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DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities Denied Human Rights

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MUSLIMS CAN'T FIGHT BRAHMINISM

EMPOWER DALITS & THEY WILL DO THE JOB

Cut to size anti-people judiciary

Bahujan union based on caste identity

DV invites family members to April 8 silver jubilee function in Delhi

Thus Spake Ambedkar

Gandhi never supported Dalit human rights

Dr. Ambedkar has expressed his views on this subject in his book, *What Congress & Gandhi have done to the Untouchables*, wherein he says,

"Here was an opportunity for Mr. Gandhi to advance his Anti-Untouchability campaign. He could have proposed that if a Hindu wishes to enroll himself as a member of the Congress he should prove that he does not observe Untouchability and that the employment of an Untouchable in his household should be adduced in support of his claim in this behalf and that no other evidence would be allowed to be tendered. Such a proposal could not have been impracticable for almost every Hindu, certainly those who call themselves high Caste Hindus, keeps more than one servant in his household. If Mr. Gandhi could make the Hindu accept spinning and boycott as franchise for membership of the Congress he could also make acceptable the employment of an Untouchable in a Hindu household a franchise for membership of the Congress. But Mr. Gandhi did not do it.

After 1924 till 1930 there is a complete blank. Mr. Gandhi does not appear to have taken any active steps for the removal of Untouchability or got himself interested in any activity beneficial to the Untouchables during his period. While Mr. Gandhi was inactive the Untouchables had started a movement called the *Satyagraha* movement. The object of the movement was to establish their right to take water from public wells and to enter public temples. The *Satyagraha* at the Chawdar Tank situated in Mahad, a town in the Kolaba District of the Bombay Presidency, was organised to establish the right of the Untouchables to take water from public watering places. The *Satyagraha* at the Kala Ram Temple situated in Nasik, a town in the Nasik district of the Bombay Presidency, was organised to establish the right of the Untouchables to enter Hindu temples. There were many minor *Satyagrahas*. These were, however, the two principal ones over which the efforts of the Untouchables and their opponents, the Caste Hindus, were concentrated. The din and noise caused by them were heard all over India. Thousands of men and women from the Untouchables took part in these *Satyagrahas*. Both men and women belonging to the Untouchables were insulted and beaten by the Hindus. Many were injured and some were imprisoned by Government on the ground of causing breach of the peace. This *Satyagraha* movement went on for full six years when it was brought to a close in 1935 at a Conference held in Yeola in Nasik District in which the Untouchables as a result of the adamantine attitude of the Hindus in refusing to give them equal social rights resolved to go out of the Hindu fold. This *Satyagraha* movement was no doubt independent of the Congress. It was organised by the Untouchables, led by the Untouchables and financed by the Untouchables. Yet the Untouchables were not without hope of getting the moral support of Mr. Gandhi. Indeed they had very good ground for getting it. For the weapon of *Satyagraha* — the essence of which is to melt the heart of the opponent by suffering — was the weapon which was forged by Mr. Gandhi, and who had led the Congress to practise it against the British Government for winning *Swaraj*. Naturally the Untouchables expected full support from Mr. Gandhi to their *Satyagraha* against the Hindus the object of which was to establish their right to take water from public wells and to enter public Hindu temple. Mr. Gandhi however did not give his support to the *Satyagraha*. Not only did he not give his support, he condemned it in strong terms.

In this connection reference may be made to two novel weapons for redressing human wrongs. Mr. Gandhi claims exclusive credit for forging and perfecting them. First is *Satyagraha*. Mr. Gandhi has put into action this weapon of *Satyagraha* many a times against the British Government for the removal of political wrongs. But Mr. Gandhi has never used the weapon of *Satyagraha* against Hindus to get them throw open wells and temples to the Untouchables. Fasting is another weapon of Mr. Gandhi. ***(To be continued)***

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Vol.17, Part-1 (p.204-205) 2003, Rs. 125.
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DALIT VOICE
The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities Denied Human Rights

APRIL 8, 2007: SILVER JUBILEE

Invitation from the Editor

The postponed silver jubilee celebration of the *Dalit Voice* is fixed for April 8, 2007 (Sunday) in Delhi. This is already announced in DV of March 1, 2007 (p.7).

The health of DV is exactly like the health of India — neither dead nor living. Actually the silver jubilee should have been celebrated last year itself when DV completed 25 years. But we could not.

The Brahminical poison is affecting our health even as the ruling class is behaving like a mad bull. Our DV family members have to seriously discuss this to save ourselves and the country that belongs to us.

So at this juncture we are meeting in Delhi (*details see p.28*) for a whole day quiet stock-taking and self-criticism.

We have brought the Caravan so far, converting our blood into sweat for 25 years. Not only we are feeling the strain but find hardly any time to write books. So the alternative also has to be discussed.

DV family from all over India is invited but we can't bear the expenses. At least those from the surrounding states must attend. We can't send individual invitations.

It will not be like any other formal function but a day of deep introspection and planning our future to save India from the enemy-oppressor.

— EDITOR

MUSLIM IS ATTACKED ONLY BECAUSE HE IS MUSLIM — NOT BECAUSE HE IS POOR OR UNEDUCATED

Muslims can't fight Brahminism: Empower Dalits & then leave the job to them

A three-day well organised conference of Muslims from different parts of India held in Bangalore (Feb.15 to 17, 2007) once again convinced us of the utter poverty of thinking in the country's single largest religious group comprising about 20% of its 1,100 million population.

Muslims are being subjected to all sorts of war and violence by the Brahminical terrorists from decades. The violence is rising day by day. For the first time the *Brahmana Jati Party* (BJP) rule has come to South India (Karnataka).

But the Muslims leadership is talking about all sorts of things like the Sachar Committee report recommending Muslim representation in education and services. So much of time was spent on the three days by Muslim "experts" on the lack of Muslim representation in different spheres.

800-year Muslim rule: What is the use of this Muslim representation when the very existence of the Muslim is threatened? Which is more important? Education, jobs or the very life and property?

We have come out with an Editorial itself on the Sachar Committee report (DV Jan.1, 2007: "*Muslim problem not economic but social & cultural*") and in this we want to further elaborate on the subject.

Muslims are not foreigners to India like the alien Aryans. They are almost 95% converts from the original inhabitants of India like the Dalits or Backward Castes. Besides, Muslims ruled India for over 800 years. That means they are expected to know India and its caste-based society.

Though Muslims live in segregated pockets in urban areas for fear of security, for all practical purposes they work with non-Muslims and have all their dealings with them. And yet despite living in India for hundreds of years, they have not made a study of the "Hindu mind". (Rajendra: *Muslim Failure to See Through Brahminical Tricks*, DSA-2002).

Ahmedabad caste war: Muslims have the energy, discipline, the collective strength and the courage to fight and even finish the micro-minority Hindu terrorist group called the RSS which is mainly a group of Brahminical *chaddi chhors*. But this *chaddi* (half-pant) boys don't come to fight the Muslims. They send mainly the Dalits or BC boys to fight and kill Muslims.

Dalits nowhere in India hate Muslims. But the Muslims do

not know this. Because they think Dalits are Hindu. This is where the problem begins. Anti-Muslim riots are an urban phenomenon. And in all urban slums Dalits and Muslims — the two poorest and the most deprived people of India — live together and work together. How can who live and work together become enemies?

Gujarat "caste war": Ahmedabad witnessed the goriest anti-Muslim riots (2002) in which Dalits and tribals killed Muslims in thousands. But when we went to Ahmedabad we found the two living together for hundreds of years side by side in Old Ahmedabad. In 1981, India's first "caste war" against Dalits engineered by the Patels and other upper castes, the Muslims stood by Dalits. But soon the Hindu terrorists managed to woo Dalits and directed them against Muslims.

Even in the Babri Masjid demolition (1992) it was the Dalits who were employed to do the job.

Dalits are the readily available and the cheapest weapon used by the Brahminical terrorists to kill Muslims and burn their little property. We admit this fact.

It may be a fact but if the Muslims make an issue out of this and turn against the Dalits, they will be simply jumping from the frying pan into fire. Brahminical terrorists want exactly this: they want Muslims to hate Dalits. The moment this happens, their conspiracy becomes a cent percent success.

How to achieve "Hindu unity": Brahminical people have just a one-point programme: Hindu unity. To achieve this "unity", they want to divide the Indian people into Hindu and Muslim. The moment such a "Hindu unity" is achieved, they say, India will be transformed into a heaven on earth. They have no other programme.

The Muslims by not understanding this "Hindu mind" are helping the Brahminical terrorists to further their agenda.

However, we want to make it clear that we are not criticising the masses of Muslims. They are first class. They understand things correctly.

The Muslim religious leadership (which is the most influential among Muslims) also understands this. The only people who do not understand the "Hindu mind" are the educated, elite Muslims who are busy discussing the Sachar Committee report without knowing that the very existence of the Muslim is at stake today in "Hindu India".

Dalit-Muslim unity: We have elaborately discussed the urgent need for Dalit-Muslim unity in our book of the same title by Dr. Ramnath (*Dalit-Muslim Unity, Why & How?*, DSA-1995). This book was published in 1995 and over 12 years ago in English, Hindi and Urdu. All the copies sold out.

The book was released by Moulana Ali Miyan, India's most famous Muslim saint, who fully blessed the movement. We went round the county several times and met all the top Muslim religious, political and elite leaders. Everybody praised us and promised full support to the "noble movement" but quietly forgot the whole thing.

The country's two most horrendous anti-Muslim riots (Babri Masjid and Gujarat Genocide) took place after we published this book. The Brahminical terrorists employed only Dalits to engineer both the blood-bath.

Had the Muslim leadership heeded our warning we could have averted both the catastrophe. Even now the Muslim leadership pays only lip sympathy to Dalit-Muslim unity but it is not serious. We are saying this with full knowledge.

Now we are in the year 2007 when the Hindu terrorist party is desperate to re-capture political power which, it says, will be possible only when they divide the country into Hindu and Muslim. If the Muslims at this crucial stage do not heed our warning they will be playing into the hands of these terrorists and helping them in their divisive game.

BJP may come to power: The Manmohan Singh Govt. has become very unpopular, hated by the oppressed masses. The RSS-BJP is making use of this discontent and our fear is BJP is bound to gain.

Having never bothered to study the "Hindu mind" despite being born and living in India and Muslims existing in India for centuries, they have committed an unpardonable blunder which the Brahmins have profitably used against them.

Most serious blunder: The biggest and the most serious Muslim blunder is they think the Dalits are Hindu —though they also know that Dalits are also the worst victims of Brahminism. To the Muslims everybody is a Hindu who is not a Muslim, Christian or Sikh. This is the problem.

The Muslim ignorance is appalling. They have not made a study of the Hindu caste system and the

different castes and the difference between one caste and the other. To them all are Hindu. The Brahmins have fully exploited this ignorance and call every anti-Muslim riot as a Hindu-Muslim riot.

Poverty of thinking: The Muslim intellectual poverty is so shocking that they do not know the caste statistics and the strength of the population of each caste. Dalits together with Adivasis (Tribals) constitute 30% of the population, the country's single largest segment. But they are the blood enemies of Hindus.

When Muslims are also considered the worst enemies by the Brahminical people is it not their duty, as our elder brothers, to join hands with us for a common defence against Brahminical terrorism? Alas, they did not do it.

Hindu-Muslim unity not possible: Nor did they open the doors of their doorless masjids to us or to their glorious religion of equality and justice. They preferred to live as an island without befriending their most trusted brothers (Dalit) —thus simply playing into the hands of the blood-thirsty Brahminical terrorists.

Their ignorance is so much that they always seek Hindu-Muslim unity which is never possible because Hindus, meaning the top 15% of the *savarnas* (Aryan), are the serpents fighting the Muslim mongoose.

