

DALIT VOICE

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The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities Denied Human Rights

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No.8

LIBERATION FROM BRAHMINISM

**10 - POINT PLAN TO FIGHT INDIA'S
SANGTIFIED RACISM**

Uma Bharati
groomed to
take over BJP

Anti - Dalit
prejudice
in Army

Fake leaders foisted to divide Dalits :

THUS SPAKE AMBEDKAR

Thus Spake Ambedkar

Hindus foist fake leaders to divide Dalits

(E) The Right of the Depressed Classes to Special Representation in both Houses of the Central Legislature shall be recognised on a population ratio on the same terms and in the same manner as is provided for in the case of the Provincial Legislatures.

(F) There shall be Adult Suffrage at least for the Depressed Classes. The franchise of the Depressed Classes shall be the same for the Provincial and the Central Legislatures.

Part Two: Local Boards

1. The Depressed Classes shall be allowed representation in all the Provinces in all Municipalities, Local Boards, District and Taluka, Village Unions, School Boards of Panchayats and any Local Body now existing or to be constituted in the future on the population basis.

2. In all Public Services, Central and Local, the Depressed Classes shall be guaranteed appointments according to their population ratio as a minimum subject to qualifications as may be laid down for the same. Provision shall be made for reaching the quota by relaxing the statutory rules that may be in existence in matters other than educational qualifications.

3. In every province out of the Educational Grant a sum equivalent to the population ratio of the Depressed Classes in that province shall be earmarked as a minimum for providing educational facilities to the Depressed Classes.

4. There shall be a provision in the Constitution allowing the Depressed Classes the right to Appeal to the Governor and the Viceroy for any neglect of their interest in the matter of education, sanitation, recruitment in Public Services, etc. on the same terms and in a manner provided in the Constitution of Canada, Section 93."

"Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru evolved a Supreme of Primary and Secondary electors for the reserved seats. Thereupon Dr. Ambedkar said that he would consult his colleagues and come back within two hours with his proposal — Dr. Ambedkar returned at night and told them that he would accept the proposal, but demanded a much larger number of seats than the British Premier's Award had given them."

"The leaders accepted his suggestion; and Jayakar, Sapru, Birla, Rajagopalachari and Dr. Rajendra Prasad left for Poona by the midnight train on Tuesday.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Vol. 17, Part - 1 (p.155- 157) 2003, Rs. 125. Publishers, Member-Secretary, Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Source Material Publication Committee, Higher Education Dept., Maharashtra Govt., Order book from Manager, Govt. Central Book Depot, Near Charni Road Railway Station, Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay - 400 004.

On September 21, Gandhi was removed at noon to the courtyard just near the entrance of Yeravada Jail, and Sardar Patel and Gandhi's Secretary Pyarelal were allowed to sit near his cot. At noon Sapru telephoned to Dr. Ambedkar from Poona asking him to come to Poona immediately".

"Dr. Ambedkar in the interview with the *Times of India*, before leaving for Poona on Wednesday the 21st September 1932 said: "I have received a message from Poona telling me that Mr. Gandhi wishes to see me and Mr. Rajah with regard to the proposal which I submitted to the Committee appointed by the Conference last night".

"I have accepted the invitation but I have made it clear that I will have nothing to do in the way of negotiation with Mr. Rajah and his party, and if Mr. Gandhi wishes to talk with them, he should do so separately. My reason for saying this is that the dispute is really between me and my party on the one hand and Mr. Gandhi on the other".

"Besides I do wish to mark my emphatic disapproval of the policy of the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha for creating leaders for the Depressed Class for their own purposes and by their own propaganda and then trying to foist them on the Depressed Classes. In this there is nothing personal against Mr. Rajah. I am starting to-night".

Another Visit to Yeravada

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru and Mr. Jayakar who arrived in Poona by train visited Mr. Gandhi on Wednesday in the jail at 7.30 a.m. and remained in Conference with him until after 10 a.m. On leaving they said that they anticipated returning again tomorrow morning.

A statement issued after the interview says:—

The deputation consisting of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Mr. Jayakar, Mr. Rajagopalachari, Babu Rajendra Prasad and Mr. G.D. Birla had a long interview with Mr. Gandhi this morning when they explained to him the scheme which had been evolved at yesterday's consultations. The interview proved to be quite hopeful, but Mr. Gandhi reserved his final opinion until he held further consultations in the matter with friends including Dr. Ambedkar and Mr. M.C. Rajah.

(To be continued)

DALIT VOICEThe Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities
Denied Human Rights**Millions of enslaved Indians
seeking liberation from
Brahminism**JOSEPH D'SOUZA, INTERNATIONAL PRESIDENT, DALIT
FREEDOM NETWORK, INFO@DALITNETWORK.ORG

A major debate has erupted in Indian political and civil society circles after the Oct. 6, 2005 Congressional sub-committee hearings in Washington on the issue of caste discrimination in India. Some questions raised as a result of this hearing are:

- ◆ *Enslaved Indians seek liberation from Brahminism*
- ◆ *Uma Bharati to head BJP?*
- ◆ *Question mark over Israel*
- ◆ *Confusion on 'poverty yardstick'*
- ◆ *DV workshop : May 20 - 21*
- ◆ *Anti-Dalit prejudice in Army*
- ◆ *What is our identity ?*
- ◆ *Dalits must reject Hindu charity*
- ◆ *Hindi Caste book ready*
- ◆ *India's problem is not poverty*

CONTENTS

- ◆ *Enslaved Indians seek liberation from Brahminism*
- ◆ *Uma Bharati to head BJP?*
- ◆ *Question mark over Israel*
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Dalit Voice

April 16 - 30 2006

3

KNOW CASTE TO KNOW INDIA

The blunt answer to the above questions is that until now the Indian reality has been interpreted and articulated within India and around the world through the world view of the dominant castes in larger society and also in the church. For all practical purposes, the dominant (upper) castes rule, control and articulate the Indian reality.

The ruling upper castes have been quite content with a "class analysis" of India (focusing attention on the rich, the new middle-class and the

**Gujarat DV workshop at
Ahmedabad — May 20-21**

Our Gujarat workshop announced in DV of April 1, 2006 (p.9) will be held on May 20 and 21 (Saturday and Sunday).

Place: OM India, No.2 - Christian Society, Opp. CNI Church, Beharampur, Ahmedabad - 380 022. Phone: 079-2532 0833.

The Editor will send individual invitations with the workshop agenda to all DV family members.

Food and lodging arrangements will be made.

All our family members in Gujarat are requested to immediately confirm their participation by writing to the Editor.

The Editor will be present and conduct the workshop.

poor), knowing very well that it is only a "caste analysis" of India that can uncover the true but hidden reality at the heart of India — the India of the majority masses. One cannot understand India without understanding the complete nature and scope of the caste system in Indian life. Caste considerations dominate people's lives from birth to death. This understanding of the caste system and how it controls and regulates social, economic, political and religious life is absolutely essential to interpret the Indian reality. Add to this the "corruption factor" in Indian society and the Dalits and other oppressed people who are poor are left in a completely hopeless situation. India is not a homogenous society where there is a level playing field on which everyone can prosper.

RACISM AGAINST DALITS

Caste continues to dominate Indian society despite the fact that the draftsman of the Constitution, the redoubtable Dalit thinker and lawyer Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, wrote his prophetic work *Annihilation of Caste* to reveal the world (the brutal stranglehold of the caste system. The Indian Constitution taking the best out of American and British statutes, outlawed untouchability one of the manifestations of caste discrimination, but stopped well short of abolishing caste.

Bahujan leaders across India refer to caste discrimination as "India's silent apartheid" of 3,000 years against its majority peoples — a full 70% of the population. It is a religiously sanctioned racism that has maimed, dehumanized and destroyed hundreds of millions of people through the ages. The horrendous fact is that we continue to destroy millions of people through this system even today in the 21st century.

President K.R. Narayanan said of

caste:

"An empowered India bereft of the respect of women, values of civilized existence and morality will collapse in the face of the disaffection and discontent of those who have suffered for centuries. Day in and day out we take pride in claiming that India has a 5,000-year-old civilization. But the way the Dalits and those suppressed are being treated by the people who wield power and authority speaks volumes for the degradation of our moral structure and civilized standards.

"Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the

Historic mission suffers for want of media

Brother Joseph D'souza in this paper brings out a horrifying picture of the cruelties of the caste system in India, the original home of racism. It is because of this one person's painstaking efforts that Dalits were able to go to Washington and unmask the ugly face of racist "Hindu India" (DV Nov.1, 2005 p.5). But India's Brahminical monopoly media hit back and there was a tremendous backlash. D'souza was dubbed a Christian agent out to convert India's poor Dalits. The Govt. of India was mum. Except *Dalit Voice* perhaps none came to the defence of Brother D'souza. We had talked to D'souza a couple of times about the need for our own media without which we cannot make any progress. He fully agreed with us but did nothing. A great mission that will catapult D'souza into pages of history will be lost for want of a media — *EDITOR.*

principal architect of the Constitution, had said political equality devoid of economic and social equality would bring about contradictions in our democratic set-up which if not rectified will lead to its doom. In the dark cloud of inequality and social injustice the silver lining represented by the assertion of the hitherto suppressed and exploited sections for their rights inspire confidence for their

future empowerment. Their struggle for empowerment represents empowerment of India.

"As the struggle gains momentum and gets accentuated, there is bound to be reluctance and resistance on the part of the high and mighty to accept their upward rise. The killing of Dalits, their exploitation and the brutality they face is a negation of the empowered India."

WHO ARE BAHUJANS ?

The Bahujans make up what are known in India as the (1) Scheduled Castes, (2) the Scheduled Tribes and (3) the Backward Castes. Together these groups constitute the "slave"/"vassal" castes. ("Scheduled" means they are listed in a special "index" appended to the Constitution. "Backward Castes" are those whose rank and occupation status are above that of Dalits, but who still remain socially and economically depressed). The SCs were until recently also known as the Untouchables because they were deemed literally untouchable by the upper castes. The STs were defined as criminal tribes because they occasionally challenged with arms the dominance of the local landlords.

The word "Dalit" means "broken" or "crushed" and the word "Bahujan" indicates membership in the majority people or the larger population.

Combined, these groups make up 67% of the population of India.

Among this suffering humanity of Bahujans, it is the SC/STs who continue to bear the brunt of caste discrimination and oppression.

Caste discrimination has an immediate impact on 250 million Dalits. It also affects hundreds of millions more from the BCs.

Caste turmoil and upheaval fully

exploded on the national scene when the recommendations of the Mandal Commission were implemented in the mid-1990s. The Mandal Commission indicated that the BCs were no better socio-economically because of the consequences of the caste system. The Govt. of India supported the view of the Commission and granted affirmative action benefits to the BCs. Upper caste mobs resisted the govt. move and anarchy prevailed in major cities for many weeks. Indian politics changed dramatically after the Mandal issue hit the national consciousness.

RELIGIOUS REVOLT

Caste politics became a dominant factor in Indian society, and caste loyalties began to determine elections across the nation. The North Indian states of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar saw dramatic movements of the political empowerment of the BCs. Dalit politics too was established with the emergence of the Bahujan Samaj Party as a major player in UP and the surrounding North India states in the so-called "cow belt". Consistent with the larger caste assertion by the BCs, Dalits also began to increasingly assert themselves.

Caste had the sanction of religion and as the Hindu terrorist party made a bid for political power in federal India, open calls were given to Dalits to quit the caste-based Hindu society and go over to more egalitarian religions.

Dalit and BC ideologues launched a full-fledged attack against the caste system and Brahminism maintaining and pushing forward the movement first launched by Mahatma Phule, fine-tuned by Periyar in the South and finally polished by Dr. Ambedkar.

These anti-Brahminical movements kept the Hindu terrorists from expanding in the Northern bases of

UP and Bihar even at a time when the arch-Hindu Ayodhya Temple movement was at its zenith.

GANDHI'S MISTAKE

Increasingly the Dalit-Bahujan emancipation movement began to gather more strength across the nation. Dr. Ambedkar's true contribution to the nation, his work for the depressed castes was progressively more greatly understood and appreciated. Even the upper caste movements and political leaders began to co-opt Dr. Ambedkar's legacy and brand name as their own.

Dr. Ambedkar's bitter disagreement with M.K. Gandhi was no longer locked in archival documents. Suddenly, Dr. Ambedkar's opposing sentiment became common knowledge. Dr. Ambedkar wanted the abolition of caste system itself which then would result in abolishing untouchability and the inhuman discrimination against the Dalits. Gandhi's proposal to simply deal with the symptom of untouchability and not touch the issue of the caste system was a major mistake and has marred his otherwise great legacy. Perhaps he was influenced by the upper caste people (Hindus) who surrounded him, telling him that Hinduism as they knew it would not survive the demise of caste system, its foundation, steel frame and bonding force.

