

DALIT VOICE

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The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities Denied Human Rights

Vol. 22

Bangalore

December 1 - 15 2003

No. 23

SAUDI GOVT. MAY FALL AS TAIL OF U.S.A.

Enemy bent
upon killing
BSP

Debate : Who
is enemy
of Dalits ?

Calling Shankaracharya :

THUS SPAKE AMBEDKAR

Thus Spake Ambedkar

ARTICLE 22 A (New Article)

Prof. K.T. Shah: Sir, I beg to move:

"That after Article 22, the following new article be inserted:- "22-A. All privileges, immunities or exemptions of heads of religious organisations shall be abolished."

The Honourable Dr. B.R. Ambedkar: Mr. Vice-President, Sir, the amendment probably is quite laudable in its object but I do not know whether the amendment is necessary at all. In the first place all these titles and so on which religious dignitaries have cannot be hereafter conferred by the State because we have already included in the fundamental rights that no title shall be conferred and obviously no such title can be conferred by the State. Secondly, as my Honourable Friend is aware perhaps, no suit can lie merely for the enforcement of a certain title which a man chooses to give himself. If a certain man calls himself a Sankaracharya and another person refuses to call him a Sankaracharya no right of suit can lie. It has been made completely clear in Section 9 of the Civil Procedure Code that no suite can lie merely for the enforcement of what you might call a dignity. Of course if the dignity carries with it some emoluments or property of some sort, that is a different matter, but mere dignity cannot be a ground of action at all.

With regard to the amenities which perhaps some of them enjoy, it is certainly within the power of the executive and the legislature to withdraw them. It is quite true, as my Honourable Friend Mr. Chaudhari said, that in some cases summons are sent by the magistrate. In other cases when the man concerned occupies a bigger position in life, instead of sending summons, he sends a letter. Some persons, when appearing in courts, are made to stand while some other persons are offered a chair. All these are matters of dignity which are entirely within the purview of the legislature and the government. If there was any anomaly or discrepancy or disparity shown between a citizen and a citizen, it is certainly open both to the legislature and the executive to remove those anomalies. I therefore think that the amendment is quite unnecessary.

(The motion of Prof. Shah was negatived).

ARTICLE 23 (Contd.)

Mr. Vice-President (Dr. H.C. Mookherjee): We shall now

Dr. Babasahab Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Vol. 13, (pages 427 - 429) 1994, Rs. 190. Govt. of Maharashtra, Bombay. The book may be had from Director, Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay - 400 004.

No wrong if you refuse to call one Shankaracharya

resume discussion of article 23 to which two amendments have been moved. Amendment No.677 relates to national language and script and is therefore postponed. Amendments Nos. 678, 679, 680 and 681 (1st part) are to be considered together as they are of similar import. I can allow No. 678 to be moved.

The Honourable Dr. B.R. Ambedkar (Bombay:General): Sir, I move —

"That in clause (1) of article-23, for the words "script and culture" the words "script or culture" be substituted."

The only change is from "and" to "or" and the necessity of the change is so obvious that I do not think it is necessary for me to say anything regarding the same.

Mr. Vice-President: Amendment No. 679.

Shri H.V. Kamath (C.P. & Berar:General): I have been forestalled by Dr. Ambedkar. So, I do not move No. 679.

Mr. Vice-President: Do you wish to press No. 680?

Mohamed Ismail Sahib (Madras: Muslim): Yes.

Mr. Vice-President: Do you wish that 681 first part should be put to vote?

Prof. K. T. Shah (Bihar: General): First part is covered by Dr. Ambedkar's amendment. But I would like to move the second part.

Shri Jaipal Singh (Bihar:General): Mr. Vice-President, Sir, I have great pleasure in welcoming this article, more so as it has been suitably amended by Dr. Ambedkar, and I hope his amendment will be accepted by the House. Sir, to me this article seems to open a new era of India...

Mr. Vice-President: Dr. Ambedkar

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena (United Provinces: General): sir, I have to say something, and...

Mr. Vice-President: I cannot allow the discussion to be prolonged any longer, and my decision is final in this matter.

Prof. Shibban Lal Saksena: To allow some people and not to allow others is not proper.

Mr. Vice-President: I know it is considered improper. Dr. Ambedkar.

(To be continued)

Saudi regime may be toppled if it refuses to apply oil shock to squeeze America

The Nov.9, 2003 devastating midnight terrorist attack in the heart of Riyadh, capital of Saudi Arabia, the staunchest Arab ally of America, confirms our suspicion that the internal opponents of the oppressive Saudi regime are bent upon teaching a lesson as a step towards defeating America itself.

- ◆ *Saudi Govt. may fall if it refuses to use oil shock to squeeze USA*
- ◆ *Enemy bent upon killing BSP by persecuting Mayawati*
- ◆ *US must get out of Iraq*

◆ **Debate: Who is enemy of Dalits**

- (1) *Dalit-BC unity better than Dalit-Brahmin unity*
- (2) *Secret of Brahmin domination*
- (3) *Brahminism, not BCs, is enemy*
- (4) *BSO behind BC violence on Dalits*

is the Saudi oil.

War against Muslims: It is now an open secret that President Bush controlled by a powerful Zionist cabal is waging a war against Muslims and Islam at the behest of Israel in the name of "Clash of civilisations". It waged war in Afghanistan and later in Iraq. Israel is daily killing Palestinians and forcibly occupying their lands. They are also pricking Iran and Syria. Tormenting Turkey.

Reports in the Western press indicate that the OPEC (Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries), most of them Arabs, are increasingly realising that America can be brought to its knees if oil weapon is used.

As the winter begins, US demand for oil will increase. This is the right time to cut down oil supplies to US and hike the oil price. But the Saudi rulers are resisting.

Power of Saudi Arabia: Saudi Arabia, world's largest producer of oil, possesses 25% of the world's reserves. OPEC's Arab countries alone control 2/3 of the reserves.

Here lies the power of Saudi Arabia. This is the secret behind the US rushing its Deputy Secretary of State Armitage to reassure the Saudi rulers within hours after the Nov.9 attack in Riyadh. The US is so much dependent on Saudi oil because it is the world's biggest oil guzzler.

The US is deeply worried about the stability of the Saudi Govt., one of the world's most oppressive regimes. It is these Saudi rulers who sold their country to America and permitted the US to control its oil economy and even its internal affairs. The US turned a blind eye to all the anti-democratic behaviour of the Saudi royal family against which the opposition is growing within the country — perhaps even within the royal family.

The Nov.9, 2003 midnight suicide bombing right in the heart

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of Riyadh was carried out clearly with the help of the insiders. The attackers were wearing police uniform and used police vehicles. That means there are sympathisers of bin Laden, a respected Saudi business magnate, within the Saudi Govt. and perhaps even within the royal family.

Custodian of Mecca: The US is deeply worried because the pro-African royal family with 5,000 useless princes is becoming very unpopular with the people. As the self-styled custodian of Islam and its holy place of Mecca, it

is using dictatorial methods to suppress the people, in the name of protecting Islam. And bin Laden, himself a Saudi national, has gained many followers and we will not be surprised if the Saudi royal family is toppled in the coming months — unless the Crown Prince Abdullah mellows and understands the mood of the Muslims inside and outside and then agrees to apply the oil shock to squeeze America.

We expect big changes within Saudi Arabia in the months to come. ■

DALIT VOICE HAS KEY ROLE TO PLAY

Enemy bent upon killing BSP by persecuting Mayawati

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

India's national leader Kanshi Ram, who after Babasahab Ambedkar generated a powerful revolutionary socio-political movement, is now in crisis. Sister Mayawati is made to face many corruption cases so that the powerful political movement of the Bahujan Samaj is killed without firing a bullet. This is the law of Manu.

There is no Dalit-Backward leader in the whole of India to run the revolution acceptable to the entire mass of people. A power-vested in any person may transferred but a people's movement needs an inspiring, morale-boosting personality produced as a result of a long struggle.

When our social movement is facing such a crisis, we should prepare ourselves to keep the Caravan moving forward. The problem of a vast country like India and the problem of social struggle is more important than any other thing. It is our moral and missionary duty to rise to the occasion and meet the needs of the time.

Death of movement: If the movement stands, we will live. But the death of movement means death to all. Before our natural death, we should not allow any death engineered by our enemy oppressor to overtake us.

Faced with such a gloomy prospect, the warning given by our socio-political scholar, Editor V.T. Rajshekar, is extremely relevant. (DV Oct. 16, 2003 p.4: "*Greatness of Kanshi Ram*, V.T. Rajshekar).

Praising the hero of our social movement, Kanshi Ram, he has rightly backed Sister Mayawati. The only movement that rose under Kanshi Ram's leadership

has created a vast political awakening among our innocent Indian masses called Dalit-Backwards.

Cooked up charges: In this critical hour, our moral and missionary duty is to save our movement. For the moment we should forget our personal bickerings. Don't forget: If the movement is killed, it means our sure death. If this movement stands and steps forward, we can find all the leadership the movement needs.

The creator of this revolution is physically unable to continue his struggle. Our enemy is bent upon killing our movement with cooked up corruption charges against Mayawati. Reports say that her bank accounts have been frozen by the CBI.

We should not let the enemy touch her. No personal grudges should stand in our way. A social movement belongs to none but the masses among whom we are born.

Sleeping slaves: The role played by *Dalit Voice* in the last 25 years has awakened a good lot of our sleeping slaves. The credit goes to DV for internationalising our centuries-old problem. Though the Editor has been ignored by the "educated" Dalits, yet he has stood firmly with Kanshi Ram and to save the movement of social revolution of Budha, Kabir, Nanak, Phule, Shahu and Dr. Ambedkar.

Why Editor didn't join BSP: He might not have joined the (BSP) political party because as the Editor of India's largest circulated and the highly respected Dalit journal, he cannot be a member of any political party. But he has consistently supported Kanshi Ram. He thinks BSP is the only people's movement. Tomorrow

our national leader, Kanshi Ram, may not be there and Mayavati may fall into the net spread by the enemy. Who will take charge of the movement? Only those who are ready to sustain the movement. Don't think that the movement belongs to this or that person. Genuine movements are always mass movements.

In 1885, some Brahmins created a party called the Congress. Some leaders made it a movement of Hindus. In the last 50 years, the Hindus (upper castes) collected all social and political powers in their hands against the over 85% Bahujans of India.

Since 1948, the Phule, Shahu and Dr. Ambedkar

Promise to Mayavati

We have stood by Brother Kanshi Ram from the very beginning. Not only that. We have participated in all his movements — BAMCEF, DS-4 and other agitations. However, we kept out when he converted his movement into a political party in keeping with the high traditions to be followed as

the Editor of a non-party paper. But we always supported the Bahujan Samaj movement in all our speeches and writings. Sister Mayawati is quite capable and we are sure she will frustrate the criminal intentions of the ruling class. The rulers are doing their duty. But we are not doing our duty. The "educated" Dalit class has

produced too many stooges and self-seekers. It is these people who are doing everything to undermine the Bahujan Samaj movement and also Dalit Voice. Yet we are weathering the storm. We assure our full support to Sister Mayawati and renew our promise to shoulder any responsibility — EDITOR.

