



## CASTE, VIOLENCE AND PREDICAMENT OF JUSTICE: ORDEAL OF A DALIT GIRL OF HATHRAS

### Invited Editorial Article

On 14 September 2020, a 19-year-old Dalit girl, from Bulgarhi village of the Hathras district headquarter (UP), which is also a Lok Sabha constituency under the reserved category of Schedule Caste, was brutally raped and physically tortured by four upper caste men of her own village in its agricultural fields. On that unfortunate morning, at around 7.45 am, she accompanied her mother and brother to collect fodder for their livestock from the nearby agricultural fields owned by the upper caste village-families. Within an hour the trio— mother, brother and sister – was able to cut enough grass to send their only male accomplice (brother) back home to leave one bundle of grass (Sunny 2020). It was within a few minutes, after the son left for home, that the mother of the hapless victim noticed that her daughter, who was cutting grass just a few metres away, was not seen around and failed to respond to her calls (Lakhani & Sinha 2020). For a while, as reported in the Sunday Hindustan Times, the mother thought that her daughter too might have returned home. But when she found one part of her slippers by the roadside, she became panicked and failed to locate the remaining part of her slippers (Sunny 2020). In her desperate search, the scarred mother found the nearby bajra (pearl millet) fields trampled upon that convinced her about the presence of her daughter around there only. After about 20 metres, to her unbelievable eyes, she found her daughter almost unconscious and lying in a pool of blood with her dupatta (stole) around her neck. It was in this bajra field, that her daughter was allegedly dragged to, gang-raped and brutally tortured – her tongue gashed, lower spine and three neck bones broken. “Initially, we even wondered if she was bitten by a snake,” her sibling told the NDTV (Srivastava 2020). Her mother told one of the reporters, after the Uttar Pradesh police lifted the village barricade to allow the media to visit her native place, that “until then, I didn’t even know the word, rape (in English). Today, I am having to prove that my daughter was raped,” (Sunny 2020). Nothing more can be so catastrophic that can befall on this marginalised Dalit family living in a reserved Parliamentary constituency; and at time (morning) when workers begin their daily chores of hard work for their meager source of day-to-day living. The ferocious beasts in the shape of so-called upper caste humans pounced upon this hard working lowest of the low castes girl who was helping her mother in collecting grass for their five buffaloes – the mainstay of the family. What an irony, the poor Dalit family was busy in making their both ends meet; and the upper caste goons were busy in laying ambush to perpetrate such a gory crime on the body and soul of the laborious Dalit girl of their own village that can even shame the demons.

When the mother found her

beloved daughter – who can’t fall asleep unless she was next to her— without her lower cloths and bleeding from her private parts, her chin and tongue, and her eyes bloodshot (Lakhani & Sinha 2020), it was a double crime in that the panic-stricken mother was deeply shattered within her very self, which no mother on the earth planet wants to face such a brutal assault on ones daughter! The moment, the mother saw her daughter in such an unbelievable conditions, she cried loudly, summoning a nearby young Thakur boy into the field of the incident. “My first instinct,” said the mother, “was to cover her lower body with my saree, but I couldn’t” (Lakhani & Sinha 2020). “The Thakur boy ran into the village to call her brother for help even as the mother put on the pyjama on the victim and tried to carry her to the village” (Sunny 2020). However, the mother failed to do so and cried helplessly (Ibid). After the arrival of her son, the mother-son duo took the victim to the local police station on a motorcycle, about two kilometers away from the field. From here onwards, began another ordeal both for the victim and her poor family.

At the police station, reported the Sunday Hindustan Times, “the woman was made to lie down on a cement slab as her brother was asked to submit a written complaint” (Ibid). “My mother was with my sister and I wrote whatever I knew. My mother didn’t have the heart to tell me that my sister was raped,” as narrated by the victim’s brother to the reporter of the Sunday Hindustan Times (Ibid). Thereafter, the brother and the mother brought their severely crippled girl to the district hospital and after about four hour later she was moved to Jawaharlal Nehru Medical College and Hospital in Aligarh, an hour away from Bulgarhi, the village of the victim. During this period, the Hathras police had registered a case of attempt to murder and named Sandeep as the suspect. Three days after the ghastly incidence, on September 17, the girl regained her consciousness and mentioned the gang rape and the names of the other suspects (Ibid). The mother claimed, “When I was alone, she hesitatingly told me about four men raping her” (Ibid). The same day, as per the version of the victim’s family, a written complaint was filed at the office of the

Hathras superintendent of police. Whereas, as per police records, “the victim’s allegation of gang rape were officially recorded only on September 22 in front of a magistrate and her medical examination for rape conducted after that – a delay that could prove crucial” (Ibid). Finding no improvement in her continuous deteriorating conditions, the girl was shifted to Safdarjung Hospital in the national Capital city of Delhi on 28 September 2020, after 14 days, where she succumbed to her deep injuries next day at 6.55am. During her 15 day long tortuous life conditions in the hospitals, she displayed great courage to reveal the ugly faces of the four persons who perpetrated untold crimes on her body and soul. Many such cases of horrendous miseries go unreported across the length and breadth of the country. “The two separate incidents of violent sexual assault on two adolescent girls, followed by the killing of one them in mid-August in Uttar Pradesh, are fresh in memory” was reported in the editorial of The Tribune, the day after the death of the Hathras rape victim (September 30, 2020).

What makes this case even more shameful was its caste angle. Equally horrifying dimension of this agonizing rape case is the site and the time of the crime. The site was victim’s village field situated in a Parliamentary reserved constituency; and the victim herself belonged to a Schedule Caste community. The field belonged to the same village landowners where the girl and her family reside. This alludes at the perilous living conditions of the landless Dalits and the deadly fate of their women folks who were forced to visit the village fields to fetch fuel for the hearth and fodder for their animals under the severe poverty. And the perpetrators of the crime were none other than the ones who owned the land and take hollow pride in their being belonging to upper caste communities. Dalits, at the first place, needs to be liberated from their demeaning poverty, if their women are to be saved from such horrendous crimes. Secondly, the law enforcement agencies are to be equally held responsible for the continuation of such grave crimes despite the presence of the Scheduled Castes and Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989, an Act of the Parliament of India enacted to prevent atrocities against Scheduled Castes

and Scheduled Tribes. The high handedness of the law enforcement agencies can be gauged from the handling of the entire case from its very beginning on September 14.

What followed the death of the victim on September 29 was more horrific. It is reported that the victim’s body was taken to her village in Hathras after midnight from the Safdarjung hospital in Delhi and was ‘cremated’ by the UP police surreptitiously without allowing her family to participate in the performance of the last rites as per their community traditions. The police refused to listen to the pleading of the victim’s father and family to allow them to take the body of their daughter to their home and cremate her in the morning. The woman’s father told NDTV “We wanted the last rites to be performed according to the Hindu traditions. Despite our protests, the cremation was performed. They took the body forcefully. We couldn’t see our daughter’s face for the last time.” The sister-in-law of the victim was heard saying in a post hurried cremation video that “I can’t eat or sleep... Look at what we have been put through. We might be poor, we might be Dalits but do we have no right over a loved one? They didn’t even let us see her off peacefully” (Lakhani & Sinha 2020). After the convicts in the Delhi Nirbhaya case, which shook the conscience of the entire nation on 16 December 2012, were hanged to death in March 2020, the reaction of the mother of the hapless victim was: “Women now will feel safe.” But unfortunately this brutal Hathras rape case has proved that wrong! Our daughters, especially belonging to lower castes, continue to face similar heinous crimes amidst the undeterred presence of beastly sexual offenders despite in place the implementation of strictest punishment. What will bridle such crimes may be the structural transformation of our society that requires consistent efforts on the part central and state governments as well as the active participation of the civil society in what Dr B.R. Ambedkar called “Annihilation of Caste”.

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# Strong Condemnation of Hathras, Balrampur, Azamgarh, Bulandshahar Caste motivated hate crimes such as rapes/murders in UP, India

NRI Ambedkarites from USA, Canada, UK, Germany, France, Nederland, Ireland, Spain, Sweden, Japan, Korea, Singapore, New Zealand, Belgium, Hungary, Australia, UAE, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Bahrain and Malaysia.

