

DALIT VOICE

LIBRARY
INDIAN SOCIAL INSTITUTE
24, BENSON ROAD,
BENSON TOWN
BANGALORE - 560 046

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities Denied Human Rights

Vol.16

September 16 - 30, 1997

No.21

■ DV proves right on Rajiv Gandhi murder: Chanakya's hand in international conspiracy ?

■ Editor visits Patna
■ Dalit scholar made VC

Debate on Jati identity

- *Dalit unity possible only by recognising the divisions*
- *No right to criticise Brahmins by retaining brahminism within us*
- *DV prediction on jati identity proves right*
- *Caste consolidation will divide Dalits*
- *Kanshi Ram supports jati identity*
- *"Jati Debate" must avoid personal attacks*
- *Bangalore seminar on "jati identity"*

Editor & Publisher: V.T.RAJESHEKAR
Representatives:
Madras: DALIT EZHILMALAI
Calicut: V. PRABHAKARAN
Vijayawada: K.VIJAYA RAJU
Bangalore: Dr. N. SIRAJUDDIN
United States: RUNOKO RASHIDI
Circulation: A. PATRICK
Production Editor: M.GOPINATH
Sales & Distribution: HEMLATA

■ Dalit Muslims hail DV on caste ameng Muslims

■ Govt. promoting Hinduism?
■ Dalit chief for BJP ?

Direct action only forces Hindus to change:
Thus Spake Ambedkar

Thus Spake Ambedkar

Direct action alone forces a Hindus to change

"In my opinion there can be two distinct methods of approaching the task of uplifting the Depressed Classes. There is a school which proceeds on the assumption that the fate of the individual belonging to the Depressed Classes is bound up with his personal conduct. If he is suffering from want and misery it is because he must be vicious and sinful. Starting from this hypothesis, this school of social workers concentrates all its efforts and its resources on fostering personal virtue by adopting a programme which includes items such as temperance, gymnasium, co-operation, libraries, schools etc., which are calculated to make the individual a better and virtuous to this problem. In my opinion there is also another method of approach to this problem. It starts with the hypothesis that the fate of the individual is governed by his environment and the circumstances he is obliged to live under and if an individual is suffering from want and misery it is because his environment is not propitious.

"I have no doubt that of the two views the latter is the more correct. The former may raise a few stray individuals above the level of the class to which they belong. It cannot lift the class as a whole. My view of the aim of the Anti-Untouchability League is that it has come into existence not for helping a few individuals at random or a few selected boys belonging to the Depressed Classes but for raising the whole class to a higher level. Consequently I would not like the private virtue. I would like the Board to concentrate all its energies on a programme that will effect a change in the social environment of the Depressed Classes. Having stated in general terms my views I venture to place some concrete proposals for work to be undertaken by the League.

"I think the first thing that the League should undertake is a campaign all over India to secure to the Depressed Classes the enjoyment of their civic rights such as taking water from the village wells, entry in village schools, admission to village chawdi, use of public conveyance etc.

"Such a programme if carried into village will bring about the necessary social revolution in the Hindu society without which it will never be possible for the Depressed Classes to get equal social status. The Board must however know what difficulties it will have to face if this campaign of civic rights is to be carried through. Here I can speak from experience because I as President know what happened when the Depressed Classes Institute and the Social Equality League launched such a plan in the Kolaba and Nasik Districts of the Bombay Presidency.

"First of all there will be riots between the Depressed Classes and the Caste Hindus which will result in breaking heads and in criminal prosecutions of one side or the other. In this struggle the Depressed Classes will suffer badly. There has not been a single case in the course of the social struggle carried on in this two districts in which the Police and the Magistracy have come to the rescue of the Depressed Classes even when justice was on their side. Secondly the villages will proclaim a complete boycott of the Depressed Classes the moment they see that the latter are trying to reach a status of equality along with them.

"I have mentioned only two of the many obstacles which the League will have to overcome if this campaign of civic rights is to be successful and the League will have to have an army of workers in the rural parts who will encourage the Depressed Classes to fight for their rights and who will help them in any legal proceedings arising therefrom to a successful issue. It is true that this programme involves social disturbances and violent scuffle. But I do not think that it can be avoided. I know the alternative policy of adopting the line of least resistance. I am convinced that it will be ineffective in the matter of uprooting untouchability.

"The silent infiltration of rational ideas among the ignorant mass of Caste Hindus cannot, I am sure, work for the salvation of the Depressed Classes. First of all the Caste Hindu like all human beings follows his customary conduct in observing untouchability towards the Depressed Classes. Ordinarily, people do not give up their customary mode of behaviour because somebody is preaching against it.

"The salvation of the Depressed Classes will come only when the Caste Hindu is made to think and is forced to feel that he must alter his ways. For that you must create a crisis by direct action against his customary code of conduct. The crisis will compel him to think and once he begins to think he will be more ready to change than he is otherwise likely to be.

"The great defect in the policy of least resistance and silent infiltration of rational ideas lies in this that they do not 'compel' for they do not produce crisis. The direct action in respect of the Chowdar tank in Mahad, the Kalaram temple in Nasik and the Gurusvayur temple in Malabar have done in a few days what million days of preaching by reformers would never have done. (To be continued)

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Vol. 5, (pages 367-369) 1989. Govt. of Maharashtra, Bombay. The book may be had from Director, Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay - 400 004.

DV proves right on Rajiv Gandhi murder: Chanakya's hand in international conspiracy ?

DV has proved right on the murder of Rajiv Gandhi (DV Edit June 16, 1991: "Thoughts on Rajiv Gandhi murder" and July 1, 1991 p.21: "Who killed Rajiv Gandhi?").

The popular impression created in and outside India about the former Prime Minister's cold-blooded murder on May 21, 1991 near Madras was that this ghastly crime was committed by the Tamil Tigers (LTTE). And these Tigers are the enemies of the Tamil *papans* and the Indian ruling upper castes. Rajiv Gandhi was tricked by these very rulers to declare a war on the Tigers and send the Indian Army (IPKF) into Lanka to "crush" the LTTE. But the LTTE fighting force, comprising a mere 2,000-strong young Tamil boys and girls, defeated what is boasted as the world's fourth largest army. Indian rulers ate dust in Lanka and retreated shamelessly.

Defame & destroy LTTE: Ever since then the Indian rulers were hell bent to defame and destroy the LTTE and at last they got an opportunity in Rajiv's murder at Stripambudur when the "national" toilet papers quickly and loudly proclaimed that the Tigers assassinated Rajiv and made the whole world believe that it was the handiwork of LTTE.

If it was the LTTE that indeed murdered Rajiv, the Indian rulers should be naturally happy to provide all information to the M.C. Jain Commission inquiring into this murder from Aug. 23, 1991, over seven years. The Govt. of India headed by the notorious anti-LTTE *Chanakya* and surrounded by his handpicked *vaidiks* should have gone out of the way to help the Jain Commission to indict the LTTE.

But the Chanakya refused to hand over every secret file pertaining to this murder to the commission. Why? Here lies the whole mystery, and here lies the correctness of our prediction made in our above-referred two pieces in 1991.

Since our "national" toilet papers are also part of this conspiracy of silence and suppression in this Rajiv murder case, their much-publicised capacity for investigative reporting failed - though all the top newspaperwalas knew the hands behind this murder. The wily Chandrashekar, who was the

Prime Minister during the Rajiv murder, *Chanakya's* blue-eyed *vaidik* boy, Dr. Subramanian Swamy, his *tantrik*-tout, Chandraswamy, were the names that often figured in the toilet papers as those in the know of things. Why none came forward to reveal the secrets of the Tigers involvement?

Of course, Rajiv murder was not the first one to be shrouded in mystery. Rajiv's mother, Indira Gandhi's murder met with the same fate. At least three high-powered judicial commissions headed by sitting judges of the Supreme Court went into Indira murder and met with all sorts of stonewalling. And even as the "national" press tried its best to make the gullible reading public forget about this murder, her son was assassinated. In both the cases, the truth did not officially come out.

Fence eating crop: Apart from the many judicial commissions that probed Indira's and Rajiv's murders, many more judicial commissions inquiring into the economic offences, bank and share market scams all met with the same fate. Truth never comes out in India wherever the ruling upper castes are the culprits.

Because in India the thief, policeman, prosecutor, judge, the jailer and the hangman are all combined in one person - the upper caste ruler. Who can probe the crimes of the rulers - let alone punishing them? It is like the fence eating the crop in India.

The Jain Commission also met with the same fate and poor Justice Milap Chand Jain is a sad man today because he failed in his mission.

Satyameva jayate: In a country where the rulers are never tired of boasting *Satyameva Jayate*, truth is the biggest casualty. Truth is never allowed to come out because India's upper caste (Aryans) rulers live on a mountain of lies. This is another story.

What did we say in our July 1, 1991 story on Rajiv:

If this crime is not committed by the Tigers who else has done it? The only answer is the culprits will be those who stand to gain the most by killing Rajiv. Who are they? When Rajiv was killed only the first phase of the mini-general election was over. The brahminical press through its manufactured "opinion poll" had predicted a victory

to the Congress headed by Rajiv. The entire Aryan upper castes were wanting this. The Hindus believe what they want to believe. They believed that V.P. Singh was against their *jati* interests and to keep him out, they wanted to bring the Congress. The way Rajiv's death was treated by the media and the govt. looked as if Rajiv died as a PM.

International conspiracy: The upper castes/ Aryans no doubt mounted perhaps their most noisy and most expensive election campaign in the history of India. A no-holds-barred vilification campaign was launched against the Muslims. But heart-of-heart they knew that the masses of people were against them. This was because the country had been already neatly divided into Aryan and non-Aryan: *Bandals* versus *Mandals*. The Aryan *Bandals*, opposing the *Mandals*, were on one side and those original inhabitants of India wanting the *Mandal* were going with VP's Janata Dal-National Front. Never before the country was so clearly and neatly divided. In fact, this was the country's first issue-based election. The first phase of the election was just over. It was clear that the tide was against the Aryan races. The second and the third phase would be much worse for the Aryans. So, the big brains among them were deeply worried that democracy was ruining the Aryan interests in India. Dravidian sources who are in the know of things in the Congress Party say that international White racist and Zionist forces at this crucial juncture contacted some select Hindu nazi leaders and sold this idea, promising a Nazi Raj. We don't know how far this theory is true but many Congress leaders belonging to the pre-Aryan races sincerely believe it is an international plot that felled Rajiv.

Congress Party sources who subscribe to this theory say that it may look very much in the realm of speculation but sound plausible. If Hindu Nazis in collusion with white racists and Zionists have done this job, all this inquiry will be a farce. Nothing will come to light.

This is what we had said in 1991, over six years ago. Reports in the "national" toilet papers appearing in 1997 confirm the fears expressed in our above (1991) report.

Different Govt. of India investigative agencies have refused to cooperate with the Jain Commission only because of the reason that the hands of *vaidiki* forces are clearly visible.

Hand of Mossad: "Copies of the wireless messages intercepted by the intelligence agencies about the alleged links of Chandraswami, the LTTE, the Israeli intelligence agency, Mossad, the CIA and some Indian politicians were withheld from the Jain Commission". (*Indian Express*, Aug. 21, 1997).

Who are these politicians? Obviously, those who stood to gain by the Rajiv murder which helped the then dying Congress Party to win the votes by creating a big sympathy wave that put *Chanakya* on the Delhi throne.

If LTTE has murdered Rajiv, why the *Chanakya* refused to supply all the relevant records? What is *Chanakya's* interest in suppressing the truth? And all this has made the Jain Commission to directly blame the *Chanakya* himself for blocking the inquiry. (*Hindustan Times* Aug. 24, 97). The Commission report to be submitted to the govt. shortly is likely to hold the *Chanakya* responsible for putting all sorts of hurdles and withholding all secret documents.

Sonia's tapasya: Why? What is Chankaya's interest in sabotaging the inquiry? Will the spineless Gujral Govt. have the courage to publish at least the Jain Commission's explosive findings when it is submitted? How to get at Truth in India where lies are advertised as truth and vice-versa. Now that Sonia Gandhi has come to the centre stage after six year's of enforced *tapasya*, will she force her party (Congress) on whose support Gujral Govt. depends to reveal the secrets? Those responsible for her husband's murder are not only her enemies but the enemies of the whole country and the people.