Dalit Christian journal

New Delhi: The *Christian Post* a journal to voice the problems and concerns of over 20 million Dalit Christians in India was launched jere on Nov.8. releasing the first issue of the bilingual fortnightly journal, Poor Christian Liberation Movement president R.L. Francis said it would air the grievances of the Dalit Christians. (UNI - Deccan Herald, Nov.9, 2003). ■

Mohdhir Mohammed speaks
the language of DV

JEW'S RULE THE WORLD

A speech that shook the whole world. Full text of the historic speech of Malaysia's ex-Prime Minister at the inauguration of the Organisation of Islamic Countries at Putrajaya on Oct. 18, 2003 (DV Nov. 16, 2003 p.3: "DV proves right on Jew's").

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2 tabloid size pages.
Write to DV office with MO or DD for Rs. 60.

Latest English pamphlet warning
followers of Islam

MUSLIMS & MUSTADAFEEN

(Failure to follow dictates of Quran)

Speech delivered on the subject,
"Human Rights in Islam",
under the auspices of
Islamic Academy for Comparative
Religion at the Nehru Auditorium,
Madina Education Centre, Nampally,
Hyderabad, on Sept.28, 2003.
Bashiruddin Babukhan,
a former minister of Andhra Pradesh,
presided.

2003 pp.12 Rs. 5
Dalit Sahitya Akademy
Write to *Dalit Voice*,
No. 109 - 7th Cross
Palace Lower Orchards
Bangalore - 560 003.

RALLY AGAINST PRIVATISATION & FOR RESERVATION IN PRIVATE SECTOR

Udit Raj Appeal

Reservation is about to be finished but Confederation is out to save it.

Place: Ram Lila Ground, New Delhi.

Date: Dec.14 (Sunday) 9 a.m.

The All-India Confederation of SC/ST Organizations struggled hard and as a consequence, three anti-reservation orders have been withdrawn and two of them are still in force. The Indian Parliament restored the benefits of reservation by a Constitutional amendment but the Supreme Court has admitted a petition so that reservation benefits are diluted and hearing may take place any time. Be prepared to defend it. Otherwise our achievements will be taken away. To give effect to the 85th constitutional amendment, OM dated Jan.21, 2002 was issued. We are trying our best to defend it in Supreme Court.

The struggle waged by our workers, leaders and employees could save reservation to some extent. Public sector undertakings and departments are being privatized at a fast rate. Recruitment has also come to a halt. The present scenario is closing the doors of progress and except for reservation, Dalits are yet to

begin their progress in media, industry, professions, art and culture, agriculture and other important spheres of development and even basic needs. Privatization is a means to push Dalits back in history. We must understand that without struggle no one is going to give us our rights. Anti-reservation orders were withdrawn because of struggle and right of reservation in private sector can be achieved through more struggles.

We are committed to fight against *Manuwadi* terrorism which is victimizing Dalits, Christians, Muslims and poor. For securing reservation in private sector and other rights, our Confederation is holding a mammoth rally on Dec. 14, 2003 at Ram Lila Ground, New Delhi. We will also demand an immediate halt to curtailment of religious freedom and saffronisation of history.

NO. 5 - Pusa Road, 3rd floor, Karol Bagh, New Delhi - 110 005. Ph: 011-574 00 16.

US must get out of Iraq admitting defeat

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: It is time that America admits a humiliating defeat in Iraq and gets out before it is pulped on the desert sands.

We had predicted that America would face sure defeat in Iraq. This prediction was made even before it invaded a sovereign country. (DV Feb.1, 2003 p.8: "*US defeated even before attacking Iraq?*"). Bush and his henchmen have finally admitted the power of Saddam Hussein and his efficacy. No target is beyond Saddam's reach.

America has also admitted that foreign *jehadis* are pouring into Iraq and fighting the American forces. If more and more Muslim and even non-Muslim countries are turning anti-American nobody else can be blamed but President Bush and his Zionist backers.

During his recent tour of Asia, he was shocked to find the bursting anti-American anger in all the countries he visited. Even in the White Australia.

Bush appears to a virtual prisoner in the hands of his Zionist cabal which is keeping him in the dark. This cabal is not even allowing him to supply the "secret" documents related to the Sept. 11, 2001 "terrorist attack" on USA. Why this secrecy?

Who did the 9/11 attack: If bin Laden and his "terrorist gang" is the culprit of the 9/11, why the White House is refusing to hand over the relevant documents wanted by the Federal Commission to investigate the 9/11 attack? Does it not mean that the Zionist cabal controlling Bush has some secrets to suppress? When the Zionists were the first to announce that the attacks were master-mined by bin Laden, why are they now withholding the information? Will not their behaviour confirm our charge that the 9/11 was not done by bin Laden but the Zionists themselves?

(DV Edit Oct. 16, 2001, p.9: "*Did Israel attack Pentagon & WTC?*").

Dalit-BC unity better than Dalit-Brahmin unity

AMARJIT SINGH, 44 - GOWAN ROAD, WILLESDEN, LONDON, NW10 2SH, UK

As we approach the end of the century I see a number of oppressive institutions previously thought to be stable and unchanging taking a hammering. We have seen the crumbling of White power in South Africa. We see the Palestinian *Intifada* continuously gaining momentum. Two most virulent forms of racism are reeling before the might of the oppressed. Yet seemingly the Indian form of Apartheid, the caste system, seems to be as strong as ever. What are the prospects for the Dalits in the 21st century?

GANDHISM IS DEAD

To know the answer to this question we have to assess how things have changed since Dr. Ambedkar died. What have been the positive and negative aspects of the progress of the Dalit struggle? Positively: Dalits can be seen in nearly all lower and middle level jobs in the govt. The popularity of Dr. Ambedkar and his ideals is at an all-time high in India. The adoption of the word **Dalit** itself indicates an acceptance of the fact that gandhism with its insulting and patronising word *Harjian* is dead and buried even for most of the non-Dalit population. Whenever gandhism is talked about, it's mostly in past tense and mostly by middle-class university intellectuals. The last few decades have seen the rise and in some instances fall of Ambedkarite movements. All of these movements whether they were Republican, Dalit Panther or DS4 have all left an indelible mark on the Dalit consciousness. The Dalit struggle in Bihar sometimes specifically called as such

sometimes under the banner of Naxalism continues to flourish. On an intellectual level the All-India Conference of Dalit Writers indicated a new pan-Indian Dalit awareness which cuts across many political ideologies but which has only one aim: the liberation of the Dalit people. This Dalit intelligentsia does not suffer from factionalism, despite its wide spectrum of points of view. This fact is in itself of considerable importance.

The main negative aspect of affairs is that the practice of caste and untouchability is still rife. India has 80 million bonded labourers and most of them are Untouchables. The number of atrocities committed against Dalits keeps increasing. Perhaps this fact need not be so disheartening as it is also a barometer of the strength of Dalit resistance. Reservation policies have not been implemented the question of Dalit human rights is still largely thought to be an internal Indian problem although representations have been made to the UNO.

WANTED REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

So, what indeed are the prospects for Dalits in the 21st century? Almost everyone agrees that any fundamental change in Indian society has to be revolutionary rather than evolutionary: deep structural change rather than merely tampering with the system. It is also agreed that this change would be brought about not from the top, but rather from the bottom that is, change must be brought about by the very people who need it. The

fundamental contradiction in India is between the haves and the havenots. A major aspect of this contradiction is that those havenots are themselves divided by that same poison of caste which they are struggling against. The havenots I have in mind are both the Untouchables and the so-called BCs. Apart from the very tiny minority of Untouchables who are rich, the rest, even including the lower middle classes want to see a fundamental overhaul of Indian society. To get rid of the caste system it is imperative that the majority of the Indian population and not only the Untouchables should rebel against it. We must not forget that the Untouchables form less than 15% of the Indian population and on their own cannot hope to destroy this hateful system.

CASTE SYSTEM

The single largest section of the Indian population are the BCs, a section which is both oppressed and oppressor at one and the same time. These people have been subjugated for a long time. They are, however, made to feel that though they may be poor and their condition pitiful there is a section below them on whom they can look down. For those who have no hope, no national or historical leader, nor a guiding ideology and a leader — whether we like it or not — the caste system will live or die with the BCs. Brahminism in its worst social form, paradoxically perhaps dead with the Brahmins, nourishes within this community. In some parts of India the BCs dislike the Untouchables. In other areas there is open hostility

between the two. In some areas, such as in many places in Bihar it is the rich BCs who are the main enemy of Dalits.

CLASS-CASTE WAR IN BIHAR

But again it would be a mistake to think that the BCs are a unified community. On an all-India level, no generalisations can be made about this community. What can be said is that like all communities this one has deep divisions. If examined carefully the BCs reveal deeper divisions than would appear on the surface. In some parts of India the traditional land-owning castes have been displaced by the BC landlords who have acquired land by various means. In the past, these people were socially inferior. In trying to obtain for themselves a high rank in the social and economic hierarchy, these people took to Brahminism with zeal. In order to fight their way into the hierarchy, they had to fight the new-found militancy of the new Untouchable, the Dalit, who is no longer willing to serve as a serf or a bonded labourer. It is this section of the BCs who have a vested interest in committing atrocities against the Dalits. And it is this section that leads the BCs. It is true that when it comes down to it the two top layers of the BCs unite with each other. Whenever this section of BCs leads the committing of atrocities against Dalits, it acts as a class as well as caste. That is why people say that there is a class as well as caste war in Bihar.

Then there is the middle section of the BCs. These people are neither big landlords nor do they belong to the category of the landless peasantry. They have fairly good if not deep connections with the rich BCs either through marriage alliances, caste customs or in political terms. They most certainly receive benefits from being in close

connection with them. These people do not really have any antagonistic differences as such with the Dalits but tend to serve the interests of the rich BCs. They would like to become rich but know that it is not actually possible for them to ascend in the new feudal hierarchy. They are really caught between the devil and the deep blue sea. At worst, they will continue to side with the rich BCs and at best they can be neutralised to a degree. They will be the last people to join the social revolution when it does come to India.

MUSLIMS & SIKHS

Fortunately, these rich and middle BCs do not constitute the majority. It is simply that these two sections exercise an influence which is much stronger than their numerical strength as is always the case in such situations.

The vast majority of the BCs are very poor. They suffer from economic exploitation but they follow their richer caste brethren (such is the logic of caste-ridden politics in India).

The poor BCs do not have any real differences with the Dalits apart from the unreal fear of pollution. However, they may be dragged into act against the Dalits at times. On the whole, this section could have been a radical force to be reckoned with but thanks to the bungling of the forces of the radical left and its refusal to take up the issue of caste seriously these people are at best neutralised. At worst they act at the behest of the worst reactionary powers in India. This section is what the Mandal Commission had in mind as the recipient for the BC reservation.

We now come to the Muslims. They can be the neutral friends of Dalits as they too are oppressed. They are labelled as

anti-Indian and trouble-makers, just as Dr. Ambedkar himself was more than once. The victim is blamed for the crime itself. There are other minorities in India such as the Sikhs but the difference between them and the Muslims is that the Sikhs only fully discovered Hindu chauvinism when the Hindus refused to share the cake with them and they the Sikhs fought back. The trouble with the Sikhs is that they want to practice the caste system and oppose the Hindus. They want to keep Sikhism and eat it at the same time. Unfortunately just as Sikhism is a bone in the throat of Hindus, which they can neither swallow nor spit out, similarly Sikhism has become a bone in the throat of many Sikhs. They can neither swallow it nor can they afford to get rid of it. But what I have said above applies only to the rich Sikhs. It obviously does not apply to the Dalit Sikhs or fair-minded Sikh believers.

