

# DALIT VOICE

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■ Laloo's Bihar gets ready for bloody "caste war" against Brahminical Social Order

■ Editor heads "Avarna Kalamdar Akademy"

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■ Backwards told not to fall on Brahmin feet

■ Dr. Ambedkar succeeded where Muslims failed

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Love alone shall hold "nation" together,  
not law: Thus Spake Ambedkar

## Thus Spake Ambedkar

"Secondly there are agencies which are already engaged in some sort of social service without any confines as to class or purpose and may be prepared to supplement their activity by taking up the work of the Anti-Untouchability League in consideration of a grant-in-aid. I am sure this hire-purchase system of work, if it may use that expression, can produce no lasting good. What is wanted in an agency is a single-minded devotion to one task only. We want bodies and organizations which have deliberately chosen to be narrow-minded in order to be enthusiastic about their cause. The work if it is to be assigned must be assigned to those who would undertake to devote themselves exclusively to the work of the Depressed Classes.

"Before closing this I wish to say just this: It was Balfour, I think, who said that what could hold the British Empire together was love and not law. I think that observation applies equally well to the Hindu society.

"The touchables and the untouchables cannot be held together by law, certainly not by any electoral law substituting joint electorates for separate electorates. The only thing that can hold them together is love.

"Outside the family, justice alone, in my opinion can open the possibility of love, and it should be the duty of the Anti-Untouchability League to see that the touchable does, or failing that, is made to do justice to the Untouchable. Nothing else in my opinion can justify the project or the existence of the League."

This letter was not even acknowledged by the Secretary. That not a single suggestion of mine was accepted goes without saying. Even my suggestion that the workers of the Sangh should be drawn largely from the Untouchables themselves was not accepted. Indeed when the attention of Mr. Gandhi was drawn to the fact that the Harijan Sevak Sangh had become the hive of mercenary Hindus, he defended it on the ground which are clever if not honest.

He said to the deputation of the Untouchables (This quotation is taken from Dr. Ambedkar's book "*What Congress & Gandhi have done to the Untouchables*", p.142.):

"The welfare work of the Untouchables is a penance which the Hindus have to do for the sin of Untouchability. The money that has been collected has been contributed by the Hin-

## Love alone can hold "nation" together - not law

dus. From both points of view the Hindus alone must run the Sangh. Neither ethics nor right would justify Untouchables in claiming a seat on the Board of the Sangh."

Not only were all my proposals rejected by Mr. Gandhi and his advisers but in framing the constitution of the Sangh, aims and objects were adopted which are quite opposed to those which I had suggested.

At the meeting held in Cowasjee Jehangir Hall in Bombay on the 30th September 1932 the aims of the organization were stated to be:

"Carrying propaganda against Untouchability and taking immediate steps to secure as early as practicable that all public wells, dharmashalas, roads, schools, crematoriums, burning ghats and all public temples be declared open to the Depressed Classes, peaceful persuasion shall be adopted towards this end."

But in the statement issued by Mr. G.D. Birla and Mr. A.V. Thakkar on the 3rd November, two months after its inauguration it was stated:

"The League believes that reasonable persons among the Sanatanists are not much against the removal of Untouchability as such, as they are against inter-caste dinners and marriages. Since it is not the ambition of the League to undertake reforms beyond its own scope, it is desirable to make it clear that while the League will work by persuasion among the caste Hindus to remove every vestige of Untouchability, the mainline of work will be constructive, such as the uplift of Depressed Classes educationally, economically and socially, which itself will go a great way to remove untouchability. With such a work even a staunch Sanatanist can have nothing but sympathy. And it is for such work mainly that the League has been established. Social reforms like the abolition of the caste system and inter-dinning are kept outside the scope of the League."

These aims and objects are described in one of the Annual Reports of the Sangh. It says:

"According to its constitution the aim and the object of the Society is the abolition of untouchability by reason of birth and the acquisition of equal rights of access of public temples, wells, schools and other public institutions for Harijans are enjoyed by other Hindus". (*To be continued*)

*Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches*, Vol. 5, (pages 371- 372) 1989. Govt. of Maharashtra, Bombay. The book may be had from Director, Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay - 400 004.

## Laloo's Bihar gets ready for bloody "varna yudh" against Brahminical Social Order

**W**e have just returned from a four-day visit to Patna, capital of Bihar, the most feudal state of India, where the well-entrenched upper castes are waging a violent war against the Dalits, Backward Castes, Tribals and Muslims whose leader, Laloo Prasad Yadav, is punished and thrown into jail for giving them a new courage and confidence to fight back the oppressors (DV Aug. 16, 1997 p.9: "*Hindu hate-mongers convert Laloo into a national hero*").

No other State Govt. in India is facing such a life and death battle as the Govt. of Bihar and the four-day forced closure of the State Govt. secretariat in Patna on Sept. 29 following a prolonged strike by upper caste govt. employees - something unprecedented in the history of India - is an indication that the mighty govt. itself is collapsing under the upper caste threat.

**Communal judiciary:** The judiciary including the Patna High Court, the entire top officials of the State Govt., the academic and professional circles hate Laloo because he is a "low caste" Yadav. And their hate campaign is projected through the media which is 150% brahminical. Even U.N. Biswas, who heads the Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI) in Patna, fell a victim to this brahminical propaganda that Laloo is corrupt. As a Bengali Dalit and well-versed in Babasaheb's thoughts, U.N. Biswas should have known of the myriad caste contradictions in our society. The principal enemy, as identified by Babasaheb himself, is brahminism. This has to be fought and eliminated first but Biswas under brahminical influence pounced on Laloo and so much so he is himself in trouble now. The BSO plan is to kill both Laloo and Biswas in one blow. Poor Biswas intoxicated by the publicity he got in the brahminical toilet papers played into the hands of the enemy and we don't know what will happen to him.

The upper castes are moving heaven and earth to see that the govt. now headed by Laloo Prasad's wife, Rabri Devi, is dismissed on the pretext of law and order problem. And if such a thing happens (that possibility is remote), it will be the second victory for the oppressors after sending

Laloo, the brave leader of the oppressed, to the jail. It is not so easy to dismiss the Bihar Govt. because Sitaram Kesri, Congress president and a Backward Caste leader from Bihar, is a strong supporter of Laloo in his fight against the BSO.

**In other words, Bihar is getting ready for a bloody "varna yudh" (caste war) against brahminism under the leadership of Laloo.**

No cabinet minister either in any state govt. or union govt. in the whole of India has the courage to speak against brahminism even in private, not to speak of public platform. But amazingly Bihar is an exception to this rule. From the day one of our visit we found even senior cabinet ministers, top political leaders belonging to the *avarna* category publicly criticizing Brahmins and brahminism. This is something unheard of in recent history. Even in the land of Pertyar, (Tamil Nadu) no cabinet minister, not even the chief minister, has the guts to criticize brahminism. But in Bihar even at a press conference attended by Brahmin reporters we have found political leaders attacking the BSO. Who gave this courage to the leaders? Laloo.

We met even the worst critics of Laloo among Dalits, Backward Muslims and even some Backward Castes. All of them admit that Laloo alone was responsible for giving this courage.

**Second Ashoka the Great:** Upendra Prasad, Assistant Editor of the *Navabhart Times*, New Delhi, a Backward Caste journalist from Bihar said:

"After Ashoka the Great, Laloo Prasad Yadav is the second leader to shake *brahminism*. Emergence of Laloo is a great event. If he joins hands with *Dalit Voice*, he can certainly bring about a cultural revolution not only in India but the whole country."

Dr. Jose Kananakki, Director of Bihar Dalit Vikas Samiti, Rukunpura, Patna, and a Jesuit Priest who is running the single largest Dalit awareness-building programme in Bihar for the past 20 years, said:

"No where in India we can see such a serious struggle for life, for survival, for growth of the Dalits as in Bihar. Dalits of Bihar have suffered more than the Dalits in all other states of India. The ugliest form

of casteism is found only in Bihar. One has to come to Bihar to see the naked dance of casteism here. Dalits are the worst crushed in Bihar. Laloo is the one and only leader who has given them courage."

A.K. Biswas, a senior IAS officer of Bihar and a noted Dalit writer and scholar, said:

"The Bihar Govt. is run by the enemies of social justice. The forced closure of the State Govt. secretariat is a proof of it. Laloo Prasad Yadav is solely responsible for challenging the upper castes and forcing them to launch this caste war".

We were in Patna in connection with the Sept. 28-29, "Avarna Sahityakar Sammelan" (conference of non-Aryan writers) which we were called upon to inaugurate. The conference itself was perhaps the first of its kind in the country and it attracted representatives from all parts of India. The inaugural speech delivered by us will be published separately.

We also met Laloo Prasad Yadav in the hospital (which is converted into jail) thrice and it became clear that the conference was his brain-child and we were invited to inaugurate the conference at his instance.

All these convinced us that Laloo is undeterred and he is determined to fight back the mighty BSO even with his back against the wall. The "Avarna Sahityakar Sammelan" and the resolutions passed at the conference (see page 5) are a clear proof that Laloo has launched the *varna yudh* against the oppressors - brahminism. With Justice and Truth on his side, and history too on his side, we have absolutely no doubt about his victory. The *Avarnas* constitute about 90% of the Bihar population and hence an overwhelming majority. And in a democracy majority shall rule.

**We have met many *avarna* political leaders but none in India has fought the *brahmanvad* so boldly, so confidently and with such determination as Laloo.**

He was chief minister for one full term and when re-elected any other chief minister would have compromised with the ruling Brahminical Social Order (BSO) and led a cosy life. But Laloo cared more for social justice than for position and power and that brought him into a headon clash with the *savarnas* - and finally pushed him to wage this *varna yudh*. We have no doubt about his victory. But what after the victory? Victory for what?

**Join hands with Kanshi Ram:** Now that he is in jail he must give serious thought as to how to

face this *varna yudh* and how his assured victory should influence the rest of India. He has to also see that this *varna yudh* of Bihar spreads all over India.

And to do this he must not go back as the chief minister of Bihar but tour India so that this *varna yudh* against the BSO envelops the whole country. He must join hands with Kanshi Ram and Mayawati who are in the neighbouring UP and also engaged in a similar *varna yudh* in the whole country.

Bihar might have already become the most violent state in the country but other parts of India are no less violent. So, the whole of India is waiting for him to lead this revolution.

**The big But:** But there is a big BUT. A revolution under the existing system is not possible through parliamentary politics alone. A political revolution to enable the Bahujans to capture power will be possible only after a thorough-going cultural revolution. And the entire brahminical forces know it too well. That is why they have captured all the media to see that the Truth is suppressed and lies are spread to confuse the masses.

**Monopoly media:** If the BSO is ruling today it is solely because of the power of its media. Laloo knows it too well and he admitted with us that he was felled by this brahminical media.

So, when we are not in a position to crush this mighty monopoly media, we have to set up our own "Media Centre" in a modest way to launch such a cultural revolution. A resolution to this effect was passed at the Avarna Sahityakar Conference to set up an "Avarna Kalamdar Akademy" in Delhi.

Laloo Prasad Yadav has realised the importance and urgency of such a "Media Centre" and so he must put his whole heart into it. This is the most important outcome of our visit to Patna and if Laloo rises above a politician and becomes a statesman fully armed with a "Media Centre", then he is sure to emerge as the country's tallest leader.

If on one side the cultural revolution through such an Akademy begins, Laloo's political crusades will get a big boost and if both the work progresses briskly for three years, we have no doubt of establishing an *avarna raj* when the 20th century ends and the 21st century begins which we have described as "Dr. Ambedkar Era". We are waiting for Laloo's response.

# DV Editor to head "Avarna Kalamdar Akademy"

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

The two-day **All-India Avarna Sahityakar Conference** (Sept. 28-29, 1997) ended on Sept. 29 evening. The conference was attended by writers and journalists from all the states of India, including South India. Total delegates 500.

