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DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities Denied Human Rights

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LAMBS MEET UPPER CASTE WOLVES

"Summit of the Powerless" predicts disaster

Muslims crushed under Hindu Rashtra

No peace with China till Dalai Lama ousted

Dalits lose trust in Hindu rulers :

THUS SPAKE AMBEDKAR

Thus Spake Ambedkar

Dalits lose trust in Hindu rulers

We have trusted Government long enough

We have trusted the Government long enough to remove "Untouchability". But it has not lifted its finger to do anything in the matter and it has no right to ask us to stop. We must take the burden on our shoulders and do what we can to free ourselves from this course at any cost. If the Government does not help us, it must not at least hamper our just cause. It is no use telling us that we must not create ill-feeling between different classes and communities. This appeal by Government should be addressed to all the communities and not to us alone. It should specially be addressed to those communities who are in the wrong and who are sinning in the matter.

"My people don't need me"

You may publish a translation of this in handbills and broadcast them among our people. I have been reading the telegrams regarding the struggle at Mukhed between our people and the castemen. I am glad to find that our people are prepared at all costs to carry on the fight to a success. I congratulate them on their splendid resolve. I see that you are starting *Satyagraha* on the 5th November. I hope you have made the best preparation. I am sorry. I am not there to help you. But I know that our people are now alive to their problem and that they do not need me every time — AP".

The situation prevailing in Nasik during the *Satyagraha* was reported in the *Times of India* as follows: Editors.

"No Right to bathe in the Sacred Kunds,

Nasik enduring decision against Untouchables.

(From our correspondent)

Nasik, June 6, 1932.

"On the whole I believe that Untouchables have neither the right to approach the four *kunds* (bathing pools) nor to bathe in them. Therefore, under Section 147(3) of the Cr.P.Code, I hereby prohibit all Mahars, Mangs, Chamars, Dheds, Bhangis and other Untouchables from exercising their alleged right of proceeding to and bathing in Lakshmana, Dhanushya, Ram and Sita *kunds*, until they obtain from a Civil Court an order entitling them to bathe there". Thus observes Mr. L.N. Brown, District Magistrate of Nasik in the order passed today in connection with the inquiry instituted into the dispute between the *Sanatanists* and Untouchables in which the latter claim the right to proceed to and bathe in the Sacred *kunds*.

Dealing with the question of Irish Bridge Sandhwa located near the Ram *kund*, the Magistrate says that it appeared that this Sandhwa is used by the pilgrims doing the *Pradakshina* (a religious ceremony) or the sacred *kunds*. Its use as a thoroughfare is secondary. It is, I think, a fair education from the evidence that respectably dressed Christians and Mahomedans have been allowed to cross the Sandhwa. But this evidence is not strictly relevant to the present case which is concerned with the rights of Untouchable Hindus. It has not been proved that Hindu Untouchables have any right to use this Sandhwa.

When the Temple Entry *Satyagraha* was going on a move was forced to get the temple entry legalised by the Government. The background of the issue is as follows:

The temple entry movement in India received a setback when the courts of law held that entry in the temples by the Untouchables was illegal being against the established custom. Such judicial pronouncements turned out to be stumbling blocks in the ways of social reform undertaken by Mahatma Gandhi. Against this backdrop efforts were afoot to bring about legislation to overcome that barrier. Therefore, several Bills were intended to be introduced in the Central Legislature as well as the Provincial Legislatures. Of the Bills mentioned above, the most important were those of Dr. Subbaroyan's Temple-Entry Bill and Ranga Iyer's Untouchability Abolition Bill. ***(To be continued)***

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DALIT VOICE
The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities Denied Human Rights

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DV completes 25 years

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"Summit of the Powerless" warns of disaster ahead : Lambs meet upper caste wolves

A two-day "Summit of the Powerless" organised in Delhi by the English journal, *Tehelka* — which had exposed the horrible corruptions of the then Defence Minister George Fernandes— on Nov.20-21, 2006 was indeed a unique experiment because for the first time it brought the wolves and the lambs face to face.

Yes. Indeed the Summit was a fairly good success.

Because in a multi-national country like India where the upper caste wolves are a micro-minority (15%) but its victims (lambs) are the overwhelming majority (85%), such an experiment of bringing the two on one platform for confrontation is a super-human task.

Wolves eating lambs: The *Tehelka* did it and it has to be congratulated. Because in this country it has been always the rule of the wolves. It is one-way traffic here. No discussion, no debate allowed. Might is right. Brahminism always wins with its sole monopoly over media, manipulating public opinion, capturing every lever of power as the country is fast sliding from the Third World to the Fourth.

The country may be going to dogs but the Brahminical wolves are unperturbed. They are floating in the clouds of 9% GDP. Their criminal behaviour has the sanction of their *shastras*. This message came out loud and unanimous in every session of the two-day meet.

The outcome of the Summit be nil. The wolves will go on eating the lambs. That is its nature. The heartless upper caste wolves of India belong to a special category with an unending appetite for innocent lambs' flesh and blood.

However, the Summit did give a stern warning to the wolves that the majority lambs are today solidly united and the minority wolves have to go vegetarian and eat grass. Did not the beef-eating Brahmins of the Vedic-age become vegetarian under the onslaught of Budhism?

The *Tehelka* Summit might have been financed by big business houses like DLF builders of Delhi. Representatives of the lambs might have been small in number in the auditorium. Doesn't matter. Still the Summit did provide an opportunity to the poor, innocent lambs to meet the wolves, talk to them and warn them.That itself is a great achievement.

In this country wolves never, ever talk to the lambs. The beast will simply pounce on the poor animal and eat it raw. But will the Brahminical carnivorous wolves turn vegetarian?

Topics for the discussion including the explosive issues like the reservations, the North-East, farmers suicide, naxalite

movement, Kashmir bloodbath led to one conclusion that if the wolves refuse to turn vegetarian, the 800 and odd millions of lambs will simply pounce upon the beasts and crush them to death.

Reservations issue of the dozen subjects discussed in which we were the main speaker turned out be the most explosive.

DV warning proves right: What is very important from our angle is almost every prediction made in DV about the fast-spreading decay and degeneration of India was also repeated by the different representatives of the lambs. Even Brahminical Ggandhians like Anna Hazare, Swami Agnivesh, Aruna Roy, Prakash Amte and the NGO *natak* co. heroine, Medha Patkar, spoke of the country's fast deteriorating socio-economic conditions.

The only difference between the speeches of Gandhians and that of Dalit, tribal leaders was that the former went on shedding crocodile tears for the oppressed but the latter identified the real enemy oppressor and even named it: Brahminism.

Particularly shocking was the speech of the Maharashtrian Brahmin lady Medha Patkar, the darling of the Brahminical "national" toilet papers. Her speech was a devastating attack on the "state". But she would never say who controlled the "state" or the government. Under the caste-infected Indian conditions the state and the govt. are controlled by the 15% Brahminical upper castes (V.T. Rajshekar, *Who is Ruling India?*, DSA-1982).

Enemy never identified: How is it possible for the oppressed SC/ST/BCs and Muslims (who hear her rabble-rousing speech) to act if she does not name the people controlling the state and the govt.? Medha Patkar drew repeated cheers from the predominantly upper caste audience in the auditorium because her criticisms touched the guilty conscience of the "middle class' (a name used to hide the upper castes). Never would she identify or name the enemy.

If you don't identify and name the enemy-oppressor what is the use of all your lavish criticisms of the enemy? That is why Medha Patkar is so much loved by the enemy — Brahminical oppressors — because her speeches have the power to confuse her audience.

Yes. She makes her audience angry. But angry against whom? Unless she identifies the principal contradiction, what is the use of drawing cheers? Cheers for what? There are hundreds of such Medha Patkars in this country to mislead those willing to be mislead. Arundhati Roy is waiting to take over.

Why Muslim subject kept out: The *Tehelka* editor Tarun Tejpal and his powerful team did a good job on the whole but there was one big omission. The problem of the Muslims, who constitute about 20% of the population and form the worst victims of the Brahminical ruling class out to convert India into *Hindustan*, did not figure in the agenda. You can't say the country's most serious burning problem dubbing the Muslims as terrorists was forgotten. A "Summit of the Powerless" cannot be complete keeping the Muslims — the worst persecuted section of India — out. Was it because the venue of the Summit surrounded by a heavily Muslim populated area, would pose a problem? Many of our Muslim friends who attended the two-day meeting asked us why their subject was kept out. Will the *Tehelka* explain? ■

Editor's "final warning" to anti-reservation racists

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Editor V.T. Rajshekar's keynote speech at the "Summit of the Powerless", called by the *Tehelka* paper in Delhi, warning the Supreme Court received the loudest cheers from the packed Ansari auditorium of the Jamia Millia University on Nov.20, 2006.

Those present on the stage included the representatives of the Tatas, J.J. Irani, Confederation of Indian Industries (CII), Dalit leader Udit Raj, Yogendra Yadav.

Speech leads to clash: At the end of tension-packed session on "reservations", pro-reservationists (Dalits) and anti-reservationists (upper castes) clashed and almost came to blows. So much of heat was generated by the speech of the Editor. Many people came and congratulated the Editor and said the clash within the auditorium was an advance warning of the coming

bigger and the more violent clashes if the Editor's timely warning was not heeded.

The Editor said: "Reservation has to be understood as **representation** to the unrepresented destitutes of India. Remember, we don't belong to the "India Shining" society (*laughter*). We belong to the "India sinking" society (*cheers*).

Remember, when we sink, all of you, including the Supreme Court judges, will sink with us (*laughter*).

A mere 15% of the Brahminical upper castes ruling India constitute this "India shining society". They want to jump and fly leaving us —85% of the powerless — behind. But we will not allow them to fly.

Upper castes grounded: That is how the upper castes are today stuck (*laughter*). They want to fly but we are not allowing them to fly. They are grounded. (*more laughter*).

The parliamentary democracy has empowered us by giving one person one vote. That is how we the SC/ST/BCs and Muslim/Christian/Sikhs (85%) — the *Bahujan Samaj* — have became the country's overwhelming majority.

Do you know India is a democracy? Do you know that in a democracy the majority rule? And who are the majority? We the *Bahujans* (*loud cheers*). The future belongs to us.

The upper castes being a micro-minority (15%) have been made powerless (*laughter*).

Unelected judges: Having failed to defeat us through democratic means, these deeply-worried anti-social forces are seeking the help of the unelected judges (*more cheers*) of the Supreme Court who are all upper castes. In the whole of Supreme Court there is only one Dalit judge.

The Brahminical people are very worried that they are getting defeated at every step. That is why they have taken this last desperate step of going to the Supreme Court.

We want to warn the Supreme Court that it cannot come in the way of the smooth functioning of the constitution of India. Supreme Court can only interprete the constitution but it cannot make the constitution (*cheers*).

Supreme Court must also know that it is not supreme. The people are supreme (*loud cheers*).

Dalits may turn violent: We want to warn the upper caste rulers and their defenders in the judiciary not to test the patience of Dalits. So far the Dalits have been nonviolent. We have never taken recourse to violence — though for centuries we have been the victims of upper caste violence. But we can't say when we will lose our patience (*cheers*).

So please don't test our patience. We can't predict the future when our people will explode.

Representatives of the private sector and particularly the Tatas are here. We want to warn them also that if they fail to heed our warning and refuse to assure social justice, we will see that the private sector will not function (*loud cheers*).

Final warning: Our final warning to upper castes, their upper caste judges and the upper caste private sector is this: Don't try to destroy this democracy, this laboriously built parliamentary democracy by Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, the Father of India. In spite of the warning, if you try to destroy us and the democracy, we will try to destroy you (*cheers*).

Signs of India breaking: Remember, the total number of people who gained out of the reservation is not even 5% among the SC/STs who form 20% of our population. The Supreme Court wants to kill this **cream**. But it has no objection to the upper caste cream which is mis-ruling India. The ruling class not only wants to have the cake but eat it also.

We clearly see signs of India breaking up. If it does happen we are not to be blamed. Because we as the owners of this country and its original inhabitants love our land. It is the upper caste Aryan invaders who want to break this country (*cheers*). Because they are foreigners.

This is our final warning (*loud cheers*). ■

Muslims under *Hindu Rashtra*

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: The Rajinder Sachar Committee on India's Muslims, forming about 20% of the population, fully supports our oft-repeated complaint that the ruling upper castes have succeeded in converting India into *Hindu Rashtra* by totally crushing the Muslims.