DIAMOND OF CASTE

Finally, there is the tribal population, mostly outside the Hindu pale and differently exploited. Again potential friends are there too but this would mean building bridges. It can be done. DS4 led by Kanshi Ram has already shown the way.

Now that we have some idea of what this diamond of caste looks like, we can know its strength. Like a diamond it is very hard. It almost appears to be the hardest thing to crack in Indian society. But like a diamond it also has certain lines of weakness. Like a diamond, it too will require another diamond to crack it. The fault-line of this diamond of caste is the boundary line between the rich and the poor BC. The diamond to crack it will be none other than the caste-class unity of the poor BCs, Dalits and

other minorities against BCs will be the deciding factor in this equation. How are we to implement such a strategy? Although examples from other parts of the world are useful, we have the rich history of the peoples struggle in India to act as an even better guide. The Budha taught us dialectics and logic to sharpen our intellects. However, the idealist philosophy of Buddhism was its own ultimate downfall and that aspect must be avoided. The Lokayats, the materialist and atheistic philosophy of Charvaka, the enemy of Brahminism, must be adopted. The mediaeval Bhaktas taught us how to reach the masses for ideas when they grip the masses become an unbeatable force. The latter day Satnamis and the Sikhs the bulk of whom were Dalits taught us the value of militant struggle. A study of Dr. Ambedkar's life history is a must to fight the enemy. The struggle of minorities like Nagas teaches us that it is possible to hold

a powerful enemy in check, provided your cause is a just one. Nearer home, the example of the Naxalite Dalits in Bihar shows that it is possible to win human dignity and make gains in human rights although of course there is a price to pay for this as nothing comes without sacrifice. Elsewhere the gandhites and fake marxists of India teach us the negative lesson that the intellectual struggling against those who may mislead us can be just as acute as the physical struggle.

Now we come back to the diamond. In order to destroy the caste system, it would be necessary to unite as many people as possible against the true enemy who is in essence only a minority, albeit a powerful one.

The savarnnas together with the rich landlord BCs will have to be fought against tooth and nail.

The middle BCs would have to be split from the top section and

somehow neutralised. The poor BCs would have to be opposed in their wrong tendencies and united with them when necessary such as in the implementation of the Mandal Commission report. Only such activities would drive a wedge between the BCs and the savarnnas.

This is the point of weakness, the Achilles heel of Hindu society. Once this wedge is driven, it would then polarise the havenots against the haves and Dalits, Untouchables and Bahujans against the oppressors. There are other points of weakness. The other national minorities can help in facilitating the downfall of the caste system but they have to be reached and united with in practice. The people of India especially the Dalit intellectuals have a major part to play in all this. This strategy looks difficult to realise almost hopeless and somewhat crazy but it is the one strategy which has not yet been tried in India.

(amarajit@willesden18.freesevve.co.uk) ■

Secret of Brahmin domination

K. PRAKASH, TGT (M), JAWAHAR NAVODAYA VIDYALAYA, CHIKKAGOIHALLI, BELLARY DT. - 583 126

Thank you for publishing my article: "Targeting Brahmins killed Dalit movement" (DV Sept. 16, 2003 p.8). In spite of being critical of your editorial line, you have published it. This makes you a great journalist over others.

The DV Debate on "Who is the enemy of Dalits?" is a welcome development. The actual question doesn't seem to be the choice between the Brahmin and the BC but whether the Dalit movement should continue to target the Brahmin and Brahminism even in the days to come.

The chief aim of the Dalit movement was to transfer the power to the Bahujans who form 85% of the Indian population. Since targeting the Brahmin and Brahminism didn't achieve this aim, it would be a waste of time, money and energy to continue the same in future.

Role of English language: The BCs who are dominating the socio-political scene today have no independent ideology. The traditional Brahmin philosophy of hatred and caste discrimination is copied

by the BCs to establish their domination in the society.

In spite of this, statistics indicate that the Brahmin still dominates on the cultural scene if not on the socio-political-economic scene. This is mainly due to the capacity of the Brahmin to master the English language and Western thought. This capacity has enabled him to control the vast majority and rule them. What the Dalits should now strive for is an ideology which at once strikes the Western thought of the Brahmins and the traditional philosophy practised by the BCs. The ideology should also ensure worldwide support for the Dalit movement and gain votes for the BSP.

The most ideal thought to meet the above requirements would be the living rights. This thought is new only by its name. It was first defined in the form of directive principles of state-policy by Dr. Ambedkar in our Constitution. Please give a serious thought to the living rights.

We request other honest Brahmins like Brother Prakash to join the Debate — EDITOR.

Brahminism, not BCs, as our enemy

CHINTA S. C/O CH. BABU AMBEDKAR, 4056, OFMK ESTATE, YEDDUMAILARAM - 502 205

Who is the enemy of Dalits? Definitely it is Brahminism. Not Backward Castes. But what is Brahminism? We can define Brahminism as under:

1. A feeling of belonging to a superior race. Hence should enjoy all benefits in society. Other races should serve this superior race (racial supremacy or apartheid).
2. A logical manifestation of the above thinking promotes separation of humans into lower and higher. The result is lower castes/higher castes etc. resulting in denial of equal opportunity to all. This results in non-utilization of the talents of several groups. This results in the backwardness of the society as whole.
3. Creation of social systems and cultures to sustain this unjust division of society. Selfishness, mercenary mentality, jealousy, ignorance, hatred are the reasons for this unjust social divisions.
4. Reinforcing this unjust social order by using religion as a potential weapon and enforcing it through political power. Whoever propagates such a Brahminism are *vaidiks* even if they are not Brahmins by caste. Thus, the Backward Castes which have the mind-set of Brahminism, are Backward Caste Brahmins. Or neo-Brahmins.

Shudras as enemy: Coming to the main point, there is no doubt that Brahmin, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas castes are 100% Brahminical. Hence they are the enemies of Dalits. But for the sake of expediency they can become our friends. For furthering the cause of Dalits, political necessity may make or mar this friendship. Similarly the *shudra* castes (the dominant castes like the Khammas, Reddys, Lingyats, Vokkaligas, Kunbis and Kayasths etc.) are also Brahminical in mindset and content. They are not Brahmins but they are 150% followers of Brahminism. Hence they are also enemies of Dalits.

That means Brahmins+Kshatriyas+Vaishyas +Shudra castes are the enemies of Dalits.

But these four groups may become our friends or enemies according to our needs. The main agenda is advancement of Dalit human rights and interests — not friendship or enmity with *vaidiks* or Backwards.

DV line of thinking: Dalits must hate what the enemy loves. Our enemies do not want us to form government in UP. They hate us. Out of their hate, they even try to kill the leadership of Dalits.

So, Dalits have to make friendship with one enemy

to kill the other enemy. The enemy's enemy is our friend. This is perfectly alright and is fully in tune with the DV line of thinking.

Who are the upper castes? DV's definition of upper castes is wrong. It includes all castes including Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, dominant Backward (*shudra*) castes. Thus cases like viz. Yadavs, Kurmis, Khammas, Reddys, Lingayats, Vokkaligas, Kunbis and Kayasths with Brahminical mindset are upper castes. In the *Chaturvarna* system, the four *varnas* are Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya, *shudra*. These four *varnas* changed into caste groups.

The first three are single caste groups with internal sects. Whereas the *shudras* are a mixture of thousands of castes and among them some are upper group like the Vokkaliga, Khamma, Reddy, Yadav, Gounder etc. mainly land-owners and agriculture⁴ castes. And some are lower groups popularly called Backward Castes, viz. Kurmi, Nai, potters, weaves, goldsmiths, blacksmiths etc. these are mainly handicraft and working castes or service providers to society.

Mistake of BCs: For Dalits, the nearest ally and co-sufferers are Backward Castes. But these Backwards are Hindu with a Brahminical mind. But the Dalits have to educate them and enlighten them. This is the need of the hour. For Dalits, the enemy is the four *varnas* with Brahminical mindset, and friends are people with democratic mindset.

Babasaheb's philosophy is to establish a society based on equality, fraternity and freedom. It is for a society based on democratic principles and values. It does not advocate ethnic cleansing of rivals. He wants a welfare state. This is also the philosophy of Dalits.

Dalits have a strong statesman-philosopher in Dr. Ambedkar who can guide them for thousands of years to come. Where are such philosophers for the Backwards? Their Brahminical mindset is coming in the way to accept Dr. Ambedkar as their leader. This is their mistake. Dalits can't throw these followers of Brahminism into the Bay of Bengal. We have to live with them. Transforming the *Manuvadi samaj* to *Sarva Samaj* is the agenda of BSP. It is in perfect agreement with Dr. Ambedkar's philosophy. ■

BC violence on Dalits engineered by BSO: CBP questions Dr. Ambedkar verdict

DR. R.P. HARSH, HARSH CLINIC, BARNALA ROAD, SIRSA - 125 055

I disagree with the thesis of Chandrabhan Prasad (CBP) that the "BC physical violence hurts more than the psychological violence by Brahmins". (DV Sept. 16, 2003 p.6).

Budha was the first global intellectual who 2,500 years ago clearly warned us: "mind is chief". All the neurologists and psychologists have confirmed this fundamental truth. Deception and violence are the acts of an abnormal mind. These are the corner stones of Brahminism. Brahminism is not the philosophy of BCs. It is the philosophy of Brahmins.

According to the Brahminical literature, head of the Hindu body (brain) represents the Brahmin, arms the Kshatriyas, body the Vaishyas. The legs represent the *shudras*. CBP must say who operates the Hindu body? Is it the brain (Brahmin) or the legs (*shudras*)? As a medical doctor, I know that it is the brain (Brahmin) that directs the arms (Kshatriyas) and legs (*shudras*). So, the arms and legs cannot be made responsible for the acts of violence against Dalits. It is the Brahmins who have created this atmosphere of hate because of the graded inequality, superiority and inferiority feelings under the Manu laws. Hence they are responsible for every act of the *shudras*.

Hit the head, the legs cease to operate. Instead of hitting the head, CBP is hitting the legs in the name of *shudras*. Mahatma Phule said:

There must be school, but away from Brahmin teacher".

Dr. Ambedkar said:

"Brahminism is the enemy of Dalits".

Dr. Ambedkar's verdict is that the history of India is nothing but a mortal conflict between Budhism and Brahminism.

Dalits are ex-Budhists. Victimisation of Dalits by deception and violence still continues. CBP must tell us who is conducting these violent movements. Brahminism is controlling not only the *shudra* mind but also the Christian and Muslim mind.

Jews & Brahmins: CBP is either unaware of Indian history or he does not want to reveal the truth to please his Brahmin masters. That is why he is insisting that the BCs are the real enemies of Dalits.

Kumhar, Lohar, Teji, Mali, Nai, Nishad etc. belong to

the same caste groups which come under the BCs. But we hardly find Dalits clashing with them. It is not the BCs but the castes created by the BSO which is the real villain. In the North, there are Jat, Ahir, Gujjar, Rajputs etc. who are the descendants of foreigners like Shaka, Yavan, Kushan, Huns etc.

Brahmins are also foreign invaders. DNA report has finally confirmed that they are Jews, the children of Israel. These castes are the arms (Kshatriyas) and legs (*shudras*) of Brahmins. The above castes are not BCs who are indigenous people. *Dalit Voice* is right in saying that the "BCs are neither *shudra* nor Hindu". (DV Aug. 16, 2003 p. 11, N.K. Sharma).

