

The Maharashtra Govt. itself has published 15 Volumes of Babasaheb's *Writings and Speeches*. These are explosive books. The books are nothing but swords, re-

volvers, guns, atom bombs, ICBMs, helicopter gun ships. But did you use these deadly weapons to fight the rulers? No.

In *Dalit Voice*, we have been warning you repeatedly about all this dangers for the past 20 years. But you SC/ST/BC employees never bothered.

Babasaheb had warned us as early as 1930 but instead of using the weapons given by our own Father, you slept on the two soft cushions provided by the Constitution like: (i) Reservation in politics (reserved constituencies) and (ii) reservation in education and jobs.

COWARDLY MPs

So much so, we have today 125 MPs in the Lok Sabha. If only these 125 MPs join hands, they can bring down any govt. in Delhi.

Since they are elected not exclusively by our people but a joint electorate, they are afraid of their upper caste masters, who control every political party, and became cowards.

If this is the case with our elected leaders what happened to our "educated", employed officers who came up through reservation?

I was on the stage at the massive rally at the Ram Lila grounds in Delhi called by Ram Raj on the reservation issue in November 2000. The entire Ram Lila Maidan was full. I sent two people to find out how many IAS and IPS officers were present at the rally. I was told there were hardly any. The rally was a show of Dalit clerks and peons.

In Delhi alone, there must be at least 200 Dalit IAS/IPS officers. What happened to them? These cowards had no courage to attend the rally. Because these slaves are afraid of their slave masters.

I am sorry, you are waking up too late. The "second partition" of India

is complete and total. There will be no more talk (not to speak of action) on social justice.

ANTI-SOCIAL JUSTICE SUPREME COURT

India's highest justice-giving body, Supreme Court, has turned against social justice. The noble Dalit President of India, Dr. K.R. Narayanan, is kept gagged, helpless.

But even now it is not too late. Provided you make a fresh study of Babasaheb's books and arm yourself with all the deadly weapons he has kept ready for us.

The speakers before me were expressing that govt. should be compelled to give reservations in private sector.

LAMB BEGGING BUTCHER FOR MERCY

Even a resolution is proposed urging a parliamentary Act to enforce such a reservation.

Will the upper caste rulers, who did not enforce even constitutional provision for reservation for the past 50 years in the public sector, implement reservation in private sector now? These heartless Aryans who failed to enforce the constitutional directive to abolish Untouchability, will they implement a law to enforce reservation in private sector? In fact privatisation, globalisation are meant to finish us. What a pity the lamb is begging the butcher for mercy.

When you had no "merit" to join govt. service how will you get that "merit" which is more important in private sector? Please do not even dream of it.

WHEN BCs ATTACKED DALITS

Today's meeting itself proves it. You are discussing an important burning problem facing the SCs and BCs. You may say you have given the widest publicity in the Hyderabad

media. But how many concerned upper castes have come here? Why they did not come? Why should they come? They will not come. They know their interests. They have identified their friends and enemies. But have you identified your friends and enemies? No.

I will give the example of the Mandal Commission agitation.

NO STRENGTH EVEN TO GET ANGRY

The Mandal Commission was meant for the BCs but the Dalits who spearheaded the Mandal agitation were attacked by the BCs only. The SCs at least have identified their friends and enemies to some extent. The BCs are still worse, too confused.

So, in the light of these developments, I see no hope.

Hope would have come if at least you had become angry. The resolutions you have proposed do not reflect your anger. You have not held out any threat.

Even to get angry you need strength. I find no strength in your body or in your mind.

Over 85% of India's population is pushed to slavery. And these slaves have no strength even to protest. I have no words to describe my agony. I can only weep and cry in silence.

PESSIMISTS ALONE BRING REVOLUTION

You may call me a pessimist. Yes, I am a pessimist. Babasaheb was also a pessimist. Karl Marx, Buddha were all pessimists. Pessimists alone can bring about a revolution. Not optimists who give false promises. Gandhi was a great optimist. He deceived us.

That is all I have to say.

Thank you for giving this opportunity to share my inner-most agonising thoughts. Jai Bhim. ■

Brig. (Retd.) Usman Khalid, 15 - The Hamlet, Champion Hill, London, SE5 8AW: There is an article by Nasim Zehra titled "Pakistan's Strategic Shift" in the *News International*, London of May 23. The emerging strategic partnership between the US and India has radically changed the geo-strategic environment in Asia. The new Bush Administration has started a new cold war with China as its target. The US appears to be ecstatic at having landed the big fish "India" in its "alliance net". But the containment of China may not go the way it went in the case of the Soviet Union. Zehra says:

"It is not inconceivable that the provocations provided by US's legal, moral, ideological, economic, military, and alliance policies would unravel the balance of power arrangements that the US is painstakingly putting together. In the face of an ideologically and militarily confrontationalist India, the corresponding insecurity of the states in this region would provoke a supra state collective response".

India is an anachronism. It is the only imperial state in an era characterised by post-imperialism. It is a country that puts faith in blatant use of military force in pursuit of its imperial objectives in an era where the economic instrument has proved to be more potent and effective. But the US preference also makes sense. The US is economically and militarily powerful but it lacks the capability as well as the resolve to take casualties that major wars inevitably entail. It is impressed with India's ability to take casualties in suppressing 13 liberation movements that have gone on for some time. But this perverse admiration has come at a time when India may be close to buckling under the distress caused by high rate of casualties. Instead of being of help in "containing" China, the USA is more likely to get involved in helping India avoid collapse. When things are so finely balanced, wise and cool leaders are worth their weight in gold. I agree with Zehra when she says:

"For an internally strong, stable and confident Pakistan, this Indo-US-Israel connection should in the medium term provide Pakistan strategic opportunities not strategic panic".

Is Gen. Musharraf the leader who is able to see the opportunities and more importantly make use of them? So far, he has given no indication that he can rise to the occasion. He appears to be like many of his predecessors who insisted "everything was going according to plan" when defeat was imminent and failure stared them in the face. He continues to persist in "fanciful devolution" that is definitely a problem and is not a solution to any

problem. He has allowed Shaukat Aziz to make the bankruptcy of Pakistan certain by borrowing more and devaluing more combining the menace of price inflation with economic depression. The euphoria created by the confidence displayed by the General in declaring opposition to NMD during the recent visit by the Chinese Premier to Pakistan has already evaporated. His foreign minister Abodus-Sattar, who has been summoned to America by Colin Powell, is sure to cancel the impact of the declaration and the fruit it could have borne. Shaukat Aziz is ready to present his budget that would announce a revenue deficit of 125 billion rupees to be met by more borrowing from overseas. Moin Haider continues to be at war with every one in Pakistan. The minister with handle bar moustache who is given the task of selling everything of value in Pakistan is now given additional portfolio of appeasing India with MFN status. That is no way of making Pakistan internally strong, stable and confident. Time has come to say, Musharraf is not up to the job; the nations needs and deserves that he is replaced.

