

DALIT VOICE

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The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities Denied Human Rights

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Role of Directive Principles:

THUS SPAKKE AMBEDKAR

Thus Spake Ambedkar

Role of Directive Principles in Constitution

If it is said that the Directive Principles have no legal force behind them, I am prepared to admit it. But I am not prepared to admit that they have no sort of binding force at all. Nor am I prepared to concede that they are useless because they have no binding force in law.

The Directive Principles are like the Instrument of Instructions which were issued to the Governor-General and to the Governors of the Colonies and to those of India by the British Government under the 1935 Act. Under the Draft Constitution it is proposed to issue such instruments to the President and to the Governors. The texts of these Instruments of Instructions will be found in Schedule IV of the Constitution. What are called Directive Principles is merely another name for Instrument of Instructions. The only difference is that they are instructions to the Legislature and the Executive. Such a thing is to my mind to be welcomed. Wherever there is a grant of power in general terms for peace, order and good government, it is necessary that it should be accompanied by instructions regulating its exercise.

The inclusion of such instructions in a Constitution such as is proposed in the Draft becomes justifiable for another reason. The Draft Constitution as framed only provides a machinery for the government of the country. It is not a contrivance to install any particular party in power as has been done in some countries. Who should be in power is left to be determined by the people as it must be, if the system is to satisfy the tests of democracy. But whoever captures power will not be free to do what he likes with it. In the exercise of it, he will have to respect these instruments of instructions which are called Directive Principles. He cannot ignore them. He may not have to answer for their breach in a Court of Law. But he will certainly have to answer for them before the electorate at election time. What great value these directive principles possess will be realized better when the forces of right contrive to capture power.

This it has no binding force is no argument against their inclusion in the Constitution. There may be a difference of opinion as to the exact place they should be given in the Constitution. I agree that it is somewhat odd that provisions which do not carry positive obligations should be placed in the midst of provisions which do carry positive obligations. In my judgment their proper place is in Schedules III A 7 IV which contain Instrument of Instructions

to the President and the governors. For, as I have said, they are really Instruments of Instructions to the executive and the Legislatures as to how they should exercise their powers. But that is only a matter of arrangement.

Some critics have said that the Centre is too strong. Others have said that it must be made stronger. The Draft Constitution has struck a balance. However much you may deny powers to the Centre, it is difficult to prevent the Centre from becoming strong. Conditions in modern world are such that centralization of powers is inevitable. One has only to consider the growth of the Federal Government in the USA which notwithstanding the very limited powers given to it by the Constitution, has out-grown its former self and has overshadowed and eclipsed the State Governments. This is due to modern conditions. The same conditions are sure to operate on the Government of India and nothing that one can do will help to prevent it from being strong. On the other hand, we must resist the tendency to make it stronger. It cannot chew more than it can digest. Its strength must be commensurate with its weight. It would be a folly to make it so strong that it may fall by its own weight.

The Draft Constitution is criticized for having one sort of constitutional relations between the Centre and the Provinces and another sort of constitutional relations between the Centre and the Indian States. The Indian States are not bound to accept the whole list of subjects included in the Union List but only those which come under Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications. They are not bound to accept subjects included in the Concurrent List. They are not bound to accept the State List contained in the Draft Constitution. They are free to create their own Constituent Assemblies and to frame their own constitutions. All this, of course, is very unfortunate and I submit quite indefensible. This disparity may even prove dangerous to the efficiency of the State. So long as the disparity exists, the Centre's authority over all-India matters may lose its efficacy. For, power is no power if it cannot be exercised in all cases and in all places. In a situation such as may be created by war, such limitations on the exercise of vital powers in some areas may bring the whole life of the State in complete jeopardy. What is worse is that the Indian States under the Draft Constitution are permitted to maintain their own armies.

(To be continued)

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Vol. 13, (pages 65 - 67) 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 VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities
Denied Human Rights

SC/ST MPs Forum must wake up & support Durban conference: Punish traitors among Dalits

We are eagerly waiting for the UN World Conference Against Racism (WCAR) at Durban in Aug.-Sept. and we have every hope that the enlightened world leaders will accept the demand of India's Black Untouchables, world's single largest persecuted and segregated section, to equate casteism with racism.

The Govt. of India controlled by the very perpetrators of this racism are determined to resort to all sorts of heinous tricks to block the discussion and spoil the show but the world outside has been sufficiently educated by *Dalit Voice* during the past 20 years on the unique Indian brand of racism before which the South African Apartheid pales into insignificance.

Four-fold alliance: In this we bank on the support of our Black brothers and sisters from the African continent, Muslim countries plus China. These are the three trusted allies of India's Black Untouchables. Together, these four sections will be able to check the American juggernaut driven by the Indian brahminical ruling class. Such an alliance of the four forces — India's Dalits, Africans, Muslims and China — should see through the Durban conference and make the UN endorse our demand that India's casteism is indeed racism giving it a religious touch (sanctified racism).

So all eyes are on Durban and India's minority rulers are seriously worried that Durban would rip open the real, crooked face of the Indian rulers who while they criticised the South African Apartheid practised the world's worst form of Apartheid inside India.

Racism exported from India: However, India's Dalit leaders going to Durban must be careful about our brahminical rulers who are the world's most crooked, cunning and crafty buggers capable of converting daylight into midnight. Beware, these are the very crooks who sold swastika to Hitler and caused two world wars. Beware, these are the very humbugs who invented racism, as the founding fathers of

racism, and exported it all over the world and yet put on a *gandhian* garb of non-violence. Such wicked brains can be tackled only by the sharpest brains.

Several agencies created by the govt. itself have given their official reports that casteism, which is the Indian name for racism, is not only so rampant all over India but every effort is being made to step up its virility. Enough documentation on this subject is available not only with the govt. inside India but also international human rights organisations like Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch etc.

Black support to Dalits: Several Black (Afro-American) delegations have visited India on the invitation of *Dalit Voice* and their reports are available. So, those world leaders pushing our demand at Durban have enough and more evidence.

When every conscious Dalit organisation in India is looking up to Durban with great expectation and the whole world is concerned with the caste-based discrimination, we are shocked by the silence of the country's Untouchable Parliament Members (MPs). We have in India's Parliament about 125 Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe (SC/ST) MPs who constitute the Dalit Parliamentary Forum in Delhi. What is this Forum doing? Is it sleeping? Or pretending to sleep? Have they been bought over by their brahminical bosses?

Paswan not opening mouth: Ram Vilas Paswan is a senior Dalit parliamentarian and an important Union Cabinet Minister heading his "Dalit Sena". Why this man has not even opened his mouth on the Durban meet?

This is yet another evidence of Paswan's pusillanimity? How long this joker will continue to pose himself as a Dalit leader and fool the innocent Dalits of India? (DV July 16, 1999 p.23: "Paswan goes closer to Hindu nazis".

We have the powerful Bahujan Samaj Party and

its leader Kanshi Ram whose concern for Untouchables has proved genuine. It is time he makes some noise in Delhi and hammers the heads of brahminical racists for their double-talk.

Yes. We do agree that the battle for the liberation of Untouchables has to be fought inside India. The UN conference at Durban even if it endorses our plea that casteism is racism will not melt the stone-hearted Indian vaidik leaders.

So, the UN resolution on casteism will not very much alter the racist situation and the miserable lives of the Indian Untouchables. We are fully aware of this. All the more, such a resolution will help us to internationalise our problem getting it global publicity.

Kanshi Ram must think of this big gain and lend his voice.

Frighten Vaidik Vajpayee: We have in India thousands of Dalit organisations — social as well as those confined to reservations issue. Why all these letter-head organisations are silent? As the Durban conference days are nearing all these Dalit organisations must raise their voice and our collective cry must frighten the Vaidik Vajpayee, the reigning Brahmin leader of India.

Dalit Voice has already jumped into the Durban fray notwithstanding the fact that the Editor of DV has no passport to travel outside India. We have even started a Debate on the "Durban conference". Enough materials have been published in DV and in our DSA books. Those interested may order the copies.

Suckers warned: Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar wanted to internationalise the Indian untouchability (racism) and at last that moment has come. The UN itself has taken up our problem and it has come to the final stage.

We are also aware that India's Dalit movement is very much divided and the *vaidik* rulers are taking advantage of this division. This is a testing time for Dalit leaders and their movement. Bumlickers beware. You will meet the fate of Bangaru Laxman, Ram Vilas Paswan and scores of such suckers.

Dalit Christians thanked: On this occasion we pay tributes to all those great people who have succeeded in pushing the untouchability (racism) problem to international heights. We have to particularly thank the Dalit Christian leaders for making this possible. But for their energetic work

and the support they received from their sincere White donor countries this problem would not have reached such levels.

Don't attack caste system: But a word of caution: The Dalit Christians, being not Hindus, are not able to understand the crooked "Hindu mind". Please do not criticise the caste system at Durban and demand its abolition. The attack is on casteism and not caste system which is the other word for Hinduism. Do not mix up the two and play into Brahmin hands. Remember this. We had already given this warning at Delhi's global conference.

To repeat, all eyes are on Durban. Anybody not with us at this crucial juncture should be declared against us. Dalit Parliamentary Forum must wake up and start shouting. So also the SC/ST Commission of the Govt. of India.

Warning to NGOs: NGOs, most of them upper castes, have deliberately chosen to be silent. All these NGOs sitting silent at this crucial hour must be exposed and their foreign donors must be told to blacklist them.

Human rights organisations inside India are also mostly headed by upper castes and hence their silence. These blacklegs must be also tackled for being traitors to Dalits.

The upper caste Govt. of India is stage-managing preparatory meetings packed with henpecked Dalit leaders. Such meetings have been held in Hyderabad and Delhi. Bangalore meeting is slated for Aug.3. Hundreds of Dalits must rush to these meetings and frustrate these stage-managed *vaidik* drama. Those Dalit leaders on the payroll of the govt. must be ruthlessly exposed.

The entire Dalits of India must speak with one voice and drown the *vaidik tamasha* to frustrate the Durban conference. DV family members must take the lead in organising such campaigns. Here is an opportunity which none of us can afford to miss.

WHO WEAKENED INDIA

Buddhism or Brahminism?

Dr. Surendra Ajnori

2001 pp. 50 Rs. 15

Bheem Patrika Publications

Dr. Ambedkar Road, Jalandhar,
Punjab - 144 003

World-wide protest against Apartheid in India

A CORRESPONDENT

Washington: There was a world-wide action on July 4 to support the UN Conference Against Racism (WCAR) which is slated to take up the Indian Black Untouchables' complaint against brahminical rulers for practicing racism inside India.

A very vociferous, high-spirited people protested in front of Indian Embassy in Washington DC and Indian Consulates in New York city, Chicago and San Francisco on July 3, 2001 which was chosen as a Global Day Action against Caste.

In Washington DC, there were about 20-25 people, in New York City there were 40-50 demonstrators and Chicago had a gathering about 400 protestors, San Francisco had about 10 demonstrators. They were Dalits, Muslims, Christians, Hindus, African-Americans, White Americans, men, women and children.

They voiced their protest against the Indian Government's efforts to block caste-based persecutions from being discussed at the WCAR at Durban in August.

Human Rights Watch: The Washington demonstrators went to the Indian Embassy and submitted a copy of press release and memorandum addressed to the Indian Ambassador, Lalit Man Singh. In New York, the main organizers of the protest rally against Indian Government were Mr. & Mrs. Prince Singh, both from the DSF (Dalit Solidarity Forum of USA) and Smita Narula of Human Rights Watch, New York. After demonstrating and shouting slogans for a couple of hours they sent their representative, Ms. Roja Singh, who met the Deputy Counselor for an extended meeting and submitted their demand letter along with over 4,000 signatures from all around the US to reiterate the fact that the Indian Government cannot brush aside the Dalit issue any more. The Deputy Counselor agreed to meet with a group from DSF for further engagement.

Indian cancer: In Chicago, Dr. Rahul Deepankar, who is a noted Dalit leader and Chairman of New Republic India International, and his friends organized an impressive gathering of 400 people who submitted a

memorandum to Surendra Kumar, Consul-General of Chicago.

Some of the slogans chanted by the demonstrators were: Indian caste system is racism, Indian Apartheid must go, caste out caste, casteism is racism, no one is free until everyone is free. Dalit abuse has got to go, Indian Government - shame, shame Every Dalit knows your name and game etc.

Atrocities on Dalits: Overall, it was a very good day of action with a clear message to the Government of India that people outside India (Indians and others, Dalits and non-Dalits) are not going to sit and watch the Indian Government ignore the Dalit issue and keep atrocities against Dalits under cover. A bold step forward has been taken, signaling more actions to come.

What was the demand of all these protestors? Indian Government has been trying very hard to block caste-based persecutions from being discussed at Durban. The protestors want that the Indian Government should stop their effort to block the spotlight on the Indian cancer of caste-based discrimination and atrocities against Dalits. ■

Durban Conference

AMSHA <DREAMREALITY2020@YAHOO.COM>

The UN World Conference against racism (WARC) will be held on Aug.3 to Sept.7, 2001.

The discussions will focus on the sources, cause and forms of contemporary manifestations of racism, victims of racial discrimination, measures of prevention and strategies to achieve full and effective equality.

For further information: World Conference Secretariat, Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, United Nations, Palais Wilson, 52 rue de Paquis, CH-1201, Geneva.

Tel: +41 22 917 92 90; fax: +41 22 917 90 22.

Email: tshawl@hchr@unog.ch

or husbands@un.org; http://www.unhchr.ch.

Gujarat Dalit Panther chief caught in controversy on racism

A CORRESPONDENT

Ahmedabad: Gujarat has proved the power of *Dalit Voice* which has been able to shake the state's noted Dalit leader, Rameshchandra Parmar, for his alleged statement that the Untouchables of India are not suffering under casteism (racism).

A Letter of one Anand Parmar to this effect was published in DV of May 16, 2001 (p.17) saying that the Gujarat Dalit Panther chief attended the UN preparatory conference at Geneva as the Govt. of India delegate and defended the brahminical rulers of India and also said that the Indian Untouchables never suffered from casteism (untouchability).

Parmar's silence: As the country was getting ready for the UN conference at Durban, and Gujarat was sending a strong team led by Martin Macwana, Pravin Rashttrapal, MP, Gujarat's top Dalit leaders' statement came as a shock to the entire state.

An Editorial Note under to the above Letter asked Rameshchandra Parmar "to explain and offer a truthful statement".

The publication of this news in DV created a big controversy and scores of Dalit journals reproduced the DV Letter and Parmar came under severe attack. Hundreds of photocopy of the Letter was distributed all over the state.

Parmar desperately tried to contact the Editor and his Letter was published in DV June 16, 2001 p.16.

But the Letter was silent on whether Parmar had made the alleged statement at Geneva or not.

Parmar silence pushed him into trouble

Brother Rameshchandra Parmar has been our close friend for over 20 years and continues to be so. We twice toured Gujarat on his invitation during the height of the two "Gujarat caste wars". It was due to his efforts and that of Brother, Vajjibhai Patel DV circulation soared in Gujarat. We continue to have the same respect for him and his vast contribution.

On this latest controversy we had published all his Letters and also that of Anand Parmar. We only asked Rameshchandra Bhai to clarify whether he had made the alleged statement attributed to him.

If he had not made the alleged statement he could have said so. It was quite possible that Hindu nazis might have put words into his mouth to defame him. But his

When untouchability was declared as the world's worst form of racism, how could a top Dalit leader deny its very existence? How dare he go against Dr. Ambedkar's verdict on untouchability?

Meanwhile, Anand Parmar in his Letter of July 1, 2001 (p.12) denied having written the original letter criticising Rameshchandra Parmar who meanwhile became the target of all-round criticism from Dalits.

Book release postponed: In the midst of all this controversy, a function to release the Editor's latest book, *Aggression on Indian Culture*, followed by a seminar at Ahmedabad on the same was postponed in view of the raging controversy on the role of Rameshchandra Parmar.

Dalits were asking why the noted Dalit leader of Gujarat was refusing to deny the statement attributed to him saying that Indian Dalits did not suffer from untouchability (racism). Did he make the statement or not?

The "Rameshchandra Parmar controversy" was refusing to die as more and more Dalit journals were reproducing items from *Dalit Voice* with another veteran Dalit leader, Vajjibhai Patel, openly attacking the role played by the Panther chief.

Meanwhile, Rameshbhai is admitted to a hospital for heart trouble.

Rameshchandra Parmar is a good old friend of the Editor who visited Gujarat twice during the 1981 "Gujarat caste war" on his invitation.

failure to refute the allegation brought him into a controversy for which DV can't be held responsible.

His refusal to deny the statement made Dalits to read all sorts of morning into his silence. We can't help it. Even now it is not too late for him to clarify his stand on Indian Untouchability, the world's most horrible form of racism — EDITOR.

Casteism a global problem

P.D. JOHN, FEDERATION OF INDIAN AMERICAN CHRISTIAN ORGANIZATIONS OF NORTH AMERICA, WASHINGTON DC

We appeal on behalf of over 200 million peoples in South Asia that India's caste system should be included in the agenda of the United Nations Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance to be held between Aug.28 and Sept. 1 at Durban. The Christian church in India has spoken against social injustice in every forum for centuries and now also it speaks out against the evils of caste system in India.

Caste discrimination is not an internal matter of India as the Hindu nazi government in India wants us to believe. Casteism exists in mild or wild form everywhere. Over 200 million people affected by the caste system alone constitute the fourth largest "nation" in the world. Thus, casteism is a global problem that demands attention by global forum.

Failure of Govt.: The Indian Government may claim that they have their own constitutional remedies for the ills of casteism. However, this does not prevent

India from receiving global solidarity, expertise and help to address this multinational problem as we do in the case of other global issues like child labour, women, AIDS, ecology, human rights etc.

Tens of thousands of atrocities and human rights violations against women, children, bonded labourers and the indigenous peoples of India cannot be adequately addressed as per the UN Charter unless casteism is recognized by the UN as the root cause for these problems in South Asia.

Like racism, casteism is based on the UN definition of "colour (*varna*), descent and ethos" fortified by 3 million years of strictest rules of endogamy, social segregation, pollution and subjugation by the upper caste Brahmins who were canonized by divine interdiction to preserve purity of blood and ethnic superiority.

So, both casteism and racism are identical social, economic, educational, and all other emancipatory problems, which are global concerns. ■

Supreme Court seal on gag order

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Shocking. The upper caste-dominated Supreme Court on July 22 upheld the Hindu Nazi Govt. order to gag dissent. The nazis want to enforce *Hindurashtra* on the overwhelming non-Hindu indigenous people by gagging all dissent. Since the protagonists of the *Hindurashtra* are a micro-minority of less than 15%, they will have to resort to nazi style blocking all liberal ideas.

The Union Human Resources Development (HRD) Ministry orders the "secret/most immediate" order of HRD Ministry's No.F.13-05/2000-U.4 refers to "revised guidelines for security clearance for holding international conference/seminars/workshops etc. in India.

The "secret & most immediate" order of the Home Ministry in No. 25022/40/97 refers to revised guidelines for security clearance for holding international conferences/seminars/workshops etc. in India.

India's sanctified racism can't be banned by law

MRS. SURINDER KAUR, FLAT NO. 32, 247/1 - MINTO PARK, ALIPORE, CALCUTTA - 700 027

My husband, Sardar Sher Singh, dismissed Dalit Sikh IAS officer, will soon complete his book, "Caste system vs. racial discrimination" to support the forthcoming UN conference at Durban. He will compare and contrast the Hindu's holy caste system with the racial discrimination as understood by the UN and the West and find out if the caste system sanctioned by the Hindu religion is at all covered by the racial discrimination as defined by the UN. The caste system is an unique institution in the world preaching the worst form of discrimination, directly hitting the inherent dignity and equality of 3/4 the of the Indian population. What is physical can be banned by law but what is sanctioned by religion and declared as holy, but practising the worst form of discrimination against mankind, calls for a serious introspection and determined action on the part of the UN. We have already procured all UN resolutions on racial discrimination since its inception. Any Dalit scholar having the latest UN resolution in this regard is requested to supply a copy to me. All the UN resolutions will be append to our forthcoming book.

Vipassana is neither meditation nor brahminical poison

A.B. SAKEGAONKAR, 101 - SANAND TOWER, ONGC COLONY, MAKARPUR ROAD, BARODA - 390 009

I thank the writer who has raised the question about Vipassana. (DV June 1, 2001 p.9: "*Vipassana is a Hindu poison meant to kill Buddhism*", Anil Rangari).

Indian history shows that crookedness, cunningness and different wicked tactics and strategies always tried to defeat the movement for brotherhood. In spite of the odds that exist, people like Budha, Mahaveer, Nanak, Kabir, Mahatma Phule, Shahu Maharaj, Babasaheb and some others have come and tried to fight the brahminical treachery.

DV has been rightly crusading against the immorality in the Hindu society.

Nazi funding: In 1995, a friend told me: "You have so much love for Baba, why don't you go through the Vipassana course". My first reaction was these people were using this technique to kill the anger of our society. In 1996, I underwent the ten-day Vipassana course. I cannot call it a meditation technique. For want of a proper word we call it meditation.

Vipassana empowers you to face the challenges, it clears your views and strengthens your ability to see the things as it is. How the nazis will fund something which is disastrous to the nazis?

Brahmin complaint: In the first course, a Brahmin was there. After two days, he quarreled saying that Vipassana was meant to convert the people to Buddhism. After the eighth day, some old upper caste people were complaining that Goenka should not have talked about the misdeeds of Brahmins.

In Baroda, we have a *Vipassana Samiti*. In 1998, they arranged a ten-day course. They printed the invitation card with a picture of Hindu god Ganesh. I noticed it and lambasted the samiti people. They accepted the mistake and never repeated it till date.

Vipassana does not make you a coward or senseless, as Anil Rangari and others say.

Goenka brought it from Burma: In 1969, S.N. Goenka brought this technique to India. He practiced it for 14 years under Sayagi U Ba Khin in Burma, today's Myanmar. When he was going through his first course, Babasaheb was preparing the gospel and busy formulating the future of Buddhism in India. Goenka got the ready-made soil when he entered India.

Since 1998, I am practicing Vipassana. I understand that it is perfectly tuned to Babasaheb's *Budha & His Dhamma*.

Vipassana does not talk about mystic or supernatural force. It only teaches how to be aware of the present moment. It has nothing to do with the supra-natural. I understand that psychology is the science of mind. Whatever thoughts the mind experiences is accumulated and according to this the individual acts. If some thinks of sexual things all the time and his conscious mind does not allow him to act because it is harmful to the society then he suppresses it. So, his normal will is antagonistic to his conscious mind and in turn he will develop decrease. He will go to a psychiatrist and takes a treatment.

Vipassana teaches you to command your mind. After Vipassana you will not play into the hands of thoughts. It empowers you to observe the thoughts objectively so you should not suppress it or it should not overpower you. When you observe it objectively it loses the strength and you realize that it has an ever-changing phenomenon. So you are not trapped.

DV helping conspirators: Rangari is advocating a ban on meditation especially Vipassana. Don't you think that you are doing the same thing what the Brahmin conspirators have done against Shambuka? Valmiki, the enlightened one of our society, wrote the *Ramayana* to educate our people. He might have gone through the situation like Budha and Babasaheb.

Brahmins are the advocates of *Chaturvama*. They don't allow the low-born to meditate. Their doctrine is that only Brahmins can meditate, they only have the right to learn, educate and perform the religious ceremonies etc. How a low-born can meditate? Valmiki tried to educate our society, how the Brahmins are using the double-edged sword, one way they are using the force to silence the intellectual. Other way they are preaching the supersitition through the drama cutting the head of Shambuka. DV is helping the Brahmin conspirators.

Babasaheb blessed Vipassana: Sandesh Bhailekar and Bhanu Lokhande may be misleading the Dalits. If Rajanish was doing the job of enslaving our society then why all the media was against him? The DV

principle is love what the enemy hates. Then why don't you love Rajanish?

Vipassana is not a Hindu poison. Hindus are trying to poison it. By telling so, you are also degrading the merits of Budha.

But without testing the *Vipassana* you are advocating banning it. Are you not irrational in saying so?

I have come to the conclusion that Babashaeb has included whatever is essential and made the *Budha & His Dhamma* so simple that every ordinary person can follow it easily and moreover it is in tune with the technique of *Vipassana*.

Storm over Babasaheb book: It is true that all the *bhikkus* are not performing their duties as desired. They think that they only have a right to talk on Budha, they only know the teachings of Budha. Are they different from the Brahmins? Brahmins are also telling that they are the only authority to talk on religious scriptures.

When the *Budha & His Dhamma* was published there was a storm in the Buddhist world. Some of the *bhikkus* went to the extent of calling it "Ambedkar and his Dhamma".

If Bhante Nirgunanad Mahathera has called Goenka's *Vipassana* as an art of sleeping by sitting then let me ask: If I was practising the *Vipassana*, then I must have slept or may be senseless and should have not noticed the shock of the recent Gujarat earthquake when I was doing the meditation in my home. So many

Goenka's Vipassana is making cowards out of Dalits

ANIL RANGARI, BUDDHA KUTI ROAD, SHANKAR NAGAR, DURG - 491 001

In spite of the long, hard and endless revolutionary struggle of Sahu Maharaj, Sayajirao Gaikwad, Phule, Periyar and Babasaheb Ambedkar all the 6,000 castes and subcastes of the SC/ST/BCs could not organise themselves and become strong. Instead of joining hands with each other, every "low caste" is hating each other and even surrendering to its Enemy — the Aryans. They are becoming slaves of Hindus.

The Mahars, a unique revolutionary caste, accepted Buddhism but failed to get the support of other SC/ST/BCs due to this hate philosophy injected by the Aryans. To de-hindulise the SC/ST/BCs, it needs tremendous "education".

BSP/BAMCEF is striving to do this job to "educate" and "organise" all the SC/ST/BC castes through its

people did not notice the shock even though they were fully awake.

For the fall of Buddhism, one of the reasons is Buddhism lost the practical ways to adopt to day-to-day life. *Dhamma* means way of life. But *Dhamma* became a religion.

Religion is the belief of supernatural mystic energy and to take the grace perform the rituals to pacify it. When the followers centered the *Dhamma* on Budha it lost its essence and became a religion. *Dhamma* should be centered on the man and man should be centered on *Dhamma*, both are interdependent.

If Babasaheb had survived few more years and tested Vipassana as per his own technique, I have no doubt that he might have recommended it to all.

Test *Vipassana* by yourself. Don't believe. Belief is nothing but superstition.

Out of the 500 people doing the first *Vipassana* course, only 50 could continue their practice.

DV is a valuable fortnightly. Every space should be used judiciously. I could not confine the explanation in limited words because the question raised are of great value and should be answered elaborately to clear the dust.

In my view you are the greatest personality of our society. I have very high regards for you and words are not sufficient to express my feeling towards you. Mind it, I am not buttering you, it is not in our blood. ■

cadre camps at the grassroot level. These cadre camps operate like mobile educational institutions to "educate" these people. Our "educated"/employed people have forgotten their own community and are hiding themselves within the *brahmanwad*.

For the first time Kanshi Ram started "educating" and "organising" all the SC/ST/BC/MCs through cadre camps but the RPI people never thought of cadre-based programmes. BSP/BAMCEF workers go from villages and towns, collect different caste people of SC/ST/BCs in one place and teach them Ambedkarism. In cadre camps they identify the Aryan enemy of SC/ST/BCs. BSP is doing a great revolutionary work.

But the *Vipassana* centres are not doing such a work.

They hypnotise the Dalit/Budhist and impress upon them never to get angry. The real enemies who are exploiting us are never identified whereas they teach: "You are your own enemy. Your past *karma* will push you into rebirth. So, accept and tolerate hate, contempt, pain, atrocities, discriminations. Don't react, never react, then only you will reach *nibban*, you become Arhant, the Budha." All nonsense philosophy. When the revolutionary Budhists of Burma seized political power and nationalised all the private properties, this S.N. Goenka was kicked out and all his properties were seized. Poor Goenka came back to India to save his properties through his *Vaidik Vipassana* and Jain philosophy to weaken the Budhist revolutionary movement started by Babasaheb Ambedkar.

Goenka says Budha had never preached Budhism but gave only the *Vipassana* technique to free us from our past *karma* and rebirth and nothing more.

Goenka praises Gandhi: Goenka praised Gandhi, the No.1 Enemy of Dalits, but he never talked of Babasaheb in his books, *patika* and cassettes. He is promoting superstitions.

Goenka and Kanshi Ram both started their cadre camps 20 years ago. Goenka has proved to be anti-Budhist, anti-Ambedkarite, a counter-revolutionary. His Vipassana is converting Dalit/Budhists into cowards. But the BSP/BAMCEF cadres are revolutionising Dalits. Today, BSP is a third force in the political field due to its socio-cultural revolutionary work.

So, it is the duty of all DV readers (Dalit-Bahujans) that they should arrange and organise cadre camps in their villages, towns and cities and follow BSP/BAMCEF model. ■

Conversion in TN village

Coimbatore: About 1,000 members belonging to 225 Arundhadhar families of a village, about 30 km from here, on June 29 embraced Christianity in protest against alleged excesses by Hindus. Hailing from K. Ayyampalayam, Pazhavur and some habitations near Palladam, the converts were allegedly not allowed to worship and were humiliated at a temple function on June 6. As authorities did not act even after several representations, they resorted to conversion. S.T. Kalyanasundaram, president of the Tamil Nadu Arundhadhar Democratic Front, said. This is one of the major instances of mass conversion after Meenakshipuram in the 1980s.

(Hindu June 30, 2001).

Kuldip Singh quits: crisis in World Sikh Council

Chandigarh: Former Supreme Court judge Kuldip Singh has resigned as president of the World Sikh Council, constituted about four years ago under the aegis of Sikhism's highest religious and temporal seat, the Akal Takht. The World Sikh Council (WSC) has been continually mired in controversy with multiple claimants to the body's custodianship.

Justice Kuldip Singh's decision to resign after three years as the WSC president follows the direct intervention of the supreme Sikh clergy.

The resignation is prompted by an opposition group's move to elect the US-based Didar Singh Bains as the WSC president. (Asian Age, June 19, 2001). ■

Instead of fighting the common enemy — the Brahminical Social Order out to destroy the Sikh identity — the Jat Sikhs are fighting between themselves. Punjab may be India's richest state and the Jat Sikhs may be a prosperous lot. So what? They are a totally enslaved lot.

This is because the Jat Sikh leadership has antagonised the more revolutionary Dalit Sikhs and in their craze for power and wealth they have become closer to BSO. Our Debate on the "slow death of Sikhism" has made this point abundantly clear — EDITOR. ■

BSP supports DV demand for proportional share

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Bahujan Samaj Party, country's most powerful Dalit party, has supported the DV campaign for reservation in proportion to the population of each *jati*.

New Delhi: The Bahujan Samaj Party on June 28 demanded that the UP Govt. provide for separate reservation to the Backward and the Most Backward Classes in the state on the basis of their population, falling which it would launch an agitation. BSP vice-president Mayawati said at a press conference here that in UP 52% of the population belonged to the Backward Classes, of whom 37% were most Backward.

The Government should provide reservation according to population", Mayawati said.

(Hindu June 29, 2001).

GRAVE-DIGGERS Of History

(Where Dalit Writers Have Failed)



V.T. RAJSHEKAR

HOW TO MAKE HISTORY ?

The class that rules India today, the paramount power, is the tiny Brahminical Social Order which produces so much of garbage calling it history to suit its needs and interests. So, a proper study of history in a class and caste-divided society like India means a rational analysis of the antagonism between the class that rules and the rest.

This is what exactly the author has done in this tract — the first attempt of its kind to set right the jaundiced history of India.

He who wants to be a creator must be first a destroyer. Unless we destroy and dynamite the rubbish and the rotten sold to us in the name history, we can't build a healthy civilisation.

The author, **V.T. Rajshekar** — a distinguished Indian journalist, revolutionary writer, scholar, original thinker and philosopher — warns why history is so important, why it has to be saved from the grave-diggers of history and how the original inhabitants of India are being made a historyless no-people.

V.T. Rajshekar, fountain head of Dalit liberation thought, and also the author of scores of world-famous books, is the Editor of *Dalit Voice*, India's oldest and the largest circulated journal of the Black Untouchables of India and other persecuted nationalities made historyless.

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DALIT SAHITYA AKADEMY

No. 109, 7th Cross,

Palace Lower Orchards

Bangalore - 560 003, INDIA.

FSR, <fsr5st@yahoo.com>: The Women's Affairs Technical Committee (WATC) is a Palestinian NGO established in 1994. The WATC aims to bring women's issues to the forefront in all spheres of life in Palestine and works to achieve equality between men and women in Palestine through a wide range of programs. Since the beginning of the second *Intifada* (uprising) in September of 2000, the WATC has been committed to ensuring that the voices of Palestinian women are not silenced, nor their goal of equality forgotten. The WATC has put great effort into acknowledging any documenting both the ways in which women are disproportionately harmed by occupation and conflict, and the role that Palestinian women are playing in the *Intifada*. On their website, the WATC has created "Through the Eyes of Women", a collection of essays, poems, stories, reflections, and songs created by Palestinian women to express their feelings, experiences, and suffering during the current *Intifada*. To access "Through the Eyes of Women" (WATC) and learn more about the activities visit our webpage at www.pal-walc.org or send an email to watcorg@planet.com.

Dr. R.P. Harsh, Harsh Clinic, Barnala Road, Sirsa - 125 055: Buddhism is the *dhamma* of indigenous people of India. It does not believe in god, *atma*, idol worship, *karma* and reincarnation. It preaches *prajna, karuna* and *samta*. Dr. Ambedkar incorporated these principles in the Indian Constitution as liberty, equality and fraternity. Buddhist *dhamma* was a social revolution for *Bahujan hitai, Bahujan sukhai*. The Buddhist *dhamma* destroys the social, political and economical monopoly of the Brahmins. That is how the Brahmins became the enemy of Buddhists. The Brahmin commander, Pushya Mitra Sung, not only killed the last Buddhist emperor through treachery in 185 BC but also issued an ordinance to massacre the Buddhists and put 100 gold coins as a reward on each head of a Buddhist. Buddhist centres were destroyed, *Manusmriti* was written to suppress them socially, economically and politically. Later 84,000 Buddhist centres created by Emperor Asoka were converted into Hindu temples. New gods, Rama, were created at Ayodhya, Krishna in Mathura, Sankar in Kashi. Budha was depicted as thief, *nasitik* in the *Valmiki Ramayan* (*Ayodhya Kand*, canto 109, verse 34). Buddhists were made Untouchables (*Mitakshtra Tika* of *Yajnavalkya Smriti* 3/3). The authors of the *Ramayana*, the *Smriti* and *Puranas* do not accept Budha as Hindu, as he was opposed to the basic structure of Hinduism. (*Was Buddha A Hindu* by Dr. Surendra Ajnat, (Bheem Patrika

Prakashan p.23). A noted Muslim scholar of the 11th century, Alburuni says that before the arrival of Islam, Buddhism was the religion of Islamic countries also like Egypt, Iraq, Khurasan, Faron, Afghanistan and so on. In spite of these historical facts some Muslim brothers like Nafisul Hasan of Dehradun (DV Jan. 16, 1999 p. 16) says:

"Historically it is proved that Buddhism is Hinduism". Probably he might have read history written by some Hindu nazi author. To support his argument Hasan also refers to the article of DV Editor, "Plot to hijack Budha". But the Editor of DV has nowhere written that Buddhism is Hinduism. Environment plays a very important role in shaping the personality of an individual. Environment, not only effects the personality of an individual but also effects rituals, customs, traditions, language and so on. I have a Muslim friend, a lecturer, Post-Graduate Govt. College, Sirsa (Psychology Dept.), but his name is Babu Ram Chauhan, but some of the Hindu customs like *kari* are performed in his family after the death of his mother, because his family is living in a Hindu-dominated area. Another friend, a public relations officer, a Chamari by caste, instead of burning he was buried. People who came to the ceremony inquired if he was a Muslim. Before the partition, his was a Muslim-dominated village, hence they followed the Muslim custom of burial. When I was a medical officer, my assistant was an Anglo-Indian whose mother tongue was English. He had an illiterate girl as neighbour. She could speak English fluently, but she could not write her name in English. If some Buddhists were to perform Hindu rituals, it is due to the influence of environment in which they were living. The word Hindu is not found in any ancient Brahmin literature. It is a Persian word. It came to India with the invasion of Mohd. Bin-Kasim in 712 AD. Muslims used this word frequently for the natives of their country including Buddhist. The present *Mustafadin* fought against brahminism to protect their identity. Their struggle continued till 1200 AD. The cunning Brahmins adopted the "Hindu" word to create an artificial Hindu majority and destroy their enemy (Buddhist). They coined this new word to fight Muslims by instigating the Buddhists against Muslims. This is Indian history. The same tactic is continuing even today. In spite of 20 years of repeated warning in *Dalit Voice* that the Dalits (Buddhist) are not Hindu and were never Hindus, our Muslim elites like Nafisul Hasan continue to say that Buddhist are Hindu. Islam has a democratic way of life. It is based on the principle of equality and fraternity which is the foundation of democracy. Therefore, there is no provision for kingship under Islam. Prophet Mohammed was more sympathetic towards the oppressed. The Quran says:

"... Provision must be made to help kindred, orphans, way farers, widows, those who are in bondage or in debt, those who are expelled from their own homes and deprived of their properties and in general needy".
(*Curse of Allah*, DSA, p. 17).

In the court of Akbar there were nine "jewels" of which eight were Hindu nazis. The Quran has made the provision that a Muslim can have four wives only but the Muslim rulers enjoyed hundreds of wives and concubines. The Hindu nazis during the Muslim rule strengthened their imperialism, amended their literature, made caste system more rigid and oppressive. The problem of Ayodhya, Mathura and Kashi is the result of anti-Islamic behaviour of Muslim rulers. Instead of protecting the oppressed, the Muslim rulers made the oppressors more powerful. The organisation of "*Sacred Brahmins*" called the RSS, wants to take the credit for forming *Hindu Rashtra*, the Editor of *Dalit Voice* gives this credit to Gandhi. But I differ with the Editor and say that the credit for forming the *Hindu Rashtra* goes to Muslim elites and the Muslim rulers. Because:

- (1) They brought the word "Hindu" from outside. (2) They could not identify their real enemy and called every one Hindu even the *Mustafadin* (Buddhist) of that period. (3) Instead of helping the *Mustafadin* these rulers acted against the "*Spirit of Islam*" and appointed the oppressors of Buddhist (Dalit) as their *Mansardars*.
- (4) Instead of staying on in India, the Muslim elites went over to Pakistan, leaving their brothers for further oppression under Hindu nazis, thus paving the way for *Hindu Rashtra*.

Had the Muslim rulers not appointed Hindu nazis as their *Mansardars* and not acted against the *Spirit of Islam* and Muslim elites had not left the India, the Indian history would have been altogether different. The Gupta period in Indian history saw the Brahmin imperialism, they never ruled the entire India but presently they are ruling the entire India. Thus the credit for formation of *Hindu Rashtra* goes to Muslim elites and rulers and not RSS or Gandhi.

Gurram Singh Muktsar, 10 - Guru Angad Nagar, Muktsar - 152 026: The problem of Backward Castes is the problem of India itself because they constitute the majority population of the country. It is also the problem of the reconstruction of the "nation" itself. The Dalits, the Tribals and the BCs together form what may be called the Bahujans (the majority), says Chandapuri, a great freedom fighter from Patna. I have taken the above para from a book, *Chandapuri, The Father of Backward Classes Movement*, published by the Tyagmurti Chandapuri Mission Publications, Sarswati Bhawan, North Mandiri, Patna (Bihar), Rs. 50. Being a student of

social movements, I have made a deep study of all struggles of Chandapuri, named Ram Lakan, born in Nov.1923. His father, Mahabir Singh, belonged to Chandapuri village on way to Both Gaya. Our entire history has been perverted and distorted by the Aryans. What we are taught today is the Aryan brahminical history. Chandapuri worked for the liberation of BCs about whom our Saviour, Dr. Babasheb Ambedkar said:

"I have visited various countries of the world and got opportunity to have met politicians, statesmen and learned persons there but I have not met such a young man like Chandapuri who has so vast knowledge and grasp of national and international affairs. He has qualities of head and heart to face the challenges of future. I wish him and all of you success". (Nov.6, 1951).

These are the words of India's greatest giant, greatest Indian philosopher after Buddha. The greatness of R.L. Chandapuri is that he has fully exposed the havoc played by brahminism. He says brahminical leaders indulge in exploitative practices in society by propagating falsehood, hypocrisy, immorality, corruption, casteism, communalism, superstition, rituals, sexual desires, violence and all that is inhuman. There are two kinds of brahminical leaders. The first one is one who is a born Brahmin. The second one is not a born Brahmin but a bum-licker of Brahmins excelling them in all the brahminical crooked crafts. These bum-lickers are much more dangerous than born Brahmins. Chandapuri met Dr. Rajendra Prasad when he was aged 11. Wrote a novel, *Garibi Duniya*, wrote a book of poems in 1947. He participated in the "Quit India Movement" (1942). Initially, he followed Gandhi. But did not become his follower. When he was in MA, he witnessed anti-Muslim riots (1946). Chandapuri later formed the Bihar Provincial Backward Caste Federation (1947), started a weekly paper, *Pichhara Varga*. He met Dr. Ambedkar in 1948 and got the Article 340 inserted in the new Constitution for the liberation of the BCs. To sabotage his movement, Pandit Nehru instigated some people to form a parallel federation under the leadership of Jagjivan Ram, then a Union Cabinet Minister. Chandapuri talked to Dr. Ambedkar on forming a political party merging the Scheduled Caste Federation in 1952. But the president of his organisation, P.S. Deshmukh, opposed the proposal being a Congressman. Chandapuri made several attempts to unite SC/ST/BCs and Muslims. He contacted Dr. Ram Manohar Kohia also. But the Brahmins in Lohia's party like Madhu Limaye and Raj Narain sabotaged the proposal. In 1978, there was an attempt to kill Chandapuri during a mass rally in Patna before the State Assembly. Lakhs of people had gathered there. A CRPF jawan

pointed a loaded gun thrice towards Chandapuri but failed to kill him. Chandapuri belongs to the Backward Kurnmi caste.

Raju Thomas, 30 - Somasundaram 1st Street, Madras - 600 023. This is in response to the Letter of Rajani Kant Varma, editor of the *Socialist India* (DV Sept. 16, 1999). I am not going to swallow this bogus socialist ideology which has ruined our people. Communism/socialism/ marxism in India is nothing but brahminism which was used to further enslave our people — Dalits and BCs. Manjoor Gopalan has already given a fitting reply to Varma in his Letter (DV Nov. 1, 1999 p.10-11). All the more I want ask Varma: who is he to tell us that conversion has given us no relief when Dr. Babasahab Ambedkar himself had long back shown us the true path? Of course, the Aryans want us to remain in their poisonous Hindu gas chamber. But as followers of Dr. Ambedkar we prefer conversion till the last Dalit/BC/ST is liberated from Hinduism. Nobody can stop us. Only those slaves and slave-minded people may listen to people like Varma. Why should Varma get shocked when *Dalit Voice* pleads for one faith or the other? The real meaning of "communalism" is brahminical fascism. Communalism is the youngest child of brahminical fascism. To cover up this secret, the cunning and crooked Aryan Brahmins deliberately invented this fake word, "communalism". Today every fool in this country is using this word and the real target is missed. Varma wrote about a "casteless society". Can he destroy the caste? However, we are not for a "casteless society". We want every caste in India to be get strengthened. There is nothing good in Hinduism for our people. As long as the SC/ST/BCs continue to remain in Hinduism they will never be a liberated people. We do not deny the existence of untouchability in Christianity but this poison came to Christianity from Hinduism through the Aryans. Once Hinduism is destroyed there will be no untouchability in any other religion in India. I did not plead for Christianity in my article. I am equally critical of the Aryan Christians. But can anybody deny the truth that it was Christianity which civilized the Aryans in the West who were once barbarians? The Aryans could not change and get civilized in India because they did not come into contact with a religion like Christianity. It is time the Aryans decide whether they want to transform or migrate from India. Aryans in India have become so arrogant that they do not want to undergo any kind of transformation. They are unwilling to change. Buddhism will not and cannot give the "*Plus Condition of Mind and Body*" to the Dalits. Let Varma read Vol. 12 of Babasahab (pages 733 to 735). Let him first read this Volume and then come for an

argument on conversion. He will then understand whether Dalits will gain any relief through conversion. It is none of the business of our Enemy to prescribe medicine for our sickness. We decide what medicine we should take to cure our illness but certainly not our enemies. We diagnose our sickness and we have found the best physician in our Babasahab. He has given us the best medicine and that is **conversion** and conversion only to such religion which our enemy oppressors hate the most. Is it clear Rajani Kant Varma? Please order a copy of Babasahab's speech, *Why Go For Conversion?* DSA, 1987, from the Editor of *Dalit Voice*. As for Varma's accusation that people like me are the greatest threat to the weaker sections of society and Dalits, it is for my people to judge and they alone will be the final authority to decide whether I am the greatest threat to them. History gives its own verdict on events and individuals and even ideologies. History has already pronounced its verdict on communism/socialism/marxism. But people like Varma still wants us to buy their products. We are no longer the consumers of communism and socialism. Both have been buried fathoms deep. Please read our Editor's masterpiece, *How Marx Failed in Hindu India?* (DSA). Yes, we are the greatest threat to our Enemy which is none other than the alien Aryan/Hindus in India. Only those agents of this enemy are the real threats to us. We are capable of tackling them at the right time. If the Varmas are threatened because of people like our Editor and me then we cannot help. I am happy Rajani Kanth Varma has attacked me. I feel proud. I had encounters with people like Advani, Suryanarayana Rao, S. Gurumurthy, P. Parameswaran (Kerala), Major Vedantham (dead) and many such Hindu nazis and I must tell Varma that I have never experienced defeat in my life only because of my Babasahab and my beloved *Dalit Voice*. I know that some ignorant and innocent Dalits, who are not well versed in the language of *Dalit Voice*, will only misunderstand me by reading such letters of Varma. I again thank Varma for his attack on my theory. I quote Mao:

"I hold that it is based as far as we are concerned if a person, a political party, an army or a school is not attacked by the enemy, for in that case it definitely mean that we have sunk to the level of the enemy. It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue: it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work. **We should support whatever the enemy**

opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports".

(*Who is Ruling India*, DSA, 1982, p. 1).

When the Editor of *Dalit Voice* is attacked by our enemy, those people who faithfully follow him also will be attacked by our enemy. It is up to the Varma to join our enemy and mount a united attack against us instead of advising in the name of socialism and communism etc. We welcome open enemies but not disguised friends. I can understand Varma's hatred against religion because all those who hold on to communism and socialism are opposed to religion or any faith. They do not want to be regulated by any virtue or ethics and morality. They want to lead a life of anarchy. They do not like restrictions. I have quoted the Law of contradictions which is the law of nature. And this quotation is from one of the world's top communist leaders. If one faith goes against another faith then there must be some thing basically wrong with both the faiths. But that also depends upon the Law of Contradictions. But if any faith or religion speaks only for the good of man and if any other religion or faith opposes that faith or religion then the latter religion or faith must be vehemently fought by the former religion or faith. As far as I am concerned, all religions in the world, except Hinduism, have taught only good things for humanity. However, there must be some differences but man must identify the best and the most perfect religion among all religions. Can man totally avoid religion? Or has religion no role in regulating human life? I quote Babasabeh:

"The function of religion is the same as the function of law and government. It is a means by which society exercises its control over the conduct of the individual in order to maintain social order. It may not be used consciously as a method of social control over the individual. Nonetheless the fact is that religion acts as a means of social control. As compared to religion, government and law are relatively inadequate means of social control. The control through law and order does not go deep enough to secure the stability of the social order. The religious sanction, on account of its being supernatural has been on the other hand the most effective means of social control. Far more effective than law and government have been or can be.

Without the support of religion, law and government are bound to remain a very inadequate means of social control. Religion is the most powerful force of social gravitation without which it would be impossible to hold the social order in its orbit". (W&S, Vol. V, 1989 p. 410-411).

If Varma is an honest person then he will stop hating religion. If a man wants to lead an orderless life he/she will have to reject the control of religion over his/her

personal life and bestiality and vulgarity can take control of his/her life. Faith stimulates, inspires man and leads him into powerful action. Look at how the Muslim "fundamentalists" in Algeria, Bosnia, Chechnya, Iran Kashmir, and in many other parts of the world fight victoriously against their enemy oppressors. It is their faith and faith alone which is the source of their inspiration and strength. Here is a book which Babasabeh liked the most, *The Essence of Buddhism*, by P. Lakshmi Narasu in which a very important reference is on faith:

"By faith of course is not meant the belief in something which is irrational and absurd or the belief in creeds or dogmas or the determination to be satisfied with unproved and unwarranted statements, but the conviction that truth can be found. While reason enables man to arrange and systematise knowledge so as to construct truth, faith gives him determination to be true to his convictions and ideals. Faith becomes superstition when it parts company with reason, and worse still when it fronts it in flat contradiction, but reason without faith would turn man into a machine without enthusiasm for his ideals. Reason seeks disinterestedly to realise right order where it is not, but faith gives character and strength or will to break through the five hindrances of mental sloth, lust, malice, spiritual pride and pretensions. While reason rejoices in the truths it has already found, faith helps it onward to further conquests, to aspire after the attainment of what has not yet been attained, to work strenuously for the realisation of what has not yet been realised. It is faith alone that can transform cold abstract rationalism into a religion of fervent hope and love." (p. 24, 1907).

I wish Rajani Kanth Varma reads this important book and try to understand more about faith.

Dr. Ashok Adhav, MHB Colony, M36/2521, Yerawada, Pune - 411 006: This refers to the Letter of N.K. Nagraj (DV Aug. 16, 2000). He wants to know the origin of the word Hindu. Babasabeh did not do the futile work to define or dig out the origin of the word Hindu. But he has referred many times to "caste Hindu" people. Who then are these Hindus? Recently some *savarna* (Hindu) people tried to clarify who the Hindu are. According to them the Hindu is one with his own body but his brain and reasoning are mortgaged to the *Vaidik* Brahmins. If the Brahmin asks him to sit, he sits, if the Brahmin asks him to stand, he stands. If the Brahmin asks him to bend, he simply obeys. If the Brahmin insults him, he thinks it a great honour. If the Brahmin abuses him, he takes it as a reward. If the Brahmin kicks him, he takes it as a pat on his back and bends down and touches the feet of the Brahmin. If the Brahmin says the bull is pregnant he nods his head and takes it as a gospel truth. Such people

are "Hindu people". And who is the Brahmin? All definitions are not as correct as follows:

"Fukkai udar bhawan nohe janiji yagna kanna".

Fukkai means free of cost or without any efforts. It means those who eat without doing any work and think this is the only *yagna*. In short, the Brahmin may have land but will never go to till it. The Brahmin will have house but he will get it built by others. The Brahmin will have clothes but will get it manufactured and stitched by others. The Brahmin would like to have a child but.... This is sufficient to know who Hindus are and their makers.

Dillip Ku. Jena, 1 - Forest Park, Bhubaneswar - 751 009: I am now convinced that without the media nothing is possible. Only DV is preparing our people with heart and soul. We have to prepare a network through which we can have contact with the entire Bahujan Samaj. Due to lack of education and money our people have remained ignorant but what about our financially stronger, educated people? They are not showing their interest in our movement.

C.C. Hadke, SE (C), ONGC, Civil Section, IEOT (GF), Panvel, New Bombay - 410 221: Recently the postal authorities (govt.) have released a postal stamp of Rs. 3 of Babasaheb, on the eve of Babasaheb's 110th birth anniversary. I have purchased the stamps worth for Rs. 1,500 so that I may use for long just as the Hindu nazi RSS people use it. Hegdewar's stamp for their use. Why not we also use our saviour's stamp and also preserve it. I call upon DV readers to purchase this stamp in bulk.

Sudesh Tanavar, Aastha, 224-A, Rajokari Pahari, New Delhi - 110 038: My heartiest congratulations to you for writing the second edition of your hit book, *Aggression on Indian Culture*. I have listened to your speech two-three times on various occasions. Whenever I listen to your speeches I feel proud of your sincere and powerful feelings about Dalits. I am looking after the Hindi *Dalit Voice* here. We have to be more serious about the circulation of Hindi DV in the rural and slum areas of Delhi and neighbourhood. I think we should have a meeting with some serious thinkers, educators and social workers of Dalit.

Dharam Pal Rawat, 7/364, Malaviya Nagar, Jaipur - 302 017: We will be very happy to organise a function to release your latest book, *Aggression on Indian Culture* (DSA, 2001) followed by a seminar on the book here. Brother Puran Singh Mourya, who is a prominent Dalit leader here and a great admirer of your work, has taken up this responsibility. We will call a meeting of Ambedkarites soon to finalise the arrangements. We are readers of Hindi DV.

A.L. Ukey, C/129, MPEB, Birsinghpur, Umariya dt., - 484 552: Here at the Sanjay Gandhi Thermal Power Station, MPEB, Birsinghpur, a lot Tribals have come in search of their daily livelihood. They join different contractors and are pushed into slums and live in huts along with the stinking drainage. They have no basic civil amenities, not even drinking water. Fortunately, we got hold of a plot of land nearby and started socio-cultural-religious activities. Slum children were attracted to whom we started a primary school. We secured slates/books/pencils for the slum children. With my family members, I started two classes and arranged two teachers. Our emancipator said: "Educate, Agitate, Organise". Are we doing? Are we following his Three Commandments? What is the meaning of "Educate"? Why it has been put first? We are pre-occupied with political issues forgetting Babasaheb's "Three Commandments". In fact, "Educate" means teaching our people the burning thoughts of Dr. Babasaheb. Ambedkarite thinking automatically leads to Buddhism. But instead of doing this our people become Buddhists without understanding Buddhism. My friend, Dr. Anand, an eye specialist, hails from Datiya (MP) and runs the All-India Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Missionary Society, (BAMS) New Delhi - 110083. He left his home and parents and started BAMS to Educate our people. In Madarsa, the Muslims teach what suits them. In gurdwara, the Sikhs teach what suits them. Vidhya Bharti teaches in their Saraswati schools what suits the nazis. Dr. Anand has published a number of books. These are revolutionary books.

K.B. Ram, Rajkarnal, I-CH-13, Sector-1, Jawahar Nagar, Japur - 302 004: This refers to the Letter of R.H. Das (DV June 16, 2001). He is not aware of the latest development in the RPI. For the information of all Bahujans, the RPI is divided into two political parties—the RPI and the Bharatiya Republican Party of Bahujan Mahasangh. Party elections of the second one is now going on in Maharashtra. The head of the old party, RPI, is Ramdas Athwale, MP. Makharan Pawar joined the second party and was elected MLA. But soon he rebelled for which he was expelled from the party.

Santosh Behera, at Bhandi Street, PO/dt. Koraput - 764 020: A seminar was held on May 27 at Nabarangpur on the "Position of Dalits after 54 years of independence". It was organised by the Nabarangpur SC/ST/BC/ Minorities Emp. Welfare Assn., together with Nabarangpur Dalit Jati Vikas Parishad. About 1,000 delegates from different parts of Orissa such as Koraput, Raygada, Malkangiri, Kalahandi, Nuapada, Sompur districts etc. attended the seminar. Important speakers were Kumaramani Tanti, OAS (I) SB, Project Director

DRDA, Sonpur, Jagannath Pani, Asst. Engineer, Mukhiguda of Indravati Project, Habibulla Khan, Congress MLA of Nabarangpur constituency and a former state cabinet minister, and Srinivas Rao, founder of Orissa Dalit Samaj. About 30 *Dalit Voice* family members were also present. A new building named Dalit Bhawan was opened on that day by Bhagawan Majhi, ex-MP of Nabarnagpur, and in the evening a film on Dr. Ambedkar was shown. Tanti, a prominent member of the DV family, advocated a second revolution for the liberation of the Dalit society to fight brahminism. He presented the many vital points in a simple and scientific manner which was very much appreciated. Pani, an intellectual in the *Dalit Voice* family, said one who did not know history would not be able to create history. As DV was in English, the different DV family members spoke in the local language and explained the philosophy of DV. Their arguments were very much appreciated by the audience. Srinivasa Rao, a noted intellectual of Orissa, is also a good speaker and practical worker. Our cowardly educated Dalit employees are so much afraid of his views that they make it a point not to attend his meetings. Today, if at all we know about DV, Dalit literature and Dr. Ambedkar it is due to his contribution.

Aryan rule makes India bankrupt

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: The Aryan rulers of India are making brisk preparations to run away from India after looting all the country's wealth.

Bombay: As many as 13 states in India do not have the money to pay the salary cheque of its oversized bureaucracy, even as development programmes, defence budget and pension are being annually funded by the Union Government on borrowed funds. This startling revelation was made by Arun Shourie, Union Minister of State for Disinvestment, during a meeting with state MP's, state finance minister Jayant Patil and top officials here on June 30. Stating that the financial state of the nation was in doldrums, the interest paid by the Union Government in past debts alone eats up 50% of the tax revenue it collects. The fiscal situation was further compounded by the recommendations of the fifth pay commission which resulted in a Rs. 53,000 crore pay out by the government. "If a new pay commission is to be set-up then it will effectively wind up the republic of India", he said. (*Times of India*, June 30, 2001)

Over 50 years of brahminical rule has reduced India to a beggar nation.

S. Akhtar, Kanpur - 392 150: Gujarati journalist Fazal Muhammad Fazal has written to the collector of Bharuch about display of arms on roads of Bharuch by Hindu nazi Bajrang Dal on 7/6/2001 despite a ban. His letter is also published in Gujarati monthly *Arjuman Voice* (Furjia Rd., Bharuch - 392 001).

Rizvi Syed Haider Abbas, 390/29/5 - New Model Colony, Rustam Nagar, Lucknow - 226 003: If I am made to de-construct Indian journalism then it is you who have shown the world how a respectable journalist can not only live but can even call the shots. My association with you is quiet old. It is I who offered you to open a "Media Centre" at Lucknow way back in 1994. I am now working as a freelancer, but I find myself almost exasperated when I analyse through the Brahmin-machinations of media. I have been involved in book-reviewing, and have written on topics related to history and sociology. I just can't write on pressure cookers and lingers (the order of the day). I'll be highly thankful if you could send me a complimentary copy of the evergreen *Dalit Voice*. I am also involved in human rights movement in Lucknow. Please send me your magnum opus — *India's Muslim Problem and India's Intellectual Desert*. ■

2 documents on Vajpayee's false claims

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: *Dalit Voice* has two important documents on the role played by Vaidik Vajpayee in his public and private life. Both the documents are published in the "national" toilet papers and hence not ours. The first one by India's principal brahminical daily, the **Hindu**, is on the role played by Vajpayee during the "Quit India" movement and published in the **Hindu's** sister publication, **Frontline** (Feb. 20, 1998). The authors of the article are both Brahmins. The **Frontline** investigation says Vajpayee never participated in the "Quit India movement" as claimed by the Hindu nazis.

Not a bachelor: The second is a more devastating revelation about Vajpayee's claim that he is a bachelor. The Marwadi Goenka's **Indian Express** magazine section (March 7, 1999) contains a full page story (with a picture) exposing the Prime Minister's "foster family" and the role played by the Bengali Brahmin, Ranjan Bhattacharya, PM's own son-in-law and husband of PM's own daughter, Namita. Those interested may order photocopies of the documents.

Opportunity at last comes to break brahminical media monopoly

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: As stated in our latest Editorial (DV July 16, 2001: "Dalit, Muslim, Christian, Sikh journals may seek foreign investment to publish Truth & fight oppressors"), India's brahminical ruling class is caught in its own contradictions and a decision on inviting foreign direct investment (FDI) is becoming unavoidable. We the oppressed Bahujans (Dalits/Backward Castes/Tribals and Muslims/Christians/Sikhs — who are the victims of brahminism) must take advantage of this ruling class weakness and hurry up.

New Delhi: After rejecting the entry of foreign print media, the Ministry of Information & Broadcasting is now exploring the possibility of a consensus — both political and within the industry — on the issue of allowing the print media access to capital from Foreign Institutional Investors (FIIs), Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) and Overseas Corporate Bodies (OCBs). At a briefing here on July 6, the I&B Minister, Ms. Sushma Swaraj, said this was being attempted after the ministry received a proposal from five editors/publishers suggesting that the issue of foreign investment in print media be delinked from the question of foreign media entry. The five editors/publishers felt that investment in print media by FIIs, NRIs or OCBs would not dilute the control of the media in any way, and "certainly not bring in foreign media". (*Hindu* July 7, 2001).

Mind manipulation: In DV, we have argued at length at different points of time and conclusively proved that this micro-minority of alien races called the Brahminical Social Order (BSO) have been ruling India only through mind manipulation aided and abetted by its monopoly media. This monstrous media has been playing such a havoc on the social fabric of India by not allowing any dissent to develop but at the same time spreading an avalanche of poisonous falsehood contaminating the whole atmosphere.

Reference

- DV Edit July 16, 2001: "Dalit, Muslim, Christian, Sikh journals may seek foreign investment to publish Truth & fight oppressors".
- 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".

Representatives of the oppressed sections, who belong to the indigenous races, have been the sole victims of this monstrous media. Every section of the Bahujan Samaj has been saying that its suffering is solely due to this monopoly media. Time has come to break this monopoly.

And that is why DV has been consistently pleading for our own "Media Centre". The rulers have never allowed the Bahujan media to come up. This is because the Dalits, Backward Castes and Tribals have been deliberately kept poor and hence financially they are incapable to launching their own media.

DV is only exception: Even if they launch one, it will not be able to sustain. Hundred and one enemies have been created to kill any Bahujan media.

DV has been the one and the only media that survived so long (20 years) braving this brahminical typhoon.

Muslims, Christians and Sikhs have money. At least 5% of them are rich enough to start their own media but here again the richer sections among them are converts from the very ruling BSO. And these upper caste Muslims, Christians and Sikhs have proved more dangerous than the *vaidik* vultures.

In other words, the oppressed Bahujans are surrounded by an army of enemies.

At last there is hope is on the horizon.

Our appeal made in the last Editorial should be taken seriously. And the Bahujans must take advantage of the ruling class decision to invite foreign capital in periodicals.

Dalit Voice will take the lead in this direction. Our family members outside India should act immediately. ■

Reference

- 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 Bahujans will break bones if media power is misused".
- DV Edit Aug. 1, 1996: "Bahujans can't rule without our own media to counter this 420-press".

American mischief in 3 Muslim countries

BRIG. (RETD) USMAN KHALID, 15 - THE HAMLET, CHAMPION HILL, LONDON SE5 8AW, UK

As this is written the Muslims are fighting wars for liberation/survival in Palestine and Kashmir. But three of the largest Muslim countries that could have helped fight these wars — Turkey, Pakistan and Indonesia — are in the grip of political crises.

The irony is that the crisis in all these countries has no internal cause or popular base, the crises have been engineered by their erstwhile American friends.

The governments of the three countries are much too eager to please the US even though the Americans themselves do not know what do they want and why. They do not need to defy America or stand up to it, they need to ignore it and focus on meeting the challenge on their doorstep. (DV March 16, 2001 p.22: "*Western Mischief in Indonesia*" and DV April 16, 2001 p.11: "*Christian takeover of Muslim Indonesia*").

Madness in Turkey: Turkey has a popular political party with a popular agenda. It was called the *Fifah* Party, then the Fazilat Party and now all its members in the parliament sit as independents after the Supreme Court in Turkey outlawed it because it does not meet the requirements of its "secular" constitution. The problem in Turkey is that its armed forces have appointed themselves custodians of such an absurd view of secularism which sees piety, modesty and adherence to Islamic beliefs and practice as a threat to the state. Such an interpretation of secularism would be held unlawful in USA or any country of West Europe. But Turkey is encouraged to persist in the absurdity.

IMF-engineered crisis: Fortunately, Turkey does not have an external enemy and its internal crisis has been engineered entirely by the IMF. Ironically, it makes the return of Rifah back to power inevitable. The Army leadership has to think how far it would go and how long it could defy the will of the people. Turkey does not want help, nor does it want to extend any help to the Muslim *ummah*. It would change by itself in its own time.

Pakistan is a formidable fortress of Islam. It is a nuclear power, it has large and well equipped, battle-tested modern armed forces comparable to the best in the world. It is the neighbour of two Islamic revolutions — in Iran and Afghanistan — and is host to jihad in Kashmir.

It is also the neighbour of India — a country whose upper caste rulers are ready and willing to engage in genocide of Muslims inside India and subversion and invasion of neighbouring countries. Having become a "strategic partner" of the USA and an overt ally of Israel, it would be the cutting edge of any instrument deployed against Islam and Muslims in the coming years. Pakistan is more than a match for India militarily but its system and leadership have proved to be unequal to the task. Pakistan needs visionary leadership and wherewithal of resisting economic subversion by the IMF and political subversion by India. There are no real impediments in the way of Pakistan being transformed from being a problem to becoming an important part of the solution of the problems of the Muslim *ummah*.

Christian role in Indonesia: Indonesia is the largest Muslim country in the world. Their numbers are estimated around 250 million. Over 30 years of Suharto rule, the country made rapid economic progress. But the politico-economic culture it developed was based on victimisation of the Chinese enterprises and encouraging Hindu enterprises and Christians in the government including the armed forces.

While the Muslim elite grew wealth by corruption, viable enterprises remained in foreign hands. All the levers of real power — economic as well as military — are in foreign or secular hands.

President Wahid is a US protege and his constitutional heir, Vice-President Sukarnoputri, is even more so.

Indonesia is in a real mess. With all departments of the government thoroughly infiltrated by Americans, it is completely paralysed. The country is disintegrating rapidly even though it is essentially a rich country that has no external enemy. Like in Pakistan, all it needs is to accept and operate Islam as the basis of its national solidarity.

While Turkey will resolve its situation itself, Indonesia needs the Muslim world to hold its hand. Pakistan has the potential to affect the outcome of both wars and resolve its own problems as well as that of Indonesia. The problem of Pakistan is the opposite of that of Turkey. Pakistan is an Islamic Republic but it does not have the like of a Rifah Party. Islam is the basis of

the national solidarity of Pakistan but it is different to Iran, Afghanistan or Sudan. Pakistan was established as a post imperial Islamic state founded on *Tauheed* — the operating principles of which are Freedom, Equality and Solidarity. But Pakistan lost its way and became apologetic about its purpose and mission.

Mischief in democracy: The Western democratic revolution, heralded by the French Revolution, was founded on similar values — Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. But these were not a suitable as props for

the practise of imperialism and colonialism. Over time, secularism and democracy came to be held as the foundation of Western civilisation and sold as fundamental and universal values.

We need to resist the subversive influence of Western culture and recognise that Islamic political culture continues to be pure and loyal to its foundation of freedom, equality and solidarity. We should resurrect pride in our polity and reject the subversion pedaled as party political democracy. ■

How DV predicted this global gangup against Muslims

Every observation made by Brother Khalid was predicted in DV months back and has since proved correct.

There is a global gang-up of US, zionists and India's ruling Anyan brahminical forces who think that Islam is their Enemy No. 1. India's rulers have taken the lead in desperately trying to look for allies to fight Islam all over the world.

Though China is also declared Enemy No. 2 by this global gangsters, they are trying to

involve even this country in their anti-Islamic crusades.

Muslim leadership inside India:
When so much of hate against Islam is generated Muslim leadership in India, which houses the world's largest Muslim population after Indonesia, has totally surrendered to the ruling brahminical forces.

**On our part, we have identified our friends outside and inside India. We have sought unity*

with the Blacks. Muslims and Chinese who will be our chief allies in our fight against India's ruling class. Brother Khalid will have to support our struggle and being in London he can do a lot to bring about such a unity of the oppressed. But such a historical task can meet with success only if Dalits, who are in the forefront of this struggle against Anyan brahminical oppression, have a powerful media of their own — EDITOR.

Sikhs are not Hindus

DR. AWATAR SINGH SEKHON, CANADA

Sikhs of the olden times have always given a fitting reply to the Brahmins and enemies of Sikhs. To preserve our glorious past, heritage, culture, language, history and the ocean of our guidance, the *Guru Granth*, the Sikhs have to use every available tool to secure our present and the future.

According to our historical background, we have to keep in mind that nothing will come to the platter, one has to struggle for that.

The Sikh parents have to be blamed who do not know their own history and do not pass on the Sikh heritage to their children.

If you, my Sikh brother and sisters, are not passing the heritage to your children, then who else you expect to do the job for you?

(See also p. 22-23) ■

Dalits force "caste identity" certificates

Bangalore: It has been decided to issue "caste identity" cards to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribe and other Backward Caste families in Karnataka.

Social Welfare Minister Kagodu Thimmappa told reporters here on June 21 that the decision was taken by the Standing Committee on SC/ST and OBC Recruitment Reservation. At present, families belonging to these categories were being given caste certificates by the tahsildars on request. (Hindu June 22, 2001). ■

At a time when a small section of "educated" Dalits are shy to disclose their caste, some marry upper caste girls and some others play into upper caste hands and support "caste annihilation", the SC/ST/BGs in Karnataka are finding great benefits in "caste identity" — EDITOR.

Muslim shock over racism in India

JAMALUDDIN AL-HAIDAR <JHAIDAR@SWBELL.NET>

I came across this book review on V.T. Rajshekar's book, *DALIT — the Black Untouchables of India*, while doing a web search on Y.N. Kly, author of *The Black Book: The Political Philosophy of Malcolm X*.

My knowledge of the Indian caste system and the position of the Untouchables is very limited. In fact until recently, I had never even heard of a people called the **Dalit**. Are the Dalits Black? A search on the Dalit leader, the late Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, revealed a man who was very-fair skinned and had parents who were both Dalit.

Writers with marxist leanings tend to use the race card (sometimes unfairly) whenever it serves their end, so I am putting the question to some of the brothers on the list from the subcontinent. Are the Dalit really ethnically/anthropologically

different from other Indians?

From what region of the world did their ancestors originate?

Apartheid in India: Is the caste system still pervasive in Indian culture? Is it possible that the realities of this system could be exploited in a campaign to bring political and economic pressure to bear on India much like the

surge of apartheid was the catalyst in galvanizing world opinion against the De Klerk regime in South Africa? Of course, while the horrible acts being committed by the large contingency of armed occupation forces (1 Indian soldier for every 10 Kashmiri civilian) against the Muslims of Kashmir is more than enough evidence to encourage mobilization for its destruction, I believe that a military struggle should be buttressed by an ideological and or political struggle whenever possible.

Non-violence shattered: This book by V.T. Rajshekar is the first to provide a Dalit view of the roots and continuing factors of the gross oppression of the world's largest minority (over 150 million people) through a 3,000 year history of conquest, slavery, apartheid and worse. Rajshekar offers a penetrating, often startling overview of the role of brahminism and the Indian caste system in embedding the notion of

untouchability in Hindu culture, tracing the origins of the caste system to an elaborate system of political control in the guise of religion, imposed by Aryan invaders from the North on a conquered aboriginal/Dravidian civilization of African descent. He exposes the almost unimaginable social indignities which continue to be imposed upon the so-called Untouchables to this very day, with the complicity of the political, criminal justice, media and education systems. Under Rajshekar's incisive critique, the much-vaunted image of Indian non-violence shatters.

Gandhi exposed: Even India's world-famous "apostle" of pacifism (M.K. Gandhi) emerges in less saintly guise, in seeking to ensure Hindu numerical domination in India's new political democracy. Gandhi advocated assimilating those whom Hindu scriptures defined as outcastes (Untouchables) into the lowest "Hindu" caste, rather than accede to their demand for a separate electorate. Rajshekar further questions whether the brahminist socio-political concepts so developed in turn influenced the

formation of the modern nazi doctrine of Aryan supremacy, placing the roots of nazism deep in Indian history. This new updated and illustrated third edition includes: Y.N. Kly on the Dalit plight as a warning to African-Americans, Runoko Rashidi on "Blacks as a global community", the 1995 intervention at the UN on behalf of Dalits by Dr. Laxmi Berva, and the recent US congressional Bill 4215 on human rights in India which marks the first US congressional recognition of the Dalit plight.

V.T. Rajshekar is recognized worldwide as one of India's foremost human rights activists and a spokesperson for the Indian Dalits. Combining the essentials of marxism and the philosophy of the late Dr. B.R. Ambedkar into a new indigenous political philosophy, his writings clarify the caste-class struggle in India. He is editor of the internationally distributed English language Indian bi-weekly, *Dalit Voice*. ■

DALIT — THE BLACK UNTOUCHABLES OF INDIA

V.T. Rajshekar

The first and the only book published in USA on the problem of Indian Dalits facing the world's worst form of racism.

We have just received few copies of the book from its American Black publishers.
pp. 104 Rs. 100 (American price \$ 9.95)
1995

Clarity Press, Inc

Sec.469, 3277 Roswell Rd. N.E. Atlanta,
GA.30305, USA

Justice Kuldip Singh's anti-reservation verdict violates Sikh tenets

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

In your very popular Debate on the "Slow death of Sikhism", Sister K.K. Sidhu (DV Dec. 16, 2000 p.8: "*Did Dalit Sikhs give up efforts to rescue Sikhism?*") has expressed her serious worry over the Chandigarh seminar on "Casteism in Sikhism" organised by Sardar Gurtej Singh, IAS, Prof. Gurdarshan Singh Dhillon and retired Supreme Court judge, Justice Kuldip Singh, and other top Dalit intellectuals on Nov.4, 2000. The seminar had poor representation from Dalits and SC/BC Sikhs.

Sister Sidhu has mainly pinpointed my absence from that seminar which was organised to discuss the social position of Dalits and Dalit Sikhs in the Sikh society. The seminar was addressed by our Editor, V.T. Rajshakar.

She was right in criticising the absence of Dalit Sikhs. I felt sorry for my absence. Dr. Sidhu says:

We went to Chandigarh to find out how the eminent Sikh intellectuals at the seminar would react to the two-year-long DV Debate on "Slow death of Sikhism" and concludes: "But at the end of the two-day seminar we had to revise our opinion".

Why she had to revise her opinion? Because she says: Sikhism is not facing slow death. It is actually dead.

She is very much nearer to the prevailing truth. When she is right in her conclusion, why she should worry about my absence?

Dalit Sikhs lose faith: She is right in saying that the subject of the seminar, "Caste in Sikhism", was of paramount importance. Why then the Dalit Sikhs were not represented at the seminar? Why? Because the Dalit Sikhs have lost faith in the upper caste Sikhs. Justice Kuldip Singh presided over the seminar on the Dalit Sikh problem. He was also the president of World Sikh Council. But his famous judgment on reservations to SC/BC was a big disappointment. His judgment went against the interests of the entire Dalit community.

Being a Sikh, a great religion committed to the human rights of the oppressed, this eminent judge should not have given a judgment to please the Brahmins. One-fourth of the Indian population was deeply disturbed by his pro-Brahmin verdict.

He is said to be a staunch Sikh and follower of Guru

Nanak who left his caste supremacy, condemned the Brahmin and his brahminism and became a real friend of Dalit. He declared four Dalits — Bhai Mardana (a Maraasi), Bhai Lalo (a carpenter), Bhai Sheehan (a tailor) and Bhai Konda (OBC tribal Bheel) — as his supreme companions. Guru Nanak praised Sant Namdev, Sant Kabir, Sant Ravidass and Sant Sain, all SC/BC Dalit saints. He sung their *bani*. He spread his revolution all over India and abroad. That is why Nanak became Guru Nanak and he was followed by other gurus who discarded their caste (Khatris) and merged with Dalits.

Such a follower of Guru Nanak stabbed the Dalits in the back by his infamous judgment. How could the Dalits come to listen to such people who stood for the supremacy of the super castes? What hope could we expect from such people so much divorced from the reality of life?

Sikh identity lost: Reservations are not a question of a just few jobs and promotions. It is an important weapon to fight the Brahminical Social Order and confer human rights on the deprived destitutes. Our Constitution also came from Sikh philosophy of our saints and gurus.

But this famous Sikh judge of the Supreme Court, who claimed to be a devout Sikh, go against the spirit of the Constitution and thereby violated the dictates of the Sikh gurus?

If ever the *Manusmriti* comes to replace our Constitution in India, our upper caste Sikhs will be the first to implement it in letter and right spirit.

That is why our Sister Sidhu, who too is a Jat Sikh and a noted medical doctor of Delhi, says:

Sikhism is not facing slow death. It is actually dead.

Shaven Sardarjis: She is quite right. Dalit/SC/BC Sikhs are rushing to the *deras* in lakhs to spread the message of Sikhism but our upper caste Sikhs are supporting Hindu nazi forces like RSS, Shiv Sena, Rashtria Sikh Sangat etc. The children of these Sikhs have shaved their hair and lost their Sikh identity.

I request the eminent Sikh organisers of the Chandigarh seminar to hold their next seminar at Ludhiana and approach the Dalits with all sincerity and humility. I shall take up the responsibility of

mobilising the entire Dalit Sikh intellectuals of the state. Editor V.T. Rajshekar should be also present.

Dalit entry to gurdwara banned: Sister Sidhu is disappointed that even Dalit Sikhs have left the responsibility of saving the sinking Sikhism.

Since the last 20 years we have been carrying on a campaign against casteism in Sikhism. Even today our Dalit Sikh women of Majhi and Chamar castes in rural areas of Punjab, comprising half the population of Punjab, cannot enter in the langars (common kitchen in gurdwaras) to cook

the common food. They are not allowed to touch the food. Is it not untouchability? Racism? Casteism?

Many Dalit Sikhs, who are highly educated, well placed, are not accepted as equals in the Sikh society. Even intellectuals among Sikhs rarely come or speak against casteism. In the total Sikh society, we can count only a few hundred Sikhs observing Sikhism in letter and spirit.

Sister Sidhu speaks the truth when she says that the sun has not only set on the Dalit world but also on Sikhism. ■

Non-Hindus ground to dust by upper castes, says Sikh leader

DR. AWATAR S. SEKHON, BOX 60246, SIKH EDUCATIONAL TRUST, UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA POSTAL OUTLET, EDMONTON, AB T6G 2S5, CANADA

Non-Hindu minorities in India like the Muslims, Sikhs, Dalits, Christians etc. have been subjected to personal, religious, economical and social intolerance, rapes, and general intolerance since Aug. 15, 1947.

Since "independence" the Indian administration headed by the upper castes (J.L. Nehru, L.B. Shastri, Indira Gandhi, Rajiv Gandhi, V.P. Singh, I.K. Gujral, A.B. Vajpayee etc.) have exterminated over 1.4 million Sikhs, 260,000 since June 1, 1986 alone. Over 70,000 Sikhs have been languishing in jails without trial, over 2,00,000 Muslims in general, over 80,000 innocent Kashmiri Muslims since 1988, over 2,00,000 Christians, hundreds of thousands of other non-Hindu minorities or ethnic groups.

More precisely, India carried out the massacre of 35 Sikhs in Chittisinghpora, Kashmir, in March 2000 and of 5 Sikhs on Feb. 3, 2000. The Sikh gurdwaras have been desecrated, destroyed and damaged in the brutal, undeclared armed invasions since 1955.

Like Sikhs, the Christians, their places of worship,

Christian schools, institutions, Christian missionaries, the Roman Catholic nuns and innocent 8 to 10-year-old children have been bombed, attacked, destroyed in attacks, raped, humiliated, burnt alive or given inhumane treatment (made to drink one's own urine) by mobs of the Hindu hoodlums, since the late 1995. Violence directed mainly at India's Muslim minority, erupted after the desecration of a mosque in the town of Ayodhya on Dec. 6, 1992.

I would like to summarize that:

- (i) India is a laboratory where experiments are conducted to "exterminate" non-Hindu minorities, synthesize intolerance towards the non-Hindu minorities, under the smoke-screens of democracy and secularism,
- (ii) A grinding machine where the non-Hindu minorities are ground and churned to death or extermination,
- (iii) India uses criminal elements to humiliate, rape, torture, burn alive and destroy all religious minorities. This is India's intolerance, the so-called "tolerance" of the non-Hindu minorities. ■

Disease kills the doctor who came to cure it

Brother Sekhon, a highly qualified medical specialist living in Canada, has correctly diagnosed India's disease but what are his prescriptions to cure this world's most baffling ailment? Sikhism come as a revolutionary solution to fight the disease and the disease (brchminism) overpowered and swallowed the

doctor himself. This has become clear during the long DV Debate held on "Slow death of Sikhism". We request Brother Sekhon to go through this Debate in our back issues. Because without first understanding the "Hindu mind", it will not be possible to fight the Enemy —
EDITOR.

MUSLIM HISTORY IN SOUTH ASIA

Francis Robinson

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