

Arya-Brahmin Vengeance
on Bengali-Tamil Dalits
&
Chakma Adivasi Indigenous Refugees

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*We Present This Book
at the feet of
Our Brave
Namoshudra Dalit Community
Who is Still suffering the
Vengeance of
Arya-Brahminists for protecting
the Self-Respect of Dr. B.R.
Ambedkar*

*We Must forge
Iron-Solidarity with Our
Namoshudra Brethren
to Retaliate
this Arya-Brahminist Vengeance
and wipe out the Stigma of
"Betrayers"*

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PART I

THE WARMLY WELL-WELCOMED FOREIGN REFUGEES

India has been home to foreign refugees for centuries. Many sought refuge in India from time immemorial like the Parses, the Jews, Hakka Chinese , Syrian Christians etc. Many groups came as invaders and later assimilated in India like the white Huns (Scythians?), Kushans, Bactrians (Greeks?) etc. There are some traders and some groups of slaves (Sidhis?) who assimilated in India. Since its independence India received refugees from Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda. **No one was ever turned away from the Indian shores.**

THE ANCIENT REFUGEES WHO NOW RULE

1. PERSIAN REFUGEES

Around the 8th century CE, after the fall of the Sassanid empire, almost the entire Zoroastrian community fleeing from the religious persecution in Iran fled by ship to the western coast of the Indian subcontinent (now Gujarat). They were 94,000 altogether in 1900, of whom 76,000 resided in Bombay. They have been living with honour and dignity in India.

Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy born into a poor **priestly** family in Navsari in Gujarat **made a vast amount of money by trading opium to China.** He brought back tea and silks and traded with Europe, bringing back the English goods needed to sustain the empire in India. **By 1800, Parses owned half of Bombay and were even renting out their magnificent houses to the British. Later, with industrialisation, they established the first cotton mills and were instrumental in founding the Indian steel industry. Gradually certain families acquired wealth and prominence such as Sorabji, Modi, Kama, Wadia, Jejeebhoy, Readymoney, Dadset, Petit, Patel, Mehta, Allbless, Tata etc., nearly all being engaged in trade and manufacturing.** Field Marshal Sam Manekshaw, former Atty Gen. Soli Sorabjee, Constitution expert Nana Palkiwala, former wicket keeper Farooq Engineer, former Miss India (World?) Mheir Jessia are some famous Parses.

2. JEW REFUGEES

The Jews came to India 2000 years ago fleeing from the persecution by the Romans, and have lived in India with honour and dignity. Jew communities in India are as under.

A) Kerala or Cochin Jews : The tradition of the **Cochin Jews** maintains that after 72 A.D., after the destruction of the Second Temple

of Jerusalem, 10,000 Jews migrated to Kerala. A second tradition says that the Jews are the descendants of the Jews taken into captivity by Nebuchadnezzar and then released by Cyrus of Persia in the sixth century B.C. A third theory holds the view that they came to India in 370 from Majorca where they were exiled by the Roman Emperor Vespasian. A fourth tradition, says that when St. Thomas the Apostle visited Muziris in 52 A.D., he stayed in the Jewish quarter. They came to India as political refugees and/or as traders.

The early Christians of India are said to be the converts from Judaism. The clearest evidence for their view is found in the Aramaic language (language of the Iraqi Jews and of some Iraqis even today) once spoken by the Kerala Christians and used even today in the prayer books of Syrian Christian community of Kerala. **Thus their is a clear link between Jews and Syrian Christians who consider themselves high caste Brahmins and practice caste system in Christianity.**

The Jews in Kerala were the business community of Kerala. The ruler Sri Parkaran Iravi Vanmar gave to the head of the Jewish community Joseph Rabban the village of Anjumannam and pronounced him the Prince of this village. According to the Cochini Jews the 'princely rights' (written on copper plates and therefore called Copper Plates) were given to them in 379 A. D. They had aristocratic rights, such as use of elephants and sedans. They even had servants whose job was to announce their coming to the streets so that the low castes could move away from their way. In the sixteenth century White Jews from Spain and Portugal came to Kerala. The Kochi Jews, concentrated mostly in the old "Jew Town," were completely integrated into local culture, speaking Malayalam and taking local names while preserving their knowledge of Hebrew and contacts with Southwest Asia.

B) Bene Israel Jews : Bene Israel, had lived along the Konkan Coast in and around Bombay, Pune, and Ahmedabad for almost 2,000 years within the orthodox Jewish fold, practising the Sephardic rite without rabbis (Jewish priests), with the synagogue (a Jewish house of worship) as the centre of their religious and cultural life.

C) Baghdadi Jews :Arabic-speaking Jews immigrated to India, came as traders in the wake of the Portuguese, Dutch and British. The Syrian Suleiman ibn Ya'qub was the first prominent Arabic-speaking Jewish businessman (1795 to 1833). However, it was the arrival of the Baghdadi merchant, industrialist and financier David Sassoon (1792-1864) in 1833 that heralded the remarkable sojourn of the Baghdadi Jewish community of Bombay. **The fortunes of the Baghdadi families began with the opium trade to China and gradually reached all phases of industry and commerce.** The Sassoon family, or "the Rothschilds of the East," played a major role in the industrialization of Bombay. Jews had three of its mayors, professors in its university and producers and stars for its

film industry. The famous Haffkine Institute in Mumbai was named after Mr. Haffkine. The Sassoons, after whom the Sassoon docks, the Sassoon Hospital, and two of Mumbai's well known sites - the Jacob Circle and Flora Fountain have been named. They have a Jewish Chief of the Navy. In the Indian Army, Jews have reached very high posts. Bombay had several Jewish newspapers (in Judeo-Arabic, Hebrew, Marathi and English), a Jewish publishing industry, Zionist and community organizations. The Sassoons built two beautiful synagogues to serve the Baghdadi community: Maghen David (1863) in Byculla and Keneseth Eliyahu (1883) in Fort, both of which usually manage to obtain a Shabbat minyan today. By 1950 there were nearly 20,000 Jews in Bombay, but immigration to Israel, America, Britain, Australia and Canada have drastically reduced those numbers.

