

# DALIT VOICE

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The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities Denied Human Right

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**Elavas threaten Hindus with conversion : Thus Spake Ambedkar**

**Thus Spake  
Ambedkar**

## **Elava threat of conversion in Kerala forces Hindus to open temples to Untouchables**

This shows that Mr. Gandhi is least motivated by spiritual considerations. He is in a hurry to bring the Untouchables within the Hindu stables so as to prevent their running away.

Another piece of evidence which goes to disprove Mr. Gandhi's claim that he is acting from spiritual consideration is furnished by his conduct with reference to Mr. Ranga Iyer's *Temple Entry Bill*. It shows that the soul's agony is only a picturesque phrase and not a fact.

Some history of this Bill is necessary to understand the tragedy which ultimately befell Mr. Ranga Iyer, the author of it.

Since the new Constitution came into operation two Acts have been passed in two Provinces by the Congress Governments. One in Bombay and another in Madras. There is no substance in the Acts. They do not declare the Temples to be open. They permit the Trustees of the Temples under their management if they desire and as there is nothing to compel the Trustees to do so the Acts are just scraps of paper and nothing more. But the Madras Act has a history which is somewhat puzzling. The Madras Prime Minister who got the Act passed is Mr. Rajagopalachariar. He occupies a very high place in the Congress, so high indeed that he is called Deputy Mahatma. If one can solve the puzzle the solution will reveal the mind of the Author and therefore of Mr. Gandhi who is the living spirit behind all this.

Let me turn to the Travancore Temple Entry. The proclamation of 12th November 1936 issued by the Maharaja opening the Temple open to the Untouchables is a gorgeous document. It reads as follows.

"Profoundly convinced of the truth and validity of our religion, believing that it is based on divine guidance and on all-comprehending toleration, knowing that in its practice it has throughout the centuries adapted itself to the need of the changing times; solicitous that none of our Hindu subjects should, by reason of birth, caste or community, be denied the consolation and solace of the Hindu faith, we have decided and hereby declare, ordain and command that, subject to such rules and conditions as may be laid down and imposed by us for preserving their proper atmosphere and maintaining their rituals and observances, there should henceforth be no restriction placed on any Hindu by birth or religion on entering or worshipping at temples controlled by us and our Government."

What spirituality underlies this proclamation?

The proclamation was issued by the Maharaja of the Travancore in his name. But the real active force behind the scene was the Prime Minister Sir C.P. Ramaswami Iyer. It is his motives that we must understand. In 1933 Sir C.P.R. Iyer was also the Prime Minister, of Travancore. In 1933 Mr. Gandhi was fighting to get the Guruvayur Temple opened to all Untouchables. Among the many who took part in the controversy over the issue of Temple entry was Sir C.P. Ramaswami Iyer. No body seems now to remember this fact. But it is important to recall it because it helps us to understand the motives which prompted him to press the Maharaja to issue this proclamation. What attitude did Sir C.P. Ramaswami Iyer have regarding this issue in 1933? It will be clear from the following statement which he issued to the press:

"Personally I do not observe caste rules. I realise there are strong, though not very articulate, feelings in this matter in the minds of men who believe that the present system of temple worship and its details are based on divine ordinances. The problem can be permanently solved only by a process of mutual adjustment and by the awakening of religious and social leaders of Hindu society to the realities of the present situation and to the need for preserving the solidarity of the Hindu community.

"Shock tactics will not answer the purpose and direct action will be even more fatal in this sphere than in the political. I have the misfortune to differ from Mr. Gandhi when he says that the problem of temple entry can be divorced from such topics as inter-dining and I agree with Dr. Ambedkar that the social and economic uplift of the Depressed Classes should be our immediate and urgent programme."

This statement shows that in 1933 spiritual considerations did not move Sir C.P. Ramaswami Iyer. Spiritual considerations have become operative after 1933. Is there any particular reason why these spiritual considerations should have been thought of in 1936?

This question can be answered only if one bears in mind the fact that in 1936 there was held in Travancore a Conference of the Yezawa Community to consider the issue of conversion which was raised by me at Yeola in 1935. The Yezawas are an untouchable community spread over Malabar. (to be continued)

*Dr. Babasahab Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Vol. 5, (pages 389-390) 1989. Govt. of Maharashtra, Bombay. The book may be had from Director, Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay - 400 004.*

## DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities  
Denied Human Rights

## White Western & Zionist hate-mongers launch their "civilisational" war against Islam & China

The cat is out of the bag. The Zionist-inspired White Western economic aggression might have de-stabilised two Asian Muslim countries - Indonesia and Malaysia - and battered their economy. But the real target is elsewhere. The aggressors want to reach their destination riding these two Asian (Muslim) Tigers. And finally arrive in China.

This is beautifully and explicitly spelt out in a full-page *Time* Magazine article by David Roche, head of the Independent Strategy, a London-based investment firm. (*Time* Feb. 23, 1998 p.37: "Indonesia is the entree: China's devaluation will bring the house down").

**Prophet of doom:** The plot for the White Western conspiracy was hatched by a famous prophet of doom, Prof. Samuel Huntington, in his theory of "Clash of Civilisations" (DV Sept. 16, '94 p.6: "Will clash of Cross & Crescent lead to Third World War?"). This mad Harvard Professor thinks that the West has the most superior civilisation which is bound to come into clash with the other two "inferior" civilisations which he identifies as that of China and Islam. (DV Aug. 16, '96 p.6: "White Western hate-mongers itching for confrontation").

**Admiration for Hindu:** Huntington has identified yet another "Hindu civilisation". But he has no quarrel with this because it is part of the Aryan Civilisation of the White Westerners.

**Hitler too claimed he was Aryan and launched two World Wars inspired by India's Aryan brahminical hate philosophy.** (*Brahminism - Father of Racism, Fascism, Nazism*, V.T. Rajshakar, Dalit Sahitya Akademy, 1997). This hate-mongering Aryan "philosophy" of domination and destruction of Hitler was mainly directed against Jews.

**Wonder of all wonders:** But the wonder of all wonders is that today the very same rivals - the White Western Aryans and the victims of their hate philosophy, namely Jews - are together and one - jointly fighting the Muslims, the Blacks, Indians and the Chinese. (DV Jan. 16, 1998 p.9: "Jewish scholar who diagnosed disease of brahminism but failed to cure it").

Huntington has not solved this puzzle. He doesn't want to and that is why he is silent on this delicate question we raised. Nor do we get any explanation from history because there was hardly any case of Jewish-Muslim clash. The clash was mainly between the White Western Christians and the Jews. There were always Christian-Muslim conflicts but not any Jewish-Muslim clash except after the creation of Israel. Still why did the Jews forget all this and join hands with their blood enemies (Christians)?

**Islam as common enemy:** Huntington knows the answer but he is deliberately silent because both the old enemies have found a new threat, a common enemy - Islam - which they find more dangerous as it is threatening the very value system of both. We have put this question to the Jewish thinkers like Poliakov but no explanation is coming.

Islam has united the White Western Christians and Jews against what they consider as their deadliest enemy (Islam) coming in the way of their world domination. India's Aryan brahminical forces - founders of this hate philosophy of destruction and domination - have also joined this group. And today this new aggressive force is spreading racism and threatening the world peace itself.

**That doesn't mean there are no fair-minded fellows among the White Westerners, Jews or even India's Aryans. There may be but they seem to be having no voice. At least, we have not heard their voice.**

During his recent lecture in Delhi, Huntington called upon India "to work in partnership with the US - for one, the US has already its biggest trading partner and expansion of India's power would in no way be determinantal to US interests". (*Asian Age*, Jan. 21, '98).

From this it is clear that Aryan forces have made common cause with Zionists. Hence it is an international conspiracy.

**India is not "Hindu nation":** Huntington may be a great intellectual and a big name in Ameri-

can circles but the poverty of his thinking is appalling. He lacks elementary knowledge of history. This is clear from his conclusion that India is a "Hindu civilisation". Those Hindus who heard him at the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation in Delhi on Jan. 19, 1998 might have felt flattered by his invitation to Hindus to join the White Westerns. Yes. They are too willing as both are blood brothers. (DV April 16, 1997 p. 20: "Why Nietzsche rejected Christianity & followed brahminism?", Raju Thomas). The White Western sympathy to their blood brothers is obvious from the fact that the World Bank-engineered economic destabilisation of Asia thoughtfully spared India. **Hindus may be today's rulers of India but they form not even 15% of its 1,000 million population. But this great American intellectual doesn't know this simple truth.**

Be that as it may, this Huntington theory is today fuelling flames of hatred. (*The Clash of Civilisations and the Re-Making of World Order*, Dr. Samuel P. Huntington, Viking-Penguin, 1997 pp.365, Rs.:340, 210-Chitrangivi Towers, 43-Nehru Place, New Delhi - 110 019). On one side the White Western hate-mongers are attacking Islam and on other side, they are after China's blood. After having "finished" the communist giant, Soviet Union, in a fake fight, it is now closing in on its real enemy, China.

**Why USSR broke up:** The Soviet Union broke up because of the White Russian racist aggression on its Islamic nation-states forming part of the USSR. The White Western people cannot get credit for destroying the USSR. Communism committed suicide. Nobody killed it. In fact, the White Westerners never had any genuine quarrel with communism which itself was a Western creation. (DV Edit March 16, 1990: "Ethnic pull & Russian racism breaks up the communist giant, USSR"). Communism indeed never threatened the White Western racism or capitalism.

**Their real two-pronged attack has just begun: Islam on one side and China on the other. And in this fight the Hindu rulers of India have chosen to go with their Western blood brothers. This is natural.**

But the point is will the Western designs, being planned and executed by America, succeed? No. Never.

**India's defeat in China war:** China is a major world power and emerging as the leader of whole

Asia. It is also the world's most ancient country and civilisation housing the world's single largest population. As an equally ancient country and civilisation, India ought to have gone with China but the Aryan rulers of India goaded by India's first Aryan Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, launched a war against China. And India faced utter defeat and suffered horrible humiliation. Since India does not belong to Aryans, they just don't bother about what happens to India as long as they are the rulers.

Huntington knows all this and his confidence that the alien Aryan rulers will continue to rule India made him conclude that in this "civilisational" clash, Aryans of the world will stand united.

**Black Civilisation forgotten:** According to this Harvard Professor there are only about eight major civilisations in the world: (1) White Western, (2) Islamic, (3) Confucian (China), (4) Hindu. Poor man has conveniently forgotten the Blacks, who produced the world's very first human - a Black woman. He gives the first rank to West and includes the African Civilisation with great disdain. Look a the racial prejudice of this Whiteman against the Blacks of the world who inhabit the whole of African Continent and form 20% of his own country.

**They are there in many other countries also. The Blacks have defeated the Whites in valour, physical prowess, athletics, fine arts, sports, films, singing and dancing and more than anything in martial arts. The UN Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, is a Black who has achieved the miracle in Iraq and saved the honour of the White Western war-mongers. Such a great and historically important race that produced the world's most ancient and the greatest Nile Valley Civilisation is of no importance to this jaundiced professor.**

The West played havoc in Africa. They took the Blacks as slave labour to America. Then tried to enslave Africans by exporting Christianity and christianising the Blacks. Today, they are waging a variety of wars against Blacks in African countries (1) by imposing corrupt dictators like Moi (Kenya), (2) propping up bogus Black leaders like Mandela (compared to M.K. Gandhi), (3) killing Muslims in thousands in fake fight in Algeria, Somalia, Sudan etc., and more than anything (4) its latest weapon of population con-

trol, AIDS and simply starving them to death. The havoc played by this White Christians in the African Continent has produced a beautiful household saying in Africa:

"When you (the White Christian) came to Africa, we had the land and you had the Bible. Today, we have the Bible and you have the land."

**Hare-brained Hitler:** Huntington knows all these things and yet in his enthusiasm to project the glories of Western Civilisation, he is silent on all these stark facts of history.