Releasing data on the plight of Muslims, the 404-page report said the percentage of the community in govt. employment was mere 4.9% of the total 88,44,669 employees. The number of Muslims in security agencies was 3.2% 60,517 out of the total of 18,79,34 in CRPF, CISF, BSF, SSB and "other agencies", it said without specifying whether armed forces were included or not. (*Deccan Herald*, Dec.1, 2006).

They have also enslaved the Dalits and STs and BCs — total 65%. How can the Hindus proceed leaving us (85%) behind?

Why upper castes are all praise for Abdul Kalam as "a good man"?

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: President Abdul Kalam, the dark-looking, vegetarian Tamil bachelor who is never invited by any Muslim organisation anywhere in India, is called a "good man" by our Brahminical rulers. May be he is called good because he has been good to them.

We were all praise for Kalam when he was a scientist in the Defence dept. We then called him "India's only scientist". All other upper caste "scientists" had no achievement to their credit. Collectively they did lot of harm to the poor Kalam. Despite all the pinpricks, Kalam went up by his sheer "merit and efficiency" which no other Brahmin scientist possessed.

MEDIOCRITY GLORIFIED

We have not made any comment on him after he became the President of India. Because no.1, we had never heard him speaking face to face. No.2, out of respect for a Muslim.

But we have read lot of his speeches which made no sense. We asked many people their opinion. They gave the same opinion.

Mediocrity is always glorified in this vast intellectual desert called India.

For the first time we heard him at the *Tehelka* "Summit of the Powerless" which he inaugurated in Delhi on Nov.20, 2006. As usual the speech made no sense to us or any comrades with us.

HELPED FIGHT PAKISTAN ?

His days as scientist (he was no doubt brilliant) was fully exploited by the upper castes to manufacture rockets in which he was an expert. Do rockets feed India's hungry millions? If not why was he praised and paraded by the fellow scientists, all from the upper castes? Because rockets helped threaten the enemy. Who is India's enemy? Of course, Pakistan which is a Muslim country. Did Muslim Kalam help fight Muslims? Was he praised for this?

In other words the hungry millions did not get any relief from Kalam's scientific experiments. He catered to the interests of the Brahminical rulers who considered Pakistan (read Muslim) as their enemy.

In his speech at the Tehelka function he praised the cock and bull story called the *Ramayana* (Read Dr. Ambedkar's book, *Riddle of Rama & Krishna*, DSA-1995) and the Tamil Brahmin religious leader Ramanujacharya. These are music to Brahminical ears.

WHY ALL HIS GRAND "PLANS" IGNORED ?

Kalam as the President had visited several places and delivered scores of speeches presenting his grand "plans to reduce poverty in 10 years". The upper castes cheered him but did not implement a single "plan".

Why his "plans" always fell on deaf ears? Because these were all economic in content while the over 85% of India suffered from a disease that was essentially social and cultural in content. That is why Kalam was simply ignored. His most publicised plan was the "*pura* project". Did anybody implement his project? We have no information.

Brahmins praised him but silently laughed at him. They are not bloody fools to select him as President unless they have made it sure that he would serve their interests.

Prime Minister Vajpayee heading the sworn anti-Muslim party of BJP, wanted an obedient, harmless Muslim as head of state to decorate the Rashtrapati Bhavan.

PRAISE FOR GANDHI KILLERS

How big a simpleton he is could be made out from his profuse praise for a top RSS terrorist leader, Nanaji Deshmukh. He said he had visited Nanaji's project in MP and was much impressed by the socio-cultural changes it brought about.

How could the RSS be interested in socio-cultural revolution? May be Nanaji's multi-million rupee experiment converting the MP tribals into good "Hindus" — meaning slaves — impressed him. RSS is doing such socio-cultual experiments in all tribal belts.

Nanaji is senior even to Vaidik Vajpayee. He resigned as Union Cabinet Minister to go into MP forest to continue his "socio-cultural experiment" of enslaving the tribals.

How selfless and dedicated he must be. RSS has hundreds of such leaders and workers.

Kalam has praise for such a work. That means even such a brilliant scientist can be taken for a ride by the Brahminical people.

As he was going out after his speech, we caught hold his hand and questioned his praise of a Hindu terrorist leader.

His answer was: "What if he is an RSS man? He is doing a good work".

We said: RSS killed Gandhi whom you praised many times in your speech". He simply walked away without answering.

Brahminical India gets the President it deserves and the Prime Minister it deserves.

No peace with China until Dalai Lama is kicked out

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: The Dalai Lama is becoming a liability to India. And more so to the country's Dalits, its single largest segment who embraced Budhism at the instance of their saviour, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar. But this "Living Budha", as he is called, is proving himself to be the enemy of Budhism.

In DV, we have been from the very beginning criticising the 71-year-old head of the exiled Tibetan administration which no power on earth recognises but the Govt. of India, controlled by its micro-minority Brahminical rulers who are pampering the Dalai Lama just to hurt our great neighbour China. During the Chinese President Hu Jintao visit, his Tibetan Budhists created so much of problem. Tibetans are misusing India's generosity and brought a very bad name by their violent demonstrations against the visiting dignitary on Nov.20 and 21, 2006.

Ambedkarites hate Dalai Lama: What type of a "Living Budha" he is when he is not ready to support the Budhist claim for the 1,500-year-old Mahabodhi temple at Bodh Gaya which is still under the control of Brahmins who were responsible for destroying Budhism in India about 3,000 years ago? This Dalai Lama has not only refused to support the Budhists' rightful demand but actually he is supporting the Brahminical terrorist parties who are the enemies of Budhists.

That is why the Ambedkarite Budhists in India hate Dalai Lama who once seriously offended the followers of Dr. Ambedkar by saying in Bangalore that "Dr. Ambedkar's Budhism is no Budhism".

Earlier this fellow is kicked out of India better it will be for the country. Right from 1959 Dalai Lama is allowed to run his govt. in India with its headquarters in Dharmashala, Himachal Pradesh, where his followers have become a big nuisance to the local population. China has more than once asked India to kick out the Dalai Lama but the Brahminical rulers of India are refusing thereby offending China and causing serious injury to India-China relationship. India-China Friendship Association must formally ask the Govt. of India to throw him out of the country.

Tibetan fat cats: That Tibet is an autonomous region of China is historically established. Why then we should keep this liability of feeding thousands and thousands of his overfed Tibetan fat cats — a menace to the Indians who continue to be poor and starving?

Dalai Lama is an American agent and hence the enemy of India. But China knows this fellow is a humbug. As long as he is allowed to remain in India, we can never have cordial relations with China.

During the recent visit of Chinese President, the Dalai Lama's followers created lot of problem to the Indian Govt. There are also suspicions that the Tibetan violence was deliberately encouraged by the hate-mongering Brahminical rulers to retaliate Chinese Govt. statement on the eve of Hu's visit that Arunachal was part of India. At two or three places the Tibtans crashed into high security areas where Hu was present bringing anxious moments to Chinese visitors. Even when the Chinese Prime Minister came to Bangalore last year the Tibetans created a big rumpus for which the Govt. of India had to finally apologise.

Hu's visit to India was not so successful as it was when he went from here to Pakistan. Because the Pakistan's Muslim rulers were more honest with China unlike India's Brahminical rulers.

Boasting Brahmins: China has always maintained that Arunachal, a state covering 84,000 square kms, to be part of China. Ever since the 1962 India-China border war, a big chunk of Arunachal had remained with China. The Indian Govt. has been repeatedly telling it is an "inalienable and undisputed" part of India even while allowing the area to remain with China.

The Brahminical rulers, if they have the guts, must get this land back from China instead of simply boasting but at the same time allowing the land to remain with China.

That the Indian ruling class, which has become tail of America, is not interested in a patch-up with China is clear. It does not know that India stands to lose by encouraging Dalai lama and not settling its border dispute with China.

The Indian rulers say that if the solution is the disputed land in the eastern end of the border stays with India and with China in the West that would mean India accepting defeat in the 1962 war with China. If this is not acceptable to Indian rulers are they capable of recovering Arunachal? Are the people of Arunachal

and other North-Eastern Mongoloid residents happy with India?

The Chinese side raised the issue of the Indian Govt,. spurning China investment. The Chinese investors are put to lot of inconveniences while investors from West are given royal treatment.

The whole problem is wih India's micro-minority rulers but the people of India want to be friendly with China. The rulers heart goes with the White Western people particularly the Americans. ■

DV April 1, 2006 p. 6: "US wants to use India against China".

DV Nov.1, 1999 p.7: "China must study India's social conditions & strike right alliances".

DV July 16, 1999 p.11: "Chou Enlai predicted Nehru bid to establish a great Brahminical empire in India".

DV Edit Oct.1, 1985: "Who Faked the boundary document: It is time to patch up with China".

DV June 16, 1981: "Friendship with China". ■

Jewsh den in Himachal ?

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Even as Dharmashala in Himachal Pradesh is proving to be a thorn in the neck of India with its Tibetan govt. in exile established by Dalai Lama, yet another dangerous species (Jews) are swarming into the Himalayan state, according to an article by Asit Jolly in the *Asian Age* (Nov.19, 2006).

> A thriving Jewish quarter has emerged in the adjoining Kulu and Manali valleys in the Himalayas, known as much for their salubrious climate and snow-capped peaks as for the quality of hashish available there. Over the past 15 years, these overcrowded but still picturesque resorts on the Beas river have emerged as the new "promised land" to which thousands of Jews annually migrate for extended periods for an uninterrupted fest of drugs, rock n roll and karmic cleansing. According to Himachal state officials, nearly two-thirds of estimated 90,000 foreign tourists that visit Old Manali, Vashishth, Kasol and Naggar each year, are young Israeli backpackers.

A tiny zionist state is in the making but the Brahminical rulers have simply ignored the drug-addicted Jewish tourists who have created so much of problem to the locals. ■

AP SC categorisation

New Delhi: The Centre on Nov.15 announced the setting up of a national commission on sub-categorisation of Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh. Constituted following the Supreme Court striking down the AP Scheduled Castes Act, 2000 pertaining to subcategorisation of SCs in the state, the commission will be headed by a retired Supreme Court judge. The AP Legislative Assembly had unanimously adopted a resolution on Dec.10, 2004 to recommend to the centre to take up the matter in Parliament. (*Hindu* Nov.16, 2006) ■

Orissa Govt. is racist

Bhubaneswar: Dalits in Orissa who for the time being deferred their plan to forcibly enter the Jagannath temple at Keraragad village in Orissa's Kendrapara dt. on Nov.26 have alleged that the Orissa Govt. is covertly supporting untouchability in the state.

Instead of facilitating the entry of Dalits into the temple, govt. officials are trying to dissuade them, said Sangram Mallik, president of Ambedkar-Lohia Bichar Manch, which is heading the Dalit protest against barring of Dalits from entering the temple. (*Asian Age* Nov.27, 2006) ■

S. America turns against USA

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: The whole of South America has turned against the USA and Hugo Chavez is emerging as the leader of the whole continent.

> **Quito (Ecuador):** Rafael Correa, a Leftist economist, who called for Ecuador to cut ties with international lenders, on Nov.28 won the presidency of this poor, politically unstable Andean nation, strengthening South America's tilt to the Left.
>
> Correa would join Left-leaning leaders in Bolivia, Brazil, Argentina, Chile and Venezuela, where he is friends with anti-US President Hugo Chavez. (*Hindu*, Nov.28, 2006). ■

THOUGHTS ON INDIAN MONGOLIANS

H.I. Kathar
of the Nagaland Civil Service

The Mongoloid races of North-East India do not belong to the Brahminical Social Order. That is why they have no caste system and feel so proud, brave and defiant. However, some Mongoloid people having lived in India for centuries came under the evil influence of Hinduism and developed the graded caste-like features. The imaginary "Hindu majority" has terrorised the Mongoloid races so much that some consider themselves inferior to Hindus. But they do not know the Mongoloid races (Mongolians) have been living in India even before the Aryan invasion. They are much more Indian than the Hindus.

The book tries to instill self-respect and courage into the broken hearts of North-East Mongolians.