The latest political development in UP proves my point. The operation of arms and legs was conducted by the Brahmins to polarise under the leadership of Mulayam Singh (Ahir) to paralyse the Dalit (Mayawati). Mulayam is the associate of BJP. A BJP MLA of UP has offered to vacate his Assembly seat for Mulayam Singh.

The credit for polarisation of the Jat, Ahir, Gujjar, Rajputs goes to the head (Brahmins) and not to Mulayam Singh. So, the arms and legs cannot be held responsible for the atrocities on Dalit. It is the controller of the mind who is responsible.

Dr. Ambedkar's warning: Dr. Ambedkar had clearly warned us that Brahminism is the enemy of Dalit. Brahmins are the founding father of Brahminism, which indeed is the father of racism, terrorism, nazism and zionism. Dr. Ambedkar had also clearly warned us that if the BSO has to collapse it can happen only under two conditions:

1. Firstly, the social order must be subjected to constant fire.
2. They can't be subjected to constant fire unless they are independent of Hindu thoughts and actions.

That is why the Untouchables are insisting upon separate electorate and separate settlement. (W&S of Dr. Ambedkar Vo.5, p.396).

In the light of above facts, I request Brother CBP to amend his thesis to bring the social revolution on right track to maintain the perfect continuity from Budha to Dr. Ambedkar and act in the same way as Budha, Nanak, Kabir, Ravidas, Phule, Periyar, Sahu, Dr. Ambedkar etc. ■

Ajit Kumar Nandagawali, 16 - Capano Drive Apt#A4, Newark DE 19702, USA: It was 1938 — the night of Nov.9 that the nazis attacked Jews and their property and called it *kristallnacht*. That was history. The Germans have expressed guilt, remorse, contrition for acts of their forefathers. Babasahab Ambedkar said the sufferings of India's Untouchables were much more than that of Jews. Millions were kicked, killed, burnt, tortured and raped in the name of religion. It is continuing even today. But this Brahminical people never felt bad for their inhuman treatment towards the population that almost equals Europe. Nay, they never had expressed shame, guilt in their "holy books". They lack the very sense of being human. For them it is the way of life. And we have to bring the change. What is the way out? Remember Babasahab said: "I will make the whole India Buddhist". But hey, hold on. Aren't we saying that since long? Where are we? How far we have progressed? Are we failing in practice? Yes, we are. How then can we make India Buddhist? A far-fetched dream? We are more inspired by Babasahab, the spectacled man than Babasahab the Buddhist. We are more inspired by his stature than his life. We keep his photos in home just for the sake of it. Yes, we are failing in practicing the way he has shown. We the "educated" are failing to walk the path. But let that be. Few can make lots of difference. No revolution is achieved without the pains and the sacrifices which we have to convert into our joys.

Brother Ajit Kumar is right. But how do you reach your hands to the people? The entire media is in the hands of our oppressors. Some of our "educated" Dalits have been purchased to sing their songs. No Dalit political leader talks of Buddhism. Dalit activists are more after "power" — not Dharma. Brahminical counter-revolution is in full swing. We have been running DV for the past 25 years. Every oppressor knows us but the people for whom we are slogging have not even heard of us. This is India. We are deeply worried — EDITOR.

Simon C. Tunstall, Iowa State Penitentiary (American jail), PO Box 316-803380, Ft. Madison, Iowa 52627, USA: I am seriously committed to helping my Dalit brothers and sisters. I also want to write articles for *Dalit Voice*. I also want to collect and donate books written by African born-in-America scholars. The books could then be circulated in India.

Bhimnag Ganvir is a distinguished member of the DV family world-wide. Please send the Black books to our library. We will announce it in DV

and circulate it among our members. We have in our library three rows of Black books — EDITOR.

Dr. A.K. Kureel, 24 - St. Mochtagreen, Coolmine Lodge, Blanchards Town, Dublin-15, Ireland: You are following the real path of Dr. Ambedkar. What about a separate (*Achutistan*) country for Dalit? Whether Babasahab had thought about that or not? Do you know of any book which mentions the separate land for Dalits? Who wrote the book? Who killed Dr. Ambedkar? What about the Saxena Committee report? I want to know about the Saxena Committee report and the conspiracy behind the murder of Dr. Ambedkar.

Jai Birdi, Cheema Association of Canada: We are planning a book on Dalit diaspora with particular reference to Dalits in Canada. Our plan is to have this book available for 2006 to coincide with the centenary celebrations of Dalits in Canada. Please send your particulars e.g. place of birth, community to which you belong and any significant events/contributions that could be included in this text.

Runoko Rashidi, PO Box - 201662, San Antonio, TX 78220, USA: I miss the relationship with you. I had nothing personal against you. I came under serious pressure to disavow the relationship by other Dalits.

You say others forced you to disown us. That means you distrusted your first and the oldest brother from India who introduced you to India's Black Untouchables after believing one or two Dalits whom you came to know through DV only. This is a serious reflection on your capacity to understand and evaluate friends and foes. Those who created prejudice against us are repenting. Do you know this? Anyway, happy to note you have started understanding us. DV is 25 years old. If we had been taken or frauds by this time we would have been stripped naked. But India's revolutionary Black Untouchables love us. We have learnt a great deal from the Black struggle and your writings. That is why we continue to send DV to you out of deep respect for you — EDITOR.

P.P. Lakshman, 11 - Fort George Hill, Apt. 9G, New York, NY 10040, USA: You have evoked memories of my past association with *Dalit Voice*, by publishing a reminiscent thought of mine and sending it to me. The high point of that association was when you undertook to send, at my request and on my behalf, some 13 Dalit students from Bangalore to *Dikshabhoomi* in Nagpur for embracing Buddhism. I did feel the pain of taking the help for it from a person like you who is such a great writer, speaker, and editor, never a travel agent. I also benefited from your intelligence work about the apparent

misappropriation of Dr. Ambedkar's plot of land at Bangalore meant for a Buddhist monastery. I could not pursue the investigation though, because I felt I was causing pain to the persons involved. I also remember gratefully that scores of my articles and Letters were published in *Dalit Voice*, despite their Buddhist overtone, at a time when Dalit activism was more popular without Buddhism, Babasaheb's prescription for Dalit liberation. I rarely write these days, neither for the print media nor for the internet, because I am by now accustomed to the kind of attention that Buddhist voice gets. But that is the only voice I have at the fag end of life.

Infotimes, PO Box 30412, Alexandria, VA 22510, USA: On Sept. 11, 2001, the Washington area-based Free Press Network (FPN) — America's independent and non-partisan news-info service — pointed out:

"CIA, FBI, DIA, NSA and all other US Govt. agencies should also deeply investigate to determine that did the anti-American regime of Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon play any role in the Sept. 11 suicide airplane attacks on the Pentagon and World Trade Centre..." (<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/Free-press/message/929>)

So far the FBI has not presented any legal evidence to the US people to prove who actually committed the 9-11 attack and who was really behind the attacks. Ironically the FBI CIA, DIA, NSA, FAA, DEA, BCIS and all other US Govt. agencies as well as the 10-member "bipartisan" National Commission on terrorist attacks (also known as the 9-11 commission), Congress (unfortunately the US Congress has become a rubber-stamp agency of the executive branch of Israel), Dept. of Justice, Dept. of Homeland Security, Dept. of Defense, Dept. of State and the "free" media have miserably failed to deeply investigate and answer the 87.5 billion dollar question: Did Israel launch attack to start a war between Muslims and Christians? US Senator Joseph I. Lieberman has said the Bush administration was standing in the way of an inquiry into the 9-11 attack. US Senator and Vice Chairman of Senate Select Committee on Intelligence John D. "Jay" Rockefeller IV has also questioned the recovery maintained by the govt. on certain records. He said the Govt. was "trying to hide the terrorist crimes of Israel against the USA by not cooperating legally and properly with the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the US.

Naveed H. (naveed_chennai@yahoo.com): *Dalit Voice* opens the mind and I don't know what makes some Muslims to think that it pollutes. Only TV, BBC, CNN and the newspapers pollute our minds day in and day out, victimizing Muslims and abusing them. Muslims

subscribe to cable, buy trash magazines like the *Filmfare* but when it comes to DV they are negligent and have all sorts of excuses. DV speaks the Truth and exposes all conspiracies and frauds in a most daring and unique manner. If some educated Muslims think like this we can only conclude that education has not produced intellectuals in India but only parrots and academicians who can just reproduce what is taught but cannot analyze. Read *India's Intellectual Desert* by V.T. Rajshekar (DSA-1999). Education has not produced thinkers. Or probably our daily obsession with entertainment before the idiot box has impaired our ability to think and analyze. This is what the ruling class also wants and it has succeeded in this design. Look at the war they have launched with cable operators (a private business) to make TV reach the masses who are poor.

Mohammed Kottakode, PO Chemmaniyod via Patikad, Malappuram dt. - 679 325: For Vol.1 of Periyar's works (Dravidian Book House, No.50 - EVK Sampath Road, Vepery, Madras - 600 007), advertised in the *Dalit Voice* of Nov.1, 2002, I sent a Rs. 100 money order on Nov.1 for which I received ack. on Nov.8, 2002. I sent a reminder on Jan.16, 2003 through *Dalit Voice* to which you replied on Jan.24 through DV enclosing a photocopy purported to be a letter you sent me on 21.11.2002. In this letter of 24/1/2003, you said the book will be ready in a fortnight. I sent a 2nd reminder on July 21 but no reply. The 3rd reminder was sent on Sept.24 asking them to either mail the book or refund the money. It is an year now since they received my MO. Please ask them to refund my money as they have failed to send the book.

K. Prakash, TGT (M), Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalaya, Chikkajogihalli, Bellary dt. - 583 126: Please find Rs. 250 towards an year's gift subscription of DV to Pitambar Naik, LEAD, Christian Street, Jeyapore, Koraput, Orissa - 764 001 as desired in DV Nov.15, 2003.