DV proves right on Rajiv's murder.

DV Editor to open Patna Avarna writers' meet on Sept. 28

BHOLA PRASAD SINGH, EX-MINISTER OF BIHAR, Rd. NO.6, RAJENDRA NAGAR, PATNA - 800 016

We have organised a two-day "All-India Avarna Sahityakar Sammelan" at Patna on Sept.28 and 29, 1997 which you have agreed to inaugurate.

The conference will discuss the strategies and tactics to promote the *Avarna* (non-Hindu) writers and journalists so that they may be able to effectively fight the existing "national" toilet papers run by upper caste (*varna*) racists, spreading poison in the whole country. Preparation has begun in full swing and through DV we request all organisations, individuals (SC/ST/BGs and Muslim/Christian and Sikhs), who are all victims of this Brahminical literature and media, to attend this conference.

The other conveners of the conference are Shankar Prasad Tekriwal, Finance Minister of Bihar, Shyam Prit Singh, Munshi Prasad and Budha Sharan Hans. Telephone 673 705 (Patna).

Noted Dalit scholar made VC

S.S. YADAV, TECHNICAL SECRETARY TO VICE-CHANCELLOR, C.S. AZAD UNIVERSITY OF AGRICULTURE & TECHNOLOGY, KANPUR - 208 002

Dr. Ram Nath, a senior member of your DV family worldwide and author of the famous book, *Dalit-Muslim Unity - Why & How?* (Dalit Sahitya Akademy, 1995), has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of this prestigious university. Dr. Ram Nath (1940) was born in a small village of Etawah dt. (UP). At the age of 12, he worked on a paddy field at four annas a day 10 km. away from his village and did *begar* (labour without payment) for the landlords. Some Brahmin teachers warned him that he (an Untouchable) should not take to education as it was prohibited by their *dharmastras*. When he was in 5th class, he started rendering *Kubir Katha* in place of *Satyanaayan Katha* which was a flourishing business of Brahmins.

He suffered hunger and starvation and was not allowed by the upper castes to sit on their cots. Like all other Untouchables, he was a victim of racism.

Love from Muslims: Even at the Islamia Intermediate College, Etawah, he was being persecuted by the Brahmin teachers but a Muslim teacher had lot of affection and respect as Babasahab Ambedkar received at Columbia University. He lived in a room at Rawak Hostel for four years, the room once occupied by Dr. Zakir Husain. Muslim teachers played an important role in his life and shaping his career.

He passed B.Sc. (Ag.) in 1958 from Amar Singh Jat College, Lakhawati, Bulandsahar, where he was not allowed to live in the college hostel. He was forced to live in a Dalit village where he cut fodder to meet his expenses. In 1962, he passed M.Sc. (Ag.) in plant pathology from the then Govt. Agriculture College, Kanpur, which has now become the Chandra Shekhar Azad University of Agriculture and Technology, Kanpur.

Contact with DV: He was given the lowest marks in all practicals but he maintained his rank by securing higher marks in theory. Hindus got higher marks in the practicals.

From 1962 to 1973, he was incharge of the Plant Protection Centre as a plant pathologist in various districts of the state. From 1973 to 1982, he served as Associate Professor in Plant Pathology Dept., and from 1982 as Professor and did his Ph.D. in 1981.

In 1982, a student gave him a copy of *Dalit Voice* with which, he instantly fell in love and became a frequent contributor. An Editorial note under one of his Letters, V.T. Rajshekar said: "Our people must be courageous enough to speak the truth". Only after reading this, he gathered courage to write fearlessly. From 1973 to 1976, for three years, he was not even provided a separate chamber, laboratory facilities and an attendant. On

meeting Jagjivan Ram, the then Union Agriculture Minister, the required facilities were provided.

Contact with Kanshi Ram: He bagged several academic distinctions. In 1982, he participated in a BAMCEF study class by Ram Khobragade.

Due to the tremendous inspiration from the writings of the DV Editor and the philosophy of Kanshi Ram, Dr. Ram Nath has attained this height.

He came into contact with Kanshi Ram (1982) who used to stay at his residence. So far, he has written over 100 articles in Hindi in *Bahujan Sangathak* besides 12 books. To be the VC of the oldest and the most prestigious Agriculture University with 400 faculty members is a great privilege indeed. This is the blessings of Babasahab and Kanshi Ram, and the Editor of DV. Ultimately the sole credit goes to his upper caste teachers and bosses who used to persecute him and curbed the growth at every stage without which he would have simply retired as a farm labour.

Dalit centre at Christian college

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Dharmaram Vidya Kshetram (DVK), a Roman Catholic institution which awards graduate, PG and doctoral degrees in philosophy, Indian Culture and Theology, has just started a Centre for Dalit Solidarity (CDS). It is a joint movement of both the Dalits and non-Dalits to develop a national solidarity of all Dalits irrespective of their caste, language and religion.

"It aims at creating dynamic groups of students and youth with a vision of a just and new society. To achieve this goal it promotes the study of the religious, socio-economic, political and cultural aspects of the life of Dalits in India. The Centre also plans to work for the reservation benefits for all deserving castes irrespective of their religious affiliation and to find out ways and means to fight caste discrimination inside the church", a CDS press note said.

Regional centres will be located at Dharmaram College, Bangalore - 560 029 and CMI Provincial House, P.B. No. 648-Kottayam - 686 001. CDS will work mainly with Kerala Dalits. Dr. Thomas Kadankavil is the Director of CDS.

The Editor of *Dalit Voice*, V.T. Rajshekar, addressed the inaugural function of the CDS here on Aug. 24 and said Dharmaram College, a Syrian Christian Institution, was 15 years late in entering the Dalit field. However, he welcomed the change in the Hindu thinking of the Dharmaram and assured full support to the CDS. ■

Every Dalit subcaste must get share without dividing Dalits

Dr. VELU ANNAMALAI, THE INTERNATIONAL DALIT SUPPORT GROUP, P.O. BOX 842066, HOUSTON, TEXAS 77284-2066, USA

This has ref. to the Editor's reply (p. 11) to my article "Wanted not jati identity but Dalit identity" (DV Aug. 1 197 p. 10).

I do not disagree with our Editor's ultimate goal, but I do only on the intermediate process. I very strongly believe that we should not do anything to increase the gulf that has already been created but certainly exists between the various subcastes (for lack of a better word), and "jati identity" will definitely harm what little gain that has been achieved in this matter. Focusing on "jati identity" instead of "Dalit identity", will certainly invite the enemy camp to further exploit the situation and our glibble and self-centered leaders will readily fall prey to their schemes which will be terribly counter-productive and will take the community backwards from Dalit unity.

Never allow energy: I never¹ said that proportional representation should take a backseat. Our Editor is one 100% correct that all the subcastes should get their due share, "their proportional representation". I also fully agree with another reader's suggestion that the word "reservation" should be replaced by "proportional representation."

But under the present conditions in India, if all the

How to give proportional share without dividing people?

Happy to note that Brother Velu has admitted the need to give representation to each Dalit subcaste in proportion to its population. The problem is the moment he says this he will face the charge of "dividing Dalits" by those sections who have already cornered benefits of reservations.

Dr. Velu wants "proportional representation without dividing Dalits". How it is possible to implement the first part of his proposition, without "dividing" the Dalits as the AP Govt. did it now and the Punjab Govt. did some years ago? The Karnataka Govt. has also taken a census of different Dalit subcastes following pressure from the Madigas that the Holeyas are "cornering" the reservation

Dalit subcastes get themselves divided to get their "dure share", these subcastes will be fighting with each other, as there is no system in force today to achieve this goal.

Instead, all the true Dalit leaders should get together and devise a way without our enemy's interference. As a great African-American Historian, Dr. John Henrik Clarke, said that "never allow outsiders to settle your family problems, and if you do so, that will be the end of your family as a family". So what I am saying is that the so-called "jati identity" will greatly harm the Dalit unity unless both are done together hand and hand, otherwise it will reinforce the division between the sub-castes for ever. What we need is to devise a method that will give all the subcastes their proportional representation without dividing them. Rather, it should be uniting them as blood brothers and sisters.

Dalits not Hindus: There is only one way that I can think of and that is to teach the Dalits that they are not Hindus, they were never Hindus and they will never be Hindus, and they are one group of people cunningly divided by our enemy, and that they should physically and more so mentally be liberated from this obnoxious caste-ridden Hindu following.

benefits. The census report is suppressed feading the Holeya agitation that the "govt. is trying to divide the Dalits."

Dr. Velu must explain us how to give proportional representation without dividing Dalits. The very concept of reservation is based on bifurcating (dividing) Dalits from Hindus, the enemies of our reservation.

The upper caste accusation is that the Mandal Commission and SC/ST constitutional reservations are trying to divide Hindu unity.

All those who fight for proportional representation will have to face the charge of dividing the society. Without dividing you cannot unite. - EDITOR.

No right to criticise Brahmins by retaining brahminism within us

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: "Jati identity debate", now going on in full swing in DV, was actually inaugurated by Brother Bojja Tarakam, the respected Dalit leader of AP (DV July 16, 1996 p. 6: Call to strengthen each jati goes against Babasahb's call!)"

Bojja, who once led the (now divided) powerful AP Dalit Mahasabha, was replying to our Editor's signed article "Is caste abolition possible?"

(DV March 16, 1996 p. 9), which was an elaboration of our thesis presented in our Editorial of DV Dec. 16, 1993: "Strengthen every jati, brahminism will wither away". In DV itself we had several time requested Bojja to send his reaction to the year-long Debate on "Jati identity" but he was silent. From Sister

Akhieswar's report we now get the reason for his silence. As a Mala, he took the side of his subcaste. Bojja's dignified silence may be appreciable but what we cannot understand is some Mala leaders getting worked up and making personal attacks against the Editor of DV.

Great intellectual exercise: And some of them are 10-year-old DV readers, well-read Ambedkarites and some even Budhists. But our worry is can such seasoned, well-read Ambedkarites and that too Budhists, lose reason, logic, rational, thinking, sci-

entific temper, just because of the issue hurts them personally? Does it not mean that when such of them are personally affected they cease to be Ambedkarites, Budhists and all their grounding in DV goes a waste?

The DV debate on "Jati Identity" is a great intellectual exercise - perhaps never before attempted in the Dalit history of India.

MALA-MADIGA CONTROVERSY

Senior Dalit leader opposes categorisation of reservations

Mrs. R. AKHILESHWARI

Bojja Tarakam, convener of the Republican Party of India and a leading light of the Mala community who opposes categorisation of Scheduled Castes, told Deccan Herald that the biggest grouse the community has against the AP Govt. was that it successfully brought about a cleavage within different castes of the SCs. (Deccan Herald, Aug. 18 '97).

Every Dalit and every citizen of India interested in a better understanding of the society must welcome it. Brother Bojja fully appreciated the DV Debate when he recently met our Editor at a Hyderabad hotel.

We want to repeat that we will not hesitate publish even to the worst of criticism against DV and its Editor. DV is not part of the "national toilet papers". We believe in perfect freedom of the press and speech. It was on this

ground we had even opposed banning of Arun Shourie's gutter stuff or any book criticising Babasahb or the DV Editor. Because as Ambedkarites we are not afraid of criticism.

Seminar on Oct. 5: We want this Debate to reach its log-icland. A book itself is under preparation. A seminar on Oct. 5, 1997 in Bangalore is arranged by the Dalit Human Rights Forum. All readers of DV are invited to participate in it. So, we request our readers not to get worked up and resort to personal attacks.

The Malas may stand to lose some benefits of reservation because of **Jati Identity**, forcing Madigas to claim their share. Brahmins might lose their heavenly bliss which they have feel enjoying from centuries when SC/ST reservations level down people as the social justice road-roller is pulled over them. Social justice is an inevitable and an unavoidable process which might have affected Brahmins yesterday and Malas today.

How can we call ourselves Ambedkarites if we start losing temper, hurl accusations and start behaving irrationally like the Vaidiks?

Until we get rid of the Brahminism within us, what right have we to criticise the Brahmins?

DV prediction on jati identity proves right

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Hyderabad: An important development of the Madiga agitation for division of reservation benefits among the different Dalit subcastes of Andhra Pradesh is the sudden spurt in Madiga pride.

Madigas have started adding the Madiga surname. Dr. Muthiah, the brain behind the "Madiga Dandora", has added Madiga to his name and so also Krupakar has become "Krupakara Madiga."