2002 pp.70 Rs. 50

Write to author : c/o J.I. Kathar
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Naxalism will zoom if Brahmin Prachanda becomes president of Nepal

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Naxalite "movement", now renamed Maoist movement, is headed by the Brahminical upper castes. We have said this in DV umpteen times. (See the references on p.11)

Nobody is bothered about this very serious rising violent movement because the victims happened to be all our people whose lives have no value. It is only after the Khatri Sikh PM half-heartedly mentioned it in his "Independence Day" speech from Red Fort and linked it with "terrorism" (read Muslims) some people realised the gravity of the situation. Even then neither the govt. nor the ruling class bothered about naxalites even after the PM giving it the highest priority and called it the twin threats to India's security.

Upper caste apathy: Of course "terrorism" hits the front-pages but naxalism is hardly mentioned though about 170 of India's 602 districts of the country have become the "red corridor" running right from Nepal down to Karnataka through the heart of India.

Why this ruling class apathy? It is deliberate. The rulers of India are upper castes and they have chosen big cities as their heaven. Naxalites continue to be a rural phenomenon. That is why they are not bothered.

As against this, "terrorism" is an urban problem because Muslims are an urban community like the upper castes. That is why all the concentration on "terrorism" which has become a big business bringing huge economic as well as political benefits to the Hindus (upper castes).

Prachanda lionised: Besides, there is another reason for this studied silence of the rulers — rather their quiet consent to the growth of naxalism. This is because the top naxalite leaders are all their *jatwalas*.

The big build-up given to the Brahmin Prachanda, the temple-going Maoist chief of Nepal by our "national" toilet papers when he came to Delhi on Nov.18, 2006, proves our point. His announcement that he would like to be the head of Nepal govt. was greeted with wild cheers.

If the naxalites are a menace, and as serious as "national" problem as "terrorism", why this red carpet welcome to Prachanda and why this silence on the fast-growing naxalite menace?

The answer to this question is to be found in the double standards of the Brahminical rulers. Muslims belong to a religion that cuts at the very root of Brahminism, popularly known as Hinduism, whereas naxalism is nothing but the front paw of the resurgent "Socialist Brahmins", in the CPI-CPM etc. who are more dangerous than the "Sacred Brahmins" in the Hindu terrorist parties like RSS-BJP etc. We have said this in our signed article after visiting Chhattigarh, "*Naxalism gets complicated with RSS and big business infiltration*" (DV Oct.16, 2006).

Cause of naxalism: We have made a deep study of the rise of naxalism and discussed it with many naxalite leaders. Our conclusion is socio-cultural deprivation of the SC/ST/BC (65%) communities is breeding naxalism in villages. Brahminical leaders, who belong to the upper castes, are the oppressors of SC/ST/BCs and they take a pleasure in such an oppression. It is part of their Hindu duty fully sanctioned by their violent religion. The cold blooded Khairlanji massacre of Dalits (DV Dec.1, 2006 p.7: "Kunbis massacre Dalit family") is the latest proof.

The ruling class wants deprivation of the "lower castes" to continue and that means they are indirectly promoting the growth of naxalism.

Ganesh Ueike, secretary of the West Bastar divisional committee of the Communist Party of India (Maoists), said this in an interview (*Economist*, Aug.19, 2006 p.28).

Naxalites glamourised: Dantewada dt. in Chhattisgarh, a tribal state ruled by the upper caste *Brahmana Jati Party* (DV Dec.1, 2006 p.22: "*Adivasi Chattisgarh State ruled by upper castes from outside*") makes this point clear. A big civil war is going on in the Dantewada dt. and adjoining areas. But the upper castes living in Raipur are making money out of this civil war. Several hundreds of tribals and policemen have been killed. So what?

Naxalism is a big boon to the rulers. They want it to spread. And it is silently spreading. Most of the Brahmins and other upper caste journalists are glamourising the naxalite leaders. When a Brahmin naxalite leader (Saket Rajan) was recently shot dead in Karnataka by the police, he was made a hero and a martyr. For over a month toilet papers were singing praise of him. Who said naxalites are a menace — though Prime Minister Manmohan Singh said they

have become a dangerous nation-wide force?

DV prediction: The police and journalists are all aware from where they get fire-arms, where they are located and their activities and movements. But there is an all-round conspiracy of silence.

And with Prachanda, displaying a prominent vermillion mark on his forehead, is poised to become President of Nepal, naxalism will get a big shot in the arm. And we will not be wrong in our earlier prediction that Brahminical counter-revolutionaries having failed to defeat the Bahujans via parliamentary democracy may do it through the naxalite route.

Naxalism is not a police problem. It is a socio-economic-cultural problem. As law and order is a state subject, naxalism cannot be tackled by the Govt. of India. The Centre may think that naxalites will not threaten its seat in Delhi but they are disturbing and destabilising the rising caste-based and tribal movements promoted by the growing roots of parliamentary democracy.

The Brahminical leadership of naxalite movement is killing these movements by shifting the attention of the oppressed SC/ST/BCs from caste to class — though in Hindu India there is nothing like a "class" ■

Upper caste rulers want naxal problem to continue

A CORRESPONDENT

Raipur: This refers to your signed article after your visit to Raipur to study the naxalite problem. (DV Oct.16, 2006 p.5: "*Naxalism gets complicated with RSS & big business infiltration*").

The truth is that the tribal people themselves rose up against the naxal menace and *Salwa Judum* (SJ) is a spontaneous people's movement against the naxal terror. Hence the need for this movement to grow to get rid of this menace. This movement has spread all over the area where there is naxal terror. The problem is all those upper castes in power in Chhattisgarh do not want to put an end to this naxal problem. The more there is naxalism the more members of the ruling class will enjoy the cake. Only the tribal people and lower police constabulary are suffering and will continue in future.

Naked bodies: When the tribal people are sparsely distributed (remain scattered) all over in jungle, the more they will be deprived of the basic needs of life. In the name of culture and civilization the tribals are being exploited. The upper castes want the Adivasis to continue with naked bodies and confined to the local brew-*sulfi, landa, paje, tari* etc. They like the Adivasis to continue their primitive life.

Naxals are the greatest enemy of the Adivasis. They no longer enjoy Adivasi support. That is why they become very barbaric and behave like beasts. Naxals however, enjoy the support of NGOs who are close to politicians. Lumpen elements in media support them. In fact the naxals are working for those who are in power and especially the ruling class. That is why wherever there is naxal problem that area will remain backward.

People would like to know as to how many politicians, NGOs and left-wing leaders have condemned atrocities on the tribal people. This proves the nexus between the upper castes and the naxalite leadership.

Mass murder: Whenever a mass murder is staged and the entire tribal population is annihilated by naxalites, politicians irrespective of their party affiliations come out with the typical explanations like security laps and intelligence failure.

Nothing has been done so far either by the previous govt. or by the present govt. for the tribal people. Lots of schemes and policies are floated for the tribals but it is all a source of corruption for the upper castes. Many tribals have died in Injanam and Ramkolas areas because of water-borne disease. No NGO, no leader, not even tribal leaders came forward to question as to why this has happened. It is only because they are tribal people. Don't they deserve our sympathy?

Everybody, media people, NGOs, political party leaders, social workers, is after the SJ movement, SPOs are criticised as if all sorts of atrocities are committed by them only. But none questions govt. leaders, political parties for neglecting the tribal areas. They all think that tribal leaders are first-rate idiot, cowards. The truth is nobody wants the tribal people to see the light of civilization.

Role of Tatas and Essar: It is true that the violence has increased. It is only because the tribal youths have awakened and realized that naxals are the real enemies of tribal people and there is no way-out except to get rid of them and therefore this SJ movement will continue till this naxal menace is over.

Reports said that 10% of the people of Dantewada

gathered to raise voice against *Salwa Judum*. This is not correct. The innocent tribal people were herded by the local *netas* in the name of free food and to get compensation for them. This was done to extort money from the Essar groups and the Tatas. This is done on and off by local leaders at the behest of naxal leaders. The whole thing is being done in the name of maintaining tribal culture and civilisation.

The rally was not called to put an end to SJ. Lately it has been projected like this. But facts remains that how to extort money from Essar groups and the Tata groups. SJ movement is not a failure but a great success. Those who are in power want to kill the SJ. Naxalism as an ideology is a failure. It is not going to improve the conditions of the poor people and especially the tribals. ■

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Confusion on "creamy layer" verdict

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: After the country-wide Dalit outburst against the Supreme Court's Oct.19, 2006 shocking "creamy layer" verdict, which upset the entire political leadership including those in the *Brahmana Jati Party* (BJP), it is now clarified that the verdict is not applicable to SC/ST. But can we believe this?

This clarification did not come from the court, which is the culprit, but from Attorney-General Milon Banerjee. So we don't know how far this "opinion" can be taken as the voice of the court which has proved itself to be all-out anti-SC/ST/BC and minorities to become the darling of the micro-minority upper castes.

The court did not say the "creamy layer" verdict would not apply to SC/ST. Whether it is a trick of the upper castes in the govt. to mislead us or confuse us is not known.

Gherao court not parliament: When our Editor met Dalit leader Udit Raj in Delhi at the "Summit of the Powerless" on Nov.20, he urged him to change his proposed Dec.3 gherao of Parliament house but direct it against the Supreme Court. Raj said he liked the suggestion.

Milon Banerjee clarification came in the *Times of India* on Nov.21 and in the *Hindu* on Nov.24. But there was no clarification from the Govt. of India or its any Minister — not to speak of the court.

In the light of these uncertainties leading to further confusion, we do not know the actual situation.

But knowing the total bias of the court in favour of the upper castes, SC/STs will be perfectly justified if they get ready to fight the "judicial terrorism" and the total govt. surrender. ■

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DV Aug.16, 2006 p.22: "Wanted national reservation act to save Backwards from racist judiciary".

DV May 1, 2006 p.25: "Justice: Brahminical style in India".

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DV July 1, 2005 p.25: "Courts blocking Backward Caste reservation in AP".

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DV Dec.1, 2004 p.5: "Amend Constitution to keep courts out of SC/ST quota". ■

Iran must not disappoint world : No compromise with USA

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: The war-monger George Bush, cut to size by the angry American electorate, at last decided to shift from fighting to talking. Good. After getting defeated everywhere in the zionist-driven war against Muslims, Bush has decided to change only the tactics but retain the overall anti-Muslim policy.

This is because the poor, unarmed Muslims humbled the world's mightiest sole super power.

History has its own designs to topple the tyrants.

Better to talk than fight. We agree. Muslims did not start the war. It is the zionist-controllers of USA and UK who forced them to fight and die in thousands.

But what is there to talk to Palestine, Iran, Iraq, Syria which are forced to fight for their very survival? It is America, on the direction of zionists — whose sole interest is to protect their homeland, Israel — which is attacking and killing the poor and innocent Muslims.

Iran must make bomb: Israel secretly developed the atom bomb long back but neither America nor its rubberstamp United Nations said a word against the Israeli crime. But they want to stop Iran from bomb-making? Why this partiality?

Iran cannot and should not abandon bomb-making as long as Israel goes on killing innocent Palestinians and commits aggression on neighbouring Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Egypt etc. This zionist nation is the world's most untrustworthy country. Is America interested only in Israel, the perpetrator of the world's longest lasting humanitarian disaster in Palestine, or world peace?

Leader of Muslim world: If the US is genuinely interested in world peace and the well-being of its innocent American citizens then it must rather cut the tail of zionist Israel and ask it to behave with Palestine. But the problem with the American political leadership is it is totally enslaved to its zionist bosses at home.

No American President has the courage to box the ears of Israel. Those Presidents who did try like Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy etc. were themselves cut to size.

(James Petras, *The Power of Israel in the United States*, 2006, pp.200, Clarity Press, Photocopy available with DV)

As this is written America is getting ready for "talks" with Iran. What "talks" it can have with Iran which has vowed to go ahead with bomb-making and cause the destruction of zionist Israel? There are reports of America "bribing" Iran through trade talks.

Right now Iran is riding the waves and has become the darling of the entire Muslim world, if not the whole world. If Iran falls into the American temptations, Iran is sure to cause world-wide disappointment.

Fall of US begins: Iran should not compromise at any cost. Because the fall of America has begun and there are reports that the zionists themselves are preparing to jump off the sinking boat.

Every situation is favourable to Iran right now. The defeat of America in Iraq is the worst humiliation for the super power. The American "talks" may include Iran's help to save it in Iraq. Iran should not medle in Shia-Sunni differences and succumb to US temptations. It has to stand by the undivided Iraq and America's total exit.