The leadership of Calcutta Jewry was held by the Cohen and Ezra families, the latter ranking among the city's most prominent industrial and commercial houses. The Calcutta community was founded by Shalom Obaidah ha-Kohen (1762-1836), who arrived there from Surat in 1798. Jewish trading outposts -- often including a prayer hall and a cemetery -- sprang up in his footsteps from Lucknow to Darjeeling. **The Baghdadis even helped some high caste Hindus to convert to Judaism.**

Calcutta has had Jewish schools, a religious court, a matza board, charitable and burial associations, a Jewish hospital, several newspapers, a publisher since 1840 and Zionist groups. Calcutta has had three Jewish sheriffs, and Jews have provided Bengal's first female attorney, several scholars, journalists, writers, musicians and sportsmen. Lt.-Gen. Jack Frederick Ralph Jacob commanded Indian forces on the eastern front during the 1971 war which led to the establishment of Bangladesh. General Jacobs, now the Governor of Goa, supervised the surrender of the Pakistani Army in the Liberation of Bangladesh in 1971. The Chief of the Naval Staff was also a Jew. Maj. Gen. Samson who was awarded the Padma Bhushan. Before the Second World War there were 3,800 Jews in Calcutta, a number which grew to more than 5,000 with the influx of Jewish refugees from Rangoon.

Cartoonist Abu Abraham are Jewish. The late famous Hindi film actor David, and the late "Sulochana" (Ruby Meyers) of Indian Silent Films, and the actress/dancer Helen director-producer Ezra Mir, the actors Miss Rose and Ramola (Rachel Hayam Cohen), as well as the prizefighter-turned-actor Aaron Joshua. Poet Nissim Ezekiel, was Jewish. Nissim Ezekiel was a professor at Mumbai University. Esther David is a very popular novelist and so is Anita Desai. Some Jews also write in Marathi. Dr. Erulkar was the personal physician and friend of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Dr. Erulkar's daughter is currently the 1st lady of Cyprus, married to the President of Cyprus. Another prominent Indian Jew is Dr. Jerusha Jhirad, who was given the title of Padma Shri by the Government of India. (Late) Mrs Hannah Sen, President of All, India Women's Conference and was also the first lady director, Lady Irwin College for Women, Delhi. (Late) Mr Ezra

Kolet did pioneering work in the shipping industry. Mr J M Benjamin, was Chief Architect to the Government of India and former secretary, Delhi Urban Arts Commission.

D) Menashe Jews : Several **Chin-Kuki tribal groups** in the northeastern Indian states of Manipur, Mizoram, Assam and Nagaland, the western Burmese Chin state and Bangladesh's Chittagong hill tracts claim to be descendents of the tribe of Menashe. According to them, they came from China and lost their religion during centuries of wanderings through remote Asia. There are an estimated 4,300 Jewish tribes in India, with more in Burma and Bangladesh.

3. SYRIAN CHRISTIANS

Syrian Christians came to India as refugees in the fourth century A.D. because they were persecuted in Syria. They are two groups, namely, Kananaya Syrian Christians and Saint Thomas Syrian Christians. Kananaya Syrian Christians claim that they are descendants of Thomas of Kana (Canaan), a central Asian merchant who reached the Malabar coast in the 4th century CE. Saint Thomas Syrian Christians claim that they are the only Christians who received baptism directly from the Apostle (Saint) Thomas, one of the disciple of Jesus Christ.

Both sects are still maintaining an extreme 'Savarna Jati' (upper caste) mentality in their social as well as religious transactions and above all they are very particular in legitimizing their superiority complex in the Christian discourse of Keralam. The Saint Thomas Syrian Christians believe that their forefathers were converted to Christianity in the first century C.E from among the Nambootiries (Vedic Brahmins of Keralam) at a time when the Apostle Thomas, one disciple of Jesus Christ started his miraculous missionary activity in the Malabar Coast. The Syrian Christians practice casteism and untouchability in Kerala. Syrian Christians now own all major establishments, nearly 85 per cent of the educational institutions, 80 per cent of media, banks and financial institutions.

4. Armenian Refugees

Though Armenians travelled to India from time immemorial, they started to form permanent settlements only from the 16th century. **Armenians in India were not only famous as traders. Among the Indo-Armenians there were prominent poets, army commanders and governors.** There were Armenian detachments in the Indian armies. In the 18th century Armenians were mostly residing in Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, Surat. Madras has significant Armenian population. In Madras the first Armenian journal named Azdarar was started on October 16, 1794, the first Armenian Constitution was written here and progressive Armenians of Madras

have their tangible share in preparing of the freedom movement in Armenia. 20th century Armenians have also discarded their national costume. Now they have completely adopted European customs. Because of marriage with Europeans and Eurasians, they have forsaken their Church. In spite of all these changes, the Armenian community in India still remains distinct. The main concern of the Armenian Church Committee of Calcutta is to preserve the Armenian colony and its properties. With the efforts of this Church Committee the Armenian College & Philanthropic Academy still functions.

B) ANCIENT REFUGEES WHO BECAME SERVILE CLASS

4. HAKKA CHINESE

The Chinese made an entry into the Calcutta (kolkata) city during late eighteenth century. By the mid 19th century. These Chinese have clustered in china town in central Calcutta and Tangra in east Calcutta, which is the tannery zone. They are estimated to be about 20,000 in numbers. They have managed to create a little china (China Town) in Indian soil with traditional temples, dragon architecture and festoons in Chinese, with the rustle of real silk and the aroma of Chinese food. Their greater parts are "Hakka", the traditional tanners and shoemakers, followed by the carpenters and restaurant-keepers and the dentists, hairdressing, pharmaceutical and foods making. Two Chinese dailies are regularly published from Calcutta.

5. SIDHIS

The Sidhis came from Africa during the twelfth century, mainly as soldiers, sailors and merchants. Some were warrior-slaves to Indian kings who valued them for their loyalty and fighting spirit. In India, about 30,000 Sidhis live in and around Junagarh, Gujarat. Today, about 80 per cent of India's Sidhi population work as manual labourers, either in farms or in cities. The Sidhis adapted to the Indian lifestyle, yet retained some ancient cultural practices and a few syncretic forms of worship. Today, their only link with Africa is through their music, dance and the few customs they have maintained. Though they use Swahili in some of their songs, they do not know its true meaning. They do not know the specific origin of their ancestors. Sidhi consider themselves Indians and Swahili as the language of their forefathers, and they should not forget it. Sidhis of India are dedicated to a Muslim Sufi saint named "Sidi Mubarak Nobi, who studied Sufism in Iraq but lived in India. They say "we enjoy going to Africa to perform the jungle dances, but we would never want to settle down there permanently."

POST-INDEPENDENCE REFUGEES

1. TIBETAN REFUGEES

The Fourteenth Dalai Lama - Gyalwa Tenzing Gyatso - was requested by America to flee the country in order to carry on the anti-China struggle from the outside world with the help of America and other capitalist countries. Along with Dalai lama approximately 85,000 Tibetan refugees fled to India during the past 40 years. He left Lhasa on March 17, 1959, crossing safely into India on March 31, 1959 where he was warmly received. Initially Mussourie was offered by the Indian government to the Dalai Lama. Shortly after the Dalai Lama moved to Mussourie, the Nowrojee family contacted him and suggested McLeodganj to be a better place. Since then McLeodganj has become the headquarters of the "Tibetan Government in Exile".