Shamsul Arifin, M-91, Abul Fazl Enclave, Jamia Nagar, New Delhi - 110 025: Neither the WMD found in Iraq nor Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan. But hundreds of innocent people were massacred in American bombardments and militancy in both the countries and millions of dollars were spent over there, and the problems remained not only unsolved but became more critical. Now the question is not only - where is WMD and where is Osama? But the question is - What will happen now, because the Muslims all over the world have taken these two mad acts of Bush and Blair to attack Afghanistan and Iraq to change regimes of Taliban and Saddam as a war against the entire Muslims? These reckless acts of Bush and Blair have made the entire Muslims of the world take it as a challenge to them and

a threat to Islam. And so Muslims are now bent upon taking revenge on US, Britain as well as the brainchild, Israel, in every possible way, whatsoever the consequences may be, it does not matter for them. The shortsighted and block-headed Bush and Blair could not accurately evaluate and smell the coming dangerous outcome of their reckless actions in Afghanistan and Iraq. Whereas, it can apparently be sensed and seen that there is nothing but only blood and tears almost everywhere in the world in the coming days. It seems that time has come when the US, UK and Israel have to pay the dues and face the dire consequences for the hawkish and blood-sucking policies of their devilish imperialism. Now the Muslim masses have not only rejected the hawkish imperialism of the US but also they have completely gone against their own pro-American rulers. Not only the UN but also the Arab League, OIC and other stooge organizations have no importance at all in the eyes of the real Muslims of the world. These are all now considered by them not only sick and deformed, trash and bullshit, biased and jaundiced but also as anti-Muslims and anti-Islam. And so they have decided now to decide all about this injustice, inequality and oppression in the battlefield and not on the table, because they seem not to be ready anymore to be fooled in the name of all this biased and deceitful, discriminatory and anti-Muslim laws and norms. Situation is of course highly volatile and dangerous. Now let us find out who are responsible for all this volatility and danger, tears and blood and death and destruction in many parts of the world today and almost everywhere tomorrow. Who provoked the candid and friendly Muslims to come out of their mosques and homes to the battlefields? Who made them know that the time has come to turn over the leaf of Quran to read, know and follow the lessons of *jihad* and sacrifice? Who made Osama bin Laden, the most loved and most liked man among the Muslims today? And who turned him (Osama) from a simple man into a guardian angel of the Muslims? Evidently it is US, it is Britain and it is of course Israel who is behind all that. Anyway, now the genie is awoken and so it will certainly devour them all who will come in his way. Muslims say if Bush, Blair and Sharon had no partiality, discrimination and hatred for Muslims and Islam, if they had been a bit open-minded and far-sighted and if they did not have congestion in their heart then they would have studied Quran and then obviously they would have been aware of the teaching of *jihad* and sacrifice given to the Muslims. And then they would never have made such an awful blunder to provoke the Muslims. But now, as it appears, it is too late for them to accept and admit

that they have made it. So, there is no use of their realizing that they got hold of the wrong end of the stick. As a matter of fact Bush, Blair and Sharon saw only one side of the coin. Of course, masses in Iraq and almost every Muslim of the world did hate Saddam. But they did not hate him more than they hate Bush, Blair and Sharon. So it was a wrong assessment of the US, UK and Israel. As far as it is concerned with Osama, it seems it does not make any difference to Muslims now whether he is alive or not. Because as it appears to me that Osama bin Laden remains no more only a man but it has become like a religious message, a spiritual teaching and almost an Islamic dogma which has spread all over the world and has pierced into the ears of every Muslim of the world. And Muslims have almost taken it now as their moral and religious duty to endorse and follow what Osama says and does. I have heard them calling him (Osama), when shown on TV screen, a hero, a savior and an eliminator of evils. I don't know how far they are correct but in this situation how can it be possible for anyone to fight against and finish him? He has really become an ideal and moral concept for the Muslims. Anyway, now Bush, Blair and Sharon must realize that the WMD or any other nuclear weapons that they assumed to be there in Iraq were in no way so dangerous and deadly as the concept of *jihad* and self-sacrifice that has prevailed today in the mind of Iraqis and in other Muslims. And for all that decisive concept of *jihad* and sacrifice prevailed in the mind of Muslims today, every sane and sincere person holds only and only Bush, Blair and Sharon and their hawkish views and anti-Muslim policies directly responsible. Now it is very apparent. One can easily see that the spate of what the anti-Muslim world calls it the Islamic terrorism and "axis of evil" seems to be impossible to stop because the Muslims have taken it as a war between the believers and non-believers, moral and immoral and righteous and unrighteous. And so they have decided to finish them all or be finished. So seeing all that it seems the worst of what is happening around is still to come. Of course the incident of September 11 was the deadliest and the ugliest one so far. But I am afraid, seeing the rapid growth and unfettered emergence of Islamic insurgency and a strong hatred among the Muslims for US, UK and Israel, something deadlier and uglier can be foreseen that may make us forget the 9/11.

Sunder Kumar c/o C.P. Singh, Raj Lok Vihar, New Haridwar, Jawalpur PO, Haridwar dt., - 249 407. Congratulations to V.T. Rajshekar and M. Gopinath for writing the book, *Textbook on Dalit Movement in India* (DSA-1994). Even though I don't know you, by reading

your book I like to call you my brother. I belong to Uttaranchal now under the primary health care diploma training in CRHP, Jankhed dt., Ahmednagar. I am 30 years old and this is the first book which I read about Dr. Ambedkar in my life. I wanted to read many books on Dr. Ambedkar but I did not know from where I could get it. Tell me how I can get more copies of your book on Dalit movement. Do you have its Hindi translation? Tell me something about yourself. What is your profession? How I can be of use to you? My thinking is exactly like yours.

S.R. Talukdar, 92-C, Pocket -1, Mayur Vihar Phase-1, Delhi - 110 091: *Dasava* is a big festival of the Brahminical people in North India. This festival comes in October. After enacting the drama based on the stories of the *Ramayana* for nine nights, on the 10th evening they burn the effigies of Ravana, Kumbhakarna and Meghnad. This is in short the *Dasava*. I saw this festival for the first time in my thirties. I was born in a Bengal village where this effigy-burning was unknown. People there know the story of *Ramayana* but Rama was never worshipped and there was no Rama temple in Bengal. But when I came to Delhi I was surprised to see this burning of the effigies of the great Indian heroes. So, naturally many questions arose in my mind. Since then I was thinking how to give a befitting reply to this revengeful act of the Aryans. Ravana, Kumbhakarna and Meghnad were neither cowards nor traitors. They were rulers in central India. Lanka of Ravana is not the same as today's Sri Lanka. The archaeologists have said Ravana was a Munda king and his capital was in an island inside a big lake, near Jabalpur. Ravana was a powerful ruler. The Aryan prince, Rama, with his brother Lakshman and wife Sita were illegal entrants to his kingdom. The intruders misbehaved with a member of the royal family. So, to punish Rama, Ravana forcibly captured Sita, took her to Lanka and imprisoned her. To show respect to a woman of another royal family, Ravana offered Sita the privilege of becoming his queen. When Sita declined the offer Ravana never applied force or tried to violate her. If we ignore the theories of *avatar*, *leela* and such rubbish the story of Sita's kidnapping becomes as simple as described above. Ultimately there was war and Ravana, Kumbhakarna and Meghnad died as heroes. Rama recovered Sita. What about the characters of *Ramayana*. Two sets of tests can be conducted: cowardice test and traitor test. The characters to be tested are Rama, Lakshmana, Ravana, Kumbhakarna, Bibhishan, Meghnad, Sugriva and Hanuman. (1) **Rama**: Nobody can say that he was a traitor. A traitor is the one who joins hands with the

enemies with a view to defeating his own people. Rama never did any such thing. Ravana did not belong to his own race. So, Rama does not fall in the category of traitors. But definitely he was a coward. To kill Vali and also Ravana, he did not follow the straight forward methods any valiant person would have done. Only a coward adopts the treacherous means. So, Rama was definitely a coward. (2) **Lakshman**: He was faithful to his brother and to his people. Neither he can be called treacherous. He was neither a coward nor a traitor but he was definitely an enemy of the indigenous people.

(3) **Ravana, Kumbhakarna and Meghnad**: They never adopted any unfair means in the battle. Rama fought for Sita but Ravana fought for what? Ravana did not fight for Sita as he knew that he will never get her even if he killed Rama. He fought only for his prestige and a king who can give his life and kingdom for the sake of his honour is the best among the heroes. So, Ravana, Kumbhakarna and Meghnad were neither cowards nor traitors. They were far superior to their Aryan enemies. (4) The rest of the characters are Bibhishan, Sugriva and Hanuman. Can't they be compared with the Mirzafar of Bengal. Mirzafar conspired with Robert Clive to de throne Siraj-ud-Daula. After the battle of Plassey, Siraj-ud-Daula got killed and Mirzafar was enthroned. Whether Siraj was good or bad that is a different issue. But the result of the battle was that ultimately the country went under the rule of East India Company. In the *Ramayana* also we find that after the killings of Vali, Ravana, Kumbhakarna and Meghnad, Bibhishan got Mandodhari and the throne of Lanka and Sugriva got Tara and the throne of Kiskindha. But ultimately the country went under the Aryan rule. So Bibhishan, Sugriva and Hanuman are not a grain better than the Mirzafar of Indian history. If Mirzafar is called a traitor then why not Bibhishan, Sugriva and Hanuman? In fact, they are worse than Mirzafar. The British have come and gone and they gave so many good things to India. But the Aryans have remained here to oppress and enslave the indigenous people for ever. The people who die a heroes death should be respected. Memorials should be erected in their honour. The Brahminical society is burning the effigies of Ravana, Kumbhakarna and Meghnad not because they were traitors or cowards but because they were the enemies of the Aryan imperialism. Sita's kidnapping was only an excuse. That problem could have been solved diplomatically also by Rama agreeing to leave Ravana's country with Sita. Now, what is our duty? Should we silently observe the burning of the effigies of our own great heroes? Few years back our friends in South India tried to burn the effigies of Rama and

Lakshman. They were resisted by the government led by a Brahmin woman. I think burning the effigies of Aryan heroes will not be possible before removing the Aryans from the seat of power. I have a suggestion. Let us make a beginning with the burning of effigies of the traitors and cowards like Bibhisan and Sugriva. There may not be much resistance from the Aryans. This has to be started without much publicity. When this custom becomes popular, effigies of other characters may be added one by one. Remember.. We have to burn the effigies of Prahlad and Chandhi also some day. Prahlad helped the Aryans to kill his father Hiranya Kasipu and Chandhi, the woman, conspired with the Aryans and killed Mahishashur of Mysore. If we are successful in our programme, it will have double effects. Firstly, we will have cultural separation from our Aryan rulers which is very essential. Secondly, the traitors within our society who are strengthening the hands of the Aryans will develop a fear psychosis in their mind. So, let us plan for the inaugural show during next year *Dasara*.

Brother Talukdar, a good old member of the DV family, has given a good suggestion. In DV too, we had given a similar suggestion on Ramilla twice before. But it did not work. This is because we have no media to propagate our message. Aryans can convert a donkey into race horse and vice versa because they own the entire media. We have none. Except Dalit Voice, which itself is limping though 25 years old, we don't have a single journal with an all-India circulation. Dalits may have justice on their side. And also Truth on their side. But how to make the two things known to our own people deceived by the Aryan tricksters? We have raised the subject of "Media Centre" for Dalits umpteen times but none listened to us. We want Talukdar to answer this question first. Without our own media, we will make no progress — EDITOR.

Ajay Narasu, B1/71 - Sector D, LDA Colony, Kanpur Road, Lucknow - 226 012: As directed by you, we are trying to mobilise as many women members as possible for the forthcoming Lucknow workshop of DV readers. Mrs. Jyoti Sagar and Dr. Sipra Suresh are the two new entrants. We are coordinating with Brother Gama Ram and K.L. Jatav, and other devoted DV members of Lucknow.

Pastor M. Sukumar, Founder & President, Immanuel Prayer House, 71/22 - Rajiamangalam, Villivakkam, Madras - 600 049: I am a staunch Christian from my childhood. Ours was a middle class family with no habit of reading books in our house. During my study till 10 +2 I never studied even textbooks. I studied the Bible. After an year my reading habit increased. I began with

small books. Then I wanted to buy more books and read. So I used all my pocket money on books. One day, I went to Christian Literature Society, Park Town, Madras. I went there to buy Christian literature. I came across your books. I saw your book, *Hinduism, Fascism & Gandhism* (DSA-1985). After reading it, I like dit but was angry because you criticized Christians. Later, somehow I wanted to know more about your ideas and bought many more books and subscribed to *Dalit Voice*. Until I came across your literature I never bothered about the caste system. Your writings stimulated me like anything. At one stage I wanted to do PhD on the caste system, thanks to your inspiring writings. Some 10 years back I stopped subscribing to DV because I determined to work for Christ more than anything and also because you became closer to Muslims than Budhists or Christians. I wrote several letters to you in this case. Now, once again I subscribed to DV because after the BJP Govt. I started facing problems. I want to study DV because you are offering solutions. I bought the book, *The Chamars*, advertised in DV because I myself am a Chamar. My forefathers were shoe-makers in Andhra Pradesh. Of course, now no one is in the profession. I see my people are in the bottom of the society. I always remember them, try to do something for them and always pray for them.