Since the sole cause of Middle East war and violence is Palestine and its occupation by zionist Israel, Iran must seek the exit from all areas occupied by Israel. It must also fully support Hamas and ask USA and Europe to release the funds meant for the poverty-stricken Palestinians. Hamas is gaining popularity and the Israeli stooge President Mahmod Abbas is losing.

The rise of Iran as a nuclear and oil power in the Middle East and China in Eastern Asia has given hopes in the hearts of Africa, South America and India. Iran must use its rising influences to shift the oil markets from dollar to Euro. The rest of the things will automatically follow. ■

US bent upon bombing Iran

U. KHALID, USMANKHALID@LISAUK.COM

President George W. Bush could choose military action over diplomacy and bomb Iran's nuclear facilities next year. "I think he is going to do it," John Pike, director of Globalsecurity.org, a military issues think tank, told AFP."They are going to bomb WMD facilities next summer," he added, referring to nuclear facilities Iran says are for peaceful uses and Washington insists are really intended to make nuclear bombs, or weapons of mass destruction (WMD). "It would be a limited military action to destroy their WMD capabilities", added the analyst, believing a US military invasion of Iran is not on the table. ■

A racist Brahmin as director of AIIMS

New Delhi: When the then higher education secretary Sudeep Banerjee asked AIIMS director P. Venugopal in writing on Sept. 26 for a status report on the reported humiliation of Dalit and tribal students in the premier medical college, he did not reply at all. When the govt. appointed a 3-member committee under UGC chairman Sukha Dev Thorat on Sept. 13 to probe untouchability in AIIMS, Venugopal did not allow the panel to put up notices on the campus inviting aggrieved persons to come forward with evidence. These startling disclosures are contained in the minutes of the last meeting of the AIIMS institute body, which took place on Oct. 18. TOI obtained a copy of the minutes as well as the questionnaire that was served on Venugopal subsequent to the institute body meeting presided over by health minister Anbumani Ramadoss and attended by 15 other members, including Venugopal. According to the minutes, vice-chancellor of Delhi University Deepak Paintal, while voicing his concern over the discriminatory action against SC/ST students in AIIMS, said that "any such action in any institution cannot be tolerated." Congress MP Karan Singh Yadav, who is himself a cardio thoracic surgeon, alleged that AIIMS had become a "hub for anti-reservation activists" as the division of staff and students on the basis of caste in AIIMS had "never reached these levels." (*Times of India*, Nov.14, 2006)

Venugopal is a cantankerous racist Brahmin from Tamil Nadu. Such people cannot be tackled by passing resolutions and through govt. procedures as the country's Brahminical judiciary, media and the govt. are all there to protect them. The racists are afraid of only direct action — EDITOR.

Brahmins kill Dalit to promote Hinduism

S.C. MUSAFIR, NIC CO. LTD.,PALAMPUR, KANGRA DT. - 176 601

Narmedh Yagya (human sacrifice), called *Bhoonda Mahayagya* in the local language continues in Himachal Pradesh. And a person from the Beira caste (Dalit) is always selected by the Brahmin priests of the temple. On Dec.25, 2005, a Dalit was killed in the name of "nonviolent" Hinduism in the Shimla district at Rorhu, the constituency of Chief Minister Virbhadra Singh. India's Brahminical media has given lot of publicity to this heinous crime saying it is a religious celebration as part of their Hindu tradition and culture. All the three TV channels (Star News, Aaj Tak and Zee News) had glorified this heinous crime by live coverage. The Chef Minister was the chief guest.

Virbhadra Singh is said to belong to a royal family, son of Raja Padhma. *Dalit Voice* was the only paper which covered last year's human sacrifice in detail but the Gandhian *ahimsa* lovers did not bother about killing a Dalit in the name of their religion. ■

India Shining

Country of illiterates

New Delhi: Forty per cent of children in the 6-14 age group remained out of school even after four years of the Sarva Siksha Abhiyan (SSA) and despite a whopping expenditure of Rs. 11,133.57 crore. A performance audit of the SSA by the Comptrollr and Auditor-General of the India for the year ending March 2005 has concluded that the programme could "achieve only partially the target set". The scheme was launched to enrol all out-of-school children in schools and start education guarantee centres, alternate schools and back-to-school camps by 2003. However, it was extended to March 2005. Still, 40% (1.36 crore) children remained out of school.

—(*Hindu*, Aug.20, 2006).

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Health neglected in India

Bangalore: Jeffery D. Sachs, Director of the Earth Institute and Professor of Health Policy and Management at Columbia University, said the Indian Govt. investment in health sector was just 1 per cent in the country. India is condemned to be a leader" on the twin issues of extreme poverty and environment degradation. These are its two big problems, noted economist Jeffrey D Sachs, adviser to the UN Secretary-General and director of Earth Institute, Columbia University. He said: extreme poverty can' be solved with economic growth due to little trickle down. It will require a role for public sector taking along with it the private sector.

—(*Deccan Herald*, Aug.5, 2006).

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Science in India deteriorating

New Delhi: Prime Ministe's chief scientific advisor Dr. C.N.R. Rao says the health of Indian science is deteriorating while China is making rapid strides.Three decades ago, India used to contribute almost 10% global knowledge. But the share has come down to only 2.7% in 2006. Govt. spending on higher education has gone down to 1.3% of GDP in 2005-06 from 1.58% in 1990-91. While India spnds 0.78% of its GDP on R&D, China spends almost double the amount.

—(*Deccan Herald*, Nov.19, 2006)

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Farmers in distress

The Maharashtra Govt.'s findings now show us that over 75% of all farm households in Vidarbha are in distress. The data also show that farm suicides were 25 times higher this year than in 2001. But conscius jugglery works to play down the numbers.

— (*Hindu*, Nov.22, 2006)

Letters to Editor

Vincnt Edgecombe, PO Box-38085, Detroit, 482 38, USA: I am writing to support the Dalits. I was made aware of your struggle thru Runoko Rashidi. I would like to be kept informed of the movements that has and will be affecting the Black Untouchables in India. Much peace, much light. My hope is to visit you and the Dalit pople of India. Send literature and any other useful data to me. I will share it with others who support the Dalit people. (vstang2@aol.com).

Shelby Williams Jr., 309 - West End Ave. Lafayette, LA 70501, USA: I got your email address from Brother Runoko Rashidi. I heard you on a TV show with Dr. Hesham Tillawi. I called in and asked you a question about Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. I would like to extend my deepest respect. I have your book, *Dalit — The Black Untouchables of India*. I have lots of other books by Dr. Ambedkar as well. Here are the books that I have on the subject of Untouchables: *What Congress & Gandhi Have done to the Untouchables, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar; History of Hindu Imperialism*, Swami Dharma Theertha; *Untouchable : Dalits in Modern India*, edited by S.M. Michael; *Untouchability*, M.K. Gandhi; *Clash of Two Values: Mahatma Gandhi & Babasaheb*, V.T. Rajshekar; *Annihilation of Caste*, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar; *Dalit - The Black Untouchables of India*, V.T. Rajshekar; *Sergeant-Major M.K. Gandhi*, Dr. Velu Annamalai; *Why Godse Killed Gandhi?* V.T. Rajshekar. Is there any other books and or lectures that you could recommend to me and where I could purchase them from. Long live the spirit of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. Do you have any audio or video lectures by Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. He is one of my heroes. I really admire him. I talked with Runoko Rashidi a few days ago and I am working on getting him to come to speak in Lafayette. I have been a computer engineer at the University of Louisiana at Lafayette for about 10 years. I am also a graduate student in computer science at the Centre for Advance Computer Science (CACS) at UL Lafayette. I study African History everyday. I study scholars like Dr. Ben, Dr. Clarke, Dr. Diop, Dr. John G. Jackson and many others. I want to join the *Dalit Voice* family. I have read about how your passport was taken away the Indian Govt. (sxw8045@ louisiana. edu)

Dr. Awatar Singh Sekhon, Box-60246, University of Alberta Postal Outlet, Edmonton, AB T6G 2S5, Canada: The Council of Khalistan's annual convention was held in Philadelphia from Oct.6 to 8. It was very successful. Delegates came from around the country and Canada to support the cause of a sovereign, independent Khalistan. Khalistan is the Sikh homeland that declared its independence from India on Oct.7, 1987. Delegates listened to several speakers, discussed strategies for liberating Khalistan and passed resolutions. They denounced the law in India that anyone can buy land in Punjab but Sikhs cannot buy land in Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttaranchal Pradesh. They demanded the release of 52,268 political prisoners illegally held by the Indian Govt. Dr. Gurmit Singh Aulakh, president of the Council of Khalistan which leads the peaceful, democratic, nonviolent movement to liberate Khalistan thanked Dr. Bakhshsh Singh Sandhu, who did an excellent job as convention president. Dr. Awatar Singh Sekhon, Manmohan Singh Randhawa, Harjinder Singh, Ajit Singh Pannu, Dr. Ranbir Singh Bhalla, Dr. Anahat Kaur Sandhu, Hardev Singh Bandesha, Charan Singh Kalsi, Jas Paul Singh, Man Paul Singh, Karaj Singh, Dharam Singh, the Gurdwara secretary, Mrs. Harjinder Singh participated. Kuldip Singh Makker was appointed to assist the Khalistan president.

Usman Khalid, 3 - Blacklands Drive, Hayes, Mddx, UB4 8EU, UK: This refers to your Editorial, "*Flight of Jewish capital to India* (DV Dec.1, 2006). It is a timely warning of things to come. The initial effects of massive flow of capital into India might be good but it would make India — despite its size — a virtual colony of Jewish-controlled banking system of America. You are quite right in saying that the attraction of India to the US is its dominant position controlling trade routes through the Indian Ocean. Once again the world would see the heartland led by China and the rimlands led by the USA competing. But the battlefield would not be Europe it would be the Middle East and the Far East with the Indian Ocean as the link ocean. India could have avoided being involved and saved itself from the fallout of the war and competition. But America is sure it can win if India is on its side. But with India joining, the focus of the competition would be the link — the Indian Ocean — more than the regions it links. But in era of ICBMs, oceans are neither barriers nor links, they are merely springboards. India's strategic importance may well turn out to exaggerated.

Robert de Kruyff, Jalan Flamboyan 1, Kelurahan Lasiana, PO Box 60, Kupang, Nusa Tenggara Timur (NTT), Indonesia 95111: I have been in the Indian country side to look at some of the irrigation systems and farming communities that the ADB project I am managing does make sense. I am not so sure and I have been fighting with the ADB and the Chattisgarh

Govt. to be more realistic and practical. Just spending a lot of money to fix up some dams and canals without the full involvement of the farmers does not make sense. They claim that is what the project is about but given the resources and expectations it seems to be somewhat far fetched. In any case we'll see what will happen now. They do not like to be critically reviewed. I have read your book, *Development Redefined* (DSA-2006) with great interest. The picture you painting is very disturbing. Although I understand what you are saying, I do lack enough understanding of the Indian society and its cultural context to appreciate all the important points you make. I therefore did some other reading (for example: http://countrystudies.us/india/ and http://www.sivanandadlshq.org/messages/caste.htm#solution) and that I hoped would have given me a fuller and more informed picture. It has not as there are many opponent views and solutions to the problem of what may be called "participatory development" and how to go about it. Of course, as you point out in your book, the SC/ST/BCs and Muslims etc. are deliberately marginalized and oppressed by the upper castes (Hindu rulers) but they are assumed by the same group to be of the same Hindu religion and this would in their eyes legitimize the total social disconnect in India. Look at the "matrimonial advertisements" in the newspapers for example; I have never seen anything like. This has nothing to do with human relationships, rather it is more like a cattle market. Another interesting and disturbing point you raised is the exclusion of the SC/ST/BCs in the national census. I presume this implies that they, therefore, cannot fully participate in democratic elections? These people simply do not exist, they have been made to disappear at least on paper. The historical background of the caste system may have played an important role in the then society (albeit on religion grounds, *Rig Veda*, the sacred texts that date back to oral traditions of more than 3,000 years ago), it obviously has no place in today's modern society that India claims to be. I believe that not until all members of a society have equal respect for each other can this problem be solved. Of course, as your thesis implies, making sure that all segments of the society have an equal say in **their** development will go a long way. However, can you name any country where such respectfulness exists? I have lived and worked for the past 38 years in Nigeria, Jamaica, Ethiopia, Philippines, Indonesia, among others (I am a nomad). None of these countries have a caste system, they do however have class systems mainly based on ethnic/religious or political/money grounds. Each of these countries has been or is being wrecked often because of the spoils of development. Whether people there are more or less poor than they are in India does not really matter. They also are left on the sidelines; they are the result of development be it social or economic. Marginalization of certain segments of the population to deny them their identity (look at Indonesia: Malukus, Papua, East Timor, etc. had to conform to the Javanese cultural/political norms) is often is a favorite tactic as is being

Anti-national anthem ?

