

DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities Denied Human Rights

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**Fundamental rights are not absolute :
Thus Spake Ambedkar**

Thus Spake Ambedkar

Fundamental rights are not absolute

I am sorry to say that the whole of the criticism about fundamental rights is based upon a misconception. In the first place, the criticism is so far as it seeks to distinguish fundamental rights from non-fundamental rights is not sound. It is incorrect to say that fundamental rights are absolute while non-fundamental rights are not absolute. The real distinction between the two is that non-fundamental rights are created by agreement between parties while fundamental rights are the gift of the law. Because fundamental rights are the gift of the State it does not follow that the State cannot qualify them.

In the second place, it is wrong to say that fundamental rights in America are absolute. The difference between the position under the American Constitution and the Draft Constitution is one of form and not of substance. That the fundamental rights in America are not absolute rights beyond dispute. In support of every exception to the fundamental rights set out in the Draft Constitution one can refer to at least one judgment of the United States Supreme Court. It would be sufficient to quote one such judgment of the Supreme Court in justification of the limitation on the right of speech contained in Article 13 of the Draft Constitution. In *Gitlow Vs. New York* in which the issue was the constitutionality of a New York "criminal anarchy" law which purported to punish utterances calculated to bring about violent change, the Supreme Court said:

"It is a fundamental principle, long established, that the freedom of speech and of the press, which is secured by the Constitution, does not confer an absolute right to speak or publish, without responsibility, whatever one may choose, or an unrestricted and unbridled license that gives immunity for every possible use of language and prevents the punishment of those who abuse this freedom."

It is therefore wrong to say that the fundamental rights in America are absolute, while those in the Draft Constitution are not. It is agreed that if any fundamental rights require qualification, it is for the Constitution itself to qualify them as is done in the Constitution of the United States and where it does not do so, it should be left to be determined by the Judiciary upon a consideration of all the relevant considerations. All this, I am sorry to say, is a complete misrepresentation, if not a misunderstanding of the American Constitution. The American

Constitution does nothing of the kind. Except in one matter, namely the right of assembly, the American Constitution does not itself impose any limitations upon the fundamental rights guaranteed to the American citizens. Nor is it correct to say that the American Constitution leaves it to the Judiciary to impose limitations on fundamental rights. The right to impose limitations belongs to the Congress. The real position is different from what is assumed by the critics. In America, the fundamental rights as enacted by the Constitution were no doubt absolute. Congress, however, soon found that it was absolutely essential to qualify these fundamental rights by limitations. When the question arose as to the constitutionality of these limitations before the Supreme Court, it was contended that the Constitution gave no power to the United States Congress to impose such limitation, the Supreme Court invented the doctrine of police power and refuted the advocates of absolute fundamental rights by the argument that every State has inherent in its police power which is not required to be conferred on it expressly by the Constitution. To use the language of the Supreme Court in the case I have already referred to, it said:

"That a State in the exercise of its police power may punish those who abuse this freedom by utterances inimical to the public welfare, tending to corrupt public morals, incite to crime or disturb the public peace, is not open to question...."

What the Draft Constitution has done is that instead of formulating fundamental rights in absolute terms and depending upon our Supreme Court to come to the rescue of Parliament by inventing the doctrine of police power, it permits the State directly to impose limitations upon the fundamental rights. There is really no difference in the result. What one does directly the other does indirectly. In both cases, the fundamental rights are not absolute.

In the Draft Constitution the Fundamental Rights are followed by what are called "Directive Principles". It is a novel feature in a Constitution framed for Parliamentary Democracy. The only other constitution framed for Parliamentary Democracy which embodies such principles is that of the Irish Free State. These Directive Principles have also come up for criticism. It is said that they are only pious declarations. They have no binding force. This criticism is of course superfluous. The Constitution itself says so in so many words.
(To be continued)

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Vol. 13, (pages 63 - 65) 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.

Dalit, Muslim, Christian, Sikh journals may seek foreign investment to publish Truth & fight oppressors

If anybody wants to see the magical power of the media and its mind manipulating capacity then come to India. The alien Aryan brahminical micro-minority is ruling India mainly because it has the sole monopoly over this media. Since we were working in this very same monopoly media (*Indian Express*) for 25 years we know how we were used to suppress the Truth and churn out falsehood. That is why after quitting this brahminical media spreading poison, we started the *Dalit Voice* which has now become India's oldest and the largest circulated journal defending Truth and fighting falsehood. But all the more DV is like a mosquito bite on this mighty monopoly media.

Media Centre: That is why we have been pleading and begging to have our own "Media Centre" but none of the victims of this brahminical media listened to us and we got disgusted by continuously shouting about this "Media Centre." The more affluent sections among Muslims/Christians/Sikhs did not listen to us. They did not listen to us because they did not understand the need for our own media through each of them often complain to us against this brahminical media which has not been allowing them to raise their heads.

Kanshi Ram's silence: Even Kanshi Ram, after after spending several crores of rupees on his Noida "Media Centre" in suburban Delhi, could not complete the project having been entangled by the brahminical rulers in a legal dispute. As for Dalits and Tribals, they are so poor that they can't afford even a good, regular language

monthly paper. *Dalit Voice* has been the one and only paper continuously and vociferously fighting for the cause of not only Dalits and Muslims but every other "Persecuted Nationality Denied Human Rights". At last we have a glimmer of hope that the rulers of India are going back on their earlier decision not to allow foreign direct investment in the periodicals. This is a big news for all the persecuted nationalities suffocated by this media monopoly. Brahminical forces

DV on "Media Centre"

- DV July 16, 2000 p.7: "Truth about India's toilet papers".
 DV July 1, 2000 p. 20: "Wanted survey of racism in Indian national toilet papers".
 DV May 16, 2000 p.8: "Dalit Voice — a new experiment in Indian journalism".
 DV Edit March 16, 2000: "Failure on Media front forces DV to retreat".
 DV June 1, 1999 p. 18: "DV disgust on media centre".
 DV March 1, 1998: "If Media Centre is a must why delay it?"
 DV Aug. 1, 1997 p.5: "Media Centre — Last appeal".
 DV June 16, 1997 p.7: "Media Centre alone can launch cultural revolution to liberate Dalits".
 DV Jan.16, 1997 p.6: "Kanshi Ram to launch Media Centre".
 DV Nov. 16, 1996 p.4: "Enraged Bahujians will break bones if media power is misused".
 DV Edit Aug. 1, 1996: "Bahujians can't rule without our own media to counter this 420-press".
 DV June 1, 1996 p.8: "Gains of election can't be cashed without Media Centre".
 DV Edit Jan. 1, 1994: "Wanted Media Centre at Lucknow to consolidate UP gains & educate Bahujians".

the demon of globalisation to enter India so that this demon would further help them to devour more of our people but this demon has now started eating its own creator.

Drink videshi: Just as the Vaidik Vajpayee talks *swadeshi* and drinks *videshi*, the ruling Hindu nazis too have a dual policy: one for others and another for themselves.

The most glaring of this dual policy is seen in their determined bid to keep out foreign media fearing that the *vaidik* monopoly on the media will end. But the same *vaidiks* are so enthusiastic about liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation in every other sphere. They like foreign cars, foreign cigarettes, foreign underwear, foreign perfume, foreign whisky and even foreign wife.

Suppression of truth: But there it ends. They don't want the foreign media to enter India because they are deeply worried that all their closely guarded secrets will be out. The *vaidik* objection to the entry of foreign media is that media is a "sensitive institution" and foreign

newspapers if allowed to start their editions in India they will destroy this sensitivity. What they mean by this is that the foreign media will publish the Truth.

"Know the Truth and Truth shall make you free", says the Bible. But the brahminical forces only talk of Satyameva Jayate but in practice kill the Truth even before it is born. They fear that foreign media will publish Truth and this Truth will make the persecuted nationalities of India free.

All the "top" leaders in the media were unanimous in demanding a ban on foreign media including Kuldip Nayyar who often talks of human rights.

Humbugs in the media: This is the dichotomy. It was this very upper caste-dominated media which was in the forefront of the campaign for liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation but the same media is opposed to extending this principle to the media. See the humbugs in the media.

The captains of the media want competition in all spheres. But a monopoly over media.

Their best kept secrets are in the sphere of human rights. They have been describing India as the "world's largest working democracy" and the world outside believed this story because they heard only one tune. The *vaidik* tune.

Graveyard of human rights: But the fact is India is the graveyard of human rights. Amnesty International itself has said it. This is evident in the latest ruling class attempt to frighten the United Nations itself to see that it does not endorse the Indian Untouchables efforts to declare "casteism as racism". Every effort is being made to prevent Untouchable delegates going to the Durban conference in Aug.-Sept. this year.

The passport of the Editor of Dalit Voice was impounded way back in 1986 and despite many requests from top leaders, the rulers refused to budge.

The daily violence committed on Dalits, Tribals, Muslims, Christians and women has perhaps no parallel in the world. So much so, India has become the world's most violent country.

Fear of foreign media: But the ruling upper castes have a total monopoly over the media and hand-picked upper caste wicked brains hold top positions even in foreign media. Their sole objective is to see that no Truth comes out but untruth is propagated as Truth. No socio-cultural

movement is allowed to sprout by these brahminical media people.

That is why the rulers are opposing liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation in the media only because of the fear that their closely guarded secrets will be out once the foreign media steps in.

Easily purchasable commodity: Despite all this gag, internal contradictions have divided the rulers and a section of them have defected having been motivated by the desire of private profit.

The *vaidiks* are an easily purchasable commodity. Every "foreign invasion" of India has taken place because the "invaders" bribed a section of the *vaidiks* and other upper castes. The same thing is happening today with the media.

New Delhi: The govt. may bow down to the lobby supporting foreign direct investment in print media and allow the entry of weekly magazines while continuing to forbid the entry of newspapers.

Sources said that in the face of mounting pressure from newspaper barons and editors the govt. may give the green signal to weeklies like *India Today* while ensuring that editorial control lies with the Indian side. (*Asian Age*, June 23, 2001).

We welcome not only FDI in newspapers but even the entry of foreign newspapers, periodicals and TV. Because foreign journalists being non-Hindu, they will have a better value system which will make their heart melt on seeing the bloody violence sweeping the country.

Madness in media: The upper caste journalists, being urban-born and urban-based they have no love for the countryside where the Untouchables, Backward Castes, Tribals live.

Every newspaper and periodical has become urban-oriented, entertainment-oriented silly stuff with no intellectual content or any content. Even the news reports are shut out to accommodate the gutter stuff needed for the mad urban, leisured, chattering class.

Barring the *Hindu*, which itself is an Iyengar family-run English daily, every other big newspaper is today engaged in a mad competition to churn out as much rubbish as possible. (*India's Intellectual Desert*, V.T. Rajshekar, DSA - 1999).