Syed M.I. Andrabi, 15 A, Belmont Circle, Harrow, Middx, London HA3 8RF: Television news broadcasts says that casteism will be brought up as a form of discrimination in the forthcoming UN-organized International Conference against Racial Discrimination. India's Brahmin Govt. seems to be very upset with this. Could you please comment on the matter, particularly on Dalit leaders (Mcawan, for example, whom I saw on the TV) in the forefront of this campaign of including caste also at the UN conference.

Mackwan is a Gujarati Dalit Christian heading an NGO at Ahmedabad. It is he who raised the "casteism is racism" issue to the global level. But the brahminical rulers are all powerful. The White Western rulers and their Zionist masters are in the pocket of India's rulers. So, India is not bothered. Our passport is impounded. No non-official delegate will be permitted to go to the Durban conference of the UN. Indian rulers are least bothered even if the UN declares casteism as racism. As long as the media is their monopoly they can always claim India as the "world's largest working democracy" and make the world believe it. Without media we can make no progress on any front — EDITOR

Satinath Choudhary, Visiting Associate Professor, Dept. of Math & Computer Science, PO Box # 179, MSC #159, Lincoln University, Pennsylvania 19352, USA: Thomas Mountain's article, "Nazism: its brahmanic origin", triggered me to look for books about Savitri Devi and Nazism on Amazon.com. I found the following books

in connection with the said theme. I thought should share the same with you: (1) *Warning to the Hindus*, by Savitri Devi, (2) *Hitler's Priestess: Savitri Devi, the Hindu-Aryan Myth and Neo-Nazism*, Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke (paperback, Oct. 2000), (3) *Politics of History, Aryan Invasion Theory, and the Subversion of scholarship*, Navarathna S. Rajaram, (4) *Negationism in India: Concealing the Record of Islam*, Keonraad Elst, (5) *Indigenous Indians: Agastya to Ambedkar*, Keonraad Elst, (6) *Bharatiya Janata Party visavis Hindu Resurgence*, Keonraad Elst, (7) *The Ariosophists of Austria and Germany—1890-1935*, Nicholas Goodrick-Clarke.

Raju Thomas, Research Student, (Ph.D), Non-Nobis House, 27 & 28 Leckford Road, Oxford, OX2 6HX, UK: For the first time, after I came to the Oxford, I attended a public debate on the "Rise of the OBC-Dalits in India" held at Queen Elizabeth's House. Last week I met an Indian on my way to the Indian Institute Library which subscribes to *Dalit Voice*. He is a Commonwealth Fellow in the Oxford. We both attended the seminar. A few Whites were there and one or two Blacks and the rest were all Indians (Aryan upper castes) and one Sikh. The man who presented the paper was also a White. I was the last speaker. The entire upper castes (Hindus) attacked the speaker. They opposed caste-based reservation, Mandal Commission, Laloo Prasad Yadav. They were angry with all those Dalit-OBC organizations which demand reservation on the basis of caste. They also criticised V.P. Singh for implementing the Mandal Commission Report. In one word they behaved like the most violent beasts in the seminar hall. As usual I had to give them a mouthfull and everybody was stunned. They realized that I would finish them if they opposed me. So, everybody was silent. The speaker in his conclusion said that he fully agreed with me. The fact is the Hindus in this part of the world also behave in the same violent way. They are not going to change wherever they go. How to counter these beasts without a proper, powerful and effective media of our own? We need people here in the West to spread our mission.

John Dayal, 505 - Media Apts., Link Society, 18 -JP Extension, Delhi - 110 092: I read with great interest in the latest DV the text of your speech to the CBCI-NCCI meeting at Cochi, (DV May 16, 2001 p.8): "*Defects of Dalit Christian movement*". I would like to transmit this speech to others in the Christian community.

The Dalit Christian leadership is too meek and weak. It also suffers from too much inferiority complex. Why can't this leadership learn from our own North-East India's Mongoloid Christians

who have never allowed the upper caste Christians to enter their territory? Brother John Dayal is the only one we found so far boldly challenging this upper caste leadership. But for you the Hindu nazi persecution of Christians in India would not have invited international attention. Your work will get a boost only if you help establish a "Media Centre" for the oppressed. As a journalist and fighter you have the experience of both the worlds. But you too are going slow — EDITOR

R.L. Francis, Poor Christian Liberation Movement, 51-A, DIZ Area, Sec-4, B.S. Marg, New Delhi - 110 001: For the past one decade we (PCLM) are engaged in creating awareness among the Backward Christians bereft of progress and development about their constitutional rights. Last year we got registered as a charitable trust. We want to form a strong public platform for the rights and respect of converted (Backward) Christians with the community and the church. After "independence" Dalits who converted to Christianity have been facing double crisis. (1) After conversion, they were deprived of the benefit of reservation available to "Hindu" Dalits. But the constitutional rights of Advasis remained as before, but a large section of this community who joined the church organisations and missionaries, is even today standing on the fence. Despite the significant contribution of missionaries in the field of education, a major portion of this community is deprived of good education, remains unorganised, away from any political base and is facing the crux of poverty and inequality even after adopting Christianity. Of the total Christian population of India, 60% is today the victim of discrimination within the church and the community. About a decade ago, the National Council of Churches in India, the Catholic Bishop Conference of India and all other big missionary organizations were demanding reservation for Dalit Christians. The bogey of reservation for Dalit Christians has been raised by the upper caste Christian leadership just to serve its own vested interests. We consider this demand of the upper caste Christian leadership as a ploy to mislead the community as a whole. Even the quota of reservation of "Hindu" Dalits is not being completed in this age of liberalisation. We need the support of Dalit Christians in our struggle against the upper caste church leadership.

C.C. Hadke, SE (C), ONGC, Civil, IEOT (GF), Panvel, New Bombay - 410 221: As far as natural science in concerned Black is beautiful. With reference to a Marathi daily, *Sandhyanand* (April 20, 2001), a scientist named James Mekintosh discovered that a person with Black skin has "melanin pigment in abundance which attributes

strong resistance against all kinds of diseases". As such, it proves that Black is beauty and strength. This chemical, "malenin pigment", is lacking in White-skinned persons and hence the Whites are more vulnerable to diseases than those with Black skin. Indeed, Black is beauty. In view of this the Brahmins and other upper castes (15%) are wrong that they are superior than the Blacks (85%) – Bahujans.

Dr. V. Prakash, 1-3-75/45/1, Rajendra Nagar, Mahabub Nagar - 509 001: President K.R. Narayanan's move of forming a committee of seven Governors of various states to monitor the work for SC/ST welfare is highly appreciable. However, if the punishment is strict and severe the number of crimes will reduce.

