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The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities Denied Human Rights

Vol. 22

Bangalore

August 1 - 15 2003

No. 15

SECRET OF 3% BRAHMIN RULE

Sikhs divided
into
3 camps

Dr. Ambedkar
on
Muslims

Fundamental rights & Article 16 :

THUS SPAKE AMBEDKAR

Thus Spake Ambedkar

Why Article 16 under fundamental rights

Mr. Vice-President: Amendment No. 512 moved by Kazi Syed Karimuddin and accepted by Dr. Ambedkar. The question is: That in article 14, the following be added as clause (4) :-

(4) The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause supported by oath or affirmation and particularly describing the place to be searched and the persons or things to be seized."

I think the "Ayes" have it.

Shri T.T. Krishnamachari: The Noes have it.

Mr. Vice-President: I will again put it to the vote.

I think the "Ayes" have it.

Shri T.T. Krishnamachari: No, Sir, the "noes" have it.

Mr. Vice-President: I shall first of all call for a show of hands.

(The Division Bell was rung).

Shri Mahavir Tyagi (United Provinces: General): May I proposed that this question might be postponed for the time being and a chance be given for the members to confer between themselves and arrive at a decision. Even the British House of Commons, sometimes converts itself into a committee to give various parties a chance to confer and arrive at an agreed solution.

Mr. Vice-President: I am prepared to postpone the voting on this amendment provided the House gives me the requisite permission. I would request the House to be calm. This is not the way to come to decisions which must be reached through co-operative effort and through goodwill. Does the House give me the necessary power to postpone voting on this?

The Honourable Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr. Vice-President, Sir, as apparently a slight confusion has arisen in many members' minds on this point, I think, sir, that the suggestion made is eminently desirable, that we might take up this matter a little later, and we may proceed with other things. It will be the wish of the House that will prevail of course. I would suggest to you, Sir, and to the House that your suggestion be accepted.

Dr. B.V. Keskar (United Provinces: General): Can it be done after the division bell has rung?

Dr. Babasahab Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Vol. 13, (pages 411 - 413) 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.

Mr. Vice-President: I never go by technicalities. I shall continue to use common sense as long as I am here. I have little knowledge of technicalities, but I have some knowledge of human nature. I know that in the long run it is good sense, it is common sense, it is goodwill which alone will carry weight. I ask the permission of the House to postpone the voting.

Honourable Members: Yes.

ARTICLE 16

The Honourable Dr. B.R. Ambedkar: Mr. Vice-President, what I understood from Mr. Subramaniam, if I have understood him correctly is not that he objects to article 16, but his objection is directed to the place which this article finds. He says that although there may be utility and necessity so far as this article is concerned, it ought not to find a place in the fundamental rights. And his second point, if I have understood him correctly is that as this article is made subject to article 244, article 16 may be completely nullified, and to use his own words, no residue of it might be left if the powers given under article 244 were exercised. I think I am right in thus summarising what he said.

Now, I quite appreciate the argument that this article 16 is out of place in the list of fundamental rights, and to some extent, I agree with Mr. Subramaniam. But I shall explain to him why it was found necessary to include this matter in the fundamental rights. My friend, Mr. Subramaniam will remember that when the Constituent Assembly began, we began under certain limitations. One of the limitations was that the Indian States would join the Union only on three subjects — foreign affairs, defence and communications. On no other matter they would agree to permit the Union Parliament to extend its legislative and executive jurisdiction. So he will realise that the Constituent Assembly, as well as the Drafting Committee, was placed under a very serious limitation. On the one hand it was realised that there would be no use and no purpose served in forming an All-India Union if trade and commerce throughout India was not free. That was the general view. On the other hand, it was found that so far as the position of the States was concerned, to which I have already made a reference, they were not prepared to allow trade and commerce throughout India to be made subject to the legislative authority of the Union Parliament.

(To be continued)

DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities
Denied Human Rights

85% of Indians may be Bahujans but how to convert this massive majority into voters ?

Brohu Narayan Swamy of the Syndicate Bank SC/ST Assn., Hyderabad, has asked us a question on Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) chief Kanshi Ram's speech in Bangalore on July 6, 2003:

"If Brahmins, who comprise 3% of the population, can rule the country for 55 years, why not 85% of the Dalits, Backward Castes and Minorities?" (*Deccan Herald*, July 7, 2003).

His question is:

You have been repeating these population statistics in DV very often but why you and Kanshi Ram are not saying how to convert this majority into BSP voters?

This is a good question.

Today's NDA Govt. in Delhi is not an exclusive Brahmin rule. It is a coalition of many Backward Caste parties. Even the earlier Congress Govts. ruled India mainly with the support of Dalits and Muslims. The *Brahmana Jati Party* (BJP) is deeply worried that it is not able to capture power on its own and impose its *Hindurashtra* nazi rule over us.

100 years of solid work: But it has to be admitted that the Brahmins have come to rule at least through a coalition after over 100 years of thorough-going socio-cultural counter-revolution. Today's *Vaidik* Vajpayee rule in Delhi is the result of such a hard, sincere, dedicated work by hundreds and thousands of *vaidiks* for the past over 100 years.

The Hindu nazi party of RSS itself was founded in 1925 but the Brahminical ideology was constructed as early as 1870. The Arya Samaj was founded in 1875.

Wonderful spade work was done silently but with stunning success specially after India got "independence" in 1947. The *vaidik* sincerity and dedication are as clear as the daylight. We may not like the Brahminical forces but we can't deny the fact of their tremendous work to establish the "Brahmin Raj" in India.

Traitors among us: But after the death of the Father of India, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, what happened? Our elite, "educated" Dalit brothers who took advantage of the fruits of Babasaheb's mission and Dalit leaders elected from reserved seats turned traitors to the community. There may be some exceptions but exceptions always prove the rule.

The Bahujans may be 85%. This is right: Dalits 20%, Tribals 10%, Backward Castes 35% plus Muslims 15%, Christians and Sikhs 5% - total 85%. We the indigenous people of India are a very big majority as against 15% of the alien micro-

CONTENTS

- ◆ How to convert 85% Bahujans into our voters?
- ◆ Black prisoner in US jail
- ◆ 3 noted Dalit IAS officers
- ◆ Dr. Ambedkar on Muslims
- ◆ Bush & Blair in trouble
- ◆ Sikhs divided into 3 camps
- ◆ Essence of Dalit literature
- ◆ Suicide bombers
- ◆ Cruelties of Brahminism
- ◆ Jews & "Jews of India"

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minority Aryan rulers. Kanshi Ram is right. But the cream of this 85% has been corrupted and co-opted by the Brahminical ruling class. We have to admit this. Dalit movement itself is nearly dead all over India. Nobody talks of the Buddhist mass conversion drive.

It is because of this the 85% Bahujan Samaj, of which the Dalits are the natural leaders, could not capture political power. This is the simple answer. Kanshi Ram also knows it.

When the Brahminical Social Order (BSO) itself is deeply worried that it is not able to capture power on its own, how can the deprived Bahujan Samaj take over Delhi without any sacrifice and suffering? How can we expect a harvest without implementing Babasaheb's Three Commandments — Educate, Agitate, Organise? **Monopoly media:** Every society has its cream. The thinking section in any society is always small. Even among Brahmins, all are not thinking people. Such a thinking people have to be honest and dedicated and must be ready to suffer and sacrifice. Have the Dalits produced such a thinking cream?

The BSO is today ruling because it controls our brains through its monopoly media. This Brahminical media may be stupid and outright rubbish. Yet it is doing the job of controlling our brains. You control the brain, you control everything else.

Have we been able to produce at least one successful media? Even the well-off sections within the Bahujan Samaj like the Muslims, Christians or Sikhs have no media of their own. Except the *Dalit Voice*, which itself is struggling to survive, Dalits have not one single all-India English periodical — not to speak of dailies. We went round the country several times pointing out this serious weakness but none took any interest in our proposal. Such is the depth of intellectual poverty in the Bahujan Samaj. Except the Brahmins, none else in India understands the importance of media.

Four RPI parties: All the English dailies, periodicals, electronic media are controlled by the BSO. They may be producing rubbish. Stinking garbage. But we don't produce even this garbage. We are busy criticising each other. Dalits in many parts of the country are fighting between themselves.

Kanshi Ram, India's only Dalit political leader

who has proved his ability and strength, should have become by this one of the country's top political leaders. But barring UP, where also his BSP is running a coalition govt. with the BJP, he is not able to capture even the Hindi belt.

Why our Dalit brothers, who today are so crazy about "capturing political power", have failed to join BSP wholesale? No Dalit political leader has reached such heights like Kanshi Ram. His sincerity, love for his people, political shrewdness, tireless work for the past 30 years is now part of history. Dalits of the entire country should have joined BSP wholesale. Why a good chunk of Dalits are going with the Congress, BJP and other parties? We have four Republican Parties (RPI), umpteen Samata Sainik Dals. One Dalit leader hates another Dalit leader. If there are three Dalits, they will have four parties.

Rashtrapati Bhavan insult: There are about 120 Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe members in the Lok Sabha elected from the reserved constituencies. If they all stand united they can bring down any government in Delhi. But they never unite. Each reserved MP is nosed by his or her upper caste bosses in the Hindu parties which imprison them. The first time the Dalit MPs united was on a march to Rashtrapati Bhavan to lodge a protest with the then President of India, R. Venkataraman Iyer. The Brahmin President refused to meet the delegation but the entire block of MPs simply swallowed the insult done to the Dalits of India and walked back without a protest. The delegation had gone to protest on the Hindu conspiracy in the mass murder of Chundur Dalits in Andhra Pradesh.

Muslim ignorance: Despite years of Dalit-Muslim unity work, we have reached nowhere. Muslims are not able to understand who is a Hindu and who is not. Though the entire Bahujan Samaj is not only **not** Hindu but anti-Hindu, Muslims cannot differentiate between the minority Hindu and the majority non-Hindu.

Vaidiks are brainwashing Dalits saying that Backward Castes are the real enemies of Dalits and not the Brahmins. Quite a lot of corrupted and co-opted Dalits are pleased with this new slogan. How can Bahujan Samaj be formed with such deep internal contradictions when Muslims still consider Dalits and BCs as Hindu and BCs are declared as enemies of Dalits?

The BSO was able to capture Delhi at least through a coalition experiment after it launched

a socio-cultural counter-revolution movement. But we on our part failed to take advantage of the socio-cultural movement launched by Babasaheb and then by Kanshi Ram through BAMCEF and DS-4. Our reserved sector govt. employees should have been on the vanguard of such a revolution. But they betrayed Babasaheb. **Brahmins love of jati:** Today, we have neither a movement nor a media. We are busy quarreling between ourselves. One Dalit hates the other. Show us one Brahmin publicly criticising another Brahmin.

We have been the bitterest critics of Brahmins like Babasaheb. We have written a book itself. (V.T. Rajshekar: Brahminism, DSA - 2002). But at the same time we also admire the great qualities of Brahmins. We have to learn a lot from them.

As Ambedkarites, when we are fighting for Justice and Truth, we should not be accused of speaking out the untruth. The Truth is the Brahmins (along with the Jews) are the one and the only people in India who intensely love their jati. (DV June 16, 2003 p.5: "*Jews prove efficacy of DV's caste identity thesis*"). P.V. Narasimha Rao day and night thinks only of his *jati* and worries only of his *jati*. So too Vajpayee. E.M.S. Namboodripad till the time of his death was president of his *jati* association. Every Brahmin loves his *jati*. This is his greatest quality. Every Brahmin heart is in his *Brahmana Jati Party*. Is this the case with Dalits? If so, why not even 20% of India's Dalits have not joined the BSP? Why the Malas and Madigas are fighting? Why the Malas went to court against the AP Govt. decision to categorise the reservations? Why Mahars made a monopoly of the RPI, Budhist movement and Dr. Ambedkar in Maharashtra? We have answered all these questions in our book, *Caste — A Nation Within the Nation* (Books for Change, Bangalore, 2002).