COW MORE PRECIOUS

Fifty years after "independence", caste prejudice and discrimination continue as a persistent disease. Dr. Ambedkar was correct in his thinking that caste system must be "annihilated" if untouchability is to be genuinely eliminated.

He also concluded that conversion was the ultimate solution if Hinduism was not able to reform itself and annihilate caste. He did not see much hope that this

cataclysmic reformation would take place.

Again, 50 years later nothing of the needed reformation has taken place. If anything with the emergence of the extremist Hindu terrorist movement caste discrimination and oppression have increased.

The modern-day increase of caste-based oppression is the reason why the Vice-President of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) announced that the life of a cow is more valuable than the lives of five Dalits after five Dalit young people in North India were lynched near New Delhi when they were found skinning the carcass of a dead cow.

INTELLECTUAL GIANT

A Shankaracharya said that Dalits should learn to live in the position in which they were born. He was more brutal in his statement than was Gandhi who simply said people must be happy and perform to the best of their ability in their given occupation — scavenging, tanning, sweeping etc.

The movement for emancipation of the depressed classes kept pace with the freedom movement Gandhi led. While Kabir and Phule's folk teachings influenced the masses Dr. Ambedkar made a frontal assault on caste using the brilliance of his legal training and his access to the political negotiating tables in London and New Delhi in the days preceding the transfer of power from imperial Britain to independent India.

Dr. Ambedkar was an intellectual giant and India's great reformer. Born a Dalit in Maharashtra, he had experienced caste's depravity firsthand. He bitterly disagreed with Gandhi's cosmetic solution to the problem of untouchability.

History has proved Dr. Ambedkar right. The Indian Constitution

should have banned the caste system along with the problem of untouchability. Trying to remove untouchability without removing the caste system was like dealing with mere symptoms rather than combating the root disease.

Dr. Ambedkar championed religious freedom for the Dalits thereby leading hundreds of thousands of Dalits into Buddhism (1956) providing an exit to egalitarian faiths as a way out of caste-based bondage. Religious freedom and spiritual rights remain a fundamental component of the Dalit struggle for emancipation.

ANTI-CONVERSION LAWS

In a counter-move, upper caste political leaders have devised and passed several anti-conversion laws during the past few decades in the dubious name of "freedom of religion". These laws have been a deliberate move to keep the Dalit-Bahujans locked in the dehumanizing caste system.

With the rise and the destructive specter of Hindu terrorism (which advocates a return to a so-called Hindu India where the caste structure dominates and rules), Dr. Ambedkar's struggle and thoughts become hugely relevant, not only for the oppressed sections of India but also for Indian nationalism itself.

During the recent rule of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), the Hindu terrorist groups distributed huge quantities of the book, *Manusmriti*, which codified and imposed the caste system on the Indian masses. This book was written by the law-giver, Manu, whose statue is installed in the premises of the Rajasthan High Court. This is the same book which states that if a low caste person hears the word of god, he should have molten lead poured into his ears. Articulating the name of the

god invites having his tongue cut off. Other infringements of caste laws carry the death penalty. Is it any wonder that the powerful upper castes perpetuate violence against Dalit women, Dalit men, and Dalit children with such impunity?

Hence the need to liberate Dalits.

AIM OF LIBERATION MOVEMENT

1. Worldwide alliance:

It is the process of building a broad-based, pan-Indian alliance of individuals and groups to bring an end to caste discrimination and exploitation. It is a national and global struggle for the human rights of the Dalits and other oppressed sections of our society. The movement seeks to build both a national and global union against the caste system and the ensuing inhuman oppression and discrimination.

The movement works with everyone who is committed to ending the dehumanising caste system. Caste, creed, nationality and economic standing are no bar in building this alliance for ending India's silent apartheid of 3,000 years. We believe in a better future for all Indians.

2. Ending caste discrimination:

It is the process of building a global alliance to end caste discrimination around the world. Caste discrimination is not limited to India alone. It is rampant in South Asia and extends to wherever the people of the sub-continent live. It is present among Indians living in the UK, USA, Canada and other places.

The Hindu terrorist movement has now spread across the world with offices in all of the major Western nations including North America, the Caribbean, the UK and the nations of the European Union. These organizations in the West have

financed the violent, caste-based, right-wing Hindu terrorists in India. Caste discrimination should be a legitimate item on the UN agenda and on the agenda of global human rights movements and organizations. Without the active collaborations and support of all global entities that believe in the intrinsic dignity of all humans, caste discrimination will not end.

3. Eliminating caste-based violence:

It is a movement seeking to end caste-based violence against people of depressed castes. The constant rape of Dalit women, the burning of Dalit homes and the blatant physical attacks on Dalits is not acceptable. Year after year physical attacks against Dalits are reported and documented but fewer than 2% ever reach conviction in a court of law. According to one conservative estimate there are over 50,000 major atrocities committed against Dalits every year. We work towards applying the rule of law to those who perpetrate these crimes.

4. Eradicating child labour:

It is a movement designed to deliver the vast majority of Dalit children who make up the bonded child labour market in India. Bonded child labour is a crime against humanity. Estimates report that at least 15 million bonded Dalit children work in inhuman conditions for a paltry sum. Most bonded laborers in India are from Dalit and other backward communities.

5. Gender-based oppression:

It is a movement seeking to end girl prostitution, trafficking of women in the sex trade and other violence against women. There is a huge inter-state trafficking of girls in the sex trade. Dalit and other Backward Caste girls from Nepal are brought and sold into the sex trade which

draws its victims from the Dalits, Tribals and other oppressed castes.

MUSLIMS, CHRISTIANS NOT ENEMIES OF DALITS

6. Cultural nationalism:

It is a movement that rejects the "cultural nationalism" (a direct acquisition from nazi nationalism) of the extremist Hindu right. The right-wing groups and their silent subscribers have used the idea of "external" enemies like "minorities" to try and cover up caste discrimination and unite the oppressed castes in violence against Muslims and Christians in the name of "nationalism".

Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and Buddhists are not the enemies of India, nor are they enemies of the Dalits and other oppressed peoples.

In fact, most Christians, Muslims, Budhists and Sikhs were Dalits and Backward Caste people who turned to these religions to escape the tyranny of the caste system. True nationalism is not separating India along false divisions in society but instead it should be uniting and integrating the peoples of India. True nationalism must see the larger Dalit-Bahujan population delivered from caste oppression and discrimination. Their children, their girls, their women and their men must be delivered from modern day slavery.

7. Authentic spirituality:

It is a movement that deplores the religious exploitation of Dalits and other oppressed groups by any religious entity. It is a movement that categorically rejects pseudo-spirituality even as it champions religious freedom for the oppressed masses. On the one hand, Dalits have been enslaved by one religious system that denies them any spiritual rights and privileges — such as rights of spiritual equality,

access to the temple priesthood, and access to all temples and all religious rites. On the other hand, other religious systems have offered them a place in a "heaven" of the future while continuing to practice caste discrimination within their religious communities.

CHURCH BETRAYS DALITS

The church in India is also guilty in this regard. Large sections of the church in India have betrayed the legacy of Jesus, the legacy of Wilberforce and the legacy of William Carey when it comes to dealing with the issue of the caste system and the ensuing inhuman discrimination within society and the church. At the same time, Dalit leaders acknowledge their debt to those Christian missionaries who reached out to them in love and accepted them as fellow human beings. The present movement seeks an end to this exploitation and pseudo-spirituality. It encourages Dalits and other oppressed peoples to seek true and authentic spirituality — spirituality that truly addresses their spiritual, social, emotional and physical needs.

Bahujan ideologues speak of this struggle as one of spiritual democracy versus the spiritual fascism of the caste system.

8. Empowering Bahujans:

The movement is about the economic and social empowerment of the Dalit-Bahujan people through effective economic and educational programs. It aims to build effective micro-enterprise projects along with macro-enterprises.

It also calls for the review of various foreign govt. aid programs which do not reach Dalits. We ask for a proportionate disbursement of all aid money and projects. It also calls for a review of funding coming

through NGOs into India and the disbursement of the same among the Dalits and other oppressed sections of society.

We acknowledge the heart wrenching poverty that is prevalent among the Dalit majority coupled with the huge problem of overall illiteracy. We believe economic dignity is a critical part of human dignity and that the oppressed must be freed and empowered to take care of their personal economic needs and prosperity.

ENGLISH EDUCATION FOR DALITS

It aims to provide Dalit-Bahujan children — the future — access to quality English-medium education to allow them to play their leadership role in an increasingly globalized India.

Thus far Dalit children (and large sections of the Backward Castes) have had no access to such quality education.

English-medium education is the preserve of the upper castes. This movement rejects the hypocrisy of the upper castes whose children are educated in English, while the children of the oppressed castes are encouraged to study in the vernacular in the name of culture and extremist nationalism.

Besides, we are deeply concerned for the lack of medical care and health problems connected with the Bahujans.

We are disturbed that in the battle against AIDS the Dalit and oppressed caste victims of this disease are once again marginalized in the various programs launched to fight this epidemic. The pattern remains the same whether it is the Dalit victims of the Asian Tsunami of 2004 or the Dalit victims of the Gujarat earthquake of 2001. Dalits are marginalized even in the midst of ca-

tastrophe.

9. Global security threat:

It is a movement that recognizes the huge security threat that ongoing caste discrimination against the Dalit people and other oppressed sections poses to India and the rest of the world. Disenchanted, bitter and angry young men and women drive the extremist violent Maoist and Naxalite left-wing movements from Nepal to South India. As India increasingly becomes two nations in one — one for whom "India is shining" and the other for whom India is in darkness — these violent movements will only crease and will attack not only local governments but also international institutions they deem as collaborators with the elitist castes who oppress the masses.

The movement also recognizes the threat of the oppressed castes

crossing over to other faiths, legitimizing violence and attacking the ruling castes and their institutions. All in all, these facts produce a depressing outlook for the great nation of India if we do not see the abolition of caste in this generation and the achievement of authentic Dalit freedom.

10. Tyranny of caste hierarchy:

It is a movement that seeks to end the oppression within Dalit and BC groups due to the notion of a superior/inferior caste hierarchy. It acknowledges that in some places, sections of the liberated BCs oppress the discriminate the Dalits out of a mistaken sense of their better identity or patently at the behest of the upper castes. It also acknowledges that the Dalit groups themselves need to unite to end the tyranny of the caste system. The

small number of liberated and well-to-do Dalits must not forget the plight of their brethren who continue to suffer. Restorative reconciliation between castes is an integral part of the emancipation agenda.

Conclusion:

We believe in the truths of human equality, freedom of conscience and equal opportunity for all. We reject all forms of racism, caste discrimination, color prejudice and gender discrimination.

We invite all concerned people everywhere to become part of this struggle for the emancipation of Dalit-Bahujans. Action points have been developed for the above goals of the movement. Remember: our work immediately impacts the 250 million Dalits as well as the hundreds of millions of other oppressed sections of Indian society. ■

Uma Bharati groomed to take over BJP ?

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: The cunning and crafty Govindacharya, the black Brahmin friend of Backward Caste Lodha leader Uma Bharati, has finally succeeded in giving a new leadership and saving the sinking ship of Hindu terrorist party, BJP. From the very beginning he was telling the party's Brahmin leadership that SC/ST/BCs will not trust them as long they lead the party. He was right — at least regarding the BCs. The massive March 21 Delhi rally by Uma Bharati proved it.

Brahmins pushed to wall: The *Brahmana Jati Party* (BJP) was never trusted by the SC/ST/BCs, particularly the Dalits. Muslims and Christians hate it. Yet the party continued to be led by Brahmins and finally *Vaidik* Vajpayee and the Sindhvi Khatri, L.K. Advani, got it defeated in the last parliamentary election.

The *vaidiks* are reading the clear writings on the wall and they are also witnessing how power is slipping down to non-Brahmins, particularly the BCs and SCs. Caste has come to the forefront. No Brahmin can compete with caste strength as he has no strength of numbers. The poor Brahmin is pushed to the wall.

Under India's parliamentary democracy, power goes with caste. That means all the three twice-born castes — Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaishya — will have to say good-bye to vote politics and sit at home. *Vaidiks* are

finished because they are just 3%. The other two are still worse. That means both *Vaidik* Vajpayee and L.K. Advani days are over. Some thinking *vaidiks* who have come to this conclusion are understood to have finally groomed Uma to take over BJP — though for all outward show they are giving the impression of tormenting her so that she will gain more and more BC followers and grows bigger and stronger.

But the *vaidik* brains do not understand that neither the Lodha Uma nor her BC followers have given up their "caste identity" she will only go on talking of *Hindutva* but quietly and systematically strengthen her Lodha caste identity.

Caste brings vote: For that matter no leader in BJP has given up his or her "caste identity". No political leader has any big following outside his caste.

That is why Brahmin leaders like Pramod Mahajan, Arun Jaitley, Sushma Swaraj etc. have no following. All these fellows will remain only as manipulators. Caste is working up its way even inside the pure *Brahmana Jati Party*.