The conference was inaugurated by V.T. Rajshekar, Editor of **Dalit Voice**, Bangalore, and a celebrated journalist and writer in **Avarna Sahitya** with about 100 books to his credit.

The conference passed the following resolutions:

- (1) Resolved to establish an "**Avarna Kalamdar Akademy**" in Delhi to propagate and popularise the thoughts of Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, Dr. R.M. Lohia, Gandhi, Mahatma Phule, Periyar E.V. Ramaswamy, Karpuri Thakur and also Nirgun poets like Kabir, Ravidas, Guru Nanak etc. V.T. Rajshekar was elected unanimously as the President of the Akademy and Bhola Prasad Singh as general secretary.
- (2) Resolved to set up an "**Avarna Media Centre**" in Delhi under the Akademy. V.T. Rajshekar was unanimously authorised to nominate the board of directors and complete other formalities.
- (3) The conference recommended to the Bihar Govt. to institute Chairs on the teachings of all **avarna** philosophers and introduce their teachings in the textbooks of all universities and schools.
- (4) Recommended to the Bihar Govt. to hold memorial lectures in all the universities on the thoughts of all these **avarna** revolutionaries.

**Babasaheb lecturer at Patna:** Dr. Ram Chandra Purve, Higher Education Minister of Bihar, who addressed the conference accepted the above recommendations of the conference and announced that V.T. Rajshekar will be invited to deliver the first Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Memorial Lecture in Patna University, Patna, as early as possible.

The conference resolved that reservation be introduced in all newspapers establishments in the country.

**Reservation in judiciary:** Shankar Prasad Takeriwal, Finance Minister, who delivered the welcome speech criticised the caste system and said **brahmanvad** was a curse on the Indian society and demanded changes in the existing judicial system. He demanded an Indian Judicial Service on the pattern of IAS and IPS.

Bhola Prasad Singh, a former minister and noted Lohiaite of Bihar, introduced the theme of the conference. A souvenir titled, **Sankalpika**, was released by Education Minister Ramchandra Purvey.

Dr. Ram Karan Pal, ex-MLC, proposed the vote of thanks and said "**Avarna Sahityakar Sammelan**" must lead to **Avarna Andolan** and to launch such an **Andolan** it was decided to hold state-level conferences all over the country.

Avantika Prasad Marmat, President Madhya Pradesh Dalit Sahityakar Academy, presided on the first day and Bhola Prasad Singh on the second day of the conference.

## EMS bid to destroy Kerala BC leadership

### OUR CORRESPONDENT

Ayavarta". (DV Edit Oct. 1, 1995).

In Kerala, the "creamy layer theory" of EMS aims at destroying the EIlava leadership.

It is good that the Muslims of Kerala have taken the lead in opposing this hated "creamy layer theory". They must invite Dalits and BCs to join it and see that any govt. that supports this hated theory is finished. The newly-formed National Development Front must lead the agitation. Cream is very essential to lead a *jati*. Brahmins are led by its Shankaracharis, Lingayats by its mutt chief. Babasaheb was the cream of Dalit society. Laloo Prasad is the leader of Yadavas. The upper castes want to retain their "cream" but destroy ours. This cannot be allowed.

DV April 16, 1993 p.8: "Shoot down creamy layer theory".

DV Edit Dec. 16, 1992: "Supreme Court stealthily re-introducing economic criterion in the guise of creamy layer theory".

**Bangalore:** The ageing "Modern Shankara", E.M.S. Namboodiripad, who has vowed to complete the unfinished task of his *jati* ancestor, Adi Shankara, is hurrying up with his mission of enslaving the *avarnas* before his death.

To a great extent he has succeeded in promoting brahminism by using marxism. (V.T.Rajshekar: *How Marx Failed in Hindu India*, Dalit Sahitya Akademy, 1987). The latest weapon he found was in the Justice K.J. Joseph Commission report to identify the "creamy layer" among the Backward Castes. This Commission headed by a Syrian Christian judge was appointed by the Supreme Court of India to identify the "creamy layer" and it submitted its report on May 29.

In DV, we had criticised the Supreme Court verdict of Sept. 5, 1995 on the "creamy layer theory" which "aims at destroying Yadava Leadership challenging BSO in

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# Hindu nazis in Buddhist garb plundered Bodh Gaya

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** Bante Nagarjun Surai Sasai in an exclusive interview published in DV had said that Bodh Gaya was under the illegal occupation of Brahmins, Buddhist idols were replaced by Hindu idols and a notorious nazi in the guise of Buddhist monk was behind all this mischief (DV Feb. 16, 1993 p.15: "*People who demolished Babri Masjid and destroyed Bodh Gaya are same*" - *Bante Surai Sasai*).

DV was perhaps the first journal in India to expose this sacrilege and warn the Buddhist world.

Now, the *Telegraph* (Feb. 17, 1997) has carried a detailed report on the wholesale, non-stop smuggling of precious artefacts of Bodh Gaya by the Hindu nazis:

Bhante Anand, a neo-Buddhist and vocal member of the management committee, said most of the idols and stupas were smuggled out between 1970 and 1990. They were smuggled out when Bhante Gyan Jagat was the superintendent of the management committee. He was alleged to be an Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) man in the garb of a monk. Several idols and stupas are still being kept in the mutt of the Bodh Gaya Mahant, who happened to be the caretaker of the shrine before the enactment of the Bodh Gaya Temple Act, 1949.

**Expert thieves:** Hindu nazis are experts in stealing others' property. All the "Hindu" temples like the Puri Jagannath, Tirupati, Ayyappa, Dharmastala were once Buddhist *vharas*. Hence, we are not surprised at the looting and illegal occupation of Bodh Gaya. But what shocks us is the indifferent attitude of our own people: Ambedkarites and Dalit-Budhists. Despite DV's warning, why did they remain silent? Is it not our indifference that encouraged the Hindu nazis to plunder the holiest place of Bodh Gaya?

**Role of Adi Shankara:** Our people are too innocent to see through the cunning games of Hindu nazis. They do not know that our enemies can also come in the form of our best friends.

Brahmin Pushyamitra Sungh, who killed the powerful Buddhist king, Brihadratha, was a loyal army chief of Brihadratha, Adi Shankara who murdered thousands of monks was also a Buddhist. Shudra Shivaji was killed by his own Brahmin ministers.

Tipu Sultan was cheated and lost his life and kingdom by his own Brahmin ministers Purnaiah and Krishna Rao.

Hindu nazis being small in numbers always choose to finish us through treacherous means. They never face us directly in open battles. They defeated us only through strategies and tactics. They come as friends and well-wishers and after gaining our confidence, they stab us in the back and grab our power and wealth. All through history we see such heinous and treacherous acts of Hindu nazis. But our people can never understand their strategies and tactics. Because we have still not identified our Enemy.

## *Jati fever grips Thakurs*

**Lucknow:** Finally, it is the turn of the Thakurs. Angry at the raw deal they feel they have been getting in political and administrative matters, the Thakurs of Uttar Pradesh have decided to unite and exert themselves as a caste group.

Legislators - cutting across party lines - and bureaucrats, along with professors and doctors belonging to the Thakur community met here on Aug. 3 to discuss the apathetic attitude of politicians towards their community.

"Every caste group - be it the Dalits, the Backwards, the Muslims or the Christians - is asserting itself and getting its share in politics. The Thakurs continue to remain neglected and ignored because we have not made our presence felt as a caste group.

No political party ever talks of installing a Thakur in a high position even though the Thakur votes are a deciding factor in at least 29 state Assemblies and 11 Lok Sabha constituencies in Uttar Pradesh, a Thakur leader said.

"The day we can get united as a caste group, we will be in a bargaining position and political parties will not be able to ignore our interests", A Thakur leader said.

(*Asian Age*, July 30, '97).

# Embrace Chamars to liberate BCs, don't fall on Brahmin feet

S.P. SINGH, TAKIAPAR, DANAPUR, PO DIGHA, PATNA - 800 012

Vivekanand, described by Hindus as a great spiritual giant and religious preacher of the last century, had given a warning to the upper castes of India. On pages 326 - 328 of Vol. VII of his writings, he says:

"However much you may parade your descent from Aryan ancestors and sing the glories of ancient India day and night, and however much you may be strutting in the pride of your birth you, the upper classes of India, do you think you are alive? You are but mummies ten thousand years old. It is among those whom your ancestors despised as "walking carrion" that the little of vitality there is still in India is to be found, and it is you who are the real "walking corpses". Your houses, your furniture, look like museum specimens, so lifeless and antiquated they are, and even an eye-witness of your manners and customs, your movements and modes of life, is inclined to think that he is listening to a grand mother's tale. When, even after making a personal acquaintance with you, one seems to think one had been to visit the pairings in an art gallery! In this world of Maya, you are the real illusions, the mystery, the real mirage in the desert, you, the upper classes of India. You represent the past tense with all its varieties of form jumbled into one. That one still seems to see you at the present time, is nothing but a nightmare, brought on by indigestion. You are the void, the unsubstantial non-entities of the future. Denizens of the dream land, why are you loitering any longer? Fleshless and bloodless skeletons of the dead body of past India you are, why do you not quickly reduce yourselves

into dust and disappear in the air? Ay, on your bony fingers are some priceless ring of Jewel, treasured up by your ancestors, and within the embrace of your sinking corpses are preserved a good many ancient treasure chests. Upto now you have not had the opportunity to hand them over. Now under the British rule, in these days of free education and enlightenment, pass them on to your heirs, ay, do it as quickly as you can you merge yourselves in the void and disappear, and let New India arise in your place. Let her arise out of the peasants' cottage, grasping the plough, out of the huts of the fishermen, the cobbler, and the sweeper. Let her spring from the grocer's shop, from beside the oven of the fritter-seller. Let her emanate from the factory, from marts, and from markets. Let her emerge from groves and forests, from hills and mountains. These common people have suffered it without murmur, and as a result have got wonderful fortitude. They have suffered eternal misery, which has given them unflinching vitality. Living on a handful of grain, they can convulse the world, give them only half a piece of bread, and the whole world will not be big enough to contain their energy, they are endowed with the inexhaustible vitality of a *Raktabji*. And, besides, they have got the wonderful strength that comes of a pure and moral life, which is not to be found any where else in the world. Such peacefulness, such contentment, such love, such power of silent and incessant work, and such manifestation of lion's strength in times of action - where else will you find these. Skeletons of the Past, there,

before you, are your successors, the India that is to be. Throw those treasure-chests of yours and those jewelled rings among them, as soon as you can, and you vanish into the air, and be seen no more - only keep your ears open. No sooner will you disappear than you will hear the inaugural shout of Renaissance India, ringing with voice of a million thunder and reverberating throughout the universe, *Wah Guru Ki Fateh* - Victory to Guru.

This was how the Swamy had warned the upper caste rulers of India then.

## **BACKWARDS & AWKWARDS:**

I want to give the same warning to the Backward Castes (BCs) of India. In one of my satires written in 1992, I have called the BCs donkeys (if you want to know the whole story - read my *Vyang Purana*). The Editor of DV had described the Backward Castes as Awkward Castes.

No member of the Backward Castes has so far protested against this. Their backwardness is apparent from the fact that though they are fairly educated, they do not contribute to the only paper of Dalits, Backwards and Muslim - the *Dalit Voice* from Bangalore. Readership of this paper is confined to Dalits and "minorities" - Muslims, Christians, Sikhs alone (90% of the writers belong to these two classes). People like me (belonging to the BC) are exceptions.

## **DV NOT KNOWN IN BIHAR**

*Dalit Voice* has written a lot in favour of the Janata Dal Govt. in Bihar but the journal is not very popular

among the Yadavas or other Backwards who belong to the JD.