1. The chronic crimes of formidable nature are practising and propagating untouchability (racism) even after 53 years of "independence" depriving human rights since centuries together. (2) Promoting prostitution of Dalit women either in temples or outside. (3) Accumulation of illegal property with some individuals.

Abani Mohan Roy, Babasaheb Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Memorial Society, Milionsangha, AD Nagar PO, Agartala, Tripura - 799 003: We learn that Periyar E. V. Ramaswamy worshipped Ravan neglecting Hindu gods. We also want to start Ravan *puja* in our state. Please send me the procedure and your instructions. Any books on Ravan *puja*? Please publish new thoughts on "Ravan *puja*".

R.H. Das, Talbagicha, Kharagpur - 6 (WB): This relates to K.B. Ram's article (DV April 16). Ram being an elderly Ambedkarite does not know about Kanshi Ram. It is only because of the rise of Kanshi Ram that the government is granting facilities to the SC/ST/BCs. Untouchable bridegrooms are now able ride horses in marriage processions in Rajasthan because of BSP. The RPI is like a chained dog. Ram must read the *Miracles of Kanshi Ram* in DV of May 16. The Bahujan movement is headed by selfish leaders. We have to get rid of these leaders for the sake of the kingdom awaiting us.

S.D. Bhandare, c/o Smt. L.D. Bhardare, At/PO: Hotgi Station, South Solapur - 413 215: I am a Dalit student, English medium. Because of my house problem I could not continue my education. I want to study more about Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. I had my education in Karnataka (Gadag). We have shifted here. All book shops here have only Marathi books on Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. But I can't read Marathi. I want books in English. Will somebody send me *My Memories and Experiences of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar* by Shankaranand Shastri (1989) and *Dr. Ambedkar — Life and Mission?*

Anil Kumar Thaware, President, BALAC, PB No. 209, Camp Amravati - 602: I suggest a new name for Dalits: *Bahujans*.

T.H.P. Chentharassery, TKD Road, Pattom PO, Kerala - 695 004: The word "Dalit" is a modern one. during the 1930s there was an organisation in Punjab under the name "Dalit Uddhar Mandal". In Tamil Nadu, there was a periodical called *Dalit Bandhu*. This word was also known to Dr. Ambedkar but he never used the words, *Dalit* or *Harijan*. But our Editor, V.T. Rajshekar, gave wide publicity to the word "Dalit" through the *Dalit Voice* and somebody moved to the extent of advocating a *Dalitastan*. Now, the word Dalit seems to be unsuitable to the outcastes or casteless or non-caste people. Certain people hesitate to accept it. In this situation, we have to search for a suitable word which has the support of history or other basic records. According to the *Manusmriti* (X-4) there are only four *varnas* in Indian society. The *shudras* are included in the fourth *varna*. There was no provision for a fifth *varna* as the Brahmins were against it. It is inferred that the people outside the four *varnas* come under the *shudras*. There is a reference as *varna bahya* which can be seen in the Manusmriti (X-28). *Varna bahya* means outcaste or a people not having any caste or noncaste. This word *varna bahya* is very suitable to denote the SC/ST as they are devoid of caste. Their ancient religions were Jainism and Buddhism and not Hinduism.

Brother Chentharassery is suggesting a new name, that too a Sanskrit one. This name was given by the Brahmins. Everything in our lives is decided by the Enemy. He wants even our name to be selected by the Enemy — EDITOR.

Manohar Atey, 34 - Joshiwadi, Chandramani Nagar, Nagpur - 440 027: Thank you for announcing the formation of our new "People Power Party" (DV May 16, 2001 p. 18-19). As my good old friend, you have to help me. As I desire to reach the common people of this country quickly, *Dalit Voice* is the best media. The party was launched on April 14, 2001 at Nagpur. You are advocating caste-based parties but PPP is quite different. Its way of thinking is also quite different. It is Blue 3/4 and 1/4 Red (blood red). It is totally a party of hawkers, workers, farmers. I know that you are not interested in political parties. Your line of thinking and action are different. My 30 years of experience tells me that without money all efforts are waste. Please put me before the people to mobilise the PPP. You alone in India are capable of this. You can make a zero into hero.

Prabhakar Nanavati, Editor, "Thought & Action", 1927

-Sadasshiv Peth, Bajirao Road, Opp. Telephone Bhawan, Pune - 411 030: I agree with you that we should not attack only the symptoms but the disease of brahminism which is spreading very fast. In fact, a Saryya Saibaba temple is being built in Lature dt. at a public expense of Rs. 10 crores. Our rationalist society has already taken the issue and a campaign is organised. Since you too have taken this issue in the past your expertise in this regard will be quite useful. In fact a federation of all like-minded organisations should be formed to take up action programs jointly. The meeting should be held periodically to identify the issues.

*We used to be general secretary of the Karnataka Rationalists Association for over 10 years and fought the fraud (God) man Saryya Sai Baba and-made his life miserable. But the **vaidiks** did not support us. Irrationalism, superstition etc. are the products of brahminism. So, when you attack them you are attacking only the symptoms but not the disease — brahminism. Thank you for admitting that the disease of brahminism is spreading fast. Rationalist associations, like our human rights organisations, environmental associations are fully dominated by **vaidiks**. They lack intellectual honesty. Saryya Sai Baba, India's richest fraud (god) man, is a symptom of this disease. There is no point in fighting this Telugu Backward Caste stooge who is the puppet of **vaidiks** managing his multi-crore empire —*
EDITOR.

Shree Ram, 12/529 - Indira Nagar, Lucknow - 226 016: I heard on the Star News that a topic "Racism and casteism is one and same" is going to be discussed at the UN World Conference on Racism at Durban in August. But the Govt. of India is going to oppose it with all its might. Of course, it is in their interest to hide the true face of their culture and religion they are practising in India, but what Dalit public representatives in NDA are doing? Please do something in this regard and guide us.

The chances of the Aug.-Sept. Durban UN Conference on Racism accepting casteism as racism may be remote. This is because the brahminical rulers of India will not allow any non-official delegates to go to Durban. Our passport is impounded. Some Dalit stooges will be taken to Durban and made to speak gandhian words. The Western countries go with India's rulers. There is no point in blaming the rulers. The rulers are doing the job of rulers. But the fault lies with slaves who are not interested in throwing away their slavery. Our people are not even getting
angry — EDITOR.