During this distressing time, the NRI Ambedkarites are seething with rage, pain and sadness at the brutal caste hate crime against a 19 year old girl from the Scheduled Caste community (also referred to as dalits/backward castes in media). We offer our condolences to the family of our sister from Hathras, UP. Our sister lost her life on September 29th, 2020, in a Delhi hospital, after she succumbed to the injuries because of the hate crime where she was raped, her tongue was slashed, spinal cord broken and she was left to die by some men from the caste Hindu Thakur community. In an alleged attempt to destroy the evidence, her body was forcefully cremated by the UP police, which literally caused her second death. This happened against the wishes of the family, who were begging in front of the authorities to see their daughter one last time and who were then heckled and locked up. Even before the ashes from her pyre cooled down, there are reports of other heinous rape crimes again on Dalit girls in Balrampur, Azamgarh and Bulandshahar. What is even more shameful is the age of the victims is as low as 8 years. We demand immediate prosecution of the criminals under the SC/ST Atrocities Act As per the IndiaSpend Analysis of the National Crime Records Bureau statistics, the crimes against dalits rose by 746% from 2006 to 2016. The caste motivated rapes and murders of dalit women form major proportion of such crimes against dalits. The cases pending investigations were up 99% and the police were half as likely to help. The NCRB report is here: Crimes in India. The subsequent reports only point to an upward trend in such crimes. This data only shows the reported crimes for which FIR's were admitted. The actual number of such crimes against dalits are much more than these numbers.

Since 2016, the NCRB used to give crimes recorded under POA, 1989 and overall crimes. However, since 2016, the overall figure is not being provided. Thus, there is a visible attempt at hiding the real data. The dalits have increased vulnerability to such crimes due to the casteist mindset of Caste Hindus, who have a predominant presence in the police force and administration. There have been malicious attempts at obstructing justice, in the form of refusal of the police to file FIR's, refusal to use the POA Act, 1989, threat-

ening of the victim's families by the perpetrators and preventing the victim from seeking justice (For instance, the 17 year old Unnao dalit rape victim was burnt on her way to the court hearing. The convict is a member of the ruling dispensation). Thus, the obstruction of justice often happens with the complicity of the administration and government. The conviction rate for the men accused of raping dalit women is almost nil. In 2018, the only legal safeguard against the heinous caste crimes and atrocities against the dalits i.e. The Scheduled Castes and Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989, was diluted by the Supreme Court of India diluted by the Supreme Court of India, whose independence and integrity has been severely compromised in the recent times.

The difference between rape, murders and other forms of atrocities against the dalits and similar crimes against other people, is that the crimes against dalits are caste hate crimes arising out of casteist mindset of Caste Hindus. Such crimes are a reflection of jealousy, hate toward and intolerance of the little progress the dalits have been achieving.

The NRI Ambedkarites strongly demand the Central government and the UP government, who have already been served NHRC notice to stop perpetuating such violence against dalit women and stop protecting the perpetrators of such crimes. The NRI Ambedkarite community demands strong punitive actions against the perpetrators of the crime and strong protection measures to safeguard the dalits, especially the women, and take steps to prevent such caste related hate crimes from happening in the future. The Scheduled Castes and Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Act, 1989, needs not just to be brought back in its original form but also given more teeth to tackle the rising caste hate crimes against dalits and offer protection to the dalit women and child victims. The Indian government must take initiatives along with the community leaders to eradicate caste, restore law and order in the State of UP and country and create a safer space for women, and provide equal opportunities to all its citizens along with additional safeguards for the Scheduled Castes and Tribes.

**Our brave daughter will be in the hearts of all Ambedkarites.**

**Justice shall be served!**

**# Harthas ,# Hathras Case , Hathras Horror Shocks India;**

**# Justice For Hathras Victim**

## List of endorsing organization

- Ambedkar Association of North America (AANA)
- Ambedkar Buddhist Association of Texas ,USA (ABAT)
- Ambedkar International Mission-USA (AIM)
- Ambedkar International Mission, Japan (Japan)
- Ambedkar International Center-USA (AIC)
- Ambedkar King Study Circle -USA (AKSC)
- Ambedkar Times and Desh Doaba, USA
- Ambedkar International Coordination Society(AICS),Canada
- Ambedkar Mission Toronto, Canada
- Ambedkar International Mission Society, Canada
- Begumpura cultural society of New York USA
- Boston Study Group, (BSG), USA
- Coalition of Seattle Indian-American
- International commission of Dalit rights (ICDR),USA
- Indian Civil Watch (ICW)
- Indian American Muslim Council -IAMC
- Jaibhim Atlanta, USA
- Periyar Ambedkarite Study Circle (PASC) ,USA
- Periyar International ,USA
- Shri Guru Ravidas Sabha of New York, USA
- Shri Guru Ravidas Sabha of Bay Area, USA
- Samaj Weekly of United Kingdom
- Federation of Ambedkarite and Buddhist, United Kingdom
- Anti Caste Discrimination alliance (ACDA),UK
- Dr Ambedkar Mission Society, Europe (Germany)
- Ambedkar Buddhist Society of Spain
- Indian Association of Minorities New Zealand Inc.
- The Asian Independent of United Kingdom - Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar International Association for Education, Japan - BAMCEF International Network (BIN) - All India Samata Sainik Dal -SSD







# Sue Frost

Sacramento County Supervisor, District 4



Sue Frost

## Highs and Lows of the 2020-2021 County Budget

This year has been one filled with extraordinary circumstances, forcing us to adapt in the way we do even the most routine of things. The budget process for Sacramento County is no exception. For those who may not have been following the County's budget process this year, here is a



quick refresher. Ordinarily, we adopt our budget for the upcoming fiscal year in June. This year, the circumstances created by the COVID-19 pandemic created too much uncertainty for the County's revenue streams. To adjust, the board of Supervisors adopted a temporary budget that extended the level of funding for each department from the '19-'20 budget. On September 9th, we started budget hearings for the new fiscal year with the up to date requests from each department. I want to take this opportunity to provide you some of the major take-aways from the adopted budget.

Let's start with the bad news. Anyone who has followed since was first elected to the Board of Supervisors knows that I have been a constant advocate for building up our budget reserves. Sacramento County has consistently been operating with budget reserves significantly smaller than any county of similar size. Specifically, less than 1% of our operating budget. Facing a significant decline in revenues in a pandemic induced economic downturn, we were forced to dip, yet again, into our reserves, leaving only \$12.7 million. For perspective, the County's total adopted budget is \$6.41 billion, with 3.08 billion coming from the general fund. That means our reserves are less than one half of 1% of the general fund. With the newly adopted budget precariously balanced on one-time funding and revenue projections looking bleak, I fear for what this means for the budgets to follow as we may begin to look at cutting costs.

It is not all bad news, though, and some parts of the budget merit some praise. We have spent \$8 million on economic recovery, and we are continuing to explore how we can continue to provide assistance to businesses. We are continuing to op-

erate our "Dine at Home" program that contracts local restaurants to provide meals to seniors during the pandemic. Also related to COVID-19, we were able to direct \$71.1 million to health services and \$26.1 million for contact tracing and business navigators to guide businesses on the process of reopening safely. The expenditures related to the pandemic are necessary both to protect health and safety, as well as to get the County back to a position where the State will allow our businesses to reopen. The same is true of the \$11.1 million allocated for Project Room Key and other homeless services.

Still with me? I know most of my readers have eagerly been following the ongoing debate around the law enforcement in the County. While many called for reduction or elimination of funding for the Sheriff's Department, I can honestly say that the communication my office received lean heavily toward providing the Sheriff with a necessary level of funding. As such, I am pleased to report that the adopted budget provides the Sheriff with the level of funding that was requested. Additionally, in a move that I believe most agree is long overdue, we approved \$2 million to begin the process of providing body cameras to all sheriffs, starting with patrol deputies as well as special unit deputies, park rangers, and probation. I am glad that we were finally able to provide this tool to law enforcement that promotes transparency and accountability.

I would not say this is the perfect budget. The reality is that the County had already begun reducing spending with the previous year's budget. While we knew we were heading into lean times, no one knew that we would be dealing with something on the level of a pandemic. Still, we were able to achieve some good. We continue to make sure health services have the resources they need to address COVID-19. We are continuing to explore opportunities to further aid businesses. We expanded the human assistance budget to create new positions necessary for an impending increase in CalWORKS claims. As the problems in the County continue to linger or grow and resources dwindle, I will continue to advocate for a budget that puts funding where it is needed, where it is effective, and whenever possible, builds a stronger reserve, so we are better prepared for economic downturns.

Thank you for reading – and as always, if you want to contact me, call me at 916-874-5491, or reply to this e-mail.