Hindu-Muslim unity is never possible in India. What is certainly possible is the Dalit-Muslim unity. But the Muslims are not ready to embrace even the willing Dalits but always hankering for the hands of the unwilling Brahminical people.

They have forgotten the historical tragedy of the partition of India (1947) which took place on the Hindu-Muslim hatred. What was not possible then how can it be achieved now in "Hindu India" where the 3% Brahmins have taken over the direct rulership? (DV Jan.16, 2007 p.10; "*Muslim leadership abetting anti-Muslim riots by not identifying Brahminical enemy*").

Muslim population more than Hindu: The Muslim leadership is so ignorant that it does not know that India's Muslim population is much more than the Hindu (*savarna*)population. The Muslims constitute 20% of our population — the single largest — but the Hindus (*savarnas*) are not even 15%. What are called as Dalits, BCs, Tribals are not Hindu. They are all victims of Hindus and hence anti-Hindu. The Muslims do not know this. Because they have made no study of the Indian social system.

Besides, the Hindus (Aryans) are a house-divided, one caste hating the other while the Muslims are one single united community with one religion, one holy scripture, one masjid and one Muslim Personal Law. More than that they are an international community while the Hindus are a micro-minority confined to India — but the most hated lot even inside India. The Muslims do not know all this.

When the Muslims are so strong numerically, religiously as well as intellectually, how could they be killed by the micro-minority Hindu terrorists? More than that, the upper caste Brahminical people are utter cowards while the Muslims are a brave and disciplined community.

Yet with all these plus points the Muslims are losing because the Muslims call themselves a "minority" when the fact is they are the country's single largest majority and yet admit they are weak and helpless.

This appalling ignorance of the Muslim leadership is exploited by the cunning Brahmins who have made a thorough and a minute study of their religion, their social setup, their psychology and all their weaknesses. The greatest weakness of the Muslim is their total lack of knowledge of the Hindu social setup, its caste system and how much the Dalits hate the Hindus.

Never bothered to study Dr. Ambedkar: Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, the Father of India, had said all these and written volumes on how much the Dalits hate the Hindus. Quaide Azam Jinnah, Poet Iqbal and Moualana Moududi have said and written all this decades back. But the Muslim leadership did not bother to study all this. That is why they think Dalits are also Hindu just because they have Hindu names, and some call themselves Hindu and worship Hindu gods out of ignorance. Yes, the Dalits may do all this and yet they hate the Hindu — not the Muslim. Both are beef-eaters and toiling masses.

The Brahminical people are exploiting this utter ignorance of the Muslim leadership.

The Brahmins spent years and years and invested billions of rupees to *hinduise* (enslave) the non-Hindu Dalits and instigate them against Muslims. And thus made the two brothers fight so that they can rule. This is what they mean by "Hindu unity" which becomes easy when Muslims fail to seek unity with Dalit. Their failure has led to Brahmin victory. Who can help such an ignorant

Muslim ruling class which has misguided its own innocent, poverty-stricken masses and thereby helped the Brahminical rulers to convert India into the world's most violent country?

Why Muslims are killed: Muslims are killed by the Brahminical terrorists and their properties burnt only because of the Muslim refusal to join hands with their real blood brothers — Dalits. We have said it hundreds of times in our writings and speeches. Muslims hear us saying this and applaud. And then forget everything.

What are described in the Constitution of India as SC/ST/BCs are the original inhabitants of India (*Mool Nivasis*). Islam got its major chunk of followers from these three sections. Hence the SC/ST/BCs and Muslims are blood bothers. The Muslim ignorance of India's social system was exploited by Brahmins to divide the two sections and set the SC/ST/BCs against the Muslims.

The *Moolnivasis* are also victims of Brahminism but never of Islam. Do the Muslim leadership know this?

Who can save such a set of ignorant people?

Once the Muslim leadership realises this Supreme Truth and starts joining us, the Brahminical terrorists dare not touch the Muslims. The anti-Muslim riots will come to an automatic stop.

Do the Muslim leadership know this Supreme Truth?

India's three egalitarian religions: India has only three egalitarian religions called "minority religions": (1) Muslims, who are the largest, (2) Christians and (3) Sikhs. Parsees are negligible. Each of the three has converts from both the upper castes (Hindu) as well as the non-Hindu SC/ST/BCs. The latter are in big majority in all the three because these three egalitarian religions offered liberation to the oppressed SC/ST/BCs from the Hindu tyranny.

However, a handful of upper castes also infiltrated to these egalitarian religions and continued to play their Hindu mischief. Our fear is it is these upper caste foreign (alien) elements within Islam who are spreading the confusion so that the SC/ST/BC sufferers do not join hands with their co-sufferers within Islam. The upper caste converts within Islam, Christianity and Sikhism are one with their upper caste Hindu cousins within Brahminism. The best examples are the of Syrian Christians of Kerala, the Khatris within Sikhism and the Muslim Khojas, Bohras who are mostly from the Bania caste.

We need not bother about these negligible upper caste converts. They will continue to play their mischief. But it is the Muslim ruling class ignorance that has put the vast Muslim masses into serious trouble, as victims of Hindu war and violence.

We have tried our best to educate the Muslim ruling class in the past 30 years but it is not willing to be educated.

Of late the Muslim masses are gradually coming out of the clutches of the Muslim religious as well as elite leadership and asserting itself. This is a good sign. The Feb.17, 2007 massive conference attended by the Muslim masses was neither controlled by the Muslim religious or political leaders nor by an elite group.

On behalf of the country's Dalits, their leader and saviour, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, has said all that is necessary to be said. There is nothing more to add. We are only repeating — and interpreting and elaborating —what he has said.

We Dalits are the worst victims of Brahminism which today hides itself under the name of Hinduism. We consider it our duty to fight Brahminism. We have nothing against Muslims. They are our best friends.

Hindu & *Hindutva* means same: The Dalits are not Hindu and were never Hindu. We were **made** Hindu. And **called** Hindu by the Brahmins for their advantage. Why the Muslim leadership does not understand this simple truth?

We have identified Brahminism (Hinduism) as our Enemy No.1. It is our one and the only enemy. We have no other enemy. Muslims are not our enemy. We are fighting Brahminism and will continue to fight it. Our fight against Brahminism is thousands of years old. We don't differentiate between Hindu and *hindutva*. Both are the same. The Brahminical word-mongering experts go on coining new and newer words, phrases, images, concepts and symbols to confuse their enemies.

Brother Aboobacker mistake: The principal enemy of India is Brahminism. Let there be no mistake. This is our time-tested scientific conclusion. But this enemy is hiding under the garb of Hinduism. But the Muslim elite leadership goes out of the way to assure the Brahminical enemy that:

"We are not against Hindus. Hindu and *Hindutva*

are not the same. *Hindutva* is a violent political ideology with in-built hatred towards Muslims... The great majority of Hindus realised this fact. So how can we become anti-Hindu?... Pious Hindus themselves should oppose the RSS ideology...."

The above is a quotation from the presidential address of Brother E. Aboobacker, chairman, Popular Front of India.

Brother Aboobacker is our good-old friend and we are sure he has read our literature. And yet he uttered the above words in his presidential address at the Feb.17 Bangalore conference. We were present on the stage as he spoke.

The presidential address must have been a well-thought-out document to outline the Popular Front agenda. But we Ambedkarites are disappointed because he has praised Hinduism which is killing Dalits, Adivasis and Backward Castes. His stand goes against the Ambedkarite historical stand.

From this it is clear that he has not read Dr. Ambedkar's literature — nor ours.

He says Hinduism is good but *Hindutva* is bad. But what is the difference between the two?

Jinnah & Dr. Ambedkar criticised Gandhi: M.K. Gandhi called himself a *Sanatani* Hindu and died for the sake of Hinduism. A Brahmin leader, an upholder of *Hindutva,* shot him dead. (*Why Godse Killed Gandhi?*, DSA-1997).

Both Dr. Ambedkar and Quaide Azam Jinnah had criticised Gandhi. And this Gandhi was a great Hindu leader. It was this Gandhi who introduced Brahminism in a sugar-coated pill and deceived all of us. If we have to go by Brother Aboobacker's verdict Gandhi is good but the killers of Gandhi are bad.

Brother Aboobacker and his ilk are either ignorant of facts of history or they are trying to confuse the innocent but angry Muslim masses who have gathered in thousands.

Statements like this that keep the Dalits and Muslims divided.

Unless the Muslim elites clear their confusion they will be subjecting their own innocent Muslim masses to more and more violence.

Fortunately the Muslim masses are gradually coming out of the control of the Muslim elites and asserting themselves.

What is meaning of *Sangh Parivar*: Brother Aboobacker in his speech identified the enemy of Muslim as "*Sangh Parivar*". What is the meaning of this?

This name was coined again by the very same enemy to hide itself and confuse its victims. Why should we use the words and phrases manufactured by the enemy when "Brahminism" is so straightforward and so easily understood by everybody and in all the languages of India?

Somewhere else he identifies the enemy as "communal elements". Elsewhere he names it "RSS". At another place he calls it "fascist forces". All this indicates the confusion in the top leadership of the Popular Front.

But we Ambedkarites have no confusion. We have identified the enemy oppressor: Brahminism. It has only one name and that name is Brahminism. It has to identified and called only by this one name. If you use other words or names you will be helping the enemy which has been living and thriving only by confusing the people.

May be Brother Aboobacker used these words without giving a serious thought to its implications. But the thousands and thousands of angry youths who thronged the Palace Grounds on Feb.17, deeply troubled by the hate-filled atmosphere created by Brahminism, must have been definitely confused. They expected to be properly guided by the leadership which should have **identified** and **named** their enemy oppressor. This mistake should not be repeated.

Be careful with words & phrases: Peoples Front is an organisation of great promise. All its leaders are genuine in their concern for the Muslim masses and Dalits. But we would like to warn them that **Brahminism** is too crooked and too cruel an animal which can't be won over by using soft and irrelevant words and phrases. This enemy has already identified its prey — Muslims — and it is out for its blood. And it is an expert in playing football with Muslim lives. And drinking Muslim blood by *hinduising* the Dalits.

Words and phrases used by Brother Aboobacker will neither enlighten nor ignite the Muslim masses on side nor please the Dalits on the other side. It has to be hit-to-kill words with no mercy shown to the oppressor.Remember, Brahminism has further strengthened itself by joining hands with zionism. Representatives of both met in Delhi in the house of L.K. Advani on Feb.5-6, 2007 and declared Muslims as their common enemy (DV March 1, 2007 p. 15: "*Brahminism &*

zionism join hands"). There is no confusion in their mind. They have identified their enemy but the Muslim leadership of India has not. How then can they fight? Whom to fight when they have not even identified and named the enemy? We pity the Muslim leadership.

But we Dalits have done it. Our enemy oppressor is Brahminism and none else. We are clear in our thinking and action.

Brahminism is out to destroy Dalits and also Islam. And thereby destroy India. But between the two they want to finish Islam first. Why?

Serpent & mongoose: Because Brahminism and Islam are like serpent and mongoose. Brahminism is serpent and Islam is mongoose. The two are blood enemies. In the Middle East, the Muslims have identified their enemy (zionism) and are fighting it for about 100 years. But in India, which has the largest number of Muslims in the world (barring Indonesia which can't be called strictly Islamic), Muslims nowhere did fight Brahminism because they have not even identified the enemy. Many Muslim rulers had Brahmin Prime Ministers.

The Middle East Muslims have not only identified the enemy (zionism) but are fighting it and a World War-III is under preparation. When Middle East Muslims could identify their enemy and fight it, why their counterparts in India failed? This is because the enemy disguised and hid itself under the cloak of Hinduism, *Hindutva* and deceived the Muslims who are willing to be deceived.

The war between Middle East Muslims and zionists is about 100 years old but in India this war has not yet begun. It has not begun because the Muslim leadership does not even know who is its enemy? Such is the appalling ignorance of the Indian Muslim leadership.