The Dalai Lama's organization in Dharamsala, known as the Central Tibetan Administration, is a set up suggested by Nehru during his first meetings with the Dalai Lama in 1959. Lal Bahadur Shastri government thought of according official status and recognize the Dalai Lama's administration as a government-in-exile. Lal Bahadur Shastri informed a representative of the Dalai Lama that after he returned from Tashkent he would take this decisive step. But the prime minister died in Tashkent. The CTA is a Government with legislative, judiciary and executive bodies and gets generous assistance of the Government of India, Nepal, the United Nations High Commission for refugees and foreign donors.

The location Nehru offered to Tibetan Government in exile in the Kangra Valley is rich in unexplored archaeological sites of great importance. In Dharamsala life is basically Tibetan in character.

Central Tibetan Administration

The Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) was first established in Mussoorie on April 29, 1959. Then in May 1960 it was moved to Dharamsala. Various CTA departments are as under.

THE TIBETAN SUPREME JUSTICE COMMISSION : Is the highest judicial authority of the Tibetan Administration. It adjudicates civil cases in the Tibetan community as long as they do not clash with the interest of host governments' laws. The Chief Justice Commissioner is appointed directly by the Dalai Lama.

THE ASSEMBLY OF TIBETAN PEOPLE'S DEPUTIES : The Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies is an elected legislative body consists of forty six members (forty three directly elected by Tibetan exiles the world over, and three nominated by Dalai Lama). The Assembly elects ministers who form the Tibetan cabinet (Kashag).

THE KASHAG (The Tibetan Cabinet) : The Kashag (Cabinet) is the highest executive authority of CTA. Its members report to Dalai Lama and the Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies. The present Kashag consists of eight kalons (ministers).

THE CTA COMMISSIONS

- 1) The Election Commission
- 2) Public Service Commission

which recruit, train and appoint civil servants to serve in the Central Tibetan Administration. 3) Audit Commission of CTA, The heads of these commissions are directly appointed by Dalai Lama.

VARIOUS DEPARTMENTS OF C.T.A.

1) Department of religion and culture :- oversees and coordinates the activities of all Tibetan religious institutions. It also maintains close touch with Buddhist organizations throughout the world. At the moment, there are 181 monasteries and eight nunneries with enrolment of over 17,000 monks and 600 nuns respectively.

2) Home Department :- Tibetan welfare office is responsible for looking after the welfare of Tibetans in Dharamsala.

3) Department of Education :- administers schools and educational institutions in India, Nepal and Bhutan, etc. countries.

4) Department of finance :- Runs twenty four business enterprises in India, Nepal and the United States to generate funds for the operational expenses of the Central Tibetan Administration. It also formulates the annual budget of the CTA.

5) Department of Information and international Relations :- The department publishes regular periodicals in Tibetan, Hindi, English, Chinese and Arabic and acts as the protocol office of the CTA and assists visitors, mainly media personnel, and liaises with Tibet Support Groups throughout the world. The branch office of information sells books, magazines, video and audio tapes, photos, etc. on Dalai Lama and Tibet. Tibetan Computer resource centre provides Departments, organizations and individuals services such as an e-mail service, called TibetNet.

6) Department of Security :- Ensures the personal security of Dalai Lama. It has a research wing which gathers information on developments in Tibet and China. Branch security office help Tibetans to obtain and renew their residential permits from the Indian authorities.

7) Department of Health :- Runs sixty one Primary Health Care centres and six referral hospitals in almost all the Tibetan communities in India and abroad.

7) Planning Council :- It institutionalize the planning process within the Tibetan community and integrate, coordinate and set priorities among the many developmental activities undertaken within the Tibetan community in exile.

The local Tibetan Assembly (LTA) of CTA, form the settlement's policies, rules and directives. There are between eleven to thirty eight members who are elected for a five-year term. Each village also elects a leader who acts as a Liaison between the Representative's office and the public. **The Indian Government began to allocate substantial aid for the rehabilitation of refugees. The different state governments began to allocate land for the resettlement of Tibetan refugees.** As per available information, Tibetan Refugees settlements primarily in India, Nepal, Bhutan, Switzerland, the United States and Canada for which **huge donations from various sources, including \$2.25 million from**

the US Congress, is received.

Soon after the first refugees started coming to India, the Department of Home was established to coordinate the immediate relief assistance for them and to find a long term solution for the resettlement of Tibetan refugees. Today there are 54 Tibetan settlements throughout India, Bhutan and Nepal, 26 agricultural, 17 agro-industrial and 11 handicraft-based. The Tibetan refugee population has grown to approximately 121,143. According to a 1994 census 69,426 Tibetan refugees live in settlements, another 51,715 live in scattered communities across the Indian subcontinent. The Dalai Lama's Central Tibetan Relief Committee, created in 1960, works with the Ministry of Labour and Rehabilitation of the Government of India and various voluntary organizations. The rehabilitation of Tibetan refugees is being achieved through the schemes of Government of India as well as relief agencies under the Tibetan Administration in India. The numbers of villages in each settlement vary from 6 to 22 per settlement, with varying population from 3,500 to 11,700. The acreage of land per settlement varies from 3,400 to 11,643 acres. **All the settlements have basic education facilities from nursery to higher secondary standard, places of worship, primary health care clinics and hospitals, and access to the traditional Tibetan Medicinal practice. There are also old age homes in three of the above five settlements. The major monasteries have also been re-established in these settlements.** The settlement officer, known as the Representative of the Department of Home-CTA, administers each settlement. Some of them in India are as under.