He may be speaking of "Clash of Civilisations" but what actually he is talking about is the conflict between religions. How can religions be compared with civilisations? War-mongers driving at domination use all sorts of words and phrases to defend their theories and Huntington is one such hare-brained Hitler. What else we can say about a Harvard Professor who is blind to the contributions of Blacks to world history and civilisation.

The White Western hate-mongers guided and directed by their Zionist engine are no longer hiding their intention to colonise the world.

**Fake human rights:** Then what about the hundreds of human rights organisations which the West has given birth to - headed by the Amnesty International? The silence of all these Western-sponsored White human rights organisations on the Western political, economic, biological, environmental aggression on non-Whites confirms our charge. They are worried about human rights violations in China, Tibet, Iran, Pakistan etc. but not in US, Europe, Algeria, Turkey etc. (DV Feb. 16, 1998 p.6: "*Why Amnesty International is silent on Turkey?*").

**Secret of US power:** What is the secret of the US power to pound the economy of any country that is antagonistic to its "civilisation"?

Unless this is correctly understood there will be no peace in the world. India is in a perpetual turmoil because it refused to take note of it even when it knew this secret. Because any economic crisis that India will suffer does not hit India's ruling class - Brahminical Social Order - which being alien in origin has no interest in India. Birds of a feather flock together. Aryans of the world are united. That is why the Indian rulers are dragging India towards privatisation, liberalisation, globalisation which is the latest *mantra* of the West to colonise the world.

China knows this secret and that is why it is going very slow. Stock market through which every manipulation is being made was never allowed in China until we visited that country twice in the 1980s. But China had to bow before the economic arrogance of the West and allowed entry to market economy and stock market only recently. And market economy gave a handle to the West to manipulate China's economy also.

**We are sure China's seasoned leaders will tightly hold the reins of the market economy in their hands and will not hand over the reins to Western masters. If that happens China too will be swallowed and the tragedy that struck Indonesia and Malaysia will be repeated.**

The secret of the Western power to dominate the world is market economy. Once the market dominates a society, free sex, fast food, moral decay, prostitution, enslavement of women - all these things will follow one after the other. All these deadly diseases have already come to India in a grand gala procession and the Indian rulers hugged it, kissed it - and today India is facing a terrible tragedy. It is an all-round crisis - moral, political, economic, environmental. Nothing is working in India. The Aryan rulers have already destroyed India.

**Warning to Muslims:** Indonesia and Malaysia being Muslim countries should have known the perils of embracing an alien culture. Now, it is too late. (DV Edit March 1, 1998: "*Will US defy world opinion & strike Saddam? DV welcomes clash of civilisations?*").

Do you know how the West infiltrates a society? It first corrupts and co-opts the elites of that society itself, makes them imitate the West, allows them to prosper by sucking the blood of their own brothers. And once privatisation and market economy starts burgeoning, inequality and discrimination will become rampant. But as the victims are made voiceless it is easier to bludgeon them and force them to fall in line.

India is currently experiencing this phase of enslavement. The brahminical rulers willingly followed the Western dictates because of their ideological affinity with the West.

But that is not the case with Malaysia and Indonesia. Suharto and Matahir and their cronies were corrupted and co-opted first. They discarded their national attire and took to Western dress, Western manners, Western food. Imported cul-

ture destroyed their Islamic identity. And this is exactly what the West wants. If a silent, non-violent death and destruction can do the job so smoothly, why wage a shooting war? The Western infiltration is complete.

**China too under Deng appears to have succumbed to this Western influence though Deng continued to wear the "Mao suit" until his death. But Ziang Zemin and all other top leaders of China were never seen in China's national dress in public. The dress that a leader wears gives a clue to his thinking.**

**Danger of Hong Kong:** We know that China is a confident nation. China knows what to do and what not to do. It knows the perils of embracing the West. But the cancer may creep into China via Hong Kong which has been a diseased limb of the West now grafted to China's body.

The *Time* Magazine story cited above says the West will first squeeze Hong Kong which in turn will paralyse the mainland. China is hereby alerted though we are sure the Chinese are well aware of this danger.

**Indians love China:** India's ruling class might have had a quarrel with China in 1961. But the over 85% of India's indigenous people love China. The two have many, many things in common. And during our two visits we had made all these points clear to the rulers of China and in our talks at Beijing University. All the more we thought it is our duty to warn China because any willing of China will surely lead to enslavement of the whole of Asia.

Japan is already a colony of America and the Japanese have become its willing slaves.

As for the Islamic world, we have made our stand clear more than once. The West may buy up some oil-rich Muslim rulers but it is not possible to humble the Muslim masses. Algeria, Turkey, Egypt, Kashmir, Afghanistan, Iraq, Palestine, Bosnia are standing examples of Islamic resistance. Iran is a towering Islamic bastion.

**Face-saving treaty:** America has just retreated after concluding a face-saving treaty with Saddam Hussein. (1) It dare not attack Saddam because he is no longer an individual but a mighty world force representing the "**Spirit of Islam**". (2) America is totally isolated in its bid to attack Iraq. Even its proven Western supporters were not with the US this time. (3) The American public opinion itself was totally against any

war with Iraq. (4) Even American stooges like Egypt, Saudi Arabia etc., backed out of the American alliance. (5) The US high-handedness brought about tremendous unity among all Muslim countries of the world. (6) Lastly, President Clinton himself is involved in a sex-scandal and the world knows that the Iraqi invasion stunt was a diversionary tactic.

**Another defeat for US:** So, America prepared a face-saving formula, handed it over to its hand-picked Black nominee, Kofi Annan, and he made a drama of visiting Iraq, and the willing Western media made it appear that Saddam signed the dotted line. But the world knows that it was yet another retreat for America because it knows that touching Saddam means the Third World War. To conclude, in this "civilisational" war. Huntington and his White Western "civilisational" leaders must know that the entire world is arrayed against them. They have neither the support of numbers nor the support of Justice and Truth. The Muslim world, the Black world and the Asian world led by China will be together. We had said this many times.

**And we also know that there are many fair-minded Whites and Jews who will not share this Western madness to colonise the world.**

May be this is the last flicker of a dying flame. ■

(Those interested in the Huntington thesis, "The Clash of Civilisations?" first published in the *Foreign Affairs Journal*, 1993 (28 pages) may write for its photocopy - price Rs.10).

### REQUIRED

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# DV readers meeting with American Black Historian at Nagpur on April 12

## OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** We have just received a packet of revolutionary Black books (23) from the United States (EsuWon Books, 3655-S, La Brea Avenue, Los Angeles, CA - 90016, USA) on the eve of the visit of the world famous Black historian, Runoko Rashidi, who is also the DV Representative in the US.

The Editor proposes to invite all DV readers inside India for a meeting on April 12 (Sunday) with him at Nagpur (which is in the centre of India) during his visit from March 31 to April 21. We know the difficulties. But those interested can certainly make it, come hell or high water. Those coming to Nagpur will have to meet all their expenditure. A formal invitation will be sent separately. Meanwhile, the Black books need careful study by our readers as they will give us plenty of ideas to improve upon our struggle against our oppressors, the Brahminical Social Order. But we have no copy to spare. As we have only one copy,

those interested may order a photocopy of each book. The photocopy charges for each book are mentioned.

Blacks form about 20% of the US population. Though they suffered a treatment worse than that of India's Untouchables hardly 30 years ago, today they are much better because they adopted certain revolutionary methods for their liberation. Still the American Blacks have to go a long way. So, the Black books will help our people to study their life and struggle so that we can benefit from them.

An exhibition of all Black books will be arranged during Rashidi's meeting at Nagpur. DV office library has a collection of Black books and they have been advertised in DV some time back. DV has established powerful links with the Blacks in US with Dr. Velu Annamalai, a Tamil Dalit engineer, as the link. US Blacks have expressed total solidarity with our struggle, and as the sleeping giant, the African Continent, is gradually waking up the Black Diaspora will be the most powerful force in the world.

The Blacks produced the world's first and the greatest Nile Valley Civilisation. World's first human being was a Black woman. Budha, Jesus, Prophet Mohammed, Babasaheb Ambedkar were all Blacks. Future belongs to the Blacks. Come and hear Runoko say all this.

Nagesh Chaudhary, Editor, **Bahujan Sangarsh**, Fahate Colony, Jail Road, Nagpur, MS - 440 022 (Phone 0712-533 088), has agreed to fix the venue the meeting and make all arrangements. DV readers may directly contact him for any details but we can't afford any expenditure. It will be a day-long meeting with Runoko Rashidi. And we want this meeting to be a historical one too. Those attending the Nagpur meeting may telegraphically inform the DV office in Bangalore.

(DV April 16, 1988: "African Black historian weeps for Dalits").

(See also p.8-9)

## GODS, FALSE GODS & THE UNTOUCHABLES

S. K. BISWAS

A noted Dalit intellectual & author of many books  
Foreword by V.T. Rajshekar, Editor, *Dalit Voice*

When M.K. Gandhi in South Africa he grovelled before the whites of South Africa pleading - "Since the Britishers and Indians were from the same Aryan stock, how could the Britishers rule over their own blood-brothers?" It was unfair for one set of Aryans to rule over another set, he said. This "great man" pleading the cause of Indian Aryans and not Indians in general and yet he is called "Father of Nation". He fought for freedom, they say. Whose freedom? From Whom? During the British rule many "Nationalist Gods" said that it (the British rule) was good and essential. Why? Because it was an essential prelude to the revival of Hinduism, said one worthy. Who was this revival going to serve? The sub-human wretched Dalits? When the "freedom" fighters were busy struggling for freedom (again, whose freedom? From whom?), Dr. Ambedkar was looking up to the British to liberate the Untouchables. That was the only mission of his life. It was He who fought for the real freedom. But now He is being vilified as a British lackey and an "anti-national". The opinion-makers, intellectuals, super-patriots et al have begun to find faults with Ambedkar. Ambedkarites and even started ridiculing the Dalits. Simple reason: caste hatred. And

the reason behind this hatred is that the Dalits, have suddenly become powerful by gaining political as well as social voice due to the efforts of one single man Babasaheb. The Dalits have started demanding a fair share of what the upper castes had been enjoying and this has been causing much consternation in the minds of the rulers. The Shouries have come to realise that the foundation of the citadel of brahminical rule has started to crumble. They have been frightened to the bone after finding that the Dalit upsurge has become strong enough to deal a death blow to the brahminical bastion. These elite Indians know where the Dalits have got the strength and inspiration from, and hence they have started abusing him. This book is aimed at presenting the "Gods" and "False Gods" in a correct perspective. Since this is the 50th year of our "independence" it would also be worthwhile to go through "the facts that have been erased", rather the facts that were never revealed about or "real gods", "our partition", "our identity". It would also be interesting to reveal the hand of "real" gods behind the misery of *shudras*, the misery of this nation. Besides, why should the "false people" of this country worship the real gods, the perpetrators of the divine system of inequality.

1998

pp.375

Rs.350

Orion Books, 387/A, J&K Pocket, Dilshad Garden, Delhi - 110 095

## DV RECEIVES REVOLUTIONARY BLACK BOOKS FROM USA

We have just received 23 revolutionary Black books written by noted Black writers from EsoWon Books, Los Angeles, USA, on the eve of the visit of the world

famous Black historian, Runuko Rashidi, DV representative in America. An exhibition of these books (listed below) along with those in our library is arranged during the

proposed meeting of Runuko Rashidi with DV readers at Nagpur on April 12. Only the photocopy charge for each book is mentioned and it includes postage and packing.

### 1. Ota Benga

## THE PYGMY IN THE ZOO

Phillips Verner Bradford & Harvey Blume  
Less than a century ago, a Blackman was put on display in a New York zoo. Ota Benga, an African, came to be the symbol of an era awe-struck by anthropology and social darwinism.

1992 pp.280 Rs.105.

St. Martin's Press, New York.