**SacCounty Highlights**  
**Importance of Car Seat Safety**

Every day in America, millions of parents and caregivers travel with children in their vehicles. While all parents want to keep their children safe, some do not realize that their child's car seat has been installed incorrectly or is the wrong size.

Only a little over half of car



seats are used in a way that is safe, according to the U.S. Department of Transportation's National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA). Sep. 20 - 26, 2020 is Child Passenger Safety Week and the Sacramento County Department of Health Services, Childhood Illness and Injury and Prevention (ChIIP) Program wants to use this time as an opportunity to remind parents to make sure your car seats are installed properly.

### ChIIP Seeks To:

Educate parents on the importance of using child safety seats properly by conducting one-hour car seat fitting appointments.

Demonstrate how to properly install child safety seats.

Provide two-hour Car Seat Safety Trainings for Childcare providers, law enforcement personnel, firefighters, nurses, health care workers, community outreach workers, social workers and home visitors.

"In 2017, there were 312 children under the age of 5 saved because they were using car seats," Rodriguez said. "Car seats matter, and having the right car seat installed and used the right way is critical," Rodriguez added that, too often, parents move their children to the front seat before they should, which increases the risk of injury and death, even if that child is buckled up. The safest place for all kids under 13 is in the back seat. NHTSA reported that, in 2015, about 25.8 percent of children four to seven who should have been riding in booster seats were prematurely moved to seat belts, and 11.6 percent were unbuckled altogether.

"As parents and caregivers, we have a long list of things we do for our children to keep them safe. One of the simplest and most important things on the list should be to make sure our kids are in the right car seat for their age and size," Rodriguez said. "Get your car seats checked. Make sure they're installed correctly,

and that your kids are in the right seats and are buckled in correctly. Even if you think your child's car seat is installed correctly, get it checked with a certified Child Passenger Safety Technician, so you can be sure that your child is the safest he or she can be while traveling."

It is recommended to keep children rear-facing as long as possible, up to the top height or weight allowed by their particular seats. Once a child outgrows the rear-facing-only "infant" car seat, he/she should travel in a rear-facing "convertible" or all-in-one car seat. Once your child outgrows the rear-facing size limits, the child is ready to travel in a forward-facing car seat with a harness (always use the tether). After outgrowing the forward-facing car seat with a harness, children should be placed in booster seats until they're the right size to use seat belts safely. Children under 13 should always sit in the back seat.

Remember to register your car seat or booster seat with the seat manufacturer so you can be notified in the event of a recall. Parents and caregivers can view more information on car seat safety and locate a certified technician on the NHTSA website.

Other car seat resources recommended by Sacramento County include:

BoosterSeat.gov

National Highway Traffic Safety Administration

Safe Kids

Safety Belt Safe USA

Sacramento County is here to help, to register for fitting appointments or provider trainings, call ChIIP at 916-875-5869 or visit the website.

### Lowering Risk: New SacCounty Red Tier Health Order

The Sacramento County Health Order has been amended to move into the State's less restrictive Red Tier 2 (substantial) effective Sep. 29, at 3 p.m., from its previous des-



ignation of Purple Tier 1 (widespread).

The tiered system has criteria for loosening and tightening restrictions on activities of a county to reduce the number of COVID-19 cases (Contd. on next page)



(Continue from page 3)

and for re-opening of business sectors. Based on specific COVID-19 indicators, counties are required to remain in an assigned tier for a minimum of three weeks and meet criteria for the next tier for two consecutive weeks before being able to advance to the next tier.

As of Sep. 29, Sacramento County had a daily case rate of 6.6 per 100,000 and positivity rate of 4.6 percent, for the second consecutive week, which meets criteria for placement in Red Tier 2 (substantial).

In alignment with Red Tier 2, the following sectors are permitted for "OUTDOOR operations only" until further notice. These sectors must maintain mitigation measures (social distancing, face coverings and sanitization):

- Family Entertainment Centers (e.g. bowling alleys, miniature golf, batting cages and arcades)
- Cardrooms, satellite wagering
- Wineries

Bars, pubs, brewpubs, breweries and distilleries may operate outdoors, only if they offer sit-down, outdoor meals. Outdoor operations may be conducted under a tent, canopy or other sun shelter with no more than one side closed.

In alignment with Red Tier 2, the following sectors are permitted to open for "INDOOR operations with modifications." These sectors must maintain mitigation measures (social distancing, face coverings and sanitization) and specific modifications in parenthesis below:

- All retail (maximum 50% capacity)
- Critical infrastructure (covid19.ca.gov/essential-workforce)
- Gyms and fitness centers (maximum 10% capacity)
- Hair salons and barbershops
- Movie theaters (maximum 25% capacity or 100 people, whichever is fewer)
- Museums, zoos, aquariums (maximum 25% capacity)
- Nail salons and physician-ordered electrolysis operations
- Personal care services (e.g. body waxing, estheticians)
- Places of worship (maximum 25% capacity or 100 people, whichever is fewer)
- Professional sports (without live audiences)

Restaurants (maximum 25% capacity or 100 people, whichever is fewer) (Sacramento County Recommends: Only members of a household

should eat together inside a restaurant) Shopping centers (e.g. malls, destination centers, swap meets, excluding food courts and common areas) (maximum 50% capacity) Schools in Sacramento County must continue to follow the specific Order issued by the Health Officer on Aug. 28. Sacramento County must continue to meet criteria for Red Tier 2 for an additional two weeks before allowing all schools (transitional kindergarten-12th grade) the option to open for in-person instruction. When this criterion is met, the Health Order for schools will be amended/rescinded.

The next less restrictive tier is Orange Tier 3 (moderate) and allows for greater capacity for reopening business sectors. To meet the criteria, Sacramento County must reduce the number of COVID-19 cases and positivity rate (1-3.9 per 100,000 daily cases / 2-4.9 percent positive tests). Later this week, be sure to look forward to getting details about the "Turn Sacramento County Orange by Halloween" campaign. To learn more about the State's Tier system and specific allowable activities for Sacramento County, visit the State of California's COVID-19 Blueprint for a Safer Economy website.

For questions about the Public Health Order, call the Public Health hotline at (916) 875-2400.

For more information about the County's response to COVID-19, visit Sacramento County's COVID-19 webpage.

**Have a Safer Halloween Festivities During COVID-19**

The usual spooky festivities for Halloween may feel extra scary due to the COVID-19 pandemic. However, Sacramento County Public Health has important guidance to help ensure safer trick-or-treating for everyone to reduce the risk of spreading COVID-19. Follow the guidance below to have a fun and safe Halloween!

**FACE COVERINGS**

Firstly, you will need to wear a face-covering – so why not make it fun! Have your child select their own face covering, and then decorate it together to match their costume.

**SOCIAL DISTANCING**

When you are out trick-or-treating, travel only with your household members (don't forget – wear your face covering), be sure to maintain 6 feet of social distance from others, and

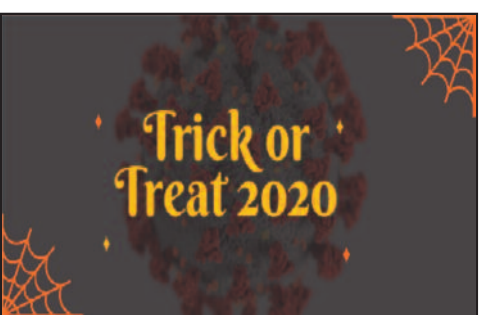
make interactions brief with others outside your household.

**HYGIENE**

Keep from transferring the virus with your hands. When you touch objects or your face, the virus may be lurking, so wash your hands often and have hand sanitizer handy. Be sure to clean/disinfect high-touch surfaces. Also, have everyone wait to dig into the candy until hands are clean before unwrapping the candy, and then again before eating the candy. Do not share costume props or food. And, of course, if you feel sick or could be contagious, you must stay home and away from others.

**BE READY FOR TRICK-OR-TREATERS**

This year, you need to make it an outdoor festivity. In an outdoor area, such as a porch or driveway: Set up a table to stand behind and hand out candy using candy-grabber



or tongs; Make treat bags and hang them from streamers outside for kids to grab; or Place a bowl of candy and bottle of hand sanitizer at the end of the driveway/walkway; and Always wear a face-covering around others, don't touch your face, and practice good hand hygiene when handling candy.