Meanwhile, the Muslims of India are going to land themselves in more serious trouble. Zionism in its bid to shift from USA (after "finishing" USA) to Asia are banking upon the support of the "Jews of India". The Jews and "Jews of India" will now together attack Muslims.

As we have written so much on these developments, we don't like to elaborate (*Brahminism in India & Zionism in West*, DSA-2007).

But India's Muslim leadership is not understanding that as days pass their situation is becoming more and more serious.

When their very existence is threatened how can Sachar Committee recommendation save them? India's Muslim problem is neither economic nor educational backwardness. Their problem is social and cultural.

A Muslim is attacked not because he is poor or uneducated. A Muslim is attacked only because he is a Muslim.

During the three-day deliberations at the Popular Front conference we had to repeatedly intervene and tell the Muslims this simple truth which they did not know.

The Muslim ignorance is appalling.

Supreme truth: But the Muslim masses who constitute over 90% of the Muslim population are first class. They know this Supreme Truth.

The Muslim religious leadership also knows this Supreme Truth. It does not bother about the Sachar Committee report. Its agenda is purely religious, social and cultural.

But the English-educated elite Muslims and their political leadership is diverting the attention of Muslim masses in the name of Sachar Committee Report.

Why Muslims can't fight Brahminism: The Brahminical enemy is too happy with the Sachar report because it keeps the Muslim busy discussing, analysing, criticising, amending the Sachar report. When the Sachar Report is discussed by the Muslims, Brahminism, the enemy, is forgotten. Look at the tricks of trades of Brahminism.

Therefore, after working with Muslim elites for over 30 years and as experts on Brahminism — as well as the "Muslim problem" —we have come to some important conclusions.

As the situation stands today Muslims will not be able to fight Brahminism.

That work will have to be done only by Dalits — the blood enemies of Brahminism. The reason is this: The Muslim leadership's failure to **identify** and name the enemy.

Some Muslim religious leaders say Brahmins and members of the Brahminical order are also human beings and the *Quran* is against preaching hatred against any human being.

They are totally misquoting the *Quran*. We have explained this in detail in our booklet, *Curse of Allah* (DSA-1997). The *Quran* (S:2:190&191) says it is the duty of Muslim to fight and finish all

those who want to destroy their **faith**. Who is bent upon destroying their faith? The answer is the Brahminical people. On this there is no dispute. The latest Delhi meeting of zionists and Brahminical people identified Islam as their enemy.

What the *Quran* says: The Brahmins have no confusion in identifying and fighting their enemy. They have done it long back. Now they have been assured the money, muscle and technical aid by the zionists.

Where then is he doubt? Does the *Quran* say that you should be kind to those who want to destroy your **faith**? (S.2:190 & 191). The Muslim is told to fight those who fight their faith.

Why the Muslim leadership is coming in the way of the Muslim masses who have declared a *Jihad* against Brahminism? (S:2:216).

The Muslim is told to fight in the cause of Allah. (S:2:246). But such a fight has not even started. And our fear is it may not start. The Muslim leadership is in a terrible confusion. And who created this confusion? This very Brahminical enemy.

The Muslim leadership gives too much importance to "life hereafter", conveniently forgetting the truth that they will never enter heaven if they do not do their **duty** here on earth (*Al Ra'd, Surah* 13, S.2:11). Nor did the Muslim leadership come to support the Dalit fight against Brahminism although there are many *suras* in the *Quran* directing the Muslims to support their co-sufferers. (S:59:7-8).

Islam never believes in compromise with the enemy. *Jihad* is the only answer, says another Islamic scholar, Dr. M.M. Khuraishi (*Curse of Allah*, DSA-1997).

Conclusion: So, our conclusion is that India's Muslim leadership is hesitating even to **name** the enemy —not to speak of fighting the enemy. Because it knows that the moment it names Brahminism, which is hiding under the name of Hinduism, RSS-BJP will instigate the *Hinduised* Dalits to attack Muslims. This is what is happening today all over India.

Muslims have no media of their own. Brahminical people are in total control of it and they can write any rubbish, downright lies and damage the Muslim interests.

So, after good deal of thought we want to tell the Muslims that the job of fighting Brahminism and protecting the Muslim life and property can be done only by the Ambedkarite Dalits.

Hence it is the duty of the Muslims to join hands with Ambedkarites and empower them to accomplish this task of saving India.

Give us ten years, we will finish Brahminism and assure full protection to Muslim life and property. ■

Huge Muslim turn-out

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: The city on Feb.17, 2007 witnessed a huge Muslim conference. What marked the massive turn-out (over one lakh) was that it comprised young, energetic, disciplined and yet angry Muslims. Politicians were scrupulously kept out. It was a gathering of revolutionary youth from the three Southern states of Kerala, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. As expected the Brahminical papers blackedout the whole event. Nor was there any TV coverage. The Hindu terrorists from the RSS however were shocked by the discipline of the crowd which hardly had a person over 50. A person close to the Hindu terrorists said he was simply shocked by the military-discipline. How could the *idli-sambar chaddi* boys face such a motivated Muslim youth, he said. The police said the three-day meet in the sprawling Palace Grounds was incident free. However, some upper caste anti-Muslim elements did infiltrate in the name of secularism, a meaningless word in "Hindu India", and this was unavoidable in a huge turn-out like this. The conference was inaugurated by a British journalist Alan Hart, whose writings are familiar to DV members and addressed by a Black Muslim scholar from Washington, Dr. Hodari Ali. The organisers — the Kerala-based Popular Front of India — being close to us we had to be associated with the three-day event from beginning to end. And we met hundreds of friends and admirers from all parts of India. Quite a number of them belonged to the DV family. What attracted such a huge turn-out? It is the Muslim fear of the Brahminical terrorist RSS-BJP getting a foothold for the first time in South India — thanks to H.D. Deve Gowda, a former Prime Minister and a rank fascist. His craze for power and pelf made him hand over the state to the *Brahmana Jati Party* (BJP), which is controlling the state, though his son is a name-sake CM. And to further strengthen their hold on the state and widen their sphere of influence they are planning to convert Karnataka into another Gujarat. The coastal Karnataka district, the stronghold of Hindu terrorists, is supplying the brain and muscle power. The peace-loving Muslims, already reduced to destitution, are deeply worried. This is the cause of the huge turnout at the Feb.17 conference. ■

America going bankrupt ?

OUR CORRESPONDNT

Bangalore: Before President Bush lays down office, he is bent upon seeing that America goes bankrupt. The heat is mounting but the zionist controllers of America are not worried because before the US goes bust they have decided to shift their money to Asia.

New York: December's figures indicate that foreign investment is drying up and the world is no longer eager to purchase America's lavish debt. The only thing the Federal Reserve can do is raise interest rates to attract foreign capital or let the dollar fall in value. The problem, of course, is that if the Fed raises rates, the real estate market will collapse even faster which will strangle consumer spending and shrivel GDP.

> "The US economy is in danger of a recession that will prove unusually long and severe. By any measure it is in far worse shape than in 2001-02 and the unraveling of the housing bubble is clearly at hand. It seems that the continuous buoyancy of the financial markets is again deluding many people about the gravity of the economic situation."—Dr. Kurt Richebacher. (http://www.ichblog.eu/content/view/653/1/)

This week's data on the sagging real estate market leaves no doubt that the housing bubble is quickly crashing to earth and that hard times are on the way. "The slump in home prices from the end of 2005 to the end of 2006 was the biggest year over year drop since the National Association of Realtors started keeping track in 1982." (*New York Times*)

To read the annual Economic Report of the President, one would think the whopping U.S. current- account deficit is no more than a minor bookkeeping entry of little importance to the future of the US economy. Yes, in the fourth quarter of 2005 the current-account deficit jumped to 7 percent of gross domestic product because of a surge in oil imports, though it came down a bit last year, says the 2007 report released by the president's Council of Economic Advisers on Feb. 12. And what did that mean? Apparently not very much. "Current-account deficits mean that domestic investment continues to exceed domestic saving, with foreigners financing the gap between the two," the report explains. Harvard University economist Kenneth Rogoff, who is also a former chief economist of the International Monetary Fund, says he believes the current-account deficit is worth a good deal more comment than that. For one thing, it could lead to a plunge in the dollar, he warned recently. "Many people have been asking why the dollar hasn't crashed yet," Rogoff said in a commentary posted Feb. 7 on a Web site of the U.K. newspaper, the Guardian. "Will the United States ever face a bill for the string of massive trade deficits that it has been running for more than a decade? Including interest payments on past deficits, the tab for 2006 alone was over $800 billion dollars — roughly 6.5 percent of U.S. gross national product," he said.

ttp://www.bloomberg.com/apps/news?pid=20601039&refer=columnist_berry&sid=aWuQCgZ0ewDU ■

A MUST FOR D.V. FAMILY MEMBER

Who murdered Deen Dayal Upadhyaya ?

Madhok criticism of Vajpayee "character".

Read Shamsul Islam's critique of Golwalkar Book

WE OR OUR NATIONHOOD DEFINED

which the Hindu terrorist party, RSS, disowned and copies were withdrawn.

Dr. Shamsul Islam is Prof. of Pol. Sc., in Satyawati College, Delhi University, Delhi.

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Kanshi Ram as a master strategist: caste-based coalition politics

DR. V.D. CHANDANSHIVE, COTTAGE VAISHALI, SHAHU NAGAR, NANDED - 431 602

When the Ambedkarite movement was in total disarray throughout the country, it was Kanshi Ram who repeatedly used Babasaheb's maxim "political power is a master key" as a slogan which paid high dividends. He could see that Babasaheb's theory of political democracy was totally forgotten by both Bahujan intellectuals and also the masses which constituted 85% of the Indian population.

When he exposed the bogey of "upper caste majority" and reduced them to just 15%, it was indeed a master stroke of a genius politician. Challenging the upper caste "mainstream" concept, he asked, "which is the mainstream of the country, 15% upper castes or 85% Bahujan Samaj?"

This argument left the upper castes dumb and baffled and it turned *manuwadi* politics topsy turvy.

WE WANT A WEAK GOVT.

Kanshi Ram with the help of Mayawati demonstrated it in UP though BSP had very short stints at political power. For him political power was a master key because it was an engine of transformation.

He always advocated the need for lame govts. walking on crutches. Because a majority govt. became despotic toward Bahujan Samaj. By lame, he meant a coalition rule. When he launched BSP in 1984, India was entering into coalition politics as more and more castes were becoming politically aware due to the process of **caste identity**. Caste-based political outfits, caste leaders were emerging in different parts of the country. The upper castes were stupefied as they were habituated with dwelling in the fool's paradise of majority politics.

The upper castes had fooled the Bahujans since "independence" by emphasising the significance of majority party rule and also the stability plank. Dr. Ambedkar had called this type of majority as "communal majority" functioning for the millennium of 15% beneficiaries of the caste system. Babasaheb was more on the side of "representative" government which he knew the "communal majority" of upper castes did not reflect. Kanshi Ram also was against the "communal majority" rule.

MANDAL COM. ROLE

At this juncture a great role was played by the Mandal Commission Report in stirring the Backward Castes throughout the country. Inside parliament, no discussion was allowed by the then Congress Govt. on the report. Of the country's 52% OBCs, only 12 MPs of their 3,743 castes were elected to parliament.

Those who wanted to speak on the Mandal report were actually manhandled by the communal upper caste MPs and their mouths were gagged.

It was Kanshi Ram who gave a unique programme of people's parliament to his party cadre to discuss openly the Mandal report. In Delhi, he arranged a month-long agitation in the form of meetings and *dharna* before the parliament. He appealed to the OBCs to enter parliament to fight for their rights. No upper caste political party was in full support of the Mandal report. The *Manuwadi* media was busy manufacturing all sorts of rumours to fan the fire of the anti-Mandal violence in Gujarat and elsewhere. Therefore. to get social justice for Backward Castes Kanshi Ram wanted a crippled government at the centre.