### 2. HOW EUROPE UNDER-DEVELOPED AFRICA

Dr. Walter Rodney  
Africa suffered White Imperialism because it lost power. How to get back power?

1982 pp.320 Rs.120.

Howard University Press, Washington.

### 3. OF WATER & THE SPIRIT

#### Ritual, Magic, & Initiation in the Life of an African Shaman.

Malidoma Patrice Some

Malidoma was born in Upper Volta, West Africa. Initiated in the ancestral traditions of his tribe, he is a medicine man and diviner. When he was four, he was taken by a Christian priest and imprisoned in a seminary to train a new generation of "Black" Catholic priests. In spite of his isolation from his tribe and his village, he stubbornly refused to forget his identity.

1994 pp.320 Rs. 120

G.P. Putnam, New York.

### 4. "RACIAL MATTERS"

The FBI's secret efforts to destroy Black America, 1960-1972.

Kenneth O'Reilly

1991 pp.460 Rs.175

The Free Press, New York.

### 5. AFRICA & AFRICANS

Editor: Joseph E. Harris

The eminent pioneer of African studies, William Leo Hansberry, examines classical references to the African Continent and its people.

1977 pp.160 Rs.60

Howard University Press, Washington.

### 6. WHAT THEY NEVER TOLD YOU IN HISTORY CLASS

Indus Kharmit Kush.

Black people have a priceless heritage. Africans are creators of world civilisation.

1983 pp.320 Rs.170

D&J Books Distributors, New York.

### 7. ALWAYS OUTGUNNED, ALWAYS OUTGUNNED

Walter Mosley

1998 pp.210 RS.85

W.W. Norton & Company, New York.

### 8. BLACKS BEFORE AMERICA

Mark Hyman

Tells the history of Blacks thousands of years before Columbus landed in America, Blacks were in the forefront of human civilisation.

1994 pp.160 Rs.60

Africa World Press Inc., New Jersey.

### 9. WINNIE MANDELA

#### Part of My Soul Went With Him

Editor: Anne Benjamin

Winnie Mandela, one of South Africa's greatest enemies of apartheid foes, is a "banned" person in her own country. She lives under virtual house arrest and cannot address public meeting or meet more than one person at a time. Here, in interviews and letters, she tells the story of her life and political development.

1985 pp.160 Rs.60

W.W. Norton, New York.

(Contd., on page 9)

## **10. BLACK HISTORY FOR BEGINNERS**

Denise Dennis.

This book serves as an accessible open door for those who seek a foundation of knowledge and understanding about this provocative and powerful branch of human history.

1995 pp. 190 Rs.65

Writers & Readers Publishing Inc., New York.

## **11. AMERICAN NEGRO SLAVE REVOLTS**

Herbert Aptheker

Challenges the White Western racism.  
1993 pp.420 Rs.160

International Publishers, New York.

## **12. EGYPT & AFRO-CENTRIC GEOPOLITICS**

Essays on European Supremacy.

Kwame Nantambu

These essays are not about Egyptian history. Instead, they conduct an Afrocentric geopolitical linkage analysis of Egyptian history.  
1996 pp.240 Rs.90

Imhotep Publishing Co., Kent, USA

## **13. Malcolm X on**

## **AFRO-AMERICAN HISTORY**

Selections from "The Autobiography of Malcolm X. Excerpts from other speeches from him.

1995 pp.100 Rs.38

Path Finder, New York.

## **14. FROM THE BROWDER FILE**

*22 essays on the African-American Experience.*

Anthony T. Browder

Why is that Black people do not work together in unity? We have surrendered our way of life (culture).

1989 pp.100 Rs.40

The Institute of Karmic Guidance, Washington.

## **15. VISIONS FOR BLACK MEN**

Najim Akbar

Explores the personality development of Blacks.  
1996 pp.100 Rs.40

Mind Productions, Florida, USA.

## **16. THE CHILDREN OF THE SUN**

George Wells Parker

1981 pp.40 Rs.16  
Black Classic Press, Baltimore.

## **17. MARCUS GARVEY & THE VISION OF AMERICA**

Editor: John Henrik Clarke.

1974 pp.500 Rs.175

Vintage Books, New York.

## **18. David Walker's APPEAL**

To the coloured citizens of the world, but in particular and very expressly, to those of the United States of America.

1993 pp.100 Rs.40

Black Classic Press, Baltimore.

## **19. 100 AMAZING FACTS ABOUT THE NEGRO**

J.A. Rogers

Devoted over 50 years of his life to his research.  
1995 pp.80 Rs.32

Helga M. Rogers, St. Petersburg, USA.

## **20 PAGAN ORIGINS OF THE CHRIST MYTH**

John G. Jackson

1988 pp.40 Rs.16  
American Atheist Press, Texas.

## **21. A FRICA FOR THE AFRICAN**

Selected utterances of Marcus Garvey

Few Black leaders have dared question the Whiteman's right to define their identity and condition.

1990 pp.40 Rs.16

Cleage Group, Detroit.

## **22. THE TRAGEDY OF WHITE INJUSTICE**

Marcus Garvey

This little pamphlet giving the Negro thought, with the hope of inspiring him towards the freeing of himself from the ugly octopus of race prejudice and exploitation.

1935 pp.30 Rs.15

Black Classic Press, Baltimore.

## **23. The New York Times Best Seller JOURNEY TO JUSTICE**

Johanne Cochran, Jr.

1997 pp.400 Rs.150  
Ballantine Books, New York.

# Doubts & fears over K.R. Narayanan

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** DV has proved right on India's first Dalit President K.R. Narayanan. (DV Aug. 16, '97 p. 11: "Why Narayanan was made President").

When he was made a candidate for the President's office, the Hindu rulers of India boasted that they were sending an Untouchable to the Rashtrapati Bhavan for the first time. But the racist Hindu nazis refused to make it an unanimous election and put up a Tamil Brahmin (Seshan) to contest against him. Such is the hatred in Hindu hearts against Dalits, and Narayanan knows it. President Venkataraman Iyer loved his **jati** when he was President. So too all other Presidents: Shankar Dayal Sharma, V.V. Giri, Dr. Radhakrishnan. R. Venkataraman Iyer sat with Nazi Vajpayee and boldly allowed himself to be photographed when the nazi leader broke his fake fast on the UP issue. Such is the love of this Iyer to his **jati**.

Can we expect even a quarter of that love for his own **jati** from Narayanan?

**DV respect for Rashtrapati:** This doesn't mean we have any disrespect for the highest office of the land, Rashtrapati. Not at all.

**But the point is every non-nazi party expressed, without an exception, shock over Narayanan's behaviour over the latest UP development. That means the dismissal of the Kalyan Singh Govt. of UP by Governor Bhandari had the support of the overwhelming majority of the people of India barring the minority Hindu nazis.**

But the upper castes (15%) demanded dismissal of Bhandari, and Vajpayee went on his fake fast.

**Why Narayanan "supported" the minority (15%) nazis ignoring the opinion of the Bahujan Samaj (85%)?**

This is where we get the doubt about Narayanan loving his own people. Hindu nazis are the enemies of Dalits, Muslims, BCS. The entire Bahujan Samaj is being persecuted by this tiny nazi section. Narayanan too was its victim. Why then he tries to please the nazis? Why did he play into the hands of nazis by writing his famous letter to the Prime Minister with a copy to Bhandari?

This is what makes us doubt Narayanan's impartiality.

**Political power is no power:** Already the Hindu nazis have killed the democracy in India. Parliament itself has been made powerless. Even cabinet ministers, chief ministers, union ministers have become puppets. The prime minister himself has become helpless.

**Under this Hindu nazi aggression political power itself has become no power. The real power has passed into the hands of appointed judges, bureaucracy, financial institutions, media, professionals etc.**

Elected representatives have been made impotent. The latest UP developments have clearly proved it. And the nazis managed it. India under Hindu nazi aggression is fast becoming a fascist state.

**Democracy devalued:** The UP issue was settled by the High Court and then Supreme Court where the

judges are appointed by the elected representatives. That means those appointed by the people's representatives are above the people. The people are being judged by the servants of the people. Where does the sovereignty lie? Does it lie with the people or those paid servants of the people?

**This is a very serious tragedy deliberately manipulated by the Hindu nazis to devalue democracy and strengthen fascism.**

We are sorry that our Dalit President gave room for all these doubts and fears.

And it is these very same doubts and fears that make us think what Narayanan would do if the Hindu nazi parties were to secure the single largest number of seats in the just concluded elections. Will he call upon them to form the govt. first? How can the single largest party norm be acceptable in the context of a multi-national country like India?

**Babasaheb's warnings:** Already every media is barking about the nazis coming to power with their blue-eyed boy, Vaidik Vajpayee, as PM. But the truth is different. The Bahujan Samaj shudders at the very thought of the nazis coming to power. The nazis are already jubilant, threatening. The humble innocent, frightened Bahujans have sought refuge in Sonia Gandhi.

Will Narayanan having once suffered a shock on UP remember the warnings of the Father of India, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, whose creature he is, and be wiser in the interest of India's unity and integrity?

(March 3, 1998)

**Duane B. Bradford**, Pan-African Assns. of America, 2325-Laconia St., San Diego, CA 92114, USA: Heartfelt ancestral greetings. It has been a while since my last correspondence with you. Since that time I have had more time to reflect on the content of the *Dalit Voice* and the issues that appear to be important to you. As a brother in struggle and one who has been around the issue of struggle for about 30 years, I remain somewhat confused about the underlying objective of the Dalit Movement (DM) within the context of liberation. Being a student of history, human behaviour and organization, I am concerned about the ability of the movement to project its clarity of purpose and its understanding that no movement of Black people can be successful without global interdependence, cross pollination of ideas and organizational stability and direction. Our global struggle and parochial struggles are meaningless against the forces of White supremacy if they are disjointed, fragmented and hysterical. The way DV is currently designed leaves little room for educating the Dalit people or anyone else about the history of global Black (African) struggle throughout time and geography. It does not cultivate their minds with new information that leads, directly, to self-empowerment and hope or provide them with any consistent examples of what a conscious DM should look like. There are one billion Black people (Africans) on this planet who have struggled against Aryan (White supremacy) in isolation for the past 2,000 years and with even more intensity in the past 500 years. The past 100 years of isolated struggle against White supremacy has evolved with distinct socio-political consciousness. These isolated struggles for national empowerment have some ways to attempt to link themselves together under the ideal and concept of Pan-Africanism. The struggle has only grown in power where it has been interlinked. The DM, in cultural, social and political isolation from the other global Black struggles, can never achieve liberation by itself nor while depending on the liberal support of Aryan-descended people in Europe or America. From where I sit, the DM continues to side step the issue of global White supremacy, choosing to focus only on Aryan issues in India. While screaming against Aryan control in India, its representatives outside of India continue to court the seats of White supremacy in the US, UK and other places. How can it expect support and justice from those powers that have the blood of other Black people in the world on their hands? If Black people, globally, are to support

each other in the struggle for liberation and self-determination, their leaders must abide by the principle of reciprocity, understanding that all struggles are equally valid and of equal priority. None of us is in a position to be charitable however we are all in positions to support each other in principle, exchange information and form formal collaborations. It is also critical for us to ask two questions of Black people who are constantly wanting to help with the DM. Are they already a part of an organized group and what is that group doing on their own front line? Charity begins at home and you can't help me if you're not helping in your home. The two questions will determine the real value of those who write the DM from the US especially. Of equal importance what are the DM representatives doing to be of support to movements in other countries, when asking for support of the DM in India. As a fellow brother in the struggle for global Black (African) liberation who wants to see the rise of Black people in the Western hemisphere, Africa, India, Australia, Europe and the Polynesian Islands, I make the following recommendations to the format of the DV.