The angry Malas who did not like the Justice Ramachandra Raju Commission that upheld the Madiga demands, was the target of Mala anger.

So also Chief Minister Chandrababu Naidu, an upper caste (shudra) Khamma who accepted the commission report and issued a GO to this effect.

Malas in their anger put up wall posters all over Hyderabad abusing them as "Chandrababu Madiga" and "Justice Ramachandra Madiga". But this action on the part of a small section of the

Malas is not liked by the masses of Malas.

Meanwhile, the Gollas (cowherds) or Yadavas of the state are claiming that they are 13% of the AP population. They say they are the single largest population of AP after the Dalits. They are in the midst of an intense jati revival movement. They say every Kuruma (Golla) must add the Kuruma surname to their name.

Dr. Kancha Ilaiah, an outstanding intellectual of the Kuruma community, will be known as "Kancha Ilaiah Kuruma". If this trend continues and jati identity fever grips other parts, it will be an entirely new development which DV has predicted long back. Lambadis, a nomadic tribe, and other subcastes will soon join this jati identity or jati revival movement.

And that means DV is fully right in demanding jati identity. "Strengthen every jati, brahminism will be dead in three years", said DV Editor. (DV Edit Dec. 16, 1993).

DV call to strengthen every jati will divide Dalits

D. DAVID, ADVOCATE, 25-BATTAI STREET, VELAPADI, VELLORE - 632 001

I am afraid that the Dalit Voice call to "strengthen every jati" will pave the way to disunity among Dalits. An amusing anecdote is told about Manu, the dare devil who assigned religious rites and rituals to all sub-castes. The kings and their *raj vishis* sent for Manu and told him to devise ways and means by which people should never get untitled to fight against their rule.

The shrewd Manu divided the existing four varnas into numerous sub-castes and assigned religious rites and rituals to be followed, and prescribed penalties for transgression. This evil system was also followed by the SCs and they in turn got subdivided into numerous sub-castes. The division of people into numerous sub-castes always kept the people divided and helped several foreigners to invade India, looted its wealth and kept us slaves till 1947.

Dr. Ambedkar rejected: Dr. B.R. Ambedkar in his lifetime found that the sub-castes among the SCs wanted

to establish their own leadership identity and hence those who did not like Dr. Ambedkar's sub-caste refused to accept him as their leader. Even today in Tamil Nadu, except the Adi Dravidar sub-caste, the other subcastes hesitate to accept Dr. Ambedkar as their leader. Dr. Ambedkar wanted to unite all the SCs socially and politically and for that in 1932 he placed two demands before the British Govt.:

1. Socially, all subcastes among the SCs are to be called by a common name "non-caste Hindus", "Protestant Hindus" or "non-conformist Hindus".

Gandhi's dividing trick: 2. Politically, "separate electorate" is to be given. The British Govt. accepted the demand for separate electorate but coined a new name for all the Dalits, "Scheduled Castes", listing under it all subcastes.

Gandhi and the Congress Party set up M.C. Raja, another subcaste among the Scheduled Castes, to oppose the demand for separate electorate. The result

was the British Govt. withdrew the separate electorate. The Congress Party projected Jagjivan Ram, another subcaste from Scheduled Caste, as against Dr. Ambedkar.

In Tamil Nadu, political parties vied with each other in appointing ministers from Pallars (Devendras), Adidravidar and cobbler subcaste. If one visits TN Secretariat, he will find each subcaste standing in front of the rooms of their respective subcaste ministers, who in turn are eager to help only their *jati*. It is my sad experience that the Pallars (Devendras) hesitate to accept the leadership of other subcastes.

Paraiah silence in TN: *Dalit Voice* thinks that by "strengthening every *jati*", SCs will untie and every *jati* will get proportionate share of reservation system. It looks good, but in the long run this will create disunity among the SCs. We have seen that during the clashes between Pallars and Thevars in Tamil Nadu the other

subcastes among SCs remained silent spectators, except giving press statements.

Adoption system: The reason is that every Dalit subcaste feels that it is in minority in its caste village and if it extends support it will be in danger of attack from Hindus in their villages. Today, the SCs are divided on the basis of religion and on political parties and if subcastes are allowed to be divided on reservation issue, our common enemy will subjugate us further.

I always held the view that the present reservation system will only create "creamy layers". If the govt. is really interested in supporting SCs, it should follow the system known as adoption of SCs for 75 years from now and providing all social, educational economic and other benefits till the SCs become equal to other castes. There is no bar in following such a system under the Constitution of India. ■

Caste consolidation impossible under Hinduism

ANIL RANGARI, PRESS COLONY, SHAHDOL, MP - 484 001

The essence of Babasaheb Ambedkar's annihilation of castes may be summarised as follows:

"Hinduism is based on graded caste system and caste system is sanctified by the *shastras*. Hence, if you want to destroy caste system, you have to destroy the Hindu *shastras*."

Babasaheb advice to Hindus: Babasaheb asked only the Hindus to annihilate their castes. But if the Hindus listen to Babasaheb's warning, they will be at a loss. Hence, they decided to safeguard their religion at any cost. But their religion will survive only when we remain with them as slaves. Therefore, it is for us to liberate from this obnoxious religion called Hinduism. That is why Babasaheb showed us the path of Buddhism. Conversion to Buddhism brings total liberation from Hindu customs, manners and caste system.

Three separations: In the ongoing Debate of "caste identity", nobody talks about conversion to Buddhism. Our Editor, being a Buddhist himself, advocates that our liberation is not possible without the Three Separations from Hindus: (1) separate religion, (2) separate electorate and (3) separate settlement (*Separate Electorate & Separate Settlement*, DSA, 1996).

Separate electorate is not in our hands but the other

subcastes among SCs remained silent spectators, except giving press statements.

Adoption system: The reason is that every Dalit subcaste feels that it is in minority in its caste village and if it extends support it will be in danger of attack from Hindus in their villages. Today, the SCs are divided on the basis of religion and on political parties and if subcastes are allowed to be divided on reservation issue, our common enemy will subjugate us further.

I always held the view that the present reservation system will only create "creamy layers". If the govt. is really interested in supporting SCs, it should follow the system known as adoption of SCs for 75 years from now and providing all social, educational economic and other benefits till the SCs become equal to other castes. There is no bar in following such a system under the Constitution of India. ■

two separations are in our hands and hence do not require the permission of Hindus. Then, why are we delaying?

Only Mahars follow Buddhism: Once we become Buddhists, where is the question of caste identity or casteism? If the Muslim converts or Christian converts call themselves as Dhobi, Bhangji, Chamar, Patel etc and marry within their old castes, what is the use? What for they got converted? This sort of caste identity will support Hindus only. Muslims of Pakistan and Bangladesh have given up their previous castes. They are not caste conscious but conscious of their religion. If it is possible for them, why it is not possible for us, the neo-Buddhists? Did Babasaheb give us Buddhism for strengthening our castes or to destroy the castes? We must give a call that "convert all Dalits to Buddhism, brahminism with casteism automatically will wither away".

Only Buddhism can destroy brahminism. But unfortunately our leaders and intellectuals are not thinking in this direction. Only the Mahars of Maharashtra are doing something towards this end. Once our people quit Hinduism and embrace Buddhism, they will get back their identity and their human rights. We cannot strengthen or annihilate castes remaining within Hinduism. (See also page 23).

Kanshi Ram supports caste identity

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: The DV thesis, "caste is an identity and hence cannot be destroyed" has been supported by BSP chief Kanshi Ram:

Asked about the caste clashes in different parts of the country, particularly in Tamil Nadu and Maharashtra, he said (in Madras) caste could not be eliminated. But in the two states, the conflagrations occurred "as people there did not follow the ideologies of social leaders". In Tamil Nadu too, the fight was only for political transformation and not on the social or economic front. (*Hindu*, Aug. 18 '97).

Please note that BSP has come into existence only because caste identities got strengthened among indigenous people. It is only because of *jati* strength that emerged out of their strong identities, the BSP is able to launch its struggle for political power and socio-economic equality.

Casteism is bad and can be destroyed only by using caste.

Diamond can be cut only by another diamond. A thorn can be removed only by using another thorn and a poison can be removed only by giving another poison (antidote).

That is why Mayawati too wanted our people to retain and strengthen our *jatils* by instilling caste pride and visible surnames too. (DV June 1, '97 p.5: *Mayawati gives lead in jati consolidation*).

UP Govt. "Dr. Ambedkar Award" to Hardayal Singh of US

Lucknow: Hardayal Singh, a non-resident Indian settled in America, was conferred the first "Ambedkar Gaurav Award" by Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister Mayawati here on July 27, 1997.

The award which carries a cash prize of Rs. 1.25 lakhs was given to him in recognition of his efforts to spread the philosophy of Babasaheb outside India. He migrated to US in 1978 and has been propagating Babasaheb's philosophy through the Ambedkar International Mission set up by him in New Jersey. As the Human Rights Commissioner and special deputy sheriff of Hudson County, he got a park and road named after Dr. Ambedkar in Jersey. (*Asian Age*, July 28, 1997).

A DALIT CHIEF FOR B.J.P. ?

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: What a tragedy that the pure *Brahmana Jati Party* (BJP) of the heaven-born *vaidiks* is getting corrupted and contaminated by the entry of "dirty people".

The latest thinking in the BJP top leadership is to make Bangaru Luxman, a dark-looking Untouchable from Andhra Pradesh, to succeed the Sindhi Khatri, L.K. Advani. The earlier move was to get rid of Kalyan Singh from UP by kicking him upstairs but the *vaidik* advisers thought a Dalit would be better than a BC from the vote-catching point of view.

The 15% upper caste (Aryans) migrated from their original brahminical party, Congress, to BJP to preserve their purity. But the dirty dozens entered BJP also and made their life horrible, miserable. Where can they go now? They are worried.

Bangalore Seminar on "Caste Identity"

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: As already announced (DV Aug. 1, '97 p.16), our "*Jati Identity*" seminar will be held on Oct. 5, 1997 at the Senate Hall, Central College Campus, Bangalore - 560 001. Seminar will be jointly organised by the Dalit Human Rights Forum and Dalit Action Forum. DV readers and other intellectuals who are interested in this pure academic exercise are invited to attend this day-long seminar. Those interested may contact the DV office.

No quota in promotions

Madras: A division bench of the Madras High Court has rejected the claim of Scheduled Castes/Tribe, Class I officers of State-owned Insurance undertakings, for reservation in promotion. The bench, comprising Justices A.R. Lakshmanan and M. Karpagavinayagam, said there has so far been no direction or instruction from the Govt. of India under Art 16 (4) (a) of the Constitution for the promotion of SC/ST officers in Class I category. The bench was disposing of a writ petition from the all India Insurance SC/ST Employees' Action Committee, seeking a direction to all the insurance companies to implement the reservation policy in promotion. (*Indian Express*, Aug. 22, '97).

COMMUNICATION "Dalit Muslims" hail change in DV stand on caste among Muslims

Dr. EIJAZ AHMED, GHULAM SARWAR CLINIC, BHIKHNA PAHARI, PATNA - 6

Thank you for making a change in your stand on Muslim community. DV is the only Voice of Dalits. So it should talk of only Dalits irrespective of their religion. In this regard, I am very thankful to Prof. T. Rahmatullah, K. Mukundan, Dr. N. Suresh, all from Kerala, who have started writing openly in favour of Dalits, *avarana* or Backwards among Muslims (constituting a vast majority of Indian Muslims and are converts from non-Aryan indigenous Indians).

It is hard to deny the still persisting *savarna* mind of the upper caste converts in the Muslim community - known as Ashraf, *savarna* or "elite Muslims". These 5 - 10% upper caste Muslims are not controlling (though K. Mukundan writes so) but exploiting the rest of the 90 - 95% "Dalit Muslims" under the banner of religion.

When I criticised these *Savarna* Muslims, a DV editorial criticised me saying that such a situation is the problem confined only to the cowbelt. But DV has published articles by Mukundan and others saying that throughout India this problem is there and the *avarna* and dark-skinned Muslims are suffering all over - from Kashmir to Kanyakumari and Gujarat to Arunachal Pradesh.

