

# DALIT VOICE

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## HOW TO DEFEAT RSS CULTURAL NATIONALISM

Dalits at  
Geneva: casteism  
is racism

2-crore Bengali  
Dalits facing  
genocide

Flatterers surround Gandhi :

**THUS SPAKE AMBEDKAR**

# Thus Spake Ambedkar

## Gandhi surrounded by petty flatterers

They have the simple faith of the simple folk whose cause they have espoused, and they will not be deterred by the superior smile of the eminent personages surrounding them, from insisting on the literal application of certain principles which they have been taught to hold as inviolable". A little before this the London representative of the *Free Press Journal*, a leading nationalist daily in Bombay, in his reply to Miss Mayo had eulogised the services which Dr. Ambedkar had rendered at the first session of the Round Table Conference, and said that Dr. Ambedkar was a fearless, independent and patriotic-minded leader whose fearlessness was unbearable to both Hindus and Muslims and that his opening speech at the first session of the Round Table Conference was the best speech in the whole proceedings of the Conference.

It was not decided as yet whether Gandhi would attend the Round Table Conference. Naturally all eyes were focussed on Manibhuvan at the Malabar Hill in Bombay, owing to the mysterious suspense created by Gandhi's stagecraft and statercraft. In the bustle and hurry Gandhi wanted to sound Ambedkar as to his demands. So Gandhi wrote to Ambedkar on August 6, 1931, informing him that he would come to see the latter at eight o'clock that night if Dr. Ambedkar could spare the time. Gandhi added that he would gladly come over to Dr. Ambedkar's residence, if it was inconvenient to Dr. Ambedkar to come to him.

Accordingly the meeting between Ambedkar and Gandhi was held on August 14, 1931, at Manibhuvan, at two in the afternoon.

### "SEGREGATING UNTOUCHABLES

Dr. Ambedkar, the Depressed Classes leader, who saw Mr. Gandhi before he sailed by the *Mooltan* to take part in the Round Table Conference, is said to have told the Mahatma a few home-truths about insincere attitude of the Congress towards the grievances of Untouchables. What can the poor Mahatma do when the whole country simply believes in Untouchability?" (*Times of India*, Aug. 18, 1931).

The next day was Saturday, August 15, 1931. Almost all the Round Table Conference delegates were to sail for London by the *S.S. Mooltan*. The Ballard Pier at Bombay presented a picturesque appearance on the day. From pinnaces to paupers

all sorts of people were present at the Pier. Friends, admirers, followers and devotees assembled to wish *bon voyage* to their Princes and heroes. One leader who received a great ovation as soon as he got down from the car was Dr. Ambedkar. Over two thousand volunteers had collected on the road outside and greeted him as he arrived at the Mole Station with shouts of "Dr. Ambedkar ki ja!" and "Long live Dr. Ambedkar".

"On boardship Dr. Ambedkar came across Sir Prabhshankar Pattani, who asked him about the outcome of the latter's interview with Gandhi. Sir Prabhshankar told Dr. Ambedkar that as he had left the hall in the middle of the interview, he was not in the know of its outcome or end. Dr. Ambedkar, who got the clue from the strange note in the voice of the Knight, asked him why he had left the hall in the middle. The Knight said brilyngly that according to Hindu scriptures a gentleman should quit the place where a detractor reviled a good man, if the hearer could not cut out the tongue of the detractor on the spot. Dr. Ambedkar was all the more tickled by the growing insensible temper of the Knight and, without any sign of irritation on his face, asked him what punishment was prescribed by Pattani's Hindu scriptures for a rank hypocrite and an abject flatterer. At this crack of the whip Pattani got wild and asked Dr. Ambedkar what he meant by such a brutal attack. Dr. Ambedkar replied that he meant what the Knight understood and added that Gandhi should be freed from the grip of abject flatterers like him. The Police Commissioner, Wilson, intervened, and a further scene was averted. The Knight must have left a wiser man. Indeed, the world would be no less benefited, if all its great men turn introspective and get themselves rid of the flattering functions of men surrounding them.

Sarojini Naidu and Malaviya, who were to go by the same steamer, cancelled their passages, as Gandhi had not yet decided about his departure. In the interview which Dr. Ambedkar gave on the steamer he referred to Gandhi's refusal to go to the Round Table conference and said it was the height of folly to place the interests of Bardoli above those of India, "to bother about petty grievances and to be unmindful of bigger problem the settlement of which will enable him to exercise control over those very officers is a thing which I cannot understand". (*To be continued*)

*Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches*, Vol. 17, Part - 1 (p.106- 108) 2003, Rs. 125.  
Govt. of Maharashtra, Bombay. The book may be had from Director, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar  
Source Material Publication Committee, Higher Education department, Government of  
Maharashtra, Barrack No.18, Opp. Mantralaya, Bombay - 400 021.

## Strong "ethnic identity" ensures sure defeat for Hindu nazi stunt called "cultural nationalism"

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### Editor visiting London

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Editor V.T. Rajshekar is going to London on a short visit on an invitation. He is expected to be away for a fortnight from April 19, 2005.

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Will the incorrigible Indian ruling class—which refuses to learn anything new or forget anything old—remember for a moment the sudden collapse and disintegration of the mighty super power, Soviet Union, into many nation-states—dashing the hopes of millions of toiling peoples of the world in marxism which assured a supranationalist vision of a future humanity emancipated from religions, clan and ethnic divisions? The breakup of the USSR proves the failure of marxism to overcome the desire of the different **ethnic identities** to establish their own separate nations. (DV Edit March 16, 1990: "Ethnic pull & Russian racism breaks up the communist giant: USSR").

The pull of nationality proved to be more powerful than the bonds of marxism because the Soviet communism could not find answer to the question of ethnic pull and Russian racism. When the new president of the *Brahmana Jati Party* (BJP), Lal Krishna Advani, the Sindhhi Khatri, delivered his presidential address at the party's silver jubilee session in Delhi on April 6, 2005, like a parrot he repeated the same old-rotten slogans of his party's Hindu nazi parent organisation of RSS, namely "cultural nationalism" which is the other name for establishing a Brahminical dictatorship over India. The other highlights of his swan-song were:

(1) Threat of demographic (read Muslim) invasion from Bangladesh leading to a second partition of India. (2) total commitment to Ram Temple at Ayodhya.

The Indian Hitler and his Brahminical backers should note that their hate-mongering party got defeated in the last parliament elections for this very same reason: India is not a "nation" but a country of several "nations".

**What is a "nation":** India will not become a nation just by repeating that word in every sentence and making a song and dance out of it. The legitimacy of a "nation" depends on the will of the people comprising that "nation". What is most crucial is the self-awareness of a people that it constitutes a "nation". It must be an ethno-cultural community shaped by shared myths of origins, a sense of common history and way of life and particular ideas of space that endows its members with **identity** and purpose. Look at Palestinians and Jews. Both are ready to fight and die for their "nation". Each can be called a "nation". Taking this as the definition of a "nation", can India be called a "nation"?

If the *Hindutva* hate-mongers go on imposing their Brahminical imperialism, the multitudes of oppressed, angry nationalities, gasping for breath, will certainly explode just as it happened

in Soviet Russia. Soviet Union broke into pieces because of the Russian insensitivity to the national, cultural and political Russification. The "cultural nationalism" that Advani is mouthing at the instance of his RSS bosses will horrify India's multitudes of **ethnic identities** — castes, communities, tribes and religions.

**India may follow Soviet Union:** A tiny minority of 15% alien Aryan Brahminical upper castes, who have illegally seized power in India, cannot go on imposing their despotic rule over the myriad peace-loving **ethnic identities**. What is happening in different parts of this vast country is nothing but the convulsions of these multi-ethnic forces leading to terrible unrest and violence. In the name of "cultural nationalism", Advani is pushing anti-nationalism down the throats of the unwilling original inhabitants of India.

If Advani and his god-fathers in Nagpur do not heed this warning, India may go the way of Soviet Union. This is the warning given by history. Alas, the Advanis do not want to learn from history.

The Indian history says that right from the days of Budha, there has been a xenophobic celebration of Brahminism. The two cock and bull stories, called epics, were manufactured to fool the masses of innocent Indians and thus *hinduise* (enslave) them. After destroying Buddhism, the alien Brahminical imperialists resorted to destructive assaults on the religious and cultural heritage of the original inhabitants of India.

**Hinduising the non-Hindus:** With all their centuries of *hinduisation* (enslavement) drive and the direct state power they wielded after "independence" (1947), the Brahminical forces, aided and abetted by their monopoly media, might have to some extent influenced our non-Hindu people to call themselves Hindu but they have failed to destroy the **ethnic identity** of the different castes, subcastes, tribal units. We have said this in detail in our book, *Caste — A Nation Within the Nation*. (Books for Change, 2004).

The Aryan Brahmins have tried to impose their alien culture, calling India a "Hindu nation" and also forcibly kept the non-Hindu masses (over 65% comprising the SC/ST/BCs) poor and hence illiterate. And instigated the SC/ST/BCs against the three religious minorities — Muslims (15%), Christian (2.5%) and Sikhs (2.5%) — to *hinduise* them. But none of these *hinduisation* (enslavement) exercises could destroy the **ethnic**

**identity** of SC/ST/BCs. Their core national identity remained untouched.

**The RSS and its umpteen tails are working day in and day out spending billions and billions of dollars to hinduise (meaning destroying our "ethnic identity") but they could not succeed to destroy it inside their own nazi party. Caste is intact inside the Hindu nazi party itself.**

The "Hindu rule" is much more coercive, aggressive and violent compared to the Russian rule or any other oppressive ruling class in the world though it has succeeded in hiding its blood-stained hands — under the gandhian garb of Ahimsa (non-violence), tolerance and democracy.

**Gujarat Genocide:** We are aware that the upper castes (only the thinking sections among them) are restless because political power is slipping out of their hands. That is why they are frantically resorting to all sorts of gimmicks. They thought by *hinduising* the SC/ST/BCs they could instigate them against the Muslim and Christian. Gujarat Genocide (2002) was their grandest experiment. But it did not help their nazi party to get re-elected. The architect of the Gujarat Genocide was denied the American visa which amounted to a slap on the face of the country's upper caste rulers who have their heart in America.

**Whatever they touch is turning mud. Because their hearts are filled with poison. We want to warn them that their "cultural nationalism" will also turn mud. Hate will produce more hate.**

Advani and his Nagpur godfathers must read the history of Soviet Russia and its breakup. Over 75 years of marxist experiment to melt, dissolve and devour the different **ethnic identities** within the USSR did not succeed. How can the historically hated Aryans succeed to destroy our "ethnic identity" by hating us?

**Caste as a "nation":** Remember, democratic experiment is something new to India. A state undergoing democratisation and to achieve stability, it has to constructively use the different elements constituting that state. Those constituent elements are called "ethnic cores". In the case of India, the "ethnic cores" are the different castes and subcastes — in other word *jati*. We have compared India's caste to a "nation". An up-and-coming young democracy like India (58 years old) can flourish only if these "ethnic cores" are kept as "democratically dominant and

strongly identified with the states and its territories". (Anthony Smith, *Ethnic Origins of Nations*, 1996, Oxford). Without these conditions multi-national countries like India will be regularly destabilised, warns Anthony Smith.

**Bihar experiment:** We in India are regularly experiencing such a destabilisation in every part. In Bihar, all the wicked "Brahmin brains" put together could not form a govt. keeping the "hated" Lalu Prasad out. Vaidik hearts are burning. As this is written all their stooges like Ram Vilas Paswan, Nitish Kumar, George Fernandes have failed. The handful of Brahmins and Bumihars want to re-establish their hegemony over Bihar but they are not succeeding. Money is no problem for them. But the SC/ST/BCs of Bihar are unwilling to give up their **identity**.

More the *vaidiks* try to suppress and gag the "ethnic cores" more they will revolt. Bihar provides a good example.

What is keeping India from a breakup like Soviet Union is the ingenious Brahmin-made caste system. Strong and long-lasting like a pyramid, though periodically shaking — because of its ascending order of reverence and descending degree of contempt — India has become a wonder of the world: neither dying nor living. It is perhaps the world's only case of living death.

**The pyramid may be shaky but its different layers are so much cemented and bound to each other that it will not break or collapse. This is evident from the fact that though naked exploitation of the different "ethnic identities" (nationalities) has reached peak proportions, the pyramid as such has not collapsed in India. This is because of the caste system which is the other word for Hinduism.**

The pyramid might not have collapsed but the different "nations" that constitute this country (pyramid) called India did not allow peace of mind to the ruling upper castes by subjecting the pyramid to periodical tremor. That means over 3,000 years of *hinduisation* and the arbitrary imposition of Brahminical dictatorship on the multitudes of "ethnic identities" (castes, subcastes, communities, tribes and religions minorities), the different "nations" (castes etc.) have remained deathless.