(1). It would be helpful for the DV to print a standard set of DM goals and objectives that keep DM members focused. This should be a standard policy of the publication. (2) Introduce readers to various global liberation organizations and what they are doing in other parts of the world. (3) Establish a focus on a grassroots DM member who is making a difference somewhere in India on a regular basis. (4) Provide readers with research on scholars who are able to interpret ancient Dravidian cultural philosophy and ethics that predate the arrival of Aryan elements. (5) Encourage DM members to join socio-political/cultural organizations in other countries where Black people are struggling for liberation. The cross pollination and networking will automatically benefit the DM at home. (6) Encourage international guest commentaries from leaders and intellectuals of other global Black liberation organizations.

These basic elements would add teeth to the Dalit intellectual and spiritual movement, bringing in perspectives to empower the DM in the 21st century. It is time that we develop an integrated system of struggle rather than isolated pockets of resistance. The answer is global collaboration that supercedes even local issues but which is always sensitive to the unique issues of each Black community in the world. The DV can become one of the major international links in the global process. It has the potential if there is the vision. Please consider these ideas in 1998 as loving constructive criticism. My only interest is in the empowerment of the Black people of India as part of one

global Black family. May the Source of Universal Power grant you good health and a strong spirit. May our global ancestors bless you with continued wisdom,

insight and compassion. And may the global African children of the future speak your name with reverence.

## WHY "EDUCATED" DALITS DON'T LOVE THEIR OWN PEOPLE?

*We fully endorse Dr. Bradford's critical statement on India's Dalit Movement - every word. Before the Dalits of India love their Black counterparts outside, they must first love their own people inside. Sad to say that such a love is totally lacking among the "Educated" Dalits. Dr. Babasahab Ambedkar loved his people, sacrificed for his people and died for his people. After that India did not produce a single leader who so deeply and sincerely loved his people. How to love? Love comes from within. You can't make a person love another. Love is spontaneous. But to love another you have to first love yourself. "Educated" Dalit elites suffer from acute self-hatred. They hate their caste, their food, their gods, their ancestors, their surnames, they hide their identity. Pose as upper castes. All these are signs of self-hatred. How can a person hating himself love another? The Aryan rulers might have corrupted and co-opted the Dalit leadership alienating them from their people. This is true. They created two types of corrupted Dalits - political and gov't. official classes - through reservations. Every "educated" Dalit is made to join these two corrupted classes by creating in them an illusion that "capturing political power" will solve all their problems. This is the main reason why a dedicated leadership is not springing from the Dalit ranks. In the latest Parliament elections, Dalits who form the single largest chunk of the country (20%) have been taken for granted. Not a single party bothered about their votes. This is because of the impression that Dalit votes are*

*purchaseable. We have become so cheap. Many times we have silently wept over the pitiable situation of Dalits. And during our recent election tour of Tamil Nadu where the Dalits are literally slaves, we got a further confirmation of our findings that Dalits have become beggars. And beggars can't be choosers. Why the Dalits have been pushed to such depths of misery, servitude and slavery? Because our people are not "caste conscious". Every other caste and community in India loves its blood relations. This love is lacking among Dalits because they are not "caste conscious". Caste consciousness comes out of identity and Dalits are fast losing their identity. How can self-hating Dalits have self-consciousness? They are fast getting hinduised. The latest elections brought the force of caste to the forefront. Elections in every constituency was fought on the basis of caste. But our people lacked caste consciousness due to self-hatred and loss of identity. Hence they quarrelled between themselves and sold their votes. Backward Castes (35%), who lack an all-India leader and philosophy (which Dalits have) are much, much better. They love their respective jati. But Dalits do not love their jati. And until we start loving our people, our liberation is not possible. We thank Brother Bradford for provoking us to speak out this Supreme Truth. When our Black Brother Runoko Rashidi comes we will discuss with him on April 12 your complaint and also the point we raised here -*

**EDITOR.**

**Thomas Mountain**, 47/431, Hui Nene Street, Kanneo, Hawaii, 96 744, USA: The past two years have seen the two largest and most powerful political demonstrations in the history of the US. The first and largest was the "Million Man March" held in Washington D.C. in October 1995. Over 6,00,000 African American

How did this happen? To start, the owner of the *Washington Post*, Katherine Graham, (one of the papers to most fiercely attack the story) said in a speech:

"There are some things the general public does not need to know and shouldn't. I believe democracy flourishes when gov't. can take legitimate steps to keep its secrets and when the press can decide whether to print what it knows."

women attended, making it easily the second largest action ever held in US history. Yet the "Million Woman March" received much less publicity with the lead demand of the March completely "whited out" by the media. The "Million Woman March" was the work of a grassroots coalition of Black women activists who came together around a core leadership headed by US Representative Maxine Waters, also the chairperson of the Congressional Black Caucus making her the pre-eminent Black elected official in the US. "Freedom of the Press" means those who own the press are free to "white out" your demands, in spite of the enormity of the numbers of people making the demand.

In other words it is not in "the interests of democracy" to expose certain secrets in the interest of the ruling class.

**Mumtaz Hussain**, Box 70, Doha, Qatar: French Muslim intellectual Roger Garaudy, who is the target of a fierce campaign launched by international zionism, arrived here on Dec. 7 for a meeting organised to coordinate support for his case. His visit comes at the invitation of the eight-member Qatar Garaudy Support Committee and is sponsored by the wife of the Emir Sheikh Mozah Nasser al-Misnad. The 84-year-old

Garaudy is on trial in a Paris criminal court on fabricated charges of "supporting racism and anti-Semitism". He denies the charges. The unfair trial follows publication of Garaudy's 1995 book, *The Founding Myths of Israeli Politics*, in which he questions the nazi "Holocaust" against the Jews in World War II. He denies that 6mn Jews were killed in the "Holocaust". He argues that it was an exaggeration to call the Nazi crimes "genocide" or a "Holocaust". He maintains that the victims included not only Jews but also others. Judgment on Garaudy's case is to be delivered soon. Garaudy was formerly the general secretary of the French Communist Party. He left the part to convert to Islam.

**Raju Thomas**, PO Box 2296, Madras - 600 023: *Bojaja Tharakam* did not reply to my Letter on "caste identity". I do not know if he is busy or deliberately keeping silent. However, being a senior Dalit leader, at least, he should have acknowledged my letter. If he is writing another article with new insights, then it is a good development. I am fully convinced that at the end you will come out victorious in this over one-year-long Debate on "caste identity". That is what people like Manjoor Gopalan say. But are you aware that some Scheduled Castes and their journals are spreading falsehood against your thesis? I learn that the *Bahujan Vartha* of the Kerala BSP had published an article in November last against your thesis. Manjoor Gopalan wrote to me saying that he had read the article. Some Dalits in Hindu nazi organisations are doing this work. But the point is not the question of your victory or the defeat of those who criticise and condemn you and your thesis. It is the question of **intellectual honesty**. When you have openly declared that you are always ready to tender a public apology if proved wrong, why these Dalit brothers are not writing directly to you? Genuine Ambedkarites cannot afford back-biting. Till today, no one has suggested the way to destroy the "castes". Why? Everybody wants to either eliminate or annihilate or destroy caste. But how? Did Babasahab himself show us the way to destroy caste identity? He had asked the Hindus to destroy the sanctity of their Vedas. Did he even ask us to annihilate our (*avarra*) *jati* identity? Did Babasahab at any time try to annihilate the identity of the Mahars? Did he ever say at any place that the Mahars are "above" any other Dalit *jati*? Will the critics of our Editor cite references to this effect from Babasahab's books? Who can destroy or annihilate the identity of the Dalit *jatis*? No one can do it in the whole world. And foolishly we are shouting at something which is impractical and impossible. Instead of wasting our precious time on such stupidity, we should engage in strengthening our *jati*. Except Dalits and BCs, all the

*jatis* have already strengthened their identities. Look at the Nairs, Namboodiris, Syrian Christians, Elavas and even to some extent the Muslims in Kerala. They all have strengthened their communities, socially, economically, educationally, culturally. Politically, they are all strengthened and empowered. These communities have today become powerful forces in Kerala. After doing this they have conspired to get themselves divided into two Fronts - the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the Left Democratic Front (LDF). Both the "Fronts" are led by the Aryans. Both the Fronts are engaged in a fake quarrel, and foolishly the *avarra*s (non-Hindus), who are the camp-followers of these two Fronts, fight and die. In all these Hindu nazi-marxist clashes on both sides the victims are either Dalits or BCs. The point is that unless the Dalits in Kerala strengthen their distinct caste identities they can never become politically a force. In the past 100-year history of Dalits in Kerala, no one had ever thought of such a vision to strengthen their caste identities. Even great Dalit leader Ayyankali did not have such a vision. He himself was **enlightened** by a Christian Sam-bava (Pariah). He got inspiration from Christianity and Western culture. He accepted many ideas from Christianity while as religion, he rejected it. (*RSS and Hindu Nationalism*, Dr. K. Jayaprasad, 1991 p.141). Another Dalit leader, John Joseph, was a close associate of Ayyankali and he had taken some initiative to strengthen the Dalits. He had a journal, *Cheramar Doothan*, but by the time the split took place between Christian Dalits and hinduised Dalits, John Joseph did oppose the separation of Dalits on the basis of religion. He argued that religion was like a dress but caste - *kulam-gothram* - was a reality which nobody can change through the change of religion. Here also we find community identity as permanent and unalterable. The Syrian Christians, the Nairs, Namboodiris and even the Muslims are ruling Kerala because in the past generations they had engaged in strengthening their identities. Even though the Elavas are the single largest community, they lost because they lost their *jati* identity. Until the Elavas start a *jati* identity drive, they will remain slaves of Hindus.

**Prof. P. Thangaraj**, HIG 2/15, Mogappair East, Madras - 600 050: I suspect a conspiracy to include the Devendra Kula Vellalars in the Scheduled Caste list in Tamil Nadu. Such a list was preceded by the list of Depressed Classes (DC) published by the British Govt. on the basis of the Government of India Act of 1935. Each Presidency had its own list of DC but the yardstick adopted for the preparation of such a list was not widely publicised. The British attempt to "reform" Hindu customs and manners did not succeed. After the

1857 upheaval, the British adopted a policy of "non-intervention" in social problems. This helped caste and religious fundamentalists to strictly impose caste rules. All disputes and crimes were tried and settled at village panchayats which promoted caste rituals and religious practices. The Congress Party demand to include Indians in administration helped only Brahmins. Later, in the name of "non-Brahmins" only a handful of upper castes got opportunities. In the Madras Presidency, next to the British and Brahmins, some Muslims, Telugu Chetties, Kammaas, Naidus, Reddis, Menons and Nairs managed to get govt. jobs. Except the Tamil Mudaliars, the rest were non-Tamils. They wanted to crush the Tamil original inhabitants - a policy adopted by the Nayaks for over two centuries. The Marathas, who ruled from Thanjavur for about 70 years, also adopted the same policy. One such method was imposition of caste and untouchability on the original inhabitants of Tamil country and the other was their inclusion under the DC list. In Madras Presidency, when the DC list was prepared, the Nadars also were about to be included. But some Nadar leaders like Soundarapandian of Pattiveeranpaty stopped it. He was a top leader of the Justice Party and also the first Legislative Member of the Nadar community. But for his timely intervention, the Nadars also might have been included in the DC list. The Devendras had no proper leadership then. The only leader who discussed this matter was Balasundararaj of Thekkampatty. S.C. Balakrishnan of Ayakudi also was not happy about the inclusion of the Devandras in the list. Balasundararaj along with Balakrishnan held discussions about the inclusion of the Devendras in the list. This was done with the ulterior motive to degrade the Devendras and to relegate them socially. The DC list was prepared during the regime of K. Venkata Reddi Naidu and was published when Rajaji became the Prime Minister. When T. Prakasam became the Prime Minister except M. Baktavaschalam all other 13 ministers in his cabinet were Telugus and Malayalis. The Devendras were very much worried about their inclusion in the DC list. Then came O.P. Ramasamy Reddiar in whose cabinet out of the 14 only three were Tamils. For the first time, a minister (Kurmaya) was appointed for "Harian Welfare" but he was a Telugu. The Kurmayya Committee headed by him submitted its report in 1947. Alarmingly the following statement was found in the report.