The JD leadership has not thought of having a paper of its own. They spend a lot on rallies which has no effect on the masses for long. They cannot fight the calculated false propaganda of the Brahminical Social Order (BSO) which has a network of devoted workers in every mohalla and village. They cannot combat the false news circulated by the "national" papers (which DV describes as "toilet" papers) and the tirade against Laloo Prasad Yadav is a well calculated move.

#### UPPER CASTE JUDICIARY

Upper caste judiciary and the press are asking Laloo to resign on moral grounds. Is morality left in India? Is our much-valued judiciary really independent? It was downgraded the day Indira Gandhi made A.N. Ray the Chief Justice of India, superseding two senior judges. The conscience of the Bar Council of India and the judiciary did not then prick - for majority of them belong to the upper castes. Indira's corrupt rule suited them. So many bigger scandals, Bofors, Harshad Mehta, urea transaction, Hawala and St.Kitts are pending but no public interest petition was filed.

**So, I am asking and warning the BCs of India in a very filthy language: You are all donkeys. Your skull is without any grey matter in it. You do not know your own history.**

Daya Nand, the greatest cheat among the Brahmins, asked you to call yourself Aryans and you pride yourself in calling yourselves Aryans. Your own leader, late Choudhary Brahm Prakash, declared about 13 years ago that "we are not Hindus". My "Muli Niwasi Sabha" passed a resolution on 13.9.1992 saying "We are not Hin-

dus, we are not Aryans".

N.K. Sharma wrote an article in the DV 10 years ago that "*BCs are neither Shudras nor Hindus*" (DV March 1, 1987). It was published again in DV recently (DV Edit Dec. 16, 1996). But no BC took note of it.

**Many Indians pride themselves of having a foreign wife (fair skinned), a foreign pen (Chinese), a foreign car (English) etc., but my own BCs pride themselves having a foreign father. Relating yourself in any way to Brahma, who had 1,000 holes in his body to create many different castes, tantamounts to this.**

#### NEHRU'S WARNING

Shake off your ignorance, dear BC brethren, and be men. This BSO is on your head due to your ignorance. If you do not trust me, at least trust these great men of India - Nehru, Vivekanand, Dr. Jadu Nath Sarkar and N.K. Datta. Nehru had rightly said in his book, *Discovery of India* (p. 75):

"Hinduism, as a faith, is vague, amorphous, many-sided, all things to all men. It is hardly possible to define it, or indeed to say definitely whether it is a religion or not, in the usual sense of the word.

"The coming of the Aryans into India raised new problems - racial and political. The conquered race, the Dravidians, had a long background of civilization behind them, but there is little doubt that the Aryans considered themselves vastly superior and a wide gulf separated the two races. Out of the conflict and interaction of races gradually arose the caste system. Perhaps caste was neither Aryan nor Dravidian. (p. 84).

"Out of the mass of agriculturist evolved the Vaishtyas the agriculturists, artisans and mer-

chants, the Kshatriyas, or rulers and warriors, and the Brahman's priests and thinkers. (p. 85).

"The Brahmin class has shown all the vices of a privileged and entrenched class in the past and a large number of them have possessed neither learning nor virtue". (p.87).

Now, let us see what Vivekanand has to say about this priestly class and the Brahmins :

"Priests believe that there is a God, but this God can be approached and known only through them, people can enter the Holy of the Holies only with the permission of the priests, you must pay them, worship them, place everything in their hands. Throughout the history of the world, the priestly class has cropped up again and again...The priests dominate, lay down a thousand rules for you. (Vol. VIII p.93-95)

"The evil of priesthood is to be removed. No priesthood, no social tyranny...Root out priesthood from the old religions and you get the best religion in the world. This old religion of India is not the Vedic but the Vedantic or Upanishdic religion of India. Emperor Jahangir has praised it in his *Memoirs* p. 356 "He (a Hindu saint named Jadrup) is not devoid of knowledge, for he has thoroughly mastered the science of the Vedanta, which is the science of sufism". (Vol IV p. 368).

Islam is practically devoid of sufism and hence much of the Hindu-Muslim divide in India. Otherwise, Islam was a most welcome religion in India.

#### TRIBUTES TO ISLAM

Vivekanand says: "Mohamadon conquest came as a salvation to the poor people of India - 1/5th of the population became Musalmans". Nehru says (p.227) in the *Discovery*

of India. "Islam was to come to India both as a religion and a political force". "They must have derived their vast energy from the dynamic and revolutionary character of their Prophet and his message of human brotherhood". (p. 228).

And I before close this chapter on religion, I must tell my BC brethren of something about the Indian *shastra* (scriptures).

### KSHATRIYA REVOLT

This much-publicised *Brahma Vidya* does not belong to the Brahmins. They never had it, they shall never have it. If you do not trust me, trust at least the well known historian, Dr. Jadu Nath Sarkar. On page 16 of the book, *India through the Ages*, (Orient Longman), he says:

"In Mithila or North Bihar, Brahman ascendancy in thought was lost and Kshatriyas began to think and act for themselves and to resist Brahmanic supremacy. Some scholars have called it the Kshatriya revolt against the Brahmins". "A high philosophy, quite distinct from vedic religion, was developed first in the hermitages and then at the courts of Kshatriya kings like Janak, and it led, in course of time, to the rise of a great Kshatriya preacher. This was Gautama Buddha."

Rev. Father M.A. Sherring on p. 222 of his book, *The Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol.III says more or less the same thing:

"On arriving in India the Brahman does not seem to have claimed any special privileges in virtue of his position. In fact, he was surpassed and more highly honoured occasionally by others. Those who received the highest meed praise were the Rishis or sacred Bards who might be Brahmins or Kshatriyas or Vaisnyas or even Dasyas that is, aborigines, people of the country."

People generally mistake the word *Rishi* for a Brahman and Kshatriya for a Rajput. Had Divine Grace been a property of the learned or of a class of people called Brahmins, Nanak, Kabir, Rabidas and Dadu would not have achieved what many great like the Shankarachari and Ramanuja failed to get.

### HOW BSO THRIVES?

This entire BSO is flourishing on the ignorance of the Backward Classes. They pride themselves of belonging to the family of Shivaji or Patels or Krishna or Rama but do not know what these men were. Shivaji's grandfather was a mere cultivator having 10 to 15 *bighas* of land. The two Patels, Ballabh and Vithal, owned only 15 *bighas* of land among five brothers.

**Greatmen have always come up from the lower strata of the society. Christ, Prophet, Nanak, all came from humble families.**

### YADAVAS & KURMIS ARE BROTHERS

The Yadavs and the Kurmis, the two main branches of BCS, do not know that they once belonged to the same family, the family of Asurraj Yayati. They do not know that the Maratha Sena (which ruled India for 200 years) was composed of Kurmi, Goala and Gateri castes. They shall not have faith in the words of Mahatma Phule that Kunbi and Mahar are blood relations. They shall not have faith in the words of G.W. Briggs that the Chamars belong to the race of Jadu (read the book *The Chamars*).

I have quoted instances in my book (*Was Shivaji a Kurmi?*) that Dom, Pasi, Kharwar, Gowd ruling chiefs have become Rajputs.

They should have at least faith in the words of Vivekanand who says on page 298 of Vol. IV:

"Whatever caste has the power of sword, becomes Kshatriya, whatever learning, Brahmin, whatever wealth Vaisnya."

The British people left behind a vast store of literature on Indian castes and religion. But alas the BCS of India are not inclined towards learning.

I must quote Denzil Ibbeston's book, *The Punjab Castes*. On p. 269 of the book, he says:

"But if these occupational castes are recruited by new sections coming up from below, they also receive additions from above. The weavers especially may be said to form a sort of debatable land between the higher and the lower artisan castes, for a man of decent caste who from poverty or other circumstances sinks in the scale often takes to weaving, though he perhaps rarely falls lower than this. The barber, carpenter, and blacksmith classes have in Srisa, been recruited from the agricultural castes within the memory of the present generation, and it is hardly possible that what has so lately happened there should not have earlier happened elsewhere. They do not as a rule fuse together, but remain distinct sections included under a common caste-name, though often reluctant to admit that there is any community of origin or even of caste, and refusing to associate or to intermarry with each other."

### AHIRS MERGE WITH YADAVAS

Caste is, therefore, an illusion, a myth. No caste, not even the Brahmin or Rajputs, belong to one race or tribe. It is 100% political, social and professional. Do the Yadavas know that Ahirs as a caste have merged into the Yadava caste only in AD 500? (C.T. Matcalfe). Do the Gujars know that they have merged into Rajput, Kurmi and Goala castes

according to the situation? Do the Goalias know that in the Central Provinces, the Gadarias, Ghosi, Golar, Gond-Gowari, Gowari are Goalias (cowherds) and in a very lower social scale? The Gowaris are a mixed caste of Ahir and Gondi and that these Gollars are related to Holia Caste (leather worker). Do the Yadavas know that in Southern India they are known as Gollas (who have priests of their own caste) and Idaiyans and Kaunadians? Do the Yadavas know that Magadhia Goalias are as dark as a Koe in Chota Nagpur?

### KURMIS REAR PIGS IN PUNJAB

And the Kurmis still rear pigs in Punjab and are in the SC list. They rear pigs in Chota Nagpur and were in the ST list till the 1921 census. There has been a mixture of blood in India - a few Kurmis are fair-

skinned (like Ahirs) but a vast majority of them are dark-skinned and not better looking than a Dom, Mushar, Chamar or Dusadh.

India shall not know peace till these two castes know that original Kurmies and Goalia belonged to one race, the Grand Dravidian race, and all other SC/ST castes are their blood relations.

**Fighting and industrious castes went up the ladder and formed a separate caste like Maratha, Patel, Reddy.**

The cultivators and cowherds remained below and took to many professions and have formed separate caste. The Chamar, Dusadh and Dom are as good as Kshatriya as the Goalias and Kurmis.

### LAST WARNING

I am giving this last warning to the BCs for their good. They cannot go

up the social scale by touching the feet of a Brahmin or by calling themselves Aryan and taking lessons from Brahmins like Daya Nand and Rama Sharma on spiritualism.

**The Yadavas can never be Aryans just because their Sabha at Allahabad held in 1924 decided to wear the sacred threads. They did not wear *janeu* before that.**

The Kurmies still take this sacred thread only at the time of marriage and not before that. When Lord Krishna, born a Yadava, could teach spiritualism to the whole world (*Gita*), are you such bloody fools that you go to a Brahmin to learn Yoga? Read *Bhagwat Purana*.

The Brahmins used to worship Jadu and not vice versa.

