

DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities Denied Human Rights

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Why India called "Union of States":

THUS SPAKE AMBEDKAR

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Thus Spake Ambedkar

I regard this as a most retrograde and harmful provision which may lead to the break-up of the unity of India and the overthrow of the Central Government. The Drafting Committee, if I am not misrepresenting its mind, was not at all happy over this matter. They wished very much that there was uniformity between the Provinces; and the Indian States in their constitutional relationship with the Centre. Unfortunately, they could do nothing to improve matters. They were bound by the decisions of the Constituent Assembly, and the Constituent Assembly in its turn was bound by the agreement arrived at between the two negotiating Committees.

But we may take courage from what happened in Germany. The German Empire as founded by Bismark in 1870 was a composite State, consisting of 25 units. Of these 25 units, 22 were monarchical States and 3 were republican city States. This distinction, as we all know, disappeared in the course of time and Germany became one land with one people living under one Constitution. The process of the amalgamation of the Indian States is going to be much quicker than it has been in Germany. On the 15th August 1947 we had 600 Indian States in existence. Today by the integration of the Indian States with Indian Provinces or merger among themselves or by the Centre having taken them as Centrally Administered Areas there have remained some 20/30 States as viable States. This is a very rapid process and progress. I appeal to those States that remain to fall in line with the Indian Provinces and to become full units of the Indian Union on the same terms as the Indian Provinces. They will thereby give the Indian Union the strength it needs. They will save themselves the bother of starting their own Constituent Assemblies and drafting their own separate Constitution and they will lose nothing that is of value to them. I feel hopeful that my appeal will not go in vain and that before the Constitution is passed, we will be able to wipe off the differences between the Provinces and the Indian States. Some critics have taken objection to the description of India in Article 1 of the Draft Constitution as a Union of States. It is said that the correct phraseology should be a Federation of States. It is true that South Africa which is a unitary State is described as a Union. But Canada which is a Federation is also called a Union. Thus the description of India as a Union, though its constitution is Federal, does no violence to usage. But what is

Why India is described as a "Union of States"

important is that the use of the word Union is deliberate. I do not know why the word "Union" was used in the Canadian Constitution. But I can tell you why the Drafting Committee has used it. The Drafting committee wanted to make it clear that though India was to be a Federation, the Federation was not the result of an agreement by the States to join in a Federation and that the Federation not being the result of an agreement State has the right to secede from it. The Federation is a Union because it is indestructible. Though the country and the people may be divided into different States for convenience of administration the country is one integral whole, its people a single people living under a single *imperium* derived from a single source. The Americans had to wage a civil war to establish that the States have no right of secession and that their Federation was indestructible. The Drafting Committee thought that it was better to make it clear at the outset rather than to leave it to speculation or to dispute.

The provisions relating to amendment of the Constitution have come in for a virulent attack at the hands of the critics of the Draft Constitution. It is said that the provisions contained in the Draft make amendment difficult. It is proposed that the Constitution should be amendable by a simple majority while the latter has been denied the same right. It is paraded as one of the absurdities of the Draft Constitution. I must repudiate the charge because it is without foundation. To know how simple are the provisions of the Draft Constitution in respect of amending the Constitution one has only to study the provisions for amendment contained in the American and Australian Constitutions. Compared to them, those contained in the Draft Constitution will be found to be the simplest. The Draft Constitution has eliminated the elaborate and difficult procedures such as a decision by a convention or a referendum. The Powers of amendment are left with the Legislatures. Central and Provincial. It is only for amendments of specific matters — and they are only few — that the ratification of the State legislatures is required. All other Articles of the Constitution are left to be amended by Parliament. The only limitation is that it shall be done by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members of each house present and voting and a majority of the total membership of each house. It is difficult to conceive a simple method of amending the Constitution. (To be continued)

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Vol. 13, (pages 67 - 69) 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

As Palestine explodes "Spirit of Islam" will cleanse world of racists, zionists & Hindu nazi war-mongers

The latest Israeli-Palestinian "dispute", now almost an year old, has reached an explosive stage with the zionist war-monger Ariel Sharon's decision to launch an all-out war against innocent Palestinians. Till the first week of August, 530 Palestinians and 130 Jews were killed. The Palestinian blood is boiling and as this is written the Palestinian Authority President, Yasser Arafat, is losing his hold on his people.

Cowardly Jews: The Palestinians have proved their extraordinary courage and bravery. Suicide bombers have demonstrated this to the whole world and proved that every Palestinian is ready to die instead of suffering humiliations under zionists. But it is the Jews who have proved their cowardice. The very sight of blood scares them. The revolutionary Muslims of Palestine are getting impatient with Arafat and his corrupt caucus. We are afraid that if Arafat is assassinated, the revolutionary organisation of Palestinians, Hamas, will get the upper hand. That means explosion of Middle East. Already we have forecast the fall of Arafat but he is under pressure from the pro-Western and pro-zionist forces to pour cold water on the boiling anger of Palestinians.

If Arafat is assassinated and Hamas takes over control it will be a bloody war in which thousands and thousands of Palestinians will have to die, suffer and sacrifice to save their homeland from the zionist aggressors.

When such a bloody war breaks out in West Asia not only Arafat and his henchmen will go but even such of those pro-Western bum-blickers

among Muslim countries will undergo a revolution. Not only that. It may be also the beginning of the end of intoxicated USA which under the tight zionist control is behaving like a world policeman.

Already the American-sponsored peace plan for Palestine brokered by its CIA chief has failed. The war-mongers in Israel and USA are baying for the Muslim blood. India's Hindu nazis are leading all these anti-Muslim hatemongers.

Huntington's theory of "Clash of Civilisations" is under full play. DV has made its predictions long

How DV proved right

- DV May 16, 1999 p.7: "Islam unites Aryan & White Western racists".
- DV June 16, 1998 p.5: "West unites China & Islam: Huntington thesis backfires".
- DV Edit June 1, 1998: "Big leap for Huntington theory: India's nuclear Viagra & bid to destroy Muslim Indonesia".
- DV Edit March 16, 1998: "White Western racists & zionist masters launch their civilisational war against Islam & China".
- DV Edit Nov.1, 1991: "New World Order aimed at crushing Muslims".
- DV Edit Nov.16, 1990: "Global conspiracy of White racists & zionists against Blacks & Muslims."
- DV Edit March 16, 1998: "White Western & zionist hatemongers launching their civilisational war against Islam & China".

back that in the long run Justice and Truth shall triumph and that Huntington shall prove wrong. The future line-up as suggested by Huntington is the prosperous White Western Christian countries led by their zionist masters will be on one side with India's Aryan Hindu brahminical nazis as their chief advisers. On the other side will come all the racist victims of the West: the Blacks, Muslims, India's Dalits plus China. Since

the latter forces represent the deprived and the destitute and that they are also a big majority, they are bound to win because Justice, Truth and also History are on their side. In this fight between the Western wicked forces and the rest what will be the role of Europe, particularly Germany and France?

Already France has about 15% Muslims and more people are embracing Islam there. In the heart of Europe already two Muslim countries are born — Kosovo and Bosnia. Albania is getting ready. (DV May 1, 2001 p. 19: "Islamisation of Christian Europe").

Germans are noted for their independent

thinking determined to free Europe from American hegemony. France too thinks on the same lines. Germany and France are leading the European Union movement making Europe independent of America. This will very much end the American hegemony over Europe.

Russia will certainly not go with America and its zionist masters. The only other important country that may tail America is Britain. But even this country may backout if a full-fledged war breaks out in West Asia.

Saner elements in West: That means there are any number of saner elements even among the White Western people who are not racists and hate the zionist bid to push the world to the brink of Third World War.

Of course India's brahminical hate-mongers, whose only staple diet is hate, have already jumped on the American bandwagon. And we would like them to choose this line of disaster and destruction.

These Hindu nazis once goaded Hitler and his nazis to launch attacks on Jews and caused two world wars. And after causing so much of death and destruction, they have switched over to the zionist side and desperately pushing the world towards greater destruction. Today their sole mantra is hate Muslims. And they have simply gone mad in their frenzy of hate.

Barring the brahminical forces, the rest of the over 85% of India's original inhabitants led by India's Black Untouchables will go with Muslims when West Asia explodes.

DV prediction comes true: DV had already predicted this line-up. Africans, Afro-Americans, India's Black Untouchables, Muslims, China on one side. Saner elements among Whites will prefer to join the side of Justice and Truth.

On the opposite side are arrayed the anti-human aggressors: USA, zionists and India's Hindu nazis who together are a small minority. Huntington therefore stands exposed.

Bush heading for doom: That is why we want West Asia to flare up. And revolutionary Islam, which stands for eternal war to defend Justice called *Jehad*, will expose the corrupt Muslim rulers who have reduced Islam to a mere religion of rituals. (*Curse of Allah*, DSA - 1997).

Palestinians have a great role to play and

shape the future course of history. But they can play this role only if they are prepared to continue to fight, suffer, sacrifice and die for Justice and Truth. The Koran sanctions such a war.

"*Socialist Brahmins*" in USA and outside are deeply worried that angry Palestinians will explode and if they explode it is all-out war. They are also aware that when the revolutionary Muslims get angry and fight no bomb, no armed might can stop them. That is why they are moving heaven and earth to pour cold water on the burning fire in West Asia.

But the "*Socialist Brahmins*" may not succeed this time because a war-monger is heading America. And we have full hope in this war monger Bush taking the White Western racists and their zionist masters to doom.

Reference:

March 1, 2001 p.8: "Zionist plan to push Palestinians into Jordan may spark world war".