"The Pallas of Madura, Rammad and Tirunelveli are far better than the rest except for the stigma of untouchability".

The committee said the Devendras (Pallas) were neither poor nor suffered from untouchability. The reason for this bias against us was that the Devendras

were aborigines of Tamil Nadu possessing the cultural traditions of Tamil civilisation. To crush the Tamilians, the Devendras were included in the DC and Scheduled Caste list.

**P.M. Suresh Kumar**, B/7-Telecom Quarters, PO Kudamalur, Kottayam - 686 016: DV had published an article of Dr. P. Sivanandan from Trivandrum about the atrocities and persecutions of some "elite" Scheduled Castes. I prefer to call them "Scheduled Castes" because they are concerned only about their reservation, promotion, transfer, education of their children and appointment and finally retirement with a huge amount. (DV Feb. 16, 1996 p.13). Interestingly K.N. Kuttan's name was also there. Dr. Sivanandan wrote that the constitutional involvement of the SC employees had been frustrated by their upper caste bosses. He had brought out the cases of a SC govt. employees to prove his point. However, our Editor had given a deserving reply to Dr. Sivanandan for which he had felt very sad. When I met Dr. Sivanandan he told me that the Editor's Note had hurt all of those victims. The Editor's beautiful reply, if there was anything offensive, deserves to be repeated:

Your members, belonging to the Dalit elite class, may be like those tame animals like pigs, cows, lambs which only are slaughtered and sacrificed during the **yagas and yagnas**. Ferocious animals like tigers, lions, bisons are never touched because they will kill the very fellow who tries to go near them. Your members belong to the less than 3% of the highly privileged elite class among the Dalits. As beneficiaries of Babasaheb's services, they should have fulfilled the elementary duty to render "community service" which they have totally forgotten. Not one of those kicked fellow has read Babasaheb's books, not to speak of *Dalit Voice*. They remember us only when they get the well-deserved kick from their upper caste bosses. The Kerala situation is alarming. We have no sympathy with cowards who do not fight back, suffer and sacrifice. We stand by the over the 97% of the uncontaminated Dalits who being "uneducated" could not avail the reservation facilities. They are the torch-bearers of Babasaheb's Revolution - **EDITOR**.

I did not find anything offensive in the above comments. But Dr. Sivanandan is reported to have complained to Raju Thomas, Madras, when they both met at Palai at a seminar. It was indeed a deserving reply. Had any of those SC employees fought back the upper castes - like our Brother N.T. Prabhakaran, Alleppy, who filed cases against those Hindu oppressors - filed cases on the SC/ST Atrocities Act or at least taken **direct action** or at least shouted at those criminal bosses in their offices, definitely our Editor would have gone to their rescue. Our Editor is like a lion just like

Babasaheb, and so he cannot stoop to the level of those tame animals and beg before the Enemy for mercy. No more begging and appealing. Kick those rascals who kick you: beat those blackguards who violate your rights. No body can insult you without your permission. No body can abuse you unless you allow him/her to abuse you. What the hell those Dalit employees were doing when they were humiliated and abused by the Hindus? They could have at least spat on their faces. It is shame to read such news in DV and that too from Kerala, the most literate state in India. Look at our Hero N.T. Prabhakaran. He has put the entire Indian Govt. machinery in trouble and he continues to hit. Most those Dalit slaves mentioned by Sivanandan are the elites in the capital city of Kerala and living like any other Hindu. They pretend to be Hindu, go to Hindu temples, put sandalwood paste on their foreheads, keep Hindu names. They are all burn-lickers of Hindus, communists or Congress Party. Why they are not forming their own SC/ST trade unions? These "elite" SC employees are the parasites of the Dalit community. This is what our Editor was trying to convey. That does not mean he had no concern about whom Dr. Sivanandan had written. Certain people have to be provoked and then only they become conscious of their duty. The Editor was trying to make these Dalit officers angry. Babasaheb used to be equally harsh against those Dalit officers who had shirked their responsibility. Our Editor has written many times about Kerala. He also visited Kerala a number of times. He knows more about Kerala than any Keralite himself knows. He knows each corner of India. The Aryan Hindu nazi party - BJP - is afraid of the Editor's thesis of 'caste identity'. Because, once you strengthen your caste identity, think of your caste identity, the concept of *Hindutva* gets diluted. It is in the name of *Hindutva*, Hindu unity and Hindu nationalism, the Aryan Hindus in India are systematically perpetuating their domination over the vast 65% of the Dalits and the Backward Castes. That means "Hindu unity" will destroy India's unity and integrity. So, to destroy Hinduism we must strengthen our "caste identity". This is the best weapon to totally annihilate Hinduism. We must love what Hindus hate and hate what the Hindus love. We must love our caste. Our identity is like our life and death. Our Editor's thesis on "caste identity" will be our ideology for the 21st century. Our identity itself is our ideology. The root of any ideology is the identity. Denial of one's identity is an act of suicide. Not a single prediction made by our Editor has gone wrong. He had said that R.K. Hegde was the most notorious Hindu nazi, the most cunning, crafty and corrupt man in the country. Hegde has no other way but to go to his roots. Hegde's mask is pulled out.

Good. As the chief minister of Karnataka he was convicted by three judicial commissions on charges of corruption and telephone tapping. (DV Dec. 16, 1996). We must congratulate this cunning Brahmin for joining the Hindu nazi party - BJP.

**Nani Gopal Das**, 17-Dattabadi Road, Salt Lake, Calcutta - 700 064: Ahmad Ali in (DV Dec.1, 1997 p.19) has commented on the remarks of K.R. Malkani that as the Untouchable Puleya women of Kerala are not allowed to cover their breasts, the Puleyas must agitate that the Hindu women too must suffer the same punishment. I do not agree with this suggestion. The Puleyas must force Hindu women to go bare-breast.

**Bro. M.L. Anthony**, St. John's Seminary, Ramanthapur, Hyderabad-13: I am becoming a Catholic priest in a year, now studying in a Hyderabad seminary. We are nearly 100 students, soon going to villages to render our service. But we are going to work among different castes. Some of us also want to demolish the castes and work for Dalits. So we wish to attend some seminar or courses on this subject. We don't know whom to approach. As the Editor of the *Dalit Voice*, you are experienced and energetic to offer us a chance to attend some seminars. This course/seminar should be in May.

*India's ruling class has brainwashed us, including Christians like you, to hate the caste and work for its destruction. But what did the latest Parliament elections reveal? These very people who ask you to hate the caste have admitted that this election, without any exception, was simply caste-based. The party ticket including that of the **Brahmana Jati Party** (BJP), was given on caste, the candidate approached voters on their caste strength, voting was held on caste basis and election-based violence too was on caste basis. Everything in India, from birth to death, is decided by caste. So, if anybody has told you that caste could be destroyed he was either ignorant of the Indian society or speaking a lie to mislead you. Caste (**Jati**) is your identity which none can destroy. Even Christians have the caste intact. Your own Christian church is caste-based. Bishops are selected on this basis. The Dalit Christians are demanding reservations because of caste-based discriminations. We have launched a Debate in DV on this and you may go through that and come to our office for a final discussion with us in May. By then our book on "**Caste Identity**" will be also ready -*

**EDITOR:**  
**Bhante Anand**, Gen. Secretary, Buddha Gaya Mahabodhi Vihar All-India Action Committee, H.O. Indora Budha Vihar, Nagpur - 440 004; S.M. Raju, District Magistrate, Gaya, was suspended on Feb. 17 for an alleged indiscipline in connection with his election

duties. But we Buddhists know his services to the people demand his reinstatement. If the feelings of Buddhists are ignored and he is not reinstated before March 15 1998, then the Buddha Gaya Mahabodhi Vihar All India Action Committee will start indefinite hunger strike before Dr. Babasahab Ambedkar's statue at Budha Gaya.

**Bhikshu Prainasheel**, Superintendent, Mahabodhi Mahavir, Bodh Gaya: Ven. Karma Gopal Dronma, a Spanish, living in Scotland was a disciple of Ven. Lama Yeshi. She was to obtain higher ordination last week at the Budha Gaya International Full Ordination Ceremony here. She died on Feb. 19, 1998 while praying under the sacred Bodhi Tree in the premises of Mahabodhi Mahavir Complex of Bodh Gaya.

**Mahendra Kumar Behera**, At Gopinathpur, PO Anakhia, J.S. Pur, Orissa - 754 102: I am a Dalit very much impressed by your books which touched my heart. But in many parts of Odisha, your books are not available. Our people can become conscious only by reading your books and then only they can be rescued from the brahminical mythology. Actually, our people are in deep sleep. You have opened the eyes of many of us. After reading your books, I have started "educating" our people not to serve the upper castes, not to wash the clothes of Brahmins and not to worship their false gods. We have decided to go from place to place to make our people understand their ignorance and blind belief. I want your books in the mother tongue of the different states.

**Manjoor Gopalan**, Kanakkary PO, Kottayam - 686 632: With a far-reaching vision, our Editor has introduced a Debate on "Caste Identity" to stimulate the oppressed and fight their enemies. But certain non-*vaidik* intellectuals are criticising him very vigorously creating misunderstanding among our own oppressed people. To such of them the words of Babasahab are aptly applicable:

"The intellectual classes to whom the masses look for guidance are either too dishonest or too indifferent to educate them in the right direction. (*Annihilation of Caste* p.98).

The critics argue that our Editor's stand will put the innocent people into a state of dilemma. They say that he is opposing Babasahab's philosophy as propounded in the book *Annihilation of Caste*. Their allegations are absurd and baseless since they do not understand the mind of Babasahab. This book was Babasahab's speech prepared for the Jat-Pat-Todak Mandal, a Hindu (upper caste) organisation of Lahore, in 1936. It was primarily intended for Hindus. He wanted to destroy the Hindu religion itself. The SC/ST/BCs are not Hindus and never Hindus. Those who come under the *Chaturvarna* are alone Hindus. The Untouchables

are *avarrras* and hence not part of the *Chaturvarna*. The Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras alone are *savarras*. They are Aryans and Hindus. The indigenous peoples of India are not Aryans and not Hindus. Babasahab said:

"The Hindus observe caste not because they are inhuman or wrong-headed. They observe caste because they are deeply religious. People are not wrong in observing caste. In my view, what is wrong is their religion, which has included this notion of caste. If this is correct, then obviously the enemy, you must grapple with is not the people who observe caste, but the *shastras* which teach them this religion of caste... The real remedy is to destroy the belief in the sanctity of the *shastras*... You must have courage to tell the Hindus, that what is wrong with them is their religion - the religion which has produced in them this notion of the sacredness of caste." (*Annihilation of Caste* p.62,63).

Babasahab never wanted to destroy **our** castes. But he wanted to destroy the **belief** in the sanctity of *shastras*. He said "untouchability will vanish only when the whole of the Hindu Social Order, particularly the caste system will be dissolved" (W&S Vol.5, p.102). The SC/ST/BCs are not castes but Tribal and ethnic identities which can never be destroyed. "Every American White Christian including President Clinton is maintaining his ethnic identity" (DV Feb. 1, 1998). The oppressed people who get jobs on the basis of caste-based reservation want for destruction of castes because they want to hide their castes. This tendency cannot be tolerated. We should be proud of our *jati* identity. *Vaidik* "intellectuals" and their political parties are creating a good deal of confusion among the innocent Bahujans regarding the "caste identity". All the political parties are doing this work of misleading the oppressed. The Congress is against "caste identity" because they want only "national unity". The BJP wants destruction of caste because it stands for "Hindu unity". The communists argue that the caste will be harmful to the "unity of working class". The upper caste aim is to capture political power by creating disunity among the oppressed. Those SC/ST/BCs who oppose "*jati* identity" are merely stooges of alien Aryans. When we demand our reservation (human rights) these Aryans violently oppose us saying that we are dividing the "nation" on the basis of caste and hence caste should be annihilated. When they demand destruction of our caste they are actually refusing to surrender our caste-based share in services and politics. The upper castes became rulers by strengthening their caste organisations. We became slaves because we have not learnt to strengthen our caste identity. Casteism can be destroyed only by caste. The only remedy to destroy the caste system is by strengthening our caste identity.