The *vaidik* rulers should again study the history of the breakup of Soviet Union to understand that in a world committed to human rights and

democratic values we must also allow for expression of "national **identity**".

**India not a "nation":** India cannot become a "nation" just because it has a geographical boundary. Remember, this boundary has changed many times. Even when the British bulldozed India into a "nation", hundreds of autonomous princely states were smoothly functioning inside India. Even now Kashmir is refusing to integrate with India. The North-Eastern states still do not consider part of India. The Hindu nazi party itself is dubbing the country's 15% Muslim population (India's single largest community) as "foreigners". Tamil Nadu and Karnataka are on a perpetual war on the river water issue. Sikhs are boiling over the denial of their ethnic **identity**. (DV Sept. 1, 1991 p.17: "*Dr. Ambedkar's warning: India is not a nation*").

The pyramid that is India is periodically shaking and the *vaidiks* who are sitting on its top, forming the apex of this pyramid, are naturally worried. Their worry is real and genuine. Thinking sections of *vaidiks* are not even getting a sound sleep in the night. Why these "thinking people" are not trying to solve the worry of their very survival?

History tells us that no "ethnic **identity**" in any part of the world has allowed itself to be willingly destroyed. The best example for this is the Jews. Wherever they may be and whatever be their "nationality" the Jews, despite being the world's most prosperous and educated community, have maintained their "ethnic **identity**" which is further strengthened after the establishment of Israel. The same is the case with India's Brahmins.

**Let the alien Aryan Brahminical people go on "uniting" us in the name of their Hinduism but we will go on "dividing" their Hinduism by using our "ethnic identity" called caste or subcaste.**

**Nationality question:** "Nationality question" is never discussed in India — even in our intellectual circles. Even marxists are shy to talk about it. We have made several attempts to raise a discussion on the subject but the intellectual poverty of India is so much we are met with a quick reply saying that "India is a nation hence such a discussion is irrelevant". But this "intellectual class", which is the other name for the Brahminical class, is extremely worried over caste-based parties coming to the fore. In the Central Govt. itself caste-based parties are

sharing power today. It was so even when the Hindu Nazi Govt. was ruling in Delhi. Maharashtra is ruled by a caste-based party of Marathas. Caste leaders like Lalu Prasad Yadav, Mulayam Singh, Mayawati are today national leaders. Caste is the deciding factor in all State Assembly and Parliament elections. Caste-based reservations have come to stay. Even within religious minorities like Muslim and Christians, demand for caste-based reservations are gaining ground. No political party is free from caste.

**Caste is our identity:** Why caste is getting such a supreme importance because caste(*caste*) is our **ethnic identity**. Each caste (or subcaste to be precise) is a "nation" by itself. Hence the importance of nationality question. By putting caste under the carpet it will not be possible to hide caste or diminish its importance. Caste is the be-all and end-all of Indian life. Brahmins went up and became the ruling class only because of caste. Having gone up, they are trying to hide caste, ridicule caste, deny the existence of caste and play politics with caste by instigating the Scheduled Castes against the Backward Castes. They are the very people who make the maximum use of caste, derive the highest profits from caste even castigating the caste and trying to confuse such of those "educated" Dalits who are willing to be confused.

**Wanted debate:** But that stage is over. Parliamentary democracy has brought caste to the centre stage. And hence the "nationality question" will gain the highest importance in the coming days.

**We want our DV family members to arrange debates in different towns and cities on the "nationality question in India" and wherever possible we will try to attend it.**

**Advani facing defeat:** Advani is fighting a losing battle. Many Hindu heroes before him have tried the weapon of "cultural nationalism" to destroy our "**ethnic identity**". But they all failed.

Neither they succeed nor we succeed. In the process of this never-ending tug of war between the monolithic "cultural nationalism" and democratic ethnic **nations**, the country called India is suffering and sinking.

But we the oppressed 85% of the non-Hindu indigenous people have nothing to lose. We are already deep in the water. What if we sink further? It is the heaven-born *vaidik* rulers who stand to suffer if the pyramid that is India shakes more

and more and those sitting at the top fall and get crushed. The loss is theirs. We have nothing to lose but our chains.

We have thought deeply on this subject for over ten years and our considered opinion is that our "**ethnic identity**" (which in the case of India is called caste for want of any other appropriate word) if strengthened and consolidated, the menace of *Hindutva* will simply wither away.

No leader in the Hindu nazi party has destroyed his "**ethnic identity**" (caste). Narendra Modi is hated by the Patels in Gujarat because he is a Backward Caste. Even Advani is hated by Vaidik Vajpayee and his *jatwadlas* because he is not a Brahmin.

**Caste can't be killed:** Caste is also in tact within the Marxist parties — CPM and CPI. Prakash Karat was made the boss of CPM, because he is an upper caste Nair from Kerala. No political party or any intellectual institution has killed caste. Because of the simple fact that caste cannot be killed. Caste cannot be killed because it is our "**core identity**" or "**ethnic identity**".

Any society or people who allow their **identity** to be destroyed will simply get enslaved. They will gradually wither away. We have to learn this from the Jews and the Brahmins who call themselves as the "Jews of India".

**Confused Dalits:** Some of our people under Brahminical influence are confusing the caste to caste system. The two are not only different but hostile to each other. Dr. Ambedkar, the Father of India, never called for destruction of our caste (**ethnic identity**). Babasaheb called himself a proud Mahar. (Eleanor Zelliot. *Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar & the Untouchable Movement*, Blumoon Books, New Delhi, 2004).

Caste is our **ethnic identity** but caste system is the other name for Hinduism or Brahminism and hence our Enemy No.1. This has to be destroyed. And we are all-out for its destruction. But the deadliest and the surest weapon to destroy it is by strengthening our **ethnic identity**—that is caste. (V.T. Rajshekar. *Weapons to Fight Counter Revolution*, DSA-2004).

That is what we meant when we said "caste to kill casteism". Advani please note: You may go on trying to enslave us through "cultural nationalism", but we will go on cutting you to size through "ethnic nationalism". The ethnic war began with Buddhism and will continue until we win. This is Ambedkarism. (April 13, 2005).

# Conversion assures self-respect but doesn't annihilate caste

ANIL RANGARI, BHARATI APT., GURUNANAK NAGAR, DURG - 491 001

You have rightly said that "Selective criticism of casteism is a Brahminic mischief.." (DV Feb. 1, 2005 p.26).

The point is as along as caste system is alive, caste-wise census operation, caste certificates, caste-wise reservation, caste-wise allocation of funds, separate Dalit hostels are inevitable. If caste-wise attention is not paid, the weakest caste (Dalit) will be in danger". (p.27).

You said it correctly. Few months ago in village Ghumka, *Manuwadis* attacked Satnami (Dalit) families. Even their children, women and old persons were badly beaten up. Many were admitted to hospitals. *Manuwadis* boycotted 25 Satnami houses, enforced local boycott against their shopping, medical treatment, employment, farming and even drinking of water. When the Backward Caste *sarpanch* of the village protested against this boycott, the *manuwadis* fined her Rs. 2,100.

## CASTE IS CAUSE OF ALL CRIME NOT PROPERTY

In a village near Bhilai, the *Manuwadis* demolished Babasahab Ambedkar's statue unveiled by former Chief Minister Ajit Jogi. In village Sirpur, 80 km from Raipur, they discovered a Budha Vihar and idols of Budha during excavations promoted by Bhadant Surai Sasai. The Governor of Chhattisgarh visited this spot on Aug. 14, 2004 and planted trees. The village became Budhist tourist centre. The

*Manuwadis* became jealous and started their heinous crimes all because of their caste.

A Satnami family, near Raipur, called a Brahmin priest for the *Satyanarayan puja*. But the Brahmins of the entire village

justice and equality, love can never be established.

(*Janata* 3/12/1932).

These words have proved right. Even after 57 years of "independence", upper castes will never, ever tolerate equality, justice and fraternity with Dalits. Not

## Can Budhism kill caste system ?

ANIL RANGARI

In an English journal, *Ambedkar Bharat* (1996), published from Nagpur I found an article criticising your "caste identity" thesis.

Your firm stand on "caste identity" has antagonised some Budhist-minded DV readers who have given up reading DV and even stopped renewing their membership. They have been so thoroughly brainwashed by Brahmins, that they don't want to even look into your book, *Caste — A Nation Within the Nation*.

A study of your book would have cleared their doubts but they were so rigid, uncompromising. Such is the Brahminical influence on them. Some have stopped reading DV.

Annihilation of caste is not at all possible in Hindu India without a massive, organised drive for inter-caste and arranged marriages.

Budhism also could do nothing so far to destroy the caste system. That Budhism will annihilate castes in India is only a dream of our theoretical Budhists. Only the "caste identity" thesis can liquidate casteism better than theoretical Budhism.

boycotted the Brahmin priest for violating the caste rule.

**An Untouchable has no right to have the services of a Brahmin. Caste is the cause of hatred not poverty.**

Dr. Ambedkar says:

Only the bond of love can unite touchables and Untouchables and without the acceptance of

because they are poor but because they are Untouchables. Those who say that casteism has vanished and caste system is dead are talking nonsense. They are living in a fool's paradise. Without large-scale intercaste arranged marriages in all the villages and cities of India caste system will never die.

When justice, equality, liberty and fraternity are not allowed to be enjoyed by Dalits how can caste system be destroyed?

## CASTE IDENTITY

Knowing this full well, Babasahab fought throughout his life to secure privilege, power, prestige, property and progress for Dalits. He said:

Change your religion to gain self-respect, co-operation, brotherhood, power, equality and independence".

But he never asked us to change our religion to annihilate our caste. This is where our Editor's magic *mantra* proves extremely effective. Strengthen every caste by acquiring privilege, power, prestige, property and progress (5-Ps) that will force the upper castes to annihilate their own caste first. Others will automatically follow them by imitating them. ■

# Caste becomes key to political power : Democracy empowers Bahujans

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** Brahminical upper castes have no strength (numbers) of caste. That is why they go on maligning caste without quitting their caste. They became rulers only by strengthening their caste. But having gone up, through the caste ladder, they want to block the same route for the "lower castes" on whose neck they ride.

But thanks to parliamentary democracy, the upper caste rulers have started shaking — at least in political

sphere. Bahujan Samaj Party

(BSP) people and many other Dalits have been fondly quoting Babasaheb teling that "political power is the master key which can open all locks".

If this so, political power becomes the most important power. The lessons of parliamentary democracy learnt during last 60 years are that such a "political power" can be captured only through strengthening our "caste identity". In the recently concluded Assembly elections in Bihar, Haryana and Jharkhand, caste once again came to the forefront. And here we take up the example of Haryana to prove the point how a Jat (Hooda) was made the Chief Minister.

**Importance of Jats:** Bansilal was the last Jat CM. Bajjan Lal was denied the CM post by the Congress despite being the PCC chief and steering the party to victory with a thumping majority of 67 MLAs in 99-member State Assembly.

**Why Bajjan Lal was denied CM post?** Because he was not a Jat but a Bishnoi, a non-Brahmin BC caste, which has no strength (numbers) of caste. But Jats formed 25 of the newly elected 67 Congress MLAs.

The Congress felt Bhupinder Singh Hooda's elevation

to CM post would help him to woo the Jats into the Congress and then strengthen the party. Jats form 22% of the state population — the single largest caste in Haryana.

**Rise of caste power:** We have been repeatedly pointing out the rise of caste power in India but some "educated" Dalits under the influence of Brahminical manipulators continue to sing the song of "caste annihilation". Brahminical people are not ready to annihilate their caste but go

## "Caste" book makes history

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** Editor V.T. Rajshekar's path-breaking book, *Caste — A Nation Within the Nation* — subjected to total blackout in the Brahminical toilet papers — has gone into two reprints. Even the second edition is also sold out. A third reprint is planned by the publishers.

The upper caste rulers hate the Editor's book because it strikes at the very root of their power. Naturally, they have to be furious.

Meanwhile, the Kannada edition of the book is getting ready. Dr. Banjagere Jayaprakash, a noted Kannada scholar belonging to a Backward Caste, has done the translation and also written the "Afterword" appreciating the "caste identity" thesis.

A Hindi translation by a writer from Himachal Pradesh and a Malayalam one are also getting ready. The Hindi translation will serve the needs of the country's single largest part including the sinking cowbelt.

Offers are invited from Gujarati, Bengali and other Indian language writers for translation.

Hinduism. To strengthen the caste system, which gives them the ruling class status, they are projecting Hinduism and confusing us.

**That is why we said: Let the vaidiks go on "uniting" us in the name of Hinduism but we will go on "dividing" Hinduism in the name of caste.**

To pull down the rulers, the right royal way for us is to strengthen the identity of all SC/ST/BC castes. Let the upper castes go on shouting about their Hinduism,

we will quietly work our way up by strengthening the **identity** of each caste.

To begin with only such castes with good strength of population like the Chamars, Yadavas, Mahars, Ezhavas will be benefited under the "caste identity" scheme. Some brothers have raised the question about castes with no good population strength.