To find out the Truth we have to read at least

four daily papers. The latest is the Nepal palace massacre in which the *vaidiks* managed to shut out the truth. (DV July 1, 2001 p.17: "Question mark over Nepal massacre").

So, in the interest of breaking this monopoly, which is not allowing any new thinking to develop in India, we welcome the move to allow FDI. But actually we are in favour of foreign newspapers and journals starting their units in India.

This will also help the *Dalit Voice* which suffered

Butcher of Muslims getting ready to face gallows

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: At last the notorious "Butcher of the Balkans" is getting ready to go to the gallows. The other more dangerous criminal is Ariel Sharon, the present Prime Minister of Israel, who too is facing similar charges for having killed about 3,000 Palestinian and Lebanese Muslims during 38 horrific hours of slaughter on Sept. 16-18, 1982.

The White Western rulers of the world who make much of their human rights record were soft on Slobodan Milosevic. Yet with all the support from racists, Milosevic, ousted as the Yugoslav President and lobbed in a Belgrade jail following widespread riots, is getting ready to face the UN War Crimes Tribunal at the Hague for killing thousands and thousands of ethnic Albanians (read Muslims) in Kosovo.

His reckless killing of Albanians, called "ethnic cleansing", led to the NATO intervention in 1999. This warlord who ruled Yugoslavia for 13 years had to finally face the War Crimes Tribunal.

DV campaign works: DV has been for long demanding a fitting punishment to this blood-thirsty fascist Christian Serb. History has started punishing this tyrant despite all the backing from the anti-Muslim White Western racist rulers.

Birth of Muslim nation in Europe: Meanwhile, the White Western racists' war in the Balkans has spread

Reference

DV May 1, 2001 p. 19: "Islamisation of Christian Europe?"

DV Sept. 16, 1999 p.12: "Kosovo: Yet another Islamic state within heart of Europe".

DV July 15, 1999 p.8: "West's real aim in Balkan war is to liberate Kosovo from Muslims".

DV Edit June 16, 1999: "Western conspiracy clears Kosovo of Muslims: Huntingdon theory gets its first victim in Europe".

so long because of this brahminical policy of suppressing Truth and maintaining "a conspiracy of silence" on the historic achievements of DV.

Muslims, Christians and Sikhs, our stronger brothers but equally persecuted by the rulers, may take advantage of this crisis in the ruling class and explore the possibilities of foreign investment so that they can strengthen themselves to fight their oppressors. ■

from Bosnia to Kosovo and now from Kosovo to Macedonia. The sole intention of the West is to prevent further expansion of a Muslim nation already born in the very heart of Christian Europe. The West is deeply worried over this shocking development. Hence this daily bombing by the Christian rulers of Macedonia with the silent blessings of the West. But the human rights leaders are maintaining a "conspiracy of silence".

Religion scores over ethnicity: The Balkan war has a strange side. In DV, we have often repeated the time-tested thesis that "religion does not unite but ethnic pull will". Here is an exception to the rule.

Christian Serbs, who were killing the Albanians, are also Europeans and Whites like the Albanians. The European ethnic solidarity did not work here. The European tear is rooted in religion rather than ethnicity. This was so in the case of Bosnia also. The Europeans backed by their other racist mentors were determined to see that no Muslim nation came up in the heart of Christian Europe.

But they were sadly disappointed. After Bosnia came Kosovo and now Greater Albania is in the making – all Muslims.

What a tragedy for Christian Europe. Their genocide did not work. ■

Reference

DV May 16, 1999 p.7: "West abetting massacre of Muslims by Butcher Milosevic in Kosovo".

DV May 1, 1999 p.12: "Anti-Islamic war in heart of Europe divides White Western rulers".

DV Dec.16, 1996 p.23: "Western conspiracy in Bosnia".

DV Feb.1, 1996 p.7: "Bosnia — Clash of Cross & Crescent Inside heart of Europe". ■

Telengana — smaller states will help strengthen Bahujans

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Separate Telengana movement is once again hitting the headlines. Like all other "movements" in India, Telengana is also in the hands of three upper castes — Reddis, Velamas and Brahmmins.

Of the three, the Reddis (8%) come under the shudras but the Velamas (6%) are Backward Castes. Brahmmins (3%) are the all-India leaders. Put together, they constitute a micro-minority of 17%. Yet they are able to make the Telengana cry heard because all the three constitute the ruling class.

Every party is crumbling under the Telengana cry. The area elects 14 MPs and 105 MLAs. The Hindu nazi party of BJP once supported the separate Telengana, but lately changed its stand influenced by the Khamma Naidu Govt. ruling AP. The Congress is divided and may soon collapse under the weight of Telengana.

Dalits as paupers: Dalits (20%), Tribals (12%) and BCs (30%) of Telengana are a big majority. But voiceless because they are paupers.

Muslims form a big chunk — 20%. In fact the entire Andhra Pradesh (AP) Muslims are mainly concentrated in the ten districts of Telengana. Muslims had a big voice under the former Hyderabad state, ruled by the Nizam. But after "independence", the Reddis and Khammas took over the enlarged AP and suppressed the Muslims.

Muslim agony in Hyderabad: This is proved from the fact that though Muslims constitute the single largest population of Hyderabad city (about 25%), they have been driven to a corner and gagged under the Reddy-Khamma-Brahmin dispensation that took over the enlarged AP.

Reddy-Velama suffocation: The cause for the renewed interest in Telengana is the feeling of discrimination and suffocation by the Reddis and Velamas under Chief Minister Chandra Babu Naidu's oppressive Khamma rule. The Reddi, Velama, Brahmin triumvirate was an oppressive combination before the states' reorganisation. But the trio felt powerless after the Khamma takeover.

Dalits fear upper caste terror: Hence the oppressed SC/ST/BCs of the ten districts under Telengana are

not very enthusiastic over the renewed agitation for a separate state. Because they fear that under an independent Telengana, the trio would again raise their ugly heads and start hunting SC/ST/BC heads.

Chandrasekhar Rao, who resigned as Dy. Speaker of the AP Assembly, is a Velama, a fourth-time MLA and once a cabinet minister. The upper caste leadership of the renewed Telengana movement, therefore, has not very much enthused the oppressed castes and Muslims.

Meaning of Telengana: The word "Telengana" has a historical background. In the former Nizam-ruled Hyderabad state the only area where the Telugu speakers were in a big majority was these 10 districts. That is how these Telugu-speaking area of Hyderabad State — Medak, R.R. dt., Hyderabad, Mehabubnagar, Karim Nagar, Nalgonda, Adilabad, Khammam, Nizamabad, Warangal — was called Telengana.

The other area having the majority Marathi-speaking districts was called Marathwada. The Kannada-speaking districts of Bidar, Gulbarga and Raichur went over to Karnataka and Marathwada joined Maharashtra.

Why Naidu opposition: The ruling Telugu Desam is opposed to Telengana because there are hardly any Khammas in these 10 districts. Lately some Khammas have migrated to Telengana but they don't have much voice being recent settlers.

In other words, the separate Telengana cry is also deeply rooted in India's caste-based social structure. Though the SC/ST/BCs and Muslims form over 80% of the Telengana population, they are voiceless because they neither hold property nor important posts.

Self-determination: That does not mean the demand for a separate Telengana state will die down. This is because India is not a "nation" but a group of warring nationalities comprising hundreds of castes and communities. Unless and until each caste or subcaste acquires its share of human rights in proportion to its population, nation-making will not be complete in India.

The principle behind nation-formation is self-

determination. And DV is committed to self-determination.

The area of administration should be as small as possible. It is on the basis of such principle, Chattisgarh, Jharkhand and Uttarkhand were recently formed.

Breaking of national parties: The fear of the small fish (oppressed castes) that Telengana movement is led by the big fish (upper castes) is genuine. The gandhian "freedom" movement, marxist movement, JP movement, AP's own Peoples War Group (naxalite) movements are all led by the big fish. Which "movement" in India is led by the small fish — except perhaps the Dalit movement?

So the Telengana national movement also is led by the big fish but eventually it will be taken over by the small fish.

Breaking up of India is in the interest of the small fish.

The proof of the impending breakup of India is in the breakup of all our "national" parties like the Congress, Hindu nazi party, Janata Dal, CPM and CPI etc. The ruling NDA Govt. in Delhi is a collection of different "regional parties".

So, it is in the interest of the small fish that not only "national" parties should be broken up but the "nation" itself should crack in the interest of strengthening the country's unity and integrity.

Dalits, Muslims and BC intellectuals hailing from Telengana should take note of the above-cited sociological under-currents and plunge into the Telengana movement and take over the leadership.

DV Feb. 1, 2001 p.23: "Kodavas establish separate identity & demand statehood".

DV Sept. 1, 2000 p.8: "Signs of Bharat Mata cracking up: DV welcomes creation of 3 new states".

Latest census calls nazi bluff on "Bangladeshi infiltrators"

OUR CORRESPONDENT

The ghost of "Bangladeshi infiltrators" has been finally laid to rest. But not before this ghost played enough havoc on the innocent Muslims of India. The truth is now finally revealed in the

latest census report. But the "national" toilet papers have suppressed even this truth. Hence we have reproduced the following report from the Jamate-Islami English weekly, *Radiance*.

MUHAMMAD HASIBOR RAHMAN

There has been no infiltration of illegal migrants into Assam from across the border. This truth is

once again established beyond doubt by the 2001 census report released by the Election Commission of India.

Law & order problem:

According to the census report, the percentage of the population growth rate has come down to 18.85 during 1991-2001 from the projected 24.25 during 1981-1991 in Assam. It is to be noted here that census could not be held in the state in 1981 because of the law and order problem created by the outfits which led the "anti-foreigners'

agitation". The total percentage of decline in the decadal growth rate of population is 5.60.

Female growth: The 2001 census report has also shown that the percentage of the female population growth rate is 18.27 in Assam. It has been observed in different parts of the globe that the male population growth rate is higher than the female growth rate in the region which is affected by largescale infiltration of people as males generally migrate first leaving behind their females in their original homeland. But in Assam the growth rate of female population is higher than that of male population. This proves that

there has been no infiltration of the Bangladeshis into Assam. Prime Minister of Bangladesh Sheikh Hasina Wajid has clarified on several occasions that there is no Bangladeshi national in India.

Anti-Muslim bias: In the light of all these, the report of the Assam governor S.K. Sinha on influx submitted to the President of India in 1998 and the claim of AASU, AGP and the BJP that there has been unabated influx of illegal migrants from Bangladesh into Assam can safely be dismissed as communally biased, baseless and false. (*Radiance*, June 3-9, 2001).