Caste alone unites our people. Each subcaste of SC/ST/B/Cs should be strengthened separately first and then their unity strengthened as a whole. Our Editor has compared the *jati* to a "nation". In Tamil Nadu, his philosophy (caste as a "nation") has proved correct.

"Brahminical forces have been conspiring to take over the TNMB (Tamil Nadu Mercantile Bank) to destroy the Nadar identity. But Nadars have decided to resist this. To the "nation" of Nadars TNMB is part and parcel of their identity." (DV Feb. 1, 1998).

Strengthening of caste identity is the first step to maintain unity among the oppressed. When the "caste identity" is strengthened, each subcaste of SC/ST/B/Cs will raise demands for "categorisation" of different castes and subcaste-wise quota. Population-wise quota will end conflicts within the same community. Strengthening of subcaste identity will also prevent exploitation by a stronger subcaste of the same community. Only when the different subcastes get their due share they will be satisfied. Dissatisfaction will generate rivalry and disunity among the subcastes. When every subcaste gets its due share rivalry will disappear. The Madigas of AP are unhappy because subcaste-wise reservations have not been given to them even though they fought for so long. As in the case of AP Madigas, the Kollans, (blacksmiths) in Kerala are also deeply worried because the Viswakarma quota has not been redistributed equally among the subcastes. The total Viswakarma population is about 45 lakhs. The Assaries (carpenters) form 15 lakhs and the Kollans also form 15 lakhs. The Kollans say that a big chunk of reservation meant for the Viswakarma is being swallowed by the Assaries for want of subcaste-wise quota. Kollan intellectuals are preparing to form a separate caste organisation to establish their "caste identity". They say that the existing *jati* organisations (VSS and AKVMS) are not protecting the interests of the Kollans. They are propagating the very philosophy (strengthening of caste identity) of our Editor because they know that only a subcaste-wise quota can protect their interests. I belong to the Viswakarma *jati* and writing with my deep involvement in this movement.

**T.K. Narayanan**, "Vaishali", Mythri Nagar, P.O. Thirumala, Tirvandrum - 695 006: The disappearance of Buddhism from India has been a matter of great surprise and sorrow to every thinking person. But it now lives in China, Japan, Burma, Siam, Thailand, Indo-China, Lanka and part of Malaya. But only in India it met with death. Not only it has ceased to exist but the very name of Budha is forgotten. Before Islam came, Buddhism was the religion of Bactria, Parthia, Afghanistan, Gandhara, China, Turkistan and the whole of Asia. In all these countries Islam destroyed Buddhism.

Islam attacked brahminism also. The wonder is how brahminism (Hinduism) survived but Buddhism perished. This is because (1) brahminism at the time of the Muslim rule had the support of the state but not Buddhism. More important is this state support lasted even till Islam turned into a quiet religion and the flame of its original fury against idol worship died down. (2) The Buddhist monks fell a prey to the sword of Islam. But the very same Islam could not annihilate the more dangerous brahmanic priesthood. (3) Buddhist laymen were persecuted by Brahmin rulers of India and to escape their tyranny, Buddhist masses embraced Islam. Muslim invaders sacked the Buddhist University at Nalanda, Vikrama Sila, Jagaddala, Odantapuri, to mention only a few. They razed to the ground many Buddhist monasteries. The monks fled in thousands to Nepal, Tibet and other places outside India. A large number of Buddhists were killed outright by the Muslim commanders. The Buddhist religious order was then completely annihilated by the inhuman Muslim invaders. Such was the slaughter of Buddhism by Muslim invaders. By killing the Buddhist monks, Islam killed Buddhism itself. This was the greatest disaster that befell the religion of Buddhism in India. Religion like any other ideology can be sustained only through propaganda. Without a propaganda a religion disappears. The sword of Islam fell heavily upon the Buddhist monks and it perished or it fled out of India. There was none to keep the flames of Buddhism burning. The greatest man ever born in India after the Budha was Babasahab Ambedkar who embraced this liberating religion and once again revived Buddhism. Hinduism has made the working people of India Untouchables, Unapproachables and Unseeables. The golden grains of rice and wheat produced by the labour of these Untouchables are eaten by the Hindus who came from the various parts of the body of their Brahma. Eat and be eaten is the law of the sky. Man is the wonder and glory of the world. The world's misery is caused by stupidity and blind faith. Budha did not allow this. Knowledge was always stressed by Budha as essential to salvation. Departing from us, Babasahab commended us to follow him and attain birth in the holy land of All-Enlightened Budha where man's inhumanity to man is abolished for ever and never to come back. We promise Babasahab that we will obey his command with credit. If winter comes, can spring be far behind? Buddhism is the only hope of the working people of India sunk deep down in the mire of Hinduism. The so-called "Independent India" will never be a land of hope and aspiration unless the All-Enlightened Budha is brought back to the land of his birth. Buddhism alone can make India a hallowed land of equality, fraternity and liber-

ly. Hinduism alias brahminism is the No.1 Enemy of this hallowed land of Indus Valley Civilisation.

**Balwant Singh**, Ex-IAS, A/215-Purana Avas Vikas Colony, Saharapur - 247 001: In the columns of *Dalit Voice* too much of importance is being given to the differences between the Malas and Madigas of Andhra Pradesh. This is unfortunate. All the Scheduled Castes (SCs) in India have a common enemy, the Brahminical Social Order (BSO) and all of them have a common goal and destiny i.e. to liberate themselves from the Hindu social bondage and to lead a life of self-respect and dignity. Under the BSO, the graded social inequality has done incalculable harm to the country. We should look beyond a particular caste. Unfortunately there is no inter-dining and inter-marrying among the various SC subcastes. Even in Maharashtra, the relations between the Mahars and Chamars are strained and the Chamars there regard Babasahab Ambedkar as a leader of only Mahars. This is to be condemned. Babasahab fought for the liberation of all the oppressed masses in India. He belongs to everybody. But the Mahars feel that Babasahab is their exclusive property because he was a Mahar. This has created resentment among the Chamars. The Mahars should be more liberal and accommodating. In North India, the Chamars are a dominant community constituting about 70% of the entire SC population. Socially, educationally, economically and politically they are on the top. The Malas and Madigas in AP suffer from educational disabilities at the hands of the upper castes. So, we will have to eliminate the notion of Chamar, Mahar, Mala and Madiga and others if we to make the Dalit Movement powerful and purposeful. If we are true followers of Babasahab, then we have to strictly follow his path. He adopted Buddhism as his religion because that was the best approach. So, the Dalits of today are the rightful successors and inheritors of Buddhism. Our salvation lies in Buddhism. When all SCs embrace Buddhism, the different subcastes like Mahars, Chamars, Pasis, Mala and Madigas will automatically disappear and as Budhists we will become a formidable political force. As different rivers mingle in the ocean and lose their identity, let us follow Buddhism and all our subcaste differences will disappear automatically. The *Dalit Voice* is the mouthpiece of the entire oppressed masses of India and it can play a commendable and constructive role by bringing about social and emotional integration of the various SC subcastes.

**Kashiswar Sarkar**, 157/3-M.C. Garden Road, Calcutta - 700 030: It is true that Kanshi Ram tried his best to liberate the SC/ST/BCs and minorities of India but due to various subdivisions created by the BSO they are

not in a position to unite. S.S. Vaghela, Mulayam Singh Yadav are all divided. This is our tragedy.

**K.C. Sulekh**, Kotni No. 503-Sect.15A, Chandigarh: I saw Arun Shourie on the Star TV on Dec.19, 1997 answering Tavleen Singh. When asked as to what actually made him to malign so widely respected a personality like Babasahab Ambedkar in his book, *Worshipping False Gods*, he simply fumbled for appropriate words and could hardly make a satisfactory reply. With expressions of inconvenience, confusion and uneasiness, writ large on his wrinkled forehead, instead of giving a straight reply, he preferred to take shelter in the silence. He said that since Kanshi Ram had not uttered a word to condemn the book, he saw nothing wrong in the book and that the people who raised "slogans" and "stampede" were doing so without actually reading the book. His book has already gone down the gutters, the public opinion be thanked. But the suggestion implied in the remarks of Shourie is quite embarrassing both for the public in general and the lovers of truth in particular. Will some one clarify?

**Ashok V. Chowgule**, Kanchanjunga, 72-Dr. G. Deshmukh Marg, Bombay - 400 026: This concerns the two articles with the same heading, "Brahmanic socialism", by Gail Omvedt (Jan.27) and P.V. Indiresan (Feb.7) in the *Hindu*. Omvedt calls the socialism followed in this country as brahmanic merely because the movement was led by born Brahmins and most of the top leadership is born Brahmin. V.T. Rajshekhar, Editor of *Dalit Voice*, has written a book titled, *Dialogue of the BhooDEVATAs* (Dalit Sahitya Akademy, Bangalore, 1993), which is a fictitious conversation between "Sacred Brahmins" and "Socialist Brahmins". According to our Editor both the Brahmins have the same agenda - suppression of the shudras and the religious minorities. Mrs. Omvedt could extend this argument further in her next article by reading our Editor's book.

**Pradeep Ku. Tandi**, Qtr No.21088/2, Type-II, Ph-II, OFBL Estate, Badmal, Orissa - 767 770: I am an Untouchable from a village. From my M.E. School career to this day I have been facing one after other atrocities from the Hindus. After matriculation, I got a clerical post and later I got married and have two children. In between, I did BA in history and pol. science. I am now 30 and in a perplexed condition. I want to serve my Dalit society and at the same time look after my family. Can you please guide me. I want to read your book, *Why Godse Killed Gandhi?*

*If you think poverty is your problem, you are wrong. Poverty is the by-product of deprivation of your human rights. And human rights can be recovered through continuous struggle. And struggle will follow once you master Babasa-*

heb's "Three Commandments" - Educate, Agitate, Organise. To support you in this work, we will send you a full set of our books and one year DV copies of Volume 16. Our readers in Orissa will directly contact you to help you out of your "perplexed mental condition" - EDITOR.

**Gobind Roy, Nanded, Maharashtra:** This is with ref. to the Letter of Gurdial Singh of Ludhiana and our Editor's comments therein (DV Jan. 1, 1998 p.15 & 16). The Editor's comments are thought-provoking and rational. He has described the elite Sikhs as "running dogs" of the existing system. In fact, these parasites are worse than even a dog. Dog at least is honest to its master. It has a sense not to pounce at a stone. Rather it attacks the person pelting such stone. The elite Sikhs mentioned by our Editor are nothing but the dishonest intelligentsia among Sikhs, responsible for the present mess in Punjab and making Sikhs and Sikhism a laughing-stock. The revelation of hidden facts about Kohinoor (DV Feb.1, 98 p.20) is shocking. A.K. Biswas has proved with documents that Shere Punjab had donated the unique gem to the Jagannath Puri temple. The Puri Brahmin *pardas* offered it to the British in 1708 AD, after the fall of Orissa to East India Co. The Sikhs, Maharaja Dalip Singh and Maharani Jijnan need not be held responsible for this crime. There will be still more skeletons kept hidden in the cupboard of Sikh history, if honestly analysed further. But who will bell the cat? Honest intelligentsia among Sikhs is a rare commodity.