Ramdeo Paswan, K/165, Hanuman Nagar, Patna - 800

020:(1) The Hindu religion (society) is itself the embodiment of inequality and injustice. It is entirely rooted in the reasons of fall of the "Assyrian Europe" of India. Because in the literatures of the so-called Aryans they are the victorious invaders and all the Indians are their slaves in different caste groups in different grades. (1) Who are the Aryans? A Jew called Aaron was the mouth-piece of Prophet Musa. All the followers of the Jew Aaron are called Aryans. They are all the followers of the *Old Testament (Sanatan Dharma)*. It is for this reason that they are all against the (*New Testament*) Christians. (3) How it is connected with the invader Aryans? This detailed in my book, *Narender Puran* (Part-I, II and III) where a Jewish king Peka was killed by the army of Emperor Hiranayaksha. A Jew named, Ushna, was sent to India. He gave his daughter, named Devyani, to Yayati married to Sharmista, whose own sister, Bhanumati, was married to the king and emperor Hiranayaksha, whose army had killed the Jew Peka. Everything followed after it in India. (4) Is it a fact that the story of *Ramayan* and *Mahabharat* are cultural and national issues of the country? Ram or Krishna is the same man. The story of *Ramayan* is all his creation. It is a story of a domestic issue of Lanka connected with activities of a spirit who was killed by Kalnemi. Similarly, the story of *Mahabharat* is entirely a domestic issue of Hastinapur house. But the Govt. of India has established a National Council of Educational Research and Training which is engaged in instigating the entire country for another war at social and political platform by preaching and propagating these two domestic issues as "national" and cultural problems. It is for this reason, that the Govt. of India refused to recognise my work, *Narender Puran*, which is a time-bound and continuous history of ancient India from BC 1053 to 325 published in pp. 714.

Karuna Ashok Adhav, MHB Colony, M-26/2521, Yerawada, Pune - 411 006: I am the daughter of Dr. Ashok Adhav of the DV family. I have completed my 10th standard (ICSE) and am the only Dalit girl in the class with 45 students and other two divisions. I was totally unaware of the curse of Untouchability and caste system but when I entered the college, the brahminical nazi student union, ABVP, for the first time gave me the first taste of racism (casteism). I have been reading the Debate in DV on Buddhism. But *Vaidik* Vajpayee did not take action against Afghanistan for destroying the Budha statues. In fact, he and his Hindus are silently enjoying the whole thing. The *vaidiks* consider Muslims, Buddhists as their enemies. *Dalit Voice* especially its Letters section is informative and enjoyable.

K. Seeni Raj, 12/22 - Teachers Colony, II Street,

Thruppur - 641 602. Your description of the media as our "national" toilet papers is a beautiful. We have none except DV to tell us what is Truth and Justice on our side. I request you to unite all Dalit Christians and non-Dalit Christians and convince them about the urgent need for a daily newspaper of our own.

B. Ramaswamy, Andhra Pradesh Buddhist Trust, No. 10-4-77/1/3, Flat No. 403 - Maphar Sheelings, Steeram Nagar Colony, Hyderabad - 50 028: The book releasing function here on April 28 was a grand success as there was a good response to your formula for a joint movement i.e. three of us — Bojja Tarakam, Gaddar, Ramaswamy should work for a combined political, cultural religious movement in AP to fight the Hindu nazis. Thank you very much for inspiring us. Recently myself and Dr. Yadaiah visited a remote village in Mahabubnagar dt. (Kohapur) where "Ambedkar Mela" was arranged. We discussed about *Dalit Voice* movement in AP. We decided to participate in your book release function at Calcutta. Hot discussion is taking place on my article on Buddhism. I am also receiving letters from DV family members from all parts of India.

Dr. Rameshchandra Parmar, Chairman, Dalit Panthers of India, 8 - Manhanagar, Rajpur, Gomtipur, Zulta Minar Road, Ahmedabad - 380 021: I am sending a copy of my letter to Bapurao Pakkidey, Advocate, Delhi. I have written this Letter to clarify my position to our Dalit brothers working for Dalit liberation. I have asked Bapurao to take legal action against the writer of the Letter who complained against me in DV May 16, 2001 p. 17. Anand Parmar, labour leader and a member of the district committee of the Communist Party (marxist), Gujarat unit, and my childhood friend came to me and showed the *Dalit Voice* May 16 issue where a Letter in his name was published. He clarified that he was not its author. He had promised me to write to you. I attended the UN Conference at Geneva (Sub-commission on the promotion and protection of human rights, 52nd session) during July 31 to Aug. 18 2000 with my friend Bapurao Pakkidey, advocate from Delhi. The contents of the letter are mischievous and malicious as they are unfounded. Mrs. Mira Kumar was nowhere there at Geneva. Therefore the imputation has ill conceived caste connection and deserves to be condemned. Looking at the above facts, do you still want a clarification from me? The author of the Letter is invisible, vicious, wicked and roguish. Why should I waste my energy, time and peace of mind answering such bogus author's bogus letter? Dalit Panthers stand for eradication of untouchability in all its forms including physical, socio-

cultural, political and economic by destroying its material basis manifest in the *varna*-caste-class practices. As a revolutionary vanguard of the Dalits and Dalit-like people, the Panthers are engaged in changing the entire basis of both the brahminical and neo-colonial Indian state for their liberation. So, it is a canard spread to vilify us that we were at Geneva to promote the interest of the brahminical Hindu nazi Govt. Our purpose as in the past at many international forums, was to expose not only untouchability and caste discrimination but its inherently anti-Dalit character without being opportunistic to serve the hegemonic needs of the internal colonialism and brahminism. We fought the "caste war" of 1981 and 1985 successfully in Gujarat when Babasaheb Ambedkar's statue was dishonoured at Bombay and killed 11 Dalits. It was the Dalit Panthers with other friendly organisations that successfully organised a Gujarat *bandh*. We have prepared 100 books on the life and mission of Babasaheb Ambedkar in Gujarati language. We are busy translating all the volumes published by the Maharashtra Govt. *Writings and Speeches of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar* and 17 volumes have been published. We are also publishing a monthly, *Panthers News*, in Gujarat. I hate to answer the bogus statements of brahminical forces because they persistently write against us while we are actively engaged in battles for Dalits without external support. I have written this Letter because you asked for an explanation and a truthful statement. I think this will satisfy you and the readers of *Dalit Voice* and Dalits of India.

Brother Rameshchandra Parmar in his above reply to our Note on Anand Parmar's Letter has not said anything about the statement attributed to him. Did he deliver a speech at the UN meet in Geneva saying that there was no Untouchability or caste discrimination in India? What was the stand taken by him and Bapurao at Geneva? — EDITOR.

S.P. Singh, Takiapar, Danapur, PO Digha, Patna - 800 012: Brother Sher Singh, a Dalit Sikh IAS officer, has been dismissed from service for writing a book on Babri Masjid and publishing it without the permission of the govt. He filed a case before CAT and won it. Yet the Central Govt. run by casteist and corrupt politicians has not reinstated him. He then filed a case in the court. His case will be heard on 7.6.2001. He is in financial straits. Send some money to him as a temporary loan (free from all interests) so that he may not be forced to beg for food. (His address is Flat No. 32, 247/1, Minio Park, Alipore, Calcutta - 700 027).