NO PRE-POLL ALLIANCE

Only once — when Narasimha Rao was PM — did Kanshi Ram form a pre-poll alliance with the Congress. But that alliance proved to be a doom for the Congress in UP. This alliance revealed the diplomacy and satesmanship of Kanshi Ram. He wanted to weaken the age-old *manuvadi* party by seat sharing with it. Of the 420 Assembly seats, he demanded 290 and only 130 seats were given to the Congress. He knew the number of seats BSP would win. But he was more interested in the loss of the Congress Party. And to the great surprise of election analysts the Congress could win 25-30 seats out of 130. He was delighted at the damage he caused to the country's oldest political party.

MAYAWATI WARNING TO B.J.P

But the star question was: Why did the Congress accept such an insulting alliance? Perhaps the Brahmin Narasimha Rao was more interested in the rise of BJP.

Kanshi Ram has given a valuable principle to be followed by future Bahujan leadership: what harm is there in deceiving the champions of deception? M.K. Gandhi after the "Poona Pact" had deceived Dr. Ambedkar. Dr. Ambedkar was also

deceived by "Socialist Brahmins" (Read Dr. Ambedkar's *What Congress & Gandhi Have Done to the Untouchables?*, Vol.9, W&S, Govt. of Maharashtra).

It is not that Kanshi Ram weakened the Congress alone. He showed his diplomatic acumen in weakening the BJP also in UP. One could imagine the height of his political strategy when he installed Mayawati as UP Chief Minister thrice despite having less number of MLAs as compared to BJP. And this he did not by pre-poll alliance but by post-poll alliance on the conditions of BSP by implementing the BSP agenda and by pushing completely to the back-burner the BJP Ram-plank and building of Ram temple at Ayodhya.

Chief Minister Mayawati told BJP that if they practiced any mischief at Kashi and Mathura, they would be dealt severely. BJP was completely corned by BSP. BJP thought that Kanshi Ram would accept pre-poll alliance with it in future whenever there were elections. But Kanshi Ram rejected outright the offer of *manuwadi* parties to execute a pre-poll alliance because he knew their mentality of deception. He knew that the Bahujan votes were easily transferable but *manuwadi* votes were not so. That means the Bahujan voters easily voted for upper caste candidates but the upper caste voters did not vote for backward class candidates even if there was pre-poll alliance.

He was an expert in making caste-alliances to enhance the voting strength of his party and in every election this paid him dividends as he was able to increase the voting percentage of BSP. It was Kanshi Ram's sheer diplomacy and political acumen which he displayed after winning seats in UP assembly.

Just with the help of 70 seats in the house of 400, Kanshi Ram called shots and made Mayawati CM not once but thrice.

NEVER BELIEVE *MANUWADIS*

A myth has been circulated by *manuwadi* leaders that Bahujans should align or have alliance only with like-minded political parties. Who is this like-minded? Which *manuwadi* party can be called like-minded?

All *manuwadi* parties on the national level want political power to subjugate the 85% Bahujans.

But BSP wants political power for social and economic Justice. Where is the like-mindedness? The myth of like-mindedness was been floated by *manuwadis* to grab the support of Bahujan voters to which many a Dalit leaders have fallen prey. *Manuwadis* cannot become like-minded because they are enemies of social change.

For BSP political power is a means to achieve an end. But for *manuwadis* political power is an end in itself. Nevertheless, *manuwadi* political parties will be very much there in existence. But coalition politics has given the Bahujans an opportunity to defeat their aim. So, BSP and Bahujan leadership will have to deal with them from time to time no matter which *manuwadi* party BSP goes with in the formation of government.

Today, Congress, BJP, CPI, CPM are all *manuvadis* no matter what their outward appearance is. In future old parties may disappear but new *manuwadi* political outfits may appear and still we will have to deal with them. The star question for us is: how we deal with them. Bahujan leadership will require better guts and better brains to deal with them, said Kanshi Ram. This should not be difficult for 85% Bahujans. ■

India ranks 134

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Despite all the tall talk, India ranks a lowly 134 according to World Bank's "Ease of doing business" rankings as compared to Singapore (rank 1), USA (3), Canada (4), UK (6), Mexico (43), Pakistan (74), Bangladesh (88), China (93) among others. For more details and country comparisons click on the link below:

http://www.doingbusiness.org/CustomQuery/

Even West Bank and Gaza figures higher (rank 127). Indian upper caste bluff masters cannot fool the world.

HISTORY OF ISLAM & BLACK NATIONALISM IN AMERICA

Adib Rashad
(James Miller)

The book is the most comprehensive works written to date on the influence of Islam on the African-American peoples of North America. Documenting the fact that Islam was the common religion of many of the slaves transported to North America, the author traces the history of African-Americans' encounter with Islam, from the time of slavery to the present. He describes how such powerful historical figures as Marcus Garvey, Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X and others contributed to the present African-American consciousness.

pp.125 $ 9.95

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Bluff masters

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: In boasting no country in the world can be compared with Hindu India. By supplying false statistics our ruling upper castes are trying to bluff the world. They say India has started bursting with prosperity and competing with China. All bull shit.

Look at the figures below and you can make out how poor is India.

New Delhi: India's telephone customer base is inching towards the 200 million mark, with mobile telephony driving the growth rate, Telecom Regulatory Authority of India (TRAI) and Department of Telecommunications (DoT) data released on Feb.15, 2007 said. The tele-density a year ago was 12%.

(*Deccan Herald*, Feb.18, 2007).

If the population of India is 1,100 million (110 crores, those having telephone are just 200 millions which amounts to less that of 20%. Over 80% of Indians can't afford a phone.

India turns Hindu *rashtra* ?

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: India is gradually becoming a *Hindu Rashtra* under the Brahminical rulership. The following report is yet another proof:

From 1969 till today — RAW's current staff strength is about 10,000 — it has avoided recruiting any Muslim officer. Neither has the National Technical Research Organisation (NTRO), a crucial arm of external intelligence. The Intelligence Bureau (IB) with 12,000 personnel has been a little more open. It has a handful of Muslim officers, the senior-most is a joint director according to a Nov.13, 2006 *Outlook* report reproduced in the *Muslim India* of Jan,.2007 (p.17)

RAW, which is directly under the Prime Minister, is a hardcore Brahminical setup on the lines of the American CIA.

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India Shining

US human rights body criticises India

New York: Two United States-based human rights watchdogs have accused India of failing to uphold its international obligations to ensure that the fundamental rights of Dalits are safeguarded. "As a result, more than 165 million Dalits are condemned to a lifetime of abuse because of their caste", the Centre for Human Rights and Global Justice and Human Rights Watch claimed in a report. "Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has rightly compared untouchability to apartheid, and he should now turn his words into action to protect the rights of the Dalits", said Professor Smita Narula, co-author of the report.

—(*PTI-Hindu*, Feb.15, 2007).

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A woman dies every 7 minutes

New Delhi/Gwalior: One woman dies every seven minutes in India due to pregnancy-related complications and these are conservative estimates since over 30% of maternal mortality cases go unreported, according to estimates. India has one of the worst statistics in the world as far as maternal mortality goes. Even Bangladesh and Lanka have lower maternal mortality ratios than India, according to Unicef. One of the prime worries in India has been its inability to reduce maternal mortality despite efforts for decades and increased funding and schemes introduced by the govt. This has been attributed by Unicef MMR project officer Karuna Bishnoi to a lack of medical facilities in rural areas, lack of trained birth attendants and almost 65% of births taking place at homes without assistance from trained attendants. India at present has an MMR of around 301, which means 301 mothers die during delivery, or within 42 days after delivery, for one lakh live births. At this rate, India will be unable to reach the millennium development goals (MDGs).

—(*Asian Age*, Feb.13, 2007)

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Child care neglected

New Delhi: India has higher levels of malnourished children than sub-Saharan Africa, despite the Asian giant having more funds and better infrastructure to tackle the problem, the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) said on Feb.21. A recent survey by the Indian health ministry, backed by UNICEF has found that almost 46% of children under the age of three are undernourished. About 35% of children in sub-Saharan Africa region are malnourished.

—(*Asian Age*, Feb.1, 2007)

Letters to Editor

Hodari Abdul-Ali, Aishah Wright Abdullah, 3712 - Kennady Place, Hyattsville, MD-20782, USA: Happy to have met you at the Popular Front of India massive conference in Bangalore on Feb.17. I have read your book, *Dalit — The Black Untouchables of India* published in America and in fact, have sold the book in my bookstores for many years. I was excited to meet you. I am a Muslim of African-American descent who has combined a career of business, journalism and community activism. I graduated from Howard. Currently I am a programmer with radio station WPFW in Washington D.C.. From 1977-1984, I founded and operated Liberation Information Distributing co. which became a leading wholesaler of books and periodicals about Africa, African-Americans and Islam across the United States. In 1981, I founded Pyramid Books in Washington DC which by 1990 grew to become the 1st chain of independent African-American-owned and oriented bookstores in the US with additional locations in Maryland and California. Since 1995 I operated Dar Es Salaam Books/Health Centre in suburban Washington DC.

Dr. Awatar S. Sekhon, Box-60246, University of Alberta Postal Outlet, Edmonton, AB T6G 2S5, Canada: Congratulations on *Dalit Voice* (Bangalore) report, "*Hindu shit falls on Hindu head*" (DV Feb.16, 2007 p. 7). *Dalit Voice* bi-weekly, published from Bangalore for nearly three decades, deserves special congratulations and admirations for the expression of views of over 85% of India's oppressed by the Brahmin autocracy. This so-called the largest democracy of our world, is practising apartheid. Many congratulations to the *Dalit Voice* and its founder V.T. Rajshekar for exposing this apartheid. The victims of which are the Sikhs and citizens of the internationally disputed areas of Kashmir, Muslims in general, Dalits, Assamese, Manipuris, Tamils, Adivasis and other minorities. Members of the non-Hindu and non-Brahmin communities of the world should demonstrate their solidarity by flooding the office of *Dalit Voice* by sending their congratulatory messages to: vtr@ndf.vsnl.net.in and dalitvoice@rediffmail.com. (visit www.dalitvoice.org).

Suvash Dharnal, Chairperson, Jagaran Media Centre, Buddhanagar, Kathmandu, Nepal: I am interested in reading your literature and work closely with you. In Nepal, now we are preparing to open our own FM Radio station Jagaran Radio.

Palash Biswas, c/o Mrs. Arati Roy, Gosto Kanan, Sodepur, Calcutta - 700 110: Bengal has been traditionally a land inhabited by the indigenous *Mool Nivasi* non-Aryans. Till the *Mahabharata*, it was nowhere within the *Aryavarta* geopolitics. Brahmins treated it as a forbidden land. The Pal Dynasty rulers were Dalits. Then came Karnataki Vjay Sen who imported five *Kanyakubj* Bahmins who transformed the entire Bengali population including the Budhists into Hindu *shudra*. Since then the Brahminical rulers enjoy unchallenged power and status snatching state power from British rulers with whom they co-operated while the masses always resisted the British imperialism. The Brahmins have historically posed themselves as Hindu philosophers, teachers and priests. Aryans, physically weaker and mentally cunning, decided to conquer Dravidians through the "divide and rule" technique (such as *Vanashrama*) they invented. Later it was called Brahminism but now as Hinduism. An ex-*zamindar* and ex-chief minister of Bengal, Jyoti Basu, supports Chief Minister Buddhadev on farm land acquisition (SEZ) because both stand for Brahminical supremacy in Bengal. Basu masterminded land reforms in Bengal but today he is backtracking. Muhammad Yunus announced his decision to enter politics in Calcutta after discussing it with Brahminical leaders. Meanwhile at Habra, (North 24 Parganas), Mohit Roy lunched the campaign against Muslims in Bangladesh. Mohit Roy is considered close to Foreign Minister Pranab Mukherjee.