Agricultural-based settlements :- 1) Choepheling, Miao 2) Changthang, 3) Leh Ladakh 4) Dickyi Larsoe, Bylakuppee 5) Dhondenling, Kollegal 6) Dhoeguling, Mundgod 7) Dhargyaling, Tezu 8) Doegu Yougyaling, Herbertpur, U.P. 9) Kunpheling, Rawangla, Sikkim 10) Lugsum-Samdupling, Bylakuppee 11) Lama Hatta, Darjeeling, West Bengal 12) Norgyaling Tibetan settlement, 13) Bhandara, India 14) Phuntsokling Tibetan settlement, Orissa 15) Phendeyling, Mainpat 16) Rabgyaling, Hunsur 17) Sonamling, Leh Ladakh 18) Tenzingang, Bomdila

Agro-Industrial-based settlements :- 1) Bir Society, H.P. 2) Dolanji, H.P. 3) Dhondupling, Dehra Dun, U.P. 4) Tibetan Khampa industrial Society, Bir, H.P. 5) Kham kathok Tibetan Society, Sautan, H.P. 6) Tibetan Taopon Gapa Welfare Society, Kamrao, H.P. 7) Lingsang, Dehra Dun, U.P. 8) Tibetan Cholusm Industrail Society, Paonta, H.P. 9) Tibetan Industrail Rehabilitation Society, Chauntra, H.P. 10) Tashi ling Tibetan Camp, Pandho, H.P. 11) Sakya Tibetan Society, Purwala, H.P. 12) Tibetan Refugee Cooperative Collective Farming Society, Sonada, West Bengal 13) Tibetan Craft Community, Tashi Jong, H.P.

In each of the settlements there are Cooperative societies having their own Board of Directors. Their duty is to determine their own policies. The Chief Representative cum South Zone development

coordinator's office is also known as Dalai Lama's Central Tibetan Relief Committee acts as the relief wing of Department of Home of CTA.

In 1959 Pandit Nehru created the Society for Tibetan Education within the Indian Ministry of Education. Today there are 85 Tibetan schools in India, Nepal and Bhutan with a current enrolment of 27,230 students. The 45,550 children who have attended these schools are the first Tibetans in history to have a modern, multilingual education. The CTA hopes to build a vocational training centre for new arrivals near Kathmandu by purchasing land in northern India. **Tibetan refugees born in India are entitled to Indian citizenship according to Section 3, of the Indian Citizenship Act; 1955. Tibetan refugees have been issued certificates of identity, which enables them to seek employment take part in other economic activities and travel abroad.**

Various CTA Departments / Institutes

THE LIBRARY OF TIBETAN WORKS AND ARCHIVES (LTWA) :- It was established in 1971 as a repository for ancient cultural objects, books and manuscripts from Tibet. The Library has eight departments: research and translation; publications; oral history and film documentation; reference (reading room); Tibetan studies; Tibetan manuscripts; a museum and a school for thangka painting and woodcarving. It has a team of Tibetan scholars engaged in research, translation, instruction and the publication of books. The Library has acquired a reputation as an international centre for Tibetan studies. To date, more than five thousand scholars and research students from over thirty countries have benefited from this unique educational institution. For research scholars and students, the Library offers hostel accommodation on a first-come-first-served basis. A schedule of courses is available from the Library office. The Library publishes The Tibet Journal, a scholarly and international journal on Tibetan culture. The monthly Sheja and weekly Tibetan Freedom in the Tibetan language are published by the Department of Information and International Relations. It also publishes Tibetan Bulletin, a bimonthly magazine in English, Tibbat Desh, a bimonthly in Hindi, and Tibet Bulletin, a bimonthly in Chinese. Tibetan Youth Congress brings out Rangzen in both Tibetan and English. The Institute of Buddhist Dialectics publishes Lhaksam Tsekpa to interpret the broad issues of western political thought and ideas. The Department of Religion and Culture publishes Cho-Yang, a glossy magazine on culture and Buddhism. Amnye Machen Institute publishes yearly Cairn and Lungta in English. Tibetan Review, an independent monthly journal in English, is published from Delhi and is read by Tibetans all over the world.

AMNYE MACHEN INSTITUTE :- Is a centre for advanced Tibetan studies. The institute addresses the limitations in the intellectual, social and cultural life of the Tibetan people both inside and outside Tibet. IT exposes Tibetans to western literature and culture by

translating them into Tibetan. It brings out two yearly journals in English, entitled Cairn and Lungta. Frequent lectures, seminars and discussion on Tibetan Buddhism, language, culture, history and politics organized. The Department of Information and International Relations organizes a weekly Tibet Awareness Program on Thursday.

TIBETAN MEDICAL AND ASTRO INSTITUTE :- Is a huge complex in a spacious compound where the fundamentals of traditional Tibetan medical practice are taught to over fifty students per year. The TMAI has a dispensary, an inpatient unit and a surgical ward. This clinic, as well as its branch in McLeod Gunj, treats patients from all over the world. About two hundred different pills are produced at the institute and distributed to thirty six branch clinics in India and Nepal. They are also mailed abroad. The institute today is staffed by a group of Tibetan physicians including Dalai Lama's two personal doctors who carry out research and chemical analysis on over 2,294 drugs. TMAI physicians also go abroad at the invitation of universities, medical institutions and groups of patients. An astrological department of TMAI besides providing training in the exacting science of Tibetan astrology, publishes an annual lunar calendar based on the Tibetan system of astrological calculations. Individual horoscopes are made by the department on request.

TIBETAN DEREK HOSPITAL :- It is assisted by volunteer doctors and dentists from the west, Delek Hospital is managed entirely by Tibetans in exile. It has a surgery and maternity ward, as well as an outpatient clinic, laboratory and pharmacy. One unit works solely towards the eradication of tuberculosis in the Tibetan community. There is also a mobile team for community health and an eye clinic. The hospital trains Tibetan health workers for practice in the Tibetan settlements.

TIBETAN HANDICRAFT CENTRE :- This carpet-weaving centre is established to promote the traditional Tibetan craft of carpet-making and to generate employment in the Tibetan community. It has a showroom in the town's main street.

TIBETAN CHILDREN VILLAGE (TCV) :- The Tibetan children's Village runs a chain of fifteen schools, with over ten thousand students, in different parts of India. The main village, known as the Upper TCV, is based on a hill two kilometres from McLeod Ganj. It educates and looks after the upbringing of about three thousand students. Upper TCV consists of thirty eight homes, four hostels and a baby room to care for months-old infants through to boys and girls of sixteen. It has modern school buildings ranging from nursery to high school, sports grounds, staff quarters, a dispensary, a handicraft centre, etc. These are spread over an area of about forty three acres.

YONGLING SCHOOL : - The Yongling school looks after the educational needs of kindergarten children before they are eligible for established schools like TCV. In winter, Yongling school also acts as a home to children whose parents go down to the plains of India to sell garments.

MONASTERIES, NUNNERIES AND OTHER RELIGIOUS SITES :- Tantrik Buddhism (Brahmanism) is the cultural life in Dharamsala. In Namgyal Monastery, the tantric college performs rituals.

NAMGYAL MONASTERY :- At present, the monastery has more than 180 monks, of which the younger monks study the major texts of Buddhist Sutra and Tantra. Namgyal Monastery has also a cafe, bookshop and guest house adjacent to the Tsuglag Khang.