**CELEBRATE A COVID-19 HALLOWEEN CREATIVELY**

These ideas will help you and others be extra safe while still celebrating Halloween Host a virtual Halloween "watch" party with online video/chat and have best costume or craft project contests; Have a Halloween movie night with household members either at home or drive-in; Do reverse trick-or-treat by dropping off small gift bags on your neighbor's porch; Put on a trunk-or-treat on your street (Halloween decorated car trunks) with socially distanced parked cars in driveways;

Coordinate a contact-free neighborhood scavenger hunt; Organize a neighborhood car parade or socially distanced costume parade for best decorations/costume and give treat bags or toss candy (preferably with candy grabbers).

Read about all the usual Halloween precautions you will need to have in place

**LET'S GO OVER THE "NO-NO'S"**

Don't have trick-or-treaters walk up to your door to give candy and don't use your hands to deliver treats. If you are not feeling well or are exhibiting symptoms, do not go out in the public. To clarify, gatherings with individuals outside of your household are not allowed. The reason for this is because the virus is widespread in Sacramento County and you or those at the gathering may not know if someone is COVID-19 positive and contagious. Due to our high-risk level, Sacramento County has been placed in a restrictive Tier by the State. It is for your safety and of others that gatherings are prohibited. In early summer, the County had bent the COVID-19 case "curve," but gatherings caused a spike in new COVID-19 cases and the ripple effect is still with us. We know social distancing works and if we adhere to the protocol, our COVID-19 cases will continue to go down. If you do disregard the Order – at the very least, do it smarter – keep gatherings small, outdoors, wear face coverings and with only those in your "regular bubble."

**AN IMPORTANT MESSAGE ABOUT COVID-19 TESTING**

Have you spent time with people outside of your household and you weren't able to physically distance? You may have been exposed unknowingly to the COVID virus – you should get tested. The public is encouraged to get tested regularly. Sacramento County has 11 locations to get tested for COVID-19 for anyone living in the County (2 years old+). Testing is free, appointment times are easy to get, and results are provided in 1-3 days. Also, having the public get regular testing in our County gives the State more precise data so that the Case Rate isn't adjusted higher when Tier levels are determined. **Get official details of the Sacramento County COVID-19 Halloween Guidance at SacCounty.net/COVID-19, and Happy Halloween!**



**Peoples holds candlelight vigil and protesting for Hathras victim**



# Dalit and Human Rights Groups in UK Condemn the Continuous Atrocities on Women and Demand Justice for Manisha Valmiki

The brutal gangrape and death of 19-year old Dalit young woman in the state of U.P. and the police action thereafter sent a shock wave all over the world. This brutality committed by the perpetrators must be condemned in the strongest way.

The rising crimes against women especially Dalit women have outraged all Dalit and Human rights organisations in the UK and issued an open joint statement condemning this heinous crime and demanding a strict action against the culprits and also against those officials who tried to cover up this incident. Atrocities against women have become a matter of concern and shame for all who love humanity and India.

Santosh Dass MBE, President, Federation of Ambedkarite and Buddhist Organisations, UK (FABO UK) said that the case of Miss Manisha Valmiki is yet another sickening gang rape and murder of a Dalit woman that has caused global outrage. "Everything about the clear failure and cover-up in handling of this case is abhorrent, including reports that Manisha's body was set alight by petrol in a so-called cremation in the middle of the night. Members of Manisha's family were not allowed to conduct the funeral, be present, or to carry out the last rites. This is cruelty beyond measure. My heart as a woman and mother bleeds knowing this."

"The Chief Minister of UP, Mr Yogi Adityanath, whose worldview on women is that they are not capable of being left free or independent, must resign. We also demand that he and the police officers and officials concerned must be charged under the SC/ST Atrocities Act and the rapists be arrested," she said.

Arun Kumar, the General Secretary, FABO UK said that the gang rape of this young Dalit woman is not the first one and won't be the last one. "We read stories every day where Dalit women are beaten, paraded naked, raped, and killed. The numbers are increasing every day. After this brutal incident, such crimes have occurred in Balrampur, Azamgarh, and Bulandshehar. These are all caste motivated hate crimes. These brutalities become news items and are forgotten. It is time to act and stop these heinous crimes. The cul-

prits must be punished in a set period of time. The officials who try to cover up such crimes must be sacked and charged."

Arun said that if India wants to become a world leader, it must respect and give equal treatment to all, irrespective of their caste, religion, and gender. An open joint statement undersigned by Dalit and other organisations in the UK was submitted to the High Commissioner of India in London and read as follows:

## Open Joint Statement to the High Commissioner of India in London for the attention of the Prime Minister of India – 2 October 2020

1. We the undersigned organisations and our supporters demand immediate justice for Miss Manisha Valmiki who died in hospital on 29 September 2020 from extreme injuries sustained from a brutal gangrape on 14 September in Hathras, Uttar Pradesh (UP), India.

2. Amongst our demands below, we also demand the resignation of the Chief Minister of UP and that the police officers involved be charged under the SC/ST Atrocities Act. Enough is enough!

3. Miss Manisha Valmiki's is yet another sickening gang rape and murder of a Dalit woman that has caused global outrage. This case raises many serious questions about the apathy of the Indian government, police and the hospital authorities. Despite repeated pleas from the family, the local police failed to register a case of gang rape leaving the accused to roam around free for five days.

4. If Miss Manisha's death wasn't enough, the local police officers and officials violated her dead body and cremated it in the middle of the night without allowing members of her family to be present or to carry out the last rites. This is cruelty beyond measure. Furthermore, it is reported the police are stopping politicians meeting the family to support and sympathise with them. It is also reported the family have been threatened and their phones have been confiscated. We will never forgive or forget this – how India is failing its daughters

5. Miss Manisha's murder has once again shone a light on India's horrific Caste system, a system that ranks human value based on the pre-

sumed supremacy of the so-called high Castes. India's Government despite its slogan 'Betibachao, betipadhao' has failed Dalit girls and women. Dalit lives are considered worthless and have been for millennia. Essentially, the Indian Government has failed Indians.

6. The Guardian rightly reported on 1 October "India is the most dangerous country in the world to be a woman and it is women from the lower castes who bear the brunt of the sexual violence". The 2019 data Crime in India states 10 Dalit women were raped in India everyday. One third of these cases were reported from the lawless states of Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan. Reported is the operative word. A culture of patriarchy and maintaining family honour means there are many more that are not formally reported to the police.

7. In other cases there is evidence police fail to even register the crimes. This is unacceptable. These casual rapes and gang rapes of Dalit women and girls, where so-called high Caste rapists go free with impunity point to a failed democracy and sick society.

8. From 2018, the rate of crime against all women in India has risen by 7.3%, with the country recording an average 87 rape cases every day in 2019. India reported 405,861 cases of crimes against women in 2019 and Uttar Pradesh topped the list with 59,853 such incidents, according to the annual National Crime Record Bureau's "Crime in India" 2019 report.

9. Miss Manisha Valmiki has been subjected to a horrendous, serious and brutal crime. We demand the following:

1. Transfer this case outside of UP for a fair and impartial investigation.

2. Refer this case to the Criminal Branch of Investigation (CBI). We have no confidence in the local police, and fear they will try to compromise the available evidence.

3. Conduct an open and transparent investigation under the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes (Prevention of Atrocities) Amendment Act, 2015 and prosecute those in Government and police officials who are found to have neglected their du-

ties and tried to cover up.

4. Take against the police officers for their delay in recording Miss Manisha's statement.

5. The Special Courts and Exclusive Special Courts are mandated in the SC ST Act, 2015 for speedy trials

6. Action against officials for not referring the Miss Manisha Valmiki to the AIIMS, Delhi immediately and sending to Safdarjung Hospital instead.

7. The officials responsible for cremating Miss Manisha's body without family's participation in the last rites of the victim be charged under the SC/ST Atrocities Act.