No support from south: In the North, we are fighting the corrupt upper caste Muslim leadership but from the South we could not get any link even to this day. Some Muslims criticised us saying that we were misguided and that there was nothing like caste system among Muslims in South India. But I was pretty sure about the prevalence of caste even among South Indian Muslims. The only difference between the North and South was the oppressed Muslims in the South were not aware of it. "I am very much thankful to DV for exposing the racist feelings of the *Savarna* Muslims in South".

The point is that the "Dalit Muslims" have been kept drugged in the faith of religious sentiments to facilitate better exploitation so that they become blind and intolerant against any criticism of religious matter.

So, our strategy should be such that we should not touch the religious sentiments of "Dalit Muslims". It is better to talk of their educational, economic and socio-political status and their liberation through non-religious means.

If we argue in favour of their inclusion in SC/ST quota and their entitlement of a due share in Mandal reser-

vation, they will jump with joy.

Such argument will touch their hearts and they will themselves force a change in the existing Muslim leadership. So, this is the "master-key" for the global development of a community.

COMMUNICATION

Elite Muslims disgusted with DV Editor

MERAJUDDIN, NO. 300 - ABUL FAZAL ENCLAVE, NEW DLEHI - 110 025

Till very recently, you were considered the greatest non-Muslim friend of the Muslims. Hindu nazis gave you a Muslim name and called you a Muslim agent. They even launched a character assassination saying that you were getting petrodollars.

But your latest frontal attack on Muslim elites, "upper caste Muslims" and their Moulanas, Jamate-Islami, Muslim League, etc., and your debate on the "*Curse of Allah*" have made a section of the Muslim leadership to rethink about you.

As one belonging to the oppressed Muslim community, "Dalit Muslim", I am fully with you in your criticism.

The religion of Islam did not unite the Muslims. The upper castes who got converted to Islam in India subverted Islam from inside just as they did to Buddhism.

Your repeated appeals on "Media Centre" did not melt the heart of a single rich Muslim.

Your "great friends" like Venerable Ali Miyan, Moulana Abdul Karim Parekh etc., did not support you. But we are with you.

Stop dividing Indians into SC/ST/BCs and Muslim/Christian and Sikhs.

It is not six but only two. Indigenous (85%) as against the alien Aryans (15%).

The war has begun between the two. The alien upper caste Muslims will go with the *savarnas* (Aryans). We are with you.

As you have proved to be closer to "Dalit Muslims", fully armed with the "spirit of Islam", I propose a conference of Dalit Muslims under your leadership.

Randy Taylor, 647-East 56th Street, Los Angeles, Calif - 9001, USA: I have heard a lot about your struggle from a number of lecturers given by Brother Runoko Rashidi, your American representative, and Brother Dr. Velu Annamalai of the International Dalit Support Group which I support. I want to read more books on M.K. Gandhi after reading the *Sergeant-Major M.K. Gandhi* by Dr. Velu Annamalai (DSA, 1995) and your *DALIT - The Black Untouchables of India*. (Clarity Press, 1995). I am an importer of books and hence most interested in importing Dalit literature to East Africa and where such knowledge is needed. Please let me know how I can order more books on the Truth about Racist Gandhi and the struggle of Dalits.

Dr. Laxmi N. Berwa, 7700-Old Branch Avenue, Suite C-101, Clinton, Maryland - 20735, USA: Two Dalit protest marches were held to discuss (1) desecration of the statue of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and (2) police firing to kill Dalits in various parts of India and (3) the Aug. 15 as a day of mourning and not of celebration for Dalits. The last protest was staged at Indian Ambassador, Naresh Chandra's residence on McComb Street, Washington, DC. We also protested his evening reception at the Omni-Shoreham Hotel. These protests were organised by all organisations of Dalit of North America and Canada. While proposing a day of mourning for Dalits, I have written an "Open Letter" to Dalits of the world.

P.P. Laxman, 11-Fort George Hill, Suite 9G, New York, NY-10040: As the Secretary-General of Indian Buddhist Association, USA, I have addressed a letter to Dr. S.P. Gaikwad, chairman, People's Education Society, Anand Bhavan, Dr. D.N. Road, Bombay - 23 on the five-acre land donated by the Maharaja of Mysore to Dr. Ambedkar in 1954 to set up a seminary to train Buddhist monks there. To ascertain the status of this land, I had earlier written to the Editor of *Dalit Voice*, in Bangalore. The exchange of notes between me and the Editor were published in DV April 16, 1995. At our request, Dr. Suresh T. Bhamre, Human Rights Commissioner, Suffolk County, New York, discussed this subject with Dr. Gaikwad in Bombay in June. Although the Editor's assessment and Dr. Gaikwad's version differ in details, the impression that we get is the same, namely the five-acre plot is not being used for the purpose for which it was donated and specifically intended by Dr. Ambedkar for starting a Buddhist seminary. About one acre from that plot was still lying vacant. Will our friends in Bangalore who are in the know of things enlighten me ?

N.K. Sonare, C-27, ONGC Colony, Agartala - 799 014: Khushwant Singh in the *Telegraph* (July 21, 1997) has tried to malign Babasaheb Ambedkar. The statues of Dr. Ambedkar are many more compared to the statues of M.K. Gandhi. The statues of Dr. Ambedkar are installed by the people from their hard-earned money to show their love and regard towards the Father of India while Gandhi's statues are installed at govt. expenses. Singh should analyse what Gandhi has done to the Untouchables by going on his fast-unto-death against the "Communal Award". He says Dr. Ambedkar's influence is confined to the Mahars of Maharashtra. How then that Dr. Ambedkar's statues are more than that of any other leader throughout the length and breadth of the country? Singh has joined hands with the Punjabi Brahmin, Arun Shourie, in maligning Babasaheb. This proves that nazi elements among upper castes would like to banish Dr. Ambedkar altogether from our historical consciousness. But they must note that they are trying to break the waves of an agitated sea with the help of a coconut and banana leaf. Dr. Ambedkar had said, "the Hindu intellect has ceased to grow and the Hindu civilization and culture has become a stagnant and stinking pool. This dogma must be destroyed root and branch if India is to progress." Dr. Ambedkar took the task of removing these evils of Hindu religion knowing fully well what risk it involved and succeeded in stirring the masses.

Dr. V.K. Muthu, Ambathurai R.S., Dindigul Anna dt. TN - 624 309: This is my reply to Arun Shourie's book, *Worshipping False Gods*. It was written with the sole purpose of maligning a great genius who tirelessly worked for the liberation of the people of India. It is a vilification campaign against Dr. Ambedkar done deliberately to incite and instigate hatred among non-*vaidiks* at a time when the non-*vaidiks* have started joining Dalits to fight the upper caste divisive forces. Such canards spread by Arun Shourie, a *vaidik*, can not fool the enlightened society of modern India. His hatred against Dalits spills over every page of his book. It also can be easily surmised that such a book has been brought out at the instigation of the divisive forces whose aim is to destabilise the consolidation of all non-*vaidiks* so that they can fish in troubled waters. The main divisive force in our country is the BJP, RSS, Shiv Sena combine which is a party of mainly *vaidiks*. It is necessary to analyse the basic characteristics of the *vaidiks* to make people understand the reason behind this slander campaign against the Father of India. The *vaidiks* were the invaders of this land according to history. As aliens, the feeling of alienation has not disappeared from their minds still and as a

result, they suffer from a sense of insecurity. In this respect, they resemble the Mohajirs (the migrants) of Karachi who are not able to shed their feeling of alienation even after a long period of occupation. The behaviour and conduct of the *vaidiks* amply illustrate that they were invaders of this land. The quality of grabbing everything for themselves unmindful of the others and their inability to feel one with the rest of the population and develop roots in this land are the best examples for their feeling of insecurity and alienation. And this is best demonstrated by the fact that they are the first people to migrate to any greener pastures. The migrant Indians in foreign countries like the US and UK are mainly *vaidiks*. It is pertinent to emphasize that these people migrate not because of any ideology of internationalism born-out of enlightenment but mainly to enrich their personal lives. So, it is not unexpected that these people show no sense of responsibility for the country in which they enjoyed the fruits of others, that they lack obligation to the society without the help of which they could not have even dreamt of their academic and other pursuits. Compassion, compassion and humanism are absent in their dictionaries. The *vaidiks* created cleavages among people and induced them to fight among themselves, making use of the confusion that ensued, they flourished. This has been their strategy wherever they settled. The concept of Hindu gods and their great powers to affect and change human lives were the tricks played by the *vaidiks* on the innocent masses. But now their design has been almost exposed and their Hindu gods have been debunked due to enlightenment. So, the *vaidik* Hindu gods are the "false gods" which have made people sycophants and superstitious. These Hindu gods have done immense harm to the country by way of preventing our people from thinking rationally and, therefore, leaving many of the human mistakes and problems uncorrected. The *vaidik* food habits are also different from that of the others. Intake of raw rice and high level of *dhals* and consumption of ghee in preference to vegetable oil may make them prone for deficiencies of B group vitamins like thiamin, niacin and essential fatty acids all needed for proper development and functioning of brain and other nervous tissues. The deficiency may not be overt and frank but relative and subclinical. So it is probable that there may be some organic cause also besides their sense of alienation for their unnatural behaviour. The extreme selfish nature and indifferent attitude towards the other fellow-men may be due to the kind of brain chemistry they may have caused by their wrong dietary practices. The *vaidik* opinion that they have the best brains by citing their ability to score

high marks in exams cannot be accepted because it only proves that their brains are capable of only rote learning but not intellectual analysis. But the *vaidiks* have brainwashed others to believe that this stereotype learning (memorising ability) is "meritorious performance". Had they possessed the intellectual capacity they would not have created castes based on birth which became the bane of Indian society causing serious problems for the development of the country. Where is our standing in the international scene in respect of any field, be it scientific discovery or sports? This is mainly because of lack of opportunity to millions whose genetic potentials were not tapped due to discriminatory practices. The *vaidiks* are the most materialistic lot. They proclaim spiritually in all their preachings and writings but in reality they show more interest in amassing wealth and enjoying all the comforts of scientific development. Their great love for education is not because of their quest for knowledge but only for cornering all the coveted positions. While they have no interest in other creative and productive endeavors, their craze for making use of the facilities created by others is found to be great. The *vaidiks* today are a frustrated lot. Arun Shourie is no exception to this tendency. When they see the *sudras* becoming their masters, they get enraged. In a land where once they were the crowned rulers, they are getting sidelined now. When they find that they can no more take a lion's share of everything, they go mad. Recent political developments also have added fuel to the fire. In spite of being the single largest party, the *vaidik* party (BJP) could not form the govt. in Delhi. It was because the non-*vaidiks* are getting enlightened. When all sections of non-*vaidiks* are joining in the fight against the divisive forces, why Arun Shourie has chosen to turn his tirade only against Dr. Ambedkar? This again may be the design to break the unity of the Backwards and Scheduled Castes. So, it is evident that the *vaidiks* are in urgent need of introspection of what they have been doing all these years which resulted in the present plight. Their designs to break the unity of all non-*vaidiks*, as they have been doing in the past, will not succeed any more in the changed scenario. Let them learn the lesson that they have to coexist with the rest of the population by sharing the resources equally in a scientific manner. They cannot dream of getting a lion's share of everything for them depriving the million of their legitimate needs. They also must modify their dietary habits to consume a balanced diet to correct the probable organic defects in their brain. This is not to suggest that they must become meat-eaters. Even continuing their

vegetarian diets, they can draw all the nutrients by changing their dietary practices.

B.K. Ghatak, G-1320, C.R. Park, New Delhi - 110 019: On Nov. 12, 1930 in London, Babasahab Ambedkar said while addressing the Round Table Conference, that he was placing the viewpoint of one-fifth of the total population of British India - a population as large as that of England or France - which was reduced to a position worse than that of a serf or a slave. He then declared to the surprise of delegates that the Untouchables in India were also for replacing the existing British Govt. by a govt. of the people, for the people and by the people. He said this change in the attitude of the Untouchables to British rule in India might come as a surprise and a momentous phenomenon. And justifying his stand, he said raising his voice and a glow in his eyes:

"When we compare our present position with the one which it was our lot to bear in Indian society of pre-British days, we find that, instead of marching on, we are marking time. Before the British, we were in the loathsome condition due to our untouchability. Has the British Government done anything to remove it? Before the British, we could not draw water from the village well. Has the British Government secured us the right to the well? Before the British we could not enter the temple? Can we enter now? Before the British, we were denied entry into the police force. Does the British Government admit us into the force? Before the British, we were not allowed to serve in the military? Is that career now open to us? To none of these questions can we give an affirmative answer. Our wrongs have remained as open sores and they have not been righted, although 150 years of British rule have rolled away."