Friendless Palestine engaged in life & death struggle with zionists

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Poor Palestinians, left friendless by the entire Muslim world, have become victims of a cruel peace-making gimmick played by the White Western world rulers even as their zionist masters have stepped up war and violence on the innocent Muslims.

The zionist aggressors are daily killing poor Palestinians, the original inhabitants of the land, and the whole world, including the Muslim world, is simply silent on the most violent West Asian explosion which has every potential to break into a Third World War.

Indian rulers silence: The war-monger George Bush is joined by his more blood-thirsty Ariel Sharon who together think they can establish peace by crushing the Palestinians. India, which houses the world's largest Muslim population, is also silent because its Hindu rulers derive a vicarious pleasure in Muslim killing. No doubt, the US, the world's sole super power and the aggressor Israel have the capacity to crush Palestinians. But will they succeed?

How did the Jews who were crushed by the nazi Germany so soon forget their sufferings? How could those who were tortured only yesterday become tormentors today?

Jewish barbarity: The West boasts of its great human rights record and goes on criticising China, Iraq, Afghanistan, Libya, Pakistan etc. for their "human rights violations". But these guardians of human rights are silent on the Jewish butchery and barbarity in Palestine. What double-standards. Ariel Sharon has suddenly intensified his attacks on unarmed Palestinians but the world appears unmoved.

The US, the leader of the Western world, is the chief culprit in this game of deceiving the defenceless Palestinians while pretending to talk peace even while silently encouraging the Jewish state to step up violence. Israel has almost launched an undeclared war in Palestine but the West is silent.

DV support to Palestine: When the Palestinians have no friends in their own Muslim world how can they expect sympathy from the anti-Muslim West?

DV has always supported the struggling Palestinians and has even assured them victory in their *Jehad* against zionists.

Justice and Truth are on their side. Even the United Nations is on their side. That means the world is with Palestine. May be the rich and powerful are against Palestinians. But they are a micro-minority. The vast masses of Muslims, Blacks, India's Black Untouchables, China etc. are with Palestine.

Classic case of "Spirit of Islam": Besides, by their readiness to suffer and die in hundreds (we have lost count of the dead in the 8-month-long *Intifada*), they have placed before the world a classic exhibition of "Spirit of Islam".

The Palestinian sufferings, sacrifices, death and destruction have shocked the Muslim masses all over the world. But their rulers, tightly under the grip of the US, are unmoved.

The angry Muslim masses will soon teach their rulers a lesson and perhaps the first to go will be the old war horse, Yasser Arafat, himself.

European Union warned: Before we conclude, we have a word of caution to the bosses of the newly emerging European Union. Palestine is on the edge of Europe and any upheaval in the region is sure to upset the peace and development of the region. The European Union, under the leadership of France and Germany, is emerging as a counter-force to America which is behaving like a world policeman.

Not only the EU leadership but even the thinking sections in Europe are fed up with US dictatorial behaviour. When that is the case why should the EU leadership behave like the tail of US? Why should it not put its foot down and tell the US that it must stop siding with Israel causing unrest in the whole region? EU is sure to get support from Russia, China and other UN members. ■

Reference:

DV Jan.1, 2001 p.22: "How Jewish state is founded by deceiving Palestinians", Ahmad Irfan,

p. 23: "Spirit of Islam assures victory to Palestinians".

DV Feb.1, 2001 p.21: "Palestinian Intifada has power to change world history".

DV Dec.1, 200 p.6: "History punishes US for committing excesses".

DV Edit Nov. 16, 2000 p.9: "Hunt out external Huntingtons & internal enemies of Muslims—glorious oppor tunities of West Asian war".

DV Edit. Nov.1, 2000: "DV welcomes West Asia war: Western money-muscle power vs. Spirit of Islam & Jehad". ■

Kanshi Ram's cultural fronts sabotaged by Maharashtra Dalits ?

DR. V.D. CHANDANSHIVE, COTTAGE VAISHALI, SHAHU NAGAR, NANDED - 431 605

I am a late entrant to the *Dalit Voice* family. But I have been devoted to the cause of Bahujan emancipation by associating myself with Kanshi Ram's Bahujan movement for the last 20 years.

I am happy that you too are an ardent supporter of Kanshi Ram.

I was writing to Kanshi Ram's *Oppressed Indian* published from Delhi during 1980-86. But it stopped and I was in search of another platform to contribute my writings.

DV COURAGE TO SPEAK TRUTH

In *Dalit Voice*, I have found the indomitable courage and spirit totally committed to the cause of Bahujans. Hats off to you for the long-drawn war with the usurpers of India. I have found your tract on Muslims and Nagesh Choudhari's analysis of Dalit-Bahujan mentality quite illuminating.

DV May 1, 2001 issue has an Editorial, "*Kanshi Ram's frustrations are due to his failure to launch a socio-cultural revolution*". There is no gainsaying the fact that Bahujan socio-cultural awakening has to be accelerated on a war-footing keeping in view the all-pervasive brahminical media incessantly engaged in *hinduising* the Bahujan masses.

FOREIGN JOURNALIST AS VAIDIK STOoge

To counter this propaganda mill, the intelligentsia among the Bahujans should put together their brains to wean away our masses from this poison. Let us be practical and comprehend the scope of this

activity which has to envelope 85% people of this country.

The brahminical brains have not only employed their own army for this top job but they have also engaged quite a few foreigners such as Francois Gautier who has been instigating the upper caste war mongers to sharpen their weapons against the backward and minority communities through the columns of the *Indian Express*. This foreign journalist has been hired to spit fire against Buddhism, Islam and other faiths to let the usurpers of India to tighten the Hindu noose around the Bahujans. This man has been making the revivalist ghosts to dance with joy of exploitation, subjugation and deprivation.

So, let us be frank to admit that Bahujan socio-cultural awakening and transformation is not any single man's job.

BAMCEF WORK

Looking at the magnitude of the problem no one would hesitate to admit that the Bahujans would, undoubtedly, require double the army compared to the opponents to carry on the herculean task. It has been observed that leaders like Kanshi Ram are placed in the image of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar who had founded political, social and cultural organisations and had implemented their working single-handed.

Babasaheb's was almost a mono-leadership which moved on all fronts due to death of educated and committed leaders. The colossal work had consumed his entire lifeblood and energy. Let us accept

that the limited life span of a leader devoted, committed and integrated to a cause puts limitations on his work and he can operate successfully on one front which Kanshi Ram has been doing on the political front of Bahujans. Did Kanshi Ram ignore other fronts?