The rise and rise of Uma chanting the *hindutva* mantra, donning the *sanyasin* robe but at the same time strengthening her "caste identity" is a new phenomenon in the Hindu terrorist party. ■

Terrorist leader Togadia admits danger of caste blocking "Hindu unity"

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: DV's "caste identity" thesis has bagged the certificate from India's highest authority on the subject — the Hindu terrorist party:

Erode (TN): Lack of unity among the Hindu society separated by caste barriers has weakened its strength and has resulted in various political parties lining up behind the minority communities for their vote bank, said international general secretary of the Vishwa Hindu Parishad, Praveen Togadia, here on March 19. He was addressing the fifth State Hindu Resurgence Conference organised by the VHP. (*Hindu* March 20, 2006).

Hindu unity impossible: Togadia admits that as long as the caste exist there can be no "Hindu unity". The Hindu terrorist parties since "independence" have spent millions and billions of dollars to destroy our castes which are our identity. But finally the terrorists have admitted their failure. Did we not say that caste

Confusion on measuring "poverty"

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: Even after the National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme was inaugurated with much fanfare by the Prime Minister, confusion persists in identifying the below the poverty line (BPL) people. The earlier parameters to define the BPL people were abandoned and a new set was announced:

New Delhi: The Centre has notified 13 new parameters for defining below poverty line (BPL) category of people in the country. It has done away with the earlier definition based on food calories or annual earnings.

The revised definition is based on landholding, type of dwelling, clothing, food security, hygiene, capacity for buying commodities, literacy, minimum wages earned by the household, means of livelihood, education of children, debt, migration and priority for assistance. The matter had been stayed by the Supreme Court and has now been vacated, Union Minister for Rural Development Raghuvansh Prasad Singh told Rajya Sabha on March 21, 2006.

Replying to a discussion on the functioning of his Ministry, Mr. Singh said the earliest definition of BPL in 1979 was based on consumption of 2,100 calories in urban areas and 2,400 calories for rural areas. In 1991-92, a household with an annual income of Rs. 11,000 was placed under the BPL category. In 1997, this criterion was raised to Rs. 20,000 per annum. In 2002, it was based on the 13 parameters. All village panchayats would have to display the number of BPL at the panchayat-ghars or schools for "transparency".

is the best antidote to casteism which is the other word for Hinduism? Did we not also say: Let Hindu heroes go on singing their song of "Hindu unity" and we will go on dividing and destroying Hindu unity by using our caste weapon? As the Brahminical upper castes are controlling our thoughts and trying to make us Hindu, it is not possible to finish Hinduism and convince the victims of Hinduism that they are not Hindu.

The best, the cheapest, easily available and yet the deadliest weapon is caste.

DV discovered this weapon. And it is now sharpening this weapon. The Hindu terrorists know the danger of caste killing them. But the "educated" Dalits are not able to understand the importance of caste. Or, are they criticising us to please their masters? ■

He said the National Rural Employment Guarantee Programme "guarantees" 100 days of employment during the lean season. So far in 181 districts in 17 States 2.23 crore people had registered. (*Hindu*, March 22, 2006).

Confusion on BPL: We can't say the confusion on BPL is over. Because the application of the 14 parameters is too complicated a task which is bound to lead to lot of mischief giving room for the upper caste implementing authorities to prefer their own people. But on the other hand accepting the time-tested caste yardstick is not only simple and straightforward but gives no room for mischief. The feeling is that complications are deliberately introduced on determining the BPL people to see that the fruits of NREGS and other governmental schemes do not go to the deserving people.

Even a child can make out who the poorest are in a village. Innumerable government documents and commissions have identified the SC/STs as the country's poorest. It needs no magnifying glass to find out who the poor are in India. But the ruling class deliberately creates confusion to see that SC/STs are overlooked. This has happened in the Maharashtra REGS, which proved to be a failure, and it is repeating with the NREGS. (*Dalit Voice* April 1, 2006 p.24: "Poorest left out of NREGS in UP"). ■

DV on caste & class

AMARJIT SINGH, 44 - GOWAN ROAD, WILLESDEN, LONDON NW10 2 SH, U.K.

The problem of Dalits is many-faceted: economic, social, political, religious, psychological etc. In India, it is futile to argue which predominates. Depending upon time and space either one factor can be in ascendancy. Are the problems of the majority of Maharashtra Dalits the same as those of the Bihari Dalits? That is another difference that I have with VTR when he says that poverty is not a problem with Dalits. By denying economic, factors he may wish to distance himself from the marxists but he moves too near the gandhites who may argue that the problem is social only. The only solution is to start from the premise that Dalit problems are multi-faceted. Dr. Ambedkar did not deny the interconnection. He emphasised the social dimension because the "marxists" were denying it. History of his struggle showed that he never neglected any factor but tried to change tactics according to the circumstances. His second in command, Dadasahab Gaikwad, was engaged in land reform struggle. No doubt he could see the whole elephant and not just legs, trunks, ears individually. He is said to have stated that untouchability pays economic dividends to the Hindus. Gandhi may have blackmailed Dr. Ambedkar but it was his own people who betrayed him in the end because he wanted the struggle to continue but they had achieved what they wanted i.e. reservations and a chance to get into the Congress Party. It was the "class" nature (and not the "caste" nature) of these educated Dalits which betrayed Dr. Ambedkar who was helped in his re-election by Punjabi Ravidasis from Calcutta. It is my belief that although VTR has made

Both Brother Amajit Singh and Ajit Nadagawali are honest intellectuals and that is why we like them.

1. We are neither marxists nor gandhians. Both are upper caste and hence our enemies.
2. The Hindu terrorist party (RSS-BJP) has not a single economic programme. Their every programme is social and cultural to **hinduise** (enslave) us.
3. Jagjivan Ram was a **crorepati**. Perhaps he was the best minister under Indira Gandhi but he was insulted by the Brahmins. Why? All over India, our people alone are persecuted. Why? Is it because they are poor? Do "poor" Brahmins face persecution? Answer this question. Read what Brother Gurnam Singh says on p.21.
4. Dalit problem (and all Bahujans) is purely social and cultural. If Dalits are "poor" it is only because they are Untouchables. Caste system is a socio-cultural-religious quillotine. Read Babasahab correctly. All his books deal with only such subjects. Economics takes

tremendous contribution to Dalits in India but on certain issues he has no doubt put us back as well.

The question of Hitler and Jews is one such issue. His thesis on "caste identity" is not new but has been floated by sociologists in the last couple of decades. While **identity** is important it cannot be the whole story. While caste solidarity is ground reality, the solution how to solve intra-caste contradiction is a non-starter because unfortunately people work for their own (i.e. caste) interests. In UK, Buddhist Ambedkarite Dalits tell the others: "Become Buddhist before we even talk to you". VTR is also mainly silent (dismissing these with a single sentence) on a number of other issues which may contradict him. Although VTR claims that he had no objection to a debate which hinged on these issues with Dr. Anand Teltumbde, by engaging in name calling, he made it a non-possibility despite my best efforts. The reason why I stopped taking *Dalit Voice* was that I corresponded with VTR over 20 years on the question of Jews and then gave him 2 years warning before I stopped DV on the question of Hitler which I maintain will do immense damage to the Dalit cause internationally. It cannot be that VTR is not aware of this damage.

Ajitkumar Nandagawali, (anandagawali@yahoo.com): I agree with Amajit Singh when he says that our problems are multi-faceted. Each problem needs unique solution. I am not so sure why VTR talks about Hitler and Jews and USA. Other than that DV has some potential to enlighten our people. ■

a secondary place. Economic aspect is after social.

- The simple and straight point is in India caste is "class".*
5. Then comes Hitler. We have written a book, **Brahminism** (DSA-2002) which answers this question. Even the Israeli Embassy in Delhi, despite our repeated inquiries, is refusing to answer it. The question is why the Brahmins who inspired Hitler with their **swastika**, "chosen people theory", Aryan pride etc. and made Hitler to kill Jews later joined the Jews? That the Brahmins are the "Jews of India" is accepted by both.
 6. The great Jewish historian, Leon Poliakov, who wrote his famous book on Jewish history, **Aryan Myth**, also refused to answer this question.
 7. We were the first to propound this theory that Brahmins are the "Jews of India".
 8. Today the Jews and "Jews of India" have joined hands and together are oppressing us. Should we criticise the oppressors or not? — **EDITOR**. ■

If caste is not our identity what else is our (Bahujan) identity?

Brother Talukdar's opposition to our thesis is not new. His criticism is published in full as we did with Dr. Bhoiyar's (DV April 1, 2006 p.18). He describes DV members supporting us as "mischievous" people.

(1) Fortunately an overwhelming number of our family is supporting our thesis. Those criticising it are only a handful. Talukdar calls

himself an Ambedkarite but Ambedkarites have to be democratic also. How can a handful of people opposing the thousands of votaries call themselves democratic? Our English **Caste** book is going into third edition. The Kannada first edition is sold out. The Hindi edition is ready. Malayalam translation underway. Such is the popularity of this thesis which is hated by the Brahmins en bloc. (See also p.27).

(2) "**Caste identity**" thesis was so far confined to social and cultural spheres. Now we have extended the thesis to economic (DV Edit Dec.1, 2005: "**DV extends caste identity to economic planning**"). We discussed our caste-based economic planning thesis with Lalu Prasad Yadav, Karnataka ex-Chief Minister. Veerappa Moliy and many Dalit IAS, IPS, officers. Everybody said that was the only way to see development funds reached the last and the lowest. A book on the subject titled, *Development Redefined*, is under print and will be released in Delhi shortly.

(3) Any criticism of the "**caste identity**" is given first preference in DV. We have published Brother Anand Jaitumbde, Ashok Bhoiyar, Balwant Singh and S.R. Talukdar. May be 2-3 others. But barring these couple of brothers the rest support us because our thesis helps relieve

the pain of the weakest castes among the SCs and BCs. The opposition comes only from the "creamy layer" among SC/BC. As Ambedkarites we have to go with the last and the least. The Chamras in Punjab, UP, Bihar, MP, Haryana, HP, AP have supported us. We are not able to understand on what ground

within the SC/BCs gradually started waking up and demanding "internal reservations" (categorisation) to assure that fruits of reservation reached in proportion to the population of each *caste*. Those opposing "categorisation" belong to the dominant castes among the SC/BCs. This "creamy layer" wants to eat the fruits of reservation alone without caring and sharing. When we support the weakest link in the cycle chain, we are dubbed anti-Ambedkarites. But to the Madigas of AP and Karnataka and non-Mahar SC subcastes of Maharashtra DV has come as a saviour. How can DV support to the weakest and the numerically smallest *castes* be dubbed anti-Ambedkarite? How can this be called a casteist demand? Please answer.

"Caste identity" harms Bahujan movement

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Every human life has two parts. One part is mortal and the other is immortal. Babasaheb's mortal part has disappeared from the scene 50 years ago but his immortal part has not only survived till now, it is still growing in stature. He himself created this immortal part through his thoughts, deeds and words. He is no more there to protect it but his followers are protecting his immortal part of life.

Now think about yourself. You also have an immortal part but that is a dark one. So long you are alive you are trying to illuminate that part. But that will vanish into darkness after you are no more because there will be nobody to protect it. You are doing greatest harm to the Bahujan movement through your "**caste identity**" propaganda.

You and your mischievous supporters are actually the enemies of Bahujan Samaj. We the Dalits understand it but still subscribe to your paper but that is for a different reason.

Brother Talukdar is against our thesis.

(4) Our Hindi DV published from Delhi has good circulation among the poorer (non-English knowing) Dalits. Till this day not a single opposition has come. Only appreciation. Are they all bloody fools?

(5) Scheduled Castes (and even Backward Castes) are not one community. So far the dominant castes among SCs and BCs have been eating the fruits of reservations. The weaker castes

wanting the SC/BCs gradually started waking up and demanding "internal reservations" (categorisation) to assure that fruits of reservation reached in proportion to the population of each *caste*. Those opposing "categorisation" belong to the dominant castes among the SC/BCs. This "creamy layer" wants to eat the fruits of reservation alone without caring and sharing. When we support the weakest link in the cycle chain, we are dubbed anti-Ambedkarites. But to the Madigas of AP and Karnataka and non-Mahar SC subcastes of Maharashtra DV has come as a saviour. How can DV support to the weakest and the numerically smallest *castes* be dubbed anti-Ambedkarite? How can this be called a casteist demand? Please answer.

(6) If Talukdar is only against "identity" then he must tell us what is the alternative "identity" he is offering to SCs and BCs? Without **identity** a society, civilisation will be dead. The Brahminical people strictly maintain their **identity**. They say their identity is their *caste*. They are not ready to give up their **identity**. Talukdar's point is SC/BC identity is not caste. If our **identity** is not caste, what else is our identity? Everything in India is decided on the basis of caste because that is the only **identity**. Talukdar's arguments are exactly on the lines of M.K. Gandhi and his followers who wanted to destroy Babasaheb demand for separate electorate.