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

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

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

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

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

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

India's double-face exposed at Geneva

PAUL DIVAKER

The conference at Durban has two parts. The first is the NGO conference from Aug.27 to Sept.2 and the inter-governmental meet from Aug.31 to Sept.7. About 160 participants from all over the country, who have been working on caste and discrimination issues are participating in these meetings at Durban. It is a historic meet as this is the first time that the issue of discrimination against Dalits have become a global issue. Though India has been a champion of human rights issues globally and at the UN, it has been practising blatant racism at home and at the same time putting a false face to outsiders.

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(More reports on p. 6 to 12).

Hindu nazis leading anti-Islamic crusades inside & outside India?

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An article by Subodh Atal, Lalit Koul, Sunil Fotedar, "Treating the symptom?" in the *Outlook* (July 23, 2001) circulated by Stimpson Institute to its regular readership, reveals the policy attitude of the India's Hindu nazi party BJP and other Hindu nazis in India. It distorts history with a purpose. Muslim political opinion was divided into three groups in the period leading up to and including the II World War. There were those (like *Khaksar, Ahrar* and other religious groups) who wanted to restore the imperial power to the Muslims so that the civilising role of Islam in the caste-based repressive society was resumed. There were those who wanted to transform British empire in India into a secular nation state. In the end, neither succeeded.

Largest Hindu state: The II-World War brought the era of imperialism irreversibly to an end. There was no likelihood of the Mogul Empire being resurrected nor any other mythical Hindu empire of the past even more remote in history. The majority of the Muslims of India discarded the imperial model and accepted the idea of nation state.

The British established the largest Hindu state in history and gave it a new post imperial national polity. A foundation for the end of civilization conflict between Islam and Hinduism in South Asia was laid. Many prominent leaders of India, notably Pandit Nehru, its first Prime Minister, and Dr. Ambedkar, the author of the first Constitution of India, accepted the two-nation theory of Pakistan. They considered it beneficial also for non-Muslims as it constituted the acceptance of the idea of nation-state by both countries thus bringing the civilizational conflict in South Asia to an end.

The Hindu nazi party, however, did not accept the two-nation theory then, its political reincarnation — the BJP - does not accept it even now. A Hindu nazi leader, Nathuram Godse, assassinated M.K. Gandhi and India went back on its promise to Kashmiris to allow them to decide their political future by a plebiscite in 1958. The reason given by Nehru for going back on his word was Pakistan entering an alliance with the USA. Now that the situation is reversed (it is India not Pakistan who is an ally of the USA) the Kashmiris are still no nearer to being allowed to exercise their right of self-determination.

Although the change started under the Congress rule,

India today is embarked on resumption of civilizational conflict between Islam and *Kuffr*. India's polity is based on hatred — avenging the humiliation of a thousand years — and it wants the West to join it in its crusade against Islam. There is very little likelihood of an imperial polity resulting in any benefit for India but its people would have to suffer internal conflict and war in pursuit of the imperial mirage. I take the words and implications of the *Outlook* article seriously. In commenting on Agra summit, it said:

...It would appear that ending of cross-border terrorism is indeed a valid posture for India. However, we believe that this is where the Indian Government failed miserably in identifying the boundaries of the subcontinental dispute. Cross-border terrorism is after all only a symptom. The malaise is much deeper, and it is the same that forced the 1947 partition, the persecution and hounding out of Punjits from the Valley, the mistreatment of Hindus in Pakistan and Afghanistan, the eternal feuds of the Muslim populations of Palestine, Chechnya, etc. with non-Muslims of those regions, the Bin Laden phenomenon and many more. This malaise is religious fundamentalism. It has already spread to other parts of India in the form of Islamic extremist forces such as SIMI and Deendar Anjumman. It is the same malaise that prompted Jinnah to declare that "We shall have India divided or we shall have India destroyed". It is the same malaise that prompts many Pakistanis to say that "*Hans ke liya, Pakistan/lad ke layenge Hindustan*". The Pakistan-sponsored fundamentalist violence that started in Kashmir valley in 1980 also appears to have set in motion a vicious cycle of Hindu and Muslim communal incidents across India including the mosque demolition and the Bombay blasts and riots. By negotiating on the symptom, not the malaise, the Indian Government has missed a rare opportunity to paint Pakistan in its true colours while allowing Musharrat to gain legitimacy and stature the rest of the world denies to him. Kashmiri Punjits realize the depth of the problem having been the victim of 53 years (and several centuries) of Islamic fundamentalism, the rest of India may wake up when it gets balkanized between Islamic and Hindu extremists.

The article presents the struggle for freedom in Palestine, Kashmir and Chechnya as eternal feuds of Muslims with non-Muslims. India sees itself in the forefront of conflict with Islam-internally as well as internationally. India is going to make a lot of trouble for a lot of Muslim countries for a long time. ■

Dalits defeat brahminical bid to block "casteism is racism" debate at Durban

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Last minute efforts at Geneva saved India's Black Untouchables' efforts to bring the centuries-old burning issue of "casteism is racism" at the forthcoming UN World Conference Against Racism at Durban. A day earlier on Aug.10, the Dalits suffered a defeat when the country's brahminical racist rulers frustrated our efforts.

China support: What came as a shock was China supporting the Indian Govt. stand. That means the NGOs who spearhead the campaign did not do enough homework. The issue did not come up in the Indian Parliament though Prakash Ambedkar, MP, despite being a prominent campaigner for the cause, did not carry the battle inside Parliament.

White nations scared: But the brahminical representatives of the Indian Govt. moved heaven and earth and used the contradictions to scare the European countries. Sources said the Indian Govt. threatened the European countries that if they supported the Dalit stand, India would support the African countries' demand for reparations from White countries for the slavery inflicted upon the Blacks.

That is how despite consistent efforts by the Human Rights Watch and several NGOs, the issue of caste-based discrimination failed to get the support of the member-countries

at the meeting of the UN-subcommission of human rights. Countries such as Britain were inclined to have a debate on the issue. But Mauritius misguided by India praised Indian Govt. for taking measures to safeguard the rights of Dalits. It also referred to safeguards provided by the Indian Constitution which enabled a person from the lower caste to hold the highest constitutional post in the country. India's permanent representative to

NGOs brought immense pressure to see the issue find a place on the agenda to the Durban conference. But the Indian Govt. urged the NGOs not to insist on dragging the issue. The Indian upper caste officials also worked hard to explain the govt. stand on the issue to the other delegates. But the Indian racist Govt. suffered a defeat at the last minute on Aug.10 night when the preparatory meeting at Geneva decided to include

DV congratulates Dalit Christians

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: This is the greatest news since Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar threatened to take the case of Dalits to the United Nations. We congratulate Paul Divaker, Henri Tiphagne, Dr. Aloysius, Martin Mcwan, Bob Brown, M.C. Raja and wife Jyoti and other Dalit Christians for raising the Dalit issue to international heights. However, our friends working for the final assault at Durban cannot take rest. The brahminical racist leaders of India have developed international connections and they are indulging in reckless bluffing to mislead the delegates at Durban. The best way is to join the Africans and Muslims and assure full support to their demands so that in turn they will support ours.

the much-disputed para no.109 in the discussion. During the closing minutes of the 111-preparatory committee meeting, discussing the agenda for the conference, the chair on the Working Group on Programme of Action ruled that the much-disputed para should be on the agenda. It ensures that no discrimination is shown on the basis of descent and occupation.

the UN office. Ms. Savitri Kunadi, bluffed before the subcommission that the Indian Govt. had taken a number of steps and provided constitutional safeguards to the Dalits and weaker sections.

The debate was initiated by Rajendra Kalidas Wimala Goonsekere, who said the caste system and practice of untouchability must be taken seriously by India and the international community and administrative bodies.

Goonsekere report: This is the only para pertaining to caste discrimination and had been lobbied for by Dalit groups from Asia as well as other rights organisations. The Indian Govt. had campaigned hard to keep it out of the agenda and also the declaration and programme of action.

The report of Goonsekere (of Sri Lanka) gave a detailed picture of the discrimination based on descent and occupation and helped the committee reconsider its decision.

DV warning to brahminical wicked brains

V.T. RAJSHEKAR

Short speech made at the national seminar on "casteism is racism" conducted by the National Human Rights Commission at the Law University, Bangalore, on Aug.3, 2001

Chairman (Justice J.S. Verma) and friends,
As the Editor of *Dalit Voice*, it was we who raised the issue that casteism is racism as early as 1980, over 20 years ago. We are happy today that this subject has come to the world stage.

And for saying this at a world conference of Africans and Afro-Americans in Libya, where we led a delegation of Indian Untouchables, the Govt. of India impounded my passport in 1986.

Original home of racism: I am mentioning this because this is the danger of taking up the case of Indian untouchability and casteism at international levels.

India's brahminical ruling class does not want the stink of untouchability should be felt by outsiders.

In my book, *Brahminism — Father of Racism, Fascism, Nazism (DSA - 1994)*, I have proved that India is the original home of racism. Varma (the other name for caste system) means colour. Racism was exported all over the world from India.

The South African Apartheid or the American racism has no sanction under the religion of those countries, namely Christianity.

But in "Hindu India" untouchability is sanctioned by its religion — Hinduism — which is top to bottom racism.

So, the Indian brand of racism is much more serious than Apartheid and American racism.