CYCLING FROM DELHI TO KASHMIR

In fact, Kanshi Ram had begun the Bahujan movement by launching a non-political organisation BAMCEF (Backward and Minorities Communities Employees Federation) nearly ten years before the formation of political outfit BSP in 1984. BAMCEF was a cadre-based, mass-based and broad-based outfit which had spread its network in majority of states in India. It had its branches in Nagaland too. This writer had an opportunity to work in this organisation. It served

as a brain bank to inculcate Bahujan ideology in the minds of employees and non-employees as well. A series of activities, such as Dr. Ambedkar Mela on wheels, cadre-camps, people's parliaments, Mandal commission and reservations, brotherhood centres, adoption centres, legal aid and advice centres were undertaken along with symposia and seminars throughout the nook and corner of the country. The activists from taluka to district, from district to state and from state to national level, were on the move untiringly with a missionary zeal. And what were they doing? They were doing no other work than social and cultural awakening among the SC/

ST/BCs and minority communities through their swarm of activities.

And the leading light behind all this work was none other than Kanshi Ram. He participated in bike rallies cycling from Delhi to Kashmir with workers. He used to sleep on railway platforms, bus stops during his travels from place to place eating whatever food he got his hand to.

Again in 1981, before forming the BSP in 1984, another agitational social outfit for the non-employees of Bahujan Samaj was floated by him and this time also a series of programmes were initiated. Among them was Denunciation of Poona Pact which began from Poona and ended at Jalandhar in the Punjab. Another was *Bhagidari* (sharing) movement to remove the economic disparities between the upper castes and Bahujan Samaj.

NAGESH CHAUDHARY FAULT

As a close witness and participant in all the above activities, this writer can claim that after Babasaheb Ambedkar no other leader worth the name had steered ahead the Bahujan movement with such an immaculate success.

It is not necessary here to comment upon the political success of BSP in the North. Kanshi Ram's strategy and brilliant planning have turned political equations of upper castes topsy-turvy. But what happened to Kanshi Ram's social outfits?

Kanshi Ram's social fronts were all sabotaged.

The enemy is constantly on the lookout and waiting in the wings to grab an opportunity to unsettle the organizations of Dalit-Bahujans. Though Nagesh Choudhari's tract "*Why Brahmins...*" analyses correctly the Bahujan leaders psychology, I must point out that he has faltered in analysing Kanshi

Ram's BAMCEF and DS4 when he says:

"Kanshi Ram once created DS4 and BAMCEF and then discarded both".

WHO CAUSED TROUBLE ?

No. This is not true. On the contrary, these two social outfits, which were doing brilliant job, were hijacked and sabotaged by those people who had been very close to Kanshi Ram. This may appear very paradoxical. But unfortunately it is true.

It has been Kanshi Ram's misfortune, particularly in Maharashtra, that saleable people have joined his movement from time to time and deserted him, ultimately causing confusion and split among his followers. So, the damage to Kanshi Ram's social fronts was done, surprisingly, by the insiders at the behest of the enemy. As an insider, this writer has observed very keenly the events causing the disappearance of BAMCEF and DS4.

Kanshi Ram knows the significance of social fronts. But engaged as he is in the brain-storming political activities he knows that at this juncture he cannot float another social outfit and nourish it.

SILLY CONTROVERSY

One more facet of Bahujan leaders ego-centrism is that (pointed out by DV Editor in the May issue) to get themselves trained as cadres they come to Kanshi Ram and after becoming leaders they desert him. That is what happened with Kanshi Ram's social fronts. And by doing so either they split the organization or they hijack and sabotage it.

One more meaningless controversy which Dalit-Bahujan movement is beset with is: whether the social activism should precede the political activism and vice versa. When the

whole household of Dalit-Bahujans has been dismantled since centuries it becomes quite ludicrous to ask from which side the household is to be salvaged and rebuilt.

Unless the construction takes place from all the four sides and directions the household cannot stand erect.

This controversy appears as absurd as in the *Gullivers Travels* by Jonathan Swift in which the Lilliputians quarrel over which end the egg should be broken from: little end or big end? As a result they get cleaved into two parties namely the Little Endians and the Big Endians.

MONO LEADERSHIP

To avoid this controversy we have before us the whole range of Ambedkarite movement beginning around 1920 and ending in 1956. It is true that he began with social movements and agitations. This was essential to awaken the illiterate gullible masses and to display to the British that the Untouchables were not Hindus so that separate political rights could be demanded for non-Hindu Untouchables. But in 1935 he declared his intention to get converted to a non-Hindu religion and in 1936 he formed the Independent Labour Party. He also formed Buddhist Society of India and Samata Sainik Dal.

Are not these indications enough to conclude that Babasaheb wanted to run his movement simultaneously on all fronts? Later in 1942, he founded the Scheduled Caste Federation and in "Independent" India he had a mind to float yet another broad-based political outfit the Republican Party of India.

The kind of social and cultural movement, essential to empower the Bahujans by capturing political power, has already been initiated by

Babasaheb in 1920 and it flourished till 1956. Again Kanshi Ram took it up and accelerated its pace since 1978. Before Kanshi Ram, the Dailit Panthers of Maharashtra had a brief stint at it from 1970 to 1980. Even now we have the model, the ideology and necessary manpower to run the social and cultural front of the Bahujans. Compared to the times of Babasaheb, we have greater number of educated people throughout the country and greater availability of resources to run the movement.

Let us end the controversy:

This writer sincerely feels and appeals to all those thinkers, writers and activists of Bahujan Samaj to put an end to the controversy over prioritizing the fronts and come to an agreement that the Bahujan movement needs to be accelerated on all fronts simultaneously.

But while doing this the concept of mono-leadership needs to be given up. The number of fronts would have the same number of leaders.

If Bahujan movement is to emerge victorious, there needs to be a rock-like ideological integrity among the leaders and activists. Possession of ideological integrity by leaders and activists of a movement is an inevitable pre-requisite for all fronts. Among the leaders and activists of Bahujan movement uniformity of thought, speech and action are a must without which the elephantine Bahujan Samaj is reduced to "broken men".

Indian history is replete with examples which reveal that whenever the Bahujan Samaj displayed ideological integrity, it generated egalitarian civilizations such as the Indus Valley and Buddhist civilizations in ancient India. During these times it was the Bahujan ideology which consisted

of the ever-lasting human values of liberty, equality, brotherhood and justice, ruling the roost and imitated by lesser civilizations of the world. The true image of India was projected by these civilizations to the outside world. These civilizations produced a great number of able rulers and politicians, a glittering gallery of philosophers, scientists and artists whose contributions and inventions became models for the world before the Bahujan ideology was treacherously vandalized by the usurpers of India.

MISCHIEF OF BRAHMIN HISTORIANS

The Bahujan ideology was intentionally buried by the historical corruption of the brahminical historians. But thanks to the British rule which unfolded the hidden heritage of Bahujans which got rejuvenated by our modern stalwarts such as Mahatma Phule, Periyar Ramaswamy, Maharaja Shahu and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar who once again laid the foundation of

Bahujan social front in British as well as independent India. The brahminical forces get frightened by the induction of Bahujan ideology in the Indian Constitution.