**How Brahmins became rulers:** Yes, we admit there is a problem here. But let all such minority castes start strengthening their **identity** first. Once it is done they can forge alliance with similar other castes and go in for proportional representation.

Brother Satinath Choudhary has shown us the way. It is true that India has hundreds of small castes and subcastes. How to render social justice to hundreds

of such micro-minority castes? Multiplicity of small *jatis* among SC/ST/B/Cs will not pose any problem.

The answer lies in a study of the Brahmin *jati*: Together, the Brahmins form a micro-minority of 3% of the Indian population. How did such a puny caste become the rulers of India? The Brahmins, again, are not one single caste. It is a *varna*. There are several subcastes among Brahmins. How did they share power? Can we not learn from the Brahmins?

India is a country of hundreds of castes and subcastes. That is why sharing and caring should be the guiding principle. All these need lot of "education". Barring DV, there is no media to educate or people on all these issues. Hence the need for our own "media centre". ■

## JNU Dalit students' tributes to DV

### OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** *Insight*, the in-house journal of the JNU Dalit students, in its latest issue (Vol.1, No. 5-6, Jan.-Feb.2005) reports the recent visit of our Editor to JNU and says V.T. Rajshekar "has been an inspiration to all of us and his writings have played an important role in shaping how we think".

The Editor has addressed several meetings of Dalit students in JNU. Quite a number of them continue to be our family members even to this day.

But DV is also equally hated in the campus. During the anti-Mandal agitation (1991) DV copies kept for sale within the campus were burnt.

For some years shop-owners refused to sell DV fearing Hindu nazi attack but lately they have resumed selling it. The *Insight* report says:

It is difficult task running a magazine that deals with Dalits rights. It is also a highly dangerous one. And there is no one in India more qualified to talk of this than V.T. Rajshekar, Editor, *Dalit Voice*.

VTR met students of JNU at the *Insight's* weekly after-dinner talk on 20th January 2005. He was accompanied by his daughter-in-law and the Editor of Punjabi edition of *Dalit Voice*. It was an evening filled with memory, emotion, inspiration and ideology.

#### Thrown out of *Indian Express*

VTR is not known for mincing words and the topic, "Role of the Dalit media in shaping a future India", was close to his heart. He began with an account

of how he was forced by his Brahmin colleagues to resign from the *Indian Express* as they were threatened by his anti-BSO stand. He was unequivocal in condemning the hold of Brahminism over the mainstream media. During the anti-Mandal agitations, his support for the OBCs had resulted in his house being vandalized and false FIRs being filed against him. This confirmed the need for an independent *Dalit Voice* that could not be pressurized by dominant forces.

#### Dalit media

VTR went on to talk of the need for a Dalit media to be inclusive and to unite all those oppressed by the BSO. This is highly important because given today's context when the religious minorities and the people of the North-East cannot make any demands or criticisms of the state without being termed anti-national, it is the responsibility of the Dalit media to give them the space from which to make such legitimate claims. For one thing is clear, the Brahminical order can recreate history to exclude minorities, but it knows that in no way can they exclude Dalits from staking their legitimate claim on the nation.

VTR expressed disappointment that the enthusiasm that DV was met with in the small towns was not matched in India's big cities.

**VTR has been an inspiration to all of us at *Insight*. His writings both in DV and in his books and pamphlets have played an important role in shaping how we think.**

All of us left the discussion enriched and inspired. Thank you VTR.

# American aggression gaining speed

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** We are getting alarming reports that the Neocon-driven but the zionist-guided American juggernaut is gaining speed and its ultimate aim is to finish China, its only road block for world domination. Muslim countries "conducting elections" on the orders of America to "prove their democratic credentials" should know that the zionist country of Israel is now well-established.

They are handling Iran by creating unrest in Lebanon. The UN is weakened and its chief Kofi Annan is facing "corruption charges" cooked up by America.

Whether the poor Muslim masses, who continue to be revolutionary, will allow the juggernaut to roll on is a different question. They are fighting and dying. But the fact remains that America is confidently pursuing its imperial ambitions.

**Wide support inside US:** The following report by Martin Jacques in the *Guardian* confirms our fears:

It was clear that the Neocon revolution had wide popular support and serious electoral roots, that it was establishing a new kind of domestic political

hegemony. In fact, the Right has been setting the political agenda in the US for at least 30 years and that is now true with a vengeance.

## Fear of China

The Europeans were disregarded and relegated to the role of bystanders. In East Asia, the Americans have behaved quite differently. North Korea, like Iraq and Iran, was part of the axis of evil, but there has been no attempt at regime change.

In the longer run, China remains the greatest global challenge to the US. But here again Americans have moved with care and restraint. They sought to enlist China in the war against terror following 9/11, and since then relations between the two have been relatively calm. (*Hindu*, April 1, 2005).

As things stand today, the only hope lies in China. We are not getting any hints of China coming to the rescue of the beleaguered Third World countries. China no doubt is building itself up, economically and also militarily. But what about its communist mission and the assurances given by its founding fathers to the oppressed people of the world? ■

## DV Madras workshop debacle — an apology

RAJU THOMAS, PO BOX 2296, MADRAS - 600 023

Even after 25 years of strict training under our Editor, I committed an unpardonable mistake with regard to the three-day Madras workshop of DV family members in Tamil Nadu scheduled for Dec.20-22. I seek the apology from all our DV family members in Tamil Nadu. I alone am responsible for the failure of that workshop.

What exactly happened was the Editor had entrusted me to take care of the Madras workshop. The venue was also fixed at Gurukul, No. 94 - Purasawalkam High Road, Madras - 600 010. Though Gurukul had given an impression that the cost of auditorium, food and accommodation would be cheap and I also had assumed so, but when I consulted the concerned person in the Gurukul and got the approximate budget, I found that the cost was beyond our limit and it was too late to cancel the programme.

We had only limited resources at hand. I shared with the Editor about the situation and he was totally upset because of my mistake. At last we had to cancel the workshop at the last moment and, unfortunately,

those who did not receive the communication from the Editor about the cancellation of the workshop, had reached Madras and there was none at Gurukul to meet them and inform them about the cancellation of the workshop.

In fact, such a thing had never happened in my life for the past 25 years since the time I joined the DV family. We had conducted workshops at Bangalore, Lucknow successfully and the Editor was always in praise of my performances for all these years. I am what I am today because of DV and the strictest discipline under our Editor and it is also a fact that many of the DV family members could not undergo such opportunities by associating with our Editor as I had in my life.

But the mistake of mine cannot be justified and I take full responsibility for what all had happened. I trust and believe that our TN family members will forgive their brother.

Hope we will have this long-pending workshop very soon.

# Definition of Emancipated Dalit

DR. BHARAT JHUNJHUNWALA, 732 - MODERN SOCIETY, SECTOR-15, ROHINI, DELHI - 110 085

The Hindu tradition enjoins the Brahmin not to serve another; stay away from honour bestowed by the government and to embrace voluntary poverty. Decadent priests hid this correct definition of the Brahmin from the public and declared them as Brahmins on the basis of their birth or profession. As a result, true Brahmin *rishis* like Namdev and Kabir were sidelined and corrupt priests captured the centre stage. They looked down upon the other three *varna* and treated Dalits like animals. Intimated by this cruel behaviour, the Dalit supported the Muslim and English invaders and the country was enslaved.

The problem, however, is that a similar Brahminism is prevalent among the Dalit. Chamars consider them to be higher and look down upon lower castes just as the evil Brahmins look down upon the Dalit. They cleverly produce certificates regarding their caste when applying for jobs but try to hide their caste in social gatherings.

## CRUEL HIERARCHY

This problem is not unique to the Dalit movement. It is universal. The Christians launched Crusades to conquer other lands in the name of religion. The Pope took reins of power into his own hands and the message of love spread by Jesus was forgotten. US President George Bush claims to be a faithful Christian but has no compunction in attacking other lands to get their oil. Gandhi had asked his workers to earn and live among the people and guide them to put the right persons in power. But they are living off the crumbs thrown by the

government whom they seek to control. The marxists aimed to organize the poorest workers. But modern marxists are happy to pamper a labour aristocracy and pass on this burden on the poorest.

**The problem of cruel hierarchy is all-pervasive. Everywhere the powerful use their power for their narrow selfish ends irrespective of their professed ideology.**

## POLITICIAN LOVES POWER

The fundamental problem is how to control the politicians in the interests of the people? He who has the desire of power becomes a politician. His objective is to acquire power. He becomes a revolutionary, trade unionist, Dalit activist or social worker because it helps fulfill this desire of power. There are thousands of ways in which one can serve the people like sweep the road, teach in the schools, give sermons, teach yoga, etc. He chooses organizational activities like that of trade unionism because it fulfills his desire of power. This common tendency can be seen among the Hindu, Dalit, Christian, Buddhist, marxist and gandhian politicians and social activists.

## STAY OUT, BUT CONTROL POWER

The solution proposed too is similar in all the traditions. A separation is made between the holder and controller of power.

**Let there be another group in the society that stays outside power and acts as a controller.**

Lenin made a distinction between the party and the state. The Communist Party was to give

directions to the state and ensure that it behaved. Stalin, however, centralized both the party and the state in his hands. As a result the control of the party on the state was loosened and the Soviet Republic collapsed. Gandhi had said the constructive worker should live among the people and guide them to install the right persons in power. The constructive worker's self-employment was the guarantee of his independence.

But the gandhians started taking grants from foreign donors and governments, the same people whom they were to control. The church was expected to control the state in the Christian tradition. This distinction was removed with the Pope becoming a political head of state. The result was the Crusades. Other examples can be given.

The main point is that the desire of a politician is of power. He has neither the inclination nor the intellectual apparatus to make a distinction between good and bad. There should be another agency in the society that is independent of the state. It should tell the state to behave.

## CORRUPT PRIESTS

This applies equally to the Hindu and Dalit. The *Manu Smriti* states that only the Brahmin engaged in the pursuit of self-knowledge can exercise control over the *Ksatriya*. But the Hindu priests corrupted this idea. The Dalit is affected by this very problem however. There has been split among Republican Party, Bahujan Sarraj Party and Freedom and Justice Party because each Dalit leader wants his supremacy and there is no agency among the Dalit to force

them to behave in the interests of the larger Dalit community.

Raju Thomas of Kerala says that Dr. Ambedkar had put forth the concept of "Emancipated Dalit" —he who is working for the emancipation of the whole society and who can exercise a check on the Dalit leaders. The responsibility of controlling Dalit leaders falls upon his shoulders.

The "Emancipated Dalits" has to first set the Dalit movement in order, then the Dalit movement can attack the corrupt Hindu priests. The Dalit should unambiguously define the character of "Emancipated Dalit". Based on the experience of the Christian church, gandhian constructive workers and marxist revolutionary, a starting definition could be as follows:

(1) The "Emancipated Dalits" should be self-employed. He should not serve another; (2) he should not be associated with any political party; (3) he should speak the truth in course of earning his livelihood; and (4) he should be in live connection with the weak, oppressed and Dalit.

The whole society will be then saved. (bharati@nda.vsnl.net.in). ■

**D.V. PREDICTION COMES TRUE**

## Top CIA official confirms West losing war on Muslims

ERIC MARGOLIS, FOREIGN EDITOR, THE TORONTO SUN, TORONTO, CANADA

Three years after the Sept. 11, 2001 attacks, America's politicians and media continue to gravely deceive the public about the so-called war on terrorism. Now the definitive book on terrorism has appeared that should be mandatory reading for every thinking person. It's called *Imperial Hubris: Why the West is Losing the War on Terror*. The cover simply identifies the author as "Anonymous", but he's already been widely identified in the American media as Michael Scheuer, a senior terrorism analyst to the CIA. It is unprecedented that a serving CIA officer was allowed to publish a book, one that is clearly a dramatic rebuke to the Neo-Conservatives who drove the US into two wars.

### ISREAL & NEO-CONS

Scheuer's work is a goldmine of information and brilliant analysis. It breaks taboos and sweeps away the clouds of lies about al-Qaida, Iraq and Afghanistan.

He says US leaders refuse to accept the obvious — "we are fighting a worldwide Islamic insurgency — not criminality or terrorism". The US has made only "a modest dent in enemy forces".

None of bin Laden's reasons for waging war on the US, he writes "have anything to do with our freedom, liberty and democracy (as President George Bush claims) but everything to do with US policies and actions in the Muslim world", notably unlimited support for Israel's repression of the Palestinians and the destruction of Iraq. "For cheap, easily accessible oil, Washington and the West have supported Muslim tyrannies, (Osama) bin Laden and other Islamists seek to destroy", he writes. "The war has the potential to last beyond our children's lifetimes and be fought mostly on US soil".

### BIN LADEN PRAISED

Bin Laden, argues Scheuer, is widely viewed by much of the Muslim world, infuriated by American actions in the Mideast as neither a terrorist or madman but as a skilled warrior, the sole Muslim leader standing up to predatory Western powers.