We can convince people who are willing to go by reasonable arguments, scientific and rational principles and logical analysis.

Will Talukdar answer? — EDITOR. ■

Anti-Dalit & Muslim prejudice in casteist Indian army

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India as a democracy has adopted the concept of representative institutions with only two exceptions (1) higher judiciary and the (2) Army because there is nothing like reservation to ensure presence of all castes and communities. So it is high time that these institutions also accept the democratic principle of representative institutions.

It is universally accepted that army service has much importance in public life. Army service is not only a means of earning livelihood but it also inculcates discipline, secular values, bravery, nationalism and frankness in its members. At least 10 years army service for every able bodied Indian will help make him perfectly democratic.

POLICE BETTER THAN ARMY

Is every citizen is getting an equal opportunity or not? Muslims constitute about 14% and the Dalits (Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) about 25% but their share in the public services is much less. In the Army, Muslim share is less than 1%. Actual statistics are not disclosed. Representation of various castes and communities in the Army is not made public. Even then some statistics of Dalit representation in the Army are available in the 27th Report (1979-81) of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes under the subhead "Armed Forces" (pp.63-64):

"Para 3.61 — Regarding recruitment of SC/ST there is not so far in operation the provision of reservation. Otherwise, efforts were made to collect the statistics

showing representation of SC/STs in the Army. The Ministry of Defence refused to make available the actual number of SC/STs. But even then as on 1.1.80 the percentage of SC/ST as compared to the total number of Armed Forces is reproduced below. (*See table*).

Among various ranks of Armed Forces except JCOs in Infantry and Navy soldiers in Navy, the representation of SC/STs is very low. It is true that the govt. has taken some steps to improve the representation of SC/STs in the Defence Forces e.g. entry of SC/ST boys in *sainik* schools with relaxed standards and the scheme of giving

Name of Service	Rank of Class	Comparative % of SC/STs to the total men in Armed Forces
Infantry	Officers (Nursing officers included)	0.44
	JCOs/OR	10.66
Navy	Officers	not available
	Navy Soldiers	7.3
Air Force	Officers	0.156
	Air Men	2.568

scholarships to those who qualify in the entrance test but no significant improvement has taken place in this regard. So long as reservation is not introduced in recruitment to the Army in respect of SC/STs, it will not be possible to improve the situation. The desirability of pre-selection training of SC/ST candidates desirous of service in Defence Forces can also be considered".

Although the above statistics are 25 years old even then a significant change is not expected. No change has been introduced in the Army recruitment.

When the representation of Dalits

and Muslims, who constitute about 40% of Indian population is so low in the Armed Forces, inner composition and its effects on its performance and nature can be well imagined. Is it not necessary in the interest of social justice, national security and balanced composition of the Armed Forces that adequate representation of Dalits and Muslims should be ensured so as to ward off consequential distortions.

CHAMARS ENTER ARMY

A few years ago a similar situation prevailed in the police and other para military forces but the introduction of reservation has significantly changed the situation. Will it not be proper to think of adopting a similar system in Army also without compromising the merit as claimed?

Muslims had a high presence in the Army before 1947 which got reduced due to the transfer of some Muslim

regiments to Pakistan where as the population of Muslims continues to be quite high in India but their presence in the Army is said to be less than 1% which should be a cause of worry. Similarly the presence of Dalits in the Army has gone down after the abolition of some Dalit Regiments in 1947. The Dalits have played a significant role in the development of Armed Forces in India since the advent of British in India.

Let us have a look at the history of Armed Forces of India.

East India Company had to fight the French in India. For this purpose the

East India Co., which was primarily formed for trade in India, had to impart military training to watchmen recruited in Madras and Gujarat and they continued to protect the property of the Co. Gradually these groups took shape of a military. In Madras, the Untouchables and lower castes entered in big numbers the forces of Lord Clive. Later East India Co. formed three Commands e.g. Madras, Bombay and Bengal Army. Madras and Bombay commands consisted of men of all castes and religions but the Bengal Army had men from UP and Bihar. They were Doms, Dhanuks, Meharas, Chamars along with Afghans, Turks and Mughals who were prepared to fight for money.

MARTIAL RACE THEORY

But Brahmins and Rajputs being fair-skinned and well built were liked by Englishmen. Men proceeding on leave were asked to bring with them young men to join the Army. Every soldier preferred his own *jati*.

Because of this Brahmins continued to rise in Bengal Army. As the Brahmins and Rajputs increased, the number of Untouchables and lower caste decreased due to untouchability. Caste system and the presence of family members in large numbers is antagonistic to the maintenance of discipline in any organization. That was the reason why before 1857 as many as 70 revolts took place in Bengal Army. After this revolt the British tried to reorganize the Army.

After 1892, the doors of the Army were closed to Dalits. But recruitment was made from among those classes and castes who had sided with the British during the 1857 revolt.

A new theory of martial and non-martial races was invented. Only those who were declared as martial race were recruited into the Army. During 1914-18 war, a large number

of Indian soldiers were killed in Europe and Turkey. New caste-based regiments were raised. It became difficult to make recruitment to caste and class regiments. Hence the process of recruitment of close caste relations was discontinued. Again during 1939-46 war, a large number of men had to be recruited as the British were fighting Germany and Italy in Europe and Africa away from Indian borders.

Among them many Dalit regiments, namely Mahar, Mazhbi, Chamar, Ramdasia, Chuhra Christians etc., were raised who displayed their bravery in many foreign lands and the British praised them like anything. Dr. Ambedkar also made all-out efforts for getting the Dalits into the Army.

In 1947, the British left India but the caste regiments especially in Infantry continued to exist. Gradually class regiments were abolished.

DALIT SIKH REGIMENT

The Untouchable Caste Regiments especially fell prey to it. Chamar Regiment and such other regiments were abolished leaving behind only two e.g. Mahar and Mazhbi regiments which was renamed as Sikh Light Infantry Regiment. Changes were introduced in them also. At many places, the name of Class Regiment has been retained but men are recruited from various castes. Jagjivan Ram issued an important order as Defence Minister abolishing distinction between combatants and non-combatants. Before that in Army the langris, cooks, bearers, bhishities, chaukidars, meharas, dhoobies etc. were not given Army training e.g. weapon firing and battle training etc. This historic decision resulted in thousands of non-combatants getting battle training and they also became soldiers of equal rank. But the caste system did not totally

disappear from Army. Navy and Air Force are fairly free from caste system because their recruitment is made from different castes/communities and the level of education is also high.

CASTEISM & CORRUPTION

The continuation of caste system in Infantry is also the result of long tradition which continues till today. The other reason is the Recruiting Officers and Medical Officers working with them. The third reason is the corruption. At many places the Recruiting Officers demand money from the candidates. The Recruiting officers are generally retired or honorary captains who seldom rise above caste prejudices and considerations.

A Dalit candidate is rejected by asking his caste name and the same boy gets selected after sometime when he changes his caste name or passes off as a Christian. But selection to the officer rank involves passing a written examination which is announced by the Central Govt. in various newspapers. Even after passing the written examination, there is a scope for asking caste-related questions during interview. As for counting of Muslims in the Army, it is repeatedly being emphasized that Army recruitment is totally based on "merit" but in view of the minuscule presence of Dalits and Muslims in Army it is important to honestly review "merit" principle.

If the representation of Dalits in police and other para military organizations can be ensured through reservations then why cannot the same be considered in the case of Army also without compromising the "merit"? Some steps regarding securing the entry of Muslims can also be considered so that our Armed Forces truly become the representative of national ethos.

(srdatarapuri@india.com)

Letters to Editor

Siva Tanuku (tanukus@gmail.com): Thanks for publishing my email (DV March 1, 2006). I also read so many other DV articles and happy to see so many wonderful points that I fully agree with. However, I could not agree with your support to Islam and Christianity. You can hate Hinduism and try to destroy it. We don't have any problem. However, we don't see any hope when India becomes a country of again 50% Muslims and 50% Christians because sectarian violence will continue. As I told you before, we love you (however, we don't fully understand why you support religions like Christianity and Islam which are completely mess, better than Hinduism - without castes), with all the blood they shed every day. Christian societies are celebrities, rich, porn, gay, child abuse (Christian churches) etc. Even though we like Christ (a great man), we can never agree with Christian philosophy. Islam (please read Quran and *sunnah*) is good when it comes to social respect of a common man and no casteism. However, the history of Prophet Mohamed, his wives, the battles, etc. can never be a good solutions for people who are oppressed in other systems. In majority of Islamic countries only very few people are rich and 90% living in poverty even with the petrodollars they are getting. I can understand the social injustice of Hinduism. But simply not taking into consideration issues within the other systems and suggesting them as if they are good is a bigger mistake and big weakness in the Dalit philosophy. Propose a good alternatives to Hinduism, we will follow you. When I visit India next, we would like to meet you.

Your Letter of March 16 came as a shock. It's a big jump from your earlier position. Brahmins like you, if exposed to facts and rational thinking, will definitely change. But the whole problem with them is they are not ready to learn anything new or forget anything old. See how you have changed. Your question: why Dalits love Christianity and Islam. The answer is with the law of contradiction. We love everything the Bachhin hates and hate everything the Bachhin loves. Simple. Your frank admission of the social injustice of Hinduism is great but there is a mischief in your plea to find "an alternative to Hinduism". Sorry, there is no alternative to a dilapidated, leaking house. It has to be dismantled and destroyed. Alternative will emerge in course of struggle — EDITOR.

Dr. Parvez Khan, Bahnhofvorplatz-2a, 50667, Kohn, Germany: I have received your book in German and the truth-telling DV of Jan. 16, 2006. The book is currently being read by us to see what it says and then we will see

whether we should offer to the German journalists as it is or perhaps after some editing. DV of Jan. 16 has a very good article from Roopali Rokade of Canada ("*Dalit scholar looks at anti-human features of Hinduism*", p.23) who exposed the true face of Hindu religion and its message of persecution against the Bahujans in great details. All praise to Sister Roopali for composing such a good and truth-telling article about the dirty Gandhis and their fascist religion. We are contacting the Afro-Americans in USA to expose M.K. Gandhi and we are using the weblinks of *Dalit Voice* and the *Guardian* for this purpose. The Hindus are getting constant abuse from the Americans. For further information read this:

"Insults from America to Indian call centres". Newstoday, by Mike Mephate in Delhi. www.tinyurl.com/bgs73.

Shaikh Nizamuddin, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia: I knew DV since my student days when it was too difficult to acquire/purchase the copy. We used to steal it from our professors stock. Later I shifted to Saudi Arabia where too it was difficult to get the copy on time but later on we sorted out that problem. In fact I and some of my friends were activists of DV and convinced many of our friends to subscribe. I like DV because I am an activist fighting for justice and equality. DV is our guide and inspiration. It is a sea of resources which can be used wherever, whenever required to show these "elites", the suckers of the oppressed class, their place. We are proud of DV and your untiring struggle. We keep up our commitment towards DV and its objectives and wish you the best. DV is the only credible platform for the common man in general and oppressed class in particular to voice the anger against the oppressors. There were very many "expert comments, analytical expressions" in the media (running almost nonstop) over the Bush visit to India. However, there is still a little room to give a benefit of doubt to the print media but the electronic media dashed the hopes off millions of Indians. The way the electronic media, which is either controlled by the upper caste clowns or the capitalist suckers, performed during the visit of the most dangerous terrorist of the world (Bush), was nothing but a shameless act showing utter disrespect for the millions of poor, farmers, labours, the country's Tribals, the minorities and the oppressed class of the country which forms the huge majority of Indian population. Those buffoons of the TV have nothing but all praise for Bush and America — like a slave singing for the master. The shameless statements by the media gurus who lunched with Bush and their understanding towards the legitimate protests across the country exposes their hypocrisy and shows their contempt for the common man of the country and their love for their masters.

Rightly described as a parallel to the demonstrations held against the Simon Commission immediately after "independence", our own media of "independent" India down-played the protests and killed the stories of protests with impunity. Those corporate gurus, bending before the American President was a pathetic scene. The real culprit, Manmohan Singh, is acting more like a World Bank CEO rather than a Prime Minister. He should be held accountable for this *harakiri* as we have now mortgaged our future to America. Behind the scene, the Brahminic BJP is more than happy to see what they wanted but equally happy to see the onus falling on the Congress. The statements and tabling the reports in Parliament is an eyewash. Lies

and utter lies when the government is telling the country that everything is done in its best interest. Why only nuclear deal but all those agreements signed during the visit should be open for debate. Let the people decide what is their interest. The future is bleak. We may lose our freedom, we may even lose our sovereignty, our integrity is shaken. (sholapuri@yahoo.com).