Intellectual corruption: We in the *Dalit Voice* have been saying this for the past over 20 years and we are overjoyed that the United Nations Human Rights Commission has finally agreed to consider our case. **We are also happy to inform that the Afro-Americans and Africans plus Muslim countries have assured us full support at Durban. Africans are demanding reparations for the slavery inflicted upon them by the Whites. The Muslims are demanding that zionism be equated with racism. Both these demands are coming up at Durban. We the Black Untouchables of India have assured our support to them and they in turn have assured to support us. So also China.**

Any amount of opposition from the brahminical wicked brains will be of no use. We now have international support.

Of course, I will not be able to go to Durban though the Human Rights Commission has invited me.

The question of "casteism is racism" is the problem of Untouchables. Because they only have suffered including Justice Ramaswamy of the Supreme Court sitting here as member of NHRC. Shoe pinches the wearer.

So, I am not able to understand the hair-splitting arguments of dishonest intellectuals who belong to the brahminical category trying to mislead this gathering here. Why should our oppressors worry about us?

NHRC warned: The Untouchables of India are already disgusted. These intellectual prostitutes by their mischievous word-mongering will only make us angry. Even Dalit representatives sitting here are getting angry. The NHRC is warned. ■

Muslim political party

New Delhi: Maulana Bukhari has called upon the Muslims to launch their own political party to save Islam in the country. "It is high time the Muslims launched their own political party as the solution to all their problems could be found only if they themselves become a political force to reckon with", he said here on Aug.3. The Shahi Imam said he was ready to give his support if a political party was floated.

It is for the first time that the Imam has openly advocated an independent political party of Muslims.

(*Hindu* - UNI, Aug.4, 2001). ■

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Mischief at Geneva against Dalits

BOB BROWN, DIRECTOR, KWAME TURE WORK-STUDY INSTITUTE
AND LIBRARY, 1019 - O STREET NW, WASHINGTON, DC 20001

I am forwarding an email received from the representatives of India's Black Untouchables.

The Third Preparatory Committee to the WCAR was held from the 30th July to the 10th August 2001 in Geneva and three activists attended the same by the NCDHR — namely Paul Divakar, Aloysius Irudayam and Henri Tiphagne.

Missing paragraph: NCDHR has been campaigning for the inclusion of the agenda of caste discrimination in the WCAR. In spite of the fact that we had managed to get a small paragraph into the text on the last date of the second Inter-sessional Working Group to the WCAR in Geneva on the May 11, 2001 through an intervention by Barabados, you are all aware that this para was found missing in the text that was circulated around for the Second Preparatory Committee meeting to the WCAR that commenced on May 20, 2001. Similarly, the small paragraph with reference to discrimination based on work and descent that was introduced by Switzerland and present throughout the Second Prep. Com in the draft document has now disappeared in the draft prepared by the Group of 21 for consideration of the Third and Final Prep. Com to the WCAR when the actual negotiations would commence.

The Third Prep Com is therefore the only opportunity for the community of nations gathered to reconsider the question of discrimination based on work and descent known as. The NCDHR has therefore decided to attempt to touch the conscience of this world community with a statement signed by eminent persons from throughout the world.

Global attention: Dalits are the largest and the most significant segment of the discriminated world population. That 260 million people in South Asia alone, perhaps more than the population of some of the European countries, are systematically subjected to continuous discrimination based on descent and work should be a mind-boggling factor for any human being sensitive to human rights. Discriminated in multiple forms and in various aspects of life on grounds of work and descent, they ought to attract global attention, concern and commitment. That they have been humiliated by gross violations of their rights for centuries should at least now, though far belated, awaken world conscience — that of peoples and governments.

Shocking fact: In the context of the WCAR, the most shocking fact is that some nations which support the WCAR do not only deny the existence of discrimination based on work and descent but also apply various tactical measures in order to pressurize other nations to withdraw their statements — statements which ask for recognition of discrimination based on descent and work. This has been happening in recent weeks and months in spite of the fact that a good amount of progress has been made by the UN bodies to recognize and affirm unambiguously the existence of such discrimination.

The Dalit caucus is deeply concerned about the efforts of such nations to derecognize discrimination based on work and descent. This, no doubt, is against the spirit of the WCAR. It is against the UN Charter in letter and spirit. It is against the conscience of humanity.

COMMUNICATION

DV's historic contribution & Editor's "fire in his belly"

DR. LAXMI BERWA, 1215 - KENSINGTON RD.,
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I and the entire Dalit community in America duely recognise your entire life's contribution not only to Dalits but to all the persecuted nationalities of India and South Asia. With your dedication, *Dalit Voice* has become a household name throughout the world, at least in the English-speaking world.

As a life-member and a *Dalit Voice* family member since 1983, when I organized a protest against late Mrs. Indira Gandhi in Washington in July 1983 and subsequently on Aug. 3, 1983, I was the first Dalit to testify to the Sub-Commission on Human Rights in Geneva sponsored by the Minority Rights Group of London I am fully ware of the historical contribution made by *Dalit Voice*.

Even at the mature age of 70, you continue to have fire in your belly for the causes you cherish in your life.

I, on behalf of Dalits here in America wish to express our thanks and belated happy 70th birth day to you and to your family.

White oppression of US Blacks has all the horrors of India's casteism

JOEL S. TORSTENSON

One of the aspects emphasized in this study of the role of religion in society is the importance of the general social situation, that is, the nature of the social structure and the culture of a particular historical period. For the response of religion is not to society in the abstract, but to society as it presents itself in particular social situations.

It is therefore appropriate that an examination of religion and race in American life should begin with an analysis of the major structural and cultural dimensions of race relations.

For all practical purposes, this means an exploration of the structural realities of racial caste and the cultural meaning and functions of the ideology of racism.

It should be noted that in this analysis the focus is really upon the USA and its historical experience. While the document follows the common practice of referring to this experience as the "American" experience, I acknowledge a certain discomfort in doing so.

NATURE & MEANING OF CASTE

While there has been considerable debate concerning the appropriateness of using the term "caste" to characterize the relationships between Whites and non-Whites in American life, few students of American stratification will argue that there are not many caste-like relationships between the races in America.

A well known anthropologist, A. L.

Kroeber, has defined caste as: "endogenous and hereditary subdivision of an ethnic unit occupying a position of superior or inferior rank or social esteem in comparison with other subdivisions." (Davie, 424-432). Such a system involves at least the following major elements:

AMERICAN BLACKS

(1) A hierarchy of social rank. (2) A restriction of social mobility from one rank to another. (3) A

In the run-up to the Durban conference where India's Black Untouchables demand to equate casteism with racism is coming up, this article by a distinguished scholar will help us to strengthen our case.

We were the first in the world to describe Dalits as "India's Black Untouchables" and announce that the American Blacks and India's Dalits suffer from identical form of racism — though the Indian brand of racism is much more serious. The unity of the two victims of racism supported by the Blacks in the African Continent will release the world's mightiest force — EDITOR.

prohibition of intermarriage between members of various ranks and (4) A set of rules designed to keep the various ethnic subdivisions at appropriate social distance.

In American race relations all of these elements are present. Blacks have been systematically held in a subordinate status position in virtually every area of life. They have been denied the political rights of citizenship; systematically limited to low-status occupations; and restricted to inferior schools, poor housing, and separate and unequal public accommodations.

Beyond these manifestations of inequality of status, the fact that

they are based upon color and race, rather than achievement, makes these relationships hereditary. The African-American is born into the status and is severely restricted in terms of social mobility. And, of course, laws and taboos against interracial marriage persist with the expectation that the system of racial caste should remain permanent.

Finally, a systematic separation of the races established by Jim Crow legislation/ housing discrimination, and segregated institutions has resulted in deepening the alienation and antagonisms between races and in creating a caste-like dual social order made up of a "White society" and a "Black society." Relationships between these two parts of a racially split American life have been carefully restrained and guided through an elaborate etiquette of race relations which meticulously preserves the fact of caste-like inferiority of the subordinate race. Any violations of caste rules are severely punished, often in an extralegal manner.

IDEOLOGICAL COUNTERPART OF CASTE

Even though these facts have been altered by recent events in many parts of the country, a reading of J. Griffin's book, *Black Like Me*, serves to document the persistence of caste in American life. Although this caste-like system of race relations has found its fullest development in the South, it has left its mark upon every social institution throughout America. (Rose)

An important counterpart of the

emergence of caste in America was the development of an ideology of racism which served to justify the system of caste-like inequality. This convergence of caste and racism is relatively rare in human history. There has been caste without racism in India, and there has been racism without an elaborate system of caste as in Germany. The mingling of the two was most strikingly developed in the United States up to 1940 and in South Africa's apartheid government.

MAJOR ELEMENTS OF RACISM

Major elements of racism which have become a part of the White American's belief system include the following:

Inequality of the races: Races are basically unequal having either been created so by god or having emerged from the evolutionary tree at different stages of evolution. The latter is the evolutionary theory of polygenesis, as against the generally accepted theory of monogenesis.

Biological source of cultures: The development of culture and civilization is a product of the biological endowments of each race.

White race = high culture: The development of the "high culture" of Western civilization is the natural product of a superior Anglo-Saxon race. The non-White races can only produce low cultures. This is the point of the White supremacy arguments.

Nonwhite = low status roles: Since the non-White races are by nature inferior it is appropriate that they should be limited to low status functions and be satisfied with low status rewards.

Race mixing=decay: Amalgamation of the races will

inevitably lead to a deterioration of the culture of the higher race.

Race & purity: For this reason, racial purity must be vigorously preserved and the White race be maintained in the position of dominance.

RACIAL MYTHS

Since these assumptions of racism find little or no support in scientific scholarship, they have come to be identified as racial myths which continue to serve the function of justifying the system of caste that emerged in American history. (Rose).