We like Brother Sukumar's frankness. But we want him to answer our question. He says Christianity liberates the oppressed more than any other religion. If so, why the over 80% of the Dalit Christians within India's Christian religion continue to remain oppressed within the church which is in the hands of a minority of Syrian and other upper caste Christians? Christianity no doubt is a liberating religion. It has done miracles. But after the "independence" it became the hand-maid of the upper caste Christians. Religion in India - whether Christianity, Islam or Sikhism — has been reduced to the level of a dress. The person wearing the dress continues to remain in where he was. So, all the indigenous people of India will have to first fight and throw out the Aryan usurpers of the three above liberating religions by joining hands with the other oppressed indigenous people — EDITOR.

Shreenath Jena, Qr. No. 337, RRL Campus, Bhubaneswar - 751 013: Being a DV family member, I was so delighted to hear the news about a DV readers workshop at Bhubaneswar after completing the Lucknow workshop. I am eager to contribute my mite for its success. Your visit to Orissa will eradicate the "intellectual desert" among our Oriya Dalits who have

divided themselves into many groups, parties and subcastes. The workshop will help these "educated" Dalits to think of setting up a common platform and work towards a common goal. Orissa has 95% Dalit population. So, Orissa is the best place to launch a strong Dalit movement to end the 56-years-old "Patnaik misrule".

DV workshop is not a tea-party. It is a strenuous exercise and meant for senior-most members of the DV family. But Brother Shreenath Jena has been with us for just two years. Yet your interest is very much appreciated. Lot of our members from Orissa have been writing to us. Brother P.K. Jena is looking after finalising the venue. Later we will select the members for the workshop. We have a fairly good number of family members from Orissa. Selecting just 25 out of this huge number is a difficult task. All this will take time. But after completing the Lucknow workshop, we will take up the Bhubaneswar one — EDITOR.

Mohindri Sanghanitra, C-256, Govind Puram, Ghaziabad - 201 001: I A critical review of any issue could be done only by one whose critical faculty is operative to adjudge the right meaning of the expression and words therein. I came across a journal called *Samtavadi Bharat* (Hindi-English quarterly). A crowd of unmatching photographs on its cover page speaks of contradictions. M.K. Gandhi opposed the separate electorate to the Depressed Classes of India tooth and nail and even went to the extent of a fake "fast until death", his well known blackmailing tactic (the worst form of violence). Finally his tactic won and we lost but he did not die as in past also on many occasions he had won by his deadly violent tactic of fast until death. Other photographs on the cover page like that of Mahavir Swami whose religion to which the doors for the deprived ones are closed in toto. Vivekananda had nothing of his own. He had shrewdly borrowed a major part of his pseudo philosophy from the *Dhannapada* (teachings of Budha) but utterly failed in presenting before the mankind.

Kartar Singh, A/73 - CGS Colony, Bhandup (E), Bombay - 400 042: Supreme Court's kind attention is drawn to the glaring irregularities — scans and scandals — committed from time to time. Where was the SC then?

1. Mundra scandal took place during Nehru who always ignored corruption and allowed the corruption to flourish. (2) Daruwalla scam took place during Indira's time, why her assets were not probed. (3) President Sanjiva Reddy did not deliberately invite Jagjivan Ram to form the govt. He violated the presidential propriety. Where was the activism of the SC then? Why his (President's) assets were not probed? (4) Bofors scandal

broke out during Rajiv regime. Where his assets probed? (5) Hinduja brothers scam. Where the assets of different persons involved probed? (6) Hawala scam and other scams wherein P.V. Narasimha Rao was involved. Where his assets probed? Harshad Mehta scam. Again Rao was involved. Chandraswamy scandals. (7) Huge amounts of money found in the house of Pt. Sukh Ram. Were his assets probed and prosecuted? Tehelka scam. Were the assets probed? Coffin scam: were the assets probed? (8) Demolition of Babri Masjid: was a prompt action taken? Where was the SC activism?

This is the tip of the iceberg. There are many more scams involving Brahmins and other upper caste people and hence ignored. How come that now from which tomb or womb the SC has risen with a lightning speed to swoop on Mayawati (because she is *Dalit ki beti*)? The Indian society is plagued with the caste pride and prejudice. When a scratch on the body of a Kashmir Pandit takes place the whole society with the beat of breast cries at the top of its voice — terrorism. Even when five Dalits are murdered nobody bothers. It was treated with contempt when it was announced that the life of a cow is more important than the life of Dalit. Did SC activism come into play? How shamelessly Hindu terrorism (Brahminism) is being perpetrated for ages together? Brahminism is the other name of terrorism. The judges of high courts and Supreme Court did not fall from heaven. They all came from this very same wretched caste-ridden society. How can they be above caste pride and prejudice? They are born, bred and educated in this wretched caste-based society. Out of the 23 judges of SC, 19 judges are Brahmins whereas out of 330 judges of high courts 304 judges are Brahmin. As such, judiciary is marred by orthodox judges belonging to other castes other than SC/ST whose victimisation is obvious. I, therefore, firmly declare that I have no trust in such an orthodox and biased judiciary. As such cases pertaining to SC/STs must be presented before the international court of law.

R.L. Chandapuri, All-India Backward Classes Federation, Saraswati Bhawan, North Mandiri, Patna - 800 001: I faced serious opposition from Brahminical forces to the Nov.9 function here to which you could not come. The man who had promised me to finance the invitees to the function from other states deserted me. You have my highest regards — for you and your firing pen. Your name and fame are spreading in the nook and corners of the Hindi belt in India. Our book, *Second Freedom Struggle*, will be a very great help to end Brahmin rule and drive out Arya Brahmins and Brahminism from India and to fulfil/Dr. Ambedkar's

mission. We shall soon invite you for a mass meeting to be held in Gandhi Maidan, Patna, where we shall take momentous decisions. You are great and will remain great for ever by your writings for the Backward Classes and Dalits.

M.C. Gautam, 200/5, Part-VI, Gurgaon - 122 001: I had an opportunity to meet you along with Dr. (Mrs.) K.K. Sidhu at your residence in Vasant Kunj (Delhi) from where you shifted back to Bangalore. I miss you very much and also your constant guidance on India's political, social, religious, economic systems, all controlled by Brahminism. Since long I have not been able to hear about your goodness.

Isa Haque, Vill. Madhupur, PO Hoerah, Hooghly dt. - 712 147: This refers to the article, "*Muslim writings in Dalit Voice*", by Yoginder Sikand (DV Nov. 1, 2002) based upon the condensed form of the author's well-researched and well-documented treatise published in the *Economic & Political Weekly* and also *Studies in Interreligious Dialogue*, London. For this, we all owe a gratitude to the author who is an expert in Islam and also for his effort to internationalise the cause of the oppressed Indians being championed by *Dalit Voice* since its inception under the editorship of V.T. Rajshekar, our beloved crusader. *Dalit Voice* is neither an ordinary paper nor a paper run by a Muslim. Yet the wide coverage and opportunity it has been giving to the Muslim contributors is unique and unparalleled compared with any paper run by the Muslims. The sole objective of such "Muslim papers" is to cater to their followers and publish only rubbish and rotten stuffs having no relevance in daily life. Blind to the ground realities and the boring issues of Muslim life stirring the whole world, these "Muslim papers" are very much an impediment to radicalise the Muslim mind, a need of the hour, sapping of course the revolutionary "*Spirit of Islam*" as provided for in the Quran, thereby making the Muslim community subservient only to a few elite Muslim parasites while our religious class is shamelessly quarrelling over the skin of Islam throwing away its juicy flesh. So long as they will be in the lead, we cannot get ourselves rid of the doom — fatal and fateful. All the Muslim writers in DV have their own points. They have sought from their own angles to focus and the deal with the problems of Muslims and Dalits and also other marginalised groups. Sikand had studied all aspects of these writings in minutest details and in their own perspective bringing out their salient features with appropriate classifications thereby rendering a commendable service to the oppressed communities, a job which should have been done by one from among our so-called elite Muslims.

Even after the publication of this article under discussion I do not find any reason to believe that our existing leadership will ever change nor its attitude (the dedication of a recent issue of the *Radiance* to the Dalits and Dalit problems appears to be an exception). With the publication of Huntington thesis defined as "*Clash of Civilisations*" which is widely known and circulated among the world intelligentsia as the foundation of the global domination of the White western imperialists and the Zionist conspiracies against the Muslim world formulated in their hitherto kept secret document — *the Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, aptly called the *Zionist Arthasastra* after the *Arthasastra* of Kautilya, there seems to be no impact on this leadership — old, senile and decrepit — foisted on us, god knows by whom. When the danger of extinction of Islam looms large with our dare-devil brethren of Palestine, Iraq and other countries targeted by the three religio-political forces — the White Western racists headed by the Angol-US imperialists, the Zionists of Israel and the Hindu nazis of our country — are fighting in a struggle for survival and existence, their Muslim leadership of India is still unconcerned, unmoved and unfazed. Instead of giving a call to stand by our fighting heroes, they are only issuing *fatwas* for *Dawah* i.e. a call to Islam keeping the Muslim masses quite ignorant of the day-to-day development of the religio-political situations occurring around us. It is high time that we bid good-bye to this leadership. It is now high time to tell it that as you have strayed from the *sunnah* of our Prophet who placed high priorities on the defence of Islam never wavering to taking part physically in a host of campaigns launched against the enemies, even not sparing the then Roman emperor to whom he shot off a letter demanding civilized behaviour for his subjects, India's Muslim leadership has lost all credentials and the faith the Muslims in general reposed on them. Instead we are in favour of a leadership which is dynamic, courageous, foresighted and pragmatic as also alive to and conscious of the emerging realities at home and abroad — a leadership quite capable of taking the challenge of the enemies, as well as taking us out of the political labyrinth. Such a leadership only can be provided by the subaltern group of Muslims among whom the Muslim writers of DV are the forerunners. By all yardsticks, they have fulfilled every criterion going through the hardest of all tests, the brow-beating and the wrath of the Hindu nazis and of the bullies of their own community. To achieve this end is not easy. For this, we all should emphasize on the need not only to radicalise Islam but to revolutionise it though we all know that Islam as a religion was born of and saturated with a