Brig. (retd.) Usman Khalid, Director, London Institute of South Asia, 3 - Blacklands Dr., Hayes, MDDX, UB4, 8EU, UK: Thank you for sending me the book, *Maratha Revolt Against Brahminism in 21st Century*, by Dr. K. Jamnadas. It is a very comprehensive and objective description of the history how *Shiva Dharma* has evolved and crystallised as a separate egalitarian faith. I notice that embracing *Shiva Dharma* by the Maratha "nation" is being seen by them as a "conversion" and not "reversion". Marathas are India's natives who were egalitarian and did not practice untouchability. Yet they were co-opted by the Brahmin to defend them from the Muslims like they did with the Jats and Rajputs. But the cunning Brhamin did not embrace the egalitarianism of those they accepted as rulers and protectors but spun tales to reduce them to children of lesser gods. After a fruitless millennium-long "fight of the fables" the native peoples of India are now realising that there is no escape from

Mischief of Brahmin Chief Minister Joshi

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Brahminism has left its conspiratorial impression on every step of life at every stage. When I was reading Dr. Ambedkar's *Writings & Speeches*, Vol. 16, I found something shocking. At the very beginning of the volume, I discovered the very black cat of Brahminism. Manohar Joshi, the then Chief Minister of Maharashtra, wrote the preface to this volume, As a true Brahmin, he did not forget to leave his caste stink on the volume. Joshi mentions two things which are totally objectionable, and questioning the faith and feelings of Buddhists. He says (1) Buddhism is part of Hindu culture and (2) Budha was the 10th incarnation of god. Stupid. Joshi forgets that Babasahab has outright rejected both and had never accepted Budha as part of Hindu. Nor was he the incarnation of any god. Joshi has indulged in serious moral corruption comparing historical Budha with his imaginary god. How did the then Editorial Board allow publication of this offensive remark fully against Buddhism and Ambedkarism? DV must seek an explanation and demand deletion of this offensive remark of the Hindu terrorist ex-CM.

the clutches of Brahminism without renouncing Hinduism. This idea is not new but the approach of *Shiva Dharma* is altogether new. *Shiva Dharma* is right to call itself a new faith which is founded on "reason" not "revelation". Such a bold claim puts *Shiva Dharma* in a unique category that is very unlike Islam or Christianity — faiths based on revelations. That is why there is a danger that the new faith, instead of seeing itself as akin to those universal egalitarian faiths may end up being inimical to them. All political observers have been saying that Brahminism is dying. It is already impossible to put a Brahmin in the shop window anywhere in India. The Bahujan — the native peoples of India — have taken political control of India by

transforming their *caste identity* into vote banks urged by their sagacious intellectual leader, V.T. Rajshekar. Now they are moving to the next stage with three objectives in mind:

- (1) Seek the renunciation of Hinduism by more and more peoples who have been made Untouchables because they now realise that sometimes their gods were reviled, sometimes embraced, but the effect was to make them children of lesser gods. (2) Establish a Bahujan Samaj as a coalition of all egalitarian faiths — Buddhism, Islam, Christianity, the Sikh faith and now *Shiva Dharma*. (3) Crystallise a view of the world that is based on renunciation of imperialism, at home and abroad, unlike the Congress and the BJP

who are global allies of American imperialism or the communists in India who have evolved a new imperialism founded on contempt for everybody's faith.

The emergence of *Shiva Dharma* is in pursuit of the first Bahujan objective. This process must be seen as complementary to the other conversion — to Buddhism, Islam, Christianity or the Sikh. That would lay the foundation for achieving the second objective leading to the emergence of the Bahujan Samaj as the coalition of egalitarian moral majority. The world observed the emergence of a new political coalition in India during the visit of President Bush to the subcontinent. This coalition was not based on any faith or ideology, it was

founded on revulsion for imperialism — in this case America — that has caused so much bloodshed so close to our subcontinent in Afghanistan and Iraq. Bahujan Samaj would become the equal to the three national parties when it develops its separate view of the world. It would emerge as the superior view with the widest support if it is based on rejection and opposition to imperialism. I compliment Dr. Jamanadas and Brother Rajshakar for presenting such a clear and impressive description of *Shiva Dharma*. The conversion on Jan. 12, 2005 may well turn out to be a watershed moment in the history of India. It may mark the moment when the slow stream eroding the power of the Brahmins came into flood and swept away the edifice of internal as well international imperialism in India.

Muhammad Al Massari (muhammadalmassari4@bulla.doghme.com): A senior church leader in London has suggested that unless Christians begin to take their faith seriously, Britain could soon become a Muslim nation reports the *Church of England* newspaper. Canon Alan Nugent, the Subdean of Lincoln Cathedral, commented on the demonstrations by Muslims following the cartoon of Prophet Muhammad in some European newspapers. He pointed out the extreme "brutal and violent" posters carried by a number of the protestors in London protests. He revealed that the banners showed Islam's goal in UK.

"They warned that Britain would before long become Islamic. What is needed for Britain to remain a Christian nation is for Christian people to take their faith seriously and never assume that a Christian Britain is a given which will never change". If current trends continued by 2012 there would be more mosques than churches in England, he said.

Ajit Nandagawali (anandgawali@yahoo.com): Please accept my bows for your work. I used to be a member of DV family before. Now you must be wondering what happened to this guy. Whether I receive your magazine or not I will support you. We know our own people go against us. This is since the time of Budha. We must admire the Brahminic minds for doing this. But we can do nothing. So, I think we can just let it happen. We must admit our own failures. Though we have men, we do not have the media and money. Our Dalit elites try to keep themselves away from the masses. They are scared of something that we yet have not found out. This is again subject of much research. I am not surprised that our own brothers speak against you. DV indeed can inspire a lot of people by its thought-provoking articles. I like the way DV represents our history. Only we can write the right history of this land. And DV just does that without any failure. I also recommend all my fellow

Dalits (irrespective of the religion) to join the DV family. DV Editorials and articles are worth reading and thought-provoking, unlike the existing Brahminic media (what VTR calls the toilet papers). I must admit the courage of VTR for writing what he writes. No wonder he has been attacked few times.

Mrs. Maju Kumari Rao, BHU, Varanasi - 221 005: I read the latest DV (March 16, 2006 p.19: "*The hell in holy Kashi & filth flowing in Ganga*"). I want to share my experience with you. When I was at Puri on a study on my subject, "Conflict and Development", I had a chance to see "India's biggest mental hospital" (DV Edit Aug.16, 1997). It was a shock to learn that the per day income of the temple is Rs. 3 crores. There were approximately 1,000 policemen to guard the temple. It means their own great god is not able to protect himself. Then how can he protect the people? I want to give you lot of thanks for your guideline.

Ashok Bharti, M-3/22, Model Town-III, Delhi - 110 009: National Conference of Dalit Organisations (NACDOR), which has now grown into a confederation of over 300 Dalit organisations in India, has been studying implications of the development plans, budgets and other policies of the govt. on the Dalits, Adivasis, OBCs and minorities. We started our UP office at Lucknow where we are working with over 70 Dalit organisations in five regions of UP. We organised a Peoples' Dignity Rally before the Vidhan Sabha on Dec.10, 2005 with 5,000 people participating. We launched our Blue Badge Campaign, "Dalit Against Poverty" supported by the Millennium Development Goal Dept. of the United Nations. This was launched by Salil Shetye, Director. UN Millennium Development Goals, in Delhi on Dec.5, 2005. We want to develop Dalit leadership in the area of Development planning and budgets. We offer four fellowship of Rs. 2,000 each a month for one year to the Dalit students in four different regions of UP. Two will be Dalit women students. Currently we offer 16 fellowships in UP — 8 Dr. Ambedkar Fellowships and 8 Savitri Bai Phule Fellowships annually. Socially active Dalit post-graduate students studying in Meerut, Lucknow, Varanasi and Jhansi University interested in development planning and budgets can apply.

V.K. Hankare, United India Ins. Co. Ltd, Divisional Office No.4, Mercantile Bank Chambers, 19 - Cawashi Patel Street, Fort, Bombay - 400 001: I have never read such revolutionary writings like yours. Your literature have changed my entire vision and way of thinking. Our people must read your literature. Then only they will become Ambedkarites.

Gurnam Singh Muktsar, 2 - Bhagat Singh Nagar, b/h

Bus Stand, Muktsar - 152 026: The Sindhi Khatri, L.K. Advani, during his recent visit to Pakistan talked of the "secular character" of Jinnah and lost his fame and position in the Hindu terrorist party (BJP). All that he earned through *Ratha Yatra* and demolition of Babri Masjid that resulted in pure and naked Brahminical rule over India simply melted away. *Dalit Voice* was the only paper which clearly interpreted this development as a Brahminical revolt against the non-Brahmin Advani. Non-Brahmins in BJP are in revolt like Uma Bharati, Kalyan Singh, Bangaru, Katar are upset. Modi is facing his crimes. Advani is thrown out. Bal Thackeray is dying. India will be safe only if it is out of the hands of Brahmins. Let the Brahmin ship sink as soon as possible to make India free. Behind the partition of India and Pakistan, I find the hands of Brahmin Pandit Nehru. There was a big majority of Muslims in India. Hindus and Muslims were like the mongoose and serpent in one cage. Besides, 85 to 90% Muslims were Dalit converts who shifted to Islam disguised with Brahminism. It is only the Indian Muslim who to this day refused to accept any Hindu custom. If the Muslims had lived in the undivided India our present Hindu terrorist rule could never have come. If the Muslims and SC/B/Cs had united then the micro-minority Brahmins would have had no chance to ride over us. The division of India was a Brahminical conspiracy implemented through Gandhi. Jinnah was perhaps misled by some Brahmins to give the slogan of Pakistan. India was partitioned into two "nations" of Hindus and Muslims. Jinnah became the first president of Pakistan. In 1948, Gandhi was shot dead by a Brahmin. And Jinnah died a sad death. Jinnah did not allow the Muslim majority to trouble the minority Hindus left in Pakistan. He was the protector of minorities. He did not favour only Muslims. In India, we had a Brahmin rule to protect and promote the *savarna* Hindu against all other minorities like Sikhs, Buddhists, Christians, Muslims and Dalits. In Pakistan, there was Jinnah, a Hindu convert to Islam, to protect Hindus at any cost. This was his real secularism that was praised by Advani but hated by the Hindu terrorists. Under the "Hindu rule" in India, minorities and Dalits are crushed one by one. Dr. Ambedkar, the real saviour of the oppressed, had favoured Indian secularism to save the enslaved Bahujans and their by-product, minorities. It was 1980 when I heard the name of Dr. Ambedkar from a Dalit peon. The name I never read or heard before. At the age of 30 I heard his name. I also found *Dalit Voice* and a large number of books to read and understand Brahminism that gave me a big shock. I could easily find that India had only one big problem, the mother of

all problems and human sufferings, that is Brahminism. Ever since Aryans came 3,000 years ago they became a permanent problem from our birth to death and even after death.

Dalip Singh Wasan, Advocate, 101-C, Vikas Colony, Patiala - 147 003: Dalits have become a weak force because they are not united. Their greatest tragedy is (1) they are divided and (2) have no leadership. Upper castes select a couple of Dalits, give them "reserved" positions and then ask them to dance to their tunes. Thus they create perfect stooges out of Dalits. Time has come for Dalits to have an introspection. Stop this division and merge into one unit. Forget you are Balmiki, Mazhbi, Chamar, Mochi, Dhiva, Bazigar, Sikligar. They could not even establish one religious or a place of worship where all the Dalits could collect for devotion. Each has its own separate temple. Mazhbis go to Sikh gurdwaras. Ravidasias, Ramdasias or Chamars have their own temples and religious books. Mazhbis and Balmikis do not visit Ravidasia temples. Leaderless on both religious and political fronts. Their situation is as it was before "independence" (1947). They are still suffering in spite of all fake reservation and concessions. If we count the prostitutes, dancing girls, call girls, beggars, child labour sweat labour class in factories, hotels, Dalits constitute the single largest force. Brahmins will not conduct such a survey. Caste-wise census is not liked in Brahminical India. Because that brings out the hard facts. Though their total population must be not less than 25% of India they continue to be beggars. Since they are a divided lot individually they are not over 5% and hence nobody bothers about them. After Dr. Ambedkar they could not find a "national" leader. As for the religious side no man on earth can unite them. Dalits must accept this defeat and also accept that none on earth can better their lot.

A.L. Rawal, 48/12, GF, Backside, East Patel Nagar, New Delhi - 110 008: This refers to my DV article of March 16, 2006 p.24: "*Caste pride won't allow Brahmin to take advice from non-Brahmin*". I have only expressed my doubts whether you can guide a people who have perfected the art of thanklessness and given it a divine touch. They say that if any Hindu does anything for them then he is only improving his own prospects in their life and life hereafter. I have not criticised you sir as I am too small to do so.