Arise, O Backward Castes of India. Your salvation lies in embracing a Chamar, and not in touching the feet of the Brahmins. ■

### DEBATE ON "CURSE OF ALLAH"

## Dr. Ambedkar succeeded where Muslims failed

S. HAQ, PATNA

This has ref. to "Muslim backwardness began with British takeover of India" by Isa Haque (DV July 1, 1997 p. 11). The British aggression may be one cause but the basic reason for the Muslim backwardness is the Muslim compromise on the cardinal principle of Islam. The first revelation by Allah to Prophet Muhammad started with the word *iqra* which means "read". The Muslim leadership, both religious and political, failed to propagate this basic principle of Islam and did not "educate" the Muslim masses on the revolutionary message of Islam. So much so, the Muslims forgot to follow the first word of Allah and thereby the Muslims invited upon themselves the "Curse of Allah"

lah". They became backward, subjected to endless anti-Muslim riots and worse than that objects of humiliation. The entire humanity must be thankful to Dr. Ambedkar who made the first word of Allah, "Educate", as his First Commandment, "read or educate" to fight the oppressors and liberate them from the clutches of Aryans. Babasahab achieved tremendous success in his mission to "educate" his people. Dalits have reached such crucial positions as to protest at the United Nations over the killing of 13 Dalit youths in Bombay recently. Alas, our Muslim leaders are still sleeping. Hence the "Curse of Allah" on the Muslim leadership. ■

### CURSE OF ALLAH

Articles on the Revolutionary "Spirit of Islam"

Introduction by V.T. Rajshakar  
1997 pp.35 Rs. 10

### ISLAM PROHIBITS PRIESTHOOD: MOULANAS A PEST ON MUSLIMS

S.A. Mujeeb  
1997 pp.16 Rs. 2

**Dalit Sahitya Akademy**  
109/7th Cross, Palace Lower Orchards,  
Bangalore - 560 003.

10

Dalit Voice

October 16 - 31 1997

# Thevars blamed for violence against innocent Devendras

S.V. RAJADURAI, WRITER, MADRAS

Writers and intellectuals from different parts of Tamil Nadu are deeply pained to note the prolonged caste clashes in Southern TN going on for the past two months. We met here on June 11 and decided to visit the affected areas to investigate the root causes of the clashes. We visited Rajapalayam area on June 15 and 16. The members are:

S.V. Rajadurai, writer, Madras, Prof. Inquliah, poet, Madras, Prof. A. Marx, Editor, *Nirappirigai*, Thanjavur, Kavitha Saran, Editor, *Kavitha Saran*, Prof. Saraswathi, Dr. V. Arasu, Madras University, Prof. Rani Chentamarai, Vidyasagar, economist, all from Madras, Prof. Kanal Mainidat, poet, Coimbatore, Viduthalai Rajendran, journalist, Arivumathi, poet, Madras, Prof. Devasagayam, Madurai, Ms. Sheelu, social worker, Madras, T.S.S. Mani, social worker, Madras, Veera Sekaran, human rights activist, Madurai.

The clashes are not caused by any "miscreants" or "anti-social elements" as alleged. Severe caste oppression and the organised consolidation of the oppressed people (Devendras) against it have created a volatile situation prevailing for the last few years. Attacks in this area started when the Maravars (Thevars) organised protests against the govt. decision to commence a transport corporation named after Veeran Sundralinganar from May 1, 1997 and the Devendra Kula Vellalars (DKVs) started protest against the arrest of Dr. Krishnaswamy, MLA. Caste clashes have been going on in almost all the villages we visited. Though various castes such as Maravars, DKVs, Nadars, Naickers, Rajus, Arunthadlars have been living in this area, the clashes have been only between the Maravars and the DKVs. Other *jatis* were not involved in these clashes.

**Retd. DGP as culprit:** The efforts of Pon Paramaguru, a retired police chief of Tamil Nadu to organise his *jati* people (Maravars) encouraged their caste pride. Bayilvan Krishnasami Thevar of Sivakasi (a liquor baron) becoming patron of the Thevar Peraval led by Paramaguru further promoted the caste war.

**For the last two years, the DKVs also started getting organised under the leadership of Dr. Krishnaswamy. The Devendra identity is being stressed. Dharmarajan, DIG, blamed Dr. Krishnaswamy for giving courage to DKVs to fight back.**

While the Thevars want to perpetuate untouchability and caste oppression, the DKVs' caste consciousness

is seen as a response to Thevar oppression.

**Thevars are on the offensive but the DKVs are on the defensive. Govt. officials from top to bottom supported the Thevars while treating the DKV struggle as a law and order problem.**

Our team has recommended the transfer of the District Collector, Rajagopal and the IG Vijayakumar and the DSP Maruthiah. Since the DKVs are a minority encircled by the dominant Thevars, protection to DKV becomes a govt. obligation. Recruitments made to the police force during the tenure of Pon Paramaguru must be reviewed.

Progressive and democratic forces among Thevars are deeply pained by the caste oppression practiced by their *jati* people.

## Dalit subcaste rivalry must end

Er G.S. RAJU, 70, III MAIN, VISHWASHWARAHNAGAR, ARABIC COLLEGE POST, BANGALORE - 45

This Letter refers to the "Caste Debate", which is going on in DV.

1. The topic is very important and a must.
2. The God did not make human beings on the basis of caste but made every one equal.
3. In India, it is the foreign-origin Aryans, so-called upper castes, who introduced this caste system. Due to this criminal, inhuman caste system, a majority of them, particularly our people, suffered and are suffering.
4. After knowing the facts, why one should fight over who is superior or inferior.
5. Especially among Dalits, fighting is severe - what a shame. Our energy is spent on this imaginary subject.
6. Dalits are all sufferers and having common roots. We should give up fighting among ourselves. Caste and subcaste fighting is invented by our oppressors.
7. We the Dalits are one and among us there is no caste, subcastes, colour, region, religion, language, class, etc.
8. We must encourage mixing various groups by inter-marriages, interdining and inter-professions and trades.
9. While demanding reservation, we must give priority to the most needy among us.

**Bangalore:** After "finishing" Laloo Prasad Yadav, Mayawati, H.D. Deve Gowda and other leaders fighting the Brahminical Social Order, the Aryan racists are out for the blood of Ram Vilas Paswan, Railway Minister and president of the Dalit Sena who hails from Bihar.

The brahminical press has started publishing daily reports and articles maligning Paswan. What made this brahminical "national" toilet papers to suddenly get angry with Paswan is still a mystery because till the other day he was the darling of the same press.

What is surprising is that Paswan is suddenly faced with attacks from all sides. Upper caste Railway officers have virtually revolted against him and his "lavish styles" of functioning has left the Railway Ministry bankrupt. A series of rail accidents are engineered. There is a chorus for his dismissal.

Added to this misery, he is facing serious political problem in Bihar where his revolt against Laloo Prasad Yadav has left him without a constituency to contest if the mid-term election suddenly comes. (DV Sept. 1, 1997 p.5: "Paswan to contest from Bombay?"). Laloo Prasad's followers are bent upon defeating him (and also George Fernandes) if he contests from anywhere in Bihar.

**JVG Finance fraud:** Sources close to Paswan in Delhi say that he has landed himself in deep trouble because of a brahminical conspiracy by the *vaidik* advisers surrounding him. The most serious problem he has to face is the largescale irregularities allegedly committed by these *vaidik* advisers. One such, B.K. Sharma, chairman and managing director of the J.V.G. Finance and also general secretary of the All-India Dalit Sena headed by Paswan himself.

**Dalits have been long resenting the appointment of a Brahmin as the key official controlling the Dalit Sena.** Sunil Mishra is another general secretary of the Dalit Sena. Sources close to Paswan say that these two Brahmins have let him down pushing Paswan into the worst crisis of his life.

They say JVG Finance company has collected crores of rupees from Dalits and other people from Bihar assuring their money will be doubled in 26 months. Now, half its office in Bihar have closed down. The panicky-stricken depositors have started complaining to the police.

The only way-out for Paswan is to get rid of his *vaidik* advisers. But has he got the courage to do it? ■

Soviet Russia is no longer considered a revolutionary

country like China. But what shocks us is this communist country's link-up with India's "communist" parties, CPM and CPI, which are headed by upper castes who are more busy preventing any possible revolution in India. Their trade union activity has become a big business today. We are worried about Russia's connections with such a ruling class. It once conferred the Lenin Order on S.A. Dange, who expounded the bulshit theory that the entire wisdom of Karl Marx had come from the vedanta garbage. Today, communist bookstalls, which make huge profits selling subsidised Soviet literature, are also selling anti-socialist literature like the *Gita*, astrology etc. These "cross-thread marxists" were thoroughly exposed on the Sikh question, Gujarat caste war and Muslim Personal Law. Both the CPI and CPM are competing with each other to become the tail of the ruling Congress Party. We are sure that the USSR is aware of these facts. However, we are greatly surprised to see a Soviet book, **Indian Philosophy in Modern Times**, written by V. Brodov (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1984) which has very badly exposed the "philosophy" of Hinduism. Brodov has clearly divided the Indian philosophy into two: brahminical and anti-brahminical. He lists the brahminical "philosophers" like Rajaram Mohan Roy, Dayanand Saraswati, Ramakrishna, Vivekananda, B.G. Tilak, Aurobindo who defended and propagated the vedanta philosophy which upheld caste system and slavery. As opposed to this vedantic philosophy, Charvaka, Lokyata, Buddhism and Jainism are the three anti-Brahmin thoughts; Rajaram Mohan Roy and Dayanand had fought Christianity and thereby rescued brahminism. Vivekananda, disciple of a Brahmin, Ramakrishna, tried to confuse the people. Tilak popularised the cult of violence through the *Gita*. Even Tagore was a typical vedantist. Brodov is brutal. Truth is bitter. Though the book fails to recognise Dr. Ambedkar's thoughts, still it is very valuable. What will the "socialist Brahmins" of India say now? Will the USSR stand by them or the truths brought out by Brodov? That the entire Indian press including the "communist" press ignored this important Soviet book shows the ruling class and the "Communists" are furious with the USSR for speaking out the truth. Will the USSR understand at least now?

**What the Sikhs did for Dr. Ambedkar**-Our Correspondent, Rajan P. Thopli, Madras.

**Dalit women should take over Dalit movement** - Raju Thomas, Madras

**A conference on Buddhism in Bombay** - Raja Dhale, Bombay.

**PM-President rift on reservations** - Our Correspondent, S. African Blacks call the Hindu bluff - Our Correspondent.

**RSS, a party of cowards?** - Our Correspondent. ■

**Dr. P. Muthaiah Madiga**, Reader in Political Science, Osmania University, Hyderabad: This concerns your report, "Madigas backing nazis" (DV Sept. 1, 1997 p.6). Syed Naseer Ahmed has failed to understand the "Madiga Dandora" of AP and its leader, Krishna Madiga. After its historic victory, different sections of people started approaching him. He did not go to anyone. Brahmins and Baniyas and their political parties impressed by the Madiga agitation wanted to copy the Madigas as our agitation had grown into a mighty electoral force. The "Madiga Dandora" is fully aware of the danger of brahminism but at the same time we will not hesitate to fight for the human rights of Brahmins and Baniyas. The "Dandora" will not stamp Brahmins and Baniyas as nazis and it can see that there are human beings in these castes. Krishna Madiga attended the Arya Vysya Maha Sabha and promised to fight for the reservation to Brahmins and Baniyas. As the convener and the adviser to the Madiga Reservation Porata Samiti, I declare that the 'Madiga Dandora' does not believe in supremacy of any caste or race.