**P.M. Suresh Kumar, B-77, Telecom Quarters, P.O. Kudamaloor, Kottayam - 686 016:** This refers to the Letter of Shailaja Shende (DV Jan.1, '98 p. 17) on K.N. Kuttan's Letter (DV Dec.1, 1997 p.16). Kuttan wrote about the beating up of a disabled Dalit near Trivandrum. Two years ago at Quilon two Dalit boys were beaten up and paraded after shaving their heads and the father of one boy who had protested against this uncivilized attack was forced to eat human excreta. A similar incident took place at Trivandrum a few weeks after this incident. Shende said that her blood started boiling when she read about such dastardly acts on Dalits. Mere presentation of such atrocities on Dalits in various forms was not enough. She warned that DV readers are not supposed to be mere mute spectators. They have to appropriately react. Kuttan being a lawyer did not secure justice to the affected Dalits. This was her point. She wanted a direct action. Here is an incident which took place in the richest country of America. At Los Angels (1993) a Black brother, Rodney King, was brutally beaten up by White policemen and the culprits were set free unpunished. All the US cities went up in flames as a reaction. The entire Black population in the US came out on the streets and protested

against the unjust judicial order of the White American biased judiciary. The Blacks not only in America but all over the world are like an wounded tiger. They are determined to die for their human rights. Our Editor tells us that only those who are ready to die have the right to live. Those who know the art of dying are only entitled to live. Great declaration indeed. Babasahab Ambedkar wrote that "We must sacrifice our present pleasures for a great future" (*Dr. Ambedkar Life and Mission*, 1981, p.465). Are the Dalits ready to die? Kerala is the highest literate state in India but has the largest number of crimes against the Dalits (National Crime Records Bureau, Govt. of India. *Indian News*, March 1997 p.11). A former Dalit minister, M. Pandalam Sudhakaran, told a public meeting of the PRDS (Feb. 18, 1995) that Dalit govt. employees here are the most persecuted in the whole country. There is a large number of un-reported crimes against Dalits in Kerala and yet our highly "educated", elite Dalits are unable even to shout at their enemy oppressors. Why they swallow all such persecutions and insults? Why they are silent? Why they do not go for **direct action**? Why such silent suffering? Nowhere in the world slaves enjoy their slavery as the Dalits in India. But why? Kuttan himself was a victim of the alien Nairs and Nambuthiris while in the govt. service in Kerala. He was forced to retire by the Hindus. His promotion was denied. He was insulted and abused. But he swallowed everything as an obedient slave. He never uttered a word against the Hindus. He did not have the courage. I know that he still is a faithful Hindu, worships Hindu gods, celebrates all Hindu festivals, his children are brought up as good Hindus, married in Hindu temples. And at the same time, he exhibits all the volumes of Babasahab in his showcase, he writes books on Babasahab, he reads *Dalit Voice*, and writes for *Dalit Voice*. And yet he complains that Dalits are persecuted by the Hindus in Kerala. Have you heard of such a thing any where in the world? This is what our Editor has been repeatedly warning us about India's "slaves enjoying their slavery". Who can help such slaves? Who can liberate such unconscious dumb-driven slaves who did not even know that they are slaves? Even when they are told that they are slaves they will not revolt. Babasahab has proved wrong in the case of Dalit slaves of India. They will never be able to revolt because Hindus and their Hinduism made the Dalits impotent. The sense of self-esteem and self-respect are crushed in the sub-conscious mind of the Dalits. Kuttan is the standing example of such a slave. But N.T. Prabhakaran had revolted against the Hindus and he continues to revolt. He is an angry Dalit because he is an Ambedkarite. There is a world of difference between the one who is a *Harijan*, Sched-

ried Caste, and Dalit and Ambedkarite. Kuttan is a *Harian* not even a Scheduled Caste. You cannot buy a rupee worth of courage from a provision store. A courageous Dalit is a source of inspiration to all Dalits. But these Kuttans are a curse to the entire Dalit community. Let me clarify:

"A movement of the Untouchables must mean an open war upon the caste Hindus". (Babasaheb W&S, Vol.5. 1993 p.344).

Will Kuttan agree? He is in the company of the Hindu nazis. A Hindu nazi leader, P. Parameswaran, writes the "foreword" for his books. His articles appear in Hindu nazi journals like the *Kesari* (Kesari Annual, 1997 p.105 to 109). How Hindu nazis publish his articles? That means they like him. In one article he wrote about the *vanavasis*. Who are they? *Vanavas* is a name used by the nazis for the Scheduled Tribes. Ambedkarites and Dalits in Kerala, beware of such Hindu nazi agents who are more dangerous than the Hindus themselves. Kuttan must come out openly whether he is a genuine Scheduled Caste or a Hindu nazi agent. We have every right to suspect his integrity and honesty. In all his writings he never condemns the brahminical Hinduism and its creators, the Aryans. Why? He himself is a practising Hindu. Has he ever identified the alien Aryan Hindus as the real enemy of the Dalits, the BCS, the Muslims, the Christians, the Sikhs and the Budhists? I do not want to write more about an individual. Our concern is neither an individual nor an event. Small minds discuss individuals, average minds talk of events but great minds discuss ideas. So let me switch over to ideas. Let us go back to the Blacks. We are aware of the recent "Billion Men March" and the "Billion Black Women March" which shook the US. The Blacks are a revolutionary people because either they are Muslims or Christians. Had the Blacks been Hindu like the Untouchables of India, they would never have been able to revolt against their enemy. So, this is a clear indication that as long as the Untouchables of India remain in Hinduism they will never, ever be able to revolt against the Hindus. DV must have a debate on this also. As long as the Untouchables remain as Hindus they have no moral right to call Babasaheb as their Messiah. Only those Dalits who go for conversion to any other religion are genuine Ambedkarites. Whether we like it or not every Scheduled Caste and even the Backward Caste is Hindu unless and until he/she becomes a non-Hindu. He is a Hindu until he becomes something else. "*SC/ST/BC liberation only by quitting Hinduism*" (DV Jan. 1, 1989 p.18). Some SC/ST/BCs might be reading *Dalit Voice* but what is the use of such reading if they do not follow what they read? Let them first **Quit Hinduism** and then there is

a hope for them and their children. The second point is about marxism. The main problem with the Dalits in Kerala is that they are addicted to this opium of marxism. They have swallowed this poison so much that they think in terms of "class" struggle. Their thinking got conditioned because of "class and class struggle" and consequently they lost the sense of their own caste/community consciousness. But did the Brahmins, the Nairs, the Syrian Christians and Muslims and even the Elavas, who are also marxists, denounce their caste/community? But the slavish Scheduled Castes forgot their **identity** and then their consciousness. Most of the SC govt. employees are in the company of "marxists". Both marxism and Hinduism transformed the Untouchables into obedient slaves of Hindu. Marxism strengthened Hinduism in Kerala. Marxism enslaved the SCs. Marxism made its cadres as the most immoral and unethical fellows. Their chief minister himself had recently justified sex-racket and prostitution... "The list of immoral comrades in the marxist party is long... And their sexual anarchy is a proof, a living example". (K.V.Patrose, *Kunthakkarum Ballyadam*, 1986 p.117). Why the marxist comrades have become immoral? Because the entire *Communist Manifesto* does not speak a single word on **ethics and morality**. No body can build a society without **ethics and morality**. To conclude, Dalits in Kerala must unitedly reject both marxism and Hinduism. They must strengthen their own caste/communities. But even then the issue of quitting Hinduism remains the main task before every self-respecting Dalit. Let them go to hell but should not remain in Hinduism. They must learn to hate Hinduism the most. This is what Babasaheb asked the Dalits to follow. He said:

"As long as the conscience of a slave does not burn with hatred against his slavery there is no salvation for him" (*Dr. Ambedkar Life and Mission*, 1988 p.60).

Let there be an open debate on this issue. I am ready to face any challenge from anybody on this issue of conversion and Dalit liberation.

**Upendra Nag**, At/PO Boden, Nuapada dt., Orissa - 766 111: The history of India says the name "India" came from River Sindhu. The ancient Persians called that river Hindu. In course of time the name Hindu was used to call the people and their land. The ancient Greeks called the Sindhu river as Indus. Like the Persians, the Greeks and the Romans also called the land as Hindu. Swami Sivanand in his book, *All about Hinduism*, says the Persians pronounced the word Sindhu as Hindu and called their Aryan brethren as Hindu. So, Hindu is only a corrupt form of Sindhu. Bhakti Vedant Swamy in his book, *Atma Vigyan*, says that Hindu is not a Sanskrit word. The Muslims pronounce **S** as **H**. They called Sindhu as Hindu. Swami

Vivekanand says in his book, *Yaga Yuva Sakti* (Oriya) that ancient Persians pronounced Sindhu as Hindu. **S** becomes **H** in Sanskrit. As such, Sindhu becomes Hindu. Prajapita Brahma Kumaris' Swariya Vidyalaya in their *Weekly Study Course* booklet say that the Hindu word is a corrupt form of Sindhu. That means both history and *sanatists* say that India is not a land of Hindu.

**R. U. Pangari**, MSEB Colony, 10/10, Vase, Rd., Thane Dt. - 401 202: This refers to the Debate on S.R. Talukdar's Letter "*Strengthening of each caste will bring political unity*" (DV Jan. 1, 98). His argument that "by strengthening caste identity, caste differences will automatically disappear among them", is not correct. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar said: "Caste is nothing but brahminism incarnate. Therefore, strengthening of caste identity is nothing but strengthening of brahminism. If this strong and united brahminism is allowed to come under Bahujan Samaj, it will not strengthen the Bahujan Samaj but it will weaken it. Brahminism is the enemy of Shudras and Untouchables", he said while addressing the Dalit Railway Worker's Conference at Mannadan, Feb. 12, 1938. The strengthening of caste identity without realising the danger of strengthening brahminism may lead to a situation like UP where 12 BSP MLAs defected to BJP. The statement of Talukdar that unless we get political power in our hand we cannot bring social unity among the different *avarra* castes, seems to be partially correct. For getting political power a strong social movement is necessary. During such social movement there will be numerous common meeting points between different *avarra* castes on the basis of common sufferings. Babasaheb says:

Generally speaking history bears out the proposition that political revolutions have always been preceded by social and religious revolutions. The political revolution led by Chandragupta was preceded by the religious and social revolution of Buddha. The political revolution led by Shivaji was preceded by the religious and social reform brought about by the saints of Maharashtra. The political revolution of the Sikhs was preceded by the religious and social revolution led by Guru Nanak. **These will suffice to show that the emancipation of the mind and the soul is necessary preliminary for the political expansion of the people.**

Talukdar has said that we should bring caste differences to zero level but when caste is brahminism incarnate, how we can bring the caste differences to zero level. It is only possible when all *avarra* castes start the struggle against brahminism. Talukdar says that members of a caste should develop the feeling that they are not inferior to any other caste. When caste is brahminism-incarnate how then it is possible

for any caste to develop the feeling of non-brahminism i.e. that all are equals? If every caste has got all the elements of becoming a "nation" as stated by Dr. Ambedkar then the problem is how to create that "nation" without brahminism. The statement of Talukdar that "caste consciousness alone is not enough, consciousness of one's caste rights and the rights of Bahujan Samaj must develop simultaneously" is correct. To develop this Bahujan Samaj consciousness, a strong social movement as a long-term strategy and strong political movement as short-term strategy are required.

**M. Nasimuddin**, Gaiwal Bigha, Gaya - 823 001: In Bihar, I have shown DV to several people. They like DV. I keep shutting between Gaya and Delhi. I have observed that people have no idea, barring a very few persons, about such an electrifying journal (DV) being published from Bangalore. I would be the happiest man to see DV being read by more and more people in Delhi and Bihar. The Hindu nazis, of course, read it regularly because the Enemy is always on the track to find out dangers coming from which direction and they are fully aware of this formidable danger coming from the South in the shape of DV. Delhi is in the grip of Hindu nazis and I wish to see it liberated from their clutches as early as possible. They are also apprehensive about it. The next Assembly elections (Sept. or Oct.) they would be thrown out of the Assembly. See what happened in UP. The Hindu nazis have no quality in themselves. Hence they are doomed now or later. We have to keep up our efforts to achieve this goal. Keep on telling Dalits and BCs to publicly denounce Hinduism and seek conversion without any further loss of time. I am unable to understand how they have tolerate this for over 5000 years.