The development of the inter-functional system of caste and racism in American life is an important if disappointing chapter in American history.

One of the most striking revelations of the history of racism is its relative recency. Most writers who have traced the history of racism have insisted that it first came into being during the colonial period of the 16th century. As one writer put it: "It was when imperialism began to explore and exploit the colored people of Africa, Asia, and America that segregation and discrimination based on color and race was initiated. It was then that color was first associated with 'inferiority' and white with 'superiority.'" (Mays, 48-49).

SLAVERY

When the Africans arrived in Jamestown, Virginia, in 1619, they were not perceived through the norms of racism. Contrary to popular notions they were not bought as slaves, but as indentured servants like those immigrants who came from England. There was no legal foundation in Anglo-Saxon law for slavery. Several decades passed before Blacks were subjected to servitude in perpetuity.

Not until 1661 did Virginia pass the first law permitting permanent servitude in colonial America. And even though the number of Black slaves had grown considerably in the colonies by 1776, there was widespread opposition to slavery, and its status was based on economic and legal considerations, rather than upon race. Many hoped and confidently expected that the institution of slavery would be short-lived and that all in America would become free men and women. (Handlin).

IDEOLOGY OF RACISM

Toward the end of the 19th century, several forces led America to embrace a combination of caste and racism exceeded only by the apartheid system of South Africa. In his brilliant account of *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, C.V. Woodward documented America's capitulation to racism at that time.

DISENFRANCHISED BLACKS

Before the end of the century, the Negro became the common sectional scapegoat of the South, reconciling the dissident White classes and restoring the unity of the solid South. It was in this context that the southern states enacted the famous Jim Crow laws which disfranchised blacks, segregated the trains and streetcars, hotels and restaurants, theaters and public parks, and virtually every social institution in the South. And again the ideology of racism was appealed to for the defense of the segregation and subordination of black Americans. (Woodward).

But the ideology of racism now had some new dimensions. Partly influenced by a pseudo-scientific concern about racial difference and partly prompted by the literature on racism that was developing in

Europe, books were published which carried such titles as *Dictionary of Races*, *The Passing of the Great Race*, and *The Rising Tide of Color Against World Supremacy*.

Racism was becoming a national ideology to keep non-Nordics out of the US, Blacks and other non-Whites in subordination, and to justify the country's new ventures in imperialism.

The importance of the US imperialistic encounter in 1898 (when it took possession of Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines from Spain for 20 million dollars) to the spreading of racism throughout the country can hardly be

exaggerated. With this venture the US brought under its dominion more than 8 million brown-skinned peoples from the Caribbean to the Philippines. US dozens, both from the North and the South, were aroused to a combined concern for the destiny of the nation and its White race. National magazines such as *Nation* and *The Atlantic Monthly* editorialized that the inferior colored races were unfit for self-government.

Racism had been conjoined with jingoistic imperialism. People in the northern part of the US who had half a century earlier chastised the South for its unwillingness to extend the principles of liberty and equality to Blacks, now subscribed to the

same fundamental presupposition that the inferior colored people were unsuited for full participation in political life. *The New York Times* on May 10, 1900 reported editorially that "northern men no longer denounce the suppression of Negro votes in the South as it used to do." A southern senator publicly thanked a northern senator for his "complete announcement of the divine right of the Caucasian to govern the inferior races." This most amply vindicated the South. (Woodward) Southern racism had not only gotten a new lease on life, but it had become a part of a new national wave of the future, which was not to ebb until World War II. ■

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(This is from Chapter II of his book *Religion and Race in America*)

DV proves right on Indonesia

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: As predicted in DV, the White Western racists and their Zionist masters have finally succeeded in undermining the world's largest Muslim country (archipelago of 200 million people) and installing their nominee, Miss Megawati Sukarnoputri, as the President of Indonesia.

President Abdur Rahman Wahid, half-blind and ailing Muslim religious leader, was eased out. Fortunately, he bowed out without offering any resistance which might have led to lots of bloodshed.

The West, particularly the US, is not hiding its happiness.

The different Muslim leaders quarreled between themselves and handed over the country to a weak leader that too surrounded by Christians. ■

India: A gloomy picture

New Delhi: The *Economist* has painted a gloomy picture of the Indian economy completing a decade of reforms. It says that despite reforms, growth of the economy in the fiscal year 2000 dropped 6% for the second year running, and a series of scandals has temporarily paralysed the govt. In its first special survey of the Indian economy coinciding with the country's 10th anniversary of economic reforms, it has tried to evaluate the performance of the economy and has highlighted the areas that has remained a cause for concern. The disappointments, the survey argues, are result of too little reform rather than too much. "Even after 10 years of reform, govt. policies frustrate growth and employment. Agriculture that occupies more than half of the workforce, is hemmed by countless restrictions. A host of incentives — legal and illegal — discourages small enterprises from becoming big ones." (*Asian Age* June 2, 2001). ■

Amnesty supports Dalit demand to equate casteism with racism

BENJAMIN PAUL <KAILABPAUL@HOTMAIL.COM>

A damning Amnesty International report on racism around the world has attacked India for its "hidden apartheid" against 160 million Dalits, who belong to the socially underprivileged classes. "Despite the abolition of untouchability, Dalits continue to be discriminated on the basis of their descent", Amnesty said in its report.

Durban conference: "They are marginalised, particularly in rural areas", the report said. "Among the violations persistently reported are torture including rape, arbitrary arrests and extra-judicial executions". Amnesty said Dalits also suffer violence in the community. Abuses against Dalits frequently go unpunished, with local police frequently refusing to record complaints by Dalits, Amnesty said. Much evidence points towards a connivance between powerful caste groups and the police in violent attacks against Dalits, Amnesty said.

India's Untouchables campaign got a big boost after Amnesty International on July 25 released a report on caste abuse in India equating it with racism.

The Amnesty fully supported the campaign and its representatives at the Durban conference would press for treating casteism as a form of racial discrimination.

"We believe that racism as defined in the International Covenant for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination covers discrimination based on caste and this should be mentioned in the final declaration of the conference", said Ms. Julia Depoite.

Graveyard of human rights: The Amnesty, in its report on Racism and the Administration of Justice, recalled that two years ago hundreds of human rights groups gave a petition, signed by 2.5 million people to the Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, demanding an end to caste prejudices and urging the UN to take seriously the issue of "caste-based abuse and discrimination". It referred approvingly to the move by the National Campaign for Dalit Human Rights to highlight it as a case of hidden apartheid.

The Indian Government, however, has consistently refused to concede the caste-based discrimination should be discussed within the context of racial discrimination, the report said.

It named India among the countries accused of human rights violations. There was a lack of political will in India to implement the laws designed to protect Dalits

with the result that despite well-meaning legislation, caste "abuse" was widely prevalent. The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Act had failed to provide relief to the victims of caste discrimination and there was "disinclination" among officials to acknowledge the existence of social injustice, it said alleging widespread caste bias in the criminal justice system.

International network: The report, released by Ms. Kate Gilmore, a senior Amnesty executive, alleged that lower caste members were victims of torture, rape, arbitrary arrests and other forms of harassment. It catalogued instances of caste abuse and harassment highlighted at the National Public Hearing on Dalit Human Rights in Madras last year. Dalits from all over India recounted their experiences, and some of the more harrowing tales came from Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Gujarat, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab and Maharashtra.

The evidence collected at the hearing was seen to reflect the Indian Government's failure to protect the rights of its Dalit population and Amnesty supported the view that the UN should respond to the issue. An Amnesty officials said a number of human rights groups had come together under the banner of International Dalits Solidarity Network to step up the campaign to pressure the UN into recognising caste discrimination as racism. ■

Dr. Ambedkar Memorial on Alipur Road

New Delhi: The Union Cabinet on July 31 authorised Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Foundation to go ahead with its negotiations for the purchase of Bungalow No.26, Alipur Road, in the capital to convert it into a memorial for Dr. Ambedkar in accorddance with the decision taken during his centenary year celebrations in 1992. Babasaheb had lived in this bungalow from November 1, 1951 till he died on December 6, 1956.

The bungalow is owned by the Jindals and they have agreed to sell it for Rs. 15.46 crores. Earlier when the government started the process of acquisition of the premises, the owners had gone to the court. (*Deccan Herald* Aug. 1, 2001).

DV Feb. 1, 1999 p. 15: "Dr. Ambedkar Memorial to be ready before Dr. Ambedkar Era begins".

Unending Hindu atrocities on Dalits cause of Oct. 14 conversion

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

Homo-sapiens came into being after most difficult phases of struggles and evolutions. In primitive stage they were simple, non-religious and lived in commune. In due course of time a few among them, by chance or due to manipulative actions, genes, wanted to have more power, comfort and share as compared to the rest and a few of them succeeded which led to inequality and discrimination.

ARYAN MANIPULATIONS

When society had reeled under disorders, discriminations and exploitations etc., a few human beings took up the cause to bring equality, peace, harmony, justice and fraternity like the Budha, Jesus Christ and many others and most of the preachings and ideas of these great persons are still relevant and in fact modern societies need their preachings with a view to creating humane conditions and perhaps the Indian society needs to implement these preaching of equality more than any other society in the world.

Budhism was born in India before the birth of Jesus and it spread to most parts of the world during its peak. However, it declined in India because of internal weaknesses and manipulative actions of brahminical forces, the upper castes. If at all there is a need to serve the humankind it is in India as most of the societies

in the world have overcome acute form of exploitation and discrimination but in India till today the caste system — graded inequality — exists in most brutal and crude manner which leads to the most inhuman form of exploitation and discrimination.