**Dr. M.K.Mohandas**, Secretary, Kerala Dalit Medical Assn., Trivandrum: This has ref. to the Letter of Aug. 16, 1997 (p.13) by P.S. Anirudhan. Those who want to create a new culture should themselves have a culture. In my article (DV June 16, 1997) there is no scope for any confusion. What I wrote is the naked truth about Kerala Dalit leadership. Actually, it is Anirudhan who is misguiding and confusing the readers on Kerala. I want to make it clear that I am not against the Kerala Dalit Panthers (KDP) or its chief, K.Ambujakshan. There may be several "Dalit intellectuals" in Kerala but such intellectual should be also honest. Then only he can be called an intellectual. Reading some books or holding some corner meetings do not make an intellectual. An intellectual should the scourge and scavenger of the society and must understand the ground realities. In Kerala, all communities except the Dalits are organised, educated and united. We Dalits have no god, no religion, no money, no media, no education, no intellectuals, no leadership, no unity. All our so-called leaders and intellectuals are busy quarrelling on petty issues and for personal egos. Hindu nazis, communists and the *savarna* Christians have their strong establishments in Kerala. The Muslim and Elava leadership is corrupted and want to be part of the BSO. All of them are anti-Dalits and hence our enemies. We need thousands of Ambujakshans to fight these enemies. Our enemies are studying Ambedka-

ism to destroy Ambedkarism. After Mahatma Ayyankali, we produced no Dalit leader in Kerala. The only other person who influenced Dalit masses was the late Kallara Sukumararan. But he too failed because of his weakness and the weakness of his movement. Still we have to appreciate his achievements. It was Kallara who started the Dalit movement in Kerala after Ayyankali. Then came the Dalit Seva Samity (DSS) of Southern Kerala and some other small groups. Once our Editor described the DSS as the counter force of the RSS in Kerala. KDP started only in 1985. I don't know who told Anirudhan that I started reading DV only recently. Even from 1985, I was reading Dalit literature when Anirudhan's leader was in the DSS. We started the Dalit Medicos Assn., in 1985 before KDP started. It is our Editor's theory of "class-caste struggle" that changed me from marxism to Ambedkarism. I frankly admit that our Editor did exercise tremendous influence on me. I became an Ambedkarite in 1985, when I was 20. We started an *Adityan mess* at the T.D. Medical College hostel, Alappuzha, in protest against the Hindu nazis. Professor C.M.G. Nair, Dr. G. Nallathampi and Dr. Vasu introduced Dalit literature and *Dalit Voice* in all medical colleges. All this happened before the birth of the KDP. Dr. N. Suresh of Kochi who was my junior at the T.D. Medical College, knows all this. In the Punnappa-Vayalar incidents, it is the upper caste communists who became the heroes. In the name of revolution, Dalits and Elavas of Kerala were made to fight with wooden weapons against the machine gun and die. This is not revolution. No communist leader died. The "naxalite movement" of the 70's was another menace. After the "Pulpally Police station incident", the local people handed over the revolutionaries to the police. Many young Dalits died for the Naxalite movement which proved to be a total failure and finally died. Do you want this type of revolution? What did Sri Narayana guru do? He worshipped the Elava Siva. Was he playing into nazis hands? Many Dalits also worship Sivan and Kali in Kerala. Do you think they are all against Ambedkarism? My younger brother, M.K. Harikumar, was an active member of Dalit Liberation Front (DLF) - DSS in central Travancor. Due to some conflicts, they left DLF and formed Dalit Religious Research and Analysing Centre (DRAC). One of their slogans was "Dalit liberation through Siva worship". I.K. Ayyappan, ex-chairman of DLF launched this Siva worship and this Siva was "Dalit Siva". Only after the formation of Dalit Siva Sena, Kumanam Rajsekhar contacted Harikumar. Kumanam copied Hindu nazi tactics. Kumanam did not influence Harikumar. I am against both the "Dalit Siva" or "Elav Siva" because ultimately it will be

the "BSO Siva". Our Dalit Medical Assn. is not against KDP or Ambujakshan. We support Kanshi Ram and BSP and none else. I know that Anirudhan is a sincere Dalit. But there should be self-criticism to improve our movement. That is all what I am interested in. Just because K. Ambujakshan's father and mother are Congress people and we can't say Ambujakshan is playing into the hands of the Congress. He was a candidate of the PDP in last parliament election. This should not make us conclude that he is a stooge of Madani. Such arguments of Anirudhan are not healthy. It will not further the Dalit movement. Is the last split in KDP due to any ideological differences? Our petty issues and personal egos lead to perversion in Dalit movement.

**M.M. Kothari**, 87-Ajit Colony, Jodhpur, Rajasthan: I have just received a copy of your book: *Why Godse Killed Gandhi?* In fact, I was myself anxious to read it and wanted to see the manuscript of the new edition before it went to the press. I had read Nahu Ram Godse's statement in full long ago and also Gopal Godse's book. Your book provides deeper insight into the worst elements of Hindu psyche which created the conditions leading to the emergence of Gandhi and his assassin. I shall read your book in detail with interest and soon write for the DV.

**C.K. Chandran**, Chengode House, Odanur, Paril PO, Palakkad - 678 612: While Dalits all over India are emerging as a big force, a Malayalam journal, *Dalit News*, from North Paravoor, Ernakulam dt., is dividing Dalits on religious basis. The journal is against the very word "Dalit". Dr. B.R. Ambedkar said the problems of Dalits are social and political but this journal is silent on political power and Dalit political party. They are also opposed to BSP and Kanshi Ram. Hence the urgent need to revive Malayalam *Dalit Voice*. It has a big demand in Palakkad. Malayalam DV cannot be the organ of any Dalit party or organisation.

**Principal Gurdial Singh Grewal**, 179/180-Model Gram, Ludhiana: This has ref. to the Letter of Arun Kumar (DV March 16, 1997 p.14). Akali Dal is neither a party of Sikhs alone nor based on Sikh religion. It is a political party which has Hindus, Muslims and others also. There had always been a Muslim minister in the Akali Dal Govt. No doubt a majority of members therein are Sikhs. Not only BSP members have got to do with the Sikh religion but the whole of humanity is welcomed by Sikh religion. In Sikhism, the slogan of Guru Nanak was "... I am lowest of low, nothing to do with the great, there are His Blessings where are the lowest", and of Guru Govind Singh was "Humanity is the only caste". There had been devotees of Sikh

Gurus from all religions and in the Guru Grant Sahib there is *vaani* of saints of all faiths.

**Raju Thomas**, PO Eravimangalam, Kottayam - 686 613: There was a big rally of Dalit Christians at Kottayam on Aug. 14, 1997. This was the first time the Dalit Christians came with a black flag demonstration, that too when the Aryan Hindus were celebrating India's 50th year of "independence". All speakers were Dalits. Ambujakshan could not address as he was ill. Over 25,000 people were present. Thirunakkara Maidan, the heart of Kottayam, was full. Thirunakkara was one of the slave-markets of Kerala where Dalits were sold and bought like cattle (until 1855) by the Aryan Hindus. Even Syrian Christians owned slaves. The Travancore Govt. had thousands of slaves for cultivating agricultural land. This was the context when the European Christian missionaries got involved in the religious conversion of Dalits which both the Syrian Christians and Hindus opposed. When Babasaheb write about the "Broken Men", Kerala Dalits had an entirely different painful story to tell. The first calamity that struck the Kerala Dalits was their family was broken. In all those 18 slave-markets in Kerala (Travancore, Cochin and Malabar), Dalit families were brought for sale. When the father was purchased, the mother and children were kept out and when both father and mother were bought children became orphans. Brothers and sisters were separated from one another and they never met each other for life. The whole family was broken. No parallel in the human history. It was only the missionaries who liberated Dalits from the Hindus and rebuilt their "broken" families. No speaker dared to tell this story of Dalits fearing the Hindu nazis. Some years ago when I spoke here, nazi goondas attacked some of the Dalit Christians. But the Hindu nazis did not come near me. Almost all Dalit Christian leaders of Kerala are selfish with vested interests but the masses are ready to sacrifice even their lives. The Syrian brahmanic theology has enslaved these self-styled leaders and they don't want to read or study anything. Why the Dalit Christian could not produce a leader like Ambujakshan? The church does not want to produce a fearless leader like Ambujakshan. The entire Dalit Christian population in Kerala is divided into three sections: (1) the Catholic (2) Protestant and (3) Independent Pentecostals. The last never came to streets and join the Dalit Christians. They want only heaven after death. But now they too have come out. There are plenty of "action councils" but no Dalit Christian movement in Kerala. The Catholics want to remain within the Catholic fold and the CSI, Marthoma Orthodox, Baptist and Lutheran Churches do not allow their Dalit Christian population to come out of their

respective denominational dens. No Dalit Christian leader in Kerala speaks of Babasaheb. These leaders are being brainwashed on a stupid spirituality and theology. Once our Dalit Christians start accepting Babasaheb as the leader of the entire Dalit community, Scheduled Castes will join the struggle of Dalit Christians. Some Dalit Christian leaders are the stooges of Congress Party. They cannot accept Babasaheb. Some SC leaders want separate quota for Dalit Christians. Why? This will again divide the Dalits. Is religion more important than the "identity" of Dalits? Never. Why this separation and division on the basis of religion? The Presidential Order of 1950 is an imposition of religion (Hinduism) upon Dalits. Again in 1956 and in 1990, both Sikhism and Buddhism were made as criterion for Reservation. But religion was never accepted as a criterion for reservation to Dalits. It was because Dalits were/are not Hindu. Babasaheb wanted the rights and privileges of Dalits to be protected whether they were Hindus are not. Why no Dalit leader is opposing the imposition of "religion" upon Dalits? The 1950 Presidential Order is a direct violation of the Constitution of India and the Article 18 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the UN. The problem with the existing leadership of the Dalit Christian in Kerala is that it refuses to study the burning thoughts of Babasaheb and so unable to speak the language of DV, and so the masses continue to be asses. Fighting begins only when proper **education** is given to the masses. When the existing leadership itself is not properly educated, how can they educate the Dalit Christian masses? The entire Catholic Church in Kerala has not produced a single genuine Dalit Christian leader who can at least read and write English. But the CSI has produced dynamic and intellectual leaders like Simon John, the son of a late Dalit Bishop. He is at present the state level convenor. The Marthoma, Orthodox, Lutheran and Baptist Churches in Kerala have not produced a single leader. Pentecostal leaders are "spiritual frauds" and racketeers and they are keeping their **sheep** as slaves under their command and control. Dalit Christians in Kerala must undergo a severe revolutionary spirituality which Christ did during his life in Palestine. The traditional "Brahmin theology" must be thrown into the Arabian Sea. Theology must emerge from the identity and history of Dalits themselves. They must reject all those leaders who do not belong to them. They must also reject all those false leaders and racketeers even if they happened to be from among themselves. The Black-flag demonstration is not enough. Dr. James Mutambirwa, the former secretary of the PCR of the World Council of Churches, had asked the Dalits and

Dalit Christians to adopt the method of US Blacks and come to the streets, paralyse the roads, rails, legislatures and Parliament House in India. The Blacks all over the world sacrificed and died. Be they Christians, Muslims or even atheists, rationalists and agnostics - Dalits are all one in solidarity. When I challenged the Kottayam rally to identify our enemy, oppressors and friends, the people responded with cheers. Dalit Christians of India will succeed in their battle only if they take a decision to join the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and the Muslims in their struggle against the alien Aryan Hindu common enemy in India. In other words the success of Dalits against the Hindus depends upon how they identify their blood-relatives like the Muslims, Sikhs, Buddhists and Christians, the left out in the BC community. They will have to just follow the Dalits. No other way. My evaluation of Kerala's Dalit Christians is disappointing. They lack proper education. The three sections in Kerala, namely the SC+ST (10%), Muslims (25%) and Dalit Christian (35 lakhs out of 52 lakh of total Christian population) must come together to discuss their issues. When a solidarity emerges among these three communities, the real political polarisation will take place. This polarisation should be motivated not by those who have political ambitions but by those stainless intellectuals who should always remain selfless and dedicated. Once these three sections formed a concrete forum then the clash will take place. The Aryan Hindus in all parties must be alienated and rejected. Dalit Christians are like orphans today in Kerala. Like Mohandas (DV Sept. 1, 1997 p. 21, 22), I do not worry about the leadership. Leadership is not made or manufactured. It has to emerge from the collective struggles of the people. An effective and dynamic leadership comes out of crisis. We have to create such a crisis. This is possible only when we educate our people on the philosophy of Babasaheb and the language of DV. So, we need Ambedkarite educators, not leaders. Dalit Christians should also realise the fact that by becoming Christian is not to forsake or reject those blood-relatives who are under the fold of Scheduled Caste. The flesh and blood of Dalits, Dalit Christians and Dalit Muslims are one and the same. Dalit Christians can and (they should) approach the Muslims to join their struggle for human rights and I had made an appeal on this in my speech at Kottayam. The people had responded positively but I do not know what the leaders think on this issue. The Christians may have difference of opinion with the Muslims on a global level but the situation in India is entirely different and so Dalit Christians in India, particularly in Kerala, should rise up to the occasion. Muslim brothers should re-

spread positively and then the problem is solved.