S. SINGHA CHOWDHURY, RAMAKRISHNA POLLY, PO: DANESH SK. LANE, HOWRAH - 711 109

Will any of your learned readers satisfy me on our national anthem written by Rabindra Nath Tagore? It is a fact on record by Tagore himself that he was approached by a high govt. official to compose a befitting paean in honour of George-V on the occasion of his visit to India on Dec.12, 1911 to commemorate his coronation as Emperor of India. The net outcome was *Jana-Gana-Mana* which was widely criticised in Bengal for its obvious pro-imperial strain in profusion, in the background of the poet's refusal to oblige Bipen Chandra Pal when the latter approached him to compose a song comprehending the country and goddess Durga in the same canvass. The composition reflected the composer's own soul and with it the soul of the country. The poet was sore, his reaction was sour, he was mortified to see that his countrymen could come so low to dismantle him with shower of insinuations. I have written to English and language dailies that the unmentioned official was Asutosh Chowdhury, a close relative of Tagore. None was published. Why Tagore did not specifically name the official? Was he over-balanced by a sense of delicacy to fall in silence? However, Prabodh Chandra Sen, ex Vice-Chancellor of Visva Bharati, in his monograph on national anthem said that the *Jana Gana Mana* was not sung at all in the Delhi Durbar. In its place a Hindi song was sung. My questions are:

1) If the revelation of Sen is true (a) which Hindi song and by whom *Jana Gana Mana* was replaced? (b) Who had sung the composition? (c) Why was Tagore's song withdrawn? (d) Where has the Hindi song gone? (e) Why was it hushed up? and (2) what does the imperial record say about it?

practiced by your upper castes. In the end it is all about poor and money probably in the name of religion to give it respectability. In your book you suggest that inclusive development (including the SC/ST/BCs etc.) are to be tried out in what you called the BIMARU states. You, however do not show how this is to be done in practical terms.

*As a foreigner it is very difficult for you to understand this world's most complex country. Even the highly educated (Hindu) Indians do not understand India. Hence your confusions are natural. You may say that in other parts of the world also what matters is power and money. But the difference between other countries and India is, here the war and violence against Dalits, Tribals, OBCs, Muslims, Christians etc. is sanctioned by the very scriptures and gods of Hindus. This is the difference. What we suggest is that our formula of taking "caste" as the basic unit of development may be given a trial in one or two taluks. If the experiment succeeds it may be then extended. If not it may be dropped and we are condemned. As it is the entire money poured into "development" has gone into the stomach of upper castes – **EDITOR.***

Pradip Sethi, Atharnala, Puri - 752 002: Getting a new member for DV is difficult because the language and the thoughts of DV are so powerful and straight that it is difficult to understand and digest for ordinary educated person. Secondly, the complacent attitude of our Dalit elites is preventing them to know what is happening around us. They are detached from their own roots. They expect quick benefits. This is the root of our problems. However, we are fully convinced of the DV objectives and are trying to propagate the unique theories of DV.

Sher Singh Bains, ex-IAS, Flat No.32, 247/1 - Minto Park, Alipore, Calcutta - 700 027: On Sept.3 last the process of forming a Dalit elite group, under the name of Dalit Mukti Morcha (DMM) comprising retired IAS/IPS/class-1, central or state civil service Dalit officers was launched. Every state unit will consist of officers staying within its territory and elect its own committee members for three years. Its main function is to compile data on Dalit think-tank for each district because DMM will contest each and every MP seat from the next parliamentary elections. The state committees will be free to contest MLA seat. We will always try to throw away the ruling junta of the upper castes. We have identified the Congress as the greatest enemy of the Dalits. Those interested may contact me.

Dalip Singh Wasan, Advocate, 101-C, Vikas Colony, Patiala - 147 003: If we have a look at the Sikhs, we come to the conclusion that the number of the Sikhs in India is very small (2.5%). But if we start counting their leaders and their outfits, we will be surprised to note that the number is on the higher side. Even during these hot days when some of them were fighting for the creation of *Khalistan*, so many people were trying to establish their leadership over the Sikhs. Everyone was claiming that he was the only leader of the Sikhs. But it is on record that all these units took their birth without having any nomination from the Sikh community. There is nothing on record that at any stage the Sikh community as a whole had authorised any one of them to lead and obtain *Khalistan*. Reports mention the names of Damdami Taksal, Babbar Khalsa International, Shromani Babbar Akali Dal, Shromani Babbar Vidyarthi Prishad, Akhand Keerthi Jatha, Akali Dal (Mann), Akali Dam (Pherooman), Akali Dal (Badal), Akali Dal (Longowal), All-India Sikh Students Federation (Manjit), Sikh Student Federation (Mehta Group), Panthik Committee (D. Sohan Singh), National Tigers of Khalista, Khalistan Liberation Army, Bhindranwala Tigers Force of Khalistan (Sangha group), Babbar Sikh Vidyarti Jathobandi, Khalistan Commondo Force, All-India Sikh Students Federation (Presidium group), All India Youth Akali Dal, Sikh Student Federation (Daljit Singh, Khalistan Commondo Force (Bikhi Group), Bhindrawala Tigers Froce of Khalistan (Chhina group) and Dasmesh Khalistan Commando Force. These were some names who were trying to lead the Sikh community. I could record these names. There were many others who were trying to establish their identity during these hot days. Even at the present there are many groups of Akali Dals who are trying to lead the Sikh community. That is the position even on the religious side. So many *sants* and *mahants* have established their own units called *Deras* and they have also formed a separate group *Sant samaj* in the Sikh community. It is on record that some *sants* are trying to establish their own sects and even some *granths* have been compiled by them and they claim that in the near future these *granths* shall be taking the place of *Guru Granth*. The so-called Sikh leaders are trying to have blessings of these *sants* and *mahants* and none is interested in abolishing or banning all these additional organisations. Rather some of the so-called leaders had been found visiting these so-called shrines to have their blessings and bring some votes for them. So the Sikh community, though small in number, is divided on the religious as well as on the

political fronts and that is the reason they are not getting due place at the national level. If they get opportunity to form a government in the state of Punjab, it is not because that group is more popular in the state and especially among the Sikhs but it is because the people want a change and they give an alternative and that too in turns. So if the Sikhs want to have a place in India, they shall have to join and that possibility is not in sight, at least in the present circumstances.

Dr. M. Abid ur Rehman, Clinic - Near Ganesh Medical, Chandar Biswa, Nandura tq., Buldana dt. - 443 401: The Srikrishna Commission investigated the Bombay anti-Muslim riots and accused many of the political leaders and many in the police force. Neither the Congress nor the Sena-BJP govts. did anything. The report is thrown to dustbin. But the Bombay bomb-blast case was quickly tried in a special TADA court and now the verdict is being delivered. About 70 of the 123 "accused" have been convicted. The irony is that the Bombay blast was staged in retaliation to the anti-Muslim riots. The investigation agency has said this. But those who committed the first crime are free while those who retaliated have been convicted. About 575 Muslims were killed in the riots but only 275 Hindus in bomb-blasts. The killers of the Muslims did not spend even an hour in the lock-up while the blast accused had spent years in the jail. This is the meaning of "Hindu justice".

Dr. K. Jamanadas, Shalimar, Main Road, Chandrapur - 442 402: About five years back one of my articles, "The rise and fall of Budhist nuns", was published in the *Journal of World Federation of Budhists* from Thailand. Some friends wanted me to elaborate the subject into a book. The result is this book, *Devadasis: Ancient to Modern*. As the subject matter comes under the broad category of "effects of fall of Budhism", in a way, it is the continuation of my first book, *Tirupati Balaji was a Buddhist Shrine* (1991), where I have shown for the first time that Tirumala, the famous Vaishnava shrine of South India, was a Budhist centre of the past and that it was taken over by Brahmins for Brahminic use during the general decline of Budhism and another one, *Decline and Fall of Buddhism - A tragedy in Ancient India* (2004), where I have discussed the effects — rather than the causes — of decline and fall of Budhism on the culture of India and in fact how all the present day ills of India are all due to this tragedy. This is not merely a story of how the women in Budhist era were elevated by the Budha and later degraded by Manu during Brahminic counter-revolution in the post-Ashokan period when his successor Emperor Bahidrath Maurya was treacherously assassinated by his Brahmin commander, Pushyamitra Shunga, around 185 BCE. It is the whole story of women during Vedic, Budhist, Brahminic and medieval periods, their woes and triumphs. In the Prologue, how the Brahminic scholars blame the Budhists for every ill found in Hindu society is explained. The women's problems are discussed with special reference to Women's Reservation Bill. Even in the 21st century, the relevance of women empowerment relates to fall of Budhism occurring about a thousand years earlier. Here is the importance of history to solve the problems of present day. It is being published by Gyan Publishing House.

Anil Rangari, Bharti Apartment, Gurunanak Nagar, Durg - 491 001: The Editor has given us courage and inspiration through his writings saying:

> (1) Those who care for justice and truth must also fight for it and die for it. Silent spectators are also culprits. (*DV Oct.1, 2006 p.6*).
>
> (2) The aggrieved people have to take direct action and their problem will be solved immediately... All those victims of upper caste persecution will get instant relief once they take to direct action. No need to approach anybody. If you are incapable of taking direct action then keep your mouth shut and suffer. (*DV Oct.1, 2006 p.16-17*).

But I have not understood the proper meaning when you wrote that "It will not be possible to fight Brahminism religiously" (DV Oct.1, 2006 p.16) in reply to the letter of N.S. Chellappa of TN. You are right. By practicing Hinduism nobody can fight Brahminism. But will not a religion antagonistic to Hinduism (Brahminism) help fight Brahminism? Babasaheb Ambedkar said:

> Budhist doctrines and principles **if understood and practiced properly**, they alone are capable and effective to change the established order of injustice, tyranny and inequality.

Religion is one of the centres of power. In Maharashtra, 42 castes embraced Budhism in Oct.2006. In Orissa, MP and Chhattisgarh thousands of people of different castes embraced Budhism. Mass conversion to Budhism will help fight Brahminism.

> *If such a brilliant intellectual like Brother Anil Rangari, after studying our literature for so long, gets doubts then what about ordinary souls? Yes. What Dr. Ambedkar said was right. But after quitting Hinduism in disgust you have to go into another religion which should serve as an anti-*

dote. Budhism that Babasaheb recommended, outlined in his book, ***Buddha & His Dhamma,*** *was a real antidote. Babasaheb's Budhism* ***if understood and practised properly*** *would have helped us fight Brahminism (Hinduism). But are the "thousands" of people quitting Hinduism going over to Babasaheb's Budhism? Budhism as propagated today is heavily infiltrated by Brahmins and their agents. Vegetarianism, idol worship,* ***mangal sutra*** *to enslave woman, meditation and all sorts of Hindu nonsense are all introduced to kill Babasaheb's Budhism. Quite a number of our own people have become slaves of Dalai Lama, S.N. Goenka, and all sorts of enemies of Budhism — totally forgetting Babasaheb's Budhism. How can such a toothless Budhism, which is nothing but Hinduism with another name, fight Brahminism? That is why conversion to Budhism never invites Hindu anger — unlike conversion to Christianity or Islam. If you want to fight Hinduism* ***religiously*** *you have to take to Babasaheb's Budhism which is nowhere found in its pristine purity. This is the opinion of Surai Sasai. This is the meaning of what we said in reply to Brother Chellappa — EDITOR.*

Shamsul Arifin, M-91, Abul Fazal Enclave, Jamia Nagar, New Delhi 110 025: As per our expectation and prediction US imperialism has ultimately reached its last legs with its shameful defeat in Iraq and Afghanistan. I have been monitoring very interestingly and curiously the US-led wars in Iraq and Afghanistan since the time they have begun. Also my eye fell upon a lot of articles and news items on these wars that many intellectuals, well-read and well-informed people of the world have written and said. Many of them have compared these wars in Iraq and Afghanistan with the war in Vietnam. But I am sorry to say that result of these wars is going to be much more bitter and disastrous for the entire world and not only for US. Its outcome is going to be completely different to that of Vietnam. The Vietnam War was not a war of civilization, culture, religious faith and belief. Whereas, on the other hand, these wars are verily so. With the defeat of Iraqis and Afghans in these wars, Muslims would not have felt so sorry and not kept low profile as they will now feel cheerful, enthusiastic and have a boosted morale with the defeat of US and its allies. So now world should get ready either to surrender before a Taliban-like Islam or wage the bloodiest war of faith and civilization in the human history so far. My in-depth knowledge of Muslims and a fascinating experience about them reveal that Talibanism and hardline is undoubtedly somewhere hidden in every Muslim and of course their ideology is the most extreme one. Anyway, time has come now to see it and feel it. Let us watch the world whether they will fight or surrender. However, the most interesting development of all that is going to be seen in the Middle East Muslim countries, including Pakistan where all the Muslim rulers, Shahs, Sheikhs, Sultans, Emirs and Generals and of course the Shias are going to be the first target of this Talibanism and the most extreme ideology. But it will not end there. It is obviously going to impress and embrace the entire world. Even today this extreme ideology is the fastest mounting ideology of the world.