Naushad Ansari, B-11, Bhaskar Compound, New Delhi - 110 025: The Letter of Brother Farooq Bawani (DV Feb. 16, 2007) calling Syed Shahabuddin hostile is disappointing and shows the writer's ignorance of the most prominent Indian Muslim leader. After demolishing Babari Masjid, there had been efforts to bulldoze Muslim leadership too, or at least to defame or dwarf them. Bawani has seemingly got misled by the same. I don't find any Muslim leader or intellectual who has opposed and exposed Brahminical people with such force and honesty as Syed Shahabuddin. Recognizing the same, once Syed Hamid had commented that 'Some years ago Syed Shahabuddin was the best to lead (Muslims). But people did not support him'. Syed Shahabuddin has all along pleaded that the problem of Muslims should be given a place on, as he puts it, the "national agenda". He always raised the genuine grievances of Indian Muslims and their legitimate aspirations

but within the context of a secular order and with a nationalist motive. He worked as a bridge between the traditionalists and the modernists, between the *ulema* and the modern, between the Hindus and the Muslims, between the English-speaking elite and the Urdu-speaking masses. Such superlative level of integrity and sincerity is surely not liked by the opportunists and corrupt persons.

S. Akhtar, Khanpur Deh, Bharuch dt. - 392 150: Brother Muhammed Ali's Letter (DV Feb.1, 2007) exposing plots of cat-like Brahmins for trapping rat-like Dalits in cage-like *mandirs* deserves to be published in Hindi and other Indian languages for wider circulation. I have sent its Gujarati version to the *Anjuman Voice* (Bharuch-392 001).

Devaraj Hosahally, EWS-59, Vth Cross, IInd Main, Gangothri Hudco, Mysore - 570 009: Thank you for your support and suggestions for my intellectual development. I want to organise the students in Mysore and invite you to attend this. I am a student in University of Mysore. Last semester BA (Geography, Psychology and English literature) in Maharaja's College, Mysore. I am also the general secretary of Bahujana Vidhyarthi Sangha and native of Vadera Hosahally, Hunsur Taluk. I want to become an English professor and a writer. I would like to study in JNU, Delhi. But I am from a poor Dalit family.

M. Ali, (recent Dalit convert to Islam), UP: This refers to Brother Dr. Bharat Jhunjhunwala's (Jan.2007) article in the Hindi dailies, *Aaj* and *Amar Ujala,* published from many cities all over UP and Bihar. He supports the Editor V.T. Rajshekar's theses propounded in your recent book, *Development Redefined*, (DSA-2006). He refers to your observations that Dalits need cultural revolution to attain economic development. BJP concentrates on strengthening the "cultural aspects" like Babri Masjid, anti-Pakistan stand, cow protection, astrology, anti-religious conversion and Sanskrit etc. so that their ilk should be strong enough to grasp the opportunity of economic development. Similarly Dalits should study their culture and history to strengthen their cultural roots so that they could grasp the opportunity for economic development. Bharat has cited your views that our govt. leaders should visit Udaipur or the home of Bhagat and bow before the fire or *Dhuni* there which is a cultural and religious traditions of Adivasis. The inside title of the article is "national thinking" and he has profusely used your name as "Shri Rajshekar", editor of *Dalit Voice*. The six-column title in Hindi asks: "Why economic development of Dalits does not happen?" I am enclosing the clipping of the article in Hindi. This article must have been published in other Hind dailies and periodicals because Dr. Bharat Jhunjhunwala's articles appear in many publications. It seems the cowbelt writers and media have started taking some interests in Dalit literature and also in your writings. Bravo. If Dr. Bharat writes more on Editor V.T. Rajshekar not only he will come closer to the hearts of Dalits but the Hindi dailies circulation will also improve. I assure this.

Dalit Bandhu, (dalitbandu@yahoo.com): My 107th book in Malayalam, *Dalavakulam*, was published on Feb.2 at Cochin at the 32nd anniversary of the Kerala History Congress which was also my 79th birthday. *Dalava* means chief minister of Travancore. In 1806, Veloo Thambi was the *Dalava* of Travancore. At Vaikom, he butchered some 200 and odd Backward Caste people and buried their bodies in a pond near the Vaikom temple. They tried to recapture their old prayer hall while they were Budhists. They publicly entered the temple and tried to capture it. Veloo Thambi sent his military under the leadership of Vaikom Padmanabha Pillai and butchered them. The army entered their homes and captured those hiding. My book investigates all this. Vaikom was an old Budhist center of Kerala. The *Vihar* at Vaikom was captured by the Brahmins some 400 years ago and converted into their temple and dedicated to Siva. The Budhists have been trying to capture it. Most of them were Ezhavas. A village near Vaikom is called Pothy to remember Pothiyil Mala, the once famous Budhist centre in South India. The Adivasis residing in Aghastya Koodam Hills even now call it Pothiyil Mala. Vaikom is famous for the "Vaikom *Satyagraha*" (1924-25). I have written four books on this *satyagraha*. The Vaikom municipality gave the *Dalavakulam* for a private bus stand. The descendents of Budhists now call themselves Hindus. They do not know that their ancestors were Budhists. Nobody wants to know their past. This is our tragedy.

J. John, Executive Director, Centre for Education & Communication, 173-A, Khirkhi Village, Malaviya Nagar, New Delhi - 110 017: Although the system of bonded labour stands legally abolished by enactment of Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Act 1976, the problem continues to persist widely in India. The official accounts for the incidence of bonded labour don't quite reveal the magnitude of the problem,

independent surveys by reputed agencies place the total number of people mixed in different forms of bonded labour at tens of millions. Without doubt, it is the worst form of enslavement and labour exploitation, which has its genesis in the feudal structure and caste system but has transmitted from traditional to emerging new societies and economies by producing itself to the requirements of new economy and production relations. We are organising a national convention on bonded labour from March 9-11, 2007 at Jalandhar, Punjab, for which we need your presence as an expert.

Thanks for inviting us for the meeting. NGOS are a real menace — raising all sorts of irrelevant questions to deliberately sidetrack the burning problems facing India. At least 95% of the bonded labour in India are our people Dalits. Instead of directly talking about Dalits, the victims of Hindu racism, you try to dilute the world's most serious problem of racism to please your Brahminical masters and get awards and rewards. Hundreds of NGOs have sprung up all over India, most of them headed by upper castes, to deceive our people and make money. We are not interested in such publicity stunts — EDITOR.

Sumanta Banerjee, c/o *Economic & Political Weekly*, Bombay (suman5ban@yahoo.com): I found your latest book, *Development Redefined,* very challenging. The other books are also very relevant in today's context - particularly on the Dalit issue. The daily reports of discrimination, humiliation and lynching that come out in the newspapers fill me with utter disgust. No amount of persuasion, gandhian appeal to conscience, can change the attitude of the orthodox upper caste people. They think that 'concessions' like permission to enter Hindu temples would satisfy the Dalits. My question to those Dalit leaders who are agitating for such entry: why should they care to enter Hindu temples ? Don't give a damn about Hindu rituals and customs. Instead of conforming to them, and trying to find a place (inferior) in Hindu religious society, rebel against them. Only firm action by the state, strict prosecution of the guilty, along with organized political movement by the Dalits (not the Mayavati type) can lift this society from the dung heap of age-old casteist prejudices.

Matilal Mandal, Babasaheb Ambedkar Social Welfare Organisation, 942 - Green Park, G.T. Road, Bandel, Sahaganj PO - 712 104: Farmers of Bengal (SC/ST/OBC/RMs), who comprise 75% out of the 93.8% Bahujan population of W. Bengal, have been made to fight each other instigated by the upper caste-controlled CPM and is govt. CPM. This party has been dominating the state politics with the strength of OBCs and Muslims. It secured absolute majority (186 seats out of 294) in the state Assembly in 2006. Chief Minister Buddhadev Bhattacharya has been forcibly acquiring farmlands and presenting it to Tatas, Birlas, Salim, Ambani, Ambuja, Jindal etc. The non-CPM farmers are opposing it. But its paid *goondas* are attacking and killing them. Both Trinamool at Singur and CPI at Nandigram are supporting the non-CPM farmers not because they love them but to keep their vote-banks intact. Rich peasants of Singur have willingly handed over nearly 400 acres land to the govt. to teach a lesson to their lease-based tillers. The pro-CPM peasants have also handed over about 200 acres of land under pressure. The poor non-CPM peasants holding 400 acres of land are fighting.

P.S. Sadar, 71 - Kotwalnagar, Nagpur - 440 022: This refers to the Editor's note "*Maratha-Kunbi hate Brahmins but love Brahminism*" (DV Feb.1, 2007 p.7). Though very painful to admit, it is a fact that the Kunbi-Maratha leadership is ever ready to please Brahmins. But the Kunbi-Maratha masses are happy over the rise of Dalits particularly the Mahars. They find in the latter a ray of hope to come out of the quagmire of Brahminism. The Maratha political leaders are completely sold out to the Brahmins. But Brother Purushottam Khedekar and his Maratha Seva Sangh is still in infant stage and not in a position to confront the Brahmins. The Khairlanji massacre was engineered by the *manuwadis* with the help of the local BJP/Shiv Sena MLA. It was intended to provoke and test the Mahars. But the Mahar youth gave a fitting reply to the machinations of the Brahmins. That the Kunbi-Maratha youth did not fall a prey to the incitement from the Brahmin-controlled MLA using the OBC slogan. This itself is a very heartening development. Your report has given me a new insight vis a vis the term "Brahmin and Brahminism". We have to perform a double task i.e. to fight the Brahmin as well as Brahminism injected into other castes including the Maratha-Kunbi. I attended the "Jijamata birth anniversary" function and the third anniversary of the *Shiva Dharma* revelation ceremony at Sindakhed Raja, Buldana dt. on Jan.12. In his speech, Brother Khedekar gave a call "to finish the Brahmin". No toilet paper reported his speech. The audience was around 1 lakh this year. Thanking you for giving a new insight to the Bahujan readership. ■

Anti-people judiciary must be cut to size : Parliament must act

DR. J.V. GAVAI, H.O.D., POLITICAL SCIENCE, RTM, NAGPUR UNIVERSITY, NAGPUR - 440 033

The roots of judicial activism may be traced in the role of Supreme Court and high courts in exercising the power of judicial review as well as in making wider interpretations of the constitutional provisions while entertaining public interest petitions and trying them in an expeditious manner. Art. 13 and 32 of the Constitution of India respectively empower apex judiciary to strike down any law or executive action on the ground of being inconsistent with fundamental rights of the citizens.

POSITIVE ASPECTS OF JUDICIAL ACTIVISM

Almost two decades ago judiciary relaxed the rule of locus standi while liberally interpreting the constitution and thus expanding the rights of the people the court also changed the laws regarding locus standi and public participation in the judicial process. Due to inactivity, inefficiency and non-performance on the part of the executive, people were and still are virtually crying for justice.

In this backdrop judiciary provided relief to certain extent as against the government looking into many areas when there was rampant corruption i.e. in allotment of official accommodation to the public servants, cause of the spread of epidemic hazardous to human life, distribution of petrol and gas dealership, protection of an environment, involvement of politicians and top bureaucrats in *hawala* transaction, various scams relating to animal fodder, *ayurvedic* medicine, sugar scam, share scam, Bofors scam, or victims of Union Carbide case or Sardar Sarovar project etc. people in fact welcomed judicial activism of the apex court because it provided relief to the aggrieved party by allowing public interest litigations. Such a role played by the high judiciary has been regarded as active, even adventurous, though widely appreciated by the common people but not absolutely immune from certain inherent weaknesses.