TSUGLAG KHANG : Is known as the Main Temple. In 1992 a new prayer hall was added to the Tsuglag Khang complex with fine frescoes of the Kalachakra tantra cycle. The Central Cathedral is also the site of public prayers, sermons and certain religious festivities, including monastic dances.

NAMGYALMA STUPA :- It is located in the centre of McLeod Gunj. Day and night, devotees turn prayer wheels as they circumambulate the stupa, reciting mantras.

GADEN CHOELING NUNNERY :- The present strength of the nunnery is over a hundred. Meditation, prayer, debate, the reading of scriptures, the performance of religious ceremonies and the training of young nuns are main activities.

DOLMALING AND SHUGSEB NUNNERIES :- These nunneries were founded in the early 1990s to house and educate nuns escaping Tibet. Shugseb lies in a quiet forest setting one kilometre from Om Restaurant. The four-acre site, designed to accommodate up to 300 nuns in future, currently houses over 100 "new arrival" nuns from Tibet.. Phase Two of this ambitious project will add a temple and Institute for Higher Tibetan Studies to the current accommodation infrastructure.

TRILOKPUR NUNNERY :- Trilokpur nunnery is located half way between Dharamsala and Pathankot.

DIP-STE-CHOKLING MONASTERY :- It is idyllic, golden-roofed monastery. Apart from the Tibetan monks, Tsechokling has a small number of foreign Buddhist students who study and reside there. It also offers a guest house.

THE INSTITUTE OF BUDDHIST DIALECTICS :- It offers two main courses in the study of Buddhist philosophy: a seven-year course in Prajnaparamita (The Perfection of Wisdom) and a three-year course in Madhyamika (Nagarjuna's Treatise on the Middle Path). The training offered is comprehensive; besides the prescribed courses, the students study western philosophy, political science, Tibetan literature, script and poetry. It has, Western, Indian, Mongolian and other Asian students. The Institute has a branch school near a village called Gaggal.

NECHUNG MONASTERY :- About seventy monks study here and carry on the secret and sacred rituals. Nechung Monastery also runs a popular guest house and cafe.

GADONG MONASTERY :- Gadong Monastery has fifteen monks and is largely supported by its restaurant and guest house.

TUSHITA RETREAT CENTRE :- Is situated in a very quite and peaceful wood, is an ideal place for meditation and spiritual

retreats. The centre is residential and open throughout the year for both individual and group retreats. Tushita provides frequent courses on various aspects of Tibetan Tantrik Buddhism.

GYTO AND GYME TANTRIC COLLEGES :- McLeod Gunj branches of these two monastic universities, specializing in ritual chanting.

GADEN SHARTSE AND JANGTSE :- The main monastic university of Gaden is in South India, but two of its colleges, Shartse and Jangtse, maintain branches here in McLeod Gunj.

RETREAT CAVES :- Retreat huts and caves of Tibetan lamas and monks to meditate in peace and seclusion are above Bhagsunag waterfall about two hours journey from McLeod Gunj.

LHAGYAL-RI (LHASOEL GROUND) :- Here Tibetans perform their rituals of appeasement and atonement to the protecting deities and guardian Gods.

NYUNGNE LHAKANG :- The Nyungne Lhakang organizes fasts, especially in the Saka Dawa month.

CTA RECEPTION CENTRE : - The refugees usually arrive first in Nepal, from where they make their way to Dharamsala via Delhi. Branch reception centres in Kathmandu and Delhi give free food and lodging to new refugees and are guided to their onward destinations. The Reception Centre also helps the new refugees to find employment, join schools and monasteries, or start small business enterprises in India, for which it provides capital and training.

THE TIBETAN FUND : Over the past two decades, Tibet Fund has steadily increased the amount of funding it provides to its many programs and now contributes over \$3 million a year. The amount requested on various health related programmes and projects during year 1996-97 is given in tables 1 & 2 on page 15 and 16. **This is the budget for health facilities only.** For other departments of CTA the enormous expenditure can be imagined. **It is alleged that the Dalai Lama and his CTA is funded by secret services of imperialist and capitalist countries such as CIA of America, MOSSAD of Israel and RAW of Indian government. With all these help illiterate and alien Tibetan refugees of 1959 have emerged as one of the most successful refugee communities of the world. Today, streams of Tibetan refugees from all over the world flock to McLeod Gunj.**

THE CTA RUN FOLLOWING MASS ORGANIZATIONS :-

THE TIBETAN YOUTH CONGRESS (TYC) :- It is the largest, and one of the most politically active Tibetan organizations in exile expanded worldwide.

THE TIBETAN WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION (TWA) :- It is an organization working for the political freedom and social upliftment of Tibetan women. They are involved with the rehabilitation and education of nuns escaping from Tibet. In the recent years, the association has undertaken a campaign to raise the political awareness of Tibetan women in order to encourage them to participate fully in the political process of the exile community.

Table 1 : Grant Request For 1996-97	Rupees
TB. Ward at Dickyiling Settlement, Dehra Dun.	920,000
TB Ward & Staff quarters at Tsojhe Khangsar Hospital, Bylakuppe	2,392,287
Health Education	935,000
Additional water supply, Ravangla, Sikkim	57,861
Tube well for old Aged Home, Herbertpur	309,695
Toilet and Bathroom for Chowkur student Hostel, Bylakuppe	102,960
Public Latrine & Septic Tank, Mcleod Ganj, Dharmasala.	278,204
Latrine & bathroom at the Tibetan Nehru Memorial Foundation school, Clement Town	105,984
Repairing the building of Dhondenling Van Thial Hospital, Kollegal	505,000
Rehabilitation and Treatment Center for tortured Victims, Dharmasala	3,471,000
Multiple Handicap Rehabilitation Centre, Doon Valley	5,849,400
Drug Supply Rewalsar Primary Health Center	100,000
Drug Supply Sundernagar Primary Health Center	100,000
Medical treatment of tortured victims	435,000

From following extracts from newspapers it become obvious that Tibetan Refugees are given exceptionally favourable treatment

Table 2 : Grant Request For 1996-97	Rupees
The Epidemiology Data Analysis and training Unit, Dharamsala.	755,000
Health Training Center, D/sala Guest House as income generating project, New Delhi Purchase of 486 computer for Health Data section	4,844,500
Health Training Center, Dharamsala Guest House as income generating project, New Delhi	7,491,319
Purchase of 486 computer for Health Data section	188,968
Medical Staff Training	
Doctors Kollegal SettlementMundgod SettlementDoon Valley Settlement	290,000
Nurses: Miao SettlementBhandhara SettlementHunsur SettlementKollegal SettlementOrrisa Settlement	295,000
Pharmacist Doon Valley	96,000
Laboratory Technician Doon ValleyKollegal	90,000
CHWs Training (10)	93,800
Refresher Course for CHWs (20)	99,500
Medical Equipment 10 microscopes4 X-ray plants5 refrigerators10 Autoclaves other general equipments	1,450,000
Ambulance for Tenzingang Settlement, Bomdila	520,000

by Arya-Brahminists riding government of India.