Ironically US and British military intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq "are completing the radicalization of the Islamic world", a prime bin Laden goal. Bush's misbegotten invasion of Iraq was "icing on bin

Laden's cake". The threat today facing America "is the defensive *jihad* (holy struggle), an Islamic military reaction triggered by an attack by non-Muslims on the Islamic faith, on Muslims, on Muslim territory". Muslims are increasingly fighting back.

### U.S. DOMINATION

The Muslim world believes it is under total attack led by Bush — a massive effort to crush all who oppose US domination, destroy Islam's inherent political role, eliminate Muslim charities, impose Western values on the Islamic world and maintain puppet rulers — "spreading democracy" in Bush's lexicon.

Terrorism is merely the tactics of the poor fighting the rich, he says.

US military operations in the Muslim world, he adds, validate bin-Laden's contention the US is attacking Islam and supports any country willing to kill or persecute Muslims.

Scheuer, breaking the ultimate taboo, observes of Washington's one-way alliance with Israel that "Israelis have succeeded in lacing tight the ropes binding the

**American Gulliver to the Jewish state and its policies."**

In one of his most acute insights, Schauer explains the US cannot for all of its riches, buy its way to victory in Afghanistan or Iraq.

Honour is why the Taliban refused to hand over bin Laden to the US,

a man they regarded as their guest and a war hero, and why he has still not been betrayed in spite of a \$25 million US reward in a nation where the annual income is \$147.

At least there is one person in Washington who understands the violence surrounding us — and has

the courage and patriotism to tell Americans the truth: Their own arrogance and ignorance are driving them into a no-win war against 1.3 billion Muslims.

([http://www.canoe.ca/newstand/columnists/toronto/eric\\_margolis/2004/09/12/626001.html](http://www.canoe.ca/newstand/columnists/toronto/eric_margolis/2004/09/12/626001.html)) ■

## Critics of DV playing into enemy hands

*An year after we published a signed article in DV predicting "West losing war on Muslims" (DV Aug. 1, 2004 p.23), a top CIA official in the American Govt. has come out with a book of the same title — fully confirming our fears on the current American war. DV prediction once again proves right:*

*The reprint of the article is available (2004 pp.8, Rs. 5) in DV office.*

*Lately, just a handful of Dalits living in the West are criticising us for supporting Muslims. Such critics must know that India has a huge Muslim population (15%) who are mostly Dalit converts. DV supports not only Dalits but Dalit converts to all religions in the interest of establishing Bahujan Samaj; Dalits alone cannot come to power anywhere in India.*

*Music to Brahmin ears: These Muslims are not only*

*our blood brothers but also worst victims of Hindu nazis.*

*Our critics must also know that their criticism will be music to Brahminical ears. These Western-based Dalits must understand that Muslims are India's worst persecuted lot. Both Dalits and Muslims have a common enemy.*

*It is for killing thousands of Muslims in Gujarat, its Chief Minister Modi received an American slap on his face.*

*The review of the book by a top CIA man is a word-by-word endorsement of what DV has been saying all these years. At least from onwards these critics must stop playing into enemy hands and start appreciating our analysis of situation inside and outside India — EDITOR*

## Dalit long march to establish casteism as racism

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** After the initial defeat at Durban to convince the United Nations that "India is the original home of racism", the Dalits are mounting a fresh effort at Geneva. (DV Edit Oct. 1, 2001: "World comes to know of racism in Hindu India: Gang of Three stand isolated at Durban conference").

Once again this credit goes to NCDHR, mainly a Dalit Christian NGO.

**Geneva:** At the 61st session of the Commission on Human Rights, Dalits from South Asia are mounting fresh efforts to ensure that two Special Rapporteurs are appointed to study their discrimination based on work and descent. The National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights (NCDHR) introduced its resolution calling for the appointment of two special rapporteurs to study on discrimination based on work and descent. Dalits say they have a strong case to prove that the varna system in India, is nothing but the historically nurtured caste-based discrimination and it continues to subject them to various kinds of discrimination.

The Dalits could not win their case at Durban for three reasons.

(1) They did not seek support of the two other powerful groups who were also present at Durban, fighting against racism — namely the Afro-Americans and the Palestinians. (2) As a Hindu nazi gov. was then ruling India, cartloads of most cantankerous Brahminical people and a handful Dalit bum-flickers were flown to Durban to shout down the NCDHR Truth-seekers. (3) Adequate preparations were not made to secure the support of South African Blacks including its president Thabo Mbeki though the meeting was held on the South African soil itself.

Y.T. Rajshakar: Brahminism, DSA-2002 & Weapons to Fight Counter Revolution, DSA-2003

**U.N. Khobragade**, Khekse Park, Pune - 411 032: I am suffering from paralysis from March 2000, the right part is badly affected. So also my speech. I appeared for high school exam in 1949 at Nagpur and on May 25, 1949 I was arrested and lodged at the Amaravati jail. On Feb.28, 1950 I was with five others sentenced to transportation for life and transferred to the Borstal School, Narsimhapur, to under go the sentence. Later transferred to Nagpur jail. In 1955, I was released. I studied for four years in the Vidarbha Mahavidyalaya, Amaravati and got my BA (1960). I joined the Govt. as a probation officer (1960) and joined my service at the Receiving Centre for Beggars, Woli, Bombay. Some Brahmins complained against my recruitment to govt. service. I was transferred to the Govt. Certified School, Nagpur (1967). I started the Subhedar Ramji Ambedkar Primary School at Siras Peth. In 1968, I joined the Karve Institute of Social Sciences, Pune, and during the training I formed the Govt. Probation Officers Assn. I was transferred to the Remand Home, Bhandara (1969). Soon promoted as D.: Probation Officer, Rahmagiri (1971). At Yawatmal. (1971) I formed the Maharashtra Federation of SC/ST VJNT and Buddhist Converts Welfare Association (1974) and started a weekly *Kranti Sangram*. I joined the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, for MA. While studying, I applied for the post of Assistant Director. I was selected on the non-reserved post (1980) on the strength of Governor's Medal in diploma in social work in 1969. I got justice after 13 years and was promoted as Joint Director of Social Welfare (2000) with back wages. I have donated 11 guntas of land near Lohagaon to Dr. Ambedkar Buddhist Academy, Pune, to train 100 *bhikkus*.

**V.K. Hankare**, United India Insurance Co. Ltd., No.4 - Mercantile Bank Chambers, 19 - Cawasji Patel Street, Fort, Bombay - 400 001: After reading *Dalit Voice* and your books, I have lost my sleep. I have been always thinking that without sacrifice we will not fulfil Babasaheb's dream. Today, the problem of our *Bahujans* is very serious in all fields. I don't know why we are still dependent in "independent" India after 58 years of "independence"? Are we enjoying the liberty and freedom guaranteed by the Constitution to us? The answer is no. (1) The so-called "Poona Pact" was imposed by M.K. Gandhi to blackmail and back-stab our Father, Babasaheb. Gandhi succeeded in his heinous crime to convert our people as permanent burn-lickers. It is the same "Poona Pact" which had defeated Babasaheb's revolutionary mission. On the other hand, it produced a new class of "willing burn-lickers" among us. No doubt,

some of our brothers gained some money, authority and status due to constitutional reservation. But, alas, they have ignored their social responsibility. (2) Most of our organisations are fighting on sentimental issues criticising only the Brahminical Social Order. They have no other agenda. As a result, we are wasting our ability and energy on such useless activities. We need not spend our valuable time on such activities because Babasaheb has diagnosed our problems and prescribed effective remedies for all our problems. What we lack is the ability to implement Babasaheb's revolutionary thoughts. If only we had collected Re. 1 per family, by now we could have collected crores of rupees. That money could have been used for opening medical, engineering, media or banks. The Editor of DV has told us that "poverty is not our problem" but lack of social commitment, devotion and sacrifice are our main problems. From April to May 2005 crores of rupees will be spent on celebrating Babasaheb's *jayanti* but no fund will be spent for social purpose. (3) Our Dalit intellectuals and "leaders" are only quoting Babasaheb but they have nothing to say on implementing those ideas. How long this BSO will continue to exploit us? We have failed in our mission because we have not practiced the "Three Commandments" of Babasaheb i.e. Educate, Agitate, Organise.

**Yakubmama**, Desai Khadaki, at/PO: Kamrej Ganj, Surat dt. - 394 180: It gives me great pleasure to know that your passport, confiscated about 20 years ago, has been returned by the government. It proves that the charges made against you by the govt. were baseless. You are 73, but you are working like an angry young man and spreading your ideology among the oppressed people without fear to educate them to combat injustice. I salute your acidic and bold pen. Tum Jiyō hazaron sal, dear Brother.

**Shreenath Jena**, RRL Colony, Bhubaneswar, Orissa - 751 013: "Orissa is developing. In the land of Lord Jagannath, the exploitation, poverty, infant morality are the thing of past", says the Patnaik Govt. Brahmins and Karans are just 5% of the state population keeping the SC/ST/OBCs under perpetual slavery. The tribal population of Orissa remains the worst exploited. The Southern region (tribal districts) is the home of natural resources. About 89% of the State's tribals are in this region. Of that, 72% of ST population is below poverty lines which is the highest among the 16 major states of this country. In the northern region (coastal belt), where 47% the state's Dalit population resides, the poverty is very high. Orissa continues to be a "food insecure state" with 57% population suffering from chronic energy deficiency, 48% women suffering from nutritional

deficiency and 72.3% children having some degree of anaemia. The benefits of different welfare programmes never reach the Tribals and Dalits. The SC/STs (39%) are the worst sufferers. They live in subhuman condition. Who is the culprit behind this naked exploitation?

*Brother Shreenath Jena should know that this habit of singing the song of our poverty, exploitation and suffering will take us no where. That Orissa is one of India's worst exploited states is well known. Intellectuals like you have to identify the people behind this exploitation and "educate" the victims of such exploitation. "Tell the slave you are a slave, he will explode". Singing the song of poverty is a favourite upper caste pastime to gain our sympathy and bag awards and rewards. All of us know that Dalits and Tribals are India's poorest and the worst exploited. What is important is to "educate" the people on the persons and factors behind such exploitation — EDITOR.*

**Manjoor Gopalan**, Kanakkary PO, Kottayam - 686 632: This refers to the article, "Why Dalit-Muslim unity move failed? Causes and cures" by Dr. R.P. Harsh (DV March 16, 2005). A number of articles have appeared in DV on this subject. Yet it is not the time to stop a Debate on this subject because the *vaidiks* are putting obstacles on Dalit-Muslim unity which alone can liberate the oppressed classes. In Kerala, a strange alliance is taking place between the Nairs and BC Ezhavas. Even though the upper caste Nairs are the oppressors, the SNDP Yogan is prepared join them on the plea that they are Hindu. But the Ezhavas are not Hindu. SNDP leaders want to join the Nairs alleging that the Christians and Muslims have become oppressors of Hindus. The Hindu nazi (BJP/RSS) forces are working behind the screen to capture power in Kerala by strengthening "Hindu unity". The top leaders of the BJP are *vaidiks*. Dr. Ambedkar said:

"What is this Hindu religion? Is it a set of principles or is it a code of rules? Now the Hindu religion, as contained in the *Vedas* and *smritis* is nothing but a mass of sacrificial, social, political and sanitary rules and regulations, all mixed up. What is called religion by the Hindus is nothing but a multitude of commands and prohibitions" (W&S, Vol.1, p. 75).

The *vaidiks* say that the Muslims are enemies of the Dalits and BCs. In the demolition of Babri Masjid, the Dalits and BCs were engaged. The Hindu nazis succeeded in cutting Muslims to size at Ayodhya with the support of Dalits and BCs. Dr. Ram Nah said:

Muslims living all over the world have not been imported from the desert of Arabia. Millions of oppressed and enslaved adopted Islam for their own liberation. Similarly, only the oppressed and enslaved

in India, namely Dalits and Backward Castes, took to Islam. Why will the oppressors adopt Islam?

Dalits, Sikhs and Christians can be safe only till the Muslims are safe. Therefore, we should create brotherhood among these three segments. (*Dalit-Muslim Unity, Why & How?*, p.17, DSA-1992).

The Muslims are not safe in India. The Hindu nazis are planning to demolish the remaining *masjids*. Thousands of Muslims were attacked and their properties destroyed in Ahmedabad and other parts of Gujarat following the Godhra railway station incident. Both Muslims and Dalits are the victims of the Hindu violence. In 1981 and 1985, a large number of Dalits were killed in state-wide anti-reservation war and violence in Gujarat. The Hindu nazis are the common enemies of both Dalits and Muslims. But the elite Muslims go with the *vaidiks* and are against the Dalit-Muslim unity. At least 75% of the Muslims are converts from Dalits and BCs. These Muslims are the blood brothers of Dalits and BCs. Our Editor has said this unpleen times:

The Untouchables of India are so weak — socially, economically, culturally and even physically — that they no longer have the patience to wait for revolution, which has proved elusive. Therefore, instead of waiting endlessly for the revolution, they have decided to seek their own solution to their problems. (*Why Dalits Hate Hinduism?*, DSA-2004, p. 17).