He added: The British Govt. had the legal powers to remove these evils, it did not amend the existing code of social and economic life, because it was afraid that its intervention would give rise to resistance. He therefore declared:

"We must have a government in which men in power, knowing where obedience will end and resistance will begin, will not be afraid to amend the social and economic code of life which the dictates of justice and expediency so urgently call for."

Dr. Ambedkar upheld the demand for Dominion Status, but expressed doubts as to whether the Depressed Classes would be heir to it unless the political machinery was changed. Hence he asserted:

"We feel nobody can remove our grievances as well as we can, and we cannot remove them unless we get political powers in our hands. I am afraid the Depressed Classes have waited too long for time to work its miracle."

He said: "he could not estrange the British government by siding with Gandhi who was not prepared to concede anything to the Depressed Classes". He said "I confess I have my quarrel with the caste Hindus over some points, but I take a vow before you that I shall lay down my life in defence of our land." "I do not think anything more is required to understand Dr. Ambedkar's love for India and its independence from the British rule.

S.K. Biswas, New Delhi: Ours is a land of gods and goddesses, *devatas* and *devis*. Is there any devil or *saitan* in the brahminical literature? In the *Vedas*? In the *Upanishads*? In the *Puranas*? Nay, there is none. The concept of devil is an imported one. Christianity and Islam are the source of *Saitan*. The *Saitan* actually committed no crime. He was not involved in any scam, he did not rape any girl or anybody's wife (as Indra). He never looted anybody's wealth (as the *Bhudevatas* looted the *Shudra* property). He never burnt down any body's hut or house. His simple offense was to inspire ignorant people to get themselves educated, knowing self vis-a-vis the surrounding. The *Saitan* was such a great revolutionary reformer, like Buddha engaged in enlightening the suffering ignorant. He was a labour leader like Karl Marx of his days. A mention has been made of 33 crores of *Devatas* (gods) in the ancient brahminical literature. Those gods and goddesses seem to be all barren and impotent. Population of mankind has multiplied in a geometric proportion. But the number of *devatas* has not increased. *Shiva* who is regarded as the god of potency and of most powerful phallus had two sons only. Neither the number of his family nor his tribe increased. Some of the gods were Brahma, Vishnu, Rama, Krishna, Cow, Hanuman, Kali, Durga, Juggarmath etc., Be careful, they are not false gods. These are all real gods. There are gods of another type among the Hindus, who consider that the best way for recreation is the process of procreation. They did not even hesitate to transform their temples, religious places as institutes of sex activities, a brothel. It became a den of *sevadasis* and *devadasis* who performed a panoramic "devil's dance" even before Swami Vivekananda. That is why Karl Marx termed Hindustan as "at once a religion of sensualist exuberance, and a religion of self torturing asceticism", a religion of the *Lingam* and of *Juggernath*, the religion of monk and of (*sevadas*) *Bayadere*." These Brahmin *Bhudevatas* who are visible are, according to the *Vedas*, are the real gods. They multiply, control and resist the social phenomenon and advent of any or every *Saitan* who might or could have taught: "Producers of India Educate, Unite, Fight, you have nothing to loose but your chains". Eventually

When our country got polluted with the unclean touch of the beef-eating Europeans, the English rulers, there was born a Devil, a Devil more powerful than all the previous demons. This Devil was called Bhim Rao Ramji Ambedkar. He subdued all the tricky and scrupulously unscrupulous tycoons of *Bhudevatas*, the real gods and their God, called the Brahma. He further gave the *satanik* call: "Educate, Agitate, Organise" and revolt against the *Manruwad*. He exposed in a crystal clear manner that the real gods were not at all our gods. He advised: "Do not worship these false gods, convert yourself to any other religion and ensure your self-respect". Dr. Bhim Rao Ramji Ambedkar was branded as *Bhimasur*, *Devil*, *Danav* etc. It is nothing surprising. He was a Devil in the eye of the *Bhudevatas* because he enlightened his Untouchable people. He told his people in bondage that instead of enjoying their slavery they must start a self-respect movement and transform this antagonistic brahminical system. He advised them not to worship these "real gods" who forced their forefathers to accept the suzerainty of these Aryan gods who were not only foreign but antagonistic to them. Thus, the Devil gave the slaves the fruits of strength from the tree of wisdom to eat. And the liberated and resurrected human personality in the *Dalit-Bahujan* called him Father (Babasaheb) and started to desert the real gods and *Bhudevatas* of the Hindu society. The rejuvenated strength of the Untouchables rightly started to worship their own god, Babasaheb, the Devil, the deliverer *Saitan*, the *Masih*. They are no more ready to worship the real gods who banished them into the exile of the blinding darkness of dehumanized disdain. Where gods are contemptuous, the Devil is the answer. When the gods were the feudal Lords, the Devils became the deliverer. The Hindus have created another set of gods who are also famous as "nationalists and freedom fighters" like Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya, Bala Gadhkar Tilak, Ramkrishna (Chattapodhaya) Paramahansa Deva, Swami Vivekananda, Mahatma Mohan Das Karamchand Gandhi, M.N. Roy, Netaji Subas Bose, S.A. Dange etc. The *Bhudevatas* are shocked to note that today our "nation", instead of worshipping these real gods of *Bhudevatas* has taken wrong path to defy the Devil, a false, rather no-god (Shudras and Untouchable cannot be a god) Dr. Ambedkar. His statues and idols in street corners and sacred places are out numbering the total idols of other real gods. The real gods have become helpless today. Because, it is not the tribes of the real gods but the slave castes, the Dalit-Bahujan who are installing the idols of their Babasaheb, the greatest of the *Saitans* by spending their money that was earned by selling their sweat.

The *Dalit-Bahujan* in their blackened skin parched in the scorching sun of the working-places, observe, in a state of bliss, his birth anniversary, with utmost devotion. The *Bhudevatas* consider Babasaheb as the stooge of the foreign ruler, the British. He did not join the "nationalist freedom fight". They make propaganda that the *Bhudevatas* fought against the British rule and earned freedom of India. Let us examine these aspect of history as to how far the *Devatas* and *Bhudevatas* were opposed to the foreign rule. What was the role of Dr. Ambedkar in the battle of liberty of his motherland? The East India Company made all the territorial conquests from the Battle of Palasse in Bengal in 1757, to the battle of *Korean* in Maharashtra in 1808, with the help of the army composed of the Untouchables. Around 80% of the British army that fought the Battle of Palasse was composed of *Dusads* of Bihar and the *Chandals* of Bengal. The Brahmin-sponsored Muslim rule in India came under real attack. Neither group cooperated with the new invader, the East India Company, in any manner. The low caste and the outcaste were the only people left for their services. In Maharashtra, the British army was composed of *Mahars*. This gave rise to a new situation, hitherto unknown in Indian society. The Brahmmins realised the danger of shifting of power centre to the hands of Untouchable destitutes under the protective umbrella of the Company. The Company brought forth the dangerous revolution by providing the most sophisticated arms, the best military training of those days, the decent job of military dept. and education (compulsory for defence) to the people who were kept in abject servitude by denying access to these powerful agents of social mobility. Those who were throne out of the socialization process that changes the social animal into human being by imposing untouchability were brought into the campus of human family. The band of the real gods gave nothing to the servile castes of India that they can attain human personality. What the real gods snatched away from the *Dalit-Bahujan* was given by the new-gods, the British. The Untouchables became partners of the ruling family. Their forward march began. Realising the gravity and its far reaching impact, the *Bhudevatas* also decided to join this foreign power immediately, at any cost. The real gods started defecting the Muslim camp and managed to get an oracle from their god, Lord Jagannath, in the temple of Puri to make the Company a trustee of the temple to run the administration in 1803. In the very first year, the Company collected Rs. 35,00,000 from the temple business. The *Bhudevatas* entered the European camp in a jubilant triumph adopting their old tricks of corrupting the opponent. The *Devatas* and

Bhudevatas united front performed well. It was not Lord Jugganath alone. All the Hindu gods and goddesses, instead of resisting the advancing Europeans, vied with each other to welcome the foreign yoke and to become the stooges of the foreign power. The British army, after winning each battle, used to offer *puja* to the Kali temples and Hanuman temples of Calcutta (Kalighat) and at other places. Those Christians won all battles with the blessings of all these real gods. The East India Company regularly organised and guarded the Hindu temple functions and earned taxes. There was a strong nexus between the real gods and the English rulers. In 1803, Lord Wellesly instructed his commanding officer who took charge of Puri:

"On your arrival of Jagannath, you will employ every possible precaution to preserve the respect due to the pagoda, and to the religious prejudices of the Brahman and pilgrims. You will furnish the Brahmins with such guards as shall afford perfect security to their persons, rites and ceremonials and to the sanctity of the religious edifices, and you will strictly enforce those under your command to observe your orders on this important subject, with utmost degree of accuracy and vigilance."

The Muslims being betrayed by the Brahmins quickly realised the strength and merit of the Untouchables whom they, at the behest of the Brahmins, considered worthless creature. So, they started proselytizing the Untouchables to Islam and because of this the number of the Muslim population swelled since then. On this real gods got furious with the Muslims and this was the beginning of the Hindu-Muslim hatred. Many have levelled the charge of treason against the Untouchables for this act of helping the British to conquer India. But this act of serving the Nordic Aryan race was virtually the beginning of the end of their servitude in the hands of the real gods of foreign stock of Brahmin Aryans. The blood that the Untouchables shed in the battlefields, after thousands of years interval, proved to be their struggle for liberty. The Untouchables who fought in the Battle of Palase did not fight just for the British, it was a battle for their own liberation too. Because of their institutionalized helplessness, they were not in a position to go for straight fight with their enemy. They needed external assistance and they got it from the British. The son of the Subedar-Major Ramji Sakpal, Dr. Bhim Rao Ramji Ambedkar, was the child of the Battle of Palasse. He was the culmination of the process that started in 1757 in the battlefield in Bengal. Indeed, Dr. Ambedkar, Kanshi Ram, Mayawati etc, who are engaged in this battle of social transformation, are the children of the Battle of Palasse. Dr. Ambedkar himself gave answer

to this serious allegation:

"Treason or no treason, this act of the Untouchables was quite natural. History abounds with illustrations showing how one section of people in a country have shown sympathy with the invader, in the hope that the new comer will release them from the oppression of their countrymen."

(*Babasaheb Dr. Ambedkar's W&S, Vol.12 p.88*).

If this act of Untouchables was a treason, then Subhash Chandra Bose who invaded India, bombed Calcutta and agressed the boundary of Indian territory with an army of Nazi Germany was definitely a traitor of our country. Whatever may be the case of Netaji and his company, the Untouchables did not indulge in treason by joining the British army. Even Karl Marx has very rightly assessed the historical significance of the incident of the Untouchables joining the British army.

"The native army, organized and trained by the British drill sergeant, was the *sine qua non* of Indian self emancipation, and of India ceasing to be the prey of the first intruders, the press, introduced for the first time into Asiatic society and managed principally by the common offspring of Hindu and European, is a new and powerful agent of reconstruction". (*Selected Correspondence, Vol.1, p. 493*).