1) The traditional Tibetan wine, Chhang, the source of livelihood for Tibetan refugees for the past 45 years, will not be sold

in the Capital from today. The drink, made by fermenting barley or rice, is not a certified liquor and has been found to have ill-effects on health. "Apart from the health aspect, there have also been law-and-order problems due to consumption of this intoxicating drink," said DCP North District Rajesh Khurana. The announcement to this effect was made here jointly by the Delhi Police and Tibetan Welfare office. **Describing the ban as voluntary and not an enforced one, Welfare Officer Sonam Tsering said, "When Tibetan refugees came to India in 1964, they had no other means to earn a livelihood. So, brewing of Chhang was started on a commercial scale, but today with improvement in sources of income the vendors themselves want to give up this profession."** Tibetan spiritual leader Dalai Lama has lauded the effort and sanctioned **Rs 17,25,000** for the rehabilitation of Chhang vendors, which was distributed today. Speaking at the function, local MLA P S Sawhney said Delhi Government would consider granting some valid Tehbazaris to these people so they could start another business and not resort to the Chhang business again. (From Tribune and other news papers).

2) **Tribune News Service** DHARAMSALA, Jan. 3 — The pressure is being mounted on the state government to renew 20 year lease for renewal of five kanals of prime land in McLeodganj market at the old rate of Rs 1,700 per annum to the Tibetan Government-in-Exile. The local municipal committee wanted that the lease amount should be increased as several Tibetan refugees who had set up restaurants, shops and residences on this land were now fairly well off. The municipal council, at one of its meeting, passed a resolution that if the land was to be leased again then the agreement should be with Tibetans and not with their government. "When the Tibetan government is itself charging rent from its people who have set up shops and restaurants on this land, then why should the municipal council not get the amount directly", said one of the officials.

The locals in McLeodganj and Dharamsala have always resented the special treatment meted out to the Tibetans. "Most of the Tibetans here are better off than us and despite this we are the ones who face the brunt of the government rules and regulations," A majority of the locals say that "The authorities did not hesitate to demolish the illegal shops constructed by Indians. However, the Tibetans continue to encroach upon forest land". Although eviction orders were passed on forest encroachments by the Tibetans in McLeodganj in 1992, they still had not been executed. (From Tribune)

It has also been alleged that Tibetans were buying up large tracts of land through benami transactions. (According to the Himachal Pradesh Tenancy Act only Himachalis can buy land in the state) There were incidents of violence also against the refugees in 1994, when a local youth was killed by a Tibetan youth. **The relative prosperity of the Tibetans is also a cause of strain between the two communities.**

3. Arya-Brahminist Refugees of ruling Class

Partition of India was an Arya-Brahminist conspiracy and their imperialist master to protect exploitation system by dividing indigenous Bahujans on religion, caste and provinces.

Arya-Brahminists riding government of India created a separate ministry to rehabilitate their Arya-Brahminist refugees coming from west and east Pakistan. A Savarna Refugee was made minister of this department who spent Billions of treasury money extracted from the blood and sweat of indigenous Bahujan masses through direct and indirect taxes and were spent generously on Arya-Brahminist refugees.

Arya-Brahminists of Punjab and Sindh were settled in big cities and given generous economical aid. They were given land at nominal cost to start their own business. They were given interest free loans. Licence and quota was generously granted to them. They were helped in every respect till the their Arya-Brahminist refugees did not attain the status of rulers of India.

Dr. Subodh Biswas of Nagpur, has highlighted how Punjabi and Sindhi Arya-Brahminists are treated. According to him :-

1) The benefits from government are still continued to Arya-Brahminists refugees.

2) The 70 lacs acre land left by Muslims going to Pakistan was distributed among Arya-Brahminist refugees.

3) Seven lac houses left behind by Muslims going to Pakistan were distributed among the Arya-Brahminist refugees.

4) Arya-Brahminists riding government of India gave 91 Crore Rupees as compensation to Arya-Brahminist refugees for the property they left in Pakistan.

5) For company Shares and other property left in Pakistan Arya-Brahminist refugees received 2 lac 21 thousand houses.

6) The Arya-Brahminist refugees retired from their service received their pension, provident fund as well as the Arya-Brahminist refugees who had job received job in India. The number of such persons till 1964 is 2 Lac and two thousand.

7) The 92 thousand Arya-Brahminist refugees received technical and other education by government of India till 1965 to enable them to earn handsomely.

8) Arya-Brahminist refugees received economical aid to purchase land.

9) 60 thousand Arya-Brahminist refugees of west Pakistan were rehabilitated in the capital Delhi.

10) Arya-Brahminist refugees of west Pakistan received money and raw material to raise their factories.

11) Arya-Brahminist refugees of west Pakistan received economical aid as compensation.

12) All promises made with Pakistan government were fulfilled

for Arya-Brahminist refugees of west Pakistan.

Therefore Arya-Brahminist refugees have become masters of this country while indigenous Bahujans are degraded to the status of slaves since none of the above was provided to them.

The Arya-Brahminists well-settled in foreign countries opting foreign nationality are awarded dual nationality by Arya-Brahminists riding the government of India. In addition to that 15% seats are also reserved for their children in educational institutes of India.

THE SINDHI ARYA-BRAHMINISTS

How much prosperity is attained by Sindhi refugees in India and Sindhi overseas can be understood from the following account. The richest Sindhi family today is the Hinduja brothers, evaluated at more than 1,000 crore rupees. Moorjani of Hong Kong dominates the world Jeans market with a \$ 1 billion turnover. The biggest builders in Miami, Florida, USA's poshest state, are Melwani and Shyam Sani and Ram Kripalani with their booming business. The Uncrowned King of Trinidad in the West Indies. They have established some of the finest institutions in Bombay and elsewhere. The Wattumull Institute of Computer Technology and Engineering has equipment worth two crore of rupees. Hotchand Gopaldas and Khushi Kundnani, have not only set up a dozen colleges in Bombay, their Jai Hind College and K.C. College are two of the best colleges in India's premier city. Jaslok Hospital (named after Jasoti -- Sindhization of Yashoda - and Lokumal) is the most famous in the country. The Vivekananda Education Society of Bombay and the Mira Education Society of Pune are two big Sindhi educational institutes. T.M. Advani became Vice-Chancellor of Bombay and Kashmir universities. K.L. Punjabi became Chief Secretary of Maharashtra, and Sadhwani, of Gujrat. Ms. Dr. K.A. Advani is Principal of the 125 year old Government Law College of Bombay, the biggest and best in Asia.