## This Statement is supported by:

- \* All Bhagwan Valmik Sabhas and associated Temples in the UK
- \* Ambedkar Mission Society, Bedford Anti Caste Discrimination Alliance
- \* Anti Land Grab and Forced Displacement of People
- \* Asian Rationalists Society, Britain
- \* British Ravidassia Heritage Research Group
- \* Buddha Dhamma Association, Southall.
- \* Dr Ambedkar Mission Society, Glasgow
- \* Dr Ambedkar Buddhist Organisation, Birmingham
- \* Dr Ambedkar Memorial Trust, London
- \* Federation of Ambedkarite and Buddhist Organisations UK
- \* Indian Scheduled Caste Welfare Association, UK
- \* Indian Workers' Association, Great Britain
- \* International Asian Christian Front
- \* Kanshi Radio Ltd
- \* Kanshi TV
- \* Punjab Buddhist Society, UK
- \* Samaj Weekly
- \* Sri Guru Ravidass Sabha UK (SGRS-UK), and all associated Temples in the UK
- \* Shri Guru Ravidass Dharmik Sabha Wolverhampton
- \* Shiri Guru Ravidass Cultural Association Darlaston

For more information please contact: **Santosh Dass** 00447902806342 or **Ravi Kumar** at [infoacda@gmail.com](mailto:infoacda@gmail.com) or **Arun Kumar** at [fabo@ambedkar.org.uk](mailto:fabo@ambedkar.org.uk)

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LAUNCHING

Monthly English Magazine

Kanshiram Times

Social Change & Economical Emancipation

on Kanshiram's death Anniversary

Editor - in - Chief : **JEEVAN KUMAR MALLA** M.A., B.L.,  
[www.kanshiramtimes.com](http://www.kanshiramtimes.com)



# Protest at UN office in New York (USA), people holds candlelight vigil for Hathras victim





## Open Joint Statement to the High Commissioner of India in London for the attention of the Prime Minister of India – 2 October 2020

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**Neeraj Kumar Chander Tajpuri**  
and  
**his Family**

**I was born and brought up amongst those who sacrificed themselves but never betrayed the country..."**

**Sahib Kanshi Ram Ji**

**WE PAY FLORAL TRIBUTE TO  
SAHIB SHRI KANSHI RAM JI ON HIS PRINIRVANA DIVAS**







We don't want social justice, we want social transformation. Social justice depends on the person in the power.

Suppose at one time, some good leader comes to power and people get social justice and are happy but when a bad leader comes to power it turns into injustice again. So, we want whole social transformation.

Sahib Kanshi Ram Ji

## WE PAY FLORAL TRIBUTE TO SAHIB SHRI KANSHI RAM JI ON HIS PRINIRVANA DIVAS



**Shri Amardeep Chahal with his Wife, Mother & Father**

**ਸਮੂਹ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਬਿਹਾਰੀ ਲਾਲ ਚਾਹਲ ਪਰਿਵਾਰ**





To get the power, there is a need of mass movement, converting that mass movement into votes, then converting votes into seats, further converting the seats into [power at] states, and lastly converting the [power at] states into [power at] center. This is the mission and aim for us.

Sahib Kanshi Ram Ji

## WE PAY FLORAL TRIBUTE TO SAHIB SHRI KANSHI RAM JI ON HIS PRINIRVANA DIVAS



## Momi Brothers







A community that doesn't have representation in the political power, that community is dead.  
Sahib Kanshi Ram Ji

**WE PAY FLORAL TRIBUTE TO  
SAHIB SHRI KANSHI RAM JI ON HIS PRINIRVANA DIVAS**

**Bheem International USA**



"I was born and brought up amongst those who sacrificed themselves but never betrayed the country..."  
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**WE PAY FLORAL TRIBUTE TO  
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**Vinod Kumar Chumber**

**Chairman**

**Shri Guru Ravidas  
Sabha Bay-Area**







# SHRI GURU RAVIDASS SABHA (GAS)

2150 Crestview Drive, Pittsburg CA 94565  
Tel : (925) 439-2355



Till the time we won't be successful in politics and not able to have power in our hands, the social and economic transformation is not possible. Political power is the key to success.  
- Sahib Kanshi Ram Ji

## WE PAY FLORAL TRIBUTE TO SAHIB SHRI KANSHI RAM JI ON HIS PRINIRVANA DIVAS



Jagtar Bhatia (Chairman)



Shinderpal Narabat (President)



Dharampal Chonkaria (Gen. Secretary)



Vinod Kumar (Treasurer)

### ADVISORY COMMITTEE



Balvir Chand Mal



Jagdev Ram



O.P. Balley



Dr. Harmesh Kumar,



Sri Guru Ravidass Sabha Committee Members & more

### LEGAL COMMITTEE



Jaila Jaggi



Salinder Bhatia



Ajai Paul Ram



Shashi Paul

The New Committee appreciates the services of the previous committee and the selection panel and is looking forward to continued support. Guidance and cooperation of the entire Sangat who is the backbone of our Gurughar. Thank you.

Sangat De Sewadar

<b>Chairman</b> Jagtar Bhatia	<b>President</b> Shinder Paul Narabu	<b>General Secretary</b> Dharam Pal Chonkria	<b>Treasurer</b> Vinod Kumar
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Sahib Kanshi Ram Ji

## WE PAY FLORAL TRIBUTE TO SAHIB SHRI KANSHI RAM JI ON HIS PRINIRVANA DIVAS



ਗੁਰੂ ਘਰ ਦੇ  
ਸੇਵਾਦਾਰ

ਗੁਰਨਾਮ ਸਿੰਘ ਭੰਡਾਲ (ਚੇਅਰਮੈਨ), ਪ੍ਰਸ਼ੋਤਮ ਸੂਦ (ਵਾਇਸ ਚੇਅਰਮੈਨ), ਸਿੰਗਾਰਾ ਸਿੰਘ ਰੱਲੂ (ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ), ਮਹਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ ਰੱਤੂ (ਵਾਇਸ ਪ੍ਰਧਾਨ), ਕੁਲਦੀਪ ਸਿੰਘ ਸੁੰਮਨ (ਜਨਰਲ ਸਕੱਤਰ), ਦਲਵਿੰਦਰ ਰੱਲੂ (ਵਾਇਸ ਜਨਰਲ ਸੈਕਟਰੀ), ਜਸਵਿੰਦਰ ਸਿੰਘ (ਵਾਇਸ ਸਕੱਤਰ), ਰਾਮ ਸੇਵਕ ਭਾਟੀਆ (ਮੁੱਖ ਕੈਸ਼ੀਅਰ), ਜੱਸਪਾਲ ਜੱਸਲ (ਵਾਇਸ ਕੈਸ਼ੀਅਰ), ਗੁਰਦੀਪ ਸਿੰਘ ਹੀਰਾ (ਸਟੇਜ ਸਕੱਤਰ),

Shri Guru Ravidass Temple 1480 HAYNE AVE YUBA CITY, CA. Ph- 530-674-2564



# AMBEDKAR'S VISIONARY FOUNDATION AFTER 60 YEARS TRAINING SCHOOL FOR ENTRANCE TO POLITICS

World over, after so many events of 'celebration' last year on the 125th birth anniversary of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (1891-1956), it now commands a serious 'deliberation' on his unfulfilled and highly cherished step of political school which he established to train youths in order to fortify politics of social justice and transform political democracy into a social democracy. Currently, when there is a paucity of moral, responsible and efficient leadership in our political system, increasing incidents of un-parliamentary and careless behaviour of our lawmakers, a failure to garner a wider political unity & success, it is quite significant to understand the visionary but altogether forgotten foundation that he laid.

With his three decade long experience in active politics, Babasaheb Ambedkar established a political school named as "Training School for Entrance to Politics" in Bombay to train the youths interested in politics. It started to function in July 1956 with a batch of 15-20 students and was shutdown within a few months after his demise. Ambedkar being the Director, appointed Shantaram Shankar Rege as the Registrar of the school, who was also a librarian in Siddhartha College, Bombay. Other than two of his earlier educational institutions, Milind College in Aurangabad and Siddhartha College in Bombay, this School was the third, which in fact had wider vision than the earlier ones but was neglected in toto and finds no mention in any study done on Ambedkar and the socio-political movements carried on in his name in the last six decades.

As we all know that Ambedkar's primary focus was on education but he was also very much concerned on its quality with an objective to produce knowledgeable & moral leaders rather than mere servants (government or otherwise) or hero worshipping cadre, which we find today in abundance. In the final stage of his life he realised that the two colleges, somewhere could not fulfil his objective to generate leaders and came to a logical conclusion to establish a specialised school to hone leadership among community and to counter the ill effects of the Poona-Pact.

On 04th December 1956, Ambedkar made a trunk call to the registrar and finalised his schedule to teach the students in this school for a week between 10th and 15th December 1956 on various topics, especially on oratory skill. It is very sad that this was the last communication between the two and his wish could not be fulfilled due to his sudden demise. His next plan after finishing a week long teaching in the school was to lead a Deeksha ceremony on 16th December, 1956 in Bombay with lakhs of his followers like he did in Nagpur on 14th October 1956. After his death on 6th December 1956 in Delhi, his body was carried to Bombay with a special plane to mark his last wish to visit Mumbai for the above two pur-

poses.