revolutionary spirit. It is no doubt a tough task, a Himalayan task indeed. But we have every hope that our firm conviction, our sincerity, our love for the downtrodden and the underdogs of society who are still in subhuman level, will lead us to achieving this goal. But before that we have yet another task to accomplish: the building up of a rapport with the Dalits and other oppressed for better coordination of our struggle, notwithstanding the fact that there is a strong anti-Dalit sentiment among the Muslims grown out of the recent role the Dalits have played in Muslim massacre in Gujarat. The mistrust and misgivings of the Muslims with regard to this role of Dalits have to be allayed with utmost care and the differences existing between communities have to be sorted out for the sake of building up of a healthy relation among the oppressed. We know the Dalits in Gujarat have been exploited by the Hindu nazis who used them as a tool against the Muslims. Mass illiteracy, abject poverty, deprivation and false propaganda have tempted them to be an easy prey. This aspect of the issue has to be taken into consideration before arriving at a conclusion. As a driving social force they have great potentiality and their numerical strength is an advantage. If we can make the most of these factors in mobilising them towards cementing the bond among all marginalised communities fighting the BSO, achieving our goal may no longer remain as a wishful thinking. I ask my Muslim brethren not to be angry with Dalits in general. They should shun all sorts of hostilities, subjective or objective and take note of the fact that as themselves in general are not responsible for or accountable to what their individual rules had done in the past, so also Dalits as a collective body cannot be held responsible for the deed or misdeed of a misguided section. This we should bear in mind if we consider that the alliance with the Dalits is of prime importance at this crucial juncture while an all-out attack against the Muslims has been launched on a scale far wider than what we can conceive. In this connection I would ask Brother Udit Raj to play whatever role the history of our time has assigned to him. He together with other Dalit brothers should strive to bring the misguided section out of the Hindu nazi clutch and initiate them in the teachings of Babasaheb Ambedkar. It is a pity that the Dalits seem to be oblivious about their status and position in this Brahminical Social Order. They are not Hindu as they do not belong to any of the four prescribed *varnas* but many of them still love to regard them as such, hence all the complexities. They should be taught to think that their emancipation lies not in Hinduism, nor in *hindudom*, nor even in *hinduva* which are many names of a single

thing, the Brahminical thraldom, rather their freedom lies in breaking their massive structure into pieces and come out of it to establish their separate and independent entity and **identity**. For this they also need alliance with other depressed and suppressed communities including Muslims, Christians, Buddhists and Sikhs. Future belongs to us. For we are the rising sun. People trust us for we speak the voice of dehumanised humanity.

Shivraj Akbari, Manuel Monterio, Mercedes Vaddy, Fonsoha Batt, H.No.105, Santa Cruz, Goa - 403 005: I have two deep imprecisions of my childhood. My brother-in-law was a BAMCEF worker and also a DV family member. Your dynamic intellectual strength (at that time you were writing on Dalits as the Black Untouchables of India and trying to internationalise the Dalit problem) and Kanshi Ram's dedication were the deep-rooted impression in my mind. I always dreamt of becoming like you and it was my dream to write in DV in English. So, when I read your letter to me, I was simply thrilled. I literally cried after reading your last words: "We need your support". I have a very limited vocabulary in English that I could not suppress my feelings when I first read your letter and your signature on it. Here's my brief story. I know I am disappointing you: I grew up in a missionary atmosphere. But everything went wrong when I came in contact with Osho books. At the age of 19, I read a lot of Osho books. Hence lost my anger and spirit. I got confused and left home bidding goodbye to my chemical engineering studies. Since then, I am travelling throughout India and have no contact with my home, relatives and my home state, Maharashtra (9 years). Now I am a BSP worker, working with our people at the lowest level. I have no direct contact with any BSP unit. I am a Mahar by caste. Shivraj Akbari (BC Muslim). That is my pseudo name. I have read some of your books during my stay in Calcutta (1997): *Dialogue of Bhoodevatias*, (2) *Why Gode Killed Gandhi*, (3) *Brahminism - Father of Fascism, Nazism, Racism*, (4) *Separate Electorate & Separate Settlement*, (5) *Merrit—My Foot*. I have written this story for you so that you get my correct picture. After going through it if you think I can support you in any way, I am ever ready. Kanshi Ram said: "he is mad and Babasaheb was also mad". (July 26, 2003, Kolhapur). I think you are also mad. Because of your madness you wrote me saying "We need your support". I had cried a lot when I read your saying: "We are the children of Babasaheb". (*Separate Electorate & Separate Settlement*). I am preparing myself to support your mission and Kanshi Ram's dedication. I have no other life than this. Soon I will be fully equipped. I am too small and too immature to answer why I like DV. I

only know that you are not just the Editor. I can say that whenever I read DV, I feel myself burning inside. Whenever I read DV, I feel India is burning. Whenever I read DV, I feel I have to sacrifice my whole to save our ancestral land. I am proud of being a Dalit because V.T. Rajshekar is a Dalit - a true Buddhist. Please send me: (1) Ambedkarite material written by our Muslim brothers. Send some material relating to Muslims in Hindi or Urdu. Most of my friends don't know English. (2) Send Hindi DV. (3) your books and (4) the *Law of Contradiction*.

Dr. Ashok Adhav, MHB Colony, M-36/2521, Yerawada, Pune - 411 006: This is a reply to the Letter of Shivraj Akhari (DV Sept. 16, 2003 p. 13) in which he has raised some questions on my Letter in DV (July 16, 2003) without mentioning my name. Mahars are born Ambedkarites. Babasahab asked them to stop carrying dead animals and stop eating beef and carrion in 1927 and they followed his orders. In 1930, Babasahab asked them to stop doing dirty jobs assigned by Hindus. At that time the Brahmins asked Babasahab "How Mahars will survive if they stop doing jobs assigned by Hindu religion?" Babasahab said:

"I will pay you double the amount what we (they) are getting. Would you like to do the jobs?"

They had no answer. In 1956, Babasahab asked the Untouchables to quit Hinduism and embrace Buddhism. And the Mahars followed his orders. Where were the other Untouchable castes at that time? Dr. Ambedkar is in the veins of Mahars. They are ready to die for him. I advise Brother Shivraj to please read Ambedkar *charitra* once more. Better if he reads Khairmode's 14 volumes. He asks "Why there is no V.T. Rajshekar among the Maharashtra Ambedkarites?" Shivraj must note that VTR is a phenomenon that originated from the 90s. In mid-70s, Raja Dhale wrote an article in the *Sadhana* owned by socialist group in which he has written "What to do with tricolour? Should it be pushed into the anus of an ass?" Whole Maharashtra was churned. Everybody had gone against Buddhists including Hindu *Harjians*. The *Golpitha* of Namdeo Dhasal was just published. He wrote:

"*Haansakya Han Tazich Bari. Lokshahce Meiti Tari Dengya Maari*". [Hit oh, my friend hit, it is your turn. (*Devgina*-penis). If democracy may be dead your penis may not get hurt].

Yeshwant Manohar in his famous book, *Uthangumfa* wrote:

"*Parnama Anucha Shatru Sarva Kaal Sostitiche Bal Heushiddha. Jalo Tyanche Tond, Waani Howoo Raand. Poshiti Kubhand Aaji Hi Je. Devachya galyacha Hein Me Ghoi. Chitarni Pahi Khetarance...*" (God is

our enemy since ages. He has strengthened oppressors and exploiters. Those who follow hypocrisy even today let their mouth be burnt and speech a prostitute. I will strangle god and I will beat him up with my shoes.").

Rao Sahab Kasabe wrote *Zor* which stripped of the mask of RSS. He was the first to expose most revered person by Hindu organisation in his book, *Savarkar Aani Tyancha Hindutavaad*. There are writers like Bahurao Bagul, Daya Pawar, Arjun Dangle, Pe Son Kamble, Prahad Chandvankar, Gangadhar Pantavane, Parth Polke and so many. List is too long. The revolutionary flame is burning. We have defeated Brahminical ideology at every corner. As VTR repeatedly writes, ideology and philosophy (or thoughts) can be defeated by better thoughts, better ideology and better philosophy. Maharashtra Buddhists have done that job. Mahars especially from Western Maharashtra think that Kanshi Ram is the creation of *vaidiks* to mar the Dalit movement. There are reasons for it. Kanshi Ram should give the answer:

(1) When the Dalit Panther movement was in full swing, he was not an infant. Why he did not plunge into it? (2) He started his career from the elite educated *reservationwallas*. (3) There was another movement to counter anti-reservation rally in Gujarat by *vaidiks*. Then the eyes of Gavai brothers from Vidartha were removed. What was he doing at that time? (4) At the time of *Riddles in Hinduism* there was a straight fight between the *Savarnnas* and Buddhists. Bombay witnessed the largest rally. Why he did not participate in it? (5) Kanshi Ram called the Congress as the original Brahminical party. But the same Kanshi Ram had requested Buddhists from Poona to vote for the Congress candidate, Yasant Chavan now in the NCP of Sharad Pawar.

In your Editorial of Aug. 1, 2003 (p.5), you have written* "in Maharashtra Kanshi Ram was not allowed to step in being a Chamara". I do not agree with you. Kanshi Ram is trained in Poona. His first comrades were Mahars. Only Mahars are his followers. But they have got their own yardsticks to call an Untouchable pure or born Ambedkarite. (1) He must be a Buddhist and (2) he should never align or associate with the *Brahmana Jati Party* or their organisation. Kanshi Ram is yet a Hindu. He is postponing the dates of conversion from 2000 to 2006. And he had aligned with BJP thrice. How will they call him a born Ambedkarite? You have repeatedly stressed that Indians love their own *jati*. Then why Chamars of Maharashtra have not joined BSP? Because they are timid. Since last five decades Hindus have entertained them and made them MLAs, MPs and ministers only to oppose Mahars. The two riots of Worli and Chembur

were between the Shiv Sena and Ambedkarites. The Mahars are not anti Chamars. Otherwise they might have asked for reservation like in Andhra Pradesh. They might have got the major share. But they did not do so. Who is a true Budhist —Kanshi Ram, VTR, Amartya Sen or ordinary men who embraced Buddhism to follow the orders of their saviour and threw away all their ancestral gods? To embrace Buddhism along with lakhs of people and with entire caste is a tough task. Only the Mahars did it. Dr. V.B. Kolve has proved that Vithoba of Pandharpur is none but budha. Prof. M.M. Deshmukh who was the first to prove that Brahmin saint Ramdas was a traitor has agreed with this thesis. Saint Chohha Mela, Bhagu Maharin (woman saint) were Mahar saints. Topmost Brahmin classical signers sing their songs. But Budhists (Mahars) are not proud of it. Because Babasahb has rejected and refused to reverte all saints as they were Hindu saints. Sant Ravidas is seen on the posters of BSP. Can we call the chief of BSP a true Budhist? Movement means creating a wave, causing a tornado. There might be RPI - A,B,C,...Z but at the time of the *Riddles* controversy there was a wave that caused even tall trees to bend. The Marathas have started announcing that they would quit Hinduism. Tribals like Madavi are asserting that they are original Budhists. What has made them to talk so? History tells us that Mahars are a martial race. Indian military has a Mahar battalion. Think, why it is named only after the Mahar caste and not after any other Untouchable caste? Mahars are born fighters. They are fighting and they will continue to fight for liberty, equality and fraternity. They dont bother about defeat. They only know fighting for the justice. Because they are born fighters (Ambedkarites).

Surinder Dass Bawa, Guru Ravidas Janam Ashtan Public Charitable Trust, Dera Sant Sarwan Dass Ji, VPO Bal, Jalandhar dt. - 144 004; Sant Sarwan Dasji has built a 7-storey Guru Ravidass Janam Ashtan Mandir at Govardhanpur, Varanasi (UP) to provide boarding and lodging facilities to the pilgrims. The birthday anniversary of Guru Ravidas will celebrated at Varanasi on Feb.6,2004. A souvenir on Guru Ravidass is proposed to be released on 6-2-2004. You are requested to attend the function.