Chakradhar Hadke (hade_c_c@yahoo.co.in): Here is a closely guarded secret of BSO life. Sahare was topper in VRCE Engg. College, Nagpur, 3 years ago. He had an interview for job in a small private company of MINDC, Butti Bori, near Nagpur. Its BSO owner rejected him as

Sahare was Dalit. But an international company appointed him immediately on seeing his outstanding qualification. It is said the "world marches towards quality, knowledge, efficiency but our India marches towards casteism". This is a guarded secret in this country. Instead of wasting time and energy, uniting Ambedkarites and Bahujans, better opt for BSP because BSP is never managed by Brahmins. BSP elected 9 corporators in the Nagpur Municipal Corporation elections. Had RPI been elected, BSO parties (Cong and BJP) wouldn't have bothered because they know RPI is manageable but not BSP.

Amar Nath, vpo Lag, via Dada Siba, Jaswan Kotla teh, Kangra dt. HP - 177 106: *Dalit Voice* is doing a great service to the Dalits by creating the much-needed awareness in the minds of our people. It is creating a silent and invisible revolution in the mind of our people helping revolutionary change in the social, economic and political set-up very soon. Our people are deliberately kept in slavery from centuries.

Sohan Sehjal, 78 - Urban Estate, Phagwara - 144 401: I am a member of DV family since years. DV gives me information and inspiration. A doctor friend has started a Guru Ravivass Mission Hospital at Phagwara at cheap rates. Public response is good. In the coming days, we plan to spread Ambedkarite literature movement from this centre. Perhaps this is the first public hospital in the name of this great Guru.

Dr. VD. Chandanshive, Cottage Vaishali, Shahu Nagar, Nanded - 431 602: Thanks you for publishing Dr. (Mrs.) K.K. Sidhu's research article (DV Feb. 16, 2006 p. 16). It is quite a revealing and thought-provoking document on Buddhism which pin-points the influence of the Budha on the Indian religious thought. I was amazed to know the scholarly approach Dr. Sidhu has displayed while writing it. Though an ardent Sikh, she has an intellectual honesty and disinterestedness seldom seen among Indians who are only scholars but not intellectuals. In fact in the entire Indian religious fabric two major threads run counter to each other — namely 1. Brahmana or materialistic *bhagwadi* thread and 2. *Shramana* or self-renouncing (*tyagwad*) thread. India has been a battle ground for the struggle between these two cultural threads. The Brahmana culture has been striving its nerves to distort and assimilate the Shramana culture by hook or crook but it has not been successful - and would never succeed — in doing so. Dr. Sidhu has very immaculately traced the emergence and evolution of different trends of Shramana culture which have different nomenclatures such as Siddhas, Naths and Yogis

movements later influencing sant (saint) movements and Bhagati movement. That she has quoted profusely from the Buddhist scripture, *The Wisdom of Lotus Sutra*, Vol. V and interpretations of Japanese scholars such as Haruo Suda, Takanuri Endo and Kastuji Saito, proves Dr. Sidhu's scholarly acumen. But, according to her, through all these religio-cultural movements the lively spirit of Buddhist thought comes alive under different names. In other words, she does not seem to agree with those who reiterate the point that Buddhism was completely wiped out from India. On the contrary, she maintains that the purity of Buddhism was maintained by Siddhas, Naths, Yogis, Sants and Bhagats. The Brahmin coterie which infiltrated the Buddhist Sangha like Nagarjuna and others strove to create disruptions and distortions. But they could not decimate the fresh spring of Buddhist wisdom. Perhaps it was the terror culture unleashed by Brahmana rulers that compelled the Shramana adherents to go underground and preserve Buddhist thought under different labels and names. There seems no other reason except the counter-revolutionary terror of Brahmin (*manuwadi*) rulers against Buddhism. I am eagerly waiting to learn more from the Nath movement and I am thinking seriously about translating in Marathi the series of Dr. Sidhu's research articles on Buddhist thought.

Rajani Kant Varma, 103 - Panchwati, Udaipur - 313 004: The year 2005 was bad for me — going to hospitals due to filaria which I got in 1954 when I was arrested for "ban casteism" agitation by the Socialist Party. Now in this old age, I am carrying on. It is troubling me. I very much liked your two Editorials: (1) "Lalium" (DV Dec. 16, 2005) and the latest on "BJP on death bed" (DV Jan. 16, 2006). Something has to be done to crush the forces of Brahminism. Budha was successful. But when Harsh became emperor, Brahminism not only prevailed but Buddhists were killed and burnt and enmasse destroyed. The people failed to resist the Brahminical tyranny. You are fighting a lone battle.

india4dalits@gmail.com: A great English philosopher, Edmund Bruke, said: "Silent spectators are dangerous". The upper castes (Hindus) of India claim that because they come from their god Brahma's head, they are the "chosen people of god". Worshipping a Brahmin is akin to worshipping the god incarnate. Serving Brahmin and offering him alms is like serving god himself. These beliefs are inculcated in the minds of all other people especially the "low castes". As a result a less than 5% of the Indian population has psychologically enslaved the other 95%. A Brahmin said that he was born to fulfill the *dharma*. Whatever exists in the world is the property

of the Brahmin. Dr. Ambedkar says the cardinal principles of Brahminism are six:

Graded inequality between the different castes. The complete disarmament of the *shudras* and Untouchables. The complete prohibition of education to the *shudras* and Untouchables. Ban on the *shudras* and the Untouchables in occupying places of power and authority. Ban on the *shudras* and the Untouchables in acquiring property. The complete subjugation and suppression of women.

Inequality is, therefore, the official doctrine of Brahminism:

*Devadhiniam jagat sarvam mantradinam ta devata
tam mantram Brahmanadhnam, Brahmana nam
devata.*

This Sanskrit *sloka* means:

The Universe is under the power of gods, the gods are under the power of the *mantras*, the *mantras* are under the power of the Brahmins, therefore, the Brahmins are our gods. (Abbe J.A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*, Oxford, Third edition 1906, p.139, see also p.93).

Apastambha Dharma Sutra-III, 10-26 says:

The tongue of a *shudra* who spoke evil about a Brahmin should be cut off. A *shudra* who dared to assume a position of equality with the first three castes was to be flogged. If a *shudra* overheard a recitation of the vedas, molten tin was to be poured into his ears, if he repeated the vedas his tongue be cut and if he remembered vedic hymns, his body was to be torn into pieces.

Many, 167-272 says:

If a *shudra* arrogantly teaches Brahmins *dharma*, the king shall cause hot oil to be poured into his mouth and ears.

Would you call this a fair and just system of justice? Who was responsible for the assassination of M.K. Gandhi, "the father of the nation". Gandhi preached harmony, equality among people including the "low caste" Hindus whom he named as *Harijans* (children of god). All human beings are (according to Gandhi) the children of one god and, therefore, all are equal. Why did they kill such a great man? Will somebody answer. The Untouchables are not Hindu, says the Puri Shankacharya (*Indian Express*, April 4,1989). Is there a Christian, Sikh or Muslim who has willingly embraced Hinduism? Even if a person should decide to become a Hindu which caste will he choose? He cannot for sure become a Brahmin for, according to the veda, he has to die three more deaths. But would any Brahmin object to his becoming a *shudra*? The answer is no. In India, the

5% Brahmins rule over 95% of the Indians. In South Africa, 15% White rule over the 85% Blacks. Does India then have any right to point an accusing finger at the Apartheid policy of South Africa when the worst kind of discrimination are being practised in India? We talk "democracy" and "equality before the law" but keep a third of India's 1,000 million people as Untouchables, unseeables and unapproachables. Who has the major share of magazines/newspapers published in India? A recent survey says their share is about 81%.

The *Indian Express* - 93% employees Brahmins.

The *Hindu* — 97% Brahmins.

The *Times of India* — 73% employees Brahmins.

They have invaded both All India Radio and TV. Dear readers of *Dalit Voice*: To create unity and equality among India's people study Brahminism and condemn its organizations like: RSS, Yishwa Hindu Parishad, Hindu Munnani, Arya Samaj, Hindu Mahasabha, Bajrang Dal etc. Empower Dalit struggle and learn more about it (<http://www.ambedkar.org>). Dravidar Kazhagam Publication, 50-EVK Sampath Salai, Madras - 600 007. All publications available from Dalit Sahitya Akademy, 109-7th Cross, Palace Lower Orchards, Bangalore - 560 003. Ask all your friends and relatives to read *Dalit Voice*. **Matital Mandal**, 942-Green Park, GT Road, Sahaganj PO, Hooghly dt. - 712 104: I shall have no stone unturned to organise a fruitful DV workshop at Calcutta after the Assembly election, 2006 in West Bengal.

Kamalaksh Kamble (address withheld), Bombay: Something is bothering me. Why Dr. Narendra Jadhav, a Dalit and retired director and economist of the Reserve Bank, is so much praised and paraded by the Brahmins? The English version of his Marathi book, *Amcha Bap aan Ambhi*, is selling well in America. The English version, titled *Untouchable*, is published by a famous Jewish company, Simon & Schuster. He gets lot of publicity in the media. He was taken round all over US and had 40 felicitations. Why this special love for Narendra Jadhav despite being a Dalit? Will informed sources in Bombay reveal the secret? Why the Marathi Dalits at the same time are not excited about the fellow Dalit writer?

Suresh Jadhav, 201 - Konkana Samrat, Konkana Nagar, Jogeshwari (E), Bombay - 400 060: This refers to the debate on "*caste identity*". As a Marathi Chamar, I fully support your thesis. During the *Riddles* book agitation and also the *Namanantar*, the Mahars were beaten up by the Marathas but the non-Mahars were mere spectators. But during the Mandal Commission agitation, Chamars and Matangs took the leadership. Because Babasahab's

5th volume then just published told Chamars and Matangs that all Untouchable castes must take the leadership to destroy the caste system. That is how a Chamara woman, Sharada Lavangare, led other Untouchable women. Dalit unity is gradually taking shape in Maharashtra. I have accepted your "caste identity" thesis as it promotes a sense of belonging and a sense of togetherness. I have my Chamara brother, Balwant Singh's book, *The Suffering People*. To me both identities are important. Without "caste identity" sense of belonging will be lost. You are the only person in the Dalit world worried about the weakest and the most neglected sections among Dalits. "Caste identity" helps this neglected Dalits to become proud and claim their share. Mahars must be tackled on the "Mahar monopoly" issue. No single report or article admitting "Mahar monopoly" in Maharashtra is published in the *Samrat*. Not even the statement of Late Bajirao Kamble criticising the "Mahar monopoly" was published. Some years ago a Mahar writer, Raja Jadhav, said Mahars were always pioneers in fighting hence they are entitled to get more share in govt. services. Now this very Raja Jadhav is about to join the Hindu terrorist party, *Samajik Samarasata Manch*, which says that *samata* (equality) is just a halting station but *samarasta* (assimilation - *hinduisation*) is the final terminus.

Dr. K. Jamanadas, "Shalimar", Main Road, Chandrapur - 442 402: The long awaited book of Dr. A.H. Salunkhe, *Bali Vansha*, (450 pages), has at last come out. A three-day seminar was organized at Belgaum for its release. Hindus there tried to vandalize and disturb the programme. Later the function went on smoothly for three days at the venue. Purushottam Khedekar commented on the episode that Belgaum had a sizeable population of Marathi-speaking Bahujans. At one time it was a centre of Satya Shodhak thoughts. RSS activists started their work there and got all the Bahujans engaged in unnecessary disputes of language giving rise to illiteracy among them. After the Gandhi murder, the Brahmins carried the false propaganda of boycotting the *akhadras* and gym thereby reducing also the physical power of the Bahujans. The weak and ignorant Bahujans fall victims in the hands of the RSS. And these misguided youths forgot their origin from the *Bali Vansha* and got ready to attack Dr. Salunkhe. Our own *Bali Vansha* is brainless and ignorant but it is honest. One day it would escape from the clutches of the RSS and recognize its own identity as of *Bali Vansha*. The great Sanskrit scholar Salunkhe has written many analytical books exposing the Brahminical mischief on Bahujans. It is by

such stories and fables and legends that the consent systems are built in favour of Brahminism among the masses. In most of the myths the conflicts among the *devas* and *danavas* are depicted. Dr. Ambedkar comments that one who translated the word *devas* as gods has done a great mischief in Indian tradition and religion. The *devas* were always on the side of the Brahmins whereas all the *danavas* were the kings, meaning they represented the mass in general. Usually all the *danavas* were destroyed but no story mentioned the defeat or destruction of the *devas*. *Devas* always had good qualities and *danavas* always evil, which is universal depiction. But there is no detailed description of the evil deeds of the *danavas*. The description is mostly of defeat of the *danavas*. The evidences of an ancient history are destroyed giving rise to the uncertainty of dates of events. Even then there are accounts available according to the tradition and folklore by which it is possible to narrate certain events of the past. His book, *Bali Vansha*, is constructed by this method. This book contains innumerable myths depicting various ancestors and descendants of Emperor Bali, who was a great hero of the Bahujans and even today the farming community worships him. But even before him, there have been kings in his dynasty who were kind and just rulers. This book brings out the history of all such kings. The genealogy of Hiranyaksha, Hiranyakashapa, Prahlada, Virochan, Kapil and Bali is clearly explained. Many great kings are described even after Bali. All these great personalities were following the system of Indus Civilization. Thus the history depicted is of the period before the arrival of the Aryans. Bali was highly respected is evident from the fact that even today festivals are celebrated in his honor in the states of Kerala and Tamil Nadu. How the dwarf Brahmin Wamana cheated Emperor Bali is explained in the book. Dr. Salunkhe explains the meaning of the three steps of Wamana. Three steps are origin of *yajnyas*, creation of Vedas and the control over speech. Why the Bahujans have always suffered defeat at the hands of Brahmins is explained. And the steps necessary to avoid these defeats are narrated in detail. The relationship of Bali and the Budha is explained by the name of *Virochan* being common to both the traditions. Dr. Salunkhe mentions he will write the history of Bahujans, the name being *Asurayan*. But his first priority is to finish the book, *Sarvottam Bhumiputra: Gautama Budha* (Gotama the Budha: the Best Son of the Soil), which is expected early. Those interested in Dr. Salunkhe's Marathi book can write to him at: "Lokayat", No.13 - Yeshwant Nagar, Gendamal, PO Satara, MS - 415 002.