Hence the need of the our is to strengthen the unity of SC (20%), ST (10%), BC (35%), Muslims (15%), Sikhs (2.5%) and Christians (2.5%). The upper castes are the oppressors of Dalits and Muslims. The upper castes (15%) can be defeated if the majority people (85%) are united. Our Editor said:

A number of people styling themselves as progressive come to advise us against joining hands with Muslims. Our reply to such advisers is that we Dalits have nothing against Muslims. If you have some quarrel with Muslims, you settle it with them. Don't drag us to your war against Muslims. A hungry dog goes to any house where it is given some food and loved. Dalits are like that innocent dog. Muslims love us and, therefore, we love the Muslims. The dog will not go to a house where it is beaten up. The Hindus hate us and that is why we don't go to them. We love anybody who loves us. (*Muslims & the Liberation of the Oppressed*, p.14).

Dr. Ambedkar said: "Untouchables are not Hindus and never Hindus". But the stooges of Hindu nazis are arguing that they are Hindu. Such Untouchables are thwarting the attempts made for unity among Dalits and Muslims. The *vaidiks* have cunningly converted the non-Hindu Dalits by destroying their *identity*. The *hindusised* Dalits are not aware of the fact that Hinduism is nothing

but a religion of hatred. Our Editor said:

Muslims are our blood brothers. Their enemy and our enemy is the same. Nowhere in India we have come across any Dalits attacking Muslims or vice-versa. The Gujarat Genocide is a Brahminical conspiracy instigating some unthinking Tribals and Dalits to kill the Muslims. It is a sole single exception to the everlasting Dalit-Muslim unity prevailing all over the country" (*Dalit Voice - A New Experiment in Journalism*, DSA-2005, p.7).

**N.T. Prabhakaran**, Prabh Niketan, Gurusurpuram, South Arvad, Alappuzha - 688 006: Congratulations on getting back the impounded passport after a span of 20 years. If my memory is right, you were arrested by the BSO and taken to Chandigarh. Your wife, who is no more now with you to celebrate this occasion, accompanied you when you were tied to your chair in the train from Bangalore to Delhi. Please give short report of the incident for the information of the DV family. It has been proved that the decision taken by the Govt. of India to impound your passport was highly irregular, irrational and against the principles of natural justice. It is a clear abuse of power and administrative excess which has now been proved void on the ground of unconstitutionality. You were harassed, humiliated, ill-treated, mentally tortured and persecuted all these years for which the BSO has to apologize. It has now been proved that you are always having the fighting element in his blood.

*The Chandigarh Jail Yatra, the story of our arrest under the Terrorist Act, is already typeset but pending publication since 15 years for want of money — EDITOR*

**Prafulla Sakya**, c/o Siddharth Gadkari, R.No. 216, Survey No.56, Malwadi, Wadgaonsheri, Pune -411 014: Millions of Indians have accepted her (Sonia Gandhi) but when will our Hindu nazis learn a lesson from it? From the very first day of Sonia's entry into active politics, almost every leader of the BJP and a few leaders of the NDA coalition partners (leaders), irrespective of their position in party have been making a hue and cry over the issue of Sonia's foreign origin. From the BJP point of view, Sonia is a foreigner because she was born in Italy and married a person who later became the Prime Minister of a democratically elected government which, to put it bluntly, is in a sense not less than an elected king of the country. If Sonia is a foreigner, then going by the same yardstick should we not ask the question whether Sita was, or was not a foreigner too in the kingdom of Rama? So too a question about Draupadi's identity. All the women who in ancient India had married into the royal families outside their own motherland can be termed foreigner because each of them hailed from a

kingdom (country) foreign to the people of those desh (countries) in which they were married and going by the definition put forth by Pramod Mahajan of the BJP, their sons and daughters to automatically become foreigners. The BJP, which propagates the legacy of mythological gods and goddesses and the great history of this country, has in the historical context of Indian cultural history, no right to raise an objection over Sonia's foreign origin because since time immemorial our land comprised small independent kings and kingdoms and through very ancient times inter-kingdom marriages have been a common phenomenon with many an illustrious princes going to a foreign land. The fact of the matter, as recorded by our ancient mythologies and histories is that no subject of any kingdom ever raised an objection of the kind which the BJP has been raising.

*Hindu nazis' staple diet is hate-mongering. If you go through the Hindu "sacred scriptures" and their other cock and bull stories called epics are all nothing but spitting hatred against the natives of India. The "hate Sonia" mania is part of this long, ancient tradition of Aryan rule. They are able to promote their hatred through a cunning device of mind control through their media and textbooks. The Bahujans, the victims of this hate, have failed to understand this cunning game. As long as we don't have our own media and change the existing educational/textbooks we cannot do anything — although to a great extent we are able to dislodge the Hindu nazis from political power. So there is no point in finding fault with Hindu nazis. They do what they want to retain their rulership. We should do what we want to dislodge their rulership. Our failure to concentrate on intellectual activities to "educate" our people - the very fist of Babasheb's three Commandments — has caused all our misery. Don't think this hate mongering against Sonia is an ordinary weapon. It simply unnerved her and she was forced not to accept the Prime Ministership fearing a threat to her life. Do you think the **valdiks** who killed the Father of their own nation like a street dog, will hesitate to finish the poor Sonia? — EDITOR*

**Gurnam Singh Muktsar**, 2 - Bhagat Singh Nagar, Muktsar - 152 026: *Jhuth Na Bole Pandey*, my the Hindi book on the thoughts of Sikhism founded by Dalit saints as admitted by the *gurus* in the *Guru Granth*, was released by V.T. Rajshakar, at the Chandigarh DV workshop in the presence of many other intellectuals from neighbouring states on March 11, 2005 at the Dr. Ambedkar Bhawan. This book deals with the socio-religious revolution launched by Dalit saints and *Gurus*

between the 14th and 18th century. On one side, the book talks of the utter falsehood that there were two different movements — one Bhagti movement and the other Sikh movement. One by the Dalit saints and the other by the Sikh gurus. The propaganda is that the Bhagats cannot be considered equal to *gurus* as the *gurus* are above the Bhagats. But all the *gurus* denounced this false propaganda and they have written again and again in the *Guru Granth* itself that the Bhagats are those *sadhus*, saints and *satgurus* who have founded the path of Sikh religious thought. This is in black and white in the *Guru Granth* itself. All the gurus said this again and again to follow the ultimate truth and wisdom told by the Bhagats, saints who are none other than Untouchable Namdev, Kabir, (Trilochan) Ravidass and Sain. The *gurus* have also mentioned their caste and the social status so that one would have no doubt that they were the path-makers. My book says (1) the Sikh revolution was a rebirth of Buddhism in its principles, (2) it proves that the Sikh socio-religious path was founded by Dalit saints, who were the highest intellectuals, as described by the *gurus* themselves, (3) the book tells the Supreme Truth that to introduce a social change assuring equality and brotherhood, the upper caste *gurus* followed the guidelines prescribed by "lower caste" saints. To bring about this revolution all the Dalit saints sacrificed their lives. It was the greatness of Guru Nanak that he followed the Dalit saints, collected their thoughts (*banis*). He left these thoughts in the safe custody of succeeding *gurus*. It was their greatness that they all passed on these thoughts adding their own explanations to Guru Arjan. And it was the greatness of Guru Arjan who finally compiled the *Guru Granth*. For doing this work, he was tortured to death. Ultimately it was Guru Gobind Singh who declared the *Guru Granth* itself as the ideological *guru* of Sikhs. As the world in general and the Indian masses the Bahujan in particular did not know the Supreme Truth of Sikhism and they often developed hate against Sikhs because of the conspiracy hatched by the upper caste Hindu, the Supreme Truth of Sikh revolution is explained in its original form my book. As this is the second Indian socio-religious revolution against BSO, all are requested to read this book. Even the Muslim, Christian, Buddhist and marxist must read it. If the Bhagati movement is separated from the Guru's movement, it kills the spirit of social revolution. If as told by the Gurus and accepted as a path (*panth*) of Dalit saints followed by the *gurus* then it becomes Indian revolution against BSO. That is the Supreme Truth of Sikh movement. The Sikh society today is totally a house divided into castes, high and low. This is because the upper caste Sikhs have

refused to acknowledge the fact that the Sikh revolution was founded by Dalit saints. To prove all this the gurus' own original versions from the *Guru Granth* are quoted from every page. All BAMCEF members and other awakened people must read it. This book will be followed by another Hindi book, *Kahe Ravidass Chamara*. These books will be available at the DV office in Bangalore.

**Ram Parshad**, Gen. Secretary, Dr. Ambedkar Welfare Mission, Mohali: Bharat Dalit Chintan Sahit: Sangh, Chandigarh branch, organised a 3-day workshop from (March 11-13, 2005) at the Ambedkar Bhawan, Chandigarh, under the chairmanship of V.T. Rajshakar. Editor, *Dalit Voice*. Over 100 DV family members from Chandigarh, Punjab, Haryana, Himachal, Delhi and J&K participated in the deliberations. It included Dr. K.K. sidhu, Bharat Jhunjhunwala, Maj.-Gen. Narinder Singh, Prof. Gurnam Singh, K.C. Sulekh, Ram Parshad, Prof. Ronki Ram, Subhash Chand Musafir, Fatehjang Singh, Sikh Students Federation and Muslim representatives etc. It was brought out that the BSO is bent upon destroying the peace and stability in Punjab. Upper caste Khatri Sikhs are diluting and even denying the original philosophy of Dalit gurus. During discussions it was revealed that Sikh girls were preferring beardless Sikh boys for marriage under Hindu influence. Introducing rice cultivation in Punjab brought migrant workers from Bihar, UP and MP. This migration has brought about demographic imbalance, reducing the Punjab Sikh population. Ram Parshad in his welcome speech cautioned the people about the Brahminical conspiracy. Fatehjang Singh took keen interest in organising the workshop.

**M.A. Abid**, R.No. 103, JSMS Hostel, 15 - SVP Road, Wadi Bunder, Bombay - 400 009: The American decision denying visa to Gujarat CM Narendra Modi is praiseworthy. What is shocking is the decision of the Congress Party confirms the verdict of our Editor that the "Congress is the original Brahminical party of India". (abid\_203@yahoo.com).

**P.S. Sadar**, 71 - Kotwahnagar, Nagpur - 440 022: I belong to the Kunbi caste. However, I have relations with both Kunbis and Marathas. Some of them also use the surname of Patil and Deshmukh. I am Kunbi as per the old Muslim rule records. That way all the Marathas are also Kunbi because the foremost Maratha, viz Saint Tukaram, was "Morey" by clan name but he said in his song that he was happy to be a Kunbi as otherwise he would have been spoiled by the caste pride like the Brahmins. The Moreys are descendants of the Mourya Emperor. Shivaji's notable enemy was Morey of Jawali, near Pune. He was a Maratha of the first five clans. Similarly, Shivaji's

mother was a daughter of a Kunbi Patil, Lakhaji Jadhao, descendant of Yadavas of Deogiri, near Ahmednagar. The word "Maratha" is a production of the 16th century and was used by the Muslim rulers to designate the warriors of the Kunbi caste. So I use both the words according to convenience. The Mahars of Maharashtra were also the Marathas earlier and of the senior branch for that matter (see Vitthal Ramji Shinde, the earliest Maratha to fight against untouchability. He was senior to M.K. Gandhi). They were the Satvahanas of the Nag i.e. serpent race. They gave a bitter fight to Brahminism.

**Dalip Singh Wasan**, Advocate, 101-C, Vikas Colony, Patiala - 147 003: In 1947, the things had been settled for all the times to come. The Sikhs were given liberty to have Khalistan. Even Pakistan invited them to have Khalistan within Pakistan but the Sikhs opted for India and thought it better to merge with India. It is on record that the Sikh community being mobile, progressive, hard-working and efficient, they need a vast country. Their option was right and it was also final. The Dalits and some other minorities also stayed here because the leaders present at that time, who were interested in the framing of our Constitution, assured them that India would be a secular country where there shall be no discrimination on the basis of religion, caste, colour, sex or creed and all shall be having equality before law and none shall be discriminated against. So we can't say that India is a meant only for the "Hindu majority". It is a country of all. If we collect all Dalits, Sikhs, Christians, Muslims, Parsis, Bodhis and tribals together they will exceed the total number of Hindus in India and Hindus will be a minority. The fact is all Muslims, Sikhs, Bodhis, Christians, Dalits are not Hindu. Even the Sikhs are not happy when they were included in the definition of Hindu in Article 25 of the Constitution and at times they were found burning this provision of the Constitution. Sikhs always demanded a separate personal law like the Muslims. The Dalits may be called part of Hindu but in fact they had always been identified as Untouchable and hated by the Hindus. The Dalits, therefore, are a separate element always opposed to the Hindu. So under these circumstances, we are far away from becoming a "nation". If the present trend goes on there are fears that we shall have many more "nations". So we have to seriously think how to make India a "nation".