Kanshi Ram is getting old. His great work — unmatched in Dalit politics — has to be carried on. We have been his supporters from the very beginning. His political mission must continue.

But not all people mobbing him are so much interested in his selfless mission. They flock to him with selfish motives. That is why Kanshi Ram is a sad man today. Because he is facing opposition and criticism from the Dalits only.

In Maharashtra, he was not even allowed to step

in being a Chamar. Only recently some wisdom is dawning upon the Mahars and things are improving. In Andhra Pradesh too the situation is the same. In West Bengal, the vast Namasudras are under the threat of *Manuwadi* Marxists.

Muslim problem: Over and above this the Brahminical toilet papers have dubbed BSP as a Dalit party to see that the BCs and Muslims do not go near it. They have also appointed some agents among Dalits to divide Dalits from BCs. Lot of publicity is given in their toilet papers to these writers to say the enemies of Dalits are not Brahmins but the BCs. The elite Muslims who control Muslim masses are seeking Hindu-Muslim unity. They don't like Dalit-Muslim unity. And we have no media of our own to convey the plenty of Truth and Justice with us.

We may be 85% as Kanshi Ram has said in his Bangalore speech. He is right. But how can we convert this 85% people into our voters?

This is worrying us.

DV Edit March 1, 2000: "*Sunset on the Dalit world*".

DV Edit May 16, 1995: "*Defects of Dalit movement: Brahminism defeating us with its superior strategies & tactics*".

V.T. Rajshekar: *Brahminism swallowing Ambedkarite Movement, DSA-1999.*

DALIT CHRISTIAN CHARGE AGAINST INDIA'S CASTEIST CHURCH

Prof. (Dr.) M. Mary John
Loyola College, Madras, and a noted
Dalit Christian intellectual.

The 14-point charge-sheet against the church says its minority pro-Hindu leadership is deliberately sidelining the majority Dalits and going against the principles laid down by Jesus Christ. Petition submitted to Pope John Paul pp.15 price not marked

Write to author at
22 - Perumal Koil West Wada Street
Saidapet, Madras - 600 015.

Also read CHRISTIANS & DALIT LIBERATION

(What the Church Can Do?)
V.T. Rajshekar
Suggests a 6-point agenda
2000 pp.30 Rs. 10
Dalit Sahitya Akademy
Write to *Dalit Voice*, Bangalore office.

3 exceptional Dalit IAS officers

S.R. BISWAS, BE-203, SALT LAKE CITY, CALCUTTA - 700 064

Dr. Ambedkar used to say we have to acquire higher education and technological knowledge so that our officers can occupy important and decision-making posts. By becoming low-grade clerks some may manage somehow but the Dalit society cannot come up. Unfortunately during his life-time a majority of those who became educated and established themselves through reservation did not do anything for the society. Both Dalit IAS officers and Dalit political stooges betrayed their society.

On March 4, 1995 a seminar on social justice was held at the Constitution Club, Delhi. About 400 Dalit class-1 officers — majority IAS — ventilated their grievances regarding the discrimination and harassment etc. meted out to Dalit officers. Some of the complaints are as follows:-

- (a) Their annual confidential reports are spoiled to ruin their promotion. They are either posted in remote villages or kept in superfluous posts.
- (b) They are denied required training to become eligible for better posts. In spite of specific govt. orders, the upper caste bureaucrats do not punish the offenders nor do they reward the victims.
- (c) They are always treated as inefficient and meritless.

There is nothing new in these charges. It is a fact for all Dalit govt. servants —high or low. The only thing new is that Dalit officers for the first (and last) time made such a representation to the govt. They always silently suffer all types of humiliation and injustices throughout their service. Even now they fail to see that their counterparts get their due promotion and posting in due time under Dalit governance of Dalit Chief Minister in UP and OBC Chief Minister in Bihar.

UP & Bihar cases: Luckily in recent years, three Dalit IAS officers have been able to rise to the occasion and prove their worth and mettle. They are:-

(1) Dr. A.K. Biswas, IAS, Bihar cadre, former Vice-Chancellor and at present a Commissioner. He has been continuously serving the society by writing articles and authoring books to establish the facts that the culture, character, capability etc. of the Dalit Bahujans are in no way inferior to those of the *Manuvadis*. Actually he proved all these by quoting govt. records and made the Dalit society proud and conscious.

(2) The second is Sher Singh, IAS, of the West Bengal cadre. He wrote a book, *The Secular Emperor Babar*, with the govt. permission. He proved the subject matter

working in the Calcutta National Library and important libraries abroad. But this hurt the *Manuvadi* govt. at the Centre and the *Manuvadi sarkar* of the Left Front in West Bengal. They dismissed Sher Singh instead of allowing him to receive the prestigious "King Faisal Award". Undaunted, Sher Singh and his wife are continuing their intellectual works and social service.

(3) Balwant Singh, IAS, of the UP cadre resigned from the coveted service in protest against the inhuman treatment, discrimination and deprivation meted out to him by his upper caste bosses. He preferred resignation to sacrifice of self-respect and surrender of Dalit rights. In spite of similar injustices to the each and every Dalit servant in govt., none protests, none revolts. In that sense his resignation is unique and he refused to enjoy slavery. Thereafter he studied law and has been practising as an advocate and drifted to political and social activities. He authored the following four books so far:-

(a) *An Untouchable in the IAS*, his first book gives a vivid account of his 5 years service life in IAS including the position of the Dalit govt. servants and circumstances which led to his ultimate resignation.

(b) His second book, *Struggle Against Slavery*, relates to his life before entering IAS. He was forced to marry, before higher studies.

(c) *The Beauty of the Himalayas*, his 3rd book, has not yet been studied by this writer.

(d) His fourth book, *The Suffering People*, contains his experiences and perceptions about the social systems prevalent in the different states of the country. He toured extensively and had interactions with Dalit and elite intellectuals of most of the states. This book will serve as a reference book for those who are interested to know the relation between different castes, subcastes and also between different communities of Bahujan Samaj. He says that there is little scope of developing unity and integration between OBCs and SC/STs or between Muslims and Dalits. It was expected that Singh with his vast experience, voracious study and an uncompromising nature would give a vigorous push to Dalit movement. Except endorsing (himself being not involved) conversion to Buddhism and starting of a "Dalit media centre", he fails to follow Babasahab and his Dalit philosophy.

Lest our young generation is not misled by reading his three books, I had to point out some of his drawbacks and deficiencies in them. ■

Dalit literature has to be anti-Brahmin

V.T. RAJSHÉKAR

I am surprised how I have been chosen to give a talk on "Dalit literature" by a group of upper caste writers like you.

Though I have been a journalist with the *Indian Express* for 25 years and later Editor of *Dalit Voice* for 24 years, the upper caste society and its writers never took any interest in me — though I am the author of about 60 books which have gone into 2-3 editions and attracted international attention.

Foreign scholars take interest in my books and the journal but inside India, not only there is no interest but a total blackout. The upper castes (with minor exceptions of course) suffer from strong prejudice. My books are never reviewed.

READING HABIT IS DEAD

Of course, book-reading, book review itself is dead in India. No newspaper is having any book review page - except the *Hindu*. Even in the *Hindu*, the books that are received and acknowledged mostly belong to the category of trash.

Reading habit itself is dead. Book shops are closing down. In our Bangalore Press Club, we have no library or reading room. Our only activity is drinking and playing cards. This is the picture of "*India's Intellectual Desert*", (DSA - 1999) a subject on which I have written a booklet.

INTELLECTUAL DISHONESTY

The country is facing a serious crisis not only in one field but in all other fields. But of all the crises, the most important is the crisis of intellectual dishonesty. Every other crisis is the product of this principal crisis - namely intellectual dishonesty. If

only we had enough number of intellectually honest people, we could have checked the drift of this country.

I am raising this subject here because this is a group of intellectuals. But I don't know how many of you have the courage of conviction to remain intellectually honest. Perhaps it is this streak of intellectual honesty in you that made you to invite me to your club. Can I take it that way?

CASTE PREJUDICES

I learn that your Writers Club is arranging a talk on "Dalit literature" for the first time though the Dalit literature has come to occupy a centre stage in the country's literary world, despite all the prejudice, hatred, apartheid mentality of our upper caste writers.

With this brief introduction, I will now go into the subject with a warning. The warning is that I am not a Dalit writer. I don't belong to the category of litterateurs. My writings deal

Speech delivered at a gathering of English writers under the *Katha Kshetree* in Bangalore on May 25, 2003.

mostly with social science, philosophy, politics, religion though my works border on literature.

The problem with our upper caste writers is that though they are thinkers and scholars, they have not bid a good-bye to their prejudice, hatred which comes with their caste pride.

Thinkers and scholars have to be above pride and prejudice. They must call a spade a spade.

But India's upper caste writers continue to be guided by their caste prejudice and hence continue to

remain imprisoned in their narrow cell. They will not subscribe to the view: "Let hundred flowers bloom and let hundred thoughts contend".

They still keep their age-old mental shutters and do not allow fresh air to cleanse their contaminated mind.

Look at our Union Education Minister, Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi, himself an "academic". The person who is driving the country's academic vehicle is mad. He talks of astrology, palmistry, *swadeshi*, *vastu sashtra*, *karma* theory, miracle, godmen, rebirth—all the nonsense. He wants to take the country back. The Brahmin in him is controlling the brain.

RELIGION AS A DRESS

It is because of this mental block, our upper caste writers did not allow the Dalit literature to grow. Every effort was made to nip the Dalit literature in the bud. But a thought, whether good or bad, can never be suppressed.

Dalit literature being the "literature of the future" did grow, sweeping aside all the resistance. Today it is standing on its own feet though upper caste writers continue to offer all sorts of obstacles.

Dalit literature is the product of angry young minds protesting against all man-made prejudices.

It rejects all that is undesirable in the old moth-eaten, tradition-bound, religion-soaked rubbish of the past. It revolts against exploitation, racism, oppression, male-domination. This is Dalit literature.

The writers of such a literature are mostly the country's lowest of the low, poorest of the poor — who are none other than the Untouchables, victims of a religion called Hinduism though this name does not figure in

any of the Hindu "sacred scriptures". The creators of such a Dalit literature are necessarily Untouchables. But Backward Castes, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs have also produced many Dalit writers because the religion in this country is only a dress. The blood, bone, muscles of these people are Dalit. They may join any religion but continue to be Untouchables. The caste stigma will not leave them even after conversion, generation after generation.

Writings of upper castes even if they write on such subjects like racism, prostitution, Devadasi, caste exploitation, etc. cannot be called Dalit literature because their writings do not come from their hearts but head.

Dalit literature, therefore, has to be authored by Untouchables alone. Only such literature can be called Dalit literature.

DEFINITION OF DALIT WRITER

Some upper caste writers are trying to confuse those who are willing to be confused by saying that the Dalit writings cannot be identified on the basis of caste but class. Even if an upper caste writer writes on caste exploitation, Brahminism etc., he can be called a "Dalit writer".

We don't accept this definition. Marxists were the first to play this mischief but it did not work.

Brahmins maintain that temple priest has to be only a Brahmin. The Supreme Court itself accepted this exclusive monopoly of a caste. When caste should be the criterion for the job of a temple priest (*archaka*) what objection can be there if we insist on the same criterion for a Dalit writer?