NEGATIVE ASPECTS

Even after "independence" and the constitution came into force the judiciary started playing the role of technocratic judiciary instead of constitutional judiciary. When Nehru was the Prime Minister, Parliament wanted to bring a new legislation to change the old socio-economic structure to suit the principles of the preamble of the constitution, the apex court took a very conservative view by opposing the constitutional spirit of creating an egalitarian society based on trinity — liberty, equality and fraternity — and started giving technocratic and over legalistic rulings and scuttled the efforts of the governments and parliament to establish socio-economic democracy.

"BASIC STRUCTURE" NOT DEFINED

The judiciary took a diametrically opposite view against parliament on fundamental rights in Golaknath case. In the Keshvanand Bharti case, the judiciary accepted the view of parliament that it has supreme power in the sphere of amendment of the constitution and it has the power to reduce the list of fundamental rights but laid down the doctrine of "basic structure", meaning thereby that the basic structure of the constitution cannot be altered or touched. But the judiciary did not define the concept of basic structure.

POWERS OF EXECUTIVE & LEGISLATURE STOLEN

In recent years the judiciary began to usurp the powers and functions of the executive as well as the legislature. This trend and tendency on the part of the judiciary not only undermined the executive and legislative organs of the state but it openly violated the provisions of constitution. Though the government sometimes paid no attention to the problems of the people, instead of usurping the executive powers and functions it could have asserted its authority under Article 32 of the constitution.

JHARKHAND INSTANCE

To overstep the authority of executive is neither constitutional nor justifiable. In the *hawala* transaction, judiciary straightway took over the CBI under its control and made it answerable only to itself instead of the Home Ministry. This is a case of clear-cut violation of the constitution.

In the February 2005, elections to the Jharkhand Assembly no party or their alliance got even simple majority to form the government. Both the alliances, one led by BJP and the Congress-JMM, asked Governor Sibte Razi to invite them to form the govt. claiming majority support. Both the alliance had 36 MLAs each and claimed they had support of 5 independent MLAs. Razi invited Shibu Soren of the JMM

to form the govt. and gave him 20 days to prove the majority. The BJP alliance objected sought Presidential intervention saying the 20-day time-limit would encourage horse-trading. Presidential intervention cut 20 days to 15. Meanwhile, 4 BJP MLAs went to Supreme Court which cut the period from 15 days to 11 days and directed that notice issued to Assembly be treated as notice for inviting the session of Assembly.

Here, the Supreme Court overstepped the jurisdiction of legislature and the executive — especially the Jharkhand Governor and Speaker of the Assembly — by flouting the provision of the constitution.

SPEAKER'S AUTHORITY BYPASSED

Summoning the Assembly is the sole prerogative of the Governor of the state as per the constitution. In the absence of majority, who should be invited to form the government is a discretionary power of the Governor. Hence the judiciary grabbed not only the power and functions of the Governor but also the powers and functions of the Speaker. How to conduct the business of the Assembly is the sole prerogative of the Speaker and not the court. Here court bypassed the authority of the Speaker and brought him under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. It directed the Speaker how to conduct the business of the house directing him for video shooting of the proceeding and reporting each and every matter relating to casting of vote to the Supreme Court.

SOMNATH CHATTERJI PROTEST

Legal luminary Somnath Chatterjee, Speaker of the Lok Sabha, took serious objection to this act of the judiciary and said the judiciary has violated the constitution by destroying the doctrine of separation of power and called presiding officers of all legislative assemblies in New Delhi to discuss on the problems created by the Supreme Court.

LAHOTI'S ANTI-QUOTA JUDGMENT

Another example of violating the principle of separation of power is the recent judgment given by seven judges of the Supreme Court headed by Chief Justice R.C. Lahoti ruling there shall be no reservation and government quota in non-aided professional education and even in aided educational institutions run by the minorities. The court said these institutions have unfettered right to select the candidates for admissions of their choice and these institutions will have full freedom to charges the fees and judiciary has carved out 15% quota for non-resident Indians.

This decision is not only full of contradictions but judiciary usurped the powers of executive as well as the legislature.

ERRONEOUS VERDICT ON QUOTA

Very strong reactions against the judiciary came from the various sections including parliament, state legislatures and executive organs of the government. MPs got furious. The government assured the house to bring new legislation in the current session of parliament. The discrepancy in the SC judgment is that on one hand it abolished reservation and govt. quota and on the other it created a 15% quota for NRIs.

To crave out quota is not the function of judiciary. This is a policy decision which falls within the purview of the executive organ of the state. Therefore, the ruling in this cas is not only erroneous but unconstitutional in nature.

CAN COURT CUT POWERS OF LEGISLATURE ?

Chief Justice Lahoti annoyed over MP's criticism grilled an Attorney General saying desperately that legislature wanted to have confrontation with the judiciary. If the government does not want to obey the judiciary then it should close down the courts and do whatever they like. At a Bhopal seminar he publicly said that all the three organs of the government should act in accordance with the provision of the constitution and to keep other two organs in control the judiciary has the power to clip the wings of parliament and executive.

The question is who will clip the wings of the judiciary when it is committing wrongs and going beyond the powers given in the constitution.

CREAMY LAYER JUDGMENT

On Oct.25, 2005, it ruled that the criterion of "creamy layer" shall be applied to SC/ST reservation. To apply the criterion of "creamy layer" is a policy issue to be decided by the executive and not judiciary. Economic criteria cannot be considered as a base for providing reservation which has been already decided by the larger bench of 11 judges in the Indira Sawhany case which is called as fait accompli.

On the issue of banning of bar dance in restaurants, the Supreme Court issued notice to Maharashtra Assembly Speaker. The constitution says courts have no power over the legislature proceedings and the ruling of the Speaker. For criticizing the decision of Maharashtra Assembly, Sethi leader of the union of bar dancers, was punished. He went to the Bombay High Court which issued notice to the Speaker. The assembly unanimously decided

not to answer the HC notice or represent the case before the HC. Subsequently HC dismissed the case of Sethi who challenged the verdict in Supreme Court. Supreme Court issued notice to the Speaker again. Assembly decided to be silent since the notice encroached upon the powers of the legislature brazenly violating the provisions of the constitution. The Lok Sabha had earlier taken a similar decision.

When the judiciary had issued notice to the Lok Sabha Speaker in 2005 in the money for query scam in which the Speaker of Lok Sabha had sacked 11 MPs under his constitutional power of disciplinary action against errant members, the said action was unanimously supported by the entire house.

Recently the SC challenged the Schedule IX of the constitution and decided to take up the matter in January 2007 for hearing to decide whether the SC has the power to examine its validity or not under power of judicial review.

Though judicial activism is an essential aspect of the dynamics of constitutional court, it does not mean that it is a governance by the judiciary. The Court must not only be fair it must also appear to be fair.

This fact cannot be denied that in the sphere of social justice for over two decades judiciary took very conservative and narrow view. It gave plenty of anti-reservation rulings in spite of the many constitutional provisions in favour of the weaker sections of the society. As a result the Backward Classes have lost their confidence in the judiciary.

Besides, it unnecessarily entered into conflict with the executive and the legislature creating constitutional problem in the smooth functioning the administration of the country.

HOW TO CONTROL JUDGES

In view of the judicial excesses on the part of judges of the apex court as well as high courts against the Dalits and minorities (barring few judgments in favour of affirmative action), it is necessary to make judges accountable to keep them within constitutional limit so that they will not transgress their limits. The parliament should, therefore, enact a law to hold the judges responsible and accountable for giving judgments against the provisions of the constitution. It is found that while deciding the cases some judges are biased and prejudiced and represent their class or caste ideology or personal grudge against a particular class or caste.

The time has come to introduce a legislation in parliament to hold the judges accountable and responsible for their actions and to impose certain restrictions on the acts of those judges who are directly or indirectly violating the provisions and spirit of the constitution and flouting the norms for establishing welfare state and denying social justice to the beleaguered and deprived population.

Judges are also human beings hence they cannot be expected to be infallible. In a democracy ultimate power or supreme power lies with the people. That is the rule of democracy. Ours being a parliamentary democracy, parliament must have the authority to regulate the unrestrained freedom of the judges.

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Organising Bahujan unions on "caste identity" to destroy Brahminism

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We do not appear to have given much importance to Babasaheb Ambedkar's Third Commandment, "Organize". India is a subcontinent of many nationalities and sub-nationalities with all sorts of diversities — physical, linguistic, caste, social and cultural. Unity among such diverse nationalities is impossible for any concerted movement/action. It can only be done caste-wise and state-wise. No doubt our Editor, V.T. Rajshekar, has offered a wonderful solution: **caste** (*Caste — A Nation Within the Nation*, Books for Change, Bangalore, 2002). Even the Caste solution offered by him has nothing to say on "organize". The problem is even the caste system is different in different states. The Telugu castes are not there in any other state. So also Kannada and Tamil castes. Taking these realities and the essence of Editor Rajshekar's Caste book into consideration, I have prepared a proforma union for each caste in each linguistic state. In AP, it will be "Telugu Bahujan Union" differing from state to state. DV should call for debate before we start organising.

I will confine to Telugu Bahujan Union (caste-based) since I belong to AP.

Such a union can be formed in all villages, panchayats, mandals (or blocks) towns and cities. In cities and towns more branches may be formed. These branches will elect their representatives in proportion to the population of each caste and subcaste and send them to mandal/block union.

WOMEN MUST GET 50% SHARE

All mandal/block branches are part of the block union. This is the primary union. All the elected representatives of the branches will be the members of the block union. It is the representative body formed on the basis of each caste. Note: 50% of the representatives in each caste should be women. The block union will elect the block executive. It will also elect representatives to the state union. The block executive will elect a secretary and a treasurer to carry on its day-to-day administration.

District level: At the district level, a co-ordination committee has to be formed comprising secretaries of all the blocks within that district. Another co-ordination committee will have to be formed for each Assembly and Parliament constituency by the state executive comprising efficient block/state committee members.

State union: Representatives elected by the block union to the state union will form the state union which in turn will elect the state executive. The state executive will elect a general secretary and a treasurer to carry on day-to-day administration.

(A) 50% of the state union and state executive must be women.

(B) Representation in the state union and the state executive must conform to the caste-wise population percentage in the state.

(C) The state executive will nominate two state committee members (one male and one female) to the Central Union.

Central union: Representatives nominated by the state executives of all states shall form the central union which will elect the central executive. This executive will elect a central secretary and central treasurer. The central union will be the coordinating body between the different state unions.

Union elections: Each caste will elect its representatives' for every 100 members (50% women). A

Call for debate

Brother Kovena's tips on "organising" caste-based unions are good. But "organise" is the last and the final step of Dr. Ambedkar's "Three Commandments" (DSA Reprint 2005, Rs. 20) comprising "Educate, Agitate, Organise". Kovena has taken up the third and the final one leaving the first two.

*Even if we take our "**caste identity**" thesis as the first one (Educate), the middle one (Agitate) is still missing. Kovena has called for a Debate in DV on his plan to "organise" the Bahujans.*

*While debating, our DV family members will have to remember that the Babasaheb's "Three Commandments" are inspired from Budha's philisophy: **Buddham, Dhammam, Sangham.** Is it possible to jump from ground floor (Educate or **Buddham**) to third floor (organise-**Sangham**)?*

*All the more Kovena's formula needs Debate in which serious-minded DV family members must participate — **EDITOR.***

person from one caste cannot represent another caste.

A person from one panchayat/ mandal/block cannot represent another panchayat/mandal/block. Only one person in a family is eligible to contest. Electioneering not allowed. A caste should not interfere in the election of another caste.

OBJECTS

The committees and executives should function on the principle of greatest benefit to greatest number. The majority decision is accepted but respecting the minority opinion. The decision of the state committee/ executive must conform to the decisions of the majority mandal/ block unions.

Recall: A representative may be recalled by the caste that elected him. A vacancy may be filled up by the same caste.

Till the regular election and formation of committees/ executives, ad-hoc committees shall function at the block and state level.

Collective functioning: The union is a collective body. Its functioning and outlook should be collective. All deliberations should be democratic. Criticism, if any should be issue-based and made only at the meeting.