If we observe his two commitments above during his planned visit to Mumbai, there is no doubt that his focus in the last phase of life was delivering a moral order to India by two means--(a) Buddhism (to the society) and (b) Training School for Entrance to Politics (to political leadership). Other than this, it is proved through many unpublished personal letters Ambedkar wrote to Rege, in which he is extremely focussed in a consistent manner on both the aspects (Buddhism & Political School) simultaneously. There are many such letters exchanged between both of them regarding school's name, course content, faculties, academic calendar and motive of the school which are yet to be brought in public domain.



Dr. Shiv Shankar Das  
(PhD in Pol. Sc., JNU, New Delhi)

The cherished objective of this school at the last stage of his life is quite similar to embracing Buddhism in October 1956 in Nagpur, Maharashtra. For example, he wished that the training of the budding political leaders would be inculcated through enlightening principles i.e. knowledge (pradhnya) and character (sheel). In one of his letters in April 1956, Ambedkar instructs Rege in his own handwriting that the school's motto should be 'knowledge is power'. For him, the trainees needed a gamut of understanding in various subjects of social sciences, strong moral character and well equipped in parliamentary/legislative language and procedures, which is a very basic function for legislators. He had mentioned once in his address in Punjab that the parliamentary democracy could be found in ancient Buddhist India. Thus, certainly, there are similarities in his thought process regarding embracing Buddhism and establishing Political School.

In Ambedkar's understanding, if candidates contest elections and also win seats, they cannot be true representatives without knowing the things—the techniques/methods to understand the problems of their own

constituencies, law making process, and art of speaking in the legislative houses. For all these purposes he established such an institution in this country. Although, there were many schools of thoughts during his time to study politics, this was a unique one and a sole endeavour to train leaders for practical politics. Dhananjay Keer, a known biographer of Ambedkar writes, "the school was meant for those who cherished the ambition of joining the legislature and it was first of its kind in the country". Thus, it was a huge stepping-stone for the cause of making politics accessible to the marginalised groups by providing them education and proper training on many related skills.

One of the core distinctiveness of this school set by Ambedkar was the personality of the faculty in general but most importantly for the principal he was in search of. In want of such characteristics he had turned down the proposed names that came from Siddhartha College for the post of the principal. In this connection, Ambedkar received a letter in April 1956 in which Rege proposed Mr. Sardesai's name to be the Principal. In his reply Ambedkar welcomed this proposal with a cautionary remark, "you can appoint Sardesai as the Principal although I have not seen him. But in between Ambedkar visited Bombay and might have seen him and turned down his name in the later communication to Rege in June 1956. He wrote, "I am positively

against the appointment of Mr. Sardesai as the principal of the school. He has no personality. He may be kept as Professor-in-charge of some subject. To be a principal a person must have personality". The faculties who were appointed for the school were V.B. Karnik, Dr. Bagaram Tulpule, Prof. Madhu Dandavate (a known socialist leader who later became Union Minister of Finance in Govt. of India), Prof. V.G. Deshpande, Sachin Madhukar Dhotre, Sardesai and Sheikh.

The tragic history of the school is that though it was actually started to create knowledgeable and honest leaders, it died a premature death in less than a year while Republican Party of India (RPI), which was just proposed and never founded, was pursued as a master key to get political success. Whereas for Ambedkar the political school was the foundation, with the motto of 'knowledge is power', for building the edifice of political party, the followers valued the party and propaganda rather than knowledge and school. For me, it is somewhere a responsible reason for widening leadership-crisis in the movement, fractions in the RPI and whooping emergence of many political groups in Ambedkar's name.

Later on and till now, many other political leaders who claim Ambedkar's political legacy such as Kanshiram, Mayawati, Prakash Ambedkar, Ramvilas Paswan, Udit Raj etc. never

paid any attention to this school. Whatever be the reasons, this thought of him (political school) remained under the carpet for such a long time and the so-called dalit leaders always focused on getting power by hook or by crook (Political Parties). This process had started immediately after his death by closing-down his political school and launching the RPI.

For Ambedkar, politics was not merely a subject of study but his focus was to bring about a change in it, converting political democracy into a socio-economic democracy and for this motive the school was a stepping-stone to hone such leadership. Thus, the objective of the political school to be a producer of true leadership in the politics of social justice and democracy is still omitted, forgotten, neglected and undervalued. In academic domain also except a reference of it, there is no research or study on this valuable idea.

After 60 years of Ambedkar's efforts of establishing Political School, although it might not have brought any transient success and achievement to its credit due to multiple reasons but it has a potential to inherit many solutions to the existing politics and lead us to contemplate on many contemporary problems of democracy, leadership, education, representation and political parties etc.

It has been an irreparable blunder for not taking up this idea of Ambedkar seriously by anybody in this country. Again, the irony is that rather than continuing with even a single centre of 'Political School' to train the future leaders, the marginalised community has witnessed a whooping emergence of huge number of 'political parties and their factions'. The main focus of all these political groups have always been on celebrating only those events of Ambedkar's life, which are beneficial for tempting people for getting votes. Consequently, even after 60 years of Ambedkar's efforts of establishing political school, no political party, government, or any university or NGO could gather a moral minimum courage to have even a discussion on this episode of his life.

To conclude, my submission is that the large-scale celebrations of Ambedkar's 125th birth anniversary and other events would be futile without a serious deliberation on the utility of his idea of Political School after 60 years of its foundation.



# YOU SHOULD BECOME RULERS TO CREATE CASTELESS SOCIETY

(A message from the Master (Honorable Sahib Shri Kanshi Ram Ji) to the victimized castes at the First World Convention of Dalits, held in Kaula Lumpur, Malaysia on October 10-11-1998)

Friends,  
I congratulate you for organizing this Convention to acquire a new vision towards a 'casteless society'.

I am sorry. I could not prepare my paper to be read on this occasion due to my preoccupation with the party work.

Annihilation of caste: In the year 1936, Babasaheb Ambedkar was asked to present a paper on 'caste' by the Jatpat Todak Mandal at Lahore of Punjab. But Baba Saheb was not allowed to read his paper. However, that paper was later published as a book under the title "Annihilation of Caste". After reading this book, I too started thinking that 'caste' could be annihilated. But after studying the caste behavior and after looking at our social structure. I started thinking differently. I studied 'caste' not from books, but from life. People, who come from their villages to cities like Delhi, carry nothing with them. But they carry their 'caste' with them. They leave back their little property, small lands and their huts in the villages. They leave behind everything in their village. But they will carry 'caste' is so much dearer to the people. How can we annihilate caste? I stopped thinking about 'caste annihilation'.

You have organized this Convention to move towards a 'casteless society'. I am also for 'casteless society' and my aim is also to create a 'casteless society'. But 'caste' cannot be wished away. It is not possible to eliminate 'caste'. So what to do?

'Caste is created with a purpose': 'Caste' is not created without a purpose. 'Caste' is created with a purpose. And that purpose still remains. So long that purpose remains. 'Caste' too remains. You do not find Brahmins and other upper castes holding conference like this for 'casteless society'. Because, they are the one who created this 'caste' and they stand to gain by this 'caste'. They are the beneficiaries of 'caste'. So long they stand to gain by 'caste', why should they destroy it? These conferences for 'casteless society' can only be organized by us. Because we are the victims of 'caste'.

We ourselves may not be the victims of 'caste'. But we are born among those who are victims of 'caste'. Hence, we need to eliminate the 'caste'. But even to eliminate 'caste', you must take note of the 'caste'. You cannot ignore 'caste'. We may have the desire to create a casteless society'. But it is not possible to happen in the near future. Till such time what we should do? What

I decided to do is, till 'casteless society' is created; let me handle the 'caste'. When Brahmins could use the 'caste' for their benefit, why not I could use it for our benefit?

Double-edged sword: Caste is a two-edged sword. It cuts both the ways. It cuts this way, when you use this way (swings his hand right side) and it can also cut the other way when you use it in opposite direction (swings his hand left side). I decided to handle the caste to our benefit and deprive the Brahmins of its benefits. Babasaheb Ambedkar secured political power to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes with the help of 'caste'. By using 'caste', he secured separate electorates for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Round Table Conference in 1931-32. But Gandhiji went on fast unto death against this separate electorates and consequently, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were granted joint electorates.