Marxism failed to attract the oppressed in this country because of this marxist mischief. The marxists are mischievous because they belong to the upper caste. And the upper castes have become

rulers because of their mischief. And that mischief is the intellectual dishonesty to which I have already referred.

That is why the poorest of the poor in India, namely the Dalits and Tribals, are not getting attracted to marxism. Marxism could not penetrate the huts of the Dalits because its propagators belong to the Brahminical Social Order.

DR. AMBEKAR THOUGHTS

I have written a book itself on this subject: *How Marx Failed in Hindu India* (DSA-1988). This is sold out after having gone into three reprints. Today, the thoughts that attract the Dalits are that Dr. Babasahab Ambedkar. Dalit literature is the literary exposition of Dr. Ambedkar's burning thoughts. No superior philosophy has come so far excelling Ambedkarism. I request the writers here to read the 15 Volumes of *Dr. Ambedkar Writings & Speeches* published by the Maharashtra Govt. I assure you that once you read it, you will feel that you are reborn.

Dalit writings stand for destruction of the existing caste-based hierarchically ordered Hindu value system of which the Dalits are the worst victims. This is because the Untouchables form the foundation on which the Hindu society is built. This foundation has to be destroyed. Dalit literature aims at such a destruction.

Remember: The Untouchables are not Hindu and were never Hindu. They were only **made** Hindu and **called** Hindu. But when they ask for a share in Hindu society, they are kicked, killed, burnt, raped and their little property destroyed. This is called the Hindu philosophy of non-violence. *Sarve Jano Sukhino Bhawantu.*

Dalit literature, therefore, rejects and seeks to destroy all these Hindu values that glamourise the existing exploitative society.

Our upper caste writers deliberately avoid writing on human beings because then they have to identify his or her caste. Identifying the caste will lead to controversy. Upper caste writers want to avoid all "controversy" because writings bordering on caste is dubbed controversial by the upper caste society. That is why they don't choose a human being as their subject matter. They write on a pretty woman, sex, beauty of nature, animals or any such non-issues.

Dalit literature, therefore, seeks to build a new, refreshing society based on justice, truth, equality, humanity.

IN DEFENCE OF POLEMICS

The language employed by the Dalit writers may be crude, blunt, harsh, angry. I face this charge from the upper castes. They say *Dalit Voice* is all polemics. But they don't know that Lenin wrote a book itself defending polemics. (DV Edit Nov. 16, 1986: "*In defence of polemics*").

Over-fed upper caste exploiters have nothing to worry in life. They lead a life of leisure and endless pleasure. They are not angry people and hence use no harsh words. Because they have nothing to complain. But that is not the case with Dalits — born in poverty, live in poverty and die in poverty. Naturally they are angry, impatient in their search for a better life. When they see the overfed upper castes indulging in luxury at their expense, they will be naturally angry. When they use some harsh words, the upper castes dub them as terrorists and their language polemical. I was called a terrorist, arrested under TADA and put in jail. My writings are called polemical. But I don't care. My writings and speeches have to be polemical.

Upper caste writers write for the entertainment of the well-fed

sections of Hindu society to which they belong.

But a Dalit writer has a purpose in life. Hence he or she writes to make the Dalit think, act and make him angry against the wretched social system of which he is the chief victim.

So, the Dalit literature is exactly opposed to the values of upper caste literature of the leisured class.

Most of the upper caste writings deal with Hindu gods, their sexual pursuits, drink and debauchery, their "sacred scriptures". Some deal with nature and its beauty. Some with Sai Baba and such takes and frauds. Such a literature seldom deals with the human being. Even if it sometimes deals with a human being, invariably we find there some mischief of the writer. We in Karnataka had a powerful Dalit leader called Basavalingappa. He described such worthless, upper caste literature as *boosa* (cattle

feed) literature. It is only the man in pain who groans, cries, shouts. But a man brought up with all the heavenly comfort speaks only "sophisticated language".

He does not want to revolt. Revolt against what? He has no complaint. He seeks the status quo. Such people produce *boosa* literature.

DR. AMBEDKAR WAS HATED

But a man in pain shouts because he needs immediate relief. He has every right to be unartistic, obscene, crude, ugly, uncouth, even vulgar. That is the life he is leading and when describing it he has to write all these things which will not be liked by the upper castes.

I am sure you will describe my speech also as offending. But I don't care. You invited me. Before inviting me I had warned you not to invite me.

Brahminical Social Order does not like our writers. Because DSO is

guided by prejudice. It is this prejudice that made them to denounce the country's greatest philosopher and statesman, Dr. Ambedkar, as anti-Brahmin.

Dr., Ambedkar, whom I have described as the Father of India, was anti-Brahmin because Brahminism stands for fascism, anti-humanism. Hence Brahminism is not only the enemy of all Indians but the enemy of Brahmins also, particularly the Brahmin women. Unless Brahminism is destroyed, India cannot be rescued from its present plight.

Dr. Ambedkar was interested in rescuing India, and that is why he has to be anti-Brahmin. Dalit writers also have to be essentially anti-Brahmin.

Cultural revolution means uprooting Brahminism which is the cause of India's downfall.

Thank you for your hospitality. ■

Black prisoner in US jail thanks DV

ZOLO AGONA AZANIA, #4969, MAXIMUM CONTROL COMPLEX, PO BOX - 557, WESTVILLE, INDIANA 46391 - 0557, USA

I am a Muslim brother. The *Dalit Voice* has been good to me, and I highly appreciate your unselfish care and concern. You gave me a *Voice* by publishing information about my case which alerted people to the injustice in the US (DV Feb. 16, 2001 p.12). Two racist jury trials were rigged against me. The United States of Amerikkka does not view itself as a multi-ethnic society where pluralism and diversity are the enriching factors. If a person is of European extraction here they're not recognized by their ethnic identity. They're called "White". That is what makes them Amerikkkan. They do not like their non-White minorities to communicate with people of different cultures from other parts of the world.

The Indiana Information Centre on the Abolition of Capital Punishment has pleaded for my release. The press note says:

For over two decades, Zolo has proven himself to be a model prisoner and a productive citizen.

Within the prison he has a record of non-violence and is greatly respected by fellow prisoners as well as many of the correctional staff. He has also become an accomplished writer and artist. His oil paintings have been exhibited across the US and his artwork has also appeared as illustrations in several books written by others. In addition, Zolo has written numerous articles and pamphlets about the politics, social plight and culture of Black people in America. Through his artwork and writings, Zolo has become known to people from different communities, including religious people, cultural workers, African-American elected officials and activists and anti-death penalty advocates. Those who have come to know Zolo over the years can attest to his gentle nature, his profound commitment to social justice and his dedication to equality for all people. It is clear that Zolo's is a life, which under any circumstances, should not be extinguished by the State of Indiana. After 21 years of exemplary conduct he has proven that he deserves to live. (PO Box: 55033, Indianapolis, IN 46205-033, 317 466 7128).

Was Dr. Ambedkar anti-Muslim?

DR. ANAND TULTUMBDE

It indeed is an amusing paradox that the Sangh Pariwar whose aim is to make India a Hindu Rashtra, based on the "unique" values, traditions, belief, faith and culture of ancient India, in place of the current secular, republican structure which is based on the constitutional parliamentary democracy, seeks to use Ambedkar, who more than anyone else is identified with the existing structure that it wants to demolish and who has been the biggest critique of everything Hindu that they want to revive. At one end, it toys with denying him credit for making of the Constitution or for contributing to nation-building and childishly maligns him as a "false god" while at the other, it ensconces him in its sanctum sanctorum and eulogizes as the "true nationalist", the greatest benefactor of the Hinduism and Hindu nation.

It is almost impossible to rationally delineate the stand of the master myth-makers in the Sangh Pariwar on Babasahab Ambedkar or for that matter on any live issue. Because, basically what they say does not represent their stand; it rather reflects the shifting sands with which they make their myths. Myths, as Kappen says, are mere symbolic interpretation of reality in terms of transcendent events, events in a time beyond time, and a place beyond place; they are meant only to evoke unconditional faith and commitment; they are never an object of contemplation but an invitation to action. Myths therefore can only be

understood in terms of their end use. The myth of "false god" in denigration of Babasahab Ambedkar through some pseudo intellectual who is not technically a part of the Pariwar serves the end use of causing crack

Was Dr. Ambedkar anti-Muslim?

Hindu nazi propaganda against Dr. Ambedkar rebutted

A must book for every Dalit & Muslim

DR. AMBEDKAR ON MUSLIMS

Dr. Anand Tulumbe

Noted Dalit writer from Bombay

Hindu nazi strategy is to win over Dalits, *hinduise* (enslave) them and then turn them against Muslims. The Gujarat Genocide-2002 was the first major experiment in history to convert India into a *Hindurashtra*. For this, they have manufactured all sorts of lies on Dr. Ambedkar saying that he was the enemy of Muslims and a great admirer of Hinduism. Only a few corrupted and co-opted Dalits have been won over by such Hindu nazi lies. The book is the first attempt to rescue Babasahab from the clutches of these nazis, says Sandeep Pendse in his foreword to the book.

Contents: (1) *Ambedkar was against the Muslims*, (2) *Ambedkar called Muslims terrorists*, (3) *Ambedkar believed in two-nation theory*, (4) *Ambedkar believed in cultural nationalism*, (5) *Ambedkar considered Muslims as vandals*, (6) *Ambedkar's Pakistan or Partition of India is an anti-Muslim text*, (7) *Ambedkar thought Muslims always sang hymn of hate for hindu and India*, (8) *Ambedkar believed that Hindus and Muslims cannot co-exist peacefully*, (9) *Ambedkar detested Muslims as anti-reform*, (10) *Ambedkar was on the side of the Hindus*, (11) *Ambedkar was a rationalist & concluding remarks*.

Muslims have hardly made any attempt to study Dr. Ambedkar, who was the born enemy of Hinduism of which Muslims are the worst victims.

An authoritative book by a noted Ambedkarite scholar from Bombay exploding all the myths weaved around Dr. Ambedkar, calling him enemy of Muslims. In 11 chapters, the author answers all the questions in Dr. Ambedkar's own words.

2003

pp.94

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in the solidifying social belief system that granted him greatness, without incurring the loss by alienating the Dalit masses from the Pariwar. The Myth of Ambedkar the greatest is anyway aimed at wooing them. The

only problem with the Sangh Pariwar is that it is wrong in both, denigration of as well as acclamation to Ambedkar. Ambedkar's greatness does not lie in either making of the Constitution or in contributing to building of the Indian nation, which it denied could prove that he was a "false god". It only reflected intellectual bankruptcy and fruitless begari of those who indulged in this intrigue. As for acclamation, Ambedkar is adored as a true nationalist that was we have seen in the foregoing discussion, he was not. He is praised as the greatest benefactor of the Hinduism and Hindu nation because he embraced Buddhism that the Sangh Pariwar includes into its smoggy definition of the hinduness. The fact is that Babasahab Ambedkar embraced Buddhism because it symbolized the greatest revolt against Brahminism that the Sangh Pariwar seeks to revive; it gave a lofty vision of "liberty, equality and fraternity" for mankind because it was a non-religion that could effortlessly accommodate modernity. For him "Hinduism is a menace to liberty, equality and fraternity". Ambedkar's greatness lies in his enlivening the mass of people who were denuded of their every right and even human identity by the "unique values, traditions, belief, faith and culture of ancient India" that the Sangh Pariwar so proudly upholds.