We can see that the impact of English education in bringing forth India's social reconstruction has been given second position to the impact of the formation of Indian army with the Untouchables of India. This army personnel of low castes got extraordinary opportunity of exposure and selfrespect, selfrealization and above all building up of their ego. It is interesting that Marx got the point that this gaining strength of military power by the Indians not only will liberate from European bondage but it will also overpower the first foreign intruders, that is the *Arya Devatas*, because the army men belonged to the aboriginal Indians. They will eventually unchain themselves from all bondage, ancient or modern. With the advent of capitalist mode of production, though in a limited sphere, this reconstruction of Indian society or social transformation already started, in the process catalyst was the Untouchable army. Elite class, the real gods, rose in action to defend their citadel. Prince Dwarakanath Thakur, grandfather of Rabindra Nath Tagore formed the Bengal Land Lord Association in 1838, George Thomson established the British India Society in 1839. These two organisations merged and became "The British India Association" after the death of Dwarakanath, in 1851. All the Rajas, Maharajas and the Brahmin *Bhudevatas* were the office-bearers of these Associations. These real gods played a tremendous role in

suppressing the First War of Independence that was started by the native *Sarthals* of Eastern India. The *Sarthal* Revolution called "Hoo" started on June 30, 1853. Even before the Manifesto of the Communist Party came out the native Indians gave a call, "Long live Revolution". A call was given by the low caste people and the *Adibasis* to establish the rule of the Indians by the Indians and for the Indians. The British army suppressed the effort with the help of Brahmins, and the list of traitors who supported the British reveals the names of many Brahmin *Bhudevatas*, the real gods of India. It became an era of British-Brahmin exploitation. All these associations upheld the colonial rule of the Company and their all-out exploitation, only because the Company supported all Hindu religious functions of rituals, which were nothing but engine of oppressions under the absolute control of the Brahmins and because the British authority gave a modern structure of casteism in the form of permanent settlement of *zamindari* (permanent brahminhood), declaring unalterable martial race or non-martial race (Kshatriya) and notified criminal races (by shudra or criminal) etc. Even the Brahmins organised revolt in the army (*Sepoy Mutiny*) to protest the British policy to recruit the Untouchables in the Army. As a consequence, the *Dusads*, *Mahars* and Bengali *Paltan*, who won so many battles in favour of the Company, were declared non-martial. But the democratic and constitutional struggle of the servile classes continued. This struggle got much headway in Punjab, Maharashtra and Bengal. The Indian National Congress was established by a British bureaucrat under the leadership of W.C. Banerjee and S.N. Banerjee, the "seditions Brahmins" and "disloyal Brahman babus". They were not only British stooges but they were the Aryan brothers in India. In the first ten years there were five European Presidents of the Congress Party. All the nationalists (why to single out) and the so-called freedom fighters strongly propagated that the British were their blood brothers of Nordic race and upheld the British *raj*. It were these real gods of nationalist movements who, on the other hand called the native Indians, *Dravid* etc. a different race. Bankim and Vivekananda struggled to establish British *Raj*. Thus, when the British rulers decided to transfer power in the hands of Indians and to maintain their erstwhile colony-market through the Indian agents, the Untouchables demanded their constitutional rights and share in administering. And their genius leader, Dr. Ambedkar, was completely aware of the historic situation. So, in many an occasion he has helplessly expressed his prudent anguish. In 1935, at a big meeting of the Untouchables at Parel, Bombay, Dr.

Ambedkar showered high praises for the British rule and he was gracious enough to concede that it was true that foreign rule was not a matter for pride or satisfaction to any nation, but he contended that sometimes a calamity could be a blessing in disguise and added: "The conquest of India by the British from the point of view of depressed classes was a blessing". (*Dr. Babasahab Ambedkar's Source Material*, p. 130). The decision to resist the collection of the tax was a logical sequel to them. On Aug. 18, 1941 at the Sinar Conference, he called upon the *Mahar*, *Mang* and *Vetiah Watan-dars* of Maharashtra to resist by every means the collection of the additional taxes levied on *Watan* lands. Here he once again disclosed:

"During my entire public career I have remained consistently loyal to the British Government on India," said Dr. Ambedkar in the course of his Presidential address. "I have been loyal to the British because the... Depressed Classes, surrounded by enemies on all sides, could not fight on all the fronts at the same time. I, therefore, decided to fight the 2,000 year old tyranny and oppression of the cast Hindus to secure social equality for Depressed Classes before everything else. I have directed for these many years bitter and virulent attacks on the Hindu society and its numerous evils, but I can assure you that I shall direct attacks a hundred-fold more bitter, more virulent, more deadly... against the British than I have ever done against the Hindus if my loyalty is going to be exploited for crushing my own people and taking away from them the last dry bone from which they draw their barest sustenance. I want to tell the British authorities that their rule over this province is due to us, that it was the *Mahar* regiments that destroyed the *Peswa* rule and established *British Raj* in this province.

(*Ambedkar's Source Material*, p.234).

The point is so obvious and practical, a natural process that it does not require any further explanations to expose its clarity. Not only Dr. Ambedkar but all his previous Untouchable fighters took the same course of relying on the English or any other religious groups other than the Brahmins for getting justice and fairplay. It was not just a support to the powerful rulers, it was more an opposition to the tyrant real gods. It was virtually a crusade started by the "False Gods" against the hegemony of the real gods. That is why we see that in 1935, Ravindra Nath Tagore wrote a lengthy article asking the reason why there was a rift in the relationship among sections of Hindus? Why the *Namashudras*, the *Chandals* joined hands with the Muslim peasantry in the recent big riot between the Hindus and the Muslims? Hindus were severely beaten up as the *Namashudras*, the bravest commu-

nity of Bengal, sided with the poor Muslims. This was no superficial cause. There are fundamental reasons for the native Indians to support the *British Raj* which brought multi-dimensional relief for them by introducing the rule of law in place of the Manu-laws. That is why in 1946 Dr. Ambedkar, very correctly, appealed in the same language to the British Raj, "Let not tyrants have freedom to enslave". (*What Congress and Gandhi had done to the Untouchables*). He considered that sanctioning political power in the hands of the microscopic minority group, the tyrant Brahmins, will be the most unfortunate and detrimental for the Dalit-Bahujan. Those tyrants will once again launch their lethal assault on the Shudras, impose untouchability and enslave the native Indians. And in this world of misery of the heartless real gods, the Brahmin Bhudevatas were the pampered privileged few, they composed around three percent of the total population of the society. They cornered and grabbed all the fruits of this land of natural bounty with the help of a band of killers or butchers called Kshatriyas. The resultant other end of this torture-chamber was the Dalit-Bahujan society who were burdened with the entire weight of the ruling real gods. Dr. Ambedkar was born at the bottom of the strata and thereby was the worst sufferer. The suffering was not out of the system failure, but it was a systematic sufferings arising out of disgustingly inhuman social, rather economic structure, invented and upheld by the real gods (Brahmin *Bhudevatas*), the "hereditary division of labour", the caste system. When Marx, not himself being sufferer of this real-godly-system, even preferred the colonial rule of the British for India, then how can the champion fighter, the Untouchable Mahar who was crushed by the system and was fighting for liberating his motherland from the foreign yoke of the first intruders and bring forth equality of opportunity for the suffering native community, the Untouchable and touchable Shudras, who were mercilessly discriminated at the hands of the first intruders, the *Arya devatas* remain far from supporting the liberator, the British rule who played the role of a catalyst in the process? Will any member of the Dalit-Bahujan Samaj refuse to worship the False-god, in case that false god, that Devil is Dr. B.R. Ambedkar?

Dr. M.K. Mohan Das, Kerala Dalit Medical Assn., Thiruvandrum: In Kerala, an agitation is going on by the Kerala State Karshaka Thozhilali Union (KSKTU) against the conversion of paddyfields to other purposes. KSKTU is exclusively reserved for the *Harjian* stooges in the Marxist Party (CPM). When it is ruling Kerala, why this agitation? The CPM Govt. can take

necessary action against any conversion of paddy field. But the CPM is utilising its Dalit stooges for the political gains of its upper caste party leaders. "*Harjian* comrades" believe that "revolution" means increase in the daily wages and Karshaka Thozhilali pension. These communists have betrayed our people, Dalits, through "land reforms". This agitation is also a betrayal. What Dalits in Kerala need is land. Dalit brothers should identify this problem. Land should be given to the Dalits, those who work on the land.

Dr. R.C. Jiloha, Professor and Head of the Psychiatry Dept., G.B. Pant Hospital, New Delhi - 2: The theme of the entire book of Arun Shourie is to prove that Dr. Ambedkar was a supporter of the British Govt. as against the upper caste-led freedom movement. He opposed the Indian nationalists especially M.K. Gandhi and took up the cause of Dalits for personal gains like securing a seat in Viceroy's Council as a member. Page after page Shourie has harped on the same tune distorting and misconstruing the statements made by Dr. Ambedkar. The book with 19 chapters and over 600 pages can be condensed to merely a couple of hundred pages if unnecessary repetitions are avoided. Shourie's *Worshipping False Gods* indeed conveys the message that we must worship only the "True Gods", which ones? Indra, who became lover of luxuries and sex? Or Krishna, having endless stories of love-making with the milk-maids, seeing them naked after hiding their clothes while they took bath in a river? Or Rama who discarded his pregnant wife due to his own psychopathology and abandoned her in the forests at the mercy of wild animals?

P. Thangaraj, 2/15-Mogappari East, Madras - 50: In DV, Aug. 1, '97 issue, it is reported on p.21 that "6 Devendras were hacked to death in Melavalavu, Melur taluk, Madurai dt., on June 30, 1997". Please correct the mistake. It was not the Devendras who were killed. All the victims were Paraiaths (Adi Dravidars). If the Devendrakula Vellalars (DKV) had been killed in such a way, there would have been a terrible retaliation. At least 12 Thevars might have been slaughtered. The DKVs who rank third in the caste-wise population of TN (first Vanniar, second Paraiath) have determined to meet any challenge from the Thevars (a collection of about nine subcastes who come fourth in caste-wise population). Even in the Muthu Kulathur riot (1957) the victims were mostly Thevars. In fact, the Thevars are now very much afraid of the DKV and, therefore, they get full support from the Naidus, Reddis and Rajus - all Telugu-speaking castes. I will send an article on caste clashes in TN since 1828 in which

year the upper cloth riot broke out in Tamil Nadu and Kerala.

Angad Nag, O/O the Sr. DAG(WA), Orissa, Puri - 752 002: I was never so happy when I heard you speaking on July 13, 1997 at the Rabindra Mandap, Bhubaneswar. Every word of your speech made every drop of my blood boil. I am unfortunate as I have not seen our saviour, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. But when I saw you at the Rabindra Mandap, I felt as if I was seeing Babasahab in you. Every word that you uttered came from your heart and was precious for Dalits but most dangerous to the BSO. That is why they (BSO) scrupulously watch every word and step of yours. I missed the chance to meet you personally and introduce myself to you. This was because I thought that I should give the chance to others to meet you and talk to you in my place. I got worried as I heard from you that you were already 65. I have made four new subscribers from Puri.

Manjoor Gopalan, Surabhi, Kanakkary PO, Kottayam, Kerala - 686 632: This has ref. to the reports on Laloo Prasad Yadav by "Our Correspondent" and S.B. Kolpe (DV Aug. 1 '97). Since Laloo Prasad Yadav had fought the Brahminical Social Order and its upper caste bureaucracy in Bihar, the brahminical media became his enemies. The Hindu nazi party, BJP, is his enemy because he had prevented L.K. Advani's *Rath Yatra*. The fodder scam case was hoisted by his Hindu enemies. The Fodder Scam case has been going on since 1977 long before Laloo took charges as CM in 1989. Top administrators including the heads of Animal Husbandry Dept. in collusion with the upper caste bureaucracy had withdrawn large sums of money from the treasury submitting false vouchers made for purchase of fodder. This is the truth but how to know all this as our "Brahmin Press" is hiding it?