Shreenath Jena, Qtr No. 407, RRL Campus, Bhubaneswar - 751 013: The greatest contribution of Kanshi Ram (1934-2006) was he revived the dormant Dalit movement and extended it to OBCs and all the minorities by injecting the militancy of Bahujanism. The Ambedkar caravan had come to a standstill due to the "Poona Pact". After a long serious thought this Dalit Punjabi Sikh concluded that the caste consciousness and caste-consolidation are the only panacea for all the ills of this broken class. That is how he succeeded where Babasaheb failed in his life time. He created self-confidence among Bahujans. He spoiled the *Manuwadi* politics and promoted caste-based parties like RJD, SP, NCP which are now ruling the Centre and states. As a practical social scientist, he knew the caste, the bane of India and how everything in India is decided by caste. Like our Editor, he used the caste trumpcard and won.

Ujwal Rabidas, (Research Scholar, Centre for Latin American Studies, School of International Studies, JNU, New Delhi - 110 067: The sound of anti-reservation agitation is still covertly echoing in a few places of the country with the hypocrisy of media and the "meritorious" upper castes undermining the process of "national" empowerment and dis-respecting the constitutional mandate. We relentlessly talk about social empowerment (of caste/class/gender), rapid economic development and "national" solidarity just for the sake of debate and with the pretension to be called "Argumentative Indian". Since we live in a time of liberalization, privatization and globalization (LPG), we frame utopian criteria to estimate 'development'. These include stock-piling of nuclear weapons, the number of satellites launched, the amount of budget spent on security and defence, the degree of automation and Western technology used in an industry, the amount of forex reserve dumped in RBI, the growth rate figured in digits and so on. Similarly, 'national

unity' is characterized by enthno-centric jingoism and lastly 'social justice and empowerment' is left out with the pretext of being controversial and inconclusive. Most of these attitudes we have borrowed from colonial legacy. Only that sort of development is meaningful which is "environmentally viable, economically sound and socially acceptable". In short, only "sustainable development" can be successfully achieved if fruits of development will trickle-down into every section of society. And, this will inevitably lead to realization of "national" solidarity in which every ethnic, linguistic and religious group would be able to extend their participation. Reservation is a part of "affirmative action". Reservation is extended to those section of society that are "socially and educationally (not economically) backward and this is an intrinsic part of the "basic features" of our Constitution. It does mandatorily ensures that the majority of labour forces would be able to participate in the process of development. This labour force includes energy and productivity that has been excluded, isolated and deprived to contribute to national prosperity. This act of exclusion by a small upper caste section of society helped to enslave and colonize the country into the hands of foreign powers. The same act of deprivation divided the society into various stratas and dictated caste-based division of labour and itself consumed the fruits of "exclusive reservation" in temples, education, military, trade etc. Now, with the similar attitudes, the anti-reservation agitations, the same privileged elites are trying to enslave "national" development and imprison social justice into the hands of neo-liberal economic forces, inspired by utopian framework of development. The significant contribution of reservation is not unknown to the anti-reservationwalas. But the problem is in 'understanding' the recent developments after the UPA Govt. announcement of 27% reservation for OBCs in Central universities and institutions. During the whole episode of opposition, the vocal opponents are the doctors, medical and engineering students and practitioners. Their agitation would have ended with the announcement of increasing seats. But it did not happen and dearth of proper understanding goes on because:

A) The vocal opponents are medical and engineering students whose engagement with the society ends up as they enter into the exclusive sphere of natural science after board examination. B) These students being upper castes their taste of life is altogether different from the masses and which is extremely harmful for the Third World agricultural economy like India. C) Luxurious and developed country like America always remains their final destination contributing to high brain-drain. How can this privileged section think about the poor? They are only trying to hijack the healthy debate over reservation in the guise of messiah of the poor.

Poverty cannot be justified whether it is in upper or lower caste. But we cannot prescribe same medicine for all the diseases, even for similar basic facilities and lots of unexplainable hurdles have been put forth in their path of mobility and upliftment. Therefore, the majority of this section is poor. The upper castes have never faced such situations. Poverty in this section exists because they have always heralded the flag of empty social esteem rather than social mobility. They have stuck with tradition and not with modernity. They have patronized unscientific values rather than logical rationality. They have invariably ushered the thinking that from which body-part of Lord (?) Brahma we have originated rather than emphasizing on biological process of reproduction. In addition the most advanced section of the very upper caste has captured the resources leaving their own forward fellows in cycle of poverty. Apart from all these (speaking in traditional view point), Backward Castes have remained backward and poor because it 'has performed' traditional caste-based responsibility honestly. If the upper castes are facing poverty, because it 'has not performed' its duty properly. Therefore, with the help of other policies and programmes this section should be treated. This also fits into the principle of equal opportunity. It is not the case altogether that the basic features of the constitution cannot be amended. But the moment we insert economic criteria into the constitution, the reservation policy will instantly fail because in corrupted Indian bureaucracy a fake certificate is enough to convert a billionaire into a poor man. The story behind BPL Cards and the beginning of successful failure of NREG Act reveals the same truth. (tuminujjwal@rediffmail.com)

(This article sent to the *Hindu* several time was not published and mailed back).

P.K. Abdur Rabb, in-charge, Islamic Publishing House, Near Bus Stand, Kannur - 670 001: This refers to a book review by Brother Iqbal Ahmed Shariff (DV Nov.1, 2006 p.12) in which he has committed a big mistake while referring to the book *Jihad* by A. A. Moududi. He says the book is kept out of circulation by the Jamate-Islami. This is wrong. As a branch in-charge of Islamic Publishing House, Kannur, I am selling the book originally written in Urdu by name *Al-Jihad Fil Islam*, its English translation, *Jihad*, and

also Malayalam version. It is also available at our HO Calicut and other branches, Trivandrum, Kochi, Thrissur, Calicut and also sales agencies all over Kerala. The Urdu and English versions are published by Markazi Maktaba Islami, Delhi, and are selling throughout India and abroad.

Sher Singh Bains, (Ex-IAS), Flat No. 32, 247/1 - Minto Park, Alipore, Calcutta - 700 027: Dalits have been stabbed in the back on Oct.19, 2006. Their human rights have been snatched in the name of "creamy layer", popularised by the Brahmin journalists. The Supreme Court upheld the reservation for SC/STs in promotions. We must start with the criterion of providing reservation to SC/STs which was their social backwardness and never economic factor. It was the age-old custom of untouchability to remove which this reservation to Dalits was provided. If "creamy layer" is to be excluded from reservation it has to be proved by the Brahmin media boys that they have started giving their daughters in marriage to the Dalit boys. We do not mind giving our daughters in marriage to them. If income is to be applied, then let first the minimum economic standard to be fixed by an act of parliament in case of SC/STs. In India, there is no dearth of persons who own more than Rs. 10,000 crores. If the "creamy layer" of Hindus is so rich then the minimum economic standard for SC/STs to be excluded under the "creamy layer" should be minimum 50% of their Hindu brethren. A Dalit must own Rs. 5,000 crore or above to earn disqualification under the "creamy layer". The 3rd condition prerequisite for disqualification under the creamy layer must be the wielding of power over the last three generations, as IAS/IPS/class-I officer or minister or Speaker, MLA/MPs etc. Parliament must pass an act providing for "proportional reservations for all castes". This will be the most just and equitable policy for the greater social justice in India. We also would like to know from Parliament: What is the basis for putting 50% limit on reservations? If the Indian house is not set in order at the earliest then Louis-XVI incident of France will be repeated in India. Dalits are ready to play our part in destiny of new India. Let the Parliament of India specify the criterion for excluding the creamy layer among SC/STs which must be based on three factors:

> (a) Upper castes must start giving their daughters in marriage to Dalits, (b) Dalit family owns minimum Rs. 5000 crores worth properties and (c) family wielding political power for the last three generation must be out of the reserved quotas.

Gopinath Meppayil, Meppayil PO, Vatakra (via), Kerala - 673 109: The "creamy layer" (DV Nov.16, 2006) is a newly coined word in the place of "economic criteria" discovered by none other than Kerala's most cunning and perverse "intellectual", the late E.M.S. Namboodiripad. It first appeared as a note to the Administration Reform Committee Report in 1958 wen he was the first Chief Minister of Kerala. This is intended to deny the benefit of caste-based reservation to the growing Ezhava (Thiyya in Malabar) community of Kerala. Moreover, it was for speaking against the Brahmin hegemony at a public meeting at Trivandrum that late P. Gangadharan, an Ezhava ex-MLA and CPM leader, who was dismissed from the party by EMS in 1971. The "veteran" marixst leader EMS tried to oppress the Bahujans to promote his hereditary cross-thread (*poonool*) marxism. But Karl Marx even by a partial study of India was able to hit upon the age-old villain of India. He said "Indian castes lie as the stumbling blocs of India's progress". However, in spite of the Indian castes, has India progressed? DV readers please discuss the matter.

Amar S. Khade, c/o Ashok Chahare, Opp. Suwarna Gas Agency, Naginabag Sister Colony, Chandrapur - 442 402: Google search engine helped me to get *Dalit Voice* and enlightened to read reports like "*super power's superlative failure*", "*Dalit Panthers leader embraces RSS*", "*M.S. Swaminathan — king of scientific fraud*" and "*Manmohan mischief kills OBC reservation bill*". I have read your book, *Why Godse Killed Gandhi?* Marathi version by N.J. Wagmare published by Dr. Bhadant Anand Kausalyan Book Depot, Nagpur. The *Manuwadi* media is not publishing our news. I want to read your DSA books. Dr. Ambedkar has said "the entire destiny of the society depends on the intellectual class of society". Now and then this sentence is being used by our Dalit leaders. But they do not explain the meaning of this sentence. What is this intellectual Class? Who are they? Who creates them? Can I become an intellectual?

> *We will send you our book,* ***India's Intellectual Desert*** *(DSA-1999), which deals with this very subject. You can pose your questions after reading it — EDITOR.*

Himalay Tehsin, Director & Producer, Short Films & Documentaries, 53 - Vidyayak Niwas-5, Meera Bai Marg, Lucknow - 226 001: I have been reading *Dalit Voice* and your books for quite some time now. Your literature gives a perspective on the socio-political issues from the side of the English-educated Dalits. When the English-educated upper castes waste tons

of newsprint on all sorts of irrelevant things it should also deliberate over the thought process which goes on in the same English-educated Dalits. DV has done an important work in presenting this viewpoint continuously. I am sending a VCD and booklet on a documentary, "Rediscovery of Budhism in India: Contribution of Sinhala Budhists" It is based on my father's concept on Budha and Budhism and on the contribution of Anagarika Dharmapala. My father, Rajani Kant Verma, had sent you his book *Lumbini to Kushinara*. Some ideas are from that book. We want your opinion on the documentary. Spare 40 minutes to watch the documentary and send your views. I wanted to take your interview especially on the upper caste penetration in Budhist organisations. But my father's accident in May made me cut short on interviews for which I had to travel. He is still bed-ridden but improving by the day.

We have sent your VCD and the booklet to Dr. Jamanadas who is a Budhist and a scholar. Brahminism has swallowed Budhism centuries back but Dr. Ambedkar's honest efforts to revive it to fight Brahminism also failed as the elite Dalits who profited from Babasaheb refused to follow him. Brahminism infiltrated even Sikhism, Christianity and Islam — EDITOR.