The main object is assist Bahujan empowerment. The other objects are to assign one hectare of cultivable land to every illiterate landless labour family. To the peasants whose land holding is less than one hectare to assign the shortfall. Free education upto 10th class. Free medical facilities. Jobs to the literate unemployed. To give Rs. 500 monthly pension to the poor senior citizens. Protection of human and civil rights. Implementation of reservations in all grades and sectors.

Prevent upper castes and upper caste parties from stealing the Bahujan reservation facilities (including political reservations).

Assistance to the Bahujans and their families.

FLAG

The union shall have a flag 2'x2 1/ 2' blue colour with white star on the left top corner. Bahujans who completed 18 years of age and other progressive persons shall be members.

Finance: (a) Income: admission fee, annual subscription, donations. (b) Expenditure: As per the decision of the executives. (c) Audit: Yearly.

SYMPTOMS & DISEASE

No day passes in this "nonviolent" gandhian democratic, socialist, secular state without an attack on the original natives (SC/ST/BC and minorities) maiming and killing them, demolishing and burning their huts and raping their women by the oppressor upper caste, their government and their security forces. This is the philosophy and way of life of the oppressors. It will continue to be so as long as they are allowed to remain in power.

Fighting the symptoms is simply foolish because neither the symptoms nor the disease will abate.

Not only that. While you keep fighting the symptoms, the disease gets more serious. An appropriate attack with the correct remedy on the disease alone will cure the disease and then the symptoms will disappear automatically.

NATIVES STARVED

India's population is 110 crores. It has fresh water resources sufficient for the entire world population. But 90% of Indians are struggling for drinking water. The natives are producing foodgrains (22 crore tons) sufficient for 200-crore people but they are starved to death/ committing suicide. The natives are producing other goods sufficient for 200 crore people but they are in rags and live in huts.

UPPER CASTE IDEOLOGY

The upper caste economic ideology is: "If you want super profits create artificial scarcity". That is why the MNCs are clearing a Rs. 1000-crore profit on drinking water. They want scarcity of everything everywhere.

The first demand of the natives is "land to the illiterate and jobs to the literate" (other demand will surface after the first demand is met).

Look at the land holdings of the upper caste super rich:

Lord Balaji, Tirupati 60,000 acres, Reliance Industries 1,00,000 acres; DLF Universal 50,000 acres; Tatas 30,000 acres; Unitech 30,000 acres; Baba Kalyan Group 27,000 aces; Sahara 20,000 acres; Mahindra 10,000 acres; AMR Group 10,000 acres.

There is enough land but in the custody of non-agriculturalists like landlords, temples, big business and government.

As the Govt. in India is "their" govt. they will not give land to the natives.

INHUMAN BRAHMINISM

The upper castes worship an inhuman ideology called Brahminism. Its prostituted name is Hinduism.

The basic principle of Brahminism is permanent enslavement of the natives and their progeny. So we should not expect from them except obstruction and violence.

While we grow inch by inch and organize from the grass-root level, the upper caste rulers will increase their attacks on us. To protect ourselves, our women, our little property from the upper castes we must have a well-knit organsiation. Hence the need for Bahujan Union.

Most of the existing unions and associations are under the control of our enemy.

There were several movements in India in the last 80 years — all of them were "begging" movements. It is proved that the begging movements cannot give lasting rights.

There is a blind belief among the Bahujan leadership that for any change the awareness of "all Bahujans" must be raised. At the time of French, Russian, Chinese, Vietnamese or Cuban revolution 95% of the masses were illiterate. Even then the people's force triumphed. "Change" starts with political change and its womb is crisis. India is passing through a crisis. The opportunity is here. We have to seize it.

Forming the Bahujan Union is easy with least expenditure. You can organize in your own area with ease. It does not need higher qualification or intellectual calibre (one needs intellectual calibre only to cheat others).

If we can form, spread and strengthen such a simple Bahujan Union network, we can retrieve all our rights within 5-10 years and pave the way for a bright future to posterity.

Without such a network union any Bahujan leader, even if he becomes the prime minister/chief minister he will not be able to give security of life to Bahujans in the present social system. He will be only a puppet in the hands of the upper caste rulers.

DOCUMENT: WANTED A FEDERATION OF MINORITIES

Dalits, Muslims, Christians under great pain in Brahminical India

B. SHYAM SUNDER

Whether one is proud of the fact or ashamed of it, there is no gainsaying that religion has always been and continues to be the main line of demarcation and the main basis of discrimination in India. Minorities, therefore, connotes groups classified thereunder. They are:- (1) the Scheduled Castes and Tribes (in the *Harijan* dated 21-10-1939, Gandhi has admitted that the Scheduled Castes are a minority), (2) Muslims, (3) Christians and Anglo-Indian, (4) Sikhs and (5) Parsis. Together, the population of non-Hindu minorities in India is about 200 millions or 20 crores. Thirteen years of life under Hindu domination has demonstrated that none of them is happy though all of them have not suffered in the same way and to the same extent. The main grievance, however, is that they do not have equality of status and opportunities with the major community. Even peaceful co-existence is denied to them. "Merge or vanish" is the silent demand; any resistance is suppressed with an iron hand beneath velvet gloves.

The nation has remained un-integrated because the biggest religious group in the country, having elected its own candidates to Parliament and Legislatures, regards itself a political majority, entitled to rule over the land. Having formed Governments, both at the centre and the states, it resorts, according to its age-long tradition, to discrimination on religious grounds and seeks to establish a convention that since Hindus are in a majority, non-Hindus should agree to be ruled over by them.

MINORITIES FEEL INSECURE

This usurpation by a communal group of the privileges of a political majority has given birth to a state of affairs under which non-Hindu *ipso facto* become second class citizens.

A real and lasting solution of this problem can come only from the saner elements of the majority community itself.

But in the National Integration Committee appointed by the Congress there is none, besides the chairman, tall and bold enough to castigate the ruling community for its selfish narrow-mindedness and suggest checks and brakes to its way-ward and unscrupulous behaviour. If the Congress high Command was optimistic enough to feel that members of the minority groups had the guts to speak out the bitter truth and present a solution, then it should have nominated real stalwarts, regardless of the party to which they belonged. The Congress has also blundered in regarding the problem of national integration as a mere party question. The committee, as constituted by the Congress, suggests that the High Command is just toying with the idea. How serious the problem is will be apparent from a study of its details.

Generally speaking, a majority of the human beings, classified under the term minorities, have been worried over the question of their security, they have rarely had the peace of mind or leisure to think of the other rights, which the constitution has conferred on them.

Muslims were the first to disarmed and demoralised.

Murders, loot, arson and unlawful occupation of their lands and buildings was the order of the days during the first three years of the transfer of power. The programme is repeated at convenient intervals and places.

SIKHS BETRAYED

The next target was the Sikh community. On the eve of the transfer of power, they commanded great prestige and influence, specially as the Congress had preferred partition to the Cabinet Mission plan. It was this crucial turn in the history of India that the Sikhs, trusting the Hindus as their elder brothers, rejected the offer of Pakistan Muslims to accord to them an autonomous political status within the framework of Pakistan. This they did after Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had publicly announced early in 1947 that he saw nothing wrong in conceding compact area in the East Punjab to the Sikhs where they might also experience the glow of freedom. Further, the Congress had given a solemn pledge that in framing a constitution for India, advantage would not be taken of the superior voting strength of the Hindus, but controversial matters affecting the minorities would be settled by negotiations and mutual agreements. All this was said before the transfer of power, it was quite a different story after the Aug. 15, 1947.

At the instance of the late Sardar Patel, a highly obnoxious secret circular was issued in Sept. 1947 by no less a person than Sir Chandulal Trivedi, Governor of East Punjab, asking his Government to show to the Sikhs their proper place in a free India. Then followed wide-scale terrorism of the community and victimization of selected Sikh officials. Meanwhile, the constitution that emerged from the Constituent Assembly contained not one of the many assurances that were given to the Sikhs. When Nehru was reminded of the promises and confronted with actual performances, it appears that he just shrugged his shoulders and remarked that "circumstances had changed".

Death of democracy

*This is an important historical document written by the late B. Shyam Sunder, the great Bhim Sena leader, who can be ranked next only to Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar in importance. The document, titled "**Federation is a must for Indian minorities**", was written when he was MLA in the Karnataka Assembly (1957-1962), and when "Independent" India was just 13 years young.*

*Today, at the beginning of the year 2007, India is 60 years old and sufficiently matured. Had Shyam Sunder, an Untouchable Mahar from Maharashtra who was a Minister under the Nizam in Hyderabad, been alive today he would written in pain about the death of democracy unable to bear the blows of Brahminism. When India was just 13 years old he was feeling so much suffocated by the tyranny of the Brahminical rulers. Had he seen the situation 47 years later what would have been his verdict? We have published a number of historical writings of Shyam Sunder. Those interested may write to us — **EDITOR.***

The Govt.'s aim seems to be to make the Sikhs forget their previous importance. Nor is their concentration in one state relished by the authorities who would prefer to see them scattered all over India, each state dealing with the group within its administrative borders. Just as the Muslim problem has been dissolved by decentralising it so also the High Command desires, that the Sikh problem should cease to be an all-India one.

DALITS PURCHASED

The Scheduled Castes are already regarded as having been bought over politically. They are, of course, considered too low to be absorbed and assimilated in the Hindu fold. Yet they dare not claim to be an entity by themselves.

The efforts of the late Dr. Ambedkar to recreate in them feelings of self-respect and dignity have been thoroughly washed away. The policy is to deprive them of their nuisance value and turn them into a docile and grateful herd. Whenever the High Command wants to punish any non-Hindu group in an informal way, the poor *Harijans* are put up to do the dirty job, so that, incidentally, every other minority should keep away from them and refuse to sympathise with them. It pays the majority community to create fissiparous tendencies even among *Harijans*. The latest design is to divide them on the basis of lower castes and castes not-so-low. Illiterate and emotional as they are, they fall an easy prey to these tricks. Transfer of power has meant nothing more than mere change of masters of these original inhabitants of India.

Their main grievance is that they are not allowed to make any use of their population strength, that they are always made to feel that if they wish to make any progress, they can only do so with the help of the Hindus and never independent of them; that the pace of their educational and economic uplift is regulated by the majority community with an eye on perpetuating their subservience; and that tied to the

apron-strings of the majority community, they are always led by the nose.

As things are they see no future for themselves.

Jagjivan Ram, who has sacrificed his popularity among his own people for the sake of the Congress, finds it difficult tot be elected Deputy Leader of the party in spite of his seniority just because he happens to be a member of the Scheduled Castes.

NO OVERSEAS CONNECTIONS FOR CHRISTIANS

The Christian community has been tackled rather differently, because the presence of foreign missionaries in India is a great deterrent to the use of naked force.

The technique adopted against them is to spread in a subtle manner misunderstanding and ill-feelings against foreign missionaries so that they may leave India in disgust.

The second item is to see that the different sects of the Christians do never get together, even for solving their common problems. Mutual suspicions and rivalries are cleverly fostered among them. They are expected to give up all cultural and spiritual affinities with countries other than India. Except for a few nominal safeguards, there is nothing to distinguish between Anglo-Indians and Indian Christians. Government treat both with equal indifference.

To give just one instance, the Madhya Pradesh Govt. obviously under the influence of organisation like the Jan Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Arya Samaj or the RSS has been persistantly refusing to extend official recognition and to give normal grants-in-aids to schools run by the Christians for the benefit of all. Even training facilities are denied to their teachers. Their representations and deputations are just ignored in defiance of Article 30 of the Indian Constitution.