M.H.M. Saleem, "Aashiana", Main Road, Ganggoli, Udupi dt. - 576 216; The following three articles in DV of Aug.16, 2003 as part of the Debate, "*Who are the enemy of Dalits?*"

1. "*BCs neither shudras nor Hindu*" by N.K. Sharma,
- (2) "*SC/BCs not shudras*", Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and (3) "*Dalit-Brahmin unity is against science of society*" by V.T. Rajshekar

have cleared my confusion about *shudras*. For the benefit of new members of the DV family and confused old members, it is a good idea to repeat/publish these articles at least once a year. It will save you the trouble of giving clarifications to each and every confused reader. These articles will provide general clarification to all the readers. I donated some of your books to Ambedkar Club, Ganggoli. Later to my dismay I found out that these books are kept under lock and key. Some books I gave it to friends in Bhatkal who did not return them at all. When reminded I was silenced by the following answer: "One who lends a good book is a fool and one who returns a good book is a bigger fool". I am a *Moolharati* member of Bahujan Samaj.

Dr. Nasib C. Digra, Consultant General & Pediatric Surgeon, H-220, Sarwal Colony, Jammu - 180 005:

"The course of plastic surgery in Europe was changed by a nose reconstruction performed in India in March 1793. A bullock cart driver with the British Army was captured by the forces of Tipu Sultan and had his hands and nose cut off. After escaping, he turned to a man of brick-maker's (Raigar - Chamar) caste, near Poona, to have his face repaired. Two British surgeons witnessed the operation and published a description of it in the *Gentleman's Magazine for 1794*. They reported that the anonymous Chamar had used a technique superior to anything they had ever seen."

The above report is from an English book on Medical history by Roy Porter. This account highlights the technical skill of a Dalit who worked as a surgeon par excellence. Raigars are Chamars who work at brick kilns in large number in Jammu region also. Where from this Dalit surgeon got his skill of surgery? It is clearly evident from Indian history that by tradition and by sanction of Hindu religious scriptures (*Manusmriti. Brahmanas* etc.) the Untouchables and *shudras* were compelled to do jobs which were considered dirty and polluting. One of these jobs was the field of surgery. However, when this profession became glamorous, respectable and profitable, the *shavarnas* have taken over it for their material gains. This has also happened in case of leather industry which was once the domain of Chamars. In this I shall try to focus on the field of medical science with surgery in particular as regards to the contributions made by our worthy ancestors, the proud Dalit Bahujans and the Chamars and Nais (barbers) in particular. Anybody who has a careful view of the village republics of India shall note that not till recently Chamars and Nais were the traditional surgeons and their wives, the village lady doctors (midwives, dais, gynecologists) conducting deliveries and attending the females of all castes in post-

delivery period. Coming from a family of traditional surgeons (Chamars), I have witnessed my grandfather, father and other relatives conducting drainage of abscess (puss collection), doing blood-letting (phlebotomy), application of leeches and cupping to withdraw blood for various illnesses. Various Nais and Chamars are still conducting minor surgeries in various villages and small towns of J&K. One famous barber-surgeon is Kaudda Nai of Akhnour. Even in developed countries of Europe, till the 19th century traditional surgeries were performed by barber-surgeons. In India, Dalit Bahujans who belong to the labouring class were the originator of medical science because it is by working with mother earth and nature you can get an experience of medical science especially the discoveries of drugs etc. Take the case of Hanuman in the *Ramayana* who was a tribal (*vanara*) to bring medicine for Rama and Laxman (Aryans) to save their life. Where were the so-called learned Aryan *rishis* and *vaidas* at that time? Only Hanuman knew the medicine (*sanjini booti*). It is a proven historical fact that the Indus Valley Civilisation was the architectural wonder created by the Dalit Bahujans (SC/ST/BC). *Rig Veda*, which is the oldest of all four *vedas*, is nothing but a historical document pertaining to the war between the Aryans (*savarnas*) and the non-Aryans (Dalit Bahujans). After their defeat in this war, the non-Aryans (*Asuras, Rakshas, Yaksas, Piscas, Gandharvas, Dasas, Dasyus, Panis* etc.) were degraded and enslaved by the Aryans (Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaish etc.). The methods of victory were most often treacherous involving the principle of *Arthasasra* (*Sama, Dana, Bheda, Dand*) which can be SCs (corruption, co-option, co-operation, coercion, confusion). It is recorded in the *Rig Veda* that when the Aryans failed in straight fight they used unethical means like damaging the dams made by the non-Aryans on Indus river causing floods and destruction of Indus settlements. Use of fire (*Agni*) to burn the non-Aryans was also made on a large scale. It is said that *Agni*, a non-Aryan god, was bribed with a promise of sacrifice in *Rig Veda* and then defected to the Aryan side. The conflict between the Aryans and the non-Aryans was great and around 2.5 lakh non-Aryans were killed and many times more injured. Obviously the casualties on the Aryans must have also been enormous. So, as it looks it was a war between men and men and not between gods (Aryans) and demons (non-Aryans) as it is depicted in a mythological way by Hindus. If a large population of people were killed and wounded, who looked after them as far as medical care was concerned? **Ashwins** are the most celebrated of the so-called deities in *Rig Veda* and are next only to Indra, Agni and Soma in terms of their

importance. The functions they performed in the *Asura* empire of Indus Valley Civilization seems to be that of officers who tried to solve some special problems of individuals, besides rescuing those found in precarious situations. They are also well versed in medicine and surgery probably a necessary requirement for their functions as rescuers. **Ashwins** are called divine physicians and surgeons of beautiful complexion by the *Rig Veda*. **Susruta** was the father of Indian surgery. Ancient Indians were the pioneers in field of surgery especially cosmetic (plastic) surgery. No book on Indian history has offered any explanation. But it is possible that the religious sanctions (taken as laws) gave punishments like cutting off limbs nose, ear etc. Since the rulers were Aryans, Dalit Bahujan were mostly the victims. So it is unlikely that a society which is controlled and ruled by brutal force of casteism will permit their people (Aryans) as surgeons. Furthermore many of the Hindu religious scriptures (*Manusmriti* etc.) designate surgery as an unclean and polluting profession barring it for *dwijas* (twice-born castes) and making it a boon for Chandals (an Untouchable caste). *Sasruta Smbhita* is a collection of surgical work known by the name of a great surgeon of India called Susruta. Susruta's period is not well defined and many historians date him between 5th century BC to 5th century AD. Since no mention of Susruta is found in Buddhist texts, it is unlikely that he lived in 5th century BC or near around that period. He must be there in 5th century AD or just before or after that. If it is so, this period follows when *Manusmriti* was in full force to be regarded as a Hindu law book. This great surgeon was from the Dalitbahujan caste. In *Susruta Smbhita* he is supposed to be from the race of Vishvamitra, the great Kshatriya sage. But according to Babasaheb Ambedkar, the Kshatriyas of Vishvamitra's period were defeated by Brahmins and dropped to the 4th *varna* of Indian caste system as *sudras*. So it is possible that Susruta may be of *sudra varna*. Some of the historians believe that Susruta belonged to race of the Divodasa of *Rig Veda*. It is also possible that Susruta was a Dasa since Divodasa though, fought along with Aryans, he was basically a Dasa the ancestors of the present-day *shudras*. This surgeon of magnificent talent invented many instruments and conducted operations which are relevant even today. He is known as the **Father of Indian Surgery** and the father of plastic surgery world over. He was the one who emphasized that "theory without practice is like a one-winged bird that is incapable of flight." **Jeevak** was a great Dalit surgeon. His real name was Kumar Bhratya. He was a contemporary of the Budha. It is astonishing that except for Buddhist texts

(including the *Buddha & His dhamma* by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar) no Hindu text mentions this great surgeon of India. He was a royal physician to Magdha King Ajatshatru. His mother (Salmati) worked as a slave girl in the court of King Bimbisara. Since after birth he was abandoned and thrown in a heap of garbage and then found alive by Prince Abhay Kumar he was called Jeevak (alive). Prince Abhay Kumar adopted and groomed him. When he grew up he knew about his gift of life and decided to study medicine and save the life of others. He graduated in medicine from Taxilla and performed excellent operations on king Bimbasara (fistula in ano). Accountants of Rajgriha (brain tumor), son of an accountant (Sethi) of Rajgriha (malrotation of gut in a 7 year old child). For these operations he received wide fame and enormous rewards and gifts. King Bimbasara and his son Ajatshatru appointed him as their personal physician with great respect. The operations on child (correction of malrotation of gut) who has intensines placed in reverse position was performed by Jeevak 2,500 years ago but it has become a standard procedure only since 1940s in the field of pediatric surgery. It is a sad fact that Jeevak's great contributions to field of surgery have remained unnoticed in India and world. Budha had got great affection for Jeevak. He was the personal physician to Budha as well to the *Sangha*. Though Jeevak was a disciple of Budha he was never made a *bhikkhu* since he wanted him to be free to attend the ill and the injured. After death of king Bimbasara, Jeevak became the personal physician to his son Ajatshatru. It was Jeevak who brought Ajatshatru to the Budha to repent for his sin of patricide (Bimbisara was killed by his son Ajatshatru). **Louis Pasteur:** This great scientist of late 19th century was a tanner's (Chamar) son born in Paris. His greatest contribution was the discovery of germs (bacteria) as a cause of disease. With his "germ theory of diseases" many processes like fermentation (alcohol, beer, milk) and diseases were discovered in humans and animals (poultry, cattle, pig etc.) The modern process of tannery (of leather) and Pasteurisation (heating and cooling to a particular temperature to kill germs) of milk are the original contributions of this great tanner's son. He also invented various vaccines for fatal diseases like anthrax (1881) and rabies (1885). Also in 1874, Pasteur has suggested that instruments should be boiled to get rid of germs. This method of sterilization is still in vogue world over. Because of lack of literature, it is impossible to find out many contributions of our ancestors in the field of medical science. But corroborative evidences clearly suggests that the contributions may be lot many:

Joseph Lister (an English surgeon) who is called the

father of modern antiseptic surgery (without infection) learnt the art of prolonging the life of catgut (a thread used for surgery) by application of chromic acid, from tanners (Chamars) of England who were using this chemical for leather processing.

Chamars use a special instrument called Cobbler's hook (*aar*) for suturing of shoes. By this they are able to give invisible stitches in the soles of shoes (subcuticular sutures). The same method is used by present-day surgeons to produce neat and clean surgical scars. Recently laparoscopic (surgery without opening of abdomen), surgeons are using *aars* to fix sutures and meshes inside the abdomen.

At one time during the late 1970s, 90% of the surgical instruments industry in Jalandhar were monopolized by Dalits especially Chamars. Only the people who know surgery can devise and make surgical instruments.

During the *Ramayana* war when Rama and Laxman were injured by the great Dalit King Ravana and his son Indrajit (tribals of *Raksasa* clan), it was the Dalit Hanuman (tribal *vanara* clan) who was asked to bring the *sanjivini* herb (life-giving herb) from the Himalayas. Being tribal, Hanuman knew the medicine. The great Rishis, who were guides and accompanied Rama, knew nothing of medicine.

Conclusions: Dalitbahujans have made a lots of contributions to the invention and development of medical science in India. Though many aspects of medicine and surgery speak clearly of Dalit heritage, a lot more needs to be researched for, so that the Dalitbahujans are aware and proud of their great ancestors. ■

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Published from:
109/7th Cross,
Palace Lower Orchards,
Bangalore - 560 003, INDIA.

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