**Dr. Vinod Manjari**, 2/43-Chanakypuri, Eluru - 534 002. Some DV readers, professing different faiths, have tried to argue that Dr. Ambedkar was interested in embracing a particular religion. A Muslim said, Babasahab was seriously thinking of Islam. Sikhs said Babasahab had almost decided on Sikhism. Christians too claimed the same. The recent letter of Dr. A.V. Choudhrie (DV Sept. 1, 1997 p.18) is an attempt to use Babasahab's words and glorify Christianity considering it as a panacea for all the evils facing the society and the problems of the Dalits. Hence this clarification: Babasahab was not an ordinary individual to take hasty decisions. He was a great visionary and the issue of conversion had bothered him for quite a long time, taking almost 21 years to arrive at a final decision to embrace Buddhism. In the preface to his book, *The Buddha & His Dhamma*, he says:

A question is always asked to me why I am inclined towards Buddhism? The direct answer to this question is that, I regard Buddha's Dhamma to be the best. No religion can be compared to it. If a modern man who knows science must have a religion, the only religion he can have is the religion of the Buddha. This conviction has grown in me after thirty five years of close study of all religions.

From this it is crystal clear that only Buddha's religion has the potential to give dignity to Dalits and help liberate them. A revolutionary will definitely feel happy to get a weapon to serve his purpose. When he gets a revolver he will be thrilled. Later, when he finds a bomb he will be much more happy and this makes him to reject the revolver. Babasahab was one such revolutionary. Persons subscribing to different religions are its blind followers mortgaging their intellect. They stop thinking and give up rational approach. If illiterates fall prey to such blind beliefs we can understand. But even our "educated Dalits" fall prey to such blind beliefs. Babasahab explains why he preferred Buddhism:

"I prefer Buddhism because it gives three principles in combination which other religion does not. All other religions are bothering themselves with God and soul and life after death. Buddhism teaches *Pradnya* (understanding as against superstition and supernaturalism). It teaches *Karuna* (love). It teaches *Samata* (equality). These three principles make their appeal to me. These three principles should also make an appeal to the world. Neither god nor soul can save society.

Dr. A.V. Choudhrie says that the knowledge of Buddhists regarding Buddhism is negligible. I do not know which scale he used to test their knowledge on Buddhism. It is true that illiterate masses in Buddhism

and for that matter of any religion possess very little knowledge of their religion. Regarding economic improvement of Buddhists, it is true that lack of access to quality education has kept them ignorant compared to their Christian counterparts. He says that Christianity insists on quality education even for the poorest. Does he mean to say that other religions are against it? He exposes his naivity and blind faith in Christianity by saying that "If Babasahab had accepted Christ then today the Dalits would have been something other than the exploited bidi-makers of Vidarbha. I invite Dr. Choudhrie to the most prosperous area of Andhra Pradesh to witness the extent of poverty among Dalit Christians who are in good number in West Godavari dt. He has also made a wrong statement that Brahmins fear most the Dalits accepting Christ because it frees them from bondage. The truth is other way round. By embracing Christianity the nature of bondage changes instead of gaining total freedom to think rationally. Regarding equality in Christianity, he should once again go through the answer given by our Editor and to seek more clarification. I request him to study the back issues of DV. No comparisons can be drawn among Buddha, Jesus or Prophet Mohammed or any other enlightened master whose teachings are being misinterpreted by the mafias of religion to serve their selfish ends. Hence, one cannot find fault with their teachings. The fault lies with the merchants of faith in each religion. We, therefore, should remain alert and awakened to follow a faith with clear vision.

**Mohindri Sanghamitra**, A-13, Guru Nanak Pura, Mohindagar, UP: I want to make it clear that the Ambedkarite Buddhists have stamped out all other brahminical versions of Buddhism, including that of Mahabodhi Society and the Rev. Sangharakshita. The vision of Buddhism led by Mahabodhi Society and an English Army man-turned Bauddh Monk, Sangharakshita (living in his self-designed lifestyle) has been rejected by our people. In Buddhism, everything is subject to reason. Anything without reason cannot happen and if anybody proves to its happening without reason, it is a superstition and definitely with malafide intentions. In Buddhism, faith (*bhakti*) has no place because everything has to be tested with insight (wisdom=*prajna*). And what is right today, might not be right tomorrow. Despite all these world known facts, brahminical brands of Buddhism have been subornly selling *faith (bhakti)*. This **faith** has been discarded by Buddha himself and also Babasahab Ambedkar as this leads to superstition blocking the scope for self-thinking. Worship and the place of worship in every house is a necessary requirement as per the brahminical brand of

**Budhism** (*Budh Vandana Sutta Sangrah* by TBMSG). But the Ambedkarite Budhism does not teach any such exploitative supersitition of worship. The five precepts given by the Budha to laymen to overcome the predominant social evils are marginalised by the brahminical brand of Budhism and they have added five more superstitious exploitative and unjustifiable so-called affirmative five precepts to exploit the masses. The brahminical brand of Budhism presently led by Sangharakshita is devised by him only. As long as he is a monk he has to compromise on his personal pleasures otherwise he cannot be a monk. Rev. Sangharakshita has formed a registered charity in England. A part of his collection is sent to India where brahminical forces are using him. In Modinagar Gaziabad dt., his money is playing very important role.

**Pravat Kumar Sethi**, c/o Lokanath Sethi, at Tarangira, po Gop, Puri t.-752 010: I am a Dalit student here. We are being tortured by Brahmins and other upper castes. So, I want to fight these nazi forces. I need your support. Please guide me.

*The fight against the upper caste exploiters is not physical but intellectual. Babasahab Ambedkar has left enough intellectual food and you eat them and gradually you will get the strength, confidence and courage to fight your local oppressors. We will try to supply you the Ambedkarite food. Our readers in Orissa may also contact you directly to support you in your struggle - EDITOR.*

**S.L. Virdi**, Advocate, Phagwara - 144 401: The Punjab Govt. is deleting the name of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar from the Technical University, Punjab, at Jalandhar. The demand to set up Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Technical University at Jalandhar was made at the first Punjab Dalit Sahit Samelan on March 13, 14, 1994 at Phagwara. Our demand was accepted by the then Chief Minister, S. Beant Singh, on Nov. 7, 1994. On Dec. 17, 1996 Chief Minister Smt. Rajinder Kaur Bhattalaid the stone of the Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Technical University at Jalandhar. On Dec. 24, 1996, the Punjab Assembly unanimously passed a Bill to this effect. Chief Minister Prakash Singh Badal is planning to reverse the above decision under the pressure of Hindus.

**Ram Prasad Ambedkar**, Director, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Study Centre, Baragolai dt., Tinsukia, via Margherita - 786 181: I am writing to you after many years. I had to discontinue *Dalit Voice* after the brutal murder of Dimbsar Gagoi in 1990. We had to suffer many times at the hands of upper caste goondas. Several attempts were made to eliminate me. Fortunately I am alive. Now, I could organise the depressed classes as well as Buddhists. This year, we could make a grand success of

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar birth anniversary celebrations. Dalit students received scholarship for the first time in this area. We want to rejoin the DV family world-wide.

**M. Qasim**, CK2/114-Chowkaghat, Varanasi, UP - 221 005: Congratulations to you and thanks to P.P. Lakshman of New York on the "Visit Deeksha Bhoomi Project" (DV Sept. 1, 1997 p. 2). Here is a word of caution. The *Brahmana Jati Party* (BJP) and their Brahmin-Bania combine in the Congress Party and of course the ever-open Hindu nazis may attack these innocent 12 students either enroute or during their stay at, or during their return from Nagpur. So, better ask for police protection all the way, and alert all Dalit workers at Nagpur for support.

**Sa Mu Raja**, 36-Thackers Street, Purasawalkam, Madras - 84: Advocate D. David's statement that "the government has identified the SCs on the ground of untouchability and not on the basis of religion" is wrong because Art. 341(3) of the Constitution lays down that "in order to belong to a Scheduled Caste, under this Order, a person must profess to be a Hindu or a Sikh. By Act 15 of 1990, Budhism has also been included. Very soon, "Christianity" is also likely to be included -not because Sikhs. Budhists or the Christians are subjected to untouchability but on the basis of their religion only. Justice and fairplay demand that those Muslims who follow the same or similar professions as other Scheduled Caste people should be classified as SCs.

**M.A. Delvi**, No.8-111rd Cross, Williams Town Extn., Bangalore - 46: Every Dalit considers himself to be a Hindu. Anyone disputing this is either naive enough to delude himself or a hypocrite. Even Dr. Ambedkar renounced Hinduism only at the fag end of his life. His adopting of Budhism was symbolic gesture which failed to evoke even mild ripples in the sea of Hinduism. All tall claims of keeping the "Untouchables" (as the Dalits were called at that time) outside Hinduism were abandoned as early as 1932. On occasions, some Ambedkarites feel it necessary to declare their intentions of renouncing Hinduism but have never gathered the courage to translate their words into action, for they know full well that there happens to be wilderness for them outside the Hindu fold. Late B. Basavalingappa, Karnataka's only courageous Dalit leader, used to indulge in such frolics but he too died a Hindu without fulfilling his threat to embrace Budhism. The ruling upper castes have found it convenient to use the Muslim threat of engulfing the Dalits and thereby consolidated Hindus and Hinduism. The engineered conversion of Dalits to Islam at Meenakshipuram (the Muslims were not instrumental) was an

experiment and the result was an year-long nightmare to the Muslims of this land culminating in the demolition of the Babri Masjid. Some selected individuals were in the know of the impending conversions at Meenakshipuram almost six months in advance. Mrs. Indira Gandhi's assurance to the industrial house and the Shankaracharies was very faithfully implemented by her followers in office. The Meenakshipuram conversions were engineered by some Hindu nazis to frighten the Hindus and consolidate the Hindu nazi fold. Muslims too very foolishly contributed to this Hindu machinations by accepting the conversions instead of distancing themselves from it. They failed to see the game of the Hindu rulers. Meenakshipuram proved to be the launching pad for the resurgent Hinduism. The call given by the Editor of *Dalit Voice* is fraught with many challenges. It is not a journalistic prank to sell the commodity that is in demand but a burst of feelings which may stir many a controversy and naturally the Muslims will be at the receiving end. The proposition is nothing but a fantasy. Hinduism backed by the state power has got the unique resilience to withstand such challenges as has been proved over the centuries. Hence, any talk of any one coming to the rescue of the Dalits to maintain their identity and prevent their enslavement touches the fringes of absurdity. Dalits have voluntarily accepted this status in exchange for reservation. There is a story by Kafka of a dead man waking up on a fine morning to realise that he is dead. The tragedy of the Muslims is that they do not like to realise that they are dead, and the dead do not write their elegy. But to call upon a people, who have lost count of their own dead, to come to the rescue of other people to prevent their "enslavement", is outrageous and cruel. When we talk of an attempt to save a people from being assimilated or lost into a conglomerate, it is better to view it with a realistic and neutral attitude rather than indulge in fantasies. The existing ideals and behaviour coupled with their respective mythology, history and group values cannot be wished away and ignored. Considering all the aspects, of all the people, Muslims are the most ill-equipped for the purpose. On the other hand, perhaps in the long run the organised church is better equipped not only to retard the process of this assimilation of Dalits into Hinduism but capable of accelerating a reverse process of assimilating the Dalits into its womb inviting least resistance and reprisals. They have the innate capacity to repeat "Nagalands" all over India. Two events during the "Meenakshipuram mass conversion", although seemingly unrelated but yet inter-connected, are worth mentioning as they reveal the approach and reaction of two distinctly disparate

interests. The first is the release of a tract, the result of extensive interviews with different actors in the drama of Meenakshipuram conversion by Mumtaz Ali Khan, a protege of establishment. It gives the view of the establishment that the conversions were a reaction to the social status and not due to any inducement. It was a sponsored project. The other was a seminar at the Elumenical Christian Centre here on the subject of "Meenakshipuram conversion". The statement adopted at the conclusion of the seminar suggests:

a common civil code to promote a secular culture and help removal of certain social disabilities of certain sections of our countrymen.