India had been the cradle of Budhism but it was systematically weakened because of caste system only and it became possible because people were not conscious and educated but in today's world it is not going to be the case and this exploitation and discrimination in the name of caste system would not continue.

RESERVATION SNATCHED AWAY

There is complete unrest, frustration and agony amongst Dalits — so called lower castes/ Untouchables who constitute over 25% population of India. I do not think that more than 350 million people would be living in such nasty and wretched conditions anywhere in the world.

The Lord Buddha Club and the All-India Confederation of SC/ST Organisations have been waging relentless war for equality, justice, rights and harmony for the last 4-5 years. The reservation in govt. services was given to Dalits after huge, concerted efforts and hardships and it is like the affirmative action for Blacks in the USA but now it is being snatched away by the upper castes under one pretext or the other.

We had organized four mammoth gatherings on Nov.27, 1997, Nov.16, 1998, Dec.13, 1999 and Dec.11, 2000 for about 0.1 million, 0.5 million, 1 million and 1.5 million respectively demanding rights of these human beings of lesser gods but the rules have not relented and there is no hope that they would accede to our demands.

HISTORY-MAKING EVENT

This unending discrimination and heinous form of exploitation on the basis of caste system is the main reason that the Dalits are determined and have decided to revive Budhism in its cradle land on Oct.14, 2001 so that all Indians become equal.

Under the banner of Buddha Education Foundation, Lord Buddha Club and the All-India Confederation of SC/ST Organisations, we, 1 million, have decided to embrace Budhism on Oct.14, 2001 in Delhi.

We do not think that such a huge number of human beings, at any one point of time, in the history of mankind have embraced any philosophy or religion and I invite the Editor of *Dalit Voice* for this great occasion and I also request that you should create world opinion and resources for this great cause.

email: uddha@ndf.vsnl.net.in
Ph: 687 1600, 371 7538

Gujarat Panther chief breaks silence

DR. RAMESHCHANDRA PARMAR, CHAIRMAN, DALIT PANTHERS, 8 - MANHARNAGAR, RAJPUR, GOMTIPUR, ZULTA MINAR ROAD, AHMEDABAD - 380 021

Thank you for publishing my clarification in *Dalit Voice* of June 1, 2001 and a Letter of Anand Parmar in the issue of July 1.

I could not reply to your comment on time because I was busy otherwise.

As to your comment about the statement attributed to me, I clarify that I had not made any speech at the Geneva conference of the UN Human Rights Commission. So, the question of my clarification or denial of the statement allegedly made by me does not arise.

My friend, Bapurao Pakkhidey, advocate, read out a written paper which is part of proceedings and anybody can get it.

I repeat that I had not made any written or oral presentation at the conference. So, the allegation is false, frivolous and malafide.

We did not support the stand taken by the Government of India that there was no caste discrimination and untouchability practiced against Dalits.

This matter was also discussed in the *Panther News*, Gujarati monthly published by me, and the fabricated letter that appeared in *Dalit Voice* allegedly written by Anand Parmar.

We have blacklisted 10 notorious anti-Dalit elements of Gujarat. Please do not be a partner of such vicious, wicked, ill-famed elements.

Martin Mackwan denial: I repeat that I did not attend the conference at Geneva to support the Government of India. I have not defended the brahminical rulers. I did not make any speech to support the Government of India. Neither did I make any written nor oral submission to support the Government.

Indeed at a public meeting convened by Martin Mackwan on June 17, 2001 here Pravin Rashtrapal MP, questioned him before the public as to whether I, (Rameshchandra Parmar) or Bapurao who had made a statement attributed to me at Geneva. Martin Mackwan said that neither Bapurao nor Rameshchandra Parmar had made such statements. I propose to publish this denial by Mackwan in the *Panther News* to nail the falsehood.

What surprises me is that you failed to report this denial of Mackwan. A former ex-Dalit Panther activist

is now engaged in a campaign of vilification against me. My hospitalisation has nothing to do with this vilification campaign against me. There is a calculated campaign to harm my reputation, popularity and prestige.

A well attended public meeting was held on July 15 to felicitate the victims of the anti-reservation caste war launched against the Dalits in 1981 and 1985 and remember the martyrs of the Ambedkarite-Dalit liberation. This was addressed by the MPs, Pravin Rashtrapal, Ramdas Athvale and R.S. Gavi. I presided over the meeting and criticised the Hindu nazis and said globalisation is a threat to Dalit liberation.

DV Aug. 1, 2001 p.6: "Gujarat Dalit Panther chief in controversy on racism"

An eminent jurist upholds DV crusade against India's upper caste racist judiciary

JUSTICE TO THE JUSTICES

An insider criticises the higher judiciary which has faced the wrath of Dalits, Backward Castes, Muslims and other oppressed millions. The judiciary even invited the wrath of the noble President of India. Dr. K.R. Narayanan. Can the Chief Justice of India and his Supreme Court judges, who are accountable to none including Parliament, make appointment of judges? When there is no reservation in higher judiciary, how can social justice be rendered? Who will judge the judges going against social justice?

Why only upper caste judges are appointed? Why Backward Castes and Dalit judges are kept out of the Supreme Court? Why the different Chief Justices brought in their own *jaywads*? Why this Brahmin domination in judiciary? These questions need answers. The booklet is a must for every Dalit, BC and other oppressed sections to understand how the upper castes are using the judiciary to strengthen their fascist rule and subvert social justice. The author wants to remain anonymous.

When the Union Law Minister, Jethmalani, himself was dismissed for criticising the Supreme Court, what about lesser men? The booklet suggests a national commission for judicial appointments so that the higher judiciary becomes democratic and observes social justice and upholds the Constitution of India.

2001 pp. 32 price not marked
Those wanting a copy may send Rs. 4 for postage and packing.
Write to *Dalit Voice* office.

Letters to Editor

Brig. (Retd.) Usman Khalid, 15 - The Hamlet, Champion Hill, London SE5 8 AW, UK: The Agra summit that has just ended could not have been conducted to a better script if Pakistan had been in control. India has shown itself to be not just inept but insane. The efforts for concluding the war in Kashmir started with the ceasefire by Hizbul Mujahideen. But India spurned the opportunity to make peace with them rejecting their condition that Pakistan should be included in talks. India insisted J&K was its internal matter and refused to talk to Pakistan. Then India itself announced a unilateral ceasefire and extended it several times. It kept vague who had been offered the ceasefire. Pakistan responded positively and the firing across the Line of Control in Kashmir was stopped. The Kashmiri leadership — political as well as of Mujahideen — spurned the ceasefire as meaningless until it was backed up with tripartite talks between India, Pakistan and Kashmiri leadership. The invitation to summit by Prime Minister Vajpayee was a complete surprise. It constituted acceptance by India that the J&K was an international dispute between two sovereign states in stark contrast with its earlier stand that it was its internal matter. But India went overboard in welcoming President Musharraf like a prodigal son returning home. It became apparent that India was eager to create an atmosphere underlining that the whole of Pakistan — not just Jammu & Kashmir — was its part (temporarily disconnected) and bilateral talks with Pakistan did not affect its status as an internal matter. It was indeed very brave for Gen. Musharraf to go to India in such circumstances. Benazir as well as Nawaz Sharif had already started to crow that military was being forced to accept the reality of India's power that it advised to defy when the duo were Prime Ministers. If there had been any hint of compromise over the stand of Pakistan that the dispute should be resolved in accordance with UN Security Council Resolutions, the politicians would have gone berserk attacking the military. Allah saved us from their mischief. The Summit focussed the attention of the entire world on the Kashmir issue. The way it ended, it could not be hidden that it was the terrible two of India (Jaswant and Advani) who are principle hurdles in the way of resolution of the dispute. However, the most important gain for Pakistan is that Gen. Musharraf spelt out a process for the resolution of the dispute that is so eminently reasonable and conciliatory that a momentum would develop in its support. The first two stages of the process proposed — summit level talks and

recognition of J&K as international dispute — have been completed. The next stage is to exclude what is not acceptable. The partition of Kashmir is not acceptable to Kashmiris. That leaves independent Jammu & Kashmir or joining Pakistan as the remaining options. Pakistan prefers the latter but can live with the former. It gives me great pleasure to say that my doubts about Musharraf being able to meet the huge challenge of leading a country like Pakistan have proved to be groundless. He has proved to be a consummate politician and a leader with alacrity. I bow my head to Allah and extend warm felicitations to our President on a successful Summit. I pray that Allah continues to guide him and consign the enemies of Pakistan into pits they dig for us.

Dr. Gurmit Singh Aulakh, 1901 - Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Suite 802, Washington, DC 20006, USA: Indian hypocrisy was exposed to the international community when its brahminical rulers refused to mention the word Kashmir during the bilateral talks between Pakistani President Musharraf and Indian Prime Minister Vajpayee. The Indian foreign ministry spokeswoman, Nirupama Rao, did not even list Kashmir among the items discussed. Aides to President Musharraf said that three drafts of a joint statement had been approved by both sides but the Indian Cabinet vetoed them. It is very clear from these actions that India does not want any peaceful solution to the Kashmir issue. India must learn that 54 years of repression in Kashmir which resulted in the murder of over 75,000 Kashmiris and the expenditure of over \$2 billion a year have not extinguished the flame of freedom which is burning in the hearts of the people of Kashmir. India must keep its promise of a plebiscite in Kashmir, which it agreed to in 1948 in a United Nations resolution. India is morally wrong. If India is a democracy, why is it afraid of a vote? How can India justify its invasion and annexation of Hyderabad, where the ruler was a Muslim and the majority population was Hindu, but by the same token in Kashmir the population is Muslim and the ruler was Hindu and India sent the army to maintain its illegal occupation?