His greatness lies in being able to rise above the immediate, while engaged in the existential struggle for the emancipation of the downtrodden, and articulating a vision for the human future. His greatness lies in dissecting

the cobweb of Indian social structure that the Brahmanic hegemony weaved over millennia and indicating the ways to destroy it; it lies in hinting at the design of a key for the Indian democratic revolution. Pity, the people who swear by his name are blissfully unaware of this and are prepared to fall prey to the poisonous propaganda of the Sangh Parivar. It is here that the Sangh Parivar sees its opportunity.

The Dalits and Adivasis have always constituted the core of the *Hindutva* myth ever since its seeds were laid in the movement for Hindu Sanghian or Hindu nationalism in the 19th century because they define the boundaries of the Hindu empire. The upper caste Hindu hegemony was ever worried, having been badly bruised and humiliated under the Muslim rule for nearly eight centuries, having lost almost one-fifth of its population to Islam mostly from these oppressed groups, about the vulnerability of its margins and the

threat to its societal and cultural hegemony. Moreover, the Sangh Parivar knows it cannot enact its fascist *Hindutva* agenda without these oppressed people. They are required to do its foot soldiery as demonstrated in the Gujarat "experiment". They need to be kept shackled in false consciousness. Taking advantage of the Ambedkar-centric sentimentalism that the Dalits themselves created as substitute of their every movement, it shrewdly jumped to co-opt Ambedkar, mythicize his thoughts, demolish "Dalit" consciousness and get the Dalits to execute its fascist agenda.

The Dalits must understand the evil schemes of the Sangh Parivar. Babasahab Ambedkar was too great a person to be prejudiced against a particular people. Showing him so is not only a falsehood but a deliberate act of insult.

The Sangh Parivar woos them by transcending caste. Caste is not

something that can be switched off by a myth of "Hindu Unity". Their contradictions with the forces that represent *Hindutva* are too deep seated to be brushed over by such euphemisms.

Far beyond their existential concerns, which might impel them to seek shelter under *Hindutva*, they must realize their emancipation is integrated with the liberation of all the oppressed people.

They have to rescue their Ambedkar from the enemy camp; learn to see in him the radical science of liberation of mankind. Parochialism, xenophobia, obscurantism, caste or communalism is antithetical to Ambedkar thought. Every oppressed person, no matter which country, race, religion he or she belongs to, is a friend of a Dalit and every oppressor his foe.

(Full text of the *Concluding Remarks*, pp.87 - 90). ■

Bush & Blair in serious trouble

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Bush and Blair, dancing to the tunes of the zionists, are in serious trouble for lying, misleading their governments and then going to war in Iraq. And for committing such grave sins and causing such a great humanitarian disaster, they deserve to be punished. DV has proved right. Bush bragged and went to war in Afghanistan on the charge that Osama bin Laden caused the "terrorist" attack on America and was hiding in that country. There also he failed. Neither he could catch nor kill Osama or his accomplices. They are all safe.

Mystery about WTC attack: The US Govt. appointed a high-power commission to investigate the intelligence failure behind the "terrorist" attack on World Trade Centre and Pentagon. But the commission has made no progress because every wing of the govt. involved in the probe is non-cooperating with the commission. That means the different govt. agencies are hiding something. But the Bush Govt. announced that Osama and his team launched the attack and arrested so many Muslims and then launched the deadly war on

Afghanistan. When a 150% case was made against Osama, why the different govt. wings are obstructing the commission work? Does it not prove that these fellows are trying to hide something? What is this "something"?

DV was the first to describe that the "terrorist attack" was launched not by Osama but the zionists.(DV Oct.1, 2001 p.9: "Did Israel attack Pentagon & WTC?" & p.10: "A Zionist plot?" & "Mossad link to US tragedy?").

The mountains of lies manufactured by Bush and Blair have been totally demolished and we will soon see the heads rolling. The first casualty will be Blair, the tail of Bush. Meanwhile, American soldiers are getting killed in Iraq daily. And the entire Arab world is enjoying the American predicament. Neither the weapons of mass destruction (WMD) are found after so many months nor normalcy restored in Iraq. Leaders of US and England are pushing the world to precipice. Unless this world policeman (USA) is taught a lesson, nobody can live in peace. ■

Dr. Bachchu Lal, Scientist, Dept. of Neurology, Neuro-Oncology Lab, Kennedy Krieger Research Institute, Johns Hopkins Medical Institutes, Baltimore, MD, USA:

I am not a political leader. I did spend lot of time for social work in Lucknow. I always have a feeling to help our Balmiki community because they are the most Dalits doing menial work. I also had very bad and poor days in the beginning of my childhood but one thing I learned that without education I cannot go up, so I focussed on my education and reached at this stage. One thing I also learned: that is first put all efforts to bring up your family and then think of the society. I saw kids of several politicians. They were not educated. I congratulate the Editor of DV because you are doing something for our community. I think something is better than nothing. I belong to the Balmiki community. Still hundreds of Balmiki families are living near public toilets in slums in UP. In UP, several town areas and notified areas sweepers are not getting their pay on time. They get their pay after several months and in the meantime they get loan from money-lenders at high rate of interest for their survival, so their lot of money from pay goes as interest. At this time we have our Dalit chief minister. Is she doing anything for them? If my Dalit Chief Minister cannot do, then what can Hindus? (lal@kennedykrieger.org).

Anwar Ul Haque, House 116, St.49F 11/3, Islamabad - 44000, Pakistan: The Brahmins, who constitute only 3% of the population, are ruling India through both the Congress and BJP. The zionists are ruling USA, UK, France, Germany, Russia etc. Putin is a diehard zionist. In other countries they have created Qadyanis, Bahais and Ismailis. Qaddafi, Saddam and Bashir Asad are Ismailis. Imperialist powers love them. They act as their loyal dogs and described by the zionists in their *Protocols*. They are amply fed and these in turn bite the nations in which they are. If you are a strong Muslim they can't hurt you. Bhutto's party had 16 Qadyanis and MNAs. Qadayinis imposed large IMF and World Bank loans on Pakistan thus making the poor more poor. Without Islam Spain would have been in the Dark Ages along with Europe and America. Nobel Prizes are worse than toilet papers. Begin, one of the worlds' gravest terrorists, received Nobel Prize for Peace. Like the title "Sir", Nobel Prizes are used for political gains by the zionists.

Abdu Faug (tahirakhan@athi.com): This is a reply to Naveed Hussain (DV July 1, 2003 p.12) on "Women human bombers": It depends upon how one defines the word suicide. If it is just "killing oneself", then bombers

are committing suicide. If the suicides are happening because of sheer frustrations, then they are committing suicide. If suicides are happening because of some philosophical, controversial interpretation of a Quranic injunction, then they are not just committing suicides – they are also being plain stupid. Vast majority of them are gullible, immature youth, in their teens, and twenties — they are easy prey to the clutches of the association (*Ulema*). The word *Jihad* does sometime mean "holy war" but then *Jihad* would be a struggle against oppression and would be carried out against the active aggressor with *ummah*-wise unity, wisdom, righteous leadership and last but not least — appropriate resources. Then, it will not be suicide. It will be the true *Jihad* for all humanity to emulate.

Umair Ahmed Muhajir, 244 W-64th Street, Apt.1C, New York, NY 10023, USA: I have great interest in Indian politics, history etc., watched the events of the last decade, and culminating in Gujarat, with growing concern, despondency and horror. It is not in my nature to give up on India but I think recent events make clear that those who oppose the Hindu nazi *agēhda* must be ever more determined. But Gujarat illustrates a wider problem. Speaking personally as a Muslim, it has bothered me for quite some time that what passes by the name of "Muslim politics" in India exclusively concerns itself with the religious or cultural rights of Muslims (as those rights are defined by a small North Indian cultural or reactionary clerical) minority. The absence of solidarity with Dalits and other oppressed sections of society, has been very distressing for me. This is not just because a broad coalition stands a better chance of opposing the Hindu nazi thought that is certainly true. This is also because the reality of caste among Muslims remains largely unacknowledged. It is obviously the case and a matter of historical record that the vast majority of Muslims in India today are descendants of converts from the so-called "lower castes". The current poverty and difficulties faced by the Muslims are in large part not simply the anti-Muslim sentiment but also of the suppression of so-called "lower castes" that can be seen all over. The problem is exacerbated because both the state and the representatives of Muslims themselves (assorted *imams*, upper-class Muslims etc.) refuse to acknowledge the reality of caste, thus cutting of "lower caste" Muslims from access to the new and dynamic politics of caste that is transforming India even as we speak. Thus, I believe true justice, equality and advancement for all the oppressed sections of society will come when segments of society that are similarly

situated materially, create and live a politics of solidarity. All is not gloomy on the political front: in recent years the voting base of parties like the Bahujan Samaj Party, as also the formation (in 1994) of

scholarly/theoretical pieces on these issues do not really carry books with a more overtly activist bent (by people like Kancha Iiahiah) and so it is a quite challenge to procure them. I was very

Jews & Jews of India

[RSOLANO \(RSOLANO@RGV.RR.COM\)](mailto:RSOLANO@RGV.RR.COM)

This is what Carol Giacom, Diplomatic Correspondent of the Reuters in Washington, has to say on the American Jews: When India's Deputy Prime Minister L.K. Advani was in Washington in June his brief visit included dinner at the elite Cosmos Club, courtesy the American Jewish Committee (AJC). Although he had come here for talks with President Bush and his key aides, he made time for the influential pro-Israel lobbying group and thus underscored intensified relations among the three "democracies." As ties between India and the US on the one hand, and India and Israel on the other hand have improved significantly in recent years, the AJC has been a steady, largely unheralded, advocate of this trend. "It's a natural alliance between Israel and India", said Jason Isaacson, the committee director of government and international affairs. "It's about trade and common interests between democracies (and), complementing that is the growing relationship between Indian Americans and American Jews", as well as between the United States and India, he said in a telephone interview. The committee had staged many meetings with leading Indian figures. Isaacson has visited India seven times since 1995 and the AJC plans to set up a liaison office in India this year. The organization which claims more than 100,000 members is also renovating a school in Gujarat where Muslims have been the victims of ethnic violence. Brajesh Mishra, India's Security Adviser, speaking at the AJC's annual meeting on May 8, hailed a "historical affinity" between India and the Jewish people and noted India is one of a few countries with no history of anti-Semitism. India and Israel now have full diplomatic ties and broad economic and defense cooperation and India hopes Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon will soon make an official visit. Mishra said. Two-way trade is more than \$1 billion annually and Israel is especially keen to cultivate India as a market for its defense industry. The US which must approve Israeli weapons sales that include American technology, recently allowed the transfer to India of the Phalcon Airborn Early Warning, Command and Control System, an estimated \$1 billion deal.

DV June 16, 2002 p.6: "Budding friendship between Hindu nazis & US Jews".

perhaps can be read as signs of a new solidarity. Obviously these are just first steps and Gujarat where Dalits were often co-opted by the Hindu nazi forces against the Muslims (which co-optation was doubtless made easier by the unfortunate counter-productive and unjust attitude among too many urban Muslims that sees Hindu as an undifferentiated identity and that ignores the manifest reality of caste in Indian life), presents the flip side. Also the BSP has also disappointed me in many ways not so much because of who its coalition partner in UP is as because of the very real danger that Mayawati will turn the Bahujan movement into merely a vehicle for a cult of personality. But despite these things I feel hopeful that first steps have been taken and if the beginnings are modest we should remember that Mahatma Phule's beginnings were also modest. Given these concerns, which I have outlined above I decided to learn more about the various political movements in India that have similar or allied goals. I do not just mean political parties, but any movement, organization, publication etc., that is struggling to articulate and put into action a vision of a more just form of politics for the historically unacknowledged majority. On my part I am currently far removed from India geographically and I have no practical experience in these matters but I feel very strongly and am deeply interested in these issues and am trying to educate myself all the time. It is difficult as even the bookstores that sell books on India while they carry a number of excellent

pleased to come across the Iqbal Ahmed Shariff interview because for once it seemed I had found someone who held similar views. As someone who has far more experience and awareness of these issues, I am truly very pleased to make your acquaintance and would love to read the materials you have sent me, and also to know your thoughts on the situation that confronts us. I am certainly interested in doing my small bit through the modest contributions that I am capable of, to support the causes that I believe in. I would appreciate your help in pointing me to avenues where I can be of assistance, whether by means of contributions or in other ways that you can think of. Living in New York I am somewhat cut off from sources of information though the internet has been a big boon to me.