Two seemingly disparate events echoes the views of the establishment in such innocuous language that their reading of the situation seems to be true but each was trying to encash upon the situation - one by selling the view most appealing and the other injecting in the statement the agenda of the establishment. Different groups tried to capitalise upon Meenakshipuram and set their respective goals. It was only the Muslims who were at the receiving end. The only actor who was conspicuous by his absence in this entire drama of conversion was the one who staged and managed the conversions. Muslims have not only to grapple with the enemy within but also with forces trying to keep them busy with non-issues. The religious leadership of the Muslims is always averse to the idea of anything to do with the Dalits as they were fearful of possible backlash. As long back as 1983 when the Muslims of Ahmedabad were being massacred, Maulana Whiduddin Khan was going around the country preaching Muslims on the virtue of servility and when confronted with the question of strengthening ties with the Dalits he lost his cool and advised Muslims not to touch this live-wire as it may lead to bloodshed. Now he has found security and solance in a rat-hole. The same was the attitude of the Tablighi-Jamat and Jamate-Islami. All were wary of the reaction of the ruling class. I will conclude by quoting the words of the mother of the last of the Muslim rulers of Spain, Abu Abdulla. While retreating, he stopped to look back and tears were flowing over his lost kingdom. His mother scolded him saying:

"Fitting you cry like a woman over what you could not defend like a man".

The Muslims have lost touch of living honourably and to die with dignity. They do not have time to count their wounds. How can a people who are incapable of counting their own wounds and avenge them can come to the rescue of others, much less Dalits? While

the above was being penned, all hell broke over the Dalits in Bombay and ten Dalits fell to the police bullets. The reaction was electrifying. The entire machinery was activated. Compare this with the death toll of Muslims in Bombay alone during January 1993, 3,000 genocidal killing in cold blood. What was the reaction to these killings? None, except a few leaders issued statements to make their existence felt and a few others collected money for the rehabilitation of the dead. Muslims even amidst such tragedies do not forget to capitalise. And a few others helped the govt. to convince the world that killing Muslims is not violation of human rights. "If only someone would make them see their terrible degradation" (Fiaz).

**Sukanta Mondal**, Kolghat, BL&LRO Office, PO Kolaghat, PS Panskura II, WB - 723 134; Pa.Pa. Koffi has written an analytical and pathbreaking article on melanin and dark sin (DV Aug. 16, 1997 p. 18). It helps us to think on a new way and more importantly such moving truths are to be unearthed to demolish some deep-rooted myths and conceptions based upon colour. Though I disagree with the author on two or three points and reserve my comments on some other subjects, still I find a plethora of new data in the piece. The following conclusion made by the author:

"There hasn't been and there will never be any symbiotic relationship between melanin-dominant and non-melanin-dominant people anywhere on this planet ... Our interest and nature are diametrically opposed".

does not appear to be true in this ever-changing world. Presence of enmity, clash and contrast are obvious in a given period of say 100 or 200 years due to stark differences in skin colour or economic and political power with concomitant vulnerable human superstitions. But if we take a long journey of 5 to 10 thousand years, we see a different picture - that divergence and assimilation are taking shape simultaneously in different corners of the world. The truth upheld by the author that "in terms of evolution, Black parents gave rise to brown red, yellow and white people, that we stupidly call races" - is itself a counter-argument against the aforesaid conclusion. But the research findings unravelled under the headings "Beauty of Black music", "Marvels of dark skin", "Melanin biology", "Beauty of blackeye", "Black kids more brilliant", are really new and stirring. The conception of beauty is an amalgamation of various factors and it is not a static idea though it is believed to be so by many. Superb qualities, great activities and energy though add newer dimensions to beauty but the awakening of the sense, upon discovery and new outlook, of recognising the worth and beauty in a thing that

was so long regarded as dull, drab and even contemptible - is the most vital factor.

**M.M. Khurashi**, Brahmavar, DK dt., Karnataka: A very conscious attempt is being made by the BSO, their books, their media with the connivance of the "secular parties" that no name of a Muslim martyr is remembered. And even in this golden jubilee festival, school-going children, the youths of today, and the lay people are deliberately not told of those hundreds of thousands of Muslim freedom-fighters hanged from Delhi to Lucknow practically on tree branches, torched alive, tortured and buried in burning lime or stamped under elephants. All right, the Hindu nazis forget, but what has gone wrong with our Muslim leadership found in all parties. Why don't they speak out the truth? The Muslim martyrs challenge to the British and their willingness to be martyrs are not less than Bhagal Singh's. For the jaundiced Hindu eyes, those Muslim martyrs were terrorists, but not freedom-fighters because the British called them so. They called "gadar" (rebellion). But every Indian knows that since 1857, lakhs of them were prisoned or killed. If the contribution of Muslims to India's freedom movement are never taught in schools and outside, Muslims will become suspect in their own eyes. Are we not making the Muslim youth to get disgusted with their own community? They are already estranged in their own country and feel besieged and the current falsehood taught in the name of history will make young Muslims to hate the Muslims. At least the *Dalit Voice* must devote a column to re-record the truth of Muslim martyrs so that the indigenous Bahujans and their youth may know the Truth.

**S.M. Pasha**, 22-Barracks Road, Periamet, Madras - 600 003: This has ref. to Iqbal Ahmed Sharief's Letter (DV July 1, 1997). The source of my information regarding Babasahab's statement, published in DV of June 16, 1997 issue, is *Haq-o-Batil*, a Urdu fortnightly, edited and published by Hakeem M. Mashhuddin Siddique of Ward No.1, House No. 587, Godhni, Nagpur-441 111.

**Dr. M. Ejaz Ali**, convener, All-India Backward Muslim Morcha, Bhikhana Pahari, Patna -800 006: As per the writings of Syed Shahabuddin R.L. Sagar, Syed Hamid etc., "vast majority of Indian Muslims are converts from the shudras of Hindu society". Even today, the educational, economical, social and political condition of the down-trodden (Backward Muslims) are close to that of Dalits, though Muslims (foreigners) ruled India for over 700 years. The total neglect of *Mool/Nivasi* Muslims (MNM), along with other indigenous peoples of India by the Muslims rulers, also goes in favour of their (MNM) being of Dalit origin. After the

conversion, the caste names of different converted people were changed and were renamed *biradris*. But even today a fair number of *biradris* bear their old caste names: e.g., Dhobi, Nat, Mehtar, Mochi, Gujjar, Mandari etc. With the conversion everything including their caste names might have changed but the converts continue to the engaged in the same old professions. That means caste divisions are persisting and this is the only way to trace their origin. We have prepared a chart, showing the professional similarity (thus origin) of 42 BC Muslim castes with those of Scheduled Castes. The chart is prepared from out of that Kumar Suresh Singh Anthropological Survey Report on Scheduled Castes (1995), Oxford University. Those interested may write to me for the chart which proves that out of the 42 caste only 9-10 cannot trace its linkage with the Scheduled Caste group but a majority of BC Muslims (constituting 75-80% of the total Muslim population) are of Dalit origin and they were automatically included in the list for getting facilities of Scheduled Castes reservation under the Article 341 of Constitution before 1950. But due to the religious restrictions imposed in the Presidential Order of 1950 such a vast majority of Indian Muslims, inspite of having origin and bearing the same educational, economical, social and political status, were thrown into the backward quota and were called "Backward Muslims" and now the BC Muslims - but actually they are Scheduled Caste Muslims - deserve the facilities of Scheduled Caste for their overall development. Only our organisation has raised this demand all over India and decided to launch a *jihad*.

**Fakhruddin Ahmad**, Advocate, President, All-Bihar Minority Lawyers Forum, Kachi Sarai, Chhkassu, Muzaffarpur, Bihar: I do not want to comment on Dr. Ejaz Ahmed of Patna or his article "*Arab origin Ashrafs misled Indian Muslims*" (DV June 16, 1997 p.20). He is a beginner in politics and his entire politics revolves round hatred, jealousy and aversion. He is ignorant of the history of freedom struggle but prefers the policy of divide and rule for his personal gain. The Muslims shall follow the path shown by Prophet Mohammed that neither the White is superior to Black nor Black to White, Arabs to non-Arabs and non-Arabs to Arabs. It is the good moral which makes a man great. This is the core of Muslim psyche. He claims that 98% of Kashmiri Muslims are converts from the Hindu "low caste" and yet the state is ruled by 2% Ashraf Muslims (Pakistani origin). Not even the Hindu nazis have called them of Pakistani-origin. Dr. Ejaz should stop making such childish statements. And the Editor of *Dalit Voice* (real spokesman of Dalits, Backwards and Muslims) should also see that such baseless and unfounded statements are not published. According to

Dr. Ejaz, a majority of Bengali Muslims are Untouchable converts from Namshudras. He also claims that they were against the "two-nation theory". If this is true, then how the Muslim League could win 113 seats out of the 114 Assembly seats in Bengal in the election held in the year 1946 to decide the fate of "two-nation" theory. Gulam Sarwar, who is a non-Ashraf, was a prominent member of the Muslim Students Federation, the student wing of the Muslim League, in pre-partition days. After the "independence", he fought against the late Abdul Qyum Ansari, the then president of Momin conference, and branded him as the divider of Muslim community. He posed himself as the leader of the entire Muslim community. Entire Muslims of India irrespective of their caste or creed honoured him as "Shere-Bihar". Sarwar wanted to launch "Azimabad publication" (now Sarwar clinic) for which he floated shares. He was then the darling of Ashrafs who purchased 80% of the shares. Dr. Ejaz criticised Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and said "AMU was meant only for the Ashrafs and not for the Backwards". Can he prove the authenticity of the statement attributed to Sir Syed? Ejaz has blamed the Ashrafs for supporting the "two-nation theory". But the Indian National Congress was founded by Badruddin Tayyabji who was the president of the party. Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar's last speech at London cannot be forgotten when he said that he would not go back to his motherland until it is a "slave nation". He kept his word, breathed his last in London and was buried at Baitul Mokkaddas. Maulana Shaukat Ali, Hakeem Ajmal Khan, Dr. Ansari, Asif Ali, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Syed Mahmood, Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, Maulana Hasrat Moothani, Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madni, Dr. Zakir Hussain, Maulana Mazharul Haque and Maulana Shafi Daoodi etc., were the leaders of freedom struggle. Can Ejaz erase the names of these stalwarts from the history of freedom struggle? When Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose founded the INA, captain Burhanuddin, Captain Shah Nawaz, Colonel Mahboob along with others joined it. Were they the supporters of the "two-nation" theory? Dr. Ejaz is trying to divide the Muslims of India into two categories, Ashrafs and non-Ashrafs. In other words, if a man is not honest, he is dishonest. The *Ashraf* is the plural of *Shareef* which means graceful. *Arazal* is the plural of *Razil* which means disgraceful. In this way Dr. Ejaz has abused a great section of Muslims and has tried to push the Muslim society into the pre-Prophet Mohammad era. Any demand made by any section of the people should not be based on hatred but humanity, love and compassion. Out of the 300 big business houses, none belongs to the Muslims and out of 250 big construction companies not a single one is

owned by the Muslims. Still Dr. Ejaz says the *Ashrafs* have overtaken the Backward Muslims. If Dr. Ejaz and his organization are sincere to the cause of "Backward Muslims" they must fight for the reservation of the entire Muslims of India. And to undo the fear of taking away their share by the *Ashrafs*, who he says are only 15% of the total Muslim population, there should be reservation within the reservation according to their population i.e., *Ashrafs*, *Rains*, *Khajia Mansoori*, *Gujjars*, *Kalals*, *Koraisnis*, *Mir Shikars*, *Bhangis*, *Nuts*, *Bakhos*, *Idrisin* and *Dafalies* etc.