Yakubmama, Desai Khadaki, at/PO Kamrej, Surat dt. - 394 180: George Bush always talks of eradication of "terrorism" from the world without realising that terrorism is right in the genes of US President. When the White Western people invaded Africa, they started persecuting its *mulnivasis* and killed thousands of Red Indians distributing smallpox viral blankets among the innocent natives. Ancestors of Bush were responsible for this genocide. So, Bush is the real terrorist who killed millions of innocents in Afghanistan, Iraq and earlier in Vietnam. They did not spare even the poor Blacks, chained and brought to USA as slaves. They looted their land, raped their women, exploited their natural resources and killed millions of Blacks. Even today, they hate the Blacks even after becoming the rulers of the world. After kicking out Secretary of State Colin Powell, a Black, he took a "Black bitch", Condi Rice. Our Editor must spread his revolutionary thoughts all over the world and educate the oppressed peoples to fight injustice and slavery. The Editor is 76 and he must take care of his health. He must prepare a bold, blunt and honest successor. Otherwise, DV family members will be orphaned.

Gurnam Singh Muktsar, 2 - Bhagat Singh Nagar, b/h Bus Stand, Muktsar - 152 026: How can we forget a great intellectual like you? Your personality and thoughts have inspired me since 1980. I have been a reader of DV since 1980. One thing I would like to say that we are not alone working for the liberation of Bahujans. Thousands are there. They are our silent companions. They bear the total burden of the struggle. Bahujans had once risen with full faith in Kanshi Ram. But when he left aside the socio-cultural movement we felt orphaned. We have to bear all the burden. There are some good people standing by me and I feel encouraged to work more. We are penniless yet can't leave the truthful path. So you should have patience. Don't expect more. You have done a lot. A book on my selected articles published in last 20-25 years is being typed. There might be over 150 articles. I shall try its Hindi translation if our friends like it.

Vishal Arora (vishalarora_in@hotmail.com): It is ironical that religion-related violence, which is endemic to certain parts of India, is studied in such a way that it actually helps in the production and reproduction of violence, perpetrated mainly on religious minorities by Hindu terrorists, rather than prevent it. By attempting to precisely classify and label incidents of collective violence, researchers often become part of the diversionary tactics of the producers of violence to displace blame from themselves to others, says Paul R. Brass, Professor (Emeritus) of Political Science and International Studies at the University of Washington, Seattle. In an essay titled, "On the Study of Riots, Pogroms, and Genocide", part of his new book, *Forms of Collective Violence: Riots, Pogroms, and Genocide in Modern India* (published by Three Essays Collective, Sept. 2006, Rs.250), he exposes a lacuna in the study of collective violence saying that social scientists study the phenomena of violence "to display their theoretical skills" rather than expose the dynamic processes that produce those phenomena. "Our work then becomes entangled - even through the very theories we articulate - in the diversionary tactics that are essential to the production and reproduction of violence," says the acclaimed political scientist, whose research in India spans more than 45 years. To make his point, Brass explains that the violence that is often misnamed as a riot and is mainly perpetrated on members of the Muslim and Christian minorities in India is produced in three phases: "preparation or rehearsal", "activation or enactment" and "explanation or interpretation". In the sites where rioting is endemic, producers of violence continuously work to create an atmosphere of religious animosity as part of their preparation and rehearsal process, he says. ■

Crisis in America's Black leadership : salute to services of *Dalit Voice*

RUNOKO RASHIDI, BOX-201662, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS, 78220, U.S.A.

My interest in the Black presence in India began as a university student in the early 1970s when I read a book called the *Destruction of Black Civilization* by the African-American historian, Dr. Chancellor James Williams. In the Introduction Dr. Williams mentions Black people as the first people in India. Years later I began to hear about the Black Untouchables of India. Only later did I hear the name "Dalit."

In 1986, I began to correspond with Brother V.T. Rajshekar, Editor of the bi-monthly publication *Dalit Voice*. Through his intervention, in 1987 I began to travel to India. I returned in 1998 and led an African-American tour group to India in 1999. These three trips are arguably the most momentous travel experiences of my life, and Editor Rajshekar was instrumental in all of them.

HYDERABAD CONFERENCE

In 1987, I spoke at the historic First All-India Dalit Writer's Conference in Hyderabad, India, and visited the cities of Bombay, Hyderabad, Bangalore, and Madras. In 1998, I traveled over even more of India, speaking at Nagpur and Trivandrum. Leading a tour group to India in 1999 caused so much scrutiny that became exceedingly difficult for me to return.

My travels to India have been a wonderful addition to all of my years of research on the subject of the Black presence in India. And yet the complexities of ethnicity and caste, class and gender are so complex that it is difficult for even the best intentioned observer to clearly understand. That has been my experience with India and I am afraid that it may be Brother Rajshekar's experience with America.

EDITOR'S VISIT TO AMERICA

After decades of tireless struggle in India, in July 2006 Brother Rajshekar, this distinguished, brilliant and dedicated journalist, made his first visit to the US. His passport was impounded for 20 long years. Had I been in the US at the time I would have joined him. Some of his observations from his trip are posted below. Read his email. I think that it might surprise you.

> How the once revolutionary Blacks got tamed and enslaved by the Whites?
>
> Holocaust, according to some Christian critics of zionism, has become a huge world industry generating billions and billions of dollars. They say holocaust is a bogus and powerful blackmail racket.
>
> Our Editor on July 11, 2006 visited the world famous "Holocaust Memorial Museum" in Washington DC, occupying a prime place in the capital of the world, close to the White House and surrounded by several Federal apex offices. For want of time he spent only half-hour but collected some books on holocaust. Admission is free.

BLACKS SERVING WHITE MASTERS

> It was founded by Elis Wiesel, a Nobel Laureate. Incidentally, the Nobel Foundation itself is a Jewish institution. Its well stocked book shop has hundreds of books, expensive from Indian standards. Only a couple of books he could pick up.
>
> The entire security force for the Memorial, which gets flood of visitors daily from all parts of the world, is manned by well-built Blacks, who have become totally docile, tame, fat and most obedient slaves of the Whites. The Jews controlling the Holocaust Museum are all White. Yet the Black security underdogs are with pleasure serving their White masters.
>
> The Jews encouraged the Blacks to fight the White Christians once but today the Blacks are leaderless, a third of them in jails, divided among themselves and badly let down by their Jewish mentors. This needs a separate study.

HARLEM VISIT

> The Blacks, the once most revolutionary group within America fighting the "White racists", have today become the most loyal slaves. A day's visit (July 5, 2006) to Harlem, the Black stronghold next to Manhattan, gave us a shocking picture of the pathetic state of the Blacks. The Editor's famous book, *Dalit — The Black Untouchables of India*, published by a noted Black publishing house, Clarity Press, Atlanta, introduced the revolutionary US Blacks to India's Black Untouchables and we had several Black delegations. Brother Runoko Rashidi was DV's American representative for a long time. But today the Black subscribers of DV from USA have fallen to just two.
>
> **How the once revolutionary Blacks are today so silent and loyally serving their White masters? Why they did not join the Muslims in their current fight against the Whites?**
>
> This needs a separate study. Our Black Brother in US, Runoko

Rashidi, will help us answer this million dollar question.

The Editor is deeply worried over this mellowing of the once burning Black brothers and sisters whose Black Panthers movement inspired and ignited India's historic Dalit Panthers who too have melted away.

CRISIS IN LEADERSHIP

The following is my reply to Brother Rajshekar:

Thank you for your letter and your observations. I am pleased that you finally made it to the US and I thank you for your many years of hard work and sacrifice on behalf of the Black people around the world, whether they be the Dalits of India or wherever we find ourselves struggling for our inalienable rights as human beings.

You have touched on a crucial and yet sensitive issue, that is the crisis in African-American leadership. And, yes, there is indeed a crisis.

Much of what you say is true. There is a tremendous incarceration rate among African-American men and, increasingly, African-American women.

The last statistics that I received say that one out of every three African American men between the ages of 19 and 29 is in the US criminal justice system. This is a phenomenal statistic.

FLAWED CONCLUSIONS

And then when you count the African American men who are addicted to drugs, who hate themselves, who hate Black people, who love America in spite of all that it has done to us, then we can really see that Black men in the US are virtually an endangered species. It certainly does not paint a positive picture. But when I look at what we have gone through in the US and around the world I would say that our very survival itself is a tribute to our tenacity and resilience and greatness as a people. We should never overlook that.

Now certainly I do not claim to be an expert on anything. I have done no scientific surveys nor conducted exhaustive polls. I am simply responding because of your request and out of intense concern. However, I must say that I believe that your analysis and conclusions are flawed due to your distance and lack of on-the-ground familiarity with our situation here. Your comments remind me in some ways of my own attitudes and views about India around the time of my first visit there in 1987.

NO JEWISH MENTORS

First, about the Jews. Although certainly there were some Jews who participated on some level in what is called the Civil Rights Movement, this movement was overwhelming African in content and character. And to speak of our "Jewish mentors" is absolutely ridiculous. Perhaps I am misunderstanding you here as we have never had Jewish mentors.

As for fighting White Christians I would say that, in general, Black folks (Africans) in America tend not to make a distinction between White people based on their religion. Certainly there are class distinctions that we can take into consideration but Africans in America and around the world have suffered historically at the hands of White people in general, irrespective of their religious persuasion.

BLACK MUSLIM MOVEMENT

There has always been a Muslim population among African people in America. Indeed, many of the Africans who were captured and enslaved and brought to the Americas were Muslims. Now with the rise of the "Nation of Islam" founded in the 1930s by the Elijah Muhammad and later championed by Malcolm X and Minister Louis Farrakhan the visibility of Muslims in America was greatly increased. But I do not see a large mass movement of African-Americans heading towards Islam. Perhaps the Western media in the aftermath of developments in both America and Europe since Sept. 11 has had a tendency to dramatize such a conversion. I, for one, simply do not see it.

Indeed, many African-Americans seem as alarmed about what the media portrays as the rise in Islamic fundamentalism as White people do, and in some case even more so. For me, religion is a deeply personal thing and I, for the most part, respect the right of people to worship in the way that best fits them. As our great Ancestor Malcolm X said, "When we come together we put our religion in the closet."

BLACK EVANGELISTS

Now if you want to talk about the African-American church that is indeed a topic to dwell on. I would say that historically most of our greatest leaders have had a Christian persuasion. Certainly there are exceptions, including those already mentioned. But, going all the way back to slavery days, outstanding Black leaders like Gabriel Prosser and Denmark Vesey, who planned massive insurrections, and Nat Turner, who actually led a small but one of the most significant ones, Black nationalist Bishop Henry McNeil Turner, and even the Marcus Mosiah Garvey (in my opinion the greatest leader we have ever had, perhaps on either side of the Atlantic) had Christian persuasions. And, in a more modern era, Martin Luther King, Jr. epitomized the Christian minister activist.

Alas, those appear to be the days

gone by and it would seem that today the African-American minister has become far less active in the liberation struggle and even complacent.

Many would argue, and I tend to agree, that, in general, they have been bought off and paid more and are mere lackeys to the powers that be. What a shame. You see the big name African-American televangelists on the TV screens with their mega church congregations but what they are doing to advance the cause of Black liberation is anyone's guess. I personally find them disgusting. They have so much power and influence and yet many of them seem only concerned with material aggrandizement and whether or not Jesus Christ is your personal lord and savior. There seems very few exceptions here that I am aware of.

Although there is clearly a crisis in African-American leadership, and African-American life itself for that matter, there is certainly no decline in consciousness.

Many of us, myself included, are looking at history as a way of inspiring our people. We believe that we suffer from a lack of self-esteem and we are trying to look at some of the great things that we have done in order to lay the basis for development. Added to that is our quest to develop a sense of global Black identity, based on Mother Africa, as a way of maximizing our efforts.

BLACKS OF INDIA

I cannot speak to the issue of African-American subscriptions to *Dalit Voice*. You would know that better than anyone. But that does not reflect a lack of consciousness concerning the Black presence in India, particularly regarding the Dalits.

We are increasingly aware of the Black presence in India and many of us realize that the Dalits are the world's largest oppressed minority.