India's problem is not poverty but caste system

GURNAM SINGH MUKTSAR. 2 - BHAGAT SINGH NAGAR, B/H BUS STAND, MUKTSAR - 152 026

I fully agree with our Editor's theory that not only "Dalit problem" but even our country's problem is not "poverty", which is a misleading term used by our upper caste oppressors.

No doubt, there are poor in all the castes. Many also live below the poverty line. But all poor are not Dalits. Dalit does not mean poor and poor does not mean Dalit.

The word "Dalit" now represents all those people who are socially, religiously, economically, educationally, and politically too, are persecuted. They say:

Brahmins are poor. There are poor among all other upper castes. Are they not Dalit?

This question is often raised. Yes. We agree they are poor but they are not Dalits. Because the Brahmin and the upper caste poor don't face religious discrimination nor social and educational discriminations. They only face economic problems. Nothing else. Beside, all those poor upper castes also persecute the Dalits.

Poor Brahmins: All the upper caste poor solidly stand behind their rich *jatwalas*. When the Dalits are boycotted in Punjab why no other "poor" and landless Jat comes out in solidarity? A poor Jat is also a labourer like the Dalit. But why he is not showing his "class" solidarity with his poor Dalit colleague? A poor Brahmin or other upper caste man never prevents an upper caste trying to rape a Dalit woman. Nor does he prevent a Dalit woman being paraded naked in the village. We have no instance of any "poor Brahmin" or upper caste "poor" subjected to any atrocity in Punjab villages.

Naked woman: During elections, Brahmins and other upper caste "poor" do not sell their votes. Neither are they blocked from voting. No poor upper caste woman throughout India is made naked and ordered to dance in village streets in the presence of her father, mother, sons, daughters and other relatives. This great credit is reserved only for the Dalit woman. Is there any case of burning the houses of upper caste poor? It is the upper caste poor who are employed to burn the houses of Dalits.

Dalits all over India are prohibited from taking water from common well and taps.

In coastal Andhra cyclone in which thousands died, only the Dalit bodies were not touched. Mother Teresa's Sisters came to do the job. Even in Western countries upper caste people have their separate temples, gurdwaras to which Dalits are not allowed. Such is the Hindu hatred of Dalits.

Poverty no problem: In "Hindu India" poverty is not a problem. It does not create any hate. It is caste which creates hate not poverty. From birth to death Dalits are hated. Even India's richest Dalit — Jagjivan Ram — was not allowed to be buried in Delhi.

Upper caste poor get equal status in all socio-religious issues. But the Dalit, even if he is an IAS, IPS official, is a third class person. A rich Dalit is also hated for his wealth, health and official status. He is badly abused using his caste name. Dirtiest words are used to hate a Dalit even if he is rich.

Poverty is no problem in India. No poor Brahmin has revolted against a rich Brahmin. In a Brahmin institution, its owner, always employs poor Brahmins, his own *jatwalas*, to see that the employees do not revolt. There is no trade union of poor Brahmins against the rich Brahmin employer.

Class solidarity: There is nothing like class solidarity of the poor. In Bombay textile mills, upper caste mill workers went on strike against their own Dalit colleagues employed in the weaving section. A "class" is temporary but "caste" is permanent. There is no promotion or demotion in a caste society.

Poverty is not permanent. It can change any time as many Dalit-Backwards have become rich in the last 30 years.

But caste is permanent. It never changes. A born Dalit dies as Dalit even if he becomes rich. In every village of Punjab Dalits have their separate burials. Caste fixes your place — not poverty.

In "Hindu India" poverty yardstick makes no sense.

Question mark over zionist homeland

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: We have received the happy news that the centuries-old dream of the mighty zionists—who virtually control the world, to illegally establish their homeland called Israel on the land belonging to Arabs — stands shattered before the humble human bombers of the puny Palestinians.

Everywhere the zionists are suffering setback after setback. And the worst is the shattered dream of Greater Israel.

Gaza is already cleared of Jews. West Bank pull-out is expected to begin after the March 28 election.

Third Intifada: The leader of the Kadima Party which won the election, killer Sharon, is lying virtually dead in hospital under coma. The different Israeli political parties are quarrelling, religious zionism fragmented. The whole Israeli society itself stands fractured. George W. Bush, who spent his whole presidential career to promote and protect the zionists, is sinking. Everywhere the zionists are meeting with defeat.

If the zionist state continues to oppress the ruling Hamas and the US and other Western nations obey the dictates of Israel to punish the democratically elected Palestinian Govt., Hamas will have no other

alternative but to launch its third *Intifada* and make the life of zionists more miserable.

Reports speak of terrible unrest and chaos within Israel and a virtual fragmentation of its society.

Revolutionary Iran becoming a nuclear power and within the striking distance, how can the Israelis get sound sleep?

The world has not seen a more blood-curdling incident of the illegal zionist occupation of the Arab lands with full Western blessings. The four-year-old concrete barrier it built to isolate Palestinians was declared illegal by the World Court. But the zionists do not care for UN, international law or public opinion.

Zionists have their own law just as the vaidiks have theirs in India.

The concrete barrier has encircled the whole of Palestine whose borders are controlled by zionists. How can such a Palestine with its border under enemy control be called sovereign?

Palestinians are anyway suffering, dying and losing. They have nothing more to lose. So they will be fully justified if they resume the *Intifada*.

In defence of Lalu

ABHISHEK SAURABH, B.TECH. 3RD YEAR, SASITRA, TANJAVUR, TN

Criticising the prevalent social conditions and the problems of a state is very easy. I am a Bihari too. No social change can be brought about drastically by a stagnant mindset, a result of years of conditioning, passiveness and the most dangerous *chaita hai* attitude. Deep-rooted ills need time to get cured.

Everybody criticises Lalu Prasad Yadav and his 15 years of "tyranny". I too do. But in these 15 years, I see one positive aspect of his rule. The so-called lower stratum of society which was long exploited and subjugated by the upper castes now feels empowered and has improved its position in society by availing itself of the educational and other facilities. This positive change can be encashed in the present scenario. Any kind of growth has to be uniform with deep penetration to the grassroots level. (*Hindu* March 5, 2006).

Lalulism wins

This is exactly what we said in our Dec. 16, 2006 DV Editorial: "Lalu loses but Lalulism wins". We are

happy an upper caste student from Bihar has supported our point. Instead of the "growth"mania exhibited by Mamohan-Chidambaram combine making rich people richer, Lalu Prasad laid stress on empowering the most neglected 'lower castes'; gave them courage and courage made them fight their oppressors (upper castes) who today are screaming that Lalu converted Bihar into 'jungle raj' — EDITOR.

Muslims: Yesterday's rulers become today's paupers. Brahminism enslaves India's single largest community (20%) within 60 years of "independence."

MUSLIMS IN INDIAN ECONOMY

Omar Khalid

2006

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For total liberation, Dalits must not depend upon Hindu charity

DR. SURESH MANE, READER, LAW DEPT., BOMBAY UNIVERSITY, B-403, MAHAVIR TOWER, GANDHI NAGAR, WORLI, BOMBAY - 400 018

The term Dalit has been the latest expression to identify the worst victims of India's unjust caste culture. Sociologically, Dalits placement in the vertical social pyramid of caste has been to the lowest layer making them psychologically inferior and disable — socially, educationally, economically and politically. Their placement in the hierarchy of social order has made them the most marginalized, vulnerable groups facing the wrath of the upper castes' hegemony.

GANDHIAN IDENTITY

Despite their long struggle for liberation, self-respect and share in governance and other means of resources, by and large they continue to carry the historical legacy of untouchability, oppression, discrimination and persecution. Similarly, despite their rise in several fields of national life, the top layer of Indian society continues to victimize them with their unjust and ancient sociological bias and hatred.

The nomenclature Dalit has been used to describe ex-Untouchables, slaves or broken men of India. In the *varna* structure it formed the huge class of *shudras* and *atishudras* with the names, such as outcastes, *Panchamas*, *Chandals*, *Avarnas*, *Antyajias* or *Dasas* and *Dasyus*. In the British period prior to the Government of India Act, 1935 they were identified with various names such as *Adi-Dravidas*, *Adi-Dharmis*, *Adi-Hindus*, *Namo-shudras*, oppressed-depressed Indians, Depressed Classes, underprivileged groups, born criminal tribes, aboriginal

tribes, exterior castes, the gandhian identity of *Harijans* along with their more than thousands of condemned caste names.

Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar in the beginning preferred to describe them as Non-caste Hindus, The Protestant Hindus, Non-conformist Hindus, Excluded Castes and exterior Castes. After 1935, the Govt. of India grouped them under the names as Scheduled Casts and Scheduled Tribes. But after 1950 with the assertive movements of marginalized sections for their rights as well as identity the common expression emerged as Dalit denoting all the victims of caste

Speech delivered at the Inauguration of UGC national seminar on Dalit assertion organized by History Dept., Newman College, Idukki, Kerala, on Feb.17-18, 2006.

structure, especially Scheduled Castes and Tribes with the background of untouchability or current phase of discrimination.

DALIT-BAHUJAN TERM IS DIVISIVE

After 1960, with the emergence of world Dalit in Marathi literature and in social revolt movement, the word Dalit got substituted for Black Panthers and Black literature in USA. The precise meaning to the concept "Dalit" finds in Marathi literature stating that:

Dalit is not a caste. He is a man exploited by the social and economic traditions of this country. He does not believe in god, rebirth, soul, holy books teaching separatism, fate and heaven because they have made him a slave. He does believe in

humanism. Dalit is a symbol of change and revolution¹.

With the advancement of time there has been change in nomenclature for Dalit². However, today the word Dalit has been used more frequently to denote the lower castes — the victims of untouchability in the past and present too, the group of battered or crushed people. Today it also means the most suffering class of huge class of 85% to 90% Bahujan Samaj (majority people) in India.

RELIGIOUS CONVERSION

In a recent past some scholars are coining the expression as Dalit-Bahujans which is divisive, confusing and tend to divide the collective struggle of 85% to 90% victims of caste culture.

Dalit assertion has been the long struggle in different times by a number of social rebels throughout the country. Those struggles basically challenged the hegemony of upper castes and were determined to safeguard civil, political, economic, cultural rights to the subjugated classes. Apart from the cultural movements of embracing Buddhism, Sikhism, Islam and Christianity to breath the air of freedom and human dignity by the Dalits in the country, in the initial phase of the Dalit assertion it was more focused on the basic human rights and was directed against the monopolistic rule of upper castes backed by socio-religious sanctions and sometimes even by law.

After Buddhist revolution, within the existing fold of Hinduism, the devotional movements of Kabir and Ravidas in North, Namdevo,

Tukaram, Chokha Mela in Maharashtra, Nandnar in South, to name few, attempted to foster the assertions of subjugated classes. But in a real sense these kinds of assertive movements got the momentum throughout India during the British period.

BRITISH PROMOTED DALIT MOVEMENT

The British extension of martial services to Dalits, raising their battalions, Mahar Battalion in 1768, Marine Battalion of the Bombay Army in 1777 and similar developments in the region of Bengal and Punjab strengthened the Dalit consciousness. But the pace of these movements was really accelerated by the leadership and struggles of Guru Ghasidas (1756-1850) of Satnami Movement, Mahatma Jotiba Phule (1827-1890) and Rajarshi Shahuji Maharaj (1874-1922) in Maharashtra, Pandit Iyodhi Dass (1845-1914) and Thanthai Periyar (1879-1973), R. Shrinivasan (1859-1945), N. Shivraaj (1892-1964) in Madras province; Shree Narayana Guru (1864-1928), Mahatma Ayyankali (1863-1941), Kumar Gurudevam (1879-1939), Pampady John Joseph (1887-1940) and others in Kerala, Harichand (1812-1877) and Guruchand (1846-1936) Thakurs in Bengal, Guru Balkadas in Madhya Pradesh region (1830-1870), Mangu Ram's (1886-1980) Adi-Dharimi movement in Punjab, Swami Achutanand (1879-1993) in Uttar Pradesh.³

DR. AMBEDKAR LEADERSHIP

Due to the barriers of regions, language and different cultural ethos Dalit movement throughout the country could not become homogenous and thereby failed to create a solid, countrywide unified force of Dalits.