Jatinder Maan Singh
(jatsikh_youthforum@yahoo.co.uk): References such as "tool and racist Jats" only upset us because they insult our families' ancestral roots. The Jat *biradree* does not give racial and casteist consideration. Jats are not part of the four-fold Hindu caste system. They are not Brahmin, Khatri, Vais or Shudra. Anyone who talks about caste is not a Sikh and in fact is an enemy of the Sikhs because he is dividing

the Sikh *gurm* and is directly playing into the hands of our enemies.

Gurtej Singh (singhgurtej@yahoo.com): The reference in the *Guru Granth* about people's caste are metaphorical and reflect the reality of the social structure prevalent at that time. They also convey the message that there is only one god and unlike the Hindu caste system, where low castes are barred from the god's grace, in Sikhism the god's grace can be attained by love and meditation by all irrespective of their castes that were referred to during that period. In the entire *Guru Granth* the caste is condemned. Any reference like Jat *biradari* or Pothohar *biradari* only brings back racial and casteist considerations and is totally unnecessary. The entire Sikh *gurm* has been divided on caste, *dera*, *sect*, *sadh*, *sant*, *baba*, Radhoswami, *Naqli Niranakari* and countless other divisions. All these are being actively encouraged by the Brahmin gang and its criminal and terrorist agencies to permanently exterminate Sikhs. Anyone who calls himself as Jat is totally a fool and racist and is subservient to his Brahmin masters. As per Hindu *varna* system as per the *Manu Smriti*, the Jat is one step above the Untouchables. The Guru raised the status of all the Jats or Dalits and told them that they were equals as any human being.

Gurnam Singh Muktsar, 2 - Bhagat Singh Nagar, B/h Bus Stand, Muktsar - 152 026: To understand this final truth that Sikhism is a rebirth of Buddhism, I took 20 long years after deep study and contemplation. About five years ago I had said this but some Sikhs and even Dalit intellectuals did not agree. When I was reading the book, *Budh-Dharam* (Punjabi edition, 2003), by Prof. Laxmi Narasu, (1907) with a foreword by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, the greatest Budhist of the 20th century, my opinion about the oneness of two Indian thoughts got further confirmed. Now I can produce many thoughts explained in the *Guru Granth* by great Dalit saints and gurus, in the same spirit and thought. In my forthcoming book, "I shall not die as a Hindu", I have detailed the similarities of thought in Buddhism, Sikhism and Phule - Ambedkarism. When I say that India is going through the fourth phase of social revolution it is very open that thoughts of great Budha passed on to Dalit saints and gurus retold by Phule and Dr. Ambedkar are followed by a Dalit-Backward intellectuals of India like V.T. Rajshekar. These revolutionary thoughts represent a continuous socio-religious war against Brahminism. We the Dalit Sikhs, who have fully understood the truth, will not allow any work to hand over Sikhism to Brahminical forces. We will fight back to save the socio-human revolutions that rose against the tyranny of the BSO. I

have decided to devote at least one year to make our people know the above truth. Unfortunately my poor English limits my studies. It is our misfortune that the Sikhs have surrendered their great revolutionary religion to the BSO. To be Budhist, a Sikh and Ambedkarite is one thing. If we could convey this message to our masses, this life of ours will be a great success. Look at the conclusion of Babasaheb. He said:

"I have three gurus Budha, Kabir and Phule".

If we make our people think on these lines, the revolution is sure to come. BSO has made us not to think. We have to make them think and understand the supreme truth that Sikhism is rebirth of Buddhism as followed by Phule and Dr. Ambedkar.

Nishkant Waghmare, 22-Rajningandha, Juhu Scheme, 11-Gulmohar Road, Bombay - 400 049 (nishnirvana@yahoo.com): With a view to reorganising the party in the state before the Assembly elections, UP CM and national vice-president of the BSP Mayawati on July 2 effected a change in the organisational setup. She appointed Bhojiraj Solanki as the new state unit chief, replacing Shivdan Meghwal. Meghwal was removed as president after the party discovered that he was sentenced by a court for three years on corruption charges. Meghwal was appointed party president after the exit of BSP MLA, Jagat Singh Dayma.

Dr. R.B. Kamalakar, Pereira Estate, 2nd Floor, B.B. Borkar Road, Porvorim, Goa - 403 521: Regarding Buddhism, I can't progress unless the whole community thinks of Buddhism. Very rarely the Maharashtra Chamars are Budhists. I wanted a Chamar Budhist for a religious ceremony but couldn't find one. Frustrated, I did with some old Hindu traditions (my *gruhpravesh*). Practically very difficult to follow Buddhism in Hindu India.

Dr. Anand Teltumbde, 4D - Jeevan Jyot, Setalwad Lane, Nepean Sea Road, Bombay - 400 036: I have known DV for years and through it you. I have been working in peoples' movements since my student days. Professionally, I am an engineer, MBA from Ahmedabad, and later cybernetician by virtue of my doctorate degree in that subject. My writings were basically occasioned by the circumstances, as you would see. I wrote some six-seven books so far, numerous papers etc. both technical as well as social (economics). My recent book is *Ambedkar on Muslims* (2003, Vikas Adhyan Kendra, Bombay, pp. 100 Rs. 75). All my books are getting widely translated. This one is shortly coming in Kannada.

You wanted to know what kind of support we need. Dr. Ambedkar captured our hearts and

*minds not because he was a Union Minister, or for any other purpose. He entered into our hearts and through that the history solely because he was an outstanding intellectual and that too an honest intellectual. That was how he was able to diagnose our disease and also provide the medicine. We were not able to use his medicine because we did not produce such intellectuals of stature. There may be some but they lack intellectual honesty. We think that you are one such rare honest intellectual. It is only such honest intellectuals who can fight the ruling class and secure justice. We have tackled this subject in our book, **India's Intellectual Desert** which we sent you. If you agree with our assessment then we will tell you what sort of support we need from you —*

EDITOR.

G.L. Naik, H.No. 921 - Saraswathi Bhavan, Khursawada, Kajubag, Karwar - 581 301: Read your three books (1) *India's Intellectual Desert*, (2) *Brahminism*, (3) *How Marx Failed in Hindu India*. All the three are powerful books with important contents. Your expressions are superlative, excellent and attracted me to read and complete the same in just one to two sittings. I am very much pained to see the steady deterioration of the society: slum dwellers, child labourers, child prostitutes and prostitutes. My heart tells me that it is all the mischief and treachery of 3% *vaidiks*. Brahminism has been robbing the country's wealth since the last 3,000 years by enslaving us — the 97% indigenous people by imposing their caste system. "Independence" did not bring any change in the life of Dalits, Tribals, Backwards and minorities. I am a science graduate retired from the Telephones Dept. as Engineer in 1997. I belong to a "lower caste" among the Backwards. I want to form a DV Readers forum at Karwar.

Ranjit Naik, President-AIBSS, Bldg. No. 53 - Ground Floor, Near MHADA, Gandhi Nagar, Bombay - 400 051: All-India Banjara Sevangh is the national organisation off/for Banjaras. The Banjara Tribals come under different categories in various states. In Karnataka-SC, Andhra Pradesh-ST, Maharashtra-DNT. We need your support. Dalits and Tribals should work together in solidarity. AIBSS is 50-years old representing Banjaras whose population exists in 26 states and 5 mega cities of India. We have our bilingual fortnightly, *Bharat Banjara*.

Tribals and Dalits are one but artificially divided. Banjaras are reduced to bone and skin and the educated among them are losing their identity. When V.P. Naik was Chief Minister of Maharashtra, we had an hour-long talk with him on Banjaras. We were then in the Indian Express

- EDITOR.

Paul Divakar: National Convenor, National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights, (pddivakar@satyam.net.in): The caste system and caste-like systems which have strong elements of descent-based discrimination is now an established phenomenon in all the South Asian countries including Mauritius and at least about 20 countries in Africa. It is a fact that in Senegal caste structure exists among African peoples and when we were raising this issue in the UN in the pre-WCAR in 2000, a UN expert committee member from the UN Subcommission for Human Rights has on record accepted this fact. Later the Human Rights Watch brought a report on the traces of discrimination in Africa and in the global context. A colleague in the IDSN (International Dalit Solidarity Network), Alex Stevens, brought out a researched note on the caste systems and the discrimination practices globally, which we used in the advocacy efforts in the UN during the UN CERD (Committee for Elimination of Racial Discrimination) in Aug.2002. Through IDSN, we were able to contact persons articulating these issues and facilitated participation of leaders representing these concerns. Nigeria, Senegal, Kenya and Somalia. Friends from Buraku community, Japan, and Dalit communities in Nepal, Sri Lanka and India were there. With these concerted interventions the UN CERD committee, a unanimous General Recommendation was passed, named GR XXXIX, which is the first official declaration of the UN CERD Committee:

"Strongly condemning descent-based discrimination, such as discrimination on the basis of caste and analogous systems of inherited status, as a violation of the convention"

and made clear recommendations to address this system globally. I feel this is a beginning only and solid ground work needs to be done in all these countries before any substantial resolution and liberation can be achieved. If you are interested in the global caste systems and other matters please visit: www.dalits.org.

Ms. Sumita, Activist, Gondwana Mukti Sena, Gondwana Vikas Mandal, 233 - Sant Tukdoji Nagar, Manewara Road, Nagpur - 440 024: The *Manu Smriti* made the brahminists to sing "pyre-burn *mataram*". Consequently, as soon as the father was dead the sons used to put their mother on the pyre and burn her alive along with the father's body. They held bamboos in their hand to foil her attempt to escape from the burning pyre. Thus, for thousands of years, the Brahminical culture kept on performing and singing loudly the "pyre-burn *mataram*". Hence they started loudly singing *Dhandhe Mataram* (mother go to prostitution business). According to

Amalan Chaudhary (the *Hirwada*, Nagpur) in religious places of Varanasi, Kashi, Mathura over 3,50,000 widows are victim of sexual exploitation, harassment, rape and are suffering from various diseases. They have no alternative but to become keeps of *panda*-priests or become prostitutes. Anybody can rape them. Nobody listens to their complaints. Every year 7,000 widows die due to TB, cancer and other diseases and municipal employees dispose off their bodies without performing any religious ritual. Among these widows over 70% belong to Brahmin-Baniya families and over 59% belong to rich and "cultured" families. These widows are dumped by these members of "cultured families" so that they can grab the property of these widows. Deepa Mehta, a film director in her proposed film *Water*, wanted to attract public attention to the inhuman suffering of these widows. But the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Bajrang Dal and other organizations of the nazi party reacted violently and prevented the film shooting and threatened Deepa Mehta. So the singing of *Dhandhe Mataram* is going on without any interruption — openly and loudly. This business is in full swing in various temples where young women are brought into prostitution by converting them into *Devadasis*, *jogins* and what not in the name of their religion. Indigenous people of India are very rapidly becoming victims of the Brahminical conspiracies. (Read *Tri-Blisi Shoshan Yuh Vidhvans Part 1 & 2*). We call upon Hindu nazis to stop this hypocrisy of singing *Vande Mataram* and start singing openly *Dhandhe Mataram* if they have any honesty left.