L.K. Madawi, 6-Beejalnagar, Sadar, Nagpur - 440 001: This is in continuation of our report (DV June 1, 1997) on the Third International Conference of the International Alliance of Indigenous Tribal Peoples of the Tropical Forests held here from March 3 to 8. A Black leader, Alfred Ilerre, from Africa, was the brain behind this conference at Nagpur, which is the heartland of Tribals of Central India. Some upper caste sections in the Govt. of India are opposed to the term indigenous and they denied the permission to hold the conference but at the last minute the permission was given orally. The Govt. of India also gave us lot of trouble. The External Affairs Ministry did not grant visa to many delegates. India has the largest number of indigenous population after the African Continent. Why was Nagpur chosen because in no other part of the

world live such miserable and poverty-stricken indigenous people as in India. Violation of their human rights occur daily in this land. They are ridiculed as *Vanvasi, Girijan, Vanputra* and even *Janglee* etc. They are denied even water, land. Though they live in forest, they can't enjoy its natural resources. This international conference was arranged at Nagpur to highlight the wanton neglect of the indigenous Indians by a govt. which talks of socialism and all that nonsense. (1) After the "Independence", the Constitution renamed the indigenous people as "Scheduled Tribes" (ST) - a term that is vicious and detrimental to the existence and the right of self-determination. The term questions their origin, religion, language, tradition, culture and life-styles. ST is a political terminology that questions their right to exist and fight for their self-determination. The upper caste Indian administration hesitated to grant permission to this conference because of this reason. (2) All other countries of the world have notified the indigenous status for the Tribals residing in their respective region. By this, they are bound by the Draft Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations. All cases of violation of human rights in those countries are monitored and watched by the UN. The Govt. of India, on the other hand, has not defined the *Adivasi* as indigenous people. So much so, the *Adivasi* life has become miserable: murder, extra-judicial killings, rape, inhuman treatment and malnutrition. Such atrocities are never noticed or recorded at the international level. The upper castes in the govt. feared if the UN was allowed to record such atrocities, the socialist image of the govt. would be destroyed. (3) It also feared the conference would mount international pressure on the govt., the question of indigenous status the Tribals of India. (4) The govt. fear was that if international bodies were to support the Tribals of India, they might then demand the right to self-determination. (5) The year 1993 was declared as the "International Indigenous People's Year" and it was celebrated all over the world. During this year, an Indian delegation made a false statement before the UN that India had no indigenous peoples at all India. The govt. fear was that the Nagpur conference would expose all these falsehoods. (6) If the Tribals of India are to be admitted as the indigenous people of India, then the Aiyans (Hindu) would automatically become foreigners. The Govt. of India did not want to create this Aryan-non Aryan problem which was already bothering them so much. Because the Brahmin (Aryans) interests would be directly affected by such an admission. If the Tribal are defined as indigenous and if they demand their own rights which are denied to them by the outsiders (Brahmins) then a struggle would auto-

matically follow between the locals and invaders. The simple Tribals are children of nature. The entire land is theirs. Tribals get natural rights over all the objects of nature. With their knowledge and experience, they have been practising and using all medicinal properties of almost all varieties of plants, trees, and herbs since time immemorial. Popularly known, *peepal, tulsi, neem* and *salai* go to make their native medicine. But, now, this natural privilege is being snatched away from them due to the introduction of the "Patent Law". Is this not an attack on their cultural heritage? All the Ayurvedic laboratories and institutions are the result of their discoveries and inventions. Who does not know the claim made by Ramar Pillai for his ability to generate petrol from herbs and plants of a particular kind? In the Yevatnal dt., there is a village, Adegaon, under Zarijamani taluka, wherein are found such lush green plants and small trees whose twigs and leaves, all green, burn inflammably like match sticks. The Nagpur conference discussed all these issues. Dr. Rev. E.G. Ruitba, Professor of Anthropology from Uganda, said that there was much similarity between the Africans and Indian Tribals. Both have no hair on their chest, have similar blood-cell, and, therefore, belong to the same genetic circuit and race. Elwin Verrior, a noted authority on Indian Tribals, had once recommended to the British Govt. in India that the Tribals should be segregated from the "more civilized and advanced people" of human society. His suggestion gave rise to the concept of "National Park". These Parks were set up in Tribal areas. But it attracted the attention of brokers and middle-men, who ultimately turned out to be the exploiters. Foreign tourists have been invited to watch these primitive men by making them pay in dollars which naturally went to the pockets of Hindus, the enemies of Tribals. On the theory of "Kill the tribes and build the nation", a representative of Red Indians, Antonio Gonzales questioned the American Govt's authority to preach human rights. "The Red Indians of the North America were the first to face the radiation effects of the atomic bombs in the world. You are wrong to think, the Japanese in the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki faced the devastation created by the atomic bombs first", he said. In Vidarbha region of Maharashtra, the Maharashtra Govt. has cancelled the backlog of Tribal vacancies for the posts of police constables, under special drive of recruitment and posted the newly-recruited Tribal in Naxal-infected areas so that they are killed by naxals. The indigenous people of India have not been included in the Draft-Declaration of Human Rights of the UN because of India's anti-Tribal policy. Recently in Gadchiroli dt. of Maharashtra, the police attacked

Edka Atram, a Tribal, and tried to murder him in the police station. Even a case was not registered as in Indian police are excluded from the violation of human rights. Even the military is excluded from such offences. Adivasi people (Tribals) should have been defined in the Constitution as the indigenous people. It is a mockery that about 1,200 castes and subcastes, which are not indigenous are pressing the Govt. of India to be included in the ST list. The Nagpur conference called upon the Indian Govt. to recognise the Adivasis as indigenous people in the spirit of the "Draft Declaration of the Rights of the Indigenous People", under consideration of the UN. The issue of the definition of the Adivasis was placed before the conference by Dr. Ramdayal Munda and L.K. Madawi. But top Adivasi leaders and the intellectuals residing in Nagpur were silent on this serious demand of Tribals.

Dr. M.M. Kothari, Retd. Head, Dept. of Philosophy, Jodhapur University, 87-Ajit Colony, Jodhpur - 342 001. In DV (July 16, '97 p.19). S. Krishna has brought to light a generally unnoticed yet a very significant aspect of the newspapers in India. Among the leading newspapers, only the *Hindu* acknowledges the books received for review and also reviews some in its Tuesday editions. But many of the other "national" dailies have almost abolished their "Book Review" sections and do not acknowledge the hundreds of books which they continue to receive from the authors/publishers. S. Krishna cites a recent example. The copies of the book *Merit, My Foot*, by V.T. Raishekari, Editor, *Dalit Voice*, had been sent to all these "national" dailies and periodical for review. But none cared to even to acknowledge the book, not to speak of reviewing it. However, by chance this book caught the attention of some Judges of the Supreme Court of India who extensively quoted from this book in their historic judgment of March 21, 1997, while dealing with the upper caste "merit" criterion which, ever since Manu, unjustly deprived equality of opportunity to the havenots of India. It is clear from Krishna's Letter that the highest judicial court of India brought wide publicity to our Editor's book which the brahminical editors and journalists treated as unworthy of even acknowledgement. A somewhat similar fate met my book, *Reflections During Emergency* (1977). Though ignored by these very press, my book caught the attention of the then Chief Justice of India who said:

"To think that a non-lawyer can write such a thought-provoking book is to say a great deal. I am sure your book will be read with interest by the common people of India..."

The book got its due in the judicial circles of India, but the Editors of "national" toilet papers devoured the

copies of this book. Some editors do not keep the record of books received by them for reviews. Even on inquiry they refuse to confirm the delivery. However, one gentle assistant editor of a leading English daily, after a careful search of his records, informed me that no such books were received by his office. But when I produced the postal acknowledgement of the same signed by the receiving authority under the official seal of that newspaper, he was in a predicament, but did not have the ordinary courtesy to offer apology for the loss of these books from their office. Later I sent a complaint to the Press Commission of India against that newspaper. The members of the Commission went through the whole correspondence and also personally heard me but did not give a fitting reply to the editor of that leading "national" newspaper which was connected with the devotees of a leading "national" Mahatma of India. S. Krishna deserves thanks for raising the issue by highlighting the manner in which hundreds of books worth thousands of rupees sent to those editors remain unrecorded, unacknowledged and even disappear from their offices. The editors should keep proper record of the books received for review, exhibit ordinary courtesy of one-line acknowledgement on a post-card or through their acknowledgement columns. Further, if they do not consider it worthy of review, they should inform the sender about their inability to review it. This is necessary to retain public confidence in the integrity and efficiency of their office.

Dr. A. Puvizhainathan, 13/11-Vetrialaikar Street, Kunalamuthoor, Coimbatore - 641 908: This has ref. to the Editor's signed article, "*Hinduised, militarised Thevars used to crush Tamil Dalits*" (DV Aug. 16, '97 p.8). Readers of DV are requested to read Vol. 5 of Dr. Babasahab Ambedkar Writings & Speeches Vol. 5 (p. 118) where he has reproduced a 1952 report by one Swami Anand Thiritha on the Thevar atrocities on Untouchables. That means Babasahab Ambedkar had noticed the criminal activities of these Hindus as long as 1952: "At Melavalavu, when I went to a tea shop with two *Harjian* boys, a group of people threatened to assault me and drove away the boys. A glass tumbler was wantonly broken by the tea shopkeeper and they all demanded that I must pay for it on penalty of being thrashed. I however took shelter in an elementary school nearby and the crowd disappeared only on the intervention of the President of the Panchayat board. (Melavalavu was re-enacted in 1997 by the Thevars by murdering Panchayat President Murugesan and five others at the same place on June 30, 1997 in daylight in a running bus. The only crime committed by the Adi-Dravidas /Paralabs was that Mu-

rugesan become the head of village administration through a democratic election in accordance with the laws of the land). At Kelavalavoo, the Dalits take water from a dirty pond in which men bathe and cattle are washed. When go to a Public *Orani* (protected water tank) they are abused and threatened by the Thevars. There is a police station at Kelavalavoo, but the police here are indifferent to the plight of Dalits. In Attunkulam, the Thevars (a former criminal tribe now listed under Backward Castes) put human shit into public when they fail to physically obstruct the Dalits from taking water from it. In Ettimangalam, the Thevars destroyed the paddy seedlings of Dalits in Govt. lands. And when the Dalits approached the Panchayat no action was taken by the police. In Thiruvadur, when Dalits took water from the *Orani*, Thevars assaulted a pregnant Dalit woman and broke her pot as well. The culprit was convicted by the magistrate but fined of merely Rs. 15. In Kidaripatti, the Dalits are not allowed to take dead bodies along public roads and they are also not permitted to ride cycles. A case filed by a Dalit obstructed from riding a cycle is pending before at Melur court... At Thakkitheru, when the Dalit sat attended a public meeting, stones were thrown at them till they left the place. At Navinipatti, two miles from Melur, the village Munsif himself took objection to Dalits wearing a decent dress on a festival day and made two Dalit youths to remove their shirts and up-per cloth. A most painful oppression was noticed in at Mankulam, 10 miles away from Madurai city. Two Dalit youths were denied admission to a tea shop. When they complained to the police one was tied to a pillar and mercilessly beaten up by a Thevar boy under instructions from Hindus. Another Dalit was assaulted with a knife by a servant of the village Munsif. Social boycotted followed. And they were put to starvation for two days. Recently, two Dalits and myself were attacked by Thevars and beaten for having bathed in tank and entering a hotel. Sixteen persons including the village Munsif were charged by the police for rioting. Though the Dalits are denied entry to public *Chavadies* in the villages in Tamil Nadu, they are tried by these very *chavadies* and punished. Innocent Dalits are summoned to this *chavadi* and tried like slaves. They are subjected to merciless beating and torture with a view to strike terror in them and to demonstrate the absolute power of the Thevars. Public whipping, imposition of heavy fines and confiscation of their properties on failure to pay the same, foisting of false cases, economic boycott by denying labour and withholding wages, social ostracism by prohibiting their entry to social functions and religious ceremonies, denial of water by preventing access to tanks and wells, de-

nial of provisions by banning sale of articles to them in the village shops etc. - these are common in South Tamil Nadu. It is our general experience that when the Dalits make bold attempts to assert their fundamental rights Hindus summon them to the *chavadi* and persecute them in one form or other. The police normally support the Hindus. At Jallianwal, Punjab, the atrocities were committed by foreign bureaucrats on men and women who had assembled a gathering. Here in Tamil Nadu atrocities are being committed by our own villagers on Dalits".

Dr. N. Suresh, Cochin - 1: There is a move to put up a statue of M.K. Gandhi by the Kochi Municipal Corporation. (1) Gandhi was the Enemy No.1 of Dalits as he had opposed the separate electorate proposed by Dr. Ambedkar. By this, he denied the Dalits a historical opportunity to get liberated from Hindus. (2) Gandhi was awarded the prestigious *Kaiser-I-Hind* Award by the British Govt. for the participation in the war along with British, against the Zulu Black Tribal community of South Africa in 1914. (3) He insulted Dalits by calling them *Harjians*, meaning bastards. For these reasons, I vehemently protest, as a Dalit against the move to put up the statue of a racist, anti-Dalit fellow.

Habir C/o Sujata Rangari, B-15/118-Binaki Mangalwari, Nagpur: On July 11 last, ten innocent Dalits including two women and a boy were killed in the police firing in Bombay. The story of this burning episode will not be complete without understanding the Dalit anger against their own Dalit leaders, like Jogendra Kawade, Ganar in Nagpur, Ramdas Athawale and R.S. Gawai in Amaravati. In Nagpur, angry Dalits abused Kawade and Ganar very badly. If they both would have not run away from the spot, the angry mob would have lynched them. In Bombay, Athawale faced the same fate. Though Gawai escaped, Athawale was beaten up very badly.