Vaidiks soiled Buddhism & reduced a revolutionary philosophy into mud

RAJENDRA, AMBEDKAR PRATISHTANA, THORALAKKI PO, MALUR TG., KOLAR DT. - 563 137

Budha never gave a religion. He simply showed a way of life - a peaceful life. A society of compassion. It is the *vaidiks* who created a religion out of Budha's teachings, founded religious centers and placed themselves as heads of these institutions.

As our Editor puts it, whatever the *vaidiks* touch becomes mud (DV Edit June 1, 2001). Budha was also reduced to mud by these *vaidiks*.

These are the people who destroyed *viharas*, butchered the *bhikkus*, converted *bikkunis* into *Devadasis* (prostitutes). This was the period described by *vaidiks* as the "Golden Age of Hinduism". *Vaidiks* and *Baniyas* together created *Manu*, *Gita*, caste and untouchability during this "golden age".

Both Gaya sold: Both Gaya, near Patna, is sold to UNESCO in the name of heritage by the *vaidik*-controlled Govt. of India. An International airport and five star hotels are coming up. Both Gaya will no more be a spiritual place but a tourist center.

The Budha wanted the *bhikkus* to be on move always, accept any alms and carry his message from door to door. The *viharas* were only temporary shelters. But the present Buddhist centers are posh mansions presided over by cunning *vaidiks*. The Mahabodhi Society in Bangalore is one such.

Taiwan books: Men with power and money only are invited. They heap all praise on Budha but nothing is told of Budha's mission. The brahminical Buddhism propagated by this Mahabodhi Society etc. is to brainwash "educated" Dalits and convince them of the "oneness" of Hinduism and Buddhism.

A Taiwan Buddhist organisation has sent thousands of books for free distribution. But these books don't talk of "Spirit of Buddhism". Some other Buddhist centers are money-spinning joints.

Why hate Islam: Babasaheb's book, *Buddha & His Dhamma*, was published in 1957. Every monk and Buddhist organisation said the book was not authentic. They called it *Ambedkaryan*. Dalai Lama said Dr. Ambedkar's Buddhism was no Buddhism.

About ahimsa, Dr. Ambedkar has asked us to be nonviolent wherever possible but become violent wherever necessary. This is what Budha also said. Both never advised us to surrender to the aggressor.

Indian Buddhists like our Hindu nazis also hate Islam and Christianity. But they love Hindus, their own tribe. Nepal is said to be the only Hindu country in the world. But the Tribals of Nepal are slaves. It is the Christian missionaries who are giving them education. Indian *vaidik* Buddhists are screaming against Christian conversion.

Dr. Ambedkar asked us to take 22 vows. Four out of them are direct attack on *vaidiks*.

Pune conference: In Jan. 1936, original inhabitants of India met at Poona under the leadership of Barrister N. Shivaraj of Madras. Dr. Ambedkar was also present. Shivaraj declared that they were ready to disown Hinduism and called upon Dr. Ambedkar to give them a new religion.

Dr. Ambedkar's first name is Bheema, hero of the *Mahabharata*, a Hindu epic. Dr. Ambedkar is the only one person of the kind in the whole world. He is known in every village of India and every country in the world. **Vegetarianism has no place under Buddhism. Both Budha and Babasaheb were meat-eaters. Budha's last supper consisted of pork given by his disciples, Chunda.**

In the light of the facts presented above the original inhabitants of India, *Moolbharatis*, can decide their future action.

It is a choice between Ambedkarism and *vaidik*-soiled Buddhism. ■

Bombay prepares for Delhi conversion

R.U. RANGARI, MSEB COLONY 2/2.

SANTACRUZ (W), BOMBAY - 440 054

A meeting of the All-India Confederation of SC/ST Organisations and Lord Buddha Club was held here on June 14. The chief guest was Ram Raj, its national president. Dr. Prasad, the Bombay unit president, spoke on behalf of activities of Lord Buddha Club of Bombay unit. Sayajirao Waghmare, whose book on the Panther movement was recently published titled, *Ase He Ghadale*, spoke on the seriousness of the conversion issue and how to assist Ram Raj. S. Krishna spoke on how to make the 10 lakhs people's conversion from SC/ST to Buddhism on Oct. 14, 2001 in Delhi a historic event. ■

Ram Raj on mischief of monks: Nonsense of non-violence & vegetarianism

RAM RAJ, 478 - LAXMI BAI NAGAR, NEW DELHI - 110 023

There should not be any doubt left regarding the typology of Buddhism which we are going to embrace on Oct. 14, 2001. Dr. B.R. Ambedkar has already set the example and that is our model. I agree with the Editor that some monks and upasaks unnecessarily exaggerate about vegetarianism. We are not that sort

of people. In fact, nonviolence has been over-exaggerated and without reasonable cause. Even Budha has said that one should not kill any one without need. So things are very clear to us. I expect that *Dalit Voice* would continuously publicise our Oct. 14, 2001 historic conversion event. ■

Babasaheb will not pardon us if distortions are not corrected

We thank Brother Ram Raj for the assurance that he will be following Babasaheb's Bhimayana Buddhism and not the brahminical Buddhism. It is necessary that you in your speech on Oct. 14 make this point very clear. Brahminical forces have reduced revolutionary Buddhism to lifeless Hinduism. If you don't clarify this point, our enemies will think that you will be doing no harm to their Hinduism. It is our duty to support your revolutionary work. The July 1 issue has carried a full page advt., a privilege reserved only for an extra-

ordinary event. Had Babasaheb remained alive for five more years he would have gone round the country and hammered the Hindus with his revolutionary Buddhism. But alas he was killed under a brahminical conspiracy. But after Babasaheb's death, the brahminical forces managed to subvert the Bhimayana Buddhism, brainwashed some monks who were made to propagate nonviolence and that stupid vegetarianism and engaged a Marwadi to sell Vipassana so that the Budhists would forget revolution and

waste time on meditation. Since your's is the second biggest revolution after Babasaheb, you have to place all these things before our innocent Dalits who come to Delhi and correct the distortions that have crept into Buddhism and made it toothless tiger. If you think that you should not touch this subject in your speech, then we are ready to do it in our speech on Oct. 14. But this has to be done. Or else, we will be committing a serious historical crime and Babasaheb will not pardon us — EDITOR. ■

Racketeers opposing Delhi conversion

ANIL RANGARI, BUDDHA KUTTI ROAD, SHANKER NAGAR, DURG - 491 001

I was shocked when a Buddhist monk from Delhi asked me to oppose the Oct. 14 conversion in Delhi. In Agra also, a *bhikkhu* from Gaya asked me to oppose the same. Even the UP state president of the Bharatiya Boudha Mahasabha is not helping Ram Raj. What a shame these fake Budhists, who are a burden and pest on the community are opposing the good work of Ram Raj. Tej Singh of BSS is also opposing Ram Raj. When Budhists are opposing Buddhism what future will be there for Budhism in India? Dog eating dog.

Vipassana poison: Dr. Ambedkar embraced Buddhism and the Mahars joined this movement. Because of this, non-Mahar Dalit subcastes refused to join the "Mahar Buddhism".

Ram Raj must choose at least 1,000 dedicated Buddhist missionaries out of the 1 million converts and run the Buddhist movement throughout India as outlined in the *Buddha & His Dhamma*. No compromise.

Many *bhikkus* who have no knowledge of Buddhism

and those who have are proud, egoistic, mixing the meditation poison in the name of *Vipassana*. Prof. Tulsiiram, incharge of Pali Sahitya Academy at JNU, Delhi, and the chief editor of the *Aswaghosh Patrika* (now closed), is an admirer of Goenka's Hindu *Vipassana*.

Intellectual poverty: Goenka himself said at a Nagpur Diksha Boomi conference of Budhists that *Vipassana* is a vedic method. But the Budhists accepted it as Budhist. I wrote two scientific articles in Hindi on meditation *Vipassana* exposing its *brahmanvadi* poison. Except DV and *Bhim Patrika* (Jalandhar) and the *Ambedkar Mission Patrika*, Patna, etc. all other Dalit/Budhist journals are spreading the *Vipassana* poison. There is an appalling intellectual poverty in Dalit-Bahujan journalism.

Cultural revolution means not merely building statues and *vihars* of Babasaheb and Budha. How only a few castes out of the 6,000 castes among SC/ST/BCs are accepting Buddhism while others have rejected it? ■

Caste annihilation before caste equalisation is dangerous

SATINATH CHOUDHARY, VISITING ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, DEPTT. OF MATHS & COMPUTER SCIENCE, PO BOX #179, MSC # 159, LINCOLN UNIVERSITY, PENNSYLVANIA 19352, USA

Do we really want caste annihilation before caste equalization?

I find a lot of people obsessed with "caste annihilation", forgetting that it is the underlying caste "inequality" that is heinous, not so much the caste labels themselves. If a blacksmith is called blacksmith, there is nothing wrong with it. I can see two problems with labeling a blacksmith as a blacksmith:

- (1) A blacksmith's children are forced to be blacksmiths.
- (2) Blacksmiths are given a low social standing and a commensurately low pay.

WHY CASTE LABELS ARE NEEDED

The first of the above mentioned two problems of the age-old caste system has by and large been destroyed, as it does not have legal backing anymore. Out of economic necessity, and due to lack of education, some may continue to do their traditional ancestral jobs.

However, no one is legally forced to his or her ancestral job. A couple of *Mochis* may have been beaten up for refusing to move animal carcass. But that too is more of an exception than rule.

It is the second problem that is the most deleterious aspect of the caste system. However, I find most Dalits focusing their attention towards ameliorating the first problem mentioned above and paying scant attention to redress of the second one which is more grievous problem. The truth is that if the second problem is taken care to, the first problem might not even be regarded as a problem. Actually speaking, in our enthusiasm

to rectify the first problem, if most of us go ahead and get rid of our caste-labels, it would become difficult to take care of the second problem.

One of the main instruments of bringing about statistical equality of all groups is affirmative action. Affirmative action cannot be implemented in the absence of caste labels.

Another instrument is needed to overcome the inherent disadvantage that minority groups face under the plurality system of election, which is also known as first-past-the-post (FPTP). In fact without any reservation or other means of guaranteeing Dalit representation, under FPTP, hardly any Dalit would be elected to legislative bodies. This is because most of the 25% Dalits are spread around the country more or less evenly so that the number of Dalits is no more than a maximum of 30-35% in any of the constituencies, and hardly any of them would expect to get elected primarily with Dalit support.

PROPORTIONAL SHARE

That is why Dr. Ambedkar pressed for some means of achieving a Proportional Representation (PR). Unfortunately, there were only two options for PR that were in contention at the Round Table Conference of 1930's in London:

- (1) Separate Electorate System (SES), proposed by Dr. Ambedkar. (2) The second method of achieving PR was proposed by M.K. Gandhi. It has come to be known as first-past-the-post with "Joint Electorates from Reserved Constituencies" (FPTP-JERC).