Dr. A.R. Biswas, "Gairick", 18 - Cooperative Road, Calcutta - 700 070: This refers to a Letter, "Aryans are foreigners" (DV June 16, 2003 p.17) by S.K. Thorat. In the book, *Who Were the Shudras? (Writings & Speeches*, Vol. 7), Dr. Ambedkar held that the Aryans were not foreigners. But it was said by Bhagwan Das (*Thus Spake Ambedkar*, Vol.II, p.45) that Dr. Ambedkar changed his view in 1951 and said that the Aryans were foreigners. Hence the question is: In which volume of the *Writings & Speeches of Dr. Ambedkar* this change is found?

Dr. V.D. Chandanshive, Cottage Vaishali, Shahu Nagar, Nanded - 431 602: Hinduism alias Brahminism has been receiving jolts after jolts particularly after the 9th century AD during which the Adi Shankara put forth his brainstorming efforts to rejuvenate the erstwhile Vedic (Brahminic) religion with a new sticker called Hinduism. Muslim invasions which began in the 7th century AD were a nemesis for the *vaidiks* for having caused an ouster of an egalitarian religion called Buddhism by hatching conspiracies and bloody counter-revolution against the Buddhist ruler, Brihadratha. The Anno Domini not only

saw the Muslim rule in India but also unleashed a spree of religious conversions to Islam. As if this was not enough the nemesis was extended up to the British rule and more Christian conversions in India. For about 1,000 years, India was allowed shamelessly to slip under foreign yoke from time to time just to maintain the supremacy of a minuscule minority of *vaidiks* to subjugate and suppress the Bahujan Samaj. But unfortunately even the foreign rule could not totally root out the canker of Brahminism and casteism from the Indian society. But one positive fallout of the British rule was the emergence of self-respect movements in the nook and corner of the country accelerated by the Bahujan and non-Brahmin social reformers who contributed a great deal to shake the Brahminical edifice. Prominent among these social revolutionaries were Jyotiba Phule in Maharashtra and Periyar E. V. Ramaswamy in South India. Jyotiba Phule had floated his own *Satyadharm* during his Sanyashodhak Movement. Then came the historic Buddhist conversion of 1956 led by Dr. Ambedkar. In the history of religious conversions this has been considered the biggest one. Babasaheb wanted it to be a non-stop process till the entire country was converted to Buddhism. But, alas, his followers in Maharashtra created a total deadlock in Ambedkarite movement as a whole and this dream project was abandoned by them. Hopefully the signs of Buddhist conversion are becoming visible in North India. In Maharashtra in the coming years, it is going to be a different matter altogether as a great number of writers and thinkers of the Maratha community have decided to take the bull by its horns. This is the community which begot one of the greatest rulers of India, Chartrapati Shivaji, whom Jyotiba Phule described as the "King of Shudras". This was the Mahraja who was denied coronation by the Brahmin priests on the ground that he was not a Kshatriya. The Brahmin priesthood had such a sway over the rulers that the rulers had to get it certified from the priests that they were Kshatriyas as no other *varna* was allowed to rule. The Brahmin priests (Gaga Bhatt and his minnows) pretended to trace the lineage of Shivaji and connected him with the Rajput Kshatriyas of North India. Gaga Bhatt demanded a big bribe to grant Shivaji's coronation. But later we find a Brahmin historian, V.K. Rajwade, finally describing Shivaji as *shudra*. A brave visionary and secular ruler like Shivaji needed no certificate from the Brahmins. But even the ablest of rulers were subjected to such a silent brahminical terrorism that the rulers had to surrender. Even the Mughal emperor Akbar was kept under the spell of Brahmins. Brahmins have often infiltrated into the powers that be to safeguard their vested

interests irrespective of whether the rulers were native or foreign. This was done by them at the cost of the Bahujan Samaj. In Maharashtra, a debate is going on the new religion, *Shivdharma*, which will be floated in 2005 (DV Nov.16, 2002 p.5: "*Marathas to quit Hinduism*"). The Marathas have accepted the fact that they have been thoroughly *hinduised* (enslaved). It is good they have realised the diabolic nature of Hinduism. After being rulers of Maharashtra for the last 50 years it has finally dawned upon them that Hinduism has blocked the progress and prosperity of Bahujans. Now they say Hinduism is atrocious as it teaches to commit injustice upon "lower castes" through injunctions, regulations, rules and rituals. It is heartening that they have realised the monstrously slavish aspect which is inherent in Hinduism. They are now holding conferences to awaken the masses to prepare them for the historic conversion. Apart from mass awakening, an in-depth study of *Shivdharma* is undertaken by the think-tank formed for the purpose. The leading personalities involved in this are Purushottam Khedekar, an engineer, recognised as a social and cultural activist of repute. The other leading figure is Dr. A.H. Solunke, an educationist, a scholar and a rationalist thinker who has several books to his credit. They are proceeding very cautiously as they know that to launch a new religion and to get adherents to it is not an easy job. But the Maharashtrians have a precedent in the Satyashodhak movement of Phule. A lot of research will have to go into this process which the leaders are capable of. Dr. Ambedkar had spent 20 years to prepare his people for conversion. But he was alone to accomplish his task. The Marathas have a band of devoted and committed activists for this job. Besides being rulers it should not be too difficult for them to accomplish it. If so, they will go down in history as social and cultural revolutionaries next to the great ruler such as Ashoka and Shahu Maharaj. I cannot forbid myself from recording a note of caution here. Whenever and whoever tries to challenge Brahminism from outside or inside, the *vaidiks* have ready shock-absorbers to nullify its effect. They know how to swallow and assimilate these dissenters. They will not even hesitate to hand over the country to foreign rulers to maintain the supremacy of their caste culture. The indigenous religions such as Buddhism, Jainism, Sikhism and *Satyadharma* have been swallowed by them. Religious conversions to Christianity and Islam were tackled by floating such sects as Arya Samaj, Brahma Samaj and Prarthana Samaj and Vishwa Hindu Parishad. The protagonists involved in *Shivdharma* have a big challenge before them. But they have accepted it and that is great indeed.

Mrs. Surinder Kaur, Flat No. 32, 24/71 - Minto Park, Alipore, Calcutta - 700 027: Necessity is the mother of invention. My husband, Sher Singh, IAS, devoted the last two decades of his career for the cause of Dalits, BCs, Sikhs and Muslims. But after his suspension from IAS on 25.4.1994 by the Hindu Marxist Govt. of West Bengal for writing his magnum opus, *The Secular Emperor Babar*, in three volumes, he was dismissed from service on 18.12.2000 by the Hindu nazi BJP Govt. of India. None from the Dalits and other minorities came to his rescue. Of course, exceptions prove the rule. How did he survive then? Simply by acting as consultant, predicting the future trend of the stock market. The stock brokers minted money by following his advice. Now he has decided to train members of his Dalit Mukti Morcha (DMM) in every state to achieve the objectives. The first batch should be able to read and follow the *Economic Times* and be in a position to invest about Rs. 1 lakh over internet connection or Cabal connection etc. Each member will have to open Demat Account with ICICI Bank or SB/IDBI etc in his own name. A group of 15-20 persons can invite him for the training session. A member starting with Rs. 1 lakh investment, if he regularly ploughs back his income from the share market investments, will be the owner of Rs. 1 crore in the 10th year. But the members will have to take an oath that they will solidly stand by their members in distress and bear all the expenses. In the first round, members with MA degree will be selected and graduates will be trained in the 2nd phase. When the stock market is crashing and share prices are falling as happened early this year, he will coach them on trading in futures (i.e. *mandi-khelna*). This is the secret the Gujaratis/Marwaries do not want anybody to know.

Naval Viyogi, 518 - Sita Nagar, Ludhiana - 141 001: After a 18-feet deep excavation work in Ayodhya, the Archaeological Survey of India could not trace any evidence of a temple below the foundation of the Babri Masjid. Similarly after 26 days of war on Iraq, America also could not find weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Historical records reveal that Iraqis are a very hardy people and great fighters better than the American soldiers. But this "victory" of America over Iraq is a victory of science and modern weapons. Iraq is a country of science and modern weapons. Iraq is one of the most prosperous countries because of its huge treasure of liquid gold. As regards its climatic condition it is also equally good and favourable for a flourishing and a most ancient civilization of mankind. Sumerians (Iraqis) were the first people who in about 6750 BC began to domesticate animals like sheep, goat, cattle and cultivated grains like wheat, barley and constructed

canals for irrigating their fields. They evolved a writing system (pictograph) as early as the first half of the 4th millennium BC. All these seem to be a miracle specially when we learn that the ancestors of the English people were still an uncivilized tribe living on the coast of France in about 400-500 AD. This is exactly the period when there was the golden age of Indian history.

Dr. Ashok Adhav, MHB Colony, M-36/2521, Yerawada, Pune - 411 006: This is in response to the Letter by Baboo of Aligarh (DV April 16, 2003 p.17). People may think that I am anti-Muslim. But I am not. My wife was a Khoja Muslim. I am close to Muslims. Four to five Muslim patients visit my clinic daily. I want to clear some points to Brother Baboo. My criticism is only against the Muslim rulers and not the native Muslims:- (1) Muslims invaded India like all other foreign rulers to loot and plunder our wealth. They had no intention to settle down and improve the country. Nor had they any intention to spread Islam. (2) Under the Muslim rule Brahmins were exempted from paying *jizia* (tax) which was imposed on the rest of the Indian population. (3) On the invitation of Brahmins, the Muslims entered India defeating the Buddhist king Dahir. Khilji killed thousands of Buddhist monks. The Muslim rulers thus helped make Brahminism more strong. Muslim rulers even married daughters of Brahmins, appointed Brahmin officers. But they refused to recruit the *Mulivasis* to their army. (4) Untouchables and BCs embraced Islam because they hated the Brahminical religion though there was some compulsion also. (5) Due to the *purdah* system, the job of scavenging was enforced on to the Untouchables. (6) Like the Hindus, the Muslims were also practicing untouchability. (7) There is no difference in believing in one god or many gods. The god was in the hands of the Brahmins to exploit and enslave the masses. Our ancestors like Hiranyakashyap, Charvaka (Lokayats) were rationalists and atheists. They were killed by Brahmins. (8) There is not a single evidence of any Muslim ruler who countered Brahminism during their 900 years of rule. Neither there is any evidence of an attempt to liberate victims of Brahminism. Our Editor wrote a book, *Curse of Allah* (DSA-1997). Please read it. (9) Muslims are our blood brothers but alas their thinking, which is much more important, is different from ours. (10) Dalits from Meenakshipuram embraced Islam out of anger and revolt. Islam is a liberating ideology but the Muslim ruling class is blocking this ideology from the Muslim masses. Dalit-Muslim unity will be there only after the Muslim masses identify their internal enemies and eliminate them.

N.S. Chelappa, 12B/356 - Samir Viyas Nagar, Siluvai Pati PO, Tuticorin tq., TN: This refers to the article by

I.S. Jawahir, "*Muslims suffer today for historical blunder committed yesterday*" (DV April 16, 2003 p.22). I read the article and weighed every word. He is 100% correct. This article needs wide publicity. I have already said in DV that the Brahmins had no temples nor gods. They were godless barbarians. Dr. Jawahir is a product of *Dalit Voice* and is an asset to Dalits. I also studied the article, "*Brahmanism cannot be cured hence endured?*" (DV April 16, 2003 p.7). Such seminars on Brahminism should be conducted in every nook and corner of the country.