In 1926-25 some attempts were

made in that direction by Swami Achutanand in 1926 by bringing together the leaders of Adi-Hindu movement, Adi-Dharimi movement but failed to materialize. Independent, assertive Dalit movement at the national level flourished only under the dynamic leadership of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar (1891-1965).

With his strong ideological struggle, stiff opposition to Congress and M.K. Gandhi, militant following across the country, solid negotiating power with the Britishers, courage to renounce Hinduism at one time with more than 5 lakh mass and success to defeat the enemy in the game of political democracy made him the national leader of Dalits-oppressed.

With the constitutional revolution in the country (1950) he not only could set the agenda of Dalit assertion but also set a wheel on the motion of the liberation of other oppressed and persecuted people in India.

GANDHI AS HEREDITARY ENEMY OF DALITS

His teaching: Educate, Agitate, Organise, gave a new impetus to Dalit assertion. It was Dr. Ambedkar who bravely faced the Hindus, their tallest leader Gandhi and strongest political party, Congress, by upholding the thesis that "we are not a subcontinent of the Hindus but a separate element in the national life".

On the one hand he could tell Gandhi that "you are our hereditary enemy at the same time he warned the Britishers that "let not tyranny have freedom to enslave".⁴

By his quest for restructuring Indian social order, reasoned writings, missionary leadership, excellent oratory and argumentative power, courage to condemn the enemy on his face, vast fund of knowledge and with superb strategy, he laid

down the foundation for the total liberation of the future generations. It was he who at the national level generated the huge amount of thirst for political power among powerless Dalits and it was he who told to not only Dalits but Backwards and Minorities that they needed a strong political power to destroy the power on other side because political power is the only master key to solve their age-old multi-faced problems.⁵ Thus under the leadership of Dr. Ambedkar the agenda of Dalit movement was broadened from protection of civil rights to become the governing class.

MANUWADI MARXISTS

After Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's struggle, there has been a structural change in the Dalit assertion movement. No longer has it been confined to merely Dalits but has widened its social base comprising *Bahujans* (majority of people) in the country. Traditionally it has continued to focus on the human rights issues or civil rights of all Dalits at the same time it has immensely created the quest among Dalits to become the rulers of the land instead of being ruled by the undemocratic communal majority.

In the process of Dalit assertion, generally it is also believed that some space has been occupied by Gandhi and communists. Gandhi condemned caste and untouchability but firmly believed in four-varna social structure. He could not even digest the idea of independent Dalit leadership outside the fold of Hinduism and the Congress. All these ideas he maintained to the end of his life. Dr. Ambedkar condemned him in the most bitter words. In the present Dalit assertive movement Gandhian model is not of much relevance except for those who are ready

to reform but unwilling to change.

Similarly, although marxism stood for the liberation of suffering class such as Dalits, Indian marxists too like Gandhi could not overthrow the burden of caste and *varna* structure. Instead of attaining the height of marxism, they brought down marxism to Brahminic marxism.⁶ Gail Omvedt, a noted sociologist and scholar of marxism, writes: Indian Brahminical elites who initiated the left movement in India overlapped with the economic version of marxism and

systematically 'down-played non-economic factors such as gender and caste, arguing that these would be nearly automatically taken care of with socialist revolution. They also considered the viewing of Brahminism as a major enemy could be analysed and dismissed as simply another petty-bourgeois illusion.'⁷

COMMUNIST CRITICISM OF KANSHI RAM

The astonishing thing is that the Indian communists tried to weaken the Dalit assertive movement by attacking Dalit leadership and intentional drawing activists from Dalits and non-Brahmins out of movements led by Dr. Ambedkar, Periyar and other social radicals.

They simply tried to articulate Dr. Ambedkar as a reformist and separatist leader⁸ and therefore made all possible effort to defeat him in Bombay in the first parliamentary election in 1951.

This policy has been self evident from one of the documents of Communist Party of India which stated:

This task will have to be carried out by a relentless struggle against the bourgeoisie of the upper castes as well as against the opportunist and

separatist leaders of the Untouchables themselves. We have to expose those leaders, tear away the Untouchable masses from their influence, and convince them that their interest lies in joining hands with the other exploited sections...⁹

This leftist policy of winning Dalits was continued and operationalised even when the Bahujan Samaj Party, Dalit-based party in the beginning under the leadership of Kanshi Ram, appeared on national political scene in 1984. In 1988, Communist Party of India published a booklet, *the Nature of the Bahujan Samaj Party*¹⁰ comprising two articles of C. Rajeswara Rao and Avtar Singh Malhotra with the foreword by M. Farooqi, the then editor of the *Party Life* and secretary of the CPI. The publication was a poor attempt to defame and discredit the BSP's ideology, its leadership as well as the strategy of Dalit mobilisation. The object of publication was very clear from the foreword of Farooqi. He wrote:

We considered it necessary to inform our party comrades about the nature of politics pursued by the BSP... These articles give a clear-cut exposition of the ideas of the downtrodden castes. This approach harms the interests of the downtrodden instead of helping them. These articles also expose Kanshi Ram's opportunistic policies and how these help the exploiting classes in their attempt to divide the common people to bolster up their own political power.¹¹

NO DALIT MOVEMENT IN BENGAL, KERALA

From these historical accounts it becomes easy to know that why there have been no strong independent assertive Dalit movements in Kerala or West Bengal in the post independence period.

Dalit assertion has also been

viewed as the struggle for human rights. Yes it is a struggle for human rights, basic rights. In recent past some NGOs are trying to build up a sufficient pressure at both the level, national as well as international, by exposing the Indian apartheid before the nation and world. In October 2005, the US Congress held the hearing on the subject "India's unfinished agenda: Equality and justice for 200 million victims of the caste system" with the background note that:

Despite the Indian government's extensive affirmative action policies, which aim to open government service and education to Dalits and tribes, most have been left behind by India's increasing prosperity.¹²

These kinds of international pressures are absolutely essential and inevitable in the modern global village. There is no doubt about it.

FAILURE OF RESERVATION POLICY

But merely human rights perspective is insufficient to redress the multi-dimensional issues of Dalits. Because basically Dalit issues are products of socio-political structure in the country and there is no way but to restructure it.

Although India started long back the constitutional affirmative action policy through the system of reservation in education, governmental jobs and political representation, India is far behind in actions than the USA. In terms of its operation the US covers the vast area whereas India has continued to focus on state industry leaving vast area uncovered. The winds of liberalization, privatization and globalization are in a full swing and causing serious damage to the constitutional programme of affirmative action. This needs to be urgently checked by re-defining the

role of state and by conferring legal and constitutional obligations on those sectors and agencies which have been so far outside the parameters of the affirmative action. Ultimately, the inheritors of the national wealth must remain responsible and liable to constitutional commands.

ANTI-DALIT VILLAGE COURTS

During the current phase of Dalit assertion along with other long pending issues that of abolition of untouchability and share in the national resources there are three issues of importance and immediate concern:

- (1) The government proposal for *gram nyayalayas* to reduce the burden of our legal system.
- (2) Lack of political will and legal hurdles to extend state affirmative actions to private sector.
- (3) The political empowerment of Dalits.

Under the scheme of village courts the proposed government bill will hand over the grassroot justice delivery system to the brute majority of the upper caste villagers wherein already marginalized people such as Dalits will be crushed easily. In the backdrop of recent inhuman decisions of some village panchayats in North and South over the issues of inter-caste marriages, property disputes and election of Dalit *sarpanchas*, the proposed Bill is sure to make the mockery of justice.

INTERNAL RESERVATION

Secondly, the Government of India, instead of making serious and sincere efforts to extend the affirmative actions in the field of judiciary and private sector it is considering enactment of law empowering states to divide Dalits into sub-categories based on how they have fared under the quota regime. This is nothing but conspiracy to eliminate those

castes of Dalits which have been assertive, articulate and at the forefront of Dalit movements in different states. This is another game plan to dismantle the consolidated Dalit movement. The sad thing is that this is being pursued by the government despite the Supreme Court's ruling¹³ in 2005, stating that such a move would conflict with the Constitution. Dalit assertion in politics is equally a cause of concern. It is true that due to constitutional political reservation some Dalits have occupied the top most positions including the President of India, Cabinet Ministers at the Centre and in several states. But such representations have failed to fulfill Dalit assertions. There have been large number of regional socio-political organizations of Dalits protesting against Dalit sufferings.

ONSLAUGHT ON L.P.G.

But the rise and success of Bahujan Samaj Party has given a new impetus to Dalit assertion and has completely changed the face of traditional assertive Dalit movement. The unique character of BSP is that in independent India, it is the first national political party of India founded by a Dalit and led by Dalit leadership. Along with the constitutional right to vote Dalits, BSP has given them the power to vote.

Although Dalits are facing the danger of extinction due to the onslaught of LPG and governmental policy to kill the programmes of affirmative actions, their quest for political power is rising. Due to education and governmental employments well placed socially conscious Dalits are widening the base of Dalit assertions. The conscious efforts at national as well as international level are able to build up the

required environment to promote the agenda of Dalit assertions.

For total liberation, Dalits should not depend on upper castes charity and their policy-makers but they themselves should become the policy-makers and should decide their own destiny. Such a thought is gaining ground among Dalits day by day. And there lies the bright future. ■

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Hindi translation of "Caste" book ready

OUR CORRESPONDENT

Bangalore: The Hindi translation of V.T. Rajshekar's international award-winning book, *Caste - A Nation Within the Nation*, now under print will be out within a week.

The first reprint (2004) of the English edition (2002) is almost sold out and a second revised edition is planned.

Its Kannada translation (2004) by Dr. Banjagere Jayaprakash, a noted Kannada scholar, is almost sold out.

A Malayalam translation by Raju Thomas is getting ready. Other language editions are also planned.

The Hindi translation by Rajinder Singh, a noted Hindi scholar of Himachal Pradesh, will be able to meet the demand of eight states in the Hindi belt. It will be released by Railway Minister Lalu Prasad Yadav during the silver jubilee celebrations of *Dalit Voice* in Delhi.

HOW BRAHMINS BECAME RULERS

The thesis of V.T. Rajshekar's book is that to destroy Brahminism - which is the enemy No.1 of the entire oppressed billions of India (Dalits, Muslims, BCS and Tribals, Christians, Sikhs, even Brahmins) - the only way is to strengthen our **identity** which in the case of India is our caste. In other words, to destroy Brahminism, which is the other name for casteism - the author prescribes the best, easiest and the readily available home-grown medicine of caste. Every section of people

either inside India or outside has progressed and become the ruling class only by taking this one single route of strengthening its identity. The best example for this is the Brahmins and the Jews.

Before the Editor wrote his *Caste* book, *Dalit Voice* had a five-year long debate and held 100 seminars in different parts of India.

DEMOCRACY STRENGTHENS CASTE

The bitterest and the most uncompromising opponents of the "caste identity" thesis are the Brahmins. While they came up and became the rulers only by strengthening their caste, they are brainwashing all others to forget their caste and think of "class".

Some elite Dalits who have fallen prey to marxism because of Brahminical brain-washing are criticising the Editor. But rural India, where the big majority live, has no such confusion because everybody here lives in his or her caste.

But fortunately the masses of SC/ST/BCs and Muslim/Christian/Sikhs and even the shudra castes have not fallen prey to Brahminical brainwashing. No caste is ready to give up its caste (**identity**).

Besides, parliamentary democracy, which is fast taking roots in India, has brought caste (identity) to the forefront. Hindu terrorist parties, including the Congress, the original Brahminical party of India, are all one by one collapsing under the impact of caste. Even marxist parties are today caste-based. Regional and

caste-based political parties are fast coming up killing "national" parties.

CROWNING OF CASTE

The typhoon of caste has swept away all the tiny obstructions. Already Delhi has seen two coalition govts. The next election will see the crowning of caste.

Hindu terrorist parties after realising that Brahmins and upper castes have no political future, have already started grooming SC/ST/BC leaders who are mobilising their respective castes using the *Hindutva* brand.

CASTE YARDSTICK

The Brahminical people realising the danger of caste killing their casteism (Brahminism) have started using some Dalits to criticise the Editor but the speed with which parliamentary democracy is taking roots has made caste as the sole deciding factor in India.

The Editor has now extended his thesis from socio-political sphere to economic prescribing "caste yardstick" for planning process to replace the existing discredited "poverty yardstick".

A book on this subject is under print.

The **Caste** books in English, Kannada and Hindi may be ordered directly from the publishers (Books for Change, 139 - Richmond Road, Bangalore - 560 025) or from DV office (Rs. 140).

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