Dr. Ambedkar was forced to accept this insidious method of election by the ignoble fast-unto-death undertaken by Gandhi, resulting in the infamous Poona Pact. FPTP-JERC gives an illusory representation to Dalits, in fact it gives us a total misrepresentation. It seems that aside from these two methods of achieving PR, the only other method that Dr. Ambedkar was aware of was Single Transferable Voting (STV) system.

GANDHI SUPPORTED HINDUS

Dr. Ambedkar, rightly, did not consider STV to be suitable to the illiterate masses of India. I think Dr. Ambedkar did not know about list-PR (used extensively all over Western Europe, except in the UK and France). Had he known about it, I think he would have pressed for it and Gandhi and his Hindu supporters would have found it difficult to oppose the same.

One may feel that list-PR or any method other than SES and FPTP-JERC would not guarantee a numerical quota of seats to Dalits. In the absence of this kind of guarantee, the upper caste may prevent Dalits from voting to reduce their representation. First of all, it is better to have a reduced but genuine representation than a full quota of fake representation. Secondly, a guaranteed quota for Dalits can very easily be incorporated within the list-PR system. Had Dr. Ambedkar known about the list-PR with guaranteed Quota of seats for Dalits (list-PR-QD), he would have raised hell and forced Gandhi and other Hindus to accept the same. (List-PR,

list-PR-QD, etc. would be described separately.)

WHY CASTES ARE NEEDED

Both of the above two instruments (of bringing about equality of castes), viz., affirmative action and list-PR-QD, require continued use of caste labels. Mind you, continued use of the identifiers Dalit or, SC/ST or, *Harijan* or whatever (for reservation benefits), is tantamount to continuing the caste system; except that we want the oppression of the lower castes to be replaced by beneficial affirmative action quotas for the underprivileged.

One cannot demand continuation of the caste-based quota system (or reservation for Dalits) and at the same time seek caste-annihilation. Those who want continued use of the label Dalit, but not the sub-castes within Dalits, are nothing but hypocrites.

Caste labels like untouchables, Chamar, Dusadh, Dhobi, Mala, Madiga, etc. once utilized for subjugation, and creating a hierarchy, are needed to extricate us from subjugation and level off the hierarchy. Mere removal of the labels will not equalize them. In the absence of equalization, the labels will continue to be associated with the unequal groups (surreptitiously or otherwise).

HARM OF CASTE ANNIHILATION

So, caste-annihilation should not be our primary goal. Our primary goal has to be "equalization of castes".

Caste-annihilation will be a fall-out of the equalization. In fact, any effort to annihilate caste before equalization has been achieved would hamper our progress towards equalization, which in turn, would cause caste to linger on longer.

SES has a number of flaws associated with it:

1. Each of the two groups, Dalits

and non-Dalits would have elected their representatives via the flawed FPTP, which would have discriminated against weaker subgroups within the Dalit and non-Dalit groups.

2. Other weaker segments like Muslims and linguistic minorities would have continued to suffer from non-representation. Usually it is relatively easier to break up weaker segments of the society into small political and social entities. As such, even the OBC could have been broken up into smaller groups and then made to suffer under-representation.

3. Under list-PR system, since all groups irrespective of their size get proportional representation, break-up of a group into smaller sub-groups would not benefit other groups, as the sum of the sub-groups would be more or less equal to the original group. The sub-groups can continue to cooperate on issues common to them. The subgroups are likely to be less inimical to each other,

as their break up does not put them at disadvantage.

For the above reasons SES has not been adopted in any part of the world. We need to look around the world and learn from others how they have solved their problems with regard to minorities and other problems. We don't need to invent the wheel and make all the mistakes others have made in the process. We should be able to see how others have made wheels and try to make super-wheels.

It is sad to see Dalits still yearning for SES, without trying to learn about list-PR, which is being used by more than two-third of democracies.

DV June 1, 2000 p. 15: "PR System of election will end Aryan hegemony over political parties."

DV March 1, 2000 p. 7: "Dalit scientist spells out proportional reservation system".

DV Jan. 16, 2000 p. 8: "Dalit scientist in US congratulates DV for winning caste identity Debate"

Cut Throat deserves vaidik kick

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: As we were about to go to press we heard of the arrest of *Cut Throat* in the early hours of June 30 in Madras and how the old man was dragged from his sleep and beaten up. Many other DMK leaders like Murasoli Maran, a Union Minister, and other leaders were also beaten up.

The *Bangalore Papatii* reported to have taken the revenge. Indian history itself is the record of revenge. India has no enemies. We are our own enemies. We have nothing to choose between the two culprits — the devil and the deepsea.

The *Cut Throat* deserves the kick for having compromised on the principles of Periyar E.V. Ramaswamy. Murasoli Maran's wife is a Brahmin. So also that of Stalin, son of *Cut Throat* who himself is surrounded by *vaidik* advisers.

Periyar asked the Dravidians to kill the serpent wherever it was found. But the *Cut Throat* and his followers compromised and poured milk to this serpent. And the serpent finally bit him. All those who compromised with the serpent deserves to be bitten.

The *Bangalore Papatii* has played her role well because as a true *vaidik* she is sincere to her cause and her people. She knows that whatever crime she commits including the latest one, she knows her people will stand by her. But it is the *Cut Throat* who betrayed Periyar and his people. He deserves the kick. The June 30 shocking scene must warn all burn-lickers.

Mugisa Rathaal Fambro, 200 - WindWood Lake Drive, Cape Girardeau, MO 63701: Well, My Black brothers and sisters of India, we have gotten off to a start. I proposed to Editor V.T. Rajshekar that to gain publicity for the Dalits I would try and arrange a national broadcast. I contacted Tony Brown's journal, which is a Black nationally syndicated TV journal program. Brown assured me that myself, Runoko Rashidi, Dr. Y.N. Kly and Kenneth Cooper would be the guests on the show. Runoko informed that he had a good tapping, one with a debate with a South Indian Brahmin, whom he said he had to "blast", on the nature, history, and impact of Hinduism. On the next program, he discussed the general African Presence in Asia with many photos. The programs will air here in the US in late July or early August. I will send taped copies as soon as I obtain one for myself. Runoko is a scholar on Africans in Asia, and I couldn't have picked anyone better to present "our" case. I will continue to put together events like this and may be I'll get my chance to speak some day.

Mohammad Kashif Yunus, <yunuskashif@rediffmail.com>: In my life, first time I have gone through *Dalit Voice*. Your Voice is energetic, your talks are very, very near to Truth. But unfortunately very few people are receiving it on receiving end. I pray to Allah that your voice must go from the villages of India to international world. I am a student of information technology. If you don't have any website of your magazine. I am ready to build one for your magazine. Off course, free of cost.

Runoko Rashidi, P O Box 201662, San Antonio, TX 78220, USA: On June 27, 2001, I addressed the United African Movement Forum in Harlem, New York. I just returned from a ten-day research trip to Peru, South America, where I visited the major communities, museums and cathedrals in search of the African presence in ancient and modern times. I also went to the Andean highlands to visit the Inca ruins around Cusco and Machu Picchu.

Dr. Prakash Louis, Executive Director, Indian Social Institute, No.10 - Institutional Area, Lodi Road, New Delhi - 110 003: The Madhya Pradesh Human Rights Commission has brought out a report, *Caste Based Prostitution in Madhya Pradesh*. The report says caste-based prostitution, prevalent in some parts of the state, is a socially sanctioned system, specifically among the three Dalit communities, namely Bancharhas, Bedias and Sansias. The report is based on "detailed and authentic information and is the result of a serious and

comprehensive study of the subject". A copy may be obtained from us.

Dr. B.S. Sandhu, Kothi No.2, Sector-2, Chandigarh - 160 002: I was at the *Akal Takhat* during the most crucial and horrific days of June 4, 5, and 6 with my two companions, Prof. M.S. Dhaliwal and S. Charanjit Singh Talwandi. We were deputed on top of the *deori* on the left side of *Akal Takhat* behind the two *nishan sahibs*. Looking at the whole scenario in retrospect I have no doubt that Sant Bhindranwale achieved martyrdom. Escaping from *Akal Takhat* and its surroundings especially for those who were armed was no less than a betrayal. That was the atmosphere and environment in and around *Akal Takhat*. I with my two accomplices escaped on June 6 morning with heavy heart and guilty conscious. How could the Sant escape from there? Not one from the *Damdami Taksal*, who are spreading canards about the Sant, was there at the time. If anybody wants to discuss the events of that eventful time he can come and meet me any time. I can tell him the actual facts. These people seem to be playing knowingly or unknowingly in the hands of the government agencies. The best way to clear the doubt would be to constitute a committee of witnesses to the whole situation rather than passing on arbitrary and authoritarian false decisions which would lower the image of *Damdami Taksal* in the eyes of the Sikh people. The *Damdami Taksal* should respect the feelings of the Sikh *sangar* and settle the controversy once for all after proper investigation. (DV July 1, 2001 p.23: "*Bhindranwale hailed martyr*").

Katti Padma Rao, Andhra Pradesh Dalit Mahasabha, Lumbinivanam, Ambedkar Colony, Ponnur - 522 124: Reports of the social boycott of the Dalits of the Gunturaredhypalem village, near Ongole, once again provides the hate philosophy of Hindus. Dalits are living in a state of fear amidst rumours that the Reddis are mobilising their strength to attack them. Dalits have been facing a social boycott ever since they stood up against untouchability, practised so brazenly in the village for decades and gained access to the drinking water well much to the chagrin of the Reddis. They are sulking that their caste hegemony has been challenged. The tobacco-rich Gunturaredhypaleum is a Reddi-dominated village with a population of about 5,000 where untouchability is practised in a strange manner.

Upendra Nag, Av/PO Boden, Nuapada dt., Orissa: Why the Bahujans are unable to declare India as *Budhashthan*? Our national emblem is Buddhist: Ashoka pillar of Sarnath. Our national seal is the Buddhist emblem lion. Our national flag is decorated with the Buddhist wheel of

law (*Dharmma Chakra*). Our Constitution was written by a great Buddhist, Dr. Ambedkar. There are many Buddhist shrines in India. With all these, why the Bahujans constituting over 85% are not declaring India as "Budhastan"? Only 3.5% Aryan Brahmins are calling Bharat as Hindustan.

A.S. Rajan, 797 - 17th F-2 Main Road, 6th Block, Koramangala, Bangalore - 560 095: Despite the Atrocities Act or Civil Rights Enforcement Act, varied and ever increasing atrocities against SC/STs have become a daily feature throughout India. In "independent" India, the plight of the Dalits has worsened. This is because the law-enforcing authorities are Hindus and our enemies. These Hindus are controlling the three wings of the state viz., legislature, executive and judiciary. Not only that. These Hindus dominate the economic, cultural and religious spheres also.