**Syed Kamaluddin**, c/o Shastri School (PCC), At: Pimpripani, PO: Sherghati, Gaya dt. - 824 211: Violence is growing throughout the country. The recent violence in Coimbatore, Ajmer and Ferozabad have been targeted only to defame the Muslims. Several times upper caste leaders and officials have charged the Indian Muslim of being in league with the ISI of Pakistan. But such people must note who actually is anti-national - a Brahmin or a Muslim. Take the example of A.P.J. Abdul Kalam and Narnbi Narayanan. The former always strengthened the defence system of India while the latter was arrested red-handed for selling defence secrets to Pakistan. Reservations must be given on the basis of the population of Dalits and Muslims. Dalits and Muslims must get 250 seats out of the 545 seats in Parliament. What a tragedy that the Election Commission has persecuted a Dalit DM of Gaya, a Dalit city SP of Patna and a Muslim DM of Patna. The Election Commission is bent upon crushing Laloo Pras-

ad. Certainly the results will come in favour of the Bihari Tiger Laloo and he will teach a lesson to these enemies of Dalits and Muslims.

**M. Rahman**, Govt. Middle School, Etalien via Roring, Arunachal Pradesh: I have been transferred here a few days back as headmaster of this school. This part of Arunachal is full of hilly terrain with no postal services within 50 kilometers and no transport facilities. Ration and other essentials are only dropped from time to time by the Indian Air Force helicopters. As pointed out earlier, my personal copies of DV together with other literature and valuables are lost. So, I want all back copies of DV from 1995. I may again be transferred from this school soon. I am going to establish an Ambedkar Foundation at Bandardewa, the gateway to Arunachal, especially Itanagar. Land will be purchased in March/April. A local bookshop at North Lakhimpur has been contacted to act as agency to distribute DV in the whole of North-East.

**K.S. Faiyaz Pasha**, Professor and Head, History Dept., Govt. Arts College, Krishnagiri - 635 001: DV is considered a better Muslim journal than many others run by Muslims themselves. Here are few samples of your masterpiece: "Muslims can stop nazi bid to divide India" (DV Edit Jan.1, 1992), "Western White scholar defends religious fundamentalism" (DV March 16, 1995), "Why Muslim leadership is refusing to heed DV warnings" (DV Sept. 16, 1993), "Muslims must fight away identify their friends and enemies" (DV Edit March 1, 1993), "Babri Masjid blast was Curse of Allah on Muslims" (DV March 16, 1994), "How to exterminate Muslims in India" (DV Edit May 16, 1985), "Will clash of Cross and Crescent lead to Third World War?" (DV Sept. 16, 1996), "Muslims compromised on interest-based banking" (DV Jan.1, 1997), "Islam believes in no compromise with the Enemy" (DV Feb. 1, 1997). DV would have definitely written articles on the anti-Muslim riots of Coimbatore towards the end of 1997. Muslim property worth about Rs.700 crores was destroyed and many innocent Muslim lives were lost. This was not given coverage either in the TV or in the newspapers. *Dalit Voice* alone would have had the moral courage to publish articles on the anti-Muslim riots in Coimbatore.

**Dr. S.A. Hannan**, Imarat Shariah, Phulwarisharif, Patna - 801 505: It is shocking that 3.70 lakh natives of Assam have been debarred from voting on the false ground of their being not nationals of India although they were genuine voters in the last elections. A majority of them are Muslims which is a clear indication of discrimination. Assamese Muslims are most poor and illiterate. The Hindu nazis tried to extradite these Muslims: of Assam and tried to denationalise Indian

Muslims. But our secularists are silent on this malicious and mischievous move.

**M. Iqbal**, 228-Bismillah Manzil, Gandhinagar, Rattam - 457 001: I am an MA in history and have good contacts with Ambedkarites. I have participated in many Dalit meetings. I am also the secretary of Dr. Ambedkar Sanskritik Chetna Manch. I was much impressed by your views on the "Spirit of Islam". I launched a "National Association of Muslims" with branches in Western MP and northern and central Rajasthan. It is a cadre-based association. Its main objectives are: 1. Separate education institutions, separate settlement and separate organisation. I will come to Bangalore in April to meet you.

**Isa Haque**, Vill-Madhupur, PO Hoerah, WB - 712 147: This has ref. to Prof. Rahamatullah's article "Jamate-Islami leadership is upper caste & hence pro-Hindu" (DV Dec. 16, 1997 p.7). The article, characterised by a high-degree of objective analysis, is informative and interesting and deals with the role of this Jamat in the context of the current political situations prevailing in the country with special reference to developments in which various religious denominations, the Muslims in particular, have to set their agenda and programmes of action vis a vis those of the "majority" community. His assessment about this cadre-based organisation's activities as also its service to the Muslim community is realistic and therefore very useful and educative. In any ideological struggle identification of the Enemy is a must for the sake of its successful end and there is no denying that a fierce ideological struggle is on between the secular and non-secular, between progressive and obscurantist forces and we are happy that the secular, progressive forces have rightly identified their Enemy - the Hindu nazism. Here is a very pertinent question for this Jamat: When all other forces have identified their Enemy and chalked out a programme of action to fight this Enemy, has the Jamat, claiming wholesome representation of the Muslims, ever taken any pains to identify its own? If not, why? Why is it fighting shy of calling the spade a spade and for whose interest? Under the cover of "cultural nationalism", the danger and threat of cultural aggression of the Hindu nazism against the very identity of Muslims, their life and property has enormously increased. It is these that are sought to be destroyed systematically. But strangely, the Jamat, instead of recognising this force as the Enemy and giving a call for *jihad*, in pursuance of the dictates of the Koran, is hobnobbing with the very same Enemy. Not stopping there, it has even gone to the extent of closeting with this Enemy to strike a deal even at the cost of the identity of the whole Muslim community. May we ask: for whose interest this Jamat is doing this? Is it for the interests of

the Muslims? The Ramakrishna Mission and Bharat Sevashram Sangha are missionary and service organisations with excellent service records. But the Jamat is stuck to the morass of dry ritualism, meaningless religious niceties devoid of imagination and foresight. It is far away from the hearts of Muslim masses and is disliked rather than being loved. The Jamat has no tears for the Muslim underdogs when they need these most. We are not therefore surprised to find the Jamat as also other Muslim organisations absent and abstained from taking part in the identification and rescue operations of the air-crash victims of the Saudi plane with Hajjis aboard in Haryana. To talk of duty here on the part of the Jamat is irrelevant. "Service to man is service to god" may be a motto with the R.K. Mission or Sevashram Sangha but not with the Jamat because it seems to be out of the purview of this outfit. May we ask the Jamat, if humanitarian activity such as one already referred to has no place on its agenda then what else this organisation has been constituted for? The Jamat is only a tiny part of the Muslim community and not the whole of it and yet it is speaking on behalf of the whole community in talks held with the Hindu nazis responsible for the demolition of Babri Masjid and spilling of Muslim blood in riots engineered by them. The Jamat has no such authority because, firstly, the Ashraf Muslims, do not recognise it as their leader on account of its being more concerned about the interest of hand-picked elites and high-borns and secondly, for its clandestine link with the nazis. Before plunging in such an adventure, the Jamat should have taken the endorsement of the community by holding statewide mass conventions. That would have been the proper course to adopt. But the Jamat has preferred to avoid it. At this juncture when the Muslims are in ordeal, the Jamat should spell out its programmes, policies and strategies in view of the emergence of Hindu nazism that threatens the very unity of India. Going over the overall performance of the Jamat, we are sad and disappointed. It cuts a sorry figure, presenting a dismal picture. Because of its failure to fulfil the aspirations of the Muslims it is hopelessly inadequate, more so in the question of its dealings with its anti-thesis.

**Iqbal Ahmad Sheriff**, Advocate, Bangalore: For the first time, the word "Dalit" came on the lips of a VIP of Pakistan, a retired army general, Lt.-General Hamid Gul, when he said, "we shall liberate Indian Muslims too and even the Dalits there, (*Times of India*, Sept.2, 1997). While we are not enamoured of his feelings, we are pleased to know that at least one person in Pakistan has recognised the Dalit factor in the Indian scenario, at least after 50 years of separation. Pakistanis after the 1947 partition not only forgot the Indi-

an Muslims but also the Dalits. They were very successfully cheated both by Hindu nazis and the Muslim elites that Indian secularism would take care of the Muslims. But the Babri Masjid demolition opened their eyes but it is too late. The earlier generations of Muslims were definitely on the side of Dalits. It was the Muslim support in the Round Table Conference (1931) that had enabled Babasaheb Ambedkar to effectively assert for the rights of the Dalits. Gandhi had done his best to break this support and even offered the bribe for accepting all Muslim demands on condition of their withdrawing support to the Dalits. But the Muslims refused to stand shoulder to shoulder with them. Aga Khan was the Muslim leader then. Babasaheb revealed all the facts and said:

"It must be said to the credit of Muslim delegates that they refused to be a party to such a black act, saved the Depressed Classes from what might as well have developed into a calamity for them as a result of the combined opposition of the Mohammadans and Mr. Gandhi". (*Dr. Ambedkar on Poona Pact*, p.80, Bheem Patrika Publications, Jalandhar).

This Muslim concern for Dalits continued. Qaide Azam Jinnah in 1943 said:

"How is it possible for any man who has got any elementary idea of honour, of integrity, of fair play of justice, to agree to this that these 60 millions who are the biggest blot, on the fair name of India, should be kept as Untouchables at the mercy of Sanathanists, Mr. Gandhi being one. I assure you, in the name of humanity I care more for them than for Muslims. After all, we Muslims, are capable of giving and taking". (*Recent speeches and writings of Mr. Jinnah*, Sh. Mohamad Ashraf, Lahore, 1943 p.462).

The same trend continued when in the formation of the 1946 interim govt. Jinnah took a Dalit, Joginder Nath Mandal, as the Law Minister in the Muslim League quota, until he resigned after Aug.15, when he opted to come back to India. Subsequently, Muslims and Dalits lost their leaders and superimposed Hindu showboys like Maulana Azad and Jagjivan Ram who were projected as their leaders, and Babasaheb was poisoned. For the present, every Ambedkarite is working on Dalit-Muslim unity and thinks of repaying the debt of gratitude of Dr. Ambedkar with interest, but the Ambedkarite movement has ignored the propaganda abroad of the Dalit plight, might and right. Even the closest neighbours like Pakistan and Lanka are not informed of your plight, might and right. Only Dr. Velu Annamalai and Barrister Fazlul Huq are doing some work in this field in US and Britain and Bangla Desh. We have to concentrate on propaganda abroad. Will Kanshi Ram open the foreign affairs wing of the Dalit movement?

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**MUSLIM WORLD LEAGUE.**

PO Box 537, Makkah al-Mukarramah, Saudi Arabia. We have been closely following the various developments concerning the city of Al-Guds and Palestine. The League has viewed with concern the recent US Congress resolution calling for the transfer of the US Embassy from Tel Aviv to Al-Guds. This shift in policy neglects the religious and historical rights of the Arab and Muslim people to this historic city and is in flagrant violation of all international laws as well as the relevant UN resolutions in this regard. We have sent a memorandum to the Chairman and members of the US Congress with a view to clarifying and projecting the Arab and Islamic rights to Al-Guds from the legal, religious and historical angles. Those interested in a copy of the said memorandum (pp.36) may write to us.

**Dr. Abdullah bin Saleh al-Obeid**  
 Secretary-General, MWL

Noted Islamic scholar warns against Westernisation in Muslim countries in his monthly English Journal.

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