They become nightmarish when they come across the historical revelation that the Indus Valley, one of the most potential civilizations of the world, was built by the indigenous non-Aryans. Therefore, they are busy tampering with the Indian cultural history as well as the Constitution.

Before the antics of the brahminical forces become successful in vandalizing the polity, economy, cultural history and education system of the country, let us bury all our mounting differences, our fatalistic egos and lethargic complacency and strive to build up a massive and mighty Bahujan social front which would co-operate and co-ordinate with other result-yielding fronts to empower the Bahujans and to project once again the true and sublime image of the 21st century India.

Upper castes losing even capacity to think

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: When the Tehalka earthquake shook the Vaidik Vaipyeer Govt. and exposed its mountains of corruption, the Hindu nazi rulers then quickly and conveniently put the blame on the Pakistani ISI.

Within months of this incident, the same nazi rulers made a right about turn and "discovered" an ISI plot in Delhi to assassinate the Tehalka chief, Tarun Tejal. The nazi rulers perhaps think the entire 100 crore Indians are idiots and that they all can be easily fooled.

Gujarat earthquake: If Pakistan caused the Tehalka expose why should they kill its chief? Every Hindu leader of India finds an easy scapegoat in ISI. They even went to the extent of blaming ISI for the latest Gujarat earthquake.

If ISI is so powerful and that it can cause any problem in India, what is the Indian police, its security and intelligence agencies doing? Is there no govt. in India? The "highly educated" upper castes of India go on swallowing such nazi bullshit without questioning, thus proving our oft-repeated statement that the ruling upper castes have stopped their very thinking capacity.

A scholar analyses plus & minus side of *Dalit Voice*

DR. M.M. KOTHARI, (RETD.), HEAD, PHILOSOPHY DEPT., JODHPUR UNIVERSITY, 87 - AJIT COLONY, JODHPUR - 342 001

History shows that reform movements start with great enthusiasm but waken with the passage of time and greater the ambition of the reformer, the greater the despair. Budha and Mahaveer were the earliest reformers known to Indian history. They called for abolition of casteism and animal-killing to propitiate the blood-thirsty Aryan gods in the name of religion. But their successors could not retain that elan and remained lukewarm in their spirit of crusade against those evils. The reform movements of the 19th century also produced little positive results.

BETRAYAL OF EDUCATED DALITS

With Dr. Ambedkar rose a Voltaire in India. He infused new life in the movement for the uplift of the Dalits. With the spread of mass education, there was a small growth in Dalit leadership. V.T. Rajshekar opted to serve the Dalit movement through the *Dalit Voice* for 20 years. However, even today after a long crusade, he feels lonely and in despair. He notes that the "educated" Dalits have failed the community.

"They have no sincerity, no dedication, no commitment. The *Dalit Voice* does not attract them.. We have been talking to the wall"

He asks how long can it run as a one-man show? Some others have also joined him in talking about the "Sunset" over the Dalit world. This is true. In the last three years in through the DV I have come in

contact with some Dalit intellectuals who are quite sincere but unhappy with *Dalit Voice*. There has been some demoralising effect on the readers and well-wishers and is regrettable. Failure and despair are never without causes. They provide opportunity for rethinking and correction where we have erred in our judgements. I wish to place before the readers some of my observations.

FAILURE OF MARXISM

At heart all honest intellectuals are international and hate every idea which divides mankind. But in practice they cannot resist the compulsions created by the powerful irrational elements in the name of nationalism and religion everywhere and casteism in particular in India. Karl Marx hoped that the proletariat of the whole world would unite on the basis of his appeal against common enemy and their common economic interests. The idea was good but did not produce the desired results because he underrated the strength of the inner contradictions of the expected constituents of such an international movement. The reasons for failure of marxism have an important lesson for all.

Dr. Ambedkar was basically a humanist and stood for the fraternity of mankind. However, he faced two formidable enemies of human fraternity in India, viz. casteism and religious fanaticism. If you cannot change your society from within, the only solution is to get out. He found the solution of

both these evils in his call for conversion to Buddhism. He hoped that it would awaken the sense of self-respect among the Dalits and also improve their economic condition. Although a humanist at heart, he gave his immediate attention to the Dalits in India. The term Dalit was originally used in a special sense for those sections which were condemned as Untouchables in the Brahminical Social Order (BSO). The term Dalit, if used in the sense of mere economically backward people, is not different from the word proletariat used by Marx. A simpler word poor would have served the purpose. But in India it acquired a casteist touch and their economic backwardness was related to social discrimination, specially against the Untouchables.

DV INTERNATIONALISED DALIT PROBLEM

The worst part of this evil is that the inhuman treatment meted out to them for such a long time made them insensitive to their suffering and indignity. For long, the other *varnas* also acquiesced in that arrangement. Until Budha, no one questioned it because no other way of thinking was known to the oppressors and the oppressed. No Voltaire, even no Oliver Twist, could arise and "the slaves enjoyed their slavery". To awaken in them a sense of self-respect was in itself a herculean task. So, Dr. Ambedkar concentrated his efforts to the service of the worst hit in India — the Untouchables and did not use his energy on the solution

of the particular problems faced by the Dalits of other countries. Time took him away before he could show his work.

Because of his marxist background Editor V.T. Rajshekar has extended his mission to cover the Dalits of other castes, creeds and countries. So he appeals not only to the Dalit-Muslim, Dalit-Christians and Dalit-Sikhs of India but also to the Dalit sections of Africa, America and soon to join him. A noble idea but reality is that if you force upon them the ideas which go counter to their political and religious interests, they will not take any interest in your ways.

Merely adding the prefix Dalit to their class will not make you acceptable to them. You will not be able to form one Dalit movement at international level comprising the Dalits of all nations and religions on this earth.

WHY MUSLIM REFUSE TO JOIN DALITS

Budha and Mahaveer were sincere. Jesus and Marx were sincere. Our Editor is also sincere and courageous. Why then have they all failed? It is because they underrated the power of the irrational in human nature which thwarts the rational at every step.

Wisdom lies in a clear perception of our present limits. It would be fruitless to take upon our shoulders the burdens which we cannot carry. The Dalit leadership in India must devote itself exclusively to the uplift of the Untouchables in India. If others come with you, they are welcome. If not ignore them as they ignore you.

In his crusade against brahminism, the Editor has sought the friendship of Christians and Muslims not only of India but of the whole world. What has been the result?

M. Iqbal, a Muslim friend, wrote:

"You have been raising the voice of Muslims since long. But Muslim religious, political leaders and intellectuals did not pay attention and not joined/ supported your campaign" (DV July 16, 1999 p.23).