**Sher Singh Bains**, IAS, Flat No. 32, 247/1 - Minto Park, Alipore, Calcutta - 700 027: The Sikh struggle for Khalistan started in the early 1980s and continued for over 15 years resulting in "Operation Bluestar" (1984) and the assassination of Indira Gandhi. Over 60,000 persons are reported killed. Very few persons are aware

that the publication of secret/top-secret documents by the British Govt. from 1977 onwards— under the title *The Transfer of Power* edited by Dr. N. Mansergh and Panderel Moon, in XII volumes—was mainly responsible for this upheaval. I quote from the "record of a meeting between the cabinet delegation, Field Marshal Viscount Wavell and the representatives of the Sikh community on Friday, 5th April 1946 at 10 am" from Vol. VII, p.138:

The mission had to consider whether power should be transferred to one, or two bodies, or even to more than two. It also had to consider the future position of the Indian States. They would want to know from the Sikh delegation:

- (i) whether, if the choice were given, the Sikh community would prefer the transfer of power to a single body, or to more than one body.
- (ii) if power were transferred to two bodies, which would the Sikh community wish to be part of.
- (iii) if it were found to be practicable and could be arranged, as to which the Secretary of State has formed no opinion, would the Sikhs wish to have a separate autonomous state of their own?

Given this choice on a silver plate, how the Sikhs were made to miss this golden opportunity, angered the entire Sikh community. Now to put in proper perspective, I have decided to publish some of these rare documents. Sikh representative bodies interested in publishing these documents may contact me for finalising the deal.

**Sayad Habib**, Dongaon, Buldana dt. - 443 303: I am reader and fan of DV. I like your entire literature. I met you at Nanded on April 27, 2003 and heard your speech. Your diagnosis and predictions have all proved correct. You are an admirer of Laloo Prasad Yadav. So am I. Only rationalists, lovers of justice and truth-seekers can understand Laloo Prasad Yadav. There is no doubt he will PM of Bahujan. I want to meet you again and discuss about the slavery of Indians. I have made many friends as readers of Hindi DV. My best wishes to DV and its great work of liberation from slavery.

**Dr. M. Premjit Ray**, Neuro Surgeon, Asst. Prof. Neuro Surgery, Andhra Medical College, King George Hospital, Vizag - 530 002: Our Father, Babasahab Ambedkar, asked us to follow the path of Budha. Hence it is our duty to obey our Father. Why bother about other dying religions? Dalits, if they are in such dying religions, must immediately leave it and join Buddhism which is the religion of the wise.

*Brother Premjit must know that when our Father himself asked his children to become Budhists but they refused to obey him, will they join it today when he is no more and when they are so much hinduised? In Maharashtra itself, only*

the Mahars belonging to Babasahab's subcaste, followed him. The other Dalits refused. The different Dalit leaders, who talk so much on Babasahab and get votes in his name, have not become Buddhists. A fraction of Dalit elites who have become Buddhists have been hijacked by Brahminical Buddhism. *Vipassana* and all sorts of Brahminical agents, Buddhist literature printed abroad is flooding India misleading our people. Some Buddhist monks are asking our people to become vegetarians offer conversion. Worried over these developments, we started a Debate in DV thinking that the alert members of the DV family like you will do something. We proposed a meeting of such worried people at Nagpur where Babasahab embraced Buddhism. But there has been no progress. Buddhism like other religions is not a bundle of rituals, ceremonies, dos and don'ts. It is a revolutionary philosophy to liberate all oppressed. Babasahab has outlined his philosophy in his magnum opus — **Buddha & His Dhamma**. We know the whole country and go round places but nowhere such a revolutionary philosophy of Buddhism is preached. We are deeply worried — **EDITOR**.

**N.S. Chellappa**, 12B/356, Samiriviyas Nagar, Siluvaiipatti, Tuticorin, TN: *Dalit Voice* is over worried about the "Slow death of Sikhism". The Dalit Sikhs are ready to save Sikhism. The Jat Sikhs think that if they join with Dalit Sikhs, they will degraded as Untouchables. The Editor of *Dalit Voice* should not risk his life for the unity of Dalits and Jat Sikhs. Such a unity is impossible.

**Anil Rangari**, Bharati Apt., Guru Nanak Nagar, Durg - 491 001: This refers to the article, "*Physical identity for Dalits*" by Sister Rajshree Dange (DV Jan.16, 2005, p.22). I congratulate her for starting this Debate on the need for a separate **identity** for Dalits from Hindus. We have collectively drafted a guide book, *Baudha Jeevan Paddhati* (Hindi) (Umesh Kumar Meshram, Baudha Sanskriti Sahitya Kala Sangh, Mairi Vihar, Panchasil Nagar, Bhadravati, Chandrapur dt., MS, Rs. 30). From my childhood, I am seeing the use of *sindur* and *mangalsutra* by the brides at marriage ceremonies and even later. No *bhikkhu* or *baudhacharya* has discarded this system. When a woman uses *sindur*, *bindi*, *kangam*, *mangalsutra* or any ornament it does not mean she is a slave of man. Enemy-oppressors and rich persons prefer *hinduised* Buddhism for counter-revolution. Dr. Ambedkar's Buddhism is a perfectly rational Buddhism. If Dalit Bahujans want separate **identity**, they have to follow Dr. Ambedkar's Buddhism. Budha prohibited use of gold, silver or precious ornaments only to *bhikkhus* and not for the householders. The Buddhist Society of

India founded by Dr. Ambedkar prescribed the system of 5 oaths for the bride and bridegroom at the marriage ceremony and the 5th oath is to satisfy his wife by providing her various ornaments. After destroying Buddhism from India, Hindus adopted many Buddhist customs. I did not purchase and give any ornaments to my wife at the time of my marriage. After ten years of marriage my wife purchased a *mangalsutra* but hardly she wears it. My wife never uses *sindhur*. She is a perfect Buddhist in thought and action but not completely scientific for want of perfect scientific knowledge. I have drafted a booklet, *Baudha Achar Sahita* (Ambedkar Mission Prakashan, Chitkohara, PO Anishabad, Patna - 800 002, Rs. 5). I agree with Brother Guzman Singh Muktsar when he said that Sikhs have a separate identity but mentally they are with the Hindus. So one who wants a different **identity** from the Hindu must be also separate from the Hindu in all walks of life — physically and mentally. Muslims may have a totally different **identity** but they are not revolutionary as directed by the Quran. The Sikhs may have separate physical identity but mentally they are Hindu (DV March 1, 2005 p.21).

**Ms. Rajshree C. Dange**, 221/6 - Housefed Complex, SBS Nagar, Ludhiana - DV has been continuously asking the Bahujans to master the English language. The article, "*Dalit salvation in English*" by Dr. Jannadas with the Editor's remark is wonderful. But the problem is that our masses, our children who go to govt. schools are not introduced to English language at the primary stage. Because of this, people are scared to take to English language and that is how they remain alien to it. Actually English is not like any other academic subjects such as maths, science etc. in which we have to learn its rules, laws, formulas byheart. English is a language like any other language. But it should be introduced to children at the right time and age. Because of this anti-people policies of govt. we Dalit-Bahujans are deprived of English. Thus we are not able to understand what our Father, Dr. Babasahab Ambedkar, had said in his *Writings & Speeches*. As all the Dalits read his writings translated in regional languages, we are not getting his thoughts correctly. The best example in this regard is Dr. Babasahab's *Three Commandments*: Educate, Agitate, Organise. In Maharashtra itself, where Babasahab worked, 99% of our people know his slogans in the wrong order as "Educate, Organise, Agitate". The result is chaos in the Dalit movement. Even the most highly educated intellectuals don't bother about. I read a report that Chief Minister Modi wanted to introduce English at the primary level in govt. schools in Gujarat but the Hindu nazi RSS is opposing his move. Because of this English problem

*Dalit Voice* is not reaching the doors of each and every Dalit.

**H. Shreyaskar**, 2-565, Bhim Nagar, Jagat, B. Shyam Sunder Marg, Gulbarga - 585 105: I am glad to inform that in Gulbarga we have established an organisation in the name of our great leader, B. Shyam Sunder, with Dr. Devendra Kamalapur as president who was close to Saheb. They have approached Chief Minister Dharam Singh and Kharge, who were once lieutenants of Saheb. A statue of Shyam Sunder is planned. We thank DV because Saheb's name is shining after his death only because of you.

**Dr. V.D. Chandanshive**, Cottage Vaishali, Shahu Nagar, Nanded - 431 605: Blue Dawn Books, Nanded, held a function on March 15, 2005 to release my book, *Kanshi Ram the Crusader*. A noted Ambedkarite from Hyderabad, Dr. D. Yadaiah, released the book. The speakers were Prof. Madhukar Gaikwad, the incharge Vice-Chancellor of Swami Ramanand Teerth Marathwada University, Dr. Parshu Ram Gimekar, Reader, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Marathwada University, Aurangabad. P.M. Singade, retired Labour Commissioner, Nagpur. B.J. Halkar, engineer, Parbhani and Adv. Sayanna from Hyderabad. B.J. Halkar said after Dr. Ambedkar the movement went astray due to lack of proper leadership. However, Kanshi Ram gave it proper shape and support. Kanshi Ram has become the symbol of *Bahujanism*. Dr. Chandanshive, author of the book, compared the Ambedkarite and the post-Ambedkarite movement. Babasaheb's thoughts got disintegrated and splintered, his followers were corrupted and co-opted. A sort of anarchy prevailed in the Bahujan Samaj. But with the rise of Kanshi Ram this anarchic situation was salvaged to a great extent. As he staunch Ambedkarite scholar, V.T. Rajshekar says:

If Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar gave us those deadly philosophical weapons to fight the Brahminical forces, the credit goes to Kanshi Ram for effectively using those weapons and producing magical results.

No other Dalit Bahujan leader stands equal to Kanshi Ram after Dr. Ambedkar. The function was attended by a large number of doctors, engineers, pleaders and officers from the Bahujan Samaj. Dr. Rajesh Gacche conducted the function and Hussekar proposed a vote of thanks. The book can be had from my above address. (Rs. 50, postage extra).

**D. Albert, SJ**, Vidya Bhavan, 2718 - Jajna Road, Beed-431 122: A Marathi journal has questioned the use of the words "Dalit" and "Dalit Christians" saying the word Dalit has come to acquire a caste connotation through its

root *dal* had no such meaning except that it meant a state of neglect, oppression etc. Its objection to "Dalit Christians" is based on the Christian teaching that all human beings/Christians are equal and there cannot be any (caste) discrimination among them. It prefers to call them "Neglected Christians". I was amused by this article for the simplistic solution it offers for the eradication of the caste system. Can the caste system in general and caste discrimination in the church in particular be eradicated by merely eliminating the words Dalit and Dalit Christians? Can the caste system be eradicated at all? There is a lot of confusion in the victims of the caste system, while its traditional beneficiaries like Brahmins have no such confusion. Is it not a victory of Brahminism? The confusion on caste system has to do with whether or not to abolish the caste system. On this question, there are two opinions:

(1) The one held by many enlightened people says caste system must be abolished as it is unjust and oppressive. Ironically, the Hindu nazis also want to abolish the caste system but for entirely different reasons, their sole intention being to co-opt the Dalit Bahujans into their Brahminical Hindu fold so that they can maintain their social and political dominance. The truth is that the Hindu nazis want both the caste system intact and their Brahminical *dharma*. Is it possible to do so when the caste system has become part of our genetic makeup? Also is it possible to destroy it without destroying the instruments that legitimise it like the Hindu scriptures? Is a casteless society possible at all?

(2) The second school says it is casteism that is the problem but not the castes, and therefore, the former should be abolished and not the latter i.e. caste. They say that caste need not be abolished because caste is one's **identity** and hence it should be strengthened. Caste is something desirable and must be fostered whereas casteism must be eliminated. But can we separate caste and casteism? And can we destroy casteism while we encourage caste? By accepting caste, doesn't one subscribe to the Brahminical notion of graded inequality? Or are we under the illusion that all castes are equal?

Having gone through this confusion I have come to the conclusion that the caste system cannot be destroyed in the immediate future until large-scale inter-caste marriages take place. Until then, what is important, as *Dalit Voice* also believes, is to strengthen the "*caste identity*/nationality. The DV strategy is to destroy the caste system by accepting its challenges head on. There is something Christian about it. "*Caste identity*" without a purpose and direction may degenerate into caste rivalry and casteism. ■

# Textbook on international politics for Bahujans

IGBAL AHMED SHARIF, ADVOCATE, 94/1-11TH CROSS, TANK GARDEN, JAYANAGAR 1ST BLOCK, BANGALORE - 560 011

This small book is a bird's view on what is going on in international politics today. It uncovers the great secrets, which millions of words all over the world have been trying to suppress, namely the White Western world's efforts under the dictates of zionists in collaboration with India's Hindu nazi Brahminical forces to dominate and exploit the rest of the world. As usual, the writer has lucidly focused on these three forces calling them "Tripod" and also "Triangle of Tyrants", dubbed together as "they". The rest of the world is referred to as "us".