**Students Islamic Movement, Bombay:** Over 300 students belonging to the Students Islamic Movement of India staged a *dharna* before the Collector's Office, Pune, on May 1 to protest against the Jamia Bill 1988 and the recent judgment of the Delhi High Court scrapping the reservation for students belonging to the Jamia Millia. They demanded the immediate restoration of the JMI to pre-1988 "minority status". Maharashtra SIMI zonal president, Anwar Khan, said that Jamia Millia Islamia was actually founded by Maulana Mohammed Ali Johar to provide modern and Islamic education to the Muslim students. Through the Jamia Bill, the govt. made the JMI a Central University, scrapping its minority status, and also projected M.K. Gandhi as its founder which is a blatant lie. Hafeezur Rahman, ex-editor of the *Islamic Movement*, said the Muslims were not begging for any reservation in a secular institute, but demanding their right of education in an autonomous institute founded and managed by Muslims for which a provision was made in the Indian Constitution. Osmania University, Hyderabad, and Ismail Yusuf College, Bombay, also lost their minority status after the govt. takeover. Adil Khot, SIMI leader, criticised the conspiracy to destroy the religious and cultural identity of Muslims.

**Syed Naseer Ahamed, D.No. 11-252/A, Polakampadu - 522 501:** On July 27, about 80 Muslim journalists, writers, advocates, professors, activists and intellectuals met at Hyderabad and discussed the problems of the Muslims. They decided to form an organisation to enlighten and educate the state Muslims. They demanded reservation to Muslims in all the fields. A state-level 3-day conference is proposed at Vijayawada in December. A Muslim United Front was formed at Guntur which has the highest Muslim population after Hyderabad.

**Syed Abul Aala, s/o Prof. M.A. Nadvi, Anwar Garden, Sultan Street, Bhatkal - 581 320:** I had heard a lot about your publications. Bhatkal being a small town, it is difficult to obtain such literature. Recently, I got one of your publications which really influenced me. Your efforts are really appreciable.

**M. Rahman, (Teacher), Govt. Hr. Sec. School, at PO Yazali, Arunachal Pradesh - 791 120:** I fell a victim to Hindu nazi attack on me. They destroyed and burnt down all my belongings- books, bed, furniture, radio, valuable books including the Quran, Bible, a great many old copies of *Dalit Voice* etc. Ever since I began to read DV and discuss with fellow teachers and others and started refuting their false propaganda, my upper caste colleagues have been trying to teach me a lesson. And they finally succeeded. On July 25 1997, a class VI tribal student came to my quarters to help me as usual. He took his meal with me. He left the next day. Immediately after he left me some senior students instigated by Hindu nazi teachers spread a rumour that I had stripped his part giving it an erotic colour. I was then told to leave the quarters immediately and the students who came to my defence were overpowered. Nobody listened to them or to me. These Hindu nazi teachers who were trying to "hinduise" the gullible tribal people in Arunachal Pradesh found in me a formidable obstacle. They always wanted to get rid of me. Convinced by my arguments many students, who were hinduised (enslaved) and wearing "sacred thread" and frequenting Hindu temple, removed their threads to the utter horror of the Hindus. On Oct. 2 last year, I, instead of praising Gandhi, criticised him in the presence of Hindus as well as the students. Your book, *Brahminism, the Curse of India, Separate Electorate, Separate Settlement*, became popular with the students. The Hindu nazi behaviour has shocked me. I have gained many friends in India and abroad. I request all of them to write to my new address. M. Rahman, Balorampur PO, D/Ailragor, Malda dt., WB - 732 102.

**Aftab Ahmad, Advocate & Lecturer, Dept. of Law, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh - 202 002:** Dr. Ambedkar had stated in the Constituent Assembly (during the debate on Article 44 of the Directive Principles) that "only a mad government will bring the Uniform Civil Code" (see Debates of the Constituent Assembly Vol. 7). Thank god, 50 years after "independence" have passed and no mad govt. has come at the Centre nor is expected to come in future also. So, one who demands the uniform civil code (UCC) is denying the wisdom of Dr. Ambedkar or at least trying to belittle him. As regards the Supreme Courts judgment, it has not directed the Central Govt. to bring an UCC. The full bench judgement of the Supreme Court in March 1997 has said that it has nothing to do about the UCC, as it is mentioned in Article 44 of the Constitution and being a part of the Directive Principles it is not justiciable. The Supreme Court gave the above verdict while rejecting a bunch of writs filed by several women organisations of Maharashtra and Gujarat. ■

# Supreme Court has supported reservation for BC women

MRS. UMA MAHESHWARI, BANGALORE UNIVERSITY, BANGALORE

This has ref. to the DV Edit of June 16, "Bahujans ready to face Manuwardi MCPs' caste war on womens' quota Bill".

The best and the most important contribution to the Debate on the Bill would be to discuss the Bill in the light of the various (six) judgments delivered by the nine-judge Bench of Supreme Court of India, in the historic Mandal Commission Case 1992. These judgments cover exhaustively and authoritatively almost all the principles and constitutional points involved in relation to this Bill, and could, therefore, help serve as an authoritative and reliable guide to the crucial points involved in the debate.

**Mandal report on Aryan hegemony:** The judgment quoted below are quite comprehensive and self-explanatory. The Mandal Commission Report had inter alia stated that the upper castes (Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas), who constituted about 18% of the total population of India, had for a period over 3000 years, been maintaining stranglehold on the rest of the population, in various spheres of activity. Consequently majority of the population suffered from social, educational, economic and political backwardness. Now selected quotes from the judgments of the nine-judge bench of the Supreme Court in the Mandal Commission Report Caste of 1992:

**Supreme Court on Hinduism:** The founding fathers of the Constitution were conscious of the fact that the Hindu religion as it was being practised, was not known for its egalitarian ethos. It divided its adherents into four watertight compartments. Those outside this four-tier system (*Chaturvarna*) were the outcastes (Panchamas), the lowliest. They did not even belong to the caste system - ugly as its face was. The fourth, Shudras, were no better, though certainly better than the Panchamas. The lowliness attached to them (Shudras and Panchamas) by virtue of their birth in these castes, was unconnected with their deeds. There was to be no deliverance for them from this social stigma, except perhaps death. They were condemned to be inferior. All lowly, menial and unsavory occupations were assigned to them. In the rural life, they had no alternative but to follow these occupations, generation after generation, century after century. It was their *karma* they were told, the penalty for the sins they allegedly committed in their previous birth. Pity is they believed all this. They were conditioned to believe it. This mental blindfold had to

be removed first. This was a phenomenon peculiar to this country. Poverty there has been and there is - in every country. But none had the misfortune of having this social division - or as same call it, degradation - superimposed on poverty. Poverty, low social status in Hindu caste system and the lowly occupation constituted - and do still constitute - vicious circle. The Founding Fathers were aware of all this - and more."

"The concept of inequality is unknown in the kingdom of God who creates all beings equal, but the "created" of the creator has created the artificial inequality in the name of casteism with selfish motive and vested interest." "There are various Constitutional provisions such as Articles 14,15, 16, 17, 38, 46, 332, 335, 338 and 340 which are designed to redress the centuries-old grievances of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as well as the Backward Classes and which have come for judicial interpretation on and off. It is not merely a part of the Constitution but also a national commitment."

**Deprived 75% Indians:** "One of the major causes of the backwardness of the country in all walks of life is the denial to more than 75% of the population, of an opportunity to participate in the running of the affairs of the country. Democracy does not mean mere elections. It also means equal and effective participation in shaping the destiny of the country. Needless to say that where a majority of the population is denied its share in actual power, there exists no real democracy. It is a harsh reality. It can be mended not by running away from it or by ignoring it, but by taking effective workable remedial measures. Those who point to the past achievements and the present progress of the country, forget that these achievements and the progress are by a tiny section of the society who got an opportunity to use their talent... Intelligence, perception, character, scholarship and talent are not a monopoly of any section of the society. Given opportunity, those who are condemned to the lowliest stations in life can rise to the loftiest status in society."

**"What should further not be forgotten is that hitherto for centuries, there have been cent percent reservations in practice in all fields, in favour of the high castes and classes, to the total exclusion of others. It was purely caste and class-based reservation."**

"After a thorough survey of the population", the Mandal

Commission has held that, "excluding Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes constitute nearly 52 per cent of the Indian population. Inequals must be treated unequally: "It is no longer necessary to emphasise that equality contemplated by Article 14 and other cognate articles ... is secured not only when equals are treated equally but also when unequals are treated unequally. Conversely, when unequals are treated equally, the mandate of equality before law is breached."

"The word backward is very wide bringing within its fold the social backwardness, educational backwardness, economic backwardness, political backwardness and alien physical backwardness." The expression, "backward class of citizens" ... "includes in its fold any community Hindu, Muslim, Christian, Sikh, Buddhist or Jain etc."

"The principle of identification has to be of universal application so as to extend to every community and not only to those who are either converts from Hinduism or some who carry on the same occupation as some of the Hindus."

**Caste among Muslims:** "Caste system which is peculiar to Hindus infiltrated even amongst Muslims, Christians, Sikhs or others although it has no place in their religion."

"Occupation can be the best starting point Constitutionally permissible and legally valid for determination of backwardness."

Priests "cannot be considered to be backward in any community, not because of their religion but the nature of occupation. Similarly the Untouchables became out-caste due to the nature of the job they performed, on a lower level whether it is barber or tailor, washerman or milkman, agricultural class or artisan, they are a group of class who can be identified in any community"...

"If the yardstick of occupation is applied to every community the identification would be uniform without exclusion of any. For instance weavers or washerman... It would be unfair to include Hindu washerman and exclude Muslim washerman."

"Backwardness under Article 15 (4) is not either social or educational, but it is both social and educational."

"In applying these tests the economic criteria or the social should be applied. Poverty is the prime criterion of backwardness. It generates social and educational backwardness..."

"Any reservation for any other class would be as already explained, contrary to constitutional objective thus invalid."

"No provision of reservation or preference can be so vigorously pursued as to destroy the very concept of equality". Benign discrimination or protection cannot

under any Constitutional system become the principle clause. Equality is the rule. Protection is the exception. Exception cannot exhaust the rule itself."

**"Only those classes of citizens who are incapable of uplifting themselves in order to join the mainstream of upward mobility in society are intended to be protected. The wealthy and the powerful, however socially and educationally backward they may be by reason of their ignorance, do not require to be protected, for they have the necessary strength to uplift themselves out of backwardness."**

The rich and the powerful are not the special favorites of the Constitution. Backward they may be socially and educationally, but that is a shame which they have the steam to remove and Constitution does not extend to them the special protection of reservation. It is not sufficient that the persons meant to be protected are backward merely by reason of illiteracy, ignorance, social backwardness. If they have, in spite of such handicaps, the necessary financial strength to raise themselves, the constitution does not extend to them the protection of reservation.

**Who need reservation: The chosen classes of persons for whom reservation is meant are those who are totally unable to join the mainstream of upward mobility because of their utter helplessness arising from social and educational backwardness and aggravated by economic disability.**

"Any state action resulting in reservation must, therefore, be so tailored as to weed out and exclude all persons who have attained a certain pre-determined economic level. Only persons falling below that level must qualify for reservation." Reservation is meant exclusively for the *Harjians*, the *Girjians*, the *Advivasis*, the Dalits or other like "depressed" classes or races or tribes most unfortunately referred to in the past as the Untouchables or the "outcastes" by reason of their being born in what was wrongly regarded as low castes and associated with what was equally wrongly treated as demeaning occupation, or any other class of citizens afflicted by like degree of poverty and degradation caused by prior and continuing discrimination and exploitation, whatever be their professed faith, religion or caste.

These classes of citizens, segregated in slums and ghettos and afflicted by grinding poverty, disease, ignorance, ill-health and backwardness and haunted by fear and anxiety, are the constitutionally intended beneficiaries of reservation, not because of their castes or occupations which are merely incidental facts of history, but because of their backwardness and disabilities stemming from identified past or continuing inequities and discrimination. "No person whose means exceed a predetermined economic level should be entitled to the protection of reservation, however backward he may be socially and educationally."

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