In a hard-hit, a Muslim writer has complained to the Editor that he has not understood Islam and asks:

"One wonders why you have not embraced Islam so far?... Why did you prefer Buddhism to Islam?" (DV April 1, 98).

JAMATE-ISLAMI NO TO DV

The Holy Koran repeatedly warns the Muslims not to be friendly with the Jews and Christians. Syed Shahabuddin writes:

"The Muslims are not prepared to serve as the palanquin bearers of the *shudras* or the SC/ST".

He asks Kanshi Ram: "Why should the Muslims offer themselves as fodder for his cannon?"

Muslims hoped that Dr. Ambedkar would embrace Islam. Christians hoped that he would embrace Christianity. But he chose Buddhism and not any other religion. He said: "I regard Budha's *Dhamma* to be the best. No religion can be compared to it" (DV Oct.16, 1997, p.16).

Jamate-Islami has refused to join hands with our Editor in his crusade against brahminism (DV Oct.1, 1997 p.22). They doubt even his intentions.

Indian Muslims treat the Sufi saints with reverence. However, some Muslim writers have in DV condemned these "Aryan Muslims" for corrupting Islam. It is their most inexcusable guilt that they "quietly promoted sufism". "Quawalis and grave-worshipping have been promoted by the *ulemas*". (DV Sept.16, 1999). Some writers have misused the hospitality extended by

the Editor and used DV to carry on sectarian debates to argue the superiority of one religion or one sect over others. These issues are not relevant to the cause of Dalit movement.

There are also some other minor but quite irrelevant issues. For example, some writers have quite often praised meat-eating particularly beef-eating. Killing animals for food and religion has been enjoyed by the Vedas, Bible and Koran. The Hindus denounce only cow-killing and beef-eating but not the killing of other animals. Some writers have brought in the authority of Sikh Gurus in support of beef-eating. Mahaveer rejects all forms of animal killing. Meat is meat whether it is of a cow or a goat or a human being. Meat-eating may be economical or even delicious, as one of my meat-eating friends argue, but born and brought up in an orthodox Jain family, I never had the experience of that pleasure. This subject is very delicate and widely discussed over centuries.

IDOL WORSHIP

Trivial and non-substantial issues should not be projected as vital issues. One may have a strong sentiment for or against idol-worship. But DV is not the proper forum to indulge in polemics on such matters. One writer strongly commended the doctrine that "idol worship is the greatest sin, even greater than adultery, rape or murder" (DV Feb.1, 2000 p.13). I am not an idolater. But there are millions of Dalits and non-Dalits who have reverence for their idols and would be unnecessarily offended by such extreme doctrines. Arya Samaj in India indulged in unceasing criticism of idols and temples and wasted its time and energy on this non-substantial issue and we know its fate.

In India, the society came to be

divided on the basis of the ethical code of the *Purusha Suktā*. A vast literature developed on the theory and practise of casteism in India. Its minus points were always ignored, particularly the inhuman treatment of the *shudras*. Caste acquired strong roots in Indian psyche. Caste complexes hardened over the ages.

"CASTE IDENTITY" DEBATE

What is surprising is that it did not spare even the *shudras*. According to S.P. Singh (DV Dec.1, 1998 p.6) a single caste of Pariahs is subdivided into 348 subcastes which maintain touch-me-notism among themselves. Several pages of the DV have been tarnished by the Mala-Madiga feuds. They accuse each other of kidnapping or hijacking Babasahab. The centuries-old slavish mentality of cutting each other has proved highly detrimental to the Dalit unity.

The Editor felt that his thesis of strengthening the "ethnic identity" would impart a new spirit of fraternity to the Dalit movement. But mutual jealousies and narrow sectional interests have frustrated his task and miscarried the movement in opposite direction by hardening the evil of "subcaste identities" so that instead of annihilation of caste it has widened its sphere. Formerly, there were divisions among Dalits at socio-cultural level. Now they are divided at political level. The solution has not brought positive results. Even the Editor has been accused of partisanship.

The debate on "caste identity" thesis has taken underisable shape. Some writers have been using very abusive language against those who have pointed out the hazards of strengthening subcaste complexes. They are dubbed as "petty people", "street dogs", "false

Ambedkarites" and so on (DV July 15, 1999 p.20). Critical analysis should always be welcome. But there is distinction between matter and manner. One can be critical without being abusive even on matters which may be highly provocative. G. Gopal Rao is deeply distressed by the abusive epithets of such people and has rightly advised the Editor to save himself from such friends. I have read the articles of Dr. Velu Annamalai, A.L. Ukey and G. Gopal Rao on "caste debate" and deserve serious consideration and thanks for their timely warning in the interest of Dalit fraternity. For psychological reasons I also feel that it is advisable to discontinue this Debate which has gone to a very low level.

NEGATIVE APPROACH

Politics is closely connected with mass psychology. Politicians should therefore have deep insight in mass psychology. Hitler restored the ego of the German people and a strong sense of fraternity among them. But he also generated mass-waves of hatred against the Jews and democratic values which worked only for some time and later on swept away.

Dalit hatred against Brahmins is quite natural. But emotions of hatred are negative in nature. They consume our energy in unproductive channels. If the physician has gone wrong in our treatment, cursing the physician will not be of any positive help to us. Our immediate task is to restore the health of the victim. And this calls for a positive approach, not negative. So create your own strength.

DALITS HAVE NO SWORD

Those who want immediate results must have a powerful sword. All revolutions have come through the sword. The sword also fails if it is

not backed by a powerful bond of fraternity. Dr. Ambedkar tried to create that fraternity by education, agitation and organisation. The first two have been taken up in some measure but the third one and the most important of all, viz. organisation has not been taken up in a serious manner.

MUSLIM HATRED

In a thought-provoking article in DV (June 1, 2000 p. 21), its author Ravi Kant opines that DV (or rather Dalit movement) failed because it produced ideas but no organisation to act. He cites the example of RSS. What is special about RSS? What is the secret of its success? Why Anya Samaj, Mahasabha and others failed? Because they were inspired primarily by the emotion of hatred against Muslims. But RSS worked positively for Hindu fraternity. It has created a potentiality for everything else. It has built a *parivar* i.e. fraternity. It has not taken up ideas and issues which adversely affect the fraternity among the Hindus.

Hitler created his SS party. Hegdewar created the RSS. Their method is: catch the child when he is sentimentally a blank and feed him with your philosophy. You will be the master of next generation. No reform will work until you change the child.

Ravi Kant gives the example of RSS for imitation. Create fraternity among Dalits through such an organisation of selfless and dedicated cadre. Meanwhile, have patience and confidence.

Stop talking about "Sunset". Stop talking about the factors which divide Dalits. If you can give light, darkness will go away automatically. You have to see that your approach is positive in every way and not negative. Dalit leadership has yet to learn a lot from educational psychology. Let the readers of DV start rethinking in this direction. ■

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