The writer points out that what is declared as "Axis of evil" comprising Iraq, Iran and North Korea by America's President Bush is only a misleader. The entire world minus the Tripod or "Triangle of Tyrants" is considered by him as "us", the victims. Naming these three nations only is a farce and strategy.

**Hindu nazi strategies:** He points out the victims or "us" as all humans on the globe — Muslims and Blacks everywhere and Yellows (Chinese) as all victims to be tackled by different strategies and means one after the other. The first to be tackled are the Muslims and once they are finished the others will be followed. He has likened the strategy as the one followed by Hindu nazis in India where Muslims were and are the first then the Sikhs, then the Christians and lastly Dalits. He compares the struggles for existence by various nations on the globe as similar to the struggles of different castes in India, considering the "castes" as nations and their Indian struggles as a mini world.

**Regional parties warned:** This version makes the Indian readers understand world politics by giving examples of home situations and at the same time projects the Indian situation to the rest of the world. The oft spoken facts, situation and figures serve very well here.

**This book is a must for India's regional parties and Dalit and OBC leadership. International politics is a field on which these people have no concern at all.**

They do not know that they cannot achieve their objects without the help of co-sufferers outside India. They failed so far to see that their chief enemy, RSS, has organisations like VHP, JSKCON etc. to establish rapport with the like-minded tyrants outside. None of

the regional parties like DMK, TDP, SP, RJD has any foreign policy or rapport. Even BSP, which considers itself as the third most powerful party and even aspires to rule the whole of India, has no foreign policy or rapport.

As coalition rule has become the order of the day and the future, these parties by remaining ignorant of international affairs are sure to be mere pawns of other parties. Had they some knowledge, perhaps India would not have allowed liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation (LPG) and thought in advance over its effects on their regions and castes. Without a word they kept quiet and suffer loss of jobs. This is the result of ignorance of international politics.

**Good for beginners:** We cannot blame these parties for the present as they are struggling for existence. But as existence in a coalition system even with 2-3 MPs is now assured they should now start thinking about world politics.

This book is a very good beginner for all Bahujan intellectuals and leaders including the topmost like Mayawati, Mulayam Singh, Lalu Prasad. At present only Sikhs and Kashmiris have some out-of-India concern. Muslims previously had very much of this but as of today they too have lost.

The book does not rest merely by giving a picture of the existing situation. It also projects the shape of the things to come in future. Presently the victims are helpless but there are personalities like Osama bin Laden and nations who refuse to be bullied who can change the situation. The West is already in fear.

**Original thinking:** The over a decade-old struggle to capture and control Iraq has failed. It is fear which is forcing the European West to form its Union. It is the losing grip of the world that is compelling America to establish links with Europe which was condemned as "Old Europe" two years ago. The West is fearing that its mighty military, money and media power (3Ms) is falling against individual suicide bombers.

Readers are advised to keep the world map before them while reading this book and read it again and again read it like a textbook of international politics. DV has been the only Indian journal to have original thinking on international affairs. After writing a lot on it, a book was long overdue and it has come at the right time of crisis. ■

# Conspiracy against Bengali Dalits :

## 2-crores facing genocide ?

CAPT. SIDDHARTH BARVE (BARVES@BHARATPEOPLEUM.COM)

This is on the conspiracy hatched by the *Manuvadi* political parties against our Bengali brethren so that they become aware of the mischief and come together to fight the same.

I went through the Parliament site and collected the Citizenship Amendment Bill. After going through the same and our historical background I have written this article. I then started communicating/writing on the subject to our Bengali writers and editors in Calcutta and I felt ashamed that even most of our Bengali brethren were not aware of the Bill and its contents. But after getting information most of them started publishing articles on this.

You must be aware of a very unfortunate and Black Bill that has been passed by the Indian Parliament in 2003: Citizenship Amendment Bill. In 1955, the Bill was passed by Parliament which stated that all the citizens who migrated to India and who were effected by the partition could be entitled to become citizens of India and their children born on the Indian soil would be natural citizens of this country. The Bill says that the former citizens of India who have surrendered their citizenship and settled abroad shall not be liable for the citizenship of India.

After the partition of East Pakistan, all our *Mulnivasi* Bengali brethren were residing in Kolna, Jassor, Barisal, Dhaka and Faridpur from where Jogendranath Mandal had got Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar elected to the Constituent Assembly. The *Brahmanvadi* Congress handed over this part of the country to East Pakistan to punish them for getting Babasaheb elected to the Assembly. Due to the treatment and difficulties many Bengali *Mulnivasis* came back to India as refugees.

**Hate theory:** The refugees who had come from Pakistan, particularly the Punjabis and Sindhis who belonged to the upper castes, were given huge amount of money, property, land at low rate and settled to their comfort in big cities and one place. But our brethren were settled in places like Kalandandi and forest and dirty locations where they had to face the miseries and poverty. That is why they were always on the move and did not have any documentary evidence to prove. The *Brahmanvadi* Congress, BJP and the Hindu nazi parties knew full well that the Bengali refugees were "low castes" but deliberately they spread the lies that the Bangladeshi refugees were Muslims.

So much so even our people (SC/ST of this country) have started hating them thinking them to be outsiders and nothing to do with them. The upper caste Hindus were successful in creating a hate theory against the refugees. We in Maharashtra are not even aware of the plight of our Bengali brethren leave aside fighting for them.

To make the life of our Bengali brethren still worse the then Home Minister Advani, the CM of Assam and the ASU got together in Delhi on March 19, 1999 and hatched a conspiracy declaring the Bengali refugees illegal. It was decided that the children of the Bengali refugees who were born between 1971 and 1986 will be treated as illegal migrants of this country and very harsh and strong action will be taken against them including extraditing them outside India and under no circumstance they will be given citizenship of this country even if they wish to register as citizens of this country.

**Congress & CPM support:** From this day the conspiracy started in the Home Ministry and they started working on the Amendment of the Citizenship Bill, 1955.

The Amendment Bill was introduced in the Rajya Sabha on May 9, 2003 and it was sent to Pranab Mukherjee for his response so that the same can be passed. On Jan.9, 2004, BJP got the Bill passed with the help and full support of the Congress and the Left parties.

**This Bill destroying the future of our Bengali *Mulnivasis* says that under no circumstance the refugees from Bangladesh can get citizenship of this country and strict legal action will be initiated against them by the government.**

With this over 2 crore Bengali refugees will be affected. The BJP, Congress and the Left parties did not stop there. They wanted to put salt on our wounds and hence in the same Bill they gave dual citizenship (double citizenship) to the upper castes who are staying in 16 different countries so that they never face any problem, and send money to India so that the Hindu nazi parties use them and kill us and vote in the election for the *Brahmanvadi* BJP or Congress and get elected easily on their votes. This is the biggest conspiracy against our people but not even our

educated Bengali SC/ST/BC brothers are aware of this fact — not to speak of our uneducated and poor Bengalis who are going to be thrown out of the country. We are trying to make our people aware of this development so that concrete steps are taken to stop

## Truth about Holocaust

### OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** Zionists who control the Western media and economy have manufactured so much of lies and repeated it millions of times so that the gullible minds who read it should consider the lie as supreme truth. This is what happened in the case of Holocaust, German nazis and even Hitler. In DV, we have given a fairly good coverage to these "True lies". The following report in a famous Turkish paper says the same thing:

Otto Schily, Germany's interior Minister, banned *Vakit*, a Turkish newspaper, in February because of its consistent anti-Semitic commentary.

A *Vakit* columnist, Hasan Krakaya, insists that the "Truth is that there was no holocaust and the so-called gas chambers are a lie". On this view, the Holocaust was a hoax perpetrated by the Nazis to justify the creation of Israel.

(*The Economist*, April 2, 2005 p. 43).

The Zionist influence is so much that even a word of criticism against Jews is dubbed anti-Semitic and any paper or person indulging in anti-Semiticism is liable for punishment in many parts of Europe.

Despite all these mountains of lies, Truth-speakers have still survived and fighting to help Palestinians to recover their lost nation forcibly occupied by the Zionists to establish Israel.

## Plea to release Guna

**Bangalore:** The Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam general secretary, Vaiko, called on the Karnataka Chief Minister Dharam Singh here on March 24 in a bid to secure the release of 300 Tamil prisoners, many of them under trials from various prisons in Karnataka. They include Tamil activists K. Nedunchezian and Gunaseelan alias Guna who are in the Bangalore central Jail.

Vaiko told the media later that he had taken up the plight of the Tamils living in Karnataka for generations. Many of them were abused and attacked even if they spoke in Tamil in buses. In many instances false cases were foisted on the Tamils now in jail and there was a need to investigate and drop such cases. ■

this mass genocide. They have only projected in the media that by this Amendment Bill dual citizenship is granted to people of Indian origin but no where they are saying that the Bill is basically against the Bengali refugees. ■

## Al Jazeera — US double-talk

### OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** We have received reports that America, which is forcing "democracy" on Muslim countries and urging them to promote "free press", is itself forcing the owners of the world famous Al-Jazeera to sell off the Arab satellite channel.

It is owned by the Emirate of Qatar and has become the only source of news in the Arab world.

The West in general and US in particular hate Al-Jazeera because it is the only TV channel which brutally exposes the truths. In Iraq, it exposed US crimes wholesale and made the entire Arab masses hate George W. Bush and his gang of criminals.

The US love for "freedom of expression" and "democracy" stands exposed.

## Corrupt Brahmins ?

**New Delhi:** A former Delhi High Court Judge Shameet Mukherjee allegedly got 50 women and former DDA chairman Subhash Sharma 24 Kg of gold.

The chargesheet filed by the CBI in the DDA land scam case against Mukherjee, Sharma and three others says the former judge was provided 50 women for sexual gratification at different times in addition to regular supplies of liquor and a fully furnished private office.

(*Hindustan Times*, April 6, 2005).

*All the Hindu gods they manufactured, all their sacred scriptures and the godmen who mutter it as mantra promote only corruption. Their dictionary has no word called corruption. The Kanchei Shankarachari now released from the jail is the standing example of this. You read Hindu naziladeer Arun Shoulie's book **Hinduism, Essence & Consequences** for details on **vaidalik's corruption — EDITOR.***

# Driven by Evangelical Christians, US empire facing defeat

WILLIAM RIVERS PITT

There have been three stages of American empire since the creation of this nation. Each has fed the other, and each has been established and fortified by war. More importantly, each has been fortified by the vast profits derived by the few in the making of war. The first two stages did not collapse, so much as they were absorbed by the next iteration, carrying over all circumstances and attendant difficulties. We exist today within the third stage of empire, one that is sick at the core.

The first stage of this American empire began with the Mexican-American war. The boundaries of this first stage were limited to the 48 continental states, but did not long remain this way. By the time Woodrow Wilson assumed the presidency, the first stage had expanded to include Cuba, Guam, Puerto Rico and the Philippines.

## ECONOMY DEPENDENT ON WARS

The transition between the first and second stages began on April 2, 1917, when newly re-elected President Wilson reversed his campaign theme of staying out of the European conflict and asked Congress for a declaration of war against Germany. Previously, Americans had defined themselves in no small part by being separated from the troubles of the "Old World". When the doughboys shipped out, however, that line of demarcation was crossed.

Despite the eventual victory in Europe, the second stage took

many more years to flower and flourish. American armies and navies were essentially dismantled in the aftermath of the "War to end all wars" and the 1930s saw the near-collapse of the American economic system. The advent of and eventual victory in World War II not only cemented the second stage but resurrected and forever changed the fundamental underpinnings of the American economy. From that victory to now, the American economy has been based centrally on preparation for and fighting of wars.

## CREATION OF ISRAEL

By the end of World War-II, the influence of the US empire stretched throughout Europe to the borders of the new foe, the Soviet empire. Strongholds of the second stage could be likewise found in Africa, the Japanese mainland and many Pacific islands and with the creation of the state of Israel, the strategically vital Middle East.

The central reality of the second stage was the Cold War, a death struggle between two competing empires, waged across the width and breadth of the planet.

**The roots of the third stage were planned deep in this time. At home, the populace became accustomed to existing in a perpetual state of war. The establishment of the Truman Doctrine by men like Paul Nitze created the foundations for an enduring reality: Americans are most easily governed when they are made to fear the strangers "over there" across the horizon.**

The transition from the second to the third stage came slowly. Millions of Americans took to the streets to protest the large-scale death empire required. The Vietnam War ended with images of Americans fleeing from rooftops in helicopters. A president was required to resign his office or face removal and imprisonment.