Raheja Bros. alone have put up a thousand flat system buildings in Bombay. Jethi Sipahimalani's Navjiwan Housing Colonies in Mahim, Chembur and Bombay Central are made by Sindhis. Atur Sangtani of Pune is not only big in construction, he runs The Poona Herald. However, the greatest builder of them all was Bhai Partap who built the twin cities of Adipur (residential) and Gandhidham (commercial) for Kandla Port. T.V. Mansukhani heads HMT (Hindustan Machine Tools), M.J. Pherwani heads Ashok Leyland; Samat (-ani) is No. 2 in Bharat Heavy Electrical Limited; R.G. Keswani is president, All India Electrical Manufacturers' Association. G.S. Ramchand led Indian cricket. T.N. Idnani was the member for Power in the Central Water and Power Commission.

Dr. Menda presided over the Indian Medical Association and Prof. G.R. Malkani, over the Indian Philosophical Congress. Ram Jethmalani led the Indian Bar Council for years. Justice Nain presided over the MRTPC (Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices

Commission); Justice Chainani over the Bombay High Court; and Justice Thadhani over the Assam High Court. G.G. Mirchandani heads the UNI (United News of India), a leading national news agency. Business India is run by Ashok Advani. Prof. K. N. Vaswani leads the Vivekananda" Rock Memorial Committee in Kanyakumari. Hari Atmaram is a trustee of Vishwa Hindu Parishad.

M. K. Kripalani was ambassador in Canada, Khilnani in Kenya and Vishnu Ahuja in Russia. Maj.-Gen. Hira and Vice-Admiral Tahliani, Admiral Nanda - the victor of the sea war in 1971. G.P. Sippy is a leader of the film industry, closely followed by N.C. Sippy and several others. Leading film directors include Govind Nihalani ('`Aakrosh'), Raj Sippy, Ramesh Sippy, Kumar Shahani. Leading Sindhi cine artists include Sudhir, Mach Mohan, Raj Kiran (Mahtani) Asrani, Sheila Ramani, Babita, Sadhana and many others. In politics, Acharya Kripalani was a colossus, Jairamdas served with distinction as member of Parliament, cabinet minister and governor. L.K. Advani is in the front rank of Indian politics. Hashu Advani occupies a similar position in Maharashtra. Sucheta Kirpalani, Dr. Choithram, Prof. N.R. Malkani, Ram Jethmalani, Krishna Kripalani have made their name in Parliament. Bhanu Kumar Shastri stormed Sukhadia's citadel in Udaipur to enter the Lok Sabha with a bang in 1977.

Mrs. Gandhi recollected in a Sindhi conference held in New Delhi in October 1983, that way back in the Nineteen Thirties she had noticed a Sindhi shop even in an obscure village on the island of Sicily. Others had found a Sindhi enterprise even on Falkland Islands near the South Pole. Even in an offbeat place like Fyzabad (Ayodhya) they are so numerous and prosperous that their annual Jhoolay Lal procession is an event like a mini- Republic Day.

Even before Partition, while reading Gurbani and visiting gurdwaras, the Sindhis always read Hindu scriptures and bowed to all gods and pilgrimaged to all shrines. With few exceptions, they were not Khalsas or Sardarjis. Today the portraits of Guru Nanak and Jhoolay Lal are found side by side in Sindhi temples and homes.

In the religious field, Dada Jashan Vaswani, Sant Lila Shah, Holy Guru Nanak Mission. Dada Chellaram's ``Nij Thanw'', Brahmakumaris, and several other organizations are run.

There have been many distinguished marriage alliances with non-Sindhi Arya-Brahminists not converted as well as converted. Pre-Partition Sindh had witnessed Acharya's marriage to Sucheta Majumdar, Krishna Kripalani's to Nandita, Tagore's granddaughter, and Gopi Mukhi's to Gauba of Lahore. Later Sundari Bhavnani (Triveni Kala Sangam) married Krishnalal Shridharani. Kamla Malkani married Lokpati - and- became Kamlapati Tripathi's ``Banut. **Vishnu Ahuja married Nuruddin's daughter Amina.** Bhai Pratap's daughter Nirmala married Balu Patwardhan, brother of Achhyut Patwardhan, Rajmohan Gandhi, grandson of the Mahatma, married Usha Kukreja of Larkana. **Shirin Advani married Jehangir, son of M.C. Chagla** (so called Muslim). Sadhana Shivdasani (actress) married Nayyar, Babita Shivdasani married Randhir Kapoor and Poonam Chandiramani

married Shatrughan Sinha.

4. Politically Displaced Arya-Brahminists of Kashmir

It is alleged that a large number of the Kashmir pandits left the Kashmir valley on the initiation and instigation of Mr Jagmohan, the then Governor of Jammu and Kashmir.

Most of the internally displaced Kashmir Pandits live in Delhi and Jammu. Around 56,148 families have migrated from Kashmir since year 1990. 34,690 families of the total number are living in Jammu, 19338 in Delhi and 2120 families are living in other parts of the country. Around 12,000 families have been provided shelter at Purkhu, Mutti, Mishriwala, Nagrotam Udhamput and Jammu city. According to the news of December 14, 2006 the home minister informed that financial assistance being provided to Kashmiri migrants in Jammu and Delhi was being raised to Rs **4000** per family from Rs **3000** and **3200** respectively with effect from July 1, 2006.

According to chief minister Ghulam Nabi Azad, around 671 kanals of land has been identified at Nagrota where a total of 5,242 two-room flats will be constructed under the Prime Minister's Reconstruction Programme and Rs 189 crore has been earmarked for it. (DNA - India - Relocation plan for the Kashmiri pandits - Daily News & Analysis.htm)

18 three-roomed flats have been constructed at Mattan at an expenditure of Rs.1.08 crores for temporary stay of Kashmiri Pandit Migrants to enable them to experience the situation in the Valley and decide about their return. At Kheer Bhavani, 100 one-room tenements have been constructed and other renovation work such as Yatri Niwas, rain shelters, fencing of shrine, etc. have been completed at an expenditure of Rs.7.30 crores. Construction of 200 flats at Sheikhpora in Budgam district at an expenditure of Rs.20.00 crores is also nearing completion. The district authorities have identified at least 13 clusters of residential houses falling in "secure zones" of different parts of Anantnag for the return and rehabilitation of Kashmiri Pandit migrants from outside the valley.