G. Pandu Nait, 203 - 2nd Main Road, Brindavan Extn., Arakere Mico Layout Bangalore - 560 076: The Government of India and the State Govts., have introduced reservation for admission to educational institutions and employment in the state services in favour of socio-educationally weaker sections of the society under Article 15 (4) and 16 (4) of the Constitution of India. The criteria for identification of socio-educational backwardness among other things is the **caste** of the people. But there is a small group in the Indian society which is socio-educationally advanced but economically backward. These "economically backward class" people hate the reservation facilities. They have challenge these welfare schemes in the courts. Thus the law of reservation in promotion, well settled by a series of Supreme Court decisions since 1962, is overturned after 30 years in 1992. The law of seniority got into highly contradictory judgments and altogether new concepts which were unheard of in the history of service jurisprudence. The judiciary which appeared to have used balanced approach in the beginning has come out with a series of judgments after 1992, rendering a death blow to the cause of social justice. Finally the Parliament took pain to partially restore the reservation facilities by amending the Constitution four times (1992 to 2002). The misuse of reservation facilities by upper castes is rampant in the absence of penal provisions to punish the guilty. Quota questions are not confined to developing countries like India, they do exist in the most advanced countries like the USA.

B. Ramaswamy, AP Buddhist Trust, H.No. 10-4-771/3, Flat No. 403 - Maphar Sheelings, Sreeram Nagar Colony, Hyderabad - 500 028: Fake Ambedkarites have mortgaged Dr. Ambedkar and his philosophy to Brahminism. M.K. Gandhi sold Brahminism as a sweet pill specially to Untouchables (DV April 1, 2003 p.17) and also branded them as *Harjians*; a derogatory word rejected rightly by Babasaheb. The so-called lieutenants of Babasaheb mortgaged his philosophy to Brahminism. Even today our so-called Ambedkarites behave just like

second class Brahmins by following uncultured mode of living by going to temples like Pandarpur and Balaji. Even Saraswati, the goddess of learning, did not include Babasaheb's philosophy in her syllabus or curriculum. The strong desire of our mother, Ramabai Ambedkar, to visit Pandarpur could not be fulfilled. Babasaheb consoled her saying "Rama, Rama, what is there in Pandarpur, I will create thousands of Pandarpurs". The Mahars and Mangs of Maharashtra are to be held responsible for their failure rescue Ambedkarism from the clutches of Brahminism. On the occasion of his 70th birthday function, Kanshi Ram himself made

"punching remarks that these people (more than a lakh present) without any mercy or consideration hunted and chased our Babasaheb and driven him out of the Maharashtra state which is his birth place. But he took with a great difficulty our Babasaheb along with Mahama Jyotiba Phule and Sahu Maharaj, the grand son of Shivaji, to Uttar Pradesh and the people of UP received them respectfully and accepted their philosophy. Only after this success in UP our brothers from Maharashtra realized and invited me to this function".

The above quote is from Kanshi Ram's speech at the Shivaji Park function. Had the Ambedkarites sincerely followed the message behind that mass conversion to Buddhism, the uncultured Aryans would have been reduced to a micro-minority by this time. Kanshi Ram announced in Bombay on the occasion of his birthday that he would embrace Buddhism with about 4 crore people before 2006. This is great.

Dr. Suresh Mane, E/7 - Vidyanageri, Kalina, Santacruz (E), Bombay - 400 098: The Aryan invasion over Dravidians could be regarded as the beginning of the political history of India. The Aryan invasion created manifold problems — racial, social, economic and political. The conquered race of Dravidians was subjected to many hardships. To enslave the Dravidians, the system of *varna* classes came into existence founded on the notion of superiority and inferiority. The Aryans divided all people into four *varnas* with its distinct status in the social ladder leaving outside the vast class of Untouchables as *panchama* or *avarnas* who did the dirtiest jobs. With the beginning of the *varna* culture, the process of subjugation of *shudras* and *avarnas* was accelerated. The *varna* culture created the absolute monopoly of Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisnyas over the education, arms and trade activity respectively leaving the forth *varna* of *shudras* including all women at the mercy of the three upper *varnas*. Dr. Ambedkar said:

"There cannot be a more degrading system of social

organization than the *Chaturvarna*. It is the system which deadens, paralyzes and cripples the people from helpful activity". (W&S, Vol.1, p.63).

But Budha very systematically and scientifically demolished the empire of Brahminism. In fact the Budha had immense power to dynamite the citadel of Brahminism. When Budha appeared on the national scene in the 6th century BC, Brahminism was in its full force. Everywhere there was an empire of Brahmins and infallible sacred scriptures. Priestcraft was an established system and occupied the privileged position. Religious scriptures enjoyed the biggest authority and were regarded as the revelation of god. The *varna* system was considered as a divine system of arrangement. Everywhere there was a tyrannical rule of *varna* system and slavery to its victims. Buddhism, however, could not last long to destroy the Brahmin hegemony completely. Buddhist revolution was followed by counter-revolution. It is a national tragedy that Buddhism did not last long. Budha was branded as an atheist and destroyer of age-old institutions. Budha by birth being a prince his authority to teach was questioned. Buddhist monks were butchered. Buddhist learning centres and books were burnt. Buddhist *viharas* were destroyed. However, the regicide by Pushyamitra resulted in the destruction of Buddhism as a state religion and made Brahmins the sovereign rulers of the land. Regicide by Pushyamitra was marked not merely by political counter-revolution but it was the triumph of Brahminism over Buddhism. Since the Brahminical forces could not annihilate Budha in toto they declared him as the 14th *avatar* of Vishnu and dumped him in the cold storage. To perpetuate the triumph of Brahminism the new religious literature was created. Epics were written. The *Manusmriti* was ordained as a code of lawless laws. In addition to socio-cultural sanctions Hindu Social Order provided unjust Hindu criminal jurisprudence with all its nakedness. The agenda of cultural revolution to Buddhism was pursued by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar very systematically since 1924. In one of his speeches in 1924 itself he proposed the three solutions to the problems of the victims of Brahminical Social Order — *Namantar, Deshantar* or *Dharmantar*. Kanshi Ram is the only national leader who has openly said on many occasions that his dream of India is that of Ashoka's India. Since 1978, through BAMCEF, DS-4 and BSP, Kanshi Ram has successfully created a new cultural quest among the backwards. The year 2006 will be a milestone in the current history of India. Throughout the country large oppressed people, especially North India, have been awakened by the Kanshi Ram phenomenon which has been in operation

since 1978. Day-by-day the victims of Brahminism are realizing that Buddhism is the only way to get rid of the BSO subjugation. Buddhism has a great future and in a Budhism India will have a bright age. However, one ground reality that we should not forget is that Budhism is in essence a moderate and not an aggressive way of life. Hence to sustain it for a long it requires a strong support of power like king Ashoka.

K.C. Sulekh, No. 503, Sector-15A, Chandigarh - 160 015: Dalits as a whole were well on its their, though limpingly, to recover from the shocks and blows suffered from the Brahminical socio-economic system in the past so many centuries following the introduction of the Constitution of India in 1950. The Constitution with its liberal provisions brought with it a promise for a happy and prosperous future for Untouchables. But it is our and country's misfortune that the same old hydra-headed monster of casteism reminiscent of the dark ages is fast raising its ugly head. The resistance being offered to stem its comeback in the name of secularism and pluralism by certain parties is more political in nature than real. To them secularism means only to solicit the help and votes of all sections of population, religious or social, to seize political power. The real targets ultimately to bear the brunt of the catastrophe, therefore, are only Dalits. Little doubt, therefore, that the onus and responsibility to bury this ghost deep down the earth lies on the shoulders of the Dalits more than any other sections. *Varnashram* is an essential feature of Hinduism. All other religions, indigenous or foreign, do not believe in the divine sanction for *varan yavastha* nor observe caste division. So there is no meeting ground either in religious beliefs or social intercourse between Hindus and others. This militates against the spirit of liberty, equality and fraternity, the very bedrock of social democracy. Brahminism, the mother of all iniquitous social order, does not confine itself to spiritual life of its members but the temporal life also. This provides no scope for cohesion between all Indian citizens. The Gujarat Genocide-2002 is a glaring example in point. It is a caste-based polity, caste-based elections, caste-based justice and caste-based distribution of national wealth and resources. But when it comes to caste-based reservation in govt. services all hell is let loose. Can there be any scope for reform? Social reformers in the known history of India have miserably failed to bring about any change, what so ever in the mind-set of the Hindu society. Whatever they did in the name of social reform was in the nature of top dressing only. The greatest and the real benefactor of India, Dr. Ambedkar the great, did play his part in his own way to reform the society through his

untiring efforts so as to make India a united, integrated and modern country. But what was his reward? He was beguiled and reviled, jeered and sneered all through his life. Verily, political tyranny is nothing compared to social tyranny. He who defies society is much more a courageous man than a politician who defies government. A self-respecting visionary as he was, Dr. Ambedkar had no other option, therefore, but to bid good-bye to the religion that preached hatred and poison eternally and sternly. What Dr. Ambedkar did for the Wretched of the Earth and what sea-change in the life-styles and the psyche he has brought about in the society has no parallel in history. So, it hardly makes any sense for anyone to say that the recipe to emancipate the suffering people from the thralldom of the Brahminical Social Order as shown by him was not right or that it is not in the long-range interest of the Dalit community. Coming to the question of conversion it is pertinent to note: can anyone fight effectively and decisively against the atrocities of the oppressor while still remaining dependent on the help and mercy of the oppressor? It is simply unthinkable. Buddhism is only a philosophy of life to make the man more enlightened, more logical and more rationalistic in dealing with the day-to-day problems of life having nothing to do with the dogmas and myths like predestined fate, births in the lower castes for the sins committed in the previous birth, Untouchables are born as menials only to serve others etc. A man with courage of conviction can prove to be a better fighter, than an unconvinced man ideologically neither here nor there. A Budhist is as good and an inseparable a component of the state structure as anybody else can be. Besides the Budhist ideology is the concern of the whole humanity and can hardly be confined to the Dalits only. The Constitution Review Commission set up by the Govt. of India has already come out with suggestions for affecting elaborate changes in the socio-economic structure affecting the Dalits in a big way. Recommendations under the heading, "pace of socio-economic change and development", in Chapter-10 of the summary report have been made that can go a long way to readdress the chronic ills afflicting the Dalits. The earlier these recommendations are adopted and put into practice the better it would be for the Dalits to look for a better future. (The above is my seminar paper presented at the Punjab University, Sociology Dept., on March 8, 2003).

Prakash Ambedkar, MP, 136 - South Avenue, New Delhi - 110 011: *Dalit Voice* is really a good, informative and progressive magazine. You are doing a very noble cause by publishing it and raising the issue related to the voiceless sections of the society. ■

Sikhs divided into 3 warring camps: Upper castes, Jats & Dalits

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

I have been reading the explanations and narrations by some Sikhs in the *Dalit Voice*. Our Editor may be an intellectual giant but he has not correctly understood the contradictions in the Sikh society:

(1) In Punjab, the "Sikh" means the ruling upper caste Sikhs. That is Jats or Arora, Khatri. Though all other "lower castes" comprise over 58% of Punjab population (according to the census), they are denied any position in the present Sikh society. The upper caste Sikhs may refute my statement but here lies the truth. These upper castes control both villages and cities, power of the Shiromani committee, power of Akal Takht and other Takhts, power of politics, through the Congress or Akalis, power of land, power of govt., education and power of culture.

(2) Punjab University is taken over by the Hindus but the other three universities (Punjab University, Guru Nanak Dev University and Agriculture University, Ludhiana) are all directly under the control of these two upper castes.