## HOCKEY WIN OVER RUSSIA

A 1950s-era chess move in Iran resulted in the 1979 Islamic revolution and the daily humiliation of America by masked gunmen pointing rifles at blindfolded hostages.

It is difficult to pinpoint exactly when the third stage came into being, but a hockey game will surface as a marker. On Feb. 2, 1980, the American Olympic hockey team came from nowhere to defeat the unbeatable Soviet squad in Lake Placid. The subsequent eruption of nationalistic fervor, augmented by the American squads victory over Finland in the final round to capture the gold medal, led to an outpouring of public emotion that no sporting event had ever created.

## RISE OF EVANGELICALS

The central aspect of this third stage has been the rise of the movement conservative (MC). Not to be confused with the breed of conservative that included Nixon and Rockefeller, the "movement conservatives" held American nationalism and Evangelical Christianity as a dual-headed state

religion. Ronald Reagan, the first president of this third stage, was the avatar of these MC who first began to become an organized entity in American politics during the campaign of Barry Goldwater. Reagan was their perfect man: confident to a fault, dedicated to the enrichment of the wealthy corporate class while deconstructing Roosevelt's social safety net by any means necessary.

MC, funded by this combine, pushed for the deregulation by government of business in every aspect of commerce, none more pointedly than within the media.

Over the course of this third stage, that combine purchased 99% of the news media, ensuring that an uninterrupted commercial advocating for empire would be broadcast 24 hours a day, seven day a week, 365 days a year. Competing messages were all but shut out.

When the Berlin Wall finally fell, when the Soviet empire finally imploded, the banner for this third stage was unfurled for all to see. For the first time in history since the apex of Roman rule, one nation

and one government and one military ruled supreme over the known world. The MC having lost communism as the main target for their energies and ire, turned inward and laid siege to their fellow citizens. The ultimate goal of this was to purge from debate and consideration anyone who did not approve of empire and anyone who did not fit the Christian Reconstructionist mold they wished to build American society around.

#### **EMPIRE COLLAPSING**

The rise of George W. Bush, leader of the Evangelical/political wing of American Christianity since 1996, to the office of the president has been the fulfillment of the dreams of MC. Sept. 11 cemented their ascendancy. Now, permanent war and rule by fear are accepted without question. Now, the news media owned by the combine opens the public dialogue to these radicals while painting them as moderate, rational Americans. Now, the dominance of the military/industrial/petroleum combine is unquestioned. Now, the idea that America is engaged in a holy war has been widely disseminated.

The extremism that always comes when one overwhelming force spreads its wings has passed the point of management, and has itself become both organized and well funded.

It seems all too clear that this third American empire is threatening to collapse under its own ponderous weight. The MC cannot contain the forces that have been unleashed against them. The American military is proving itself to be incapable of sustaining the unreasonable demands being placed upon it. The ghosts from the second empire loom large, in Europe and Africa and the Middle East and Central Asia. The American economy, sustained for 60 years by petroleum and war, stands at grave risk of being subsumed by both.

Perhaps, someday, a powerful society will rise that understands the lessons of history. Empires fall, always. They consume themselves, slowly at first, but then with ever-increasing speed as military solutions fail to resolve threats and drain the resources of the core. Perhaps, someday.

([http://www.truthout.org/docs\\_2005/030105Z.shtml](http://www.truthout.org/docs_2005/030105Z.shtml)) ■

**BOOK REVIEW**

## **How to save Muslims from Christian aggression?**

**YOGINDER SIKAND**

A key player in global politics today is the American Evangelical Christian lobby now well-ensconced in the corridors of power in the US. President George Bush is said to be an Evangelical Christian as are many of his advisors, and the Evangelicals now play a crucial role in shaping American domestic as well as external policies.

This fascinating book provides a broad picture of the history and politics of American Christian fundamentalism, focusing, in particular on its

implications for Muslim countries. It begins with a general introduction to the beliefs and variety of American Christian fundamentalist groups, tracing their emergence from the early years of the 20th century. Zakaulah sees this as in part a reaction to liberal trends in Christian thought and to the challenges posed by scientific thinking and the growing secularization of society. It was in addition a response to growing wave of immigration from non-Protestant and non-White countries. Late 19th and early 20th

century American Evangelists also saw themselves as a crusading against what they regarded as growing immorality and licentiousness. In the face of these challenges to their faith, they propagated an extremely literalist understanding of the Bible.

Till the 1960s, Zakaullah writes, the Evangelists stayed aloof from overt involvement in American politics, seeking to influence public opinion by establishing seminars, universities, publishing houses and radio and television stations. However, a chain of events soon forced them to change their tactics. Of particular importance in this regard was a series of judgements of the American courts, including those related to desegregation of schools, proscribing Christian instruction in state-funded schools and legalizing abortion and gay rights all of which the Evangelists were fiercely opposed to. As defenders of White privilege and American global hegemony, the Evangelists fervently supported the American government in its invasion of Vietnam, portraying American imperialism as Christian defence against godless communism. The time had now come, so the Evangelists came to believe to have their own man in the White House.

**Military theology:** Zakaullah traces the growing links between leading Christian fundamentalist leaders including such big-wigs as the televangelist Billy Graham, Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson, and the American political establishment. He shows how they managed to infiltrate into the top corridors of power despite the constitutional separation of religion and state and how they have now come to exercise a crucial if not dominant influence in decision making in the White House. He discusses the close nexus between leading Evangelists and American capitalists and large media houses today.

The implications of the rise of American Christian fundamentalism are truly frightening given the influence it commands in key sectors of American officialdom. American Christian fundamentalists are impelled by a militaristic theology rooted in the millenarian expectations of the Book of Revelations. Jesus they believe will soon be returning to the world, and his arrival will be accompanied by a global war between "true" Christians and "unbelievers".

**True Christians must devote themselves to spread Christianity for all other religions are false or**

**Satanic. Consequently American Evangelists are today fervent missionaries and are active in promoting their brand of Christianity all over the world including in many Muslim countries, often using aid as a bait and sometimes following in the footsteps of American soldiers, as in Iraq and Afghanistan.**

American Evangelists believe that Jesus is shortly to return to earth to establish his Kingdom in the course of which the Jews would gather in Palestine where Jesus would establish his capital.

**Support to Israel:** This explains the Evangelists' unstinting support to Israel and its brutal supercession

**THE CROSS & THE CRESENT**  
**(The Rise of American Evangelism & the Future of Muslims)**  
**Muhammad Arif Zakaullah**  
**2004**  
**ISBN: 983-9541-42-0**  
**The Other Press**  
**Kuala Lumpur**  
**(www.ibtbooks.com)**

of the Palestinians and their fervent backing of America's invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan and its war on terror. Islam and Muslims are described in lurid colours and branding it as irredeemably anti-Christian they have been fiercely backing America's imperialist misadventures that many Muslims rightly or wrongly see as directed against them. American imperialism is thus sought to be given a suitable "Christian" sanction and is presented as working to usher in Jesus' triumphant return to the world.

**The Evangelists pose a grave danger to global security particularly now since they are closely linked to top American leaders.**

The Evangelists, however, do not speak for all Americans, or for all Christians for that matter. He appeals for Muslim intellectuals to seek to dialogue with American, including Christian, leaders and activists to promote better understanding between Christians and Muslims so as to avoid the "Clash of civilizations" from turning into a self-fulfilling prophecy.

**CREATIVITY & IDENTITY IN DALIT LITERATURE**

Dr. P. Hannah Padma  
(Professor of English, Mysore University)

Says Telugu Dalit poetry is shaped by Ambedkarism and it is essentially anti-marxist because marxism, monopolised by the upper castes, has failed to inspire the Dalits and other "low castes".

Write to author at:  
P-2, University Qtrs., 2nd Cross  
Manasagangotri, Mysore - 570 006.

# Dalit Sikhs suffered as they did not know the Supreme Truth

GURNAM SINGH MUKTSAR

A large number of Dalits and Backward Sikhs, though divided on caste lines, are rushing towards *Deras* controlled by the upper castes. Radha Swami Dera, Nirankari Dera and Sacha Sand Dera are targeted at Sikh-populated areas. But Dalit and Backward Sikhs and also non-Sikhs are attracted to these centres.

The Sikh society is suddenly turning religious and getting attracted to Sikh religion. In villages, these people have built their own *gurdwaras* and *mandirs* where they worship the *Guru Granth* but each place of worship has its separate identity.

All over Punjab, like other Hindu villages, Dalits and other "low" castes have separate burials. In every village there are big *gurdwaras* largely controlled by the upper caste Sikhs but mainly served by low caste Sikhs on low wages. All historical and Shitromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee *gurdwaras* are controlled by the upper castes. Some Dalit-Backward Sikhs are posted to high religious posts only as they render very sincere and efficient service to their upper caste lords.

**No untouchability in Punjab:** But these *gurdwaras* are mere places of worship. They are not *dharma*sals to impart the real knowledge provided by Dalit Saints and gurus as stated in the *Guru Granth* itself. Sikh politicians, landlords, capitalists, traders are the custodians of these *gurdwaras*.

**No doubt, untouchability in Punjab has vanished but caste is strengthened. Because of the existence of caste system, the Sikhs are also called Hindu.**

**Sikhism Hinduised:** *Gurmat*, Sikh *Dharam*, Sikh socio-cultural revolution is dead. Socio-political power in the hands of landlords and traders decides everything. Punjab's Sikh society is beyond repair.

Under such a socio-religious setup the Dalit-Backwards have become helpless. They know the drift and the "slow death of Sikhism" but helpless to correct the trend.

**The upper caste Sikhs are one with the Hindu ruling class of the country. A Dalit intellectual or revolutionary Sikh has to fight against both the upper caste Sikhs and Hindu rulers who possess the state power and control the media.**

After the death of the great Sikh, Banda Singh Bahadur, Sikh religion and its real *marg* of human equality and love was captured by those classes who had regularly attacked and deceived the Sikh struggle. The people who created all problems for the *gurus* to finish Sikh revolutionary movement during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, over-powered Amritsar Darbar and Sikh

religion. They *hinduised* it and turned it into a caste-infested religion as stinking as Hinduism. During the 19th and 20th centuries, the Sikh religion has went totally into the hands of the upper castes (Hindu).

**Brahmins manipulated the upper caste Sikh brains to say that the Sikh religion was founded by Guru Nanak.**

Brahminical people drew a deep dark line between upper caste *gurus* and Dalit saints like Sant Namdev, Kabir, Trilochan, Ravidass and Sain who could never gain any social respect equal to the *gurus* in Sikh society because of their Dalit origin. But we have found that all the *gurus* have written in the *Guru Granth* itself that these *sants*, *sadhus*, *bhagat*, *satgurus* are the founders of Sikh religion. Sikhism was founded by Dalit saints to fight and destroy the system of hate of high and low. Hundreds *shabads* are written on this supreme Truth. But the problem is our own people do not know this Supreme Truth.

Only if and when the Dalit-Backward Sikhs and other "degraded" people of India understand and accept this Supreme Truth of Sikh struggle, the first and the basic phase of social revolution can be launched. This supreme truth is based on the explanations of Guru Nanak and other *gurus* who in the entire *Guru Granth* courageously and openly praise the Dalit saints on the real path makers. All the *gurus* propagated this truth and Guru Arjan shaped their thought as *Guru Granth*.

Only when this Supreme Truth comes into open and accepted by the Dalit-Backward Sikhs and other degraded masses only then the social revolution will start. The *Dalit Voice* duty is to make this Supreme Truth known and deliver the truth of revolutionary Sikh struggle. The ruling upper caste Sikhs will never, ever leak out this Supreme Truth, which threatens their position. Dalit-Backwards alone have to expose this supreme Truth.

The first internal revolution will begin when our own people come to know the supreme Truth and accept it. Its follow-up action is the outer revolution. If we go on bothering about other's beliefs and opinion we shall not be able to convey the Supreme truth to launch the internal socio-religion revolution. The Dalit-Backward Sikhs have to follow this Supreme Truth about Dalit saints if not the existing controllers of Sikhism will carry on with their rulership. They can't be blamed for our failure to know the Supreme Truth. The Bible says "Know the Truth and the Truth shall make you free". We are not free today because we do not know the Supreme Truth — that it is the Dalit saints who founded Sikhism. ■

Why Tamil Brahmins are a class apart ?

**WHO IS A BRAHMIN**

Gilles Chuyen

The micro-minority Tamil Nadu Brahmin is a peculiar creature, unlike his *jajwala* in the rest of India, suffering from an imaginary fear because of a feeling of total isolation from the rest of his community. Except losing political power because of Periyar's aggressive anti-Brahmin movement, the Brahmin in TN continues to be the leader of thought and action. Lately they have managed to instal a Brahmin as chief minister. Yet why they feel persecuted ?

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**GANDHI & AMBEDKAR ON  
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D.S. Anand

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