Suresh Jadhav, Muktidham, Chs No.2, R.No.1, Konkannagar, Jogeshwari (E), Bombay - 400 060: This refers to the article of Dr. Ejaz Ali (DV June 1, 2001 p.23: "*If Dalits want power they must support Dalit-Muslim demand for quota*"). He says:

A Dalit can never be the Prime minister until and unless there develops a strong binding between Dalits and Muslims.

This is what our Editor also says. That is why the Dalits fought for the Mandal Commission so that there will be unity between the SC/ST/BCs. Dalits never opposed a BC for the prime ministership but the BCs blindly voted to Hindu nazis. The Mandal Commission benefited the BCs only. We know that Muslims had demanded prime ministership to Babasaheb Ambedkar to avert the partition of India. But the situation now has totally changed because of the caste-based parties. Dr. Ejaz Ali writes:

This (prime ministership to Dalits) can be done by bringing them (Dalits and Muslims) under one quota.

This is what the Hindu nazis also want. Hindu nazis also want to put us under a general quota. Dr. Ejaz Ali says:

The condition of Muslims is worse than that of Dalits and Adivasis.

Yes. If so, Dalit and Muslims must get separate quota. Babasaheb too was in favour of caste-wise quota. During the Simon Commission, Hindu nazis found fault with Babasaheb and criticised him for promoting differences between different Dalit castes by demanding caste-wise quota. Babasaheb replied in his Editorial (Feb. 1, 1929 *Bahishkrit Bharat*) titled, "This inequality to equality":

Our opponents do not know what is the aim-purpose

of equalising (humanist). The aim is not to treat all human beings equally but only the establishment of equality where all persons are equals and out of them some are treated as unequals. Then inequality arises. But when all persons are unequals, in that case to treat all as equals is not in favour of all. Therefore, not to treat equals as unequals and unequals as equals, this is the aim of a humanist.

General quota never attracts the Bahujans. Only caste-wise quota will bring them under one flag of revolution (not political party) to fight the Hindu nazis. A caste having many subcastes is not the important issue. Brahmins have 1,886 subcastes. But they are never disturbed by it. Every Brahmin subcaste is represented in the government, private and public services. Demand for separate quota for every subcaste of SC/ST/BCs and Muslims as advocated by DV will help confine Hindu nazis to their population quota in all sectors.

B.K. Ghatak, G-1320 (GF), CR Park, New Delhi - 110 019: I have gone through the DV June 16, 2001. There are several contradictory statements and many readers will be confused to read different articles. *Dalit Voice* has taken so much interest in Muslims and Islam that some Dalits call it "Muslim Voice". In one article, it tells "religion did not unite Muslims" though it is true in the sense that this religion is not in the hands of intellectuals but with some fundamentalists. Syed Shahabuddin writes:

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

For them, it is better to serve under Brahmins. Sometime they show sympathy in the interest of conversion. But those Dalits who converted to Islam continue to remain Dalits.

Nani Gopal Das, 17 - Dattabad Road, Salt Lake, Calcutta - 700 064: This refers to the comments of Gurnam Singh Muktsar (DV May 16, 2001 p. 23). He quotes Dr. Ambedkar saying that to cross the seven seas successfully the Backward Castes should sit on the back of the SCs. But it is pathetic that the BCs think themselves to be equal to Hindus and consequently hate the SCs. Then how they can become the ruling class of the land? They are so ignorant that they cannot understand and do not want to understand that with the help of the SCs they can become the rulers of this land because they have education, intelligence and money and the SCs have the physical strength. And by combining the two, the character of this land can be changed and India can become a first class country in the world. But who can make this unwilling horse to drink water?

If the Backward Castes have become Awkward

Castes and continue to fight Dalits rather than target their principal enemy, the Brahminical Social Order, the brain behind engineering this brother fighting brother, is the vaidik conspiracy. We has referred to this in our Editorial Note (DV June 1, 2001 p.13) in our reply to the letter of Brother Gamma Ram of Lucknow. India is a huge sub-continent of several "nations" comprising hundreds of castes. Contradictions between them are natural. But the contradictions between the BCs and SCs or SCs and Muslims is not antagonistic but "non-antagonistic". A study of the Law of Contradictions will make this clear. The vaidiks through their monopoly media only go on highlighting and sharpening this non-antagonistic contradiction and thereby forcing the two brothers to fight each other. This is what is happening all over India in every state. Since the Bahujans have no media to correctly place the facts and explain the all-important Law of Contradictions, we are failing and the vaidiks are winning in keeping the two brothers fighting
— EDITOR

Dr. E. V. Chinnaiah, Plot No.2, Flat 206, Surya Saroj Apartments, Hyderabad - 500 035: Revolution is not possible, says Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, in two places where people are too rich and also where the people are too poor. Where the people are too rich they don't need revolution and in the second place where the people are too poor they will be too weak to rebel against the well established system. The process of LPG (liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation) very speedily being implemented by our State and Central Governments is pushing the poor, particularly the SC/ST and other weaker sections of the society, to the second stage as explained by the veteran socialist Dr. Lohia. (DV June 16, 2001 p.10: "*Privatisation, globalisation are Aryan weapons to further enslave us*", V.T. Rajshekar). Under mechanisation the agricultural labour, among whom the majority are the SC/STs, will go without work for over nine months in a year. Privatising the education means it would be impossible for a common man, let alone the poor, to send his children to schools. And there will be no jobs for others except the rich who invariably are upper castes. That means the parties in power are taking the society back to the days of *Manu dharm*a by which the Shudras and the at-i-sudras should do whatever the upper castes command them to do and in return they should accept whatever is thrown at them as charity. There are the "educated" among the SC/ST/BCs in lakhs who call themselves as Ambedkarites, socialists, communists and so on. But when it comes to the time of action they meekly submit to the parties in power.

Dr. Sanal Das, President, Kerala Dalit Medical Assn. &

Lecturer in Nephrology, Medical College, Trivandrum - 695 011: In the latest Assembly elections held in May last SC/ST have no member elected from any general seat. Dalits are not a deciding factor in any constituency. If Dalits can secure atleast 15,000 votes in a constituency, they can become an important group. After Mahatma Ayyankalis we have no dedicated Dalit leader, no honest intellectual. There is no intellectual growth or intellectual debate in Kerala as far as Dalits are concerned. There is absolutely no active, live, creative Dalit literature in Kerala. The failure of Dalit movement is so pathetic that it totally failed to produce even a single scholar in Dalit studies. The existing leaders quarrel on petty issues for personal gains. They have only one agenda: noise pollution. *Savarna* comrades are responsible for the defeat of LDF in Kerala. *Savarnas* (Hindus) tried to defeat V.S. Achuthanandan, an Ezhava liked by the working class. Earlier the Hindus tried to stop Achuthanandan becoming the chief minister. The LDF (marxist) Government ignored Ezhavas, Muslims, Dalits. Ezhavas and Dalits are the vote banks of LDF. Fortunately, this time both the Ezhava and Dalit leadership turned against the LDF. Prominent Hindus, notorious for their anti-Dalit and Ezhava stand, lost this time. Speaker M. Vijayakumar who was dead against installing the Dr. B.R. Ambedkar statue before legislature complex, was defeated. He was not even permitted to enter Dalit colonies in Thiruvananthapuram. K.E. Ismail, the man behind the Bill to annihilate the poor Tribals in Kerala, was also defeated. Those *savarna* comrades opposing SNDP and Sri Narayanan Guru were also defeated. P.J. Joseph, the notorious man behind DPEP and educational business, was also defeated. Chief Minister Antony has taken only one Dalit member Dr. M.A. Kutappan (Pulaya) into the cabinet. Of the 20 members in the Cabinet, there are five Nairs, five Christians, four Ezhavas but only one Dalit. All the important portfolios are allotted to Nair, Christian and Muslim group. Though Dr. M.A. Kutappan is MBBS and MS (General Surgery) health portfolio is allotted to somebody else. The entire Dalit community is getting *hinduised*. The danger ahead must be corrected immediately.

Syed Muzaffar Mir, Sarwajanik Muslim Library, Bhusawal - 425 201: This is the sad story of oppression and suppression of a Muslim employee by the upper caste officials of National Textile Corp. at Bombay. My son, junior assistant in New Hind Textile Mills, Bombay-33 tried to get voluntary retirement to escape from the clutches of Hindu nazi bosses in the mill. But they want to terminate his services without any pension benefits

amounting to Rs. 10 lakhs. Meanwhile, I too suffered and underwent open heart surgery incurring over Rs. 1 lakh expenditure. All this have added to my worries.

Nyyar Ahmed, Vijayanagar Nursing Home, Vijayanagar Colony, Hyderabad - 500 057: It was pathetic to observe that many DV family members have the same impression of Islam like any other enemies of Islam. Definitely it is due to lack of Islamic knowledge. Enemies of Islam were always of two kinds. One, who rejected openly, the other hypocrites. Today, the hypocrites are of two types. One who understood fully what is Islam, others have vague idea about it. The majority is from the latter. They too tune with enemies on points which are raised since Islamic origin. They forget that people of that period were also human beings like us with all feelings what we possess. There were intelligent, foolish, sincere and greedy as we find today.

The deep-rooted prejudice against Muslims and Islam — so common among Dalits and Backward Castes, who too are victims of the Brahminical Social Order (BSO) like the Muslims—is due to the long-drawn powerful brahminical propaganda against Muslims: The spectacular success of this propaganda can be judged from the fact that the Hindu nazis, the perpetrators of this crime, are now occupying the seat in Delhi. The Dalits or Backward Castes cannot be blamed for developing such a prejudice. Any innocent mind when brainwashed can be made to believe any damn thing. The BSO today possesses not only the illegally acquired power and wealth but the media to convince the innocent minds about their correctness. The BSO has divided the society into Hindu and Muslims putting the non-Hindu Dalits and BCs under the Hindu. This divide is total and complete with the Muslims as its worst victims. The BSO achieves "Hindu unity" only by annexing the non-Hindu SC/ST/BCs under the Hindu. As we have no media of our own, we have to simply suffer and surrender. No other go — EDITOR.

Syed Basheer Ahmed, 1929, South End "C" Road, 9th Block East, Jayanagar, Bangalore - 560 069: Reserving 5% seats to Kannada medium students in technical educational institutions has caused anxiety among educationists who are in favour of giving primary education in their mother tongue. The High Court of Karnataka, after considering the constitutional provision and universal demand to give primary education in mother tongue, gave its verdict in favour of giving primary education in mother tongue. The Karnataka Govt. accepted this in principle and issued orders for giving primary education in mother tongue from 1st

standard. Kannada being the state language to be taught from 3rd standard and English being link language to be taught from 5th standard onwards. In the 10th standard all the students irrespective of which media of instruction they have studied have to answer 100 marks paper in Kannada. This is an effective step taken to make all the students well conversant with Kannada the state official language. Now the State Govt. has decided to give education in mother tongue compulsory in the higher primary school level also i.e. upto 8th standard. This looks like an effort to discourage students craving for education in English medium.