Separate electorate: Many people ask me. "Why not you struggle for separate electorates for which Babasaheb Ambedkar fought?" I have not wasted even a single minute on this separate electorate. When it was not possible for Babasaheb Ambedkar during British rule, how it will be possible for me, now, when casteists are ruling? It is impossible.

Experts on 'caste': Babasaheb Ambedkar had prepared Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes to handle the 'caste'. That is how they could get many benefits from the British. Eversince, the exit of British, only three persons have become experts in handling the 'caste'. The first person was Jawaharlal Nehru. The second one was Indira Gandhi. And third person is Kanshi Ram. (Cheers).

Nehru handled the 'caste' so well that Babasaheb became helpless. He was an expert in handling the 'caste' and retains the Brahminical Social Order. Mrs. Indira Gandhi was also an expert in handling the 'caste' to the benefit of Brahminical Order. Now, if you ask the Congress people in Delhi, "Are you benefitted by the 'caste'?" they will say, "No, we are not getting the benefits of 'caste', we do not know how to get its benefits. Only Kanshi Ram knows it. He only

knows how to handle the 'caste' to his benefit." (Laughter)

If you can prevent Brahmins taking benefits of 'caste', they will think twice to use the sword of 'caste' against us. I have learnt the art of using the sword of 'caste' to our benefit. 'Caste', which may appear as a problem, may become an asset if we handle it properly. Problems of today may be opportunities of tomorrow. They can be assets in future. Distress migration: We must learn lessons from the history. We must start the movement where Babasaheb Ambedkar left it. In 1932, Babasaheb Ambedkar demanded separate electorates for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. After



10 years, in 1942, he demanded separate settlements. He wanted to make these people independent of the Hindus. What is the position now? We have forty five lakh hectares of land under cultivation. Our people

till the land and produce food crops. But they do not own that land in which they work. They are leaving the villages in distress and come to cities in search of food and shelter. This distress migration has produced more than ten crore refugees in towns in the last ten years. Ten years ago, the urban population was 5 crores and today it is 16 crores. They live in slums and on streets. Who should think about these refugees? Rural Ministry and Urban Ministry of Government of India must find the answer. The Indian Government plans for everybody except these people. There is no mention about these refugees in our budgets. There is a separate department to plan. Allocate budget and make settlements for the refugees of Pakistan, refugees of Tibet, refugees of Jammu and Kashmir, and so on. But nobody thought about these refugees of distress migration.

Since people carry their 'castes' to cities leaving behind everything else in their villages, my job has become very easy. These ten crore refugees are a problem to the rulers. But they are our assets. We will use 'caste' to liberate these people. We are going to launch a movement called "Bharatiya Sharanartha Andolan" immediately after the No-

vember election for Delhi. Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. I will not sit idle in anticipation of 'caste' to vanish. I will handle the 'caste' till it remains. Games people play: Now, let me tell you my experience of handling 'caste'. What I am doing today is, I am rousing the victims of 'caste'. I am rousing the victims of 'caste' to strive for Babasaheb Ambedkar's movement. I am preparing my people – the victims of caste – to handle the double-edged sword of 'caste' to their benefit. Today everybody is afraid of my handling of 'caste' factor. Everybody is trying to stop the Kanshi Ram phenomenon. Rajiv Gandhi tried, V.P. Singh tried, Narasimha Rao tried and BJP is trying. They play their game and I am trying to play my game. (Claps)

BSP should be recognized all over India: The beneficiaries of 'caste' have created it with the purpose of ruling over others and they have retained it to perpetuate their rule. Creation is more difficult than retention. Once you create it, there is no problem in retaining it. It will simply go on.

If you want to destroy 'caste', you have to stop the beneficiaries taking advantage of it. So long the beneficiaries are allowed to use 'caste', victims are continued to suffer. If you want to put an end to it, you must learn to handle the 'caste' to your benefit. You should not allow the Brahminical Social Order to take the benefits of 'caste'. You should not ignore 'caste' but you should take note of it. Today with the successful handling of caste. Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) has become the fourth national party in India. There are seventy recognized parties and we are ahead of sixty seven parties. Only Congress, BJP and CPI (M) are ahead of us. When we started in 1984, other parties said that ours would be a Uttar Pradesh party. But today, BSP is not limited to UP alone. Now, the upper castes have become unhappy.... And I am also unhappy. They are unhappy because BSP is spreading to other states too. And I am unhappy because BSP has not spread to all the states. I want BSP to become a recognized party in all the states of India, including Maharashtra. Dependents in independent India: In 1997, the Brahminical Social Order planned to celebrate the golden jubilee of independence. We too planned to celebrate. But we have nothing to celebrate. It is independence for them. But it is dependence for us. We are dependent in independent

(Contd on next Page..)



# Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia and Ad Dharm School of Dalit Awakening

**Prem Kumar Chumber**  
Editor-In-Chief: Ambedkar Times  
& Desh Doaba

Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia was one of founding members of the Ghadar movement, which aimed at building an egalitarian society and polity after liberating India from the British Raj. He participated in the weapon smuggling mission of the movement. He was arrested and awarded capital punishment, but was saved from the death sentence by chance. The news of his supposed death reached his village. According to the tradition of his community, his widow named Piari married his elder brother. After his return to India in

1925, he remarried and had four sons from his second wife, named Bishno.

Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia did not find any change in the life of his fellow villagers in Punjab after spending 16 years abroad. The social malady of untouchability had continued to torment the Scheduled Castes people. He wanted to overcome the social oppression that his people were undergoing for centuries. While living in USA, he realized what it meant to be equal, free and lead a dignified life. He made his mind to devote his life towards the awakening and uplift of the Scheduled Caste people.

He thought that the most vi-

able way to bring social and political consciousness among his people was to establish schools for the Achhuts. Settling in his native village, Mugowal, he founded a school for the lower caste children in the village. The school was temporarily housed in the garden of Risaldar Dhanpat Rai, a landlord of village Mugowal. Later on Lambardar Beeru Ram Sangha, another landlord of village Mugowal donated half an acre of land to Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia to build the school. The school had five teachers including Babu Mangu Ram ji. One of the teachers was a Muslim, Walhi Mohammad, and another was a Brahmin.

Now-a-days, the school land has been declared as Shamlat (common land) and no remnants of the school building exist except the old dilapidated structure of its well.

It was in this historic school founded by Babu Mangu Ram Mugowalia Ji that the first mammoth meeting of the Ad Dharm movement was held on June 11-12, 1926.

*(Excerpted from Dr. Ronki Ram's article entitled "Untouchability, Dalit Consciousness, and the Ad Dharm Movement in Punjab," published in Contributions to Indian Sociology, Vol. 38, No. 3, 2004 with thanks).*

## YOU SHOULD BECOME RULERS TO CREATE CASTELESS SOCIETY

ent India. Even after 50 years, our people still work on others' lands. They do not have their own land. Why did these ten crore people leave their villages? Because they have no independence in their villages. When we created BSP, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Castes were not independent. They were running to different parties for tickets. Parties are nothing but tickets-printing machines. We thought why not we have our own machine. And hence we created BSP on April 14, 1984. No more platform tickets:

During the assembly election of March 1985 in UP. We gave tickets to 237 candidates. I told our candidates. "Our tickets are only platform tickets and hence you cannot reach Lucknow with these tickets." There was no demand for our tickets, then. But today there is a big demand. Every BSP candidate secures more than one lakh votes.

Today ours are not platform tickets. Our ticket can take you to Lucknow and also to Delhi. Why there is such a demand for our party tickets? Congress made BSP popular: In

1983, Congress Party had won 410 out of 425 assembly seats in UP. In 1985, it could get only 265 out of 425. It lost 145 seats because of BSP. Frustrated by this loss, they started calling BSP as a party of Chamars. This propaganda of Congress had really helped us. Our party became very popular among Chamars. In 1985 elections, we secured 2% of votes. In 1989, our percentage of votes went upto 9% and in 1991, 11%.