Shiromani committee: After the last Akali Govt. even to this day, the administration is under the control of these two upper castes. Punjab politics means Jat Sikh politics who control all the *gurdwaras*. If other "low castes" like the Chamars, Mazbhis or Tarkhans have built their separate *gurdwaras* in Punjab or abroad, they go and sit there to sing *bhajans* and worship their gods and nothing else. More Sikh saints belong to the upper castes. But everywhere low caste people are in majority to serve their upper caste bosses. They may be the chief of Shiromani committee or Akal Takhat or any well known *gurdwara*. But it is their duty to serve their masters and they are expected to obey their masters. All the "low caste" Sikhs are expected to add to the number of the Sikh society.

When a Sikh problem is raised by its intellectual class that problem pertains to the upper caste Sikhs. Our people (lower caste Sikhs) are meant to be beaten up, humiliated, insulted, killed, raped, boycotted, banned. This is so in the whole Punjab — though this problem (racism) is not as serious as in other Hindu states.

(3) But in this Sikh state, the society is neatly divided into two or three separate caste groups. No doubt all the people live together. The SCs alone are 33% in Punjab. Backward Castes are equal to the Jat Sikh population. Many Backward Castes own the lands but they do not own equal rights in any fields of life.

(4) The low caste Sikhs are beaten up by the upper caste Hindus because the upper caste Sikhs don't have a healthy feeling for the 60% population of SCs and BCs in Punjab.

Anti-Sikh riots: The Sikhs massacred (1984) in anti-Sikh riots in Delhi and other cities mostly belonged to the SC/ST Sikh category. The Arora Sikhs and Jat Sikhs were rarely the target of Hindu violence.

But inside Punjab the Jat Sikhs were the targets of Sikh and Hindu police forces. Low caste Sikhs killed were in small numbers. Because it was the Jat Sikhs who demanded more rights. Low castes, except very few, don't support Jat Sikh demands because upper caste Sikhs never give any equal rights to low caste Sikhs.

(5) If reservations have given some equal rights in politics or in govt. services, it is not liked by these upper castes. The Punjabi Sikhs, who pose themselves as the protectors of human rights today, had cut the reservation to pieces when they were in power.

Sarpanch as slave: The people who want free water, free vehicles, free electricity, free bus passes, don't allow reservations to those oppressed, exploited and degraded since centuries. Now we have at least 40% reserved *sarpanchs*. But these are mostly slaves of upper castes.

(6) If these upper caste Sikhs fight for more rights for themselves, we have no complaint. But our complaint is that we the SC/BCs don't get any share from them. We are totally outcaste Sikhs in real life. Our human rights are denied by both Sikhs and Hindus.

Whenever Hindus attack the Dalits, these upper caste Sikhs will be with the enemy. History proves this fact.

(7) The Akali Sikhs belong to the "Sacred Brahmin" category and the Congress Sikhs to the "Socialist Brahmin" camp. And both kicked, killed, raped, massacred, insulted, exploited, oppressed, looted these very low caste Sikhs. Both never stood by the "low caste" Sikhs who fought for Sikhism and made Sikh history at international levels.

(8) Not even a single SC/BC Sikh deceived any Sikh guru or Sikhism. But upper caste Sikhs have a very long history of deceiving and going against Sikh gurus and the faith. When the upper caste Sikhs want SC/BC Sikhs to add to their population strength, whenever they demand a "homeland for Sikhs", how can we support such a homeland where our rights are not going to be protected as in Hindu society? We want our own rule,

we want our own India. We want an India of Budha, Kabir, Nanak, Phule and Dr. Ambedkar. We know Punjabi is a real sister of Hindi, and grand daughter of our original language, Pali. We know that India belongs to us. We know the Sikhs who belong to upper castes also behave like the upper castes (Hindu).

(9) We know the Sikh *dharam* belongs to the Dalit/ oppressed masters of India. It was constructed to liberate the oppressed.

I request the Editor of *Dalit Voice* to correctly understand the desires and demands of the three different sections of Sikh society which was never united. One belongs to the upper caste (Hindu) converted Sikhs in cities. Second, the Jat Sikhs and the third SC/BC Sikhs.

These three sections have no common ground to meet. If any person tries to unite these three sections he will meet with sure failure.

The Editor should know it.

REVIEW

Only book explaining cruelties of Brahminism in simple language

DR. K. JAMANADAS, "SHALIMAR", MAIN ROAD, CHANDRAPUR - 442 402

When well meaning people make queries and remarks, which for an average Ambedkarite looks rather silly, we have to make them read something they can understand in simple language, yet authentic. The first book that comes to mind is V.T. Rajshekar's book, *Brahminism*, which is now in a new enlarged and updated edition, DSA 2002. If anybody likes to understand what is Hinduism alias Brahminism, in the face of *hindutwavadi* mass propaganda this is one book that can give the exact, precise and concise information.

Many Hindus complain that V.T. Rajshekar's writings are polemical. May be he has reasons for that but this book is no polemic. It answers the Brahminic arguments in the terms of Brahminic leaders themselves like Vivekananda, Subramania Bharati, K. Srinivasa Rau, M.K. Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, Jawaharlal Nehru, G.K. Gokhale and P.B. Gajendragadkar. He explains the mantra that

Universe is under the power of gods, gods under power of mantras and mantras under the power of Brahmins. And so Brahmins are our gods.

This was also the argument of Vishnu Shahstri Chiplunkar, the severest critic of Mahatma Phule and

was being upheld by the then Brahmins of Maharashtra and Vishnu Shastri was arrogantly designated as "Shivaji of Marathi language". The history has shown his place to him. While Phule is revered in all households of Maharashtra, nobody knows who was Vishnu Shastri. V.T. Rajshekar, who is also the Editor of *Dalit Voice*, feels that equating zionism with racism and declaring Israel as "racist, apartheid state" at WCAR at Durban (2001) as the victory of his writings. He has explained how the

BRAHMINISM

The Hottest Book of the Century
V.T. Rajshekar

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in the past 20 years

2002 pp. 160 Rs. 50

Dalit Sanchiya Akademy

For copies write to *Dalit Voice* office.

Brahmins — the Indian Jews — have caused the two World Wars and are on the verge of a third one. Explaining the Brahminical origin of zionist thoughts, he elucidates how casteism alias Brahminism is the world's worst form of racism and how

Hitler's nazism was inspired by Brahminism, as acknowledged by even Max Mueller, a person who was denigrated by Brahmins in spite of

his yeoman services to Brahminism. He claims the IMF, the World Bank and even the United Nations are slaves of the zionists who also control the Western electronic and print media.

He makes a shocking revelation that the Theosophical Society and Madam Blavatsky had zionist connections. He explains saffronization and its meaning to Dalits, Muslims and Christians. It may be recalled that RSS chief Sudarshan recently said: "If saffronization will not be here where will it be?" He thinks the correct name for saffronisation — the name which hides the identity of the Enemy — is brahminization. Describing the 2002 anti-Muslim Gujarat riots as the worst after 1947, he opines that Muslims, Sikhs and Christians (20%) should not be called "minorities" as they are the real majority of India. They and SC/ST/BC (65%) being not Hindu — the other name for upper castes, they only form 15% of population. This minority is ruling the country through false propaganda that 85% are Hindu.

They destroyed the country's most popular religion, Buddhism, manufactured two epics, *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* and then resorted to wholesale cultural aggression on

indigenous SC/ST/BCs and hinduised them by supplying two Brahminical gods — but non-Brahmins — Rama and Krishna. By this hinduisation they gained tremendously, jumping from mere 15 % to 85%. The author ranks Sant Bhindranwale second only to Guru Gobind Singh. After Bhindranwale was killed in "Blue Star Operation" he laments that the whole lot of Sikhs has become slaves of Hindus. He seems to be right as seen from the recent events in the Jalandhar district where the Jat Sikhs observe untouchability contrary to the Gurus tenets and every village has not only separate *gurdwaras* but also separate cremation grounds. When the Dalits tried to assert their rights, there was violence. It may be of interest to note that the recognition by the Akal Takht of Sant Bhindranwale as a martyr was not approved by RSS supreme Sudarshan. He also laments that the

Christians — the most educated and conscious people — did not get angry when in 1984 Sikhs were massacred or in 1992 when Babri Masjid was demolished.

SHUDRAS BECOME SLAVES

The Gujarat Genocide-2002 proves the efficacy of saffronization. He says not a single Brahmin, Baniya or Patel died in the three-day peak violence in Gujarat, those dying being Muslims, SC/ST/BCs. But the "Ram Sevakas" were SC/ST/BCs. The Brahmins might have failed once in 1992 but they will definitely build their Ram temple on the site of the demolished Babri Masjid, he says.

The non-Brahmin movements of Phule, Dr. Ambedkar, Nanak, Basava, Periyar and the like died because the *shudras* became the slaves of Brahmins. He explains this quoting examples of Jats of Hindi belt and Sikh Jats of Punjab. He

laments that even the Ambedkar movement is dying, and *Hinduisation* of Tribals is in full force.

The *shudra* muscle is being used by the Brahmins to kill their enemies, he laments quoting the examples of Nairs, Kayasths, Marathas, Vokkaligas, Lingayats, Reddys, Jats, Khammas. He also describes the plight of Backward Caste Ezhavas of Kerala.

Brahminism, he says, is a mental disease killing India and explains how it is a threat to not only Indian masses but a threat to world peace itself. He laments that the world leaders are not aware of these facts and are not even ready to look at the plight of their co-religionists in India. He explains how the Brahmins are scared of conversions and caste-based reservations, and observes that the only correct remedy for the malady of Brahminism is Ambedkarism. ■

Suicide bombers & Palestine

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Ever since the "Israeli problem" started facing Palestine, Zionists have been simply winning and winning. Never did they look back. Never did they come for any compromise. How come they have suddenly and so desperately agreed to the American "peace talks" and the resultant "road map" in which we have expressed our no confidence. (DV June 16, 2003 p. 10: "**Palestine road map is defective & hence bound to fail**"). What forced Israel and its Zionist friends in America to accept the American plan? After a good deal of reading and consultation, we have come to know the truth.

The truth is the ferocity of the Palestinian resistance called *Intifada* and particularly the paralysis created by the human bombers who simply made the Zionists to surrender.

Intifada: The Zionists and their American backers have finally understood that the Palestinians despite the heavy human cost of *Intifada* have refused to give up but fight, fight and die even facing the overwhelming superiority of Israeli-US power.

But Israel produced not a single "suicide bomber". Well-fed exploiters living on the sweat and blood of others are afraid of dying. On the other hand for generations of Palestinians, who have lost everything including their

homeland, they found it better to kill the enemy before being killed by that enemy. The Palestinian suicide bombers have electrified the whole world and chilled the bone marrow of the Zionists. This is the secret of the Zionist Sharon's rush to shakehands with the puppet Palestinian Prime Minister, Mahmud Abbas.

Concrete wall: The US-sponsored "road map" is defective and hence bound to fail. We have already said it. How dishonest the American rulers, the Zionists and their Western sympathisers are can be judged by one single and yet the most glaring omission from the road map of the gigantic "separation wall" now being built by Israel. This 347 km of concrete wall, of which 127 km have been already completed, finds no mention in the US peace plan. The wall is 25 feet high and 10 feet thick, cost 1.6 million dollars per km. It is surrounded by trenches, electric wire, watch-towers. Horrible wall. The South African apartheid wall was dismantled long back but the Zionists are erecting a bigger and stronger Apartheid wall. But the world is silent.

The American rulers, their Western allies or even their Arab cronies have not a word on this wall which will separate 3,00,000 Palestinians from their land. How can such a crooked "road map" succeed?

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