S. Haque, Patna: The Muslims are trapped in a secret conspiracy hatched by the brahminical toilet papers. When Muslims write about our burning problems like share in power, justice etc., the media do not publish such articles. But when Muslims write on films, pollution, flood etc. the media highlights them. Many newspaper/TV channel have employed Muslims to write on films. Very unhealthy things are shown in Urdu TV pulling the community back day by day. No Muslim leaders or religious persons are coming out to protest such garbage.

Isa Haque, Madhupur, PO Hoerah, Hooghly - 712 147: This refers to the Letter of N.G. Das (DV March 16, 2001) accusing me of vomiting poison against Mamata Banerjee in my article, "*Mamata Banerjee can never topple Left Govt. in Bengal*". It is absolutely incorrect that I had vomited poison against Mamata. Far from it. Rather, what I had done in my article is that I had placed some cold facts about her, facts known to everybody in and outside the state. Das has alleged that the Left Govt. is a repressive regime. This is his personal view and I think it is not based upon facts. I do not accept and endorse his view. On the contrary, I think this govt. is a progressive one, more progressive than any other govts. of the past. I had seen the govts. of Dr. B.C.Ray, P.C. Sen, Ajay Mukherjee, Dr. Prafulla Ghosh and lately the govt. of Jyoti Basu under no govt. of the Congress party did the downtrodden people of the rural Bengal comprising about 70% of the total population enjoy so much right, honour and status as they are doing now under the marxists. I have been in social service since 1954 and I had seen the magnitude of their plight and hardship, degradation, humiliation and exploitation at the hands of the upper castes. They were treated like human-beasts, live beast of burden being deprived of the fruit they themselves produced with their own robust hands. Now the picture has altogether changed. Under the Left rule they have learnt to hold their heads high, undaunted and unfazed. They also have learnt to stand

great, even before their one time masters. This is what Das want to change with Mamata at the helm of a new govt. even when he knows too well what the track record of this erstwhile Congress leader is. Is not Das aware that when during ignoble rule of Siddhartha Shankar Ray, marxists and naxalites of the state were butchered in hundreds, educational institutions were raided by Congress hoodlums and teachers were brutally murdered in broad daylight, women having been raped became daily routine, communists were obstructed in every possible way to exercise their right to expression and association at the hour of gerroom and terror. This lady, who was then a leader of the student wing of the Congress Party, reportedly prevented Jayaprakash Narayan from addressing an audience in the Muslim Institute hall at Calcutta by dancing atop his car? Despite this hard facts, if Das still thinks that Mamata is the right person who can deliver the goods, he has every right to think so. But we consider her more terrible than a fascist and her coming to power needs to be prevented at all cost.

Dr. K.K. Usman, Forum for Faith & Fraternity, Vanchinad Residency, Post Box - 4239, Kaloor, Cochin - 682 017: Ours is a Muslim cultural organization which draws its sustenance from an intellectually dynamic core located primarily in the Greater Cochin area of Kerala. We had successfully conducted an essay contest on the topic — *Islam As I Know* — among the non-Muslim students of Indian university. Now we have widened the scope of the contest (having the same topic : "Islam as I Know"), inviting the participation of: (1) non-Muslim students (category A), (2) Muslim students (category B) and (3) non-Muslim teachers (category C). However, the essays received will be assigned to one of the three categories and will be evaluated accordingly for the purpose of deciding the prize winners. We wish to stress that the evaluation criteria will be different for each category of contestants. Winners of each category are offered the following prizes: 1st prize: Rs. 50,000 + set of Encyclopaedia Britannica. 2nd prize: Rs. 35,000 + a collection of English classics. 3rd prize: Rs. 25,000 + a collection of English classics. 10 consolation prizes of Rs. 3,000 each.

Muhammad Ali, c/o Md. Faruk Choudhury, Bankandi Junior College, PO Banskandi, Cachar, Assam - 788 101: After returning from a long tour of Northern India in the company of Tablighi-Jamat religious people, I suffered two shocks. The first one was on the Gauhati overbridge when I became the victim of Army (read Hindu) soldiers. They pulled out my little luggage, violently questioned me as if I was a Pakistani agent. These Army men and policemen, most of them SC/ST/BC original inhabitants

of India are very low paid and badly treated by their Hindu officers. Yet with Muslims they behave very badly and rudely as if we are enemies of India. Whenever there is any violence in Kashmir or Northeast, these non-Aryan Army soldiers die in the name of protecting *Bharat Mata*. They kill, rape and destroy Muslims to protect their Aryan oppressors without knowing that they too are victims of Aryan oppression. On the same day I suffered a bigger shock at the Patten Bazar Mosque. Being very late, I begged the mosque incharge (*Khalim*) to give me shelter in the night as I feared insecurity if I check into a hotel. The mosque-incharge denied shelter saying that as the situation was very bad. Alas! the Muslims also are implementing the upper caste orders against Muslims. Hinduism has polluted the Muslim hearts also. Muslims in this part of India live under constant terror. Even the place of god (mosque) cannot protect us.

Altaf Hussain Mithai, R/o Naseem-Abad, Hazarabal, Srinagar - 190 006: I am very ashamed to tell you but I have to tell the fact. It was in the year 1995, I use to communicate with you. At that time I was studying at Aligarh. I once asked for the price of the book, *Gandhi-Saini or Sinner*, by Fazlul Haq. To my surprise, you sent the book itself instead of quoting the price. At that time I was not in a position to pay the amount Rs. 50. After some time I forgot that I had to send you the money. It was today (April 18, 2001) that I was going through some books in my library, I turned the page of this book and found your slip inside the book dated 1.8.1995 and I at once remembered that I still owe you Rs. 50. I am very sorry and don't know how I should apologise for this lapse. I am now sending Rs. 100 through money order since this book may cost more now. If its current price is more than Rs. 100 then please inform me so that I can pay it.

Brother Altaf's is a classic case of Muslim honesty. Six years have passed since you got the book. And the normal tendency is just to forget. But you did not. That is your greatness. We salute you — EDITOR.

Inayat-Ullah, Advocate, 850 - Chandni Mahal, Darya Gaj, New Delhi - 110 002: I have your literature which are very informative. I am of the considered opinion that we cannot achieve the objective unless we bring the two oppressed sections of Indian society, Dalits and Muslims, on a common platform. The task is very difficult but not impossible.

Prof. A.M. Khalib, 44 - Azad Colony, Keshvapur, Hubli - 580 023: This refers to the Letter of R.P. Harsh (DV March 16, 2001 p.18). Muslims have never been cowards or enchanted by Brahmins as made out in the elaborate

letter of Dr. Harsh. Muslims have been and are largely tolerant and patient all along irrespective of skirmishes here and there in human history. *Sabir* means patience and tolerant. *Sabrun Jameelun* means patience is elegance is the dictum in the Quran. Enduring and yet struggling. Coming to Akbar the "Great" in our Indian history, he did go astray in his *Deene Elahi* which died with him. He did repent for that. But then he was a devoted Muslim fond of *sufis*. As Jodha Bai, his beloved queen and mother of Jahangeer, in her letter preserved in the British Museum writes:

"Akbar woke up early round about 4 a.m. Said his prayers (*Tahjud*) went round his stables of horses, took round of fort walls and was ever alert all along."

Birbal and Mulla Dupiyajaja were counterparts in fun-fare and jokes. In a book published about these two royal entertainers, this anecdote, referred to as follows:

Akbar who appreciated very much Birbal's knowledge and regard for Islam once asked him: "Birbal, when you appreciate Islam so much and have regard for its preachings why should you not embrace it?" Birbal replied "Jahn Panah, my heart in its depth is still is so dark, like a she-ass, how can I become a pure white cow?"

I am told about this as published in a book of anecdotes about these two people (Mulla Dopyyaja and Birbal). Muslim saints spread Islam only through persuasion and affectionate discussions. Akbar too thought of such conversions of intellectuals round about him without compulsion. The Quran also is against compulsion. Akbar never had a cabinet of ministers of which Birbal is aid to

No peace in Palestine until zionists vacate aggression

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: The Palestinian *Intifada* is now about nine months old costing about 600 lives, most of them Palestinian Muslims.

But, as we predicted in DV, there will be no end to bloodshed as long as the White Western racists and their zionist masters do not stop their war games and vacate their aggression.

The war-monger George Bush sent his CIA chief and announced a fake ceasefire in Israel even as the zionists continued to kill the innocent Palestinians to whom Palestine belongs.

Arafat warned: The White Western leaders flaunt their democracy, human rights and lately their globalisation and proclaim themselves as the sole model for the rest of the world to follow. But the same fellows are committing aggression on Palestine so far killing 600

have been one. He had a sole adviser in political matters, Raja Mansingh, brother of Jodha Bai, if I recollect correctly, the Queen of Akbar.

Dr. Nafis A. Siddiqui, Secretary, Indian Association of Muslim Social Scientists, Post Box No. 9725, Jamia Nagar, New Delhi - 110 025: I draw your kind attention to an urgent issue facing the Indian education system damaging the "national" harmony by saffronizing the education. Education being a concurrent subject and the NCERT not being a representative agency its recommendations and proposals should not be implemented without the effective consent of the state and the Central Governments. So, we in the IOS had organized a seminar on curriculum framework in New Delhi in March 2001.

S. Faizi, Consultant Ecologist, 4D, Emerald Apt. PO 5409, Vikas Bhavan PO, Trivandrum - 696 033: We are planning an international conference on biodiversity and indigenous people at Calicut University by the beginning of 2002. We would welcome your involvement in the conference process. Dr. Dasan of Calicut University, a very forward looking Dalit intellectual specialising in indigenous literatures, is incharge of the conference. Your involvement in the conference is important because as the Editor of *Dalit Voice*, you are the fountainhead of the Dalit liberation thought. DV is also an important vehicle to reach a huge network of conscientious Dalit/Adivasi groups. India's conservation movement will become meaningful only when the indigenous communities who are carefully kept away by the ruling class/casies, come to the forefront of the movement. ■

people. There will be no peace in West Asia as long as this Western-sponsored violence continues in Palestine. If Palestinian leader Arafat succumbs to Western pressure, the revolutionary Palestinians will kick him out. ■

Reference:

- DV Jan. 1, 2001 p.8: "Zionist plan to push Palestinians into Jordan may spark world war".
- DV Jan.1, 2001 p.22: "How Jewish state is founded by deceiving Palestinians", Ahmad Irfan,
- p. 23: "Spirit of Islam assures victory to Palestinians".
- DV Feb.1, 2001 p.21: "Palestinian Intifada has power to change world history".
- DV Dec.1, 200 p.6: "History punishes US for committing excesses".
- DV Edit Nov.16, 2000 p.9: "Hunt out external Huntingtons & internal enemies of Muslims—glorious oppor tunities of West Asian war". ■

Nazi curbs on Christians

SATINATH CHOUDHARY, VISITING ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR, DEPTT. OF MATHS & COMPUTER SCIENCE, PO BOX #179, MSC # 159, LINCOLN UNIVERSITY, PENNSYLVANIA 19352, USA

The Hindu nazi rulers of India are making a new law to curb overseas Christian guest speakers.