Naushad Ansari, Bangalore: A journal from Delhi, *News from India* (July 7, 1997) has disclosed that the Hindu nazi Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) is secretly trying to construct a Hindu temple on the site where the once destroyed Babri Masjid stood.

S. Haq, Patna: Brahmachari Atal Bihari Vajpayee remained Prime Minister for just 13 days. He did not do any commendable job even for his own *jatwals*. Still every Aryan *Manuwadi* considers him as "great PM" and every toilet paper describes him as great leader. His celibacy/dress/speech style etc are loved by them. Mulayam Singh Yadav was the only leader who warned Vajpayee that he would expose the secrets of his celibacy on July 27, '96. Hindutva fellows would love to hear about Nehru-Edwina love affairs with great

interest but when the Vajpayee-Kaul affairs are discussed they get furious. These humbugs must be exposed.

Isa Haq, Madhupur, Hoerah, Hooghly - 712 147: Bihar Chief Minister, Laloo Prasad Yadav has shown to the whole world how hard a nut he is. So far, he has repulsed all the attacks coming from Hindu nazis. Apparently, Laloo has been following a set of principles, morality, ethics and values - quite different from others. To him, so it seems, the abstract qualities of man under a bourgeois society is relative that it is variable in relation to classes in existing society. What is good to a class may not be so to another. This is a question of angle of vision in a class-ridden or rather caste-ridden society. Laloo has his own angle and for this he cannot be blamed too much. As a man of indomitable will and courage, the way he has been fighting almost single, handedly against all odds will not fail to earn for him an admiration.

Dr. M.Ejaz Ali, National Convenor, All-India Backward Muslim Morcha, Bhikna Pahari, Patna - 800 006: The Dalit movement has attained full maturity. K.R. Narayanan, a Dalit, has become our president, top-most post of India. The *Dalit Voice* has become the only voice of Dalit constantly shouting against the exploitation of this section. Today, I am placing a case in the court of *Dalit Voice*. Muslims also had their share as President of India. But it is unfortunate that no oppressed Muslim has become Presidents of India. Dr. Zakir Hussain, Fakhruddin, Ali Ahmad Khan, Hidayatullah were all upper caste Muslims and showboys. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad was the Union Education Minister and the result was that 75% of the Muslim community is still illiterate. Chief Justice Ahmadi was a Qadyani and the Muslim world do not consider Qadyanis as Muslims. They have rather been declared as "Kafir" throughout world.

Alex Joseph, Satya Nilayam, No.81-Lattice Rd., Madras - 600 041: It was the Editor of DV who conferred the title of "Black Bishop" on Rev. A.M. Azaraliah, the Church of South India (CSI) Bishop of Madras. You had even written an Editorial on him (DV Sept. 1, 1994: "*Black Bishop Azaraliah must walk out with Dalits if upper caste Christians fail to accept our 10-point ultimatum*"), in which you had repeated your demand for "Media Project". Any way, it was DV which made the Black Bishop world famous. Then, why did you suddenly dump him? It is over an year since I read anything about the "Black Bishop". Christian circle in Madras are wondering about the sudden silence of DV on the Black Bishop. Is it because he did not comply with the DV demand to revolt against the "jati church"?

"Jati Debate" must avoid personal attacks

ISA HAQUE, MADHUPUR, HOERAH
PO, HOOGHLY DT. W.B. - 712 147

This refers to Dr. N. Suresh's charge, "DV Editor is going mad", in connection with the Debate on "caste identity" (DV Aug. 1, 1997 p.18). The language in which he has criticized our Editor is not only bad in taste but highly objectionable as far as the crusade of a dedicated soul like our Editor is concerned.

In this connection, it is to be noted that for the past one year or so, the Editor has been stressing the need for strengthening every *jati* to help create an atmosphere in which every *jati* can be placed in an advantageous position to demand its legitimate share in proportion to its population. And this he thinks is the correct and sound step. As there will hardly be any *jati* left unrepresented in the distribution of share of positions and power.

This formula may not be attractive to many. This may also appear to be unacceptable and unfeasible. But, nevertheless, nobody should allow himself to go beyond the bounds of his sense of decency and decorum in criticism, particularly in the case in which a noted personality and a tested crusader is involved.

Our Editor being no ordinary mortal and he being in the service of the oppressed people all over the world, his credibility, sincerity and dedication is above question. His arguments may not be palatable to a section but instead of contesting these with superior reasoning and logic, Dr. Suresh should not have cast aspersions on and denigrated this noted intellectual giant of the country.

Like Dr. Suresh, I also personally do not subscribe to the Editor's view on this particular point, but that I want to make public in terminology that befits his great personality.

Govt. promoting Hinduism?

New Delhi: The National Minorities Commission has asked the Centre to do away with the proviso in the Presidential Order (PO) of Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes which uses religion as the criterion for deciding the SC status. The third para of the 1950 PO lists only the low caste and economically backward "Hindus", Sikhs and Budhists as SCs and under the present law Dalits lose their SC status and related benefits if they convert to Christianity. The NMC has sought an amendment to PO as it discriminates on the basis of religion, thereby recommending SC status to Dalit Christians.

(Hindu, Aug. 25, '97).

Dalit Voice

August 16-31, 1985 Vol 4 No.21
EDITORIAL: "What is the secret behind the Hindu demand for Common Civil Code."

India's ruling class is a postmaster in side-tracking issues, diverting attention from the burning problems to mislead the people. This is what is happening today to the Muslim Personal Law (MPL). Having realised the hollowness of Hindu Law, the Hindus actually want to adopt MPL. Their opposition to MPL is to extend its benefits of property inheritance to women, divorce etc. to Hindus also. By adopting the MPL, they want to save their women from "dowry deaths" which are actually divorce deaths and above all they want to prevent their men taking to Islam to get the advantage of having two wives. But as it hurts the Hindu pride to directly admit the superiority of the MPL, they adopted a safer device of a Common Civil Code (CCC) for all the Indians. That is why while clamouring for CCC, they simultaneously use every means to malign the MPL. A divorce of a Muslim couple gets lots of publicity in their "national" toilet papers. Every Hindu believes and propagates that every Muslim marries four wives. The MPL is the only one which for the first time in the world recognised marriage not as a sacrament but as a contract providing for divorce when such a contract causes hindrance. Muslim scholars say it is to avoid the misery of prostitution, childlessness, social insecurity, economic dependence, and such other exploitations of unfortunate women that the provision of polygamy is made in Islam. This is evident from the fact that Muslim women enjoy greater freedom, social security and economic independence in Islamic countries. On the contrary, in India, women are the worst exploited. Because, it has the sanction of Hindu religion and custom. Hindu women are made prostitutes in temples to be enjoyed by the priests. Hindu man is allowed to have sex with any woman without any reciprocal responsibility upon himself. Whereas, under Islam, this is forbidden. It provides for whipping a man for sex out of marriage, compels him to have sex only after marriage, that too with the woman he loves. He has to pay her the "mahar" and binds him to look after her and her children, entrusting them to inheritance even if she is divorced. No religion has assured full equality to the woman. It is only under socialism the woman exploitation is prevented. But our Hindu zealots are not interested in socialism but in Muslim-baiting. This shall not be allowed.

Upper Caste opposition to reform Hindu society - Our Correspondent:

BJP goodbye to Gandhism - Our Correspondent:

Gandhi cut to size in UK film - A Correspondent:

More conversions to Islam in TV - Our Correspondent:
Hindus told to oppose family planning.

September 16 - 30 1997

23

KANSHI RAM TAKES STOCK OF 50 YEARS OF "INDEPENDENCE", PAINTS A PICTURE OF GORY INDIA

WHY THE BAHUJAN SAMAJ IS DEPENDENT IN INDEPENDENT INDIA ?

Kanshi Ram
President, Bahujan Samaj Party

Lists India's all-round failures: 5 lakh villages where 50% of our people live, have no primary schools. National average literacy rate is 52.21%, but that of Scheduled Castes (SC) is 37.41%. Not even half of SC males are literate and 3/4 SC women are illiterate. In UP, less than 10% SC women are literate. On the 50th year of "independence", a majority of SC/ST/BCs are deprived of basic facility of education. Literacy among tribals is still worse. That is why the upper caste rulers have a vested interest in keeping the SC/ST/BCs as illiterate by which they can be easily exploited. Health and medical services are totally neglected in villages. Crimes against SC/ST are increasing daily. And the laws to prevent atrocities against SC/STs are never enforced. Of the rural population, 75% are SC/ST/BCs and over 50% of them own no lands. That means they are virtually slaves of upper caste landlords. Endless govt. schemes are there to "improve" the economic conditions of the agricultural labourers but only on paper. Nothing has been implemented and all the money has

gone into the stomach of upper caste officials. All "poverty alleviation" programmes have proved bogus. Untouchability has been "abolished" in the Constitution of the country (Article 17). But nothing has been done to implement it. So much so, untouchability

creates of displaced persons live in stinking urban slums. There are 10 lakh pavement-dwellers on the electoral roll of Calcutta city, 20 lakh live in Delhi slums, 75% of the people of Bombay have no proper housing facility. Entire planning process of the country has failed. The plight of Other Backward Castes (OBCs), who constitute 52% of the population, is still worse because the govt. recognised their existence only in 1990 - 43 years after this "independence". The Constitution of India had called for steps to recognise the OBCs and measures for their development. But no action was taken to look after OBCs for full 40 years. Only in 1990, the govt. decided to introduce 27% reservation to OBCs on the basis of Mandal Com. Report. Political power in India has been a monopoly of a few (upper castes). And that is the cause of failure of democracy in India. Upper castes through their monopoly of Money power, Media power and Media power have rigged every election to their advantage - thereby sabotaging the Constitution itself. ■

1997. pp. 52
 Write for free copies in English, Hindi and all languages
Regional Headquarters
 No. 12- Gurdwara Rakabganj Rd.,
 New Delhi - 110 001.

the laws to prevent atrocities against SC/STs are never enforced. Of the rural population, 75% are SC/ST/BCs and over 50% of them own no lands. That means they are virtually slaves of upper caste landlords. Endless govt. schemes are there to "improve" the economic conditions of the agricultural labourers but only on paper. Nothing has been implemented and all the money has

(castism) reigns supreme in every village of India. SCs who number 13.82 crores constitute 1/6th our population and yet they are at the bottom of economic pyramid. Because of deprivation 45% of the SCs are living below the poverty line as against the "national" average of 37.40%. This has led to distress migration of SC/ST from villages to cities where 10

THE MIDDLE EAST

(A Brief History of the last 2,000 years)

Barnard Lewis
 Noted Authority on the subject &
 Prof. at Princeton University, New Jersey.

1997 pp 440 \$15

Touchstone Book
 Rockefeller Centre
 1230 - Avenue of America, New York 10020

GLOWING TRIBUTES

Paid to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar by world famous leaders

1997 Editor: P. Thangaraj Rs. 20
 pp 51

Puratchikkanal Publication
 HIG - 2/15 - Jayalalita Nagar (E), Madras - 600 050

Fax-Phone : 0091-080-33 66 771

EDITOR: V. TRAJSHSEKAR

Published from:

109/7th Cross, Palace Lower Orchards,
 Bangalore - 560 003 - India.

Annual Subscription: Rs.125

Payable in MO or DD to: "Dalit Voice".

Foreign Airmail: US 40\$ dollars

Dalit Voice

CHARVAKA DARSHAN

(Ancient Indian Dalit Philosophy)

Katti Padma Rao
 Noted Dalit leader of Andhra Pradesh & Sanskrit Scholar
 1997 pp125 Rs. 100

Gurukul Theological College
 94 - Pursawalkam High Rd., Kilpauk, Madras - 600 010

RESISTING REGIMES

(Myth, Memory & the Shaping of Muslim Identity)

Shail Mayaram
 of the Inst. of Devp. Studies, Jaipur, refers to
 the crisis in the identity of Meo-Muslims.
 1997 pp. 300 Rs. 475

Oxford University Press
 YMCA Library Building, Jaisingh Road, New Delhi - 1

When corresponding, please quote your label number

To

.....