And we realize that the Dalits are our people. I would like to think that both you and I have had something to do with this and I have never ceased to champion the cause of the Dalits: The Black Untouchables of India whether it be in my writings, lectures, my radio and television interviews.

RACIST HINDUS

But this is countered by the racist white Hindus that we see every day in the US, in Canada, in England and France, in Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Southern Africa, in Trinidad, Guyana, Surinam and Fiji. So there is a constant need for education.

I think that the lack of activism in America is not confined to Black people. One might ask what happened to the student movement that was so prominent in the 1970s? There is a lack of political activism in America, I think, in general. Critical thinking is discouraged and individualism, consumerism and materialism are on the rise. Unfortunately, that is life in America right now.

LOUIS FARRAKHAN

Finally, for now, what about African-American leadership? I agree, we are surely lacking. Certainly you cannot point to people like Dr. Rice, Colin Powell or Clarence Thomas. We can rule them out. And then you have what some might call the old guard leadership led by the most prominent example, Jesse Jackson. But Reverend Jackson does not have nearly the clout and stature that he once had.Many would consider Minister Louis Farrakhan a great leader and I tend to agree. But his health has suffered of late and that has left an even greater void. I have already expressed to you my general contempt for Christian ministers, although certainly there are some notable exceptions.

I have a lot of respect for Dr. Leonard Jeffries but most would probably see him more as a scholar than a "leader." The one person that I think that I have the most respect for in regard to leadership is Attorney Alton Maddox, based in New York.I am not sure if you met brother Alton when you were in New York. If you had I am sure that you would remember. He has done pro bono work on a number of cases where Blacks have been abused and has lost his ability to practice law as a result of it. He is consistently forthright and outspoken and this has cost him a great deal.

GLOBAL LINKUP

What I think that is we are in a kind of lull, but a temporary one. I think that we are at a pivotal point in history and as the movement progresses a new leadership will emerge and that the masses of our people will bring forth the kind of leadership that we so desperately need.

So I am very confident. Sure, I get frustrated and even a little depressed sometimes but I remain supremely confident and I think that the future is ours. So let us continue to work to link our common struggles and unite with the Black liberation struggle that is global in approach, for in spite of what it appears, as one of the brothers that I mentioned likes to say, "We are walking on a victorious path."

I hope that these few comments are of some value to you and your readers. Again, thank you for the tremendous energy that you have expended on the cause of our people in India and around the world. I salute you.

(runoko@yahoo.com) ■

Dalit Christian dilemma

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Dalit Christians account for over 70% of India's total Christian population of 25 million. That they account for nearly 19 million people. Consequently, they account for 9.5% of the total Dalit population of 200 million in India. The sheer numerical size of the Dalit Christian population suggests that the issue of Dalit Christians cannot be ignored by the govt. as well as the church. Yet the Dalit Christians are in a dilemma.

1. Dilemma of conversion: Dalit Christians have been converts from the Untouchable castes, a peculiar feature of Indian society. These castes include the Pulayans (Kerala), Pariahs (TN), Tigalas (Karnataka), Malas and Madigas (AP), Chamars (MP, UP and Bihar), Churhas (Punjab), Vankars (Gujarat) and Mahars (Maharashtra) (Lobo, 2001:242).

The Dalits used conversion as a means for outward and upward mobility to escape from the bondage the caste system inflicted on them. However, since the caste system is deeply rooted in the Indian psyche reflected in the socio-economic and political structures in India, the Dalit Christians face all the disabilities, atrocities and social exclusion experienced by any other Dalit in India.

Studies have shown that the situation of Dalit Christians was either the same as or slightly worse than that of other Dalits. Rural Christian Dalits live in the same kinds of villages and are dependent upon the same kinds of landowners, suffer the same kind of disabilities and atrocities are subject to the same social and economic pressures, and face equally limited opportunities for occupational mobility as do other rural Dalits (Webster, 1994: 177-178).

Dalit Christians, who have migrated to urban areas, may have achieved some cultural change but not upward mobility. They have achieved spatial mobility, viz, from rural they have gone to urban areas. But despite change of physical location, they continue to remain in the lower segment of the urban economy (Lobo, 2001, 245-246). Studies confirm that Dalit Christians suffer from four types of discriminations:

> (a) from the state, (b) from the church (lay as well as clergy), (c) from the upper castes and (d) from the lower castes.

2. Dilemma of exclusion from govt: The constitution has banned untouchability and provisions were made for affirmative action in favour of Dalits. This awakened the hopes of millions of Dalits for empowerment and emancipation.

"Church is the main culprit"
See p. 27

However, the communal bias of the upper castes became evident in the Presidential Order of 1950 which denied reservations to about 30% Dalits who got converted to Sikhism, Budhism, Christianity and Islam. Agitations by Sikhs and Budhists forced the govt. to amend the Order to include Sikhs in 1956 and Budhists in 1990.

But Dalit Christians remained excluded despite assurances of successive govts. to include them for the last 16 years. Dalit Christians on account of their not being recognized as Scheduled Castes are unable to avail all the welfare measures of the govt. for SCs. Consequently, Dalit Christians have remained socially marginalized, economically backward and politically powerless.

The irony is that in spite of being a Dalit and treated as a Dalit by the society, a Dalit Christian is not recognized as a Dalit by the constitution of India and the Govt. of India.

The Dalit Christians thus feel orphaned and disowned by its own country and its own govt. A Dalit Christian faces the paradox of being in free India, which does not permit him/her the freedom to practice a religion of his/her own choice. A Dalit Christian faces a dilemma of being in a secular India, which blatantly discriminates between Dalits practising deferent religions.

3. Social exclusion within the church: Christianity does not recognize the caste system. But it preaches equality as all are considered of one loving god. In spite of such teaching of equality of all, Dalit Christians experience that they are discriminated against by their own fellow upper caste Christians. According to a report from Tamil Nadu:

> "... they are segregated inside the church during the liturgy. They cannot serve at mass or read the readings during mass or be part of the church choir. Their dead cannot be buried in common cemeteries. In many villages there is no funeral mass for them because they are not allowed to bring their dead to the church. During the washing of the feet on Maundy Thursday, only upper caste

Christians can sit and have their feet washed by the priest. They have no participation in the decision-making process in the parish or pastoral committees. Church properties like lands and groves are taken on lease by upper caste Christians. They are not allowed to cycle or walk with their *dhotis* worn hanging upto the heels even in Christian villages. The decorated car during the parish festival is not permitted to pass through streets inhabited with SC Christians. Candidates for vocation camps in schools are seldom selected from among SC Christians. They are served in separate (aluminium) tumblers in tea shops in their own Christian villages". (Thangaraj, 1990:39).

Such situations have often resulted in conflicts between the Dalit and upper caste Christians.

Dalit Christians have to reconcile themselves to the paradox of accepting a faith which preaches equality but whose adherents do not practice it in reality.

4. Ignored by the church leaders: The Dalit Christians hoped that the church leaders, including the clergy and the religious men and women who exert considerable clout because of their prestigious educational institutions, would come to their aid and empower them. However, as P.A. Augustine says in his book, *The Caste Factor*:

> "The clergy and religious men and women are no less tainted by it... Many clergymen are somewhat averse to taking meals in the homes of Christians of Scheduled Caste origin... by an exercise of ingenuity avoiding the occasions of invitations for meals... A number of clergy have retained their caste surnames... Support and sympathy run on caste lines (Thangaraj, 1990: 25).

The church leaders have done something for Dalit Christians on the educational front but little on the economic front. Some impact on Dalit Christians is seen in personal ethics, ritual behaviour, manners, etiquette, dressing and decorum. In one word cultural change. The church hierarchy has certainly given them a different cultural identity but done little in the way of their economic advancement. They also run schools, but put its resources at the disposal of the upper castes, ignoring Dalit Christians (Lobo 2001: 250-254). Consequently, Dalit Christians have had an historical advantage in education and literacy, an advantage which the more recent studies indicate they may be losing and which they have not always been able to translate into occupational mobility or higher wages. There are signs that without the advantages compensatory discrimination provides, Dalit Christians are finding it increasingly difficult to compete for scarce economic resources just to survive, let alone get ahead (Thangaraj, 1990: 177-178).

Dalit Christians did not have an outstanding leader of its own and therefore they had to accept the Indian Christian elite and the church leaders as their spokespersons. However, they soon realized that though the church leaders have from time to time raised a voice of appeal and condemned this denial of rights to Christian Dalits, these appeals have not been pressed with enough vigour and constancy to produce tangible results.

The cries for justice by the Dalit Christians had been largely ignored by the church hierarchy for nearly four decades.

5. Exclusion by upper castes despite conversion: Conversion has been a means of protest by Dalits against the discrimination they faced as Hindus. However, even after converting to Christianity, the upper castes continued to humiliate them and treat them as Untouchables. There have been several instances of atrocities on Dalit Christians by upper castes. Besides, the non-Christian upper castes (Hindus) are against extending reservation benefit to Dalit Christians due to their paranoia that such a move will result in largescale conversion of Dalits to Christianity, which is the most organized religious group.

6. Conflict with non-Christian Dalits: There are also fears that non-Christian Dalits may not show much enthusiasm and support to the demand of Christian Dalits for reservations probably because their share of the cake may be minimized (Lobo, 2001,:249) or because they have been converted to Christianity. However, many Dalit groups as well as political partes have expressed their support for the cause of the Dalit Christians.

In the context of this scenario, there is a serious and urgent need to ensure that justice is done for Dalit Christians, by recognizing them as SCs and giving them all the rights and privileges, including reservations, welfare measures and legal protection, normally granted to all other Scheduled Castes. The following are some of the measures that need urgent consideration:

> **1. Constitutional measures:** A constitutional amendment should be made to rectify the injustice done by including Dalit Christians also in para 3 of Article 341 (1). Such a measure will give Dalit Christians the right to seek civil protection and safeguards provided to all Dalits under the Protection of Civil Rights Act 1976, the Untouchability (Offences) Act

1955, and the SC/ST (Prevention of Atrocities) Act 1989. Such a Constitutional measure will also make Dalit Christians eligible for benefitting from the special provisions for the advancement of Scheduled Castes mentioned in Articles 15, 16, 17, 46, 330, 332, 335, 338 and 340.

(2) Welfare measures: (a) No Dalit Christian should be denied admission into Christian minority institutions. The fees of Dalit children must be subsidized so that schooling is affordable for Dalit Christians. There should also be scholarships given to Dalit Christian students. Besides, special hostels and remedial classes for Dalit students will help them come up to the level of other students in educational institutions. Vocational training in job-oriented courses in Community Colleges, technical training institutes, polytechnic institutes, etc. should be provided for Dalit students who are unable to cope up with regular academic studies.

(b) A substantial percentage of jobs in Christian minority institutions in states where there is a sizeable Dalit Christian population must be allotted to Dalit Christians who have the necessary qualifications.

(c) Sufficient attention must be given for the development of Dalit culture like song, dance, theatre, art, crafts etc.

(d) Awareness programmes especially in rural areas to educate the people to stop discrimination and atrocities against all Dalits must be undertaken by the government as well as church authorities.

Due to long neglect of Dalit Christians, the govt. as well as the church authorities of all Christian denominations must ensure that their human rights are not violated and that they are provided with the constitutional, legal and administrative framework to guarantee their human dignity and their socio-economic, political and cultural development through educational, employment and other welfare measures. ■

Church is the culprit — not govt.

*Brother Denzil may be a new comer to this field. So he does not know the pioneering work done by DV to liberate the Dalit Christians. After good deal of thought we have come to the conclusion that there is no point in blaming the govt. which in India has to be a Hindu Govt. Whichever party comes to power, the ruling Brahminical upper castes continue to rule India. And this class will be always against Dalits and more so, the Dalit Christians. The main culprit here is the country's powerful church and its upper caste leadership. Specially the Roman Catholic church. This church leadership is united with its **jati** cousins in the ruling class to keep the Dalit Christians out.*

The foreign funds, which the Brahminical rulers love, come from the Christian West of which our rulers are slaves. The church could have asked the West to stop the flow of funds to these India for discriminating against Dalit Christians and also the upper caste violence against church itself. Did the church do it?

*Did the church leadership take up the question of sanctified racism practiced by the Brahminical apartheid rulers? When the church itself, specially the more powerful Catholic church, is so rabidly pro-Brahmin what right it has to talk of the discrimination outside the church? — **EDITOR.***

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THE POWER OF ISRAEL IN USA

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