PARSIS — A SECOND FIDDLE

Parsis would have been ignored as a minority but they happen to be captains of industry, far-sighted economists and expert financers. As a first step, Government's policy is to make sure that they play the second fiddle to Hindu capitalists and subordinate their own interests to those of the elder brother. It can be proved statistically that the Parsis are not half as prosperous as they were before 1947. The socialist process of levelling down is operating unceremoniously against them. Prohibition has nationalised their erstwhile monopoly in liquor trade. Time and taxation will push them lower down. It will be too late for the Parsis if they wake up then. They should face the displeasure of the ruling clique now and join the other minorities in order to save themselves from a worse fate.

MUSLIMS MINUS ISLAM

It was not difficult to exterminate the disarmed Muslims physically, because a fair percentage of the Hindus is inclined that way, besides, the major community holds the monopoly in the mechanics of propaganda and publicity. But the Hindu genius for suppression has evolved a technique which would finish the Muslims as a live force, and yet retain a bulk of their population to enable the rulers to flaunt their secularism about. This process has been set in motion simultaneously and in three different ways:-

(a) Young ones are deprived of the only link (Urdu language) between them and their sacred literature. Through specially prepared and textbooks, a high regard for Hindu culture and heroes in infused into their minds, so that ultimately they may feel ashamed to call themselves Muslims.

(b) Admission of Muslim students however brilliant in professional or post-graduate colleges has been restricted to the minimum possible, their recruitment in defence, internal security, judicial, administrative and foreign services, as well as in the private sector is sternly discouraged.

(c) Economic strangulation and occasional terrorism has made even the former tall poppies among them forget all about their rights as self-respecting citizens. Now they only pray for security of life and property and freedom from hunger and humiliation.

DISGRACE TO HINDUISM

Muslims have suffered physically, economically, socially and educationally. They are now fast losing their religion as well as culture.

The commutative effect of all these deep-laid machinations has been that the bulk of the minority communities has had to lie low and keep aloof from the mainstream of national life. Broken down in spirit and feeling forlorn, they have no ambitions left except to pull on. They do not even have the satisfaction that their children will not face worse conditions of life. This is not to say that no member of the minority communities favoured or patronized by the majority. The essential condition for such individual patronage is that the person should just echo the majority voice; no discordant note is tolerated. Fundamental rights are there to adorn the constitution.

THE REAL DIFFICULTY

Far be it from me to insinuate that there are none among the Hindus, cultured, broad-minded and liberal enough to govern the country justly and efficiently on a human basis,

without any discrimination on grounds of caste, creed or social status. They are too numerous to be classified, but very few of them are in public life.

Unfortunately for the country barring honourable exceptions which can be counted on one's fingers, democracy in India has thrown up persons who are a disgrace to the Hinduism we read about in learned treatises. Those in power are, generally speaking communally-minded, selfish, dishonest and unscrupulous. The real difficulty is that the temperament and outlook of a bulk of those in whose favour power was transferred in 1947 is not secular, while the constitution assumes that it is. This basic anomaly is responsible for nearly half the population being discriminated against and denied its full rights of citizenship.

FIRST PRACTICE & THEN PREACH SECULARISM

The Jan Sangh, the Hindu Mahasabha, the Arya Samaj and the RSS not merely disown secularism but actually work against it. The Congress high Command, on the other hand, insists that India should continue to be its own all the world over as a secular state. If the Congress organisation were also to practise secularism and educate the masses about its merits and virtues, the entire outlook of the country will change for the better within a few decades, at the end of which national integration will come about automatically.

INTERIM MEASURES

In the meantime, some immediate steps are very necessary to save the minorities from the political suppression, economic distress, social ostracism and cultural extinction. The suggested steps should form the short-range policy of the Congress until its long-range policy of nationwide education in favour of secularism bears fruit.

(1) Enforcement of constitutional rights: It is necessary that the enjoyment of fundamental rights should be assured by declaring every act (of commission or omission) calculated to prevent full enjoyment as an offence punishable by law. Similarly, discrimination between citizens on the ground of caste, creed or social status should be treated as an offence. Arrangements should exist in all states for providing free legal aid to aggrieved citizens who wish to enforce their rights through a court of law.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS

The executive rides roughshod over the fundamental rights of the minorities in particular, because there is no social stigma attaching to this kind of behaviour; in fact, one who indulges in it fairly frequently is looked upon as a hero by the majority community and is talked about admiringly. Moreover, officials are aware that the aggrieved parties can ill-afford to go to court. Once they come to know that Governments are giving them facilities for enforcing their rights such infringements will be greatly reduced and the bonafides of the ruling party established beyond doubt.

(2) Preservation of culture: The minorities subcommittee of the Sapru Committee had laid down in 1945 that it shall be the duty of the state to impart education to the children of a minority of sufficient numerical strength, upto the stage of elementary education in their mother tongue and where this is not possible, the state shall give adequate aid to such institutions as cater to this need. This was based on the understanding that further education will be imparted in English. But now that things are fast changing, it is necessary that education upto the university stage should be imparted in the mother tongue, English and the regional language being made compulsory second languages for those whose mother tongue and regional language are the same, the compulsory second language, besides English should be either Hindi or Urdu.

(3) Electoral reforms: That the quality and quantum of presentation of the minorities in the councils of the nation has been reduced to a farce is now openly admitted by all honest Congressmen. It is obvious that this is the direct result of joint electorate.

Instead of reverting to separate electorates straight away, it will be worthwhile to try via media which would give effective representation to the minorities and yet infuse in them a feeling of oneness with the rest of the nation.

REPRESENTATION TO MINORITIES

(a) Two methods suggest themselves:- One is that a convention should be established making it obligatory on every political party contesting the election to devise a method whereby the trusted members or organisations of each minority are invited to share the responsibility of selecting candidates on behalf of the party concerned. Secondly a successful candidate should have secured at least 50% of the votes of specified minorities in the concerned constituency.

(b) That the percentage of minority population in the country should reflect itself in the Parliament and state legislatures is one of the fundamentals of democracy.

To ensure this, the question of reserving seats for them should be

considered afresh. The formula proposed by Mr. Abdul Majeed Khawaja, Bar-at-Law, was as follows:-

"All elections, whether to any legislature or Board, shall be on the basis of joint electorates, provided that the minorities shall have the minimum of their seats reserved according to their number and shall be entitled to contest other seats also."

More than half a century ago, that far-sighted statesman, the late Mr. K.G. Gokhale, speaking in the Imperial Legislative Council on this very subject, had made the following suggestion:-

"I think the most reasonable plan is first to throw open a substantial number of seats to election on a territorial basis in which all qualified to vote should take part without distinction of race or creed. And then supplementary elections should be held for minorities which numerically or otherwise are important enough to need special representation and these should be confined to members of minorities only".

AMERICAN FORM OF GOVT.

(c) The injustice done to the minorities in the delimitation of constituencies should be set right by restoring the status quo ante and by the institution of multiple membership with cumulative voting.

(4) Executive should be remodelled: The British type of executive provided in our constitution should be replaced by one intended to prevent the majority from forming a government without giving an opportunity to the minorities to have say in the matter. Towards this end the American form of executive might be suitably adapted to Indian conditions. For instance, the Prime Minister and the representatives of the majority community in the cabinet should be elected by the whole House by single transferable vote while representatives of the minorities should be elected by each minority in the Legislature in a similar manner.

STONE IN PLACE OF BREAD

(5) Re-organisation of states: The policy of consolidating the North and balkanising the South on linguistic basis has adversely effected the already precarious condition of the minorities. The position will be improved to some extent if states like Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan and Maharashtra are further divided into convenient administrative units because as the area of the state increases, the proportion of the minority to the majority decreases and chances of the majority tyrannies over the minority become greater. The states must, therefore, be small if protection of minorities is aimed at.

(6) Protection of life and property: Of the all minorities, it is the Muslims alone the protection of whose life, property and culture has proved a perpetual headache for Government since the dawn of independence. The task has become almost impossible as the forces of law and order are now constituted on communal lines and cannot, therefore, be depended upon to act impartially. There are but two ways in which the Indian Union can effectively discharge this responsibility: either the Muslims should be concentrated in two or three self-sufficient administrative units or they should be given effective representation in defence, internal security, judicial and administrative services. The latter alternative would be more feasible.

The committee of national integration would do well to realise that the glaring contradictions between international policies have naturally made the minorities feel insecure, depressed and forsaken. As against the promised secular democracy, they have to face the veiled dictatorship of an unchangeable communal majority, under whose protecting auspices the authors of *Panchasheela* and the staunch advocates of International peaceful coexistance quietly practise physical and cultural genocide in their own country.

WHY NOT NATIONALISE ADMINISTRATION

While the Congress has nationalised, or intends to nationalise agriculture, industries, insurances, and even trade it is strange that it had never struck the High Command that more than any other undertaking, administration deserves to be nationalised in the first instance. Natonal integration will come about only where administration is not treated as an exclusive preserve of the representatives or nominees of the majority community. Nationalising administration would mean giving to the minorities — not as a gift but as a matter of right — an adequate share in it. ■

B. Shyam Sunder, *They Burn*, DSA-1987, Rs. 50.

***Zionist Plot to Dominate World — Dalit leader Predicted it 32 years ago*, DSA-2003**

***Hindu Terrorism on Minorities*, DSA-2004.** ■

Dr. B.R. AMBEDKAR EDUCATION FOUNDATION (Regd.)
J&K, Jammu

Articles are invited for publication in the Foundation's annual journal, *Dalit Educator*. Articles related to life & mission of Dr. Ambedkar should reach the following address by March 31, 2007.

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22 - New Company Bagh, Old University Lane, Canal Road,
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Hindu Mind vs. Muslim Mind

V.T. Rajshekar

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THE BOOK & THE AUTHOR

The booklet represents the ideas of V.T. Rajshekar considered by revolutionary Muslims as an authority on their problem though he is not a Muslim. His English fortnightly, *Dalit Voice*, is hailed as a better Muslim paper than many other Muslim journals. It has a large readership among revolutionary Muslims in and outside India. *Dalit Voice* was released in 1981 by India's most famous Muslim saint, Moulana Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi (Ali Miyan). Dalit Sahitya Akademy has published a number of books on Muslims. As the founder of the Dalit-Muslim unity movement, he is invited to many Muslim conferences.



His point is since the Muslims of India did not come from Middle East. Like Dalits they are also its original inhabitants who revolted against the Brahminical tyranny. Hence the need for unity.

V.T. Rajshekar is known to all Muslim leaders — both religious and political. His writings in English are reproduced, translated and published in many Muslim journals in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Middle East countries. He visited many Muslim countries on their invitation.

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DALIT VOICE SILVER JUBILEE CELEBRATION COMMITTEE

Invitation for April 8, 2007 function in Delhi

RAJNI TILAK, V. B. RAWAT, ASHOK BHARATI, SATI NATH CHOUDHURY, ABHIMOOK NAYAK

We invite DV family members and supporters to join a day-long discussion and debate to mark the completion of 25 glorious years of *Dalit Voice*. Those of us who feel that DV has contributed immensely to develop a new dynamic Ambedkarite movement would like to take this debate further.

At a time when there are debates for an alternative media to guide the direction of a dynamic Dalit movement world over, it is important to analyze the importance of an alternative Dalit media which DV has long been advocating for.

On April 8, 2007 (Sunday), we all join hands to falicitate DV for its wonderful journey. The day-long programme is organized at the **Gandhi Peace Foundation, Deen Dayal Upadhyay Marg, Near ITO, New Delhi.**

Time: 10 am to 5.30 pm.

Please confirm your participation. However, we would like to clear that we have no facility for night halt.

Please send your comments, messages on the 25-year uninterrupted journey of DV before March 31 so that we can compile them to be read there.

The format of the programme will be released before March 15, 2007.

The programme is politically non-political in nature as it celebrates the dynamism of *Dalit Voice* and, therefore, all political leaders, activists, artists, Ambedkarites, human rights activists, social activists, authors, writers are invited to join the debate, speak of the threat of a corporatised media and the need for an alternative Dalit media, but not to score political points over each other.

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