Foreign missionaries, Christian academicians and guest speakers will find it increasingly difficult to attend lectures or meetings in India. They will also find it difficult to address gatherings or conventions on religious matters.

This because the Hindu "nationalist" government is energising an archaic circular which prohibits the foreign intellectuals, educators, missionaries etc. from attending gatherings or conventions without the special permission of the govt. The

circular is more virulent on the citizens of India's neighbours.

The list of subjects of meetings or gatherings is not limited to religion but also semi-political, and even human rights. This would mean that anyone interested in attending an anti-nuclear pacifist campaign would be at the mercy of the ministries of Home Affairs or HRD both of which are in the hands of the Hindu "nationalists".

Vedic study: There is a huge influx of pseudo-intellectuals and self-proclaimed little known 'indologists' and 'vedic study fans' into India. These pro-Hindu nazi publicists get to roam around the "nation" with the patronage of the Hindu "nationalists". The latest to arrive is one Stephen Knaap,

Hare Krishna hinduist who is doing a publicity service for the nazi elements. It is very clear that the Christian missionaries and intellectuals will be hard hit.

The anti-Christian and anti-Muslim sentiments are very clear. The people targeted here are not 'terrorists' but mere academicians and intellectuals. The Hindu sadhus have not found any difficulty in spreading their ideology in any Western or Christian nation.

In the days of globalisation and free travel, such a law is with malafides. It is a restriction on human freedoms. People are being denied of intellectual interaction and knowledge which is totally unfair in any democracy.

Stop calling "Hindu nazis" as "nationalists"

We have a request to our overseas DV family members not to use the term "Hindu nationalist" while referring to India's RSS-BJP and their myriad fascist organisations. This is a term used by some innocent Western scholars who could not understand the true anti-national and anti-human philosophical content of these fascist organisations.

Hindu nazis are India's most well-identified anti-national core group. The entire indigenous people of India, comprising over 85% of its population, is unanimous in declaring them as rank anti-national. How can anti-nationals be called nationalists?

In DV, we have evolved our own vocabulary. One such is "Hindu nazi", a name which has been happily hugged by these "Sacred Bichmin" forces. The cap designed by DV very correctly fits them and they are happy with

this cap. If overseas writers describe these hate-mongers as "Hindu nationalists" then there is a chance of many other Hindus and their organisations, who do not agree with the "Hindu nazis", also being dubbed "anti-national Hindus".

DV experiment: *There is yet another point. Hindu nazism is not confined to RSS-BJP and their hydra-headed organisation. There are very many "Hindu nazis" inside the Congress, and other parties. Even marxist parties have their quota of Hindu nazis. They are there even in non-political professions. Ex-Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao was a top Hindu nazi.*

Our term "Hindu nazi" was evolved after a good deal of thought and experimentation and it has come to stay. The Hindu nazis themselves are so happy with their new name

— **EDITOR.**

Vegetarianism killed Indian sports

ZAWAHIR SIDDIQUE, 1448-MUMSHWARA TEMPLE STREET, KARIYANA PALAYA, LINGARAJAPURAM, BANGALORE - 560 084

Is sports in India deteriorating? This is the question that haunts every sports-loving individual in this "world's largest working democracy".

Malleswari won the lone bronze medal for India in the recent Sydney Olympics, saving face and humiliation of a country with over one billion people. Authorities from all corners of the "nation" assembled to analyze the dismal performance at Sydney. They discussed and criticized about the sports infrastructure that existed at the primary level, from schools to colleges, from villages to cities. Lack of professionalism was the other factor raised.

But one vital phenomenon remained untouched - the untouchability factor, the discrimination in the selection policy. Has the caste system, the sanctified racism in India, got to do anything with sports? Sounds absurd for a non-Indian, and unfortunately for majority of Indians too. Remember Malleswari is a non-vegetarian, Dalit sports woman, and she just managed to grab a ticket to the Olympics, fighting extreme discrimination.

Pakistanis are beef-eaters: Hockey was one game that fetched medals for India in the yesteryears. India and Pakistan dominated the hockey era in the formative years with their natural skills exhibited on conducive grass fields. It did not take long to the Europeans to overpower the giants from the sub-continent. They replaced skill with speed and athleticism, by strategically introducing synthetic grounds. Skill and the traditional approach no longer mattered, and what mattered was power and aggression at the highest competitive level which the poor Indians never possessed. The glory

of hockey ended there and our discussion on hockey ends here.

Cricket as India's religion: Cricket is the new religion of India, as the saying goes. Cricket is in fact the only hope that prevails in spite of the high voltage drama involved in the match fixing episode where Mohammed Azharuddin, India's most successful cricket captain, became the lone victim and stalwarts like Kapil Dev, Sunil Gavaskar and the likes go through.

Lack of bowlers: Let us now explore a new dimension to discrimination in the cricket perspective. The case study that follows should open fresh awareness of disgust to the sports loving, cricket-mad nation. Javagal Srinath is supposed to be the fastest bowler, Indian cricket has ever produced and he is a vegetarian Brahmin (though he has started enjoying the non-vegetarian menu in recent years). On the other hand the irony is that Pakistan, India's strongest rival in the sports, continues to produce high quality fast bowlers on a consistent basis with a never-say-die attitude. The lack of genuine fast bowlers in India, in spite of their counterpart producing them in abundance, ignited the long awaited brainstorming, debate a couple of years.

Two significant opinions evolved from the discussion involving experts all over India. One, Imran Khan, the greatest Pakistani captain, possessed the charisma and courage to revamp the slow pitches in Pakistan and replace them with the ones conducive to fast bowlers. We, India, did not produce a cricketering brain like Imran, but Indian cricketer could atleast have duplicated the strategies of the great all-rounder.

The second point that came up in the analysis was revealing. Power being the key to fast bowling, Pakistan kept producing them due

to the non-vegetarian culture prevailing there. India on the other hand was adamant only in providing opportunities to vegetarian Brahmins.

English speaking cricketers: Another interesting debate struck the author recently. Abdurrazak, the young discovery for Pakistan in the recent world cup, communicated in Urdu during the "man of the match" award facilitation ceremony. Some of the comments from the Indian viewers went to the extent of accusing Pakistan of producing uneducated cricketers who were not even proficient in the English language. The counter argument was embarrassing for the over enthusiastic Indian viewers. Well, its true that every individual Indian cricketer in the current team speak English but how many of us know that only less than 4% of the one billion people in India read/write/speak English.

This gives a direct indication that only 4% of the population is eligible for selection in the Indian cricket team. And remember Brahmins comprising 5% of the total population grab the bulk of sporting opportunities.

Changing the destiny of sports is neither a priority nor a possibility at the moment for India. But if the sports scenario is to make any significant inroads then it should begin with providing basic infrastructure and opportunities to the discriminated majority of India.

Reference:

DV Edit Oct. 16, 2000: "Our boasting brats & Olympics disaster: Why India is always first from the last?"

DV Aug. 16, 1992 p.3: "Indian rulers eat dust at Olympics"

DV Nov. 1, 1990 p.14: "Merit-mongers eat dust at Asiad"

DV Edit Dec. 1, 1982: "Asiad extravaganza: When the tiger turns man-eater"

British writer calls for separate identity to Dalits

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

I got a small booklet in the Bodleian Library (Oxford University) which gets *Dalit Voice*. The booklet is by a woman, Miss Louise Ouwerkerk, who was British by birth but of Dutch origin. The Oxford University Press published it in 1945 and it needs wider circulation. I went to the OU press and they said that we could re-print it in India. I am quoting some portions from the booklet.

SLAVES OF INDIA

It insists that the Dalits should have a separate **identity** away from the alien Aryan Hindus and they also should have their own media, which the DV has been advocating for several years.

The Untouchables of India form the largest subordinate racial group in the world.

There are other groups whose subordinate position, involving as it does social disabilities, economic weakness and political inequality, resembles that of the Untouchables, for instance, the Blacks in the USA, the natives of South Africa, the Jews in Nazi Germany. The problems of such groups have attracted attention among thinking peoples of the world over. Yet numerically they did not compare with that of the Untouchables.

There are 12 million American Blacks. There are 6 million South African native. There were less than 3 million Jews in pre-nazi Germany - there are not more than 16 million Jews in the whole world.

There are, according to the census figures, nearly 41 million Untouchables in India, 40 million in British India, 9 million in the Indian States.

The Untouchables are the menials of India. They are the performers of unclean tasks, the landless labourers in the fields, and the unskilled workers in towns. Whatever work is mean or degrading or drudging is done by the Untouchables. They are the people who are considered so inferior that even there touch defiles, and they must be kept at a distance, segregated, excluded from the ordinary life of the community. And they are born to their task. For they are part of the caste system, unique to India, which fixed a man's social and economic status by the group into which he is born.

STRUGGLE WITHIN STRUGGLE

But the Untouchables are an emergent group. India, like all Asiatic countries, is struggling towards a more modern outlook and organization. Under the impact of Western ideas of democracy, liberty and human equality, the old static social system is being called into question, and in particular the system that denies rights and opportunities to one-eighth of the nation is being challenged. Social reformers have long tried to do something for the Untouchables, but now the Untouchables are beginning to do things for themselves.

Here we have a struggle within a struggle. India as a whole is struggling for nationhood, for equality with other nations. The Untouchables are struggling for equality within the nation. While

their struggle is in one way part of the great national upsurge in India, in other ways it cuts right across that struggle while they are ready to struggle for the freedom of the nation as a whole, they are equally ready to fight for their own freedom with those of their countrymen who oppress them.

DV CRY FOR "MEDIA CENTRE"

And indeed, some of their leaders frankly say national freedom is not worth winning if their own social and economic subordination is to continue. The emergence of the Untouchables as a separate group with clamorous demands for equality is an important social phenomenon in India. It is impossible to understand what is happening in India at the present-day without undertaking the problems of the Untouchables.

A social and political struggle affecting 41 million people (now 300 million in 2001) is of no mean order. It has, however, affected relatively little attention outside the India. That is partly due to the cold fact that the Untouchables are desperately poor, have no money to publicise themselves and few educated leaders to give voice to their aspirations.