In 1993, it was 20.6%, in 1996 elections; we got 29% of

votes. We did not ignore 'caste'. We took note of it and learnt to handle it. Today, 'caste' has no effect for Congress. For us, it has a growing effect. Victims should not wish away caste. They should learn to handle it. Lessons of Maharashtra: We have people from Maharashtra here. I learnt many things from them. Half of the lessons of the movement, I learnt from Babasaheb Ambedkar and other half I learnt from Mahars of Maharashtra. From Babasaheb Ambedkar, I learnt how to run the movement. From the

**(Contd. on page 16)**



**We will not stop until we unite the victims of the system and overthrow the spirit of inequality in our country.**

**Sahib Kanshi Ram Ji**



**Shingara Singh Ralh & Ralh family**

**Shingara Singh Ralh, President, Shri Guru Ravidass Temple Yuba City, California**

**WE PAY FLORAL TRIBUTE TO  
SAHIB SHRI KANSHI RAM JI  
ON HIS PRINIRVANA DIVAS**



# YOU SHOULD BECOME RULERS TO CREATE CASTELESS SOCIETY

(Continue from page 15)

Maharashtra Mahars, I learnt how not to run the movement. It is not just important to learn how to run the movement. Because, unless you know how not to run the movement, you will not know how to run the movement.

Mahars did not handle the 'caste' properly. They said that they were Buddhists and no more Maharas. At the same time, they fought for reservation as Mahars! They demanded reservation as Mahars! Even in Buddhism, you are Mahars! You dragged in the bad breath of 'caste' to Buddhism also. 'Caste' is the bad breath of Hinduism, but it polluted the whole world.

A Century of reservation: Chatrapathi Shahu Maharaj provided the educational facilities and gave reservation to Scheduled Castes in his government on July 26, 1902. On July 26, 2002, we will be completing a century of reservation. Now, it is my duty to prepare my people not to get the reservation but to grant reservation. How to grant reservation? It is easy to understand but difficult to practice.

Who can grant reservation? Only rulers can grant reservation. Even to grant your own people – to give from right hand to left hand – your must become rulers. Therefore, we must prepare ourselves to become rulers. We should become rulers....This is the only solution.

How can the victims become rulers?

What is important?: I have not seen Babasaheb Ambedkar when he was alive nor have I heard him. I learnt Ambedkar only through Maharashtra leaders. Mr. Baji Rao Kamble, who is sitting before me here with blue cap, is also one among those who taught me Ambedkarism. When Maharashtra leaders ran after Congress Party tickets, I had heated arguments with them. They said, "If we stick to Ambedkarism, we cannot become MLAs". Is it important to run the movement or to become MLAs? Which is more important? I thought movement was more important and I decided to run the movement. It also came to my mind that we should also become MLAs to run the movement. But which party will give us such MLAs who can run the movement? Such MLAs can be produced only by our own party. Then, I left Bombay and landed in Lucknow.

Castes that supported Babasaheb: I gave a deep thought to 'caste factor'. I looked at the castes which supported Babasaheb Ambedkar. His movement was led by Mahars in Maharashtra, Paraiyahs in Tamil Nadu, Malas in Andhra

Pradesh, Jatavas in Uttar Pradesh, and Chandals in West Bengal. Babasaheb could not get elected in 1952 and in 1954. Hence, naturally, his followers thought, "When Babasaheb Ambedkar himself could not get elected, how can we get elected?"

Again I thought over the electoral victory of Babasaheb. In 1946, Babasaheb got elected in Jaisur and Kulnar Constituency of Bengal. How? Chandals of Bengal had 52% of votes. They thought it was better to send Babasaheb than anybody else to the Constituent Assembly. Babasaheb got elected because of more votes. Mahars, Paraiyahs, Malas, Jatavas etc., were not in big number. Hence, they could not succeed. They were leaving the movement.

Babasaheb Ambedkar fought for all the victims of 'caste'. But are Mahars, Paraiyahs, Malas etc., the only victims of 'caste'? Are these the only castes which are victimized by the Brahminical Social Order? No, they are not the only victims of 'caste'.

6000 victimised castes: There are about 1,500 Scheduled Castes and 1,000 Scheduled Tribes and 3,743 Backward Castes, according to Mandal Commission Report. There are more than 6,000 castes which are victimized by the Brahminical Social Order. Why they should not struggle together against caste system?

If they are separated, they are minorities. Some may be more in number and others may be less in number. If we add them all, they are a big majority. They form more than 85% of the Indian population. In Hindi, we call majority as "Bahujan".

Brotherhood among Bahujan Samaj: When Bahujan Samaj Party was started; there was no Bahujan Samaj in India. Bahujan Samaj Party can succeed only when Bahujan Samaj is created. Hence, we started creating Bahujan Samaj by developing brotherhood among the 6,000 victimised castes. In the last 15 years – that too in the last 5 years – we could bring together 600 castes, i.e., 10% of the total number of castes.

With 600 castes welded together, we are the fourth national party today. If we weld together another 400 castes and make it 1,000 castes, BSP becomes number one party of India.

I do not like speaking, though I keep on speaking. I do not want to speak. I want my works to speak.... my results must speak. I tell my friends who do not agree with me, "I may be wrong. But look at the re-

sults of my work. What do you say about it?"

Welding of all the castes was difficult. The welder was criticized and advised not to attempt it. But when the welder started his operation, nothing could stop him. He could weld very well. If he could weld 600 castes, why can't he weld many more castes?

By welding together all the castes, we can win the political power and become the rulers.

Capture Master Key: Babasaheb Ambedkar said, "Political Power is the master key." Yes, it is a master key by which you can open all the doors of progress.

In Maharashtra, you had agitated for over twenty five years to rename the Marathwada University as 'Babasaheb Ambedkar University'. You could not succeed, because you were not the rulers to rename the University. You did not have the master key in your hand. In 1989, Late Rajiv Gandhi came to Lucknow and laid the foundation for Dr. Ambedkar University. When his Congress Party was refusing to rename the Marathwada University after Babasaheb in Maharashtra, the same party was laying foundation in Lucknow for Dr. Ambedkar University. People of U.P. never demanded it. It was the Maharashtra people who were demanding it. Why did the Congress people want Dr. Ambedkar University in U.P.? Because, the people of U.P. were demanding the master key. Hence the rulers wanted to hide the master key behind the University! (Laughter)

By acquiring master key in U.P., we started many universities, not just one university, for which Maharashtra people were agitating for years. In 1994, we laid foundation for Shahu Maharaj University in Kanpur. In 1996, we opened Mahatma Phule University and Dr. Ambedkar University. And we acquired 200 acres of land for Gautam Buddha University. We created seventeen new districts of which the last one is Buddha Nagar, which is near Delhi.

You can acquire the master key of political power by properly handing the 'caste'.

Dalithing, a refined form of begging: Till now, I spoke about 'caste'. Now I want to speak about Dalits. I rarely go out of India. My followers were expecting that I would not participate in this Convention. Because I am perturbed by the Dalits. I am perturbed by their weaknesses. Their biggest weakness is dalithing.

It has become a profession. Dalithing is a refined form of beg-

ging. Dalits and beggars go hand in hand. Beggars cannot become rulers. So also the Dalits. Direction of their begging hand must be changed, like this (turns his hand downward). If you do not become rulers, our problems, are going to remain forever.

But how can you become rulers being Dalits, meaning beggars? You should cease to become Dalits. You should become rulers to get rid of all your problems. That is the only solution.

Brahminism kills all 'isms': Our intellectuals think that the solution lies in Marxism, communism, socialism etc. In a country where Brahmanism is existing, no 'ism' can succeed. Because no 'ism' has taken note of 'caste'. Therefore the duty of the intellectuals – it is my duty too – is to take note of the Brahminism and create our own 'ism'. They talk so much about unemployment.... about the one crore unemployed Brahmins. But why don't they talk about those ten crore refugees, who are illiterate and unskilled. No party thinks about those ten crore people. They are our people and hence only our party can think about them.... Only our party can solve their problems. And we can solve every problem of our people by becoming the rulers of India.

We have become the fourth national party by welding together 600 castes and by welding 1,000 castes; we will become the rulers of India. Within three years, we will be the rulers of India.

Kanshi Ram Phenomenon: I am not thrusting my ideas on others. I only narrated my experience. It is for you to benefit from my experience.

You can create a casteless society by becoming rulers. This is my solution. Why should the beneficiaries of caste destroy the 'caste' system?

Victims of caste alone have to destroy the 'caste' system. This can be done only by becoming rulers. Rulers alone can destroy the caste system.

You may think that I am asking for the impossible. But I have always been asking for the impossible and I am getting it too. This is Kanshi Ram phenomenon. Kanshi Ram phenomenon is becoming the national phenomenon. Have the right thinking to go further and a new vision to create a casteless society.

My solution is that you can create a casteless society by becoming rulers. Rulers alone can create a new society.

**Jai Bhim! Jai Bharat!!  
By Pramod Kureel Ex MP (BSP)**