Government have approved an expenditure of Rs.59.18 crores for rehabilitation of 6072 families displaced from Akhnoor Tehsil, Jammu Division on account of border disturbances in the wake of the Kargil Conflict of 1999. The amount would be utilized for construction of houses at safe locations by allotting 5 marlas of land to each family, providing civic amenities in the rehabilitation colonies, purchase of a bullock pair for each family, lump sum grant of Rs.10,000/- to each family on account of losses to household furniture/fixtures, reclamation of 239.50 acres of agricultural land inundated by water and clearing of 3512 acres of agricultural land covered by thick undergrowth. A sum of Rs.10.00 crores has been provided to the State Government as advance towards implementation of the scheme. The State Government have released Rs.13.14 crores for 6072 families @ Rs.20,000/- per family and have further sanctioned

Rs.18.79 crores for rehabilitation scheme.

5. The Nepali Refugees

Since 1950, India and Nepal have shared an open border, so citizens of both countries can travel to the other without documentation and theoretically share the same legal rights, with the exception of voting rights, as citizens. The Census of 1941 records that Nepal provided 45% immigrants to India. In the post-colonial period, the Indo-Nepal Friendship Treaty of 1950, revised in 1956, and the Tripartite Delhi Agreement of 1951 which gave them rights to engage in business, acquire property, settle, seek employment and move freely anywhere in India. Nepalis early in February 1984, and that those in possession of the RAP (Restricted Area Permit) do not come within the definition of 'illegal migrants' and stand protected.

4. Afghan Refugees

More than 60,000 Afghan refugees came to India in the years following the 1979 Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Afghan refugees entered India through Pakistan without any travel documents, were allowed entry through the Indo-Pakistan border till 1993. Most of the refugees had entered India through the Attari border near Amritsar in Punjab. Subsequent to 1993, the Government altered its policy of permitting Afghan refugees freely into India.

5. Burma (Myanmar) Refugees

In 1989, when the Myanmar authorities started suppressing the pro-democracy movement in that country and about 3,000 nationals of that country sought refuge in India, the GOI declared that in accordance with well accepted international norms defining refugee status, no genuine refugee from Myanmar would be turned back and in fact, they were accepted as refugees by the Government of India.

PART III

INDIGENOUS BAHUJANS MADE REFUGEES TO SATISFY, VENGEANCE OF FOREIGNER ARYA-BRAHMINISTSTS

It is well established through the historical facts as well as DNA researches that the Arya-Brahminists are foreigners. Arya-Brahminists have made Bahujans refugees in their own motherland by evil political designs to satisfy their vengeance on indigenous Bahujans.

Dalits and Buddhists handed over to Pakistan for Arya-Brahminist vengeance

Most of Zamindar of the Bengal had alliance with British and supported the British at the time of sepoy mutiny of 1857. On the contrary, ten thousand Dalit peasants had launched "NEEL VIDROH" revolt against the British imperialism. In the colonial period, the East Bengal Namosudra movement had been one of the most powerful and politically mobilised dalit movements in India. In alliance with the Muslims, they had kept the Bengal Congress Party in opposition from the 1920s. The peasants of Bengali Dalit castes refrained from participating in Congress-led mass political agitations like the Non-Co-operation, Civil Disobedience and Quit India movements, led by Gandhi, because they were under the hegemony of the caste Hindu leaders. And then, finally, in the election of 1937 both Namasudra and Rajbansi voters rejected the Congress and the Hindu Sabha candidates and elected their own caste leaders in all the Scheduled Caste reserved constituencies. Namasudra and Rajbansi leaders, aspired to establish "the separate political identity" of the Scheduled Castes. The exclusion of the Bhadrak from power led to the Arya-Brahminist elite and eventually the Congress, pressing for the partition of Bengal at independence, so that at least the western half would return to their control.

Arya-Brahminists were successful in defeating Dr. Ambedkar in the hands of barely educated ordinary individuals with the help of non-Dalit voters of joint electorate and were running fierce worldwide propaganda that Dr. Ambedkar does not represent depressed masses of India since ordinary barely educated Dalits of Congress can defeat Dr. Ambedkar, therefore Dr. Ambedkar should be kept away from framing Indian constitution. But the Dalits of Jassor, Khulana, Barishal, Faridpur, Dhaka and Maimansingh provinces had elected Dr. Ambedkar in 1946 to constituent assembly and foiled Arya-Brahminist plan to demolish the reputation and self-respect of Dr. Ambedkar as leader of Depressed masses of India. Arya-Brahminist rulers of India to avenge Dalits handed over Namoshudra, Rajbansi, Paundraksatriya, Paundra, Pods, who are considered as par as the Namashudras, Chakma and other militant castes and tribes dominated and Muslim minority Jassor, Khulana, Barishal, Faridpur, Dhaka and Maimansingh province to Pakistan for their crime of protecting the self-respect of Dr. Ambedkar. In Chittagong hills 98% of Chakma believe in Buddhism through the ages. This is the only region devoid of Hindu or Muslim population. In spite of that the whole region was handed over to Pakistan by Arya-Brahminist rulers to establish their political hegemony in west Bengal.

On partition of India Dr. Ambedkar asked Dalits of Pakistan to come to India {and become part of the Bahujan struggle}. Congress government has destroyed the political protection of Dalits because in joint electorate, with the help of non-Dalit votes elected only stooges who served Arya-Brahminists and betrayed their own dalit community. Therefore, Dr. Ambedkar always repented for signing Puna pact.

Arya-Brahminists did not want that the Dalits of Pakistan

join and strengthen Dalit struggle in India. **Arya-Brahminists (Converted as well as not converted) wanted that religious minority should remain in India and Pakistan to keep on communal tension; divide, victimize and create their genocides within and between the partitioned countries.** Therefore, Jinnah allowed Arya-Brahminists to go to India but did not allow Dalits. He issued a decree that menial jobs are essential services and he did not allow Dalits to meet organizations helping Dalit immigration. Nehru did not give heed to the request of Dr. Ambedkar to clear the obstacles of Dalits coming to India. Mahar battalion managed to bring some thousand Dalits to India.

1) PERSECUTION OF DALITS IN PAKISTAN / WEST PAKISTAN

The population of Dalits in Pakistan is just 5%. The Hindu population is 20 lacs which is mostly in south Punjab of Sindh province. Among the Hindu population the Dalits constitute 70%. In spite of that the Dalits are living in hell of poverty while the Arya-Brahminists