(Look at the importance of our own media for which our Editor has been crying for several years and his cries remain in the wilderness unheard and unconcerned by the real beneficiaries, but the enemy has understood the danger of Dalits having their own media).

Those who know something of the

problem are apt to think of it a purely domestic problem, which Indians must somehow settle between themselves. But the principles underlying the struggle are of worldwide significance, for it is part of that immense upsurge of the underprivileged, which is the key to the social upheavals of our time. We can no longer afford to be indifferent to the domestic problems of other nations, if the war has taught us nothing else it has taught us that the affairs of each are the affairs of all, and that we cannot pass by on the other side.

TRIBUTES TO DR. AMBEDKAR

Commending Babasaheb Ambedkar, the author wrote: Dr. Ambedkar's views carry great weight, both with his own community and with the outside world. He considers that the Scheduled Castes as quite apart from the Hindu community, and will not call himself a **Hindu**. He is strongly critical of Gandhi for wishing to preserve the caste system with the *Harjians* as the fifth caste. He believes that the salvation of the community will come through self-help, and lays great emphasis on educated leadership... It was at the Round Table Conference that the demand for separate electorate for the Depressed Classes was first put forward. The question arose in the Minorities Committee, over, which Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald presided, and of which Gandhi and Dr. Ambedkar were prominent leaders. Dr. Ambedkar in making his demand challenged the claim of the Congress to represent all communities. And stated that he only desired the transfer of power if all classes, including the Depressed Classes, had a chance of sharing it.

Gandhi protested against the separation of the Untouchables from the rest of Hindus and

declared that he would far rather Hinduism died than that Untouchability lived.

On the last few pages the author raised certain valid questions and these are:

GANDHI'S MISCHIEF

"Is the problem of the Untouchables insoluble? Must it always create divisions and bitterness? Can the Untouchables ever win social and economic equality? And even if they do so, must they ever remain a distinct body or will they ultimately be merged into the general community so that their separate identity is forgotten?"

"The Untouchable problem presents a dilemma. If they insist on their separatedness, there is the danger that they will perpetuate the social division between them and the caste Hindus, and thus stabilize a position, which might otherwise disappear under the pressure of social and economic change. This is what Gandhi feared when he exclaimed at the Round Table Conference that Dr. Ambedkar's proposals meant the perpetual barbarism. On the other hand, the social structure of Hinduism is very strong and is proving resistant to change if the Untouchables remain within Hinduism. There is the danger that their progress will be slow and limited in extent, and they may remain perpetually the fifth caste dependent on and patronized by their high-caste brethren.

DR. KLY'S CALL

It is the writer's considered opinion that, whatever be the cost of the unity of the country, the progress of the Untouchables be surer and speedier if they insist on their being **separate identity**.

Dr. Y.N. Kly in his book *International Law and the Dalits of India* (Dalit Liberation Education Trust, Madras,

1989) had strongly argued that Dalits must insist that their identity is a distinct ethnic nationality and should constitutionally be recognized as such within the territory of India so that the UNO could directly intervene whenever human rights violations take place against the Dalits. Now that the **identity** of Dalits is within the Hindu fold and their religion also is Hinduism, which was imposed upon them by the Presidential Order of 1950. Unless until Dalits go for religious conversion their religion is still Hinduism.

RELIGIOUS CONVERSION

The Blacks in the USA and the Blacks here in the UK are different from the Whites and they claim that they mutually are separate. Will the Dalits understand and open their eyes? There are two ways before them, either go for religious conversion or demand for a constitutional amendment to re-establish their separate ethnic nationality within the territory of India. They must go to the UN, they must do a lot of spade work within India and also outside the country. But above all they must first **educate** their brothers and sisters on the philosophical burning thoughts of Dr. Ambedkar and that will lead them to a total revolution, revolution within their minds and hearts, then revolution within their different communities, revolution inside the work-places and finally revolution on the streets.

This was exactly what the General Secretary of the WCC, Dr. Konrad Raiser, told our Editor when they met at Bangalore a few years ago. Dr. Raiser told our Editor that the world did not hear the cry of the Dalits outside the boundaries of India just because we did not and still we do not have a media of our own except the only *Dalit Voice*. ■

Dalit Sikhs support DV stand on racism

GURNAM SINGH MUKTSAR, 10 - GURU ANGAD NAGAR, MUKTSAR, PUNJAB -152 026

DV has taken the right stand that casteism is racism. Caste is more dangerous than racism. The fear that the *vaidik*-controlled Indian Govt. will not allow non-official delegates to go to the Durban conference called by the United Nations to advocate this point is real. Ms. Savitri Kumari (Kunadi), who represented the Govt. at the Geneva preparatory conference for the Durban meet and defended the govt. stand that casteism is not racism, is the grand-daughter of Babu Jagjivan Ram. We condemn this upper caste stooge

Reference:

DV July 1, 2001 p. 20: "Racists drowned: Hindu rulers facing defeat at Durban?"

DV June 16, 2001 p. 7: "Dalits complain of racism in Gujarat relief work" & "Casteists defeated at UN?"

P.8: "Brahminical rulers afraid of UN scrutiny of Indian racism".

who was sent to harm Dalits. DV being a journal of international repute can play an important role at this crucial time.

The Govt. of India may send a big delegation to suppress the truth about the widespread racism inside India but DV alone is enough to defeat the enemy as thousands of Dalits living abroad are ready to convey the right message. Our Editor's passport may be impounded but DV will do the work on behalf of the Editor.

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

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

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

Even gods are racists?

AMANSSS@EXCITE.CO.UK

I am sending a report by Sukmani Singh datelined Bhiwara (June 10):

A simple act of faith proved fatal for Ghasi, from Bhadkiyan village in Kotdi tehsil, 50 kms from Bhiwara in southern Rajasthan. Ghasi (65), a Dalit belonging to the Regar subcaste did the unthinkable, he dared to enter and pray at the Dooni Mata Devra built by the upper caste Rajputs and Gujjars in his village.

Suffering from typhoid for the past ten days, the drained Ghasi had walked across to the temple when Narayan, a Gujjar landlord, shouted at him from his house opposite the temple: "Who are you to pray here?"

Narayan rushed towards Ghasi and beat him to death with an iron rod. Not a single govt. official visited Ghasi's family till now. The Regars live in

just ten huts in a village with 300. They are not allowed to enter the ornate marble floored Chathuja temple which towers alongside the devra. Instead, they pray in a simple Ramdevji temple a mud-floored open shrine decorated with two stone slabs and a cloth flag. Nor can they offer prayers at the Dooni Mata Devra where the Rajputs and Gujjars conduct pujas twice a month on the occasion of *Astharri*.

"We just bow down and rub our noses on the floor from a distance", says a villager.

The Regars who have long abandoned their traditional occupation of skinning animals, still get their water from a separate handpump and well. The upper castes do invite them to weddings and other functions, but they are served food in a separate enclosure. And they dare not return the favour: no upper caste member is seen dining in their homes.

Nagpur seminar

NAGESH CHOUDHARY, UDHOLI BLDG, RAHATE COLONY, JAIL ROAD, NAGPUR - 440 023

The long-awaited Nagpur seminar on V.T. Rajshekar's latest book, *Aggression on Indian Culture*, (2001, DSA, Rs. 50) will be held on July 15 at the Dr. Ambedkar Sanskritik Hall, Uruveia Colony, Wardha Road. Time

5 p.m. Speakers are Prof. Indira Athavale, Subhash Bhalerao of CNI, Prof. S.P. Widhale and author of the book, V.T. Rajshekar. Myself and J.S. Patil are the chief organisers. DV readers are invited. (Our phone Nos.

J.S.Patil: 0712 261 974, Nagesh Choudhary: 533 086). This is the fourth seminar on the book after Delhi, Hyderabad and Trivandrum. Preparations at Ahmedabad and Calcutta are going on.

Gandhi defended caste system to please vaidiks

ROUF-UL-HAQ, FINANCE DEPT., GOVT. OF J & K, SRINAGAR, KASHMIR

Winston Churchill has rightly said that if the British quit India and India gets "independence" they will kill each other. The statement of the former British war time Prime Minister has come true. Caste system in India like a monster has multiplied the miseries of deprived Untouchables. M.K. Gandhi's fanatical support to his barbarous and tyrannical caste system in his own words is worth repetition:

"The caste system in my opinion has a scientific basis, reason does not revolt against it. If it has disadvantages it also has advantages. Caste creates a social and moral restraint. I can find no reason for their (castes) abolition to caste is to demolish Hinduism.

There is nothing to fight against *varnashrama* (caste system). I don't believe caste system to be an odious and vicious dogma. It has its limitations and defects but there is nothing sinful about it". (*Harijan*, 2-11-38).

These words of Gandhi are based on prejudice. The deprived and persecuted class is subjected to barbarism and inhuman treatment. The reason he pronounced to justify caste system proves his puerile character.

Slaves of Brahmins: Gandhi was also quoted to have said:

"My mother would tell me that the shortest cut to purifications after the unholy touch of an untouchable was to cancel the touch by touching a Musalman passing by".

Longing to keep Dalits under the Hindu fold unfolds his cunning and crafty attitude. Gandhi time and again played tricks against the Dalits. He did not do good to Dalits. He defended caste system to provide more muscles to the exploiting upper castes. He overtly and covertly dubbed the Dalits as the slaves of Brahmins. **Muslims hated:** The ruling Brahminical Social Order since time immemorial just raised lot of dust but not the level of the people. Gandhi failed at every front but successfully duped the oppressed Dalits. For all the services done to BSO, the Brahmins hailed him as their hero. The only reason for praising him was he defended their Hindu caste system that kept the Brahmin as the ruler. It is no secret that a mere 15% upper castes rule 85% of original inhabitants of India. Gandhi's attitude towards the Muslims, Christians and

Dalits was exactly like Abraham Lincoln's relations with the Negroes of America. Gandhi advocated the division of labour and also gave a scientific background to defend it. But in reality there was no division of labour but only the division of labours. Gandhi, therefore, was a fox in the saint's garb.

Confusing Sikhs: Dr. Babasheb Ambedkar had warned many times about the danger faced by Dalits from the upper castes and particularly Brahmins. He said our Enemy was fully aware of our strategy but our own community did not understand its essentiality. Hindu nazis are also trying to confuse the Sikhs. The Hindu nazi organisation RSS chief recently said Sikhism was a part of Hinduism and that the *Guru Garanh* should be kept in Hindu temples. BSO thrives only by confusing its victims. No Sikh is ready to accept this proposal. ■

DV Editor turns 70 next year

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: The Editor of *Dalit Voice*, V.T. Rajshekar, is turning 70 next year, on July 17, 2002.

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