Dr. V. Kesavulu, 13706 - Stony Forest, San Antonio, Texas 78231, USA: Thank you for sending me your latest book, *Aggression on Indian Culture*. It is an excellent summary of the current situation in India. One may despair at the suppression and oppression of the people by this microscopic minority of Aryans. But there is no need for it. There is plenty of hope in the Dalit and other caste movements. To this, yours is no mean contribution. The present need is for a unifying force to bring these together to fight the common enemy. I am confident that

it will arise soon in the form of a leader who does not aspire anything for himself but willing to sacrifice everything for the good of the people. He may spring up from any caste but he will be able to make a Mayavati and a Mulayam to give up their egos and unite to work for the good of their people. I am not from Tamil Nadu. But I do keep up with all the news from India. Sure, all the caste-based parties are mushrooming in TN. Karunanidhi is a rank opportunist, and I do not care for his statements. I am a Bangalorean. I was born and bred up in the Cantonment area. After finishing Intermediate at St. Joseph's College in 1944 I joined the Central College, did BSc (Hons.) and MSc in chemistry and worked as a lecturer for six years and then left for the states for my Ph.D. at New York University. After Ph.D. and post-doctoral fellowships at Maryland and Johns Hopkins Universities, I returned to India and spent 12 years at CSIR. Frustrated, I went back to USA in 1975. Since childhood, I have been deeply involved in the Congress movement for freedom, and took active part in the 1942 "Quit India" movement. After "independence" I decided to devote myself to pursue excellence in science so that I could be of use to the country. Surrounded by mediocrity, and unable to do any useful work at CSIR, I had to leave the country in frustration. When I was involved in the "freedom movement" as a young man, I was under the impression that the freedom we were fighting for was for everyone in the country. But it took quite some time for me to realize that the freedom we were seeking was only for the upper castes. But then I saw some hope in the democracy guaranteed by the Constitution. Gradually people will awaken to their rights and fight for their realization. Now with the Hindu nazis at the helm, even this hope is receding. They are bent on subverting the Constitution, brainwashing the young through *hinduisation* of education and spreading superstition through astrology. If they are allowed to continue, they will try every trick at their command to perpetuate the system that keeps them at the top. If they realize that they cannot succeed, then they will not hesitate to sell the country to any power that let them have their privileges. We are passing through a dangerous period. I will visit India in September or October and meet you.

Gama Ram, A-2/4, Paper Mill Colony, Lucknow - 226 006: The Confederation of All-India SC/ST Organisations has given a call to all employees, legislators, businessmen, etc. of SC/ST to donate a day's income to make the historical *Deeksha Samaroh* (Buddhist conversion) of Oct. 14, 2001 a success. I appeal to our

people to donate liberally to make the mission of Babasahab a success. The Confederation has been fighting to safeguard our rights. I am not merely advising others but will donate 15 days pension (my pension is about Rs. 6,000 p.m).

Rizvi Syed Haider Abbas, 390/29/5 - New Model Colony, Rustam Nagar, Lucknow - 226 003: I was apprehensive that you would not be able to make out who I am. There was no question of forgetting people like you. If you permit me to say then you are nothing short of Martin Luther of India. During all these years what has irked me the most was when the *Pioneer* had brought an exclusive on Dalits and there was no reference to you, nor had any one even signalled the yeoman services you have done towards bringing respectability to the most deprived humans: Dalits. Perhaps this Hindu nazi press has become too much scared of you. I am unable to guess the amount of power god has given you that in spite of your age you are still in the ground and very firmly in the mission you have undertaken. Your kind of journalism is what I call journalism with a hammer. You are more of an activist than a journalist I believe. UP has been the terror field since Thakur Rainath Singh coming into power. Thakurs are on the rampage. The whole machinery of state has become almost fascist. My political views are having no space in the "toilet papers", as you call them. The day Phoolan Devi was killed there were celebrations among Thakurs. *Diwali to abke hogi* was the remark. Only Muslims have been able to answer the Thakurs in the same coin (in spite of the whole state oppressing them). In a shoot-out between Mukhtar Ansari, MLA, and Brijesh Singh, brother of MLA Chulbul Singh, has been killed. Although Mukhtar Ansari himself is a mafia but at the same time the attack of Thakurs in Purvanchal UP has been the most heinous and it is the survival of the fittest. I will definitely try to co-ordinate a group. Please remain in touch because you are among the very few whom I respect from the depths of my heart.

Shamsul Islam, 1 - Staff Qrs., Satyawati College Campus, Ashok Vihar, Delhi - 110 052: I am a teacher in the Political Science Dept. in a college of Delhi University. More than that I am involved in journalistic and street theatre activities. The themes are mainly exploitation, communal, caste, gender persecution and cultural de-generation of the great rulers. I have been in touch with the Dalit groups in Pakistan also who are mainly Muslim landless peasants and Christians. I have written extensively in English, Hindi and Urdu about brahminical autocracy. The street theatre group, Nishant,

is known for its cultural fight in defence of reservation and pro-Dalit issues for which I have been attacked many times. During the days of anti-reservation fascism, it was Nishant out on streets with its pro-reservation play — *Takra Naheen Poori Rooni Lenge*. Nishant circulates low priced literature on all these issues. One of our very popular book is *Arakshan Kion Zaroori Hae*. At present we are in a hectic street theatre campaign against sudden spurt of caste persecution in the whole of India. While we were busy in this, Phoolan was also murdered and it is part of our exposure now. Currently I am working on the degenerated *Manu Smriti*. My thesis on the essence of Hindu nazism tries to look at it from a Dalit (and I am proud to be one) perspective. In fact I would like to send it to you so that you can look at it.

M. Naushad Ansari, Post Box No. 1797, Bangalore 560 017: It has been reported that Dr. Ejaz Ali, National Convener of All-India Backward Muslim Morcha, stated that, "if the Uttar Pradesh Govt. concede the demand of Backward Class Muslims for reservation under Article 341, then we are ready to support the BJP in coming Assembly elections of the UP". He further said that nearly 64 lakh Backward Caste Muslims will volunteer to vote for the BJP in forthcoming Assembly election in UP and

DEBATE ON BUDDHISM

Brahminical control over Bodh Gaya

BHANTE PRAJNASHHEEL, MONK-IN-CHARGE, MAHABODHI MAHAVIHAR
BUDDHAGAYA TEMPLE MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE, P.O. GAYA, BIHAR

I am physically fine but in trouble which is created by the brahminical Mahabodhi Society of India's Bodh Gaya centre incharge and joint asst. secretary Sri Lankan monk, Ven. Wimalasara Thero, who filed a case against me and Ven. Bhante Ananda (Agra), member of the committee and national general secretary of Bodh Gaya Mahabodhi Mahavihar All-Indian Liberation Action Committee. I got bail last month but Bhante Ananda is not ready to take the bail, he went to the High Court, Patna.

My three years tenure of secretariship was completed on July 13, 2001. I am waiting for renomination. Local dirty politics and brahminical monks are all against me for the last six years. Every day I am facing problems in the holy land.

Mahabodhi Society of India is a branch of the Hindu nazi outfit VHP and RSS. Its life members are Uma Bharti, BJP Hindu leader, Vinay Katiyar. The head of the Bajrang Dal (monkey army) is Ashok Singhal,

even his Morcha will join with BJP on the common civil code, construction of Ram temple on the site of Babri Masjid etc. (*Amar Ujala*, June 21, 2001). The demand of reservation for Dalit Muslims is justified and was for the first time raised by Aqilati Rabita Council of Bihar headed by Shakil Ahmed Khan a decade ago. Shakil Khan is presently the Law Minister in the Rabri Devi Govt. in Bihar. Various Muslim organisations have been pressing for such a reservation. But the statement of Ejaz Ali shows that he is prepared to barter away the community interest. The question of extending support to Hindu nazis is totally misguided and misconceived. Is Ejaz Ali not aware of the anti-Muslim, anti-Dalit, inhuman and unconstitutional agenda of nazis. Is Ejaz Ali not aware the philosophy of nazis who are on the mission of eliminating Muslim rights and identity, Muslim religious places and culture, Muslim *madrasas* and seminaries, Muslim identity and self-respect. They are bent upon disinvesting and privatising the government establishments with a purpose to deprive employments to Dalits. The nazis are a threat to the very existence of Dalits and Muslims. Dr. Ejaz Ali is a old member of DV family. Will he clarify his statements? ■

leader of VHP and Achary Yugalkishor and former director of World Buddhist Cultural Foundation, and head of Modi group of companies B. K. Modi, who is now vice-president of Mahabodhi Society of India. The present director of World Buddhist Cultural Foundation is Ven. Bhikshu Gyan Jagat who for 16 years was the superintendent and member of Buddha Gaya temple management committee. I need help in our work for the liberation of Mahabodhi Mahavihar, world famous and central place of Buddhism. We are hoping renomination by the Govt. of Bihar.

Of the four Hindu members, one is life member of the Hindu Mahantha, 18th successor of Gosai Ghamandi Giri, follower of Shiva, who occupied the land of the Mahabodhi temple.

About 2,500 years ago Siddharth Goutama attained supreme enlightenment and became the Budha. ■

Bihar leaders demand reservations for "Dalit Muslims"

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: *Dalit Voice* has firmly stood by social justice and supported the demand of every section of the deprived society for its share of human rights in proportion to its population. Our "caste identity" thesis was propounded with such a noble objective.

Dalit Voice has always supported the weaker and the weakest sections not only among Dalits, Backward Castes and Tribals but also among Muslim, Christian and Sikhs.

Dalit Christians: That is how DV has been the first in demanding reservation for Dalit Christians.

Dalit Sikhs have made a big impact and our "Debate on Slow Death of Sikhism" not only criticised casteism among Sikhs but also supported the Dalit-Sikh human rights.

The "Backward Muslims" are a recent entry into our list of social justice crusaders. Mandal Commission has listed several sections among Muslims under the BCs.

DV was again first in the country to take up the demand of Backward Muslims or "Dalit Muslims". We have published several reports on the subject.

Organisations espousing the cause of Backward Muslims are gaining a firm foothold particularly in Bihar with their demand for a separate reservation quota for the "Dalit Muslims". Two such organisations operating with success in Bihar are Pasmamda Muslim Mahaj (PMM) and Backward Muslim Morcha (BMM). Like Hindus, caste-like features also exist among Muslims. Upper caste Muslims have devoured all the fruits of development by exploiting the lower caste Muslims. These organisations are coming up with statistics and figures along with instances to support their point how the majority among the Muslims have been oppressed.

As president of the Pasmamda Muslim Mahaj, Ali Anwar, a journalist-turned activist, says:

"The upper castes like Pathans, Sheikhs, Saiyads and Malliks comprise only 20% of the Muslim population and still have grabbed all the benefits. During the Laloo-Rabri regime, for which the Muslim community, particularly backwards among them form a formidable vote bank, very little has been done for their uplift. During the last 11 years there had been

seven Muslim vice-chancellors but all upper castes. The BPSC and Intermediate Council had several Muslim members but there was not a single Pasmamda. Until and unless the Backward Muslims are mandalised and politicised, their all-round development is not possible", he says.

Dr. Ejaz Ali demand: Backward Muslim Morcha (BMM) whose national convenor, Dr. Ejaz Ali, however does not feel that mandalisation of Muslims was on. He differs with the PMM over creating a division in the Muslim community.

"We don't want a division in the Muslim community. We just want that Dalit Muslims should get the facility of reservation on the basis of Scheduled Castes", he says.

However, lack of unity among these two outfits of Backward Muslims is harming their goal. In fact the two organisations are not able to see eye to eye. The differences also happen to be over political leanings of the two. The PMM is pro-Laloo Prasad while the BMM leans towards the NDA.

Laloo changes track: Laloo Prasad had strongly supported the demand for reservation for Dalit Muslims. Two years back, he only had moved a resolution seeking reservation for Dalit Muslims which was passed unanimously by the State Assembly. The state cabinet too gave its green signal. However, lately he has chosen to move cautiously.

However, the "national" level top Muslim leaders are opposed to the idea of a separate reservation for Dalit Muslims.

Syed Shahbuddin, Obaidullah Khan Azmi, All-India Muslim Personal Law Board and All-India Milli Council have been demanding 10% reservation for the Muslim community as a whole. The Backward Muslim leaders and organisations are opposing this move and feel that this is a ploy to once again snatch the share of the Dalit Muslims. ■

Reference:

DV July 1, 2000 p. 19: "Backward Muslim Morcha spreads to South India" and "Aboriginal Muslims demand Tribal status when Jharkhand is born".

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DV Sept. 16, 1997 p. 11: "Dalit Muslims hail change in DV stand on caste among Muslims".

DV Aug. 16, 1997 p.23: "In defence of Dalit Muslims".

Phoolan's murder: UP's sociological lab will test power of caste

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: *Dalit Voice* has been a greater admirer of Sister Phoolan Devi and we had even described her as India's greatest human rights fighter for women.

We also remember our Editor's visit to the Gwalior Jail on BSP chief Kanshi Ram's request to sound her on contesting Parliament on BSP ticket. The suggestion to field Sister Phoolan was made by the Editor and Kanshi Ram gladly accepted it. What followed is now history.

Strength in caste identity: Phoolan, a victim of Hindu India's deep-rooted caste politics, has proved in her death that the country's road to socialism is only through a bloody caste war and more caste war. And that to wage such a "caste war" against the minority but powerful upper castes, who today became rulers with our consent, the oppressed Dalits, Backward Castes, Tribals etc., who are in a big majority, will have to strengthen themselves through "caste identity". This is the lesson left by Phoolan in her tragic death in Delhi on July 25, 2001.

Phoolan, a Backward Caste Mallah, was shot dead by the Thakurs. Doesn't matter. Thakurs form only 12% of the UP population. They have joined the *Brahmana Jati Party* (BJP) to protect their *jati* interests. They have forgotten the dwarf Brahmin Parasurama's crime of slaughtering the entire race of Thakurs (Kshatriyas). Brahmins form 13% of the population. Together, the two form 25% to which has to be added the minuscule Baniyas, Kayasths and Jats. Put together all these upper castes do not come up to even 35% of the state population.

Thakurs beware: The rest are our people. Dalits alone come to about 23%, Muslims 17%, Yadavas 9%. Then there are many other BC *jatis*, Tribals etc. All these are deprived *jatis* which have nothing to lose except their chains. It is now their turn to establish their self-respect.

The Brahmins, Thakurs, Baniyas, Kayasths and Jats became rulers by consolidating their *jati* through "caste identity".

The Thakurs got the courage to kill Phoolan only when their *jatiwala*

Rajnath Singh became the Chief Minister of UP. The Thakurs must be now ready to face the music.

Media menace: The upper castes are thriving and ruling only by dividing the Dalits, BCs and Muslims. The brahminical media is playing a leading role in keeping us divided and perpetuating this unjust brahminical rule.

The state of UP is the country's sociological laboratory to experiment the power of "caste identity" under the leadership of our able Social Scientist Kanshi Ram.

The time has come for the deprived SC/ST/BCs and Muslims to ponder on all these issues and seriously plan to challenge this unjust upper caste rule. If this caste-ridden racist Brahminical Social Order has to end then Phoolan's spirit has to be restored. Only such an action will be the most fitting tribute to the departed Sister Phoolan who died for us. UP elections are coming. This is the right time to show our strength.

Muslims oppose Ladakh Buddhists

Leh: The demand to make Ladakh a union territory (UT) is confined to the Buddhists of Leh district and it is losing momentum with the opposition from the majority Muslims. The Muslim population in the Ladakh region is 1,11,729 while the Buddhist population is 1,5,956. But the president of the Ladakh Buddhists Association (LBA), Tsering Samphel, who frequents Jammu and Delhi rather than Srinagar, says "we are talking on behalf of the entire Ladakh". (*Hindu*, Aug. 8, 2001).

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India's national anthem is anti-national?

INDERPREET SINGH, 79 GRANT ST. #1, SOMERVILLE, MA 02145-1926, US

I don't now if you already know the secrets behind the Indian national anthem. Take a good look at what Indian anthem has to say.

The national anthem **Jana Gana Mana**, is sung throughout the country. But it is very surprising but common that most of us have never paid heed to actually understand it correctly. Please go through it again and decide yourself.

Fifty years of "independence" have come to pass and now nearly 1,000 million Indians take pride in singing their national anthem, it is amazing that most are not aware of its background and meaning.

Think – its our country and whom do we praise? To begin with this song was written by Rabindranath Tagore in praise of King George V and the Queen of England when they visited India in 1919.

To honour their visit Pundit Motilal Nehru, the Kashmiri Brahmin father of Jawahar Lal Nehru, had the five stanzas included which are in praise of the King and Queen. But most of us think it is in praise of our great motherland.

Who is Bhagya Vidhata: The **Jana Gana Mana Adhinayaka Jaya He**. He implies victory for King George who is the lord of the

masses (**Adhinayak**) and **Bharat Bhagya Vidhata** is the "bestower of good fortune".

In the original Bengali verse only those provinces that were under British rule (Punjab, Sindh, Gujarat, Maratha, Dravid, Utkal, Bang etc.) were mentioned. None of the princely states were recognized which are integral parts of India now – Kashmir, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Andhra, Mysore or Kerala. Further it mentions Vindhya, Himachal, Yamuna and Ganga but neither the Indian Ocean nor the Arabian Sea were included, since they were directly under the Portuguese rule

being the charioteer, for leading the ancient travelers beyond misery.

4th stanza:
Drowned in the deep ignorance and suffering, poverty stricken, unconscious country? Waiting for the wink of your eyes and your mother's (the Queen's) true protection.

5th stanza:
In your compassionate plans, the sleeping Bharat (India) will wake up. We bow down to your feet O, queen, and glory to Rajeshwara (the king).

DV Oct.1, 1994 p.22: "Tagore anti-national!"
DV Sept.15, 1992 p.7: "Anti-national National Anthem!"

at that time. Following is a translation of the five stanzas which glorify the British King:

1st stanza:
Tav shubh naame jaage:
(Indian) people wake up remembering your good name.

Tav Shubb ashish munge:
And ask for your blessings.

Gahe tav jai gaatha: and they sing your glories.

2nd stanza:
Around your throne people of all religions come and give their love and anxiously wait to hear your kind words.

3rd stanza:
Praise to the King for

This whole poem does not indicate any love for the motherland but depicts a bleak

picture. When you sing **Jana Gana Mana Adhinayaka** whom are you glorifying? Certainly not the motherland. Is it god? The poem does not indicate that. It is time now to understand the original purpose and the implication of this, rather than blindly sing as has been done the past 50 years. Nehru chose the present national anthem as opposed to **Vande Mataram** because he thought that it would be easier for the band to play. It was an absurd reason but today for that matter bands have advanced and they can very well play any music.

"Caste identity" movement spreads forcing every jati to claim proportional share

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Oppressed sections, whose very thinking capacity itself is crushed by the Aryan brahminical rulers, take a long, long time to realise that their blood is being sucked by some one else and that they are growing weaker day by day. When thinking itself has stopped in "Hindu India" how can the oppressed sections get angry? Even to get angry it needs strength. This is the human nature all over the world but the situation gets more complicated and complex when it comes to "Hindu India" ruled by the world's most wicked set of nazis.

Here in India thinking is reserved for the top 15% ruling upper castes who again are led by the *vaidik* perverted wicked brains.

Luxury of thinking: The rest of them are beasts of burden. They slog from morning to night without a murmur and then only they can eat for the day. How can such a people afford to indulge in the luxury of thinking? It is because of this reason the DV met with some resistance when it propounded its famous "caste identity" thesis which is today rocking the whole country.

After a prolonged Debate (DV Edit Dec.16, 1993:

"*Strengthen every jati, brahminism will wither away*") the entire DV family came to accept the thesis. The critics have been silenced by the fast moving developments triggered by elections which brought caste to the fore and made the oppressed castes to realise the power in their caste and hence the need for caste consolidation.

Backward Muslims: And today we are proud to announce that the more exploited sections among the Scheduled Castes and Backward Castes have come to realise the importance of "caste identity" and the benefits accruing out of this.

Not only that, even "Backward Muslims" have started shouting for a separate quota (DV Edit Jan.16, 1996: "*Cow belt Moulanas opposing Backward Muslim demand for reservations*").

The Andhra Pradesh Madigas (Chamars) showed the

way to the whole country by their heroic battle though the upper castes tried to exploit their struggle to their advantage. Doesn't matter.

A nation within nation: According to our "caste identity" thesis, each *jati* (subcaste) among the SC/ST/BCs is an independent, separate and distinct ethnic identity. We have gone to the extent of even declaring each *jati* as a separate "nation". Hence each *jati* must get its share of human rights (reservations) in proportion to its population.

Even the upper castes, despite being our oppressors, are entitled for their share of human rights but only in proportion to the population of each jati among the upper castes. "This is the great principle behind the "caste identity" thesis.

BSP support: Bahujan Samaj Party, the country's most important Dalit political outfit, was the first in India to realise the importance of our thesis. (DV Aug.1,

A 150-page book elaborating our "caste identity" thesis is under publication. A famous publishing house connected with an international organisation headquartered in London has taken up the responsibility of publishing our book — EDITOR.

2001 p.10: "BSP supports DV demand for proportional share"). BSP leader Mayawati has also given a clear message that her party is ready to support reservation within reservation for the Most Backward Castes with a vengeance. Recent expulsion of two BSP leaders from the party belonging to the Kurmi and Pasi *jatis* was because these advanced BC leaders opposed Mayawati's support for reservation within reservation. Since every *jati* (nation) is entitled for its share, the deprived *jatis* will be able to assert and fight for their share only when those *jatis* become **conscious** of their deprivation. They will become conscious only when they realise the importance of its *jati*. This is what we mean by "caste identity".

Pride in your caste, therefore, is the beginning of caste consciousness. The upper castes have come up only through such a route. Every upper caste *jati* is today proud of its *jati*. They hold regular meetings of their *jatwalas*. Yet the very same upper castes are brainwashing our deprived *jatis* to conduct "caste annihilation" conferences. And some unthinking

people among us fall prey to such Aryan tricks and start criticising us. But because of our prolonged campaign for "caste identity", thousands of caste conferences have been held. And more castes are coming forward to claim their share.

The DV thesis is now spreading like a wild fire. The Karnataka Madigas (Chamars) are also demanding "categorisation" of SC reservation on the lines done in the neighbouring Andhra Pradesh.

Opposition to the Madiga demand is very strong but we are sure the Madigas will ultimately win because their demand is just.

Rajasthan movement: In Rajasthan, the advanced BCs like the Jats, Vishnois and some other castes are opposing reservation within reservation.

The bone of contention is the ninth report of a Commission in which the BCs have been divided into three categories — backward, more backward and most backward — and recommending for them a 6, 7 and 8% of reservation respectively. This is being opposed by stronger sections among BCs.

Caste-based census: The Backward Caste Commission has categorised the Other Backward Classes into three sections. The Jats are resenting reduction of their share of reservation, being relegated to a 6% category.

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- DV Jan. 16, 2000 p.8: "Dalit scientist in US congratulates DV for winning caste identity Debate".
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Meanwhile, the UP Govt. has decided to conduct a caste-based census of the state population to make an assessment of the impact of reservation facilities granted to Dalits and BCs. The census would be the basis for implementing policy to create reservation within reservation to serve the interests of the "Most Dalits" and "Most Backwards" among sections enjoying reservation benefits.

How to gain political power: Besides conducting the census, the caste-wise position of employment in government jobs will be studied. For this the exact number of persons employed in Class I, II, III and IV services would be counted. This alone could give an idea of which castes had failed to reap the benefits of reservation.

The Govt. of India dominated by the upper castes refused to accept caste-based census enumeration (DV June 16, 1999 p.21: "Goodbye to caste census") fearing that such an enumeration would expose the humbug of job reservation.

All state govts. must now follow the example of UP and take up caste-based census in their respective states. "Caste identity" will lead to caste consolidation which in turn will help the particular caste to gain political power. "Caste identity" will strengthen each "nation" which in turn will strengthen the multinational India that is Bharat.

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- DV March 16, 1996 p.9: "Is caste abolition possible?"
- DV Edit Dec. 16, 1993: "Strengthen every jati, brahminism will wither away".

Pasi scholar in US congratulates Mayawati & DV

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

Sister Mayawati has come out in support of the stand taken by *Dalit Voice* Editor, V.T. Rajshekar. (DV Aug. 1, 2001 p. 10: "*BSP supports DV demand for proportional share*").

The BSP leader has favoured segmentation of Dalits for better distribution of Dalit quota.

In fact Mayawati should have favoured categorisation of Dalits into four layers as done in AP or perhaps even more layers and segmentation of BCs into six or more segments as done in Karnataka. Perhaps, she wants the demands to come from below rather than taking an egalitarian position without being pushed. Well, something is better than nothing.

Shut out upper castes: But these segmentations have to be coupled with another change of rule: that if the quota for a certain layer does not get filled, it would not be thrown open for the general (or the so-called upper caste). That the unfilled quota of a segment economically and educationally segment would be

COMMUNICATION

Aryan domination in Nepal

GOPAL GURUNG, PO BOX 2828, KATHAMANDU, NEPAL

This refers to your report: "*Question marks over Nepal massacre*" (DV July 1, 2001 p.17).

The present constitution of Nepal is nothing more than a tripartite agreement of palace, Congress and so-called communist (then UML) Bahun-Chetri. It has neglected 80% non-Hindu, indigenous (*mulbasi*) Mongol. So, it is not acceptable to us. We *mulbasi* (indigenous) Mongol are not *adibasi* (migrated) and *janjati* (gypsy) or *banjara* and *firingay*. *Adibasi* and *janjati* (migrated as well as gypsy) are not *mulbasi* (indigenous). These people are cheating not only in global politics but also the innocent *mulbasi*.

The existing constitution (tripartite agreement of the above mentioned parties) are absolutely dreadful to our *mulbasi* (indigenous) people and it has made us not only homeless but also countryless. It has reserved Hindu Aryan right of Bahun-Chetri but it has ignored the birthright of the majority *mulbasi* (indigenous). Article 112-113 (3) cannot be imposed on non-Hindu *mulbasi* Mongol, Budhist, Christian, Muslim and Sikh.

added to the quota of the next higher segment on the caste hierarchical ladder.

In other words, unfilled quota of extreme Dalits would get added to that of non-extreme Dalits. Otherwise the upper castes (Hindus) will end up gaining from failures of the lower castes.

Kurmis & Pasis: Kurmis are economically and educationally at the top of BCs. On the other hand, Pasis are at the top of Dalit hierarchy.

No wonder Barkhu Ram Verma (Kurmi) and R.K. Choudhry (Pasi) opposed categorisation.

The hypocritical leaders of the creamy layer castes want their castes to hog all the benefits of reservation, with nothing left for the lower layers. They have no qualms talking with the two sides of their mouth.

Hearty congratulations to Mayawati. And the heartiest one reserved for V.T. Rajshekar. ■

GOPAL GURUNG, PO BOX 2828, KATHAMANDU, NEPAL

This code can be applied only to Hindu castes (*jat*) Bahun, Chetri, Baisa and Sudra and other subcastes or *jat* of Hindu society, i.e. *janjati*, *banjara*, *firingay* (gypsy), *karni* (black-smith), *damaal* (tailor), *sarki* (cobbler) and scavenger (metar). These subcastes are Untouchable in Hindu society. But surprisingly this 113 (1) was imposed on me, as I have mentioned above I am not a Hindu. The Election Commission at a glance refused to accept application of Mongol National Organization (MNO) and later on refused its birth rights, human rights and justice.

There are no human rights in Nepal. Because there is racial discrimination in all areas between migrated (*adibasi*) Hindu Aryan and indigenous (*mulbasi*) Mongol, between Hindu and non-Hindu. It has created nothing more than disharmony that would invite grave situation in future.

Nepal's national flag, national mantra, national dress, calendar, all are anti-national, so the concerning authority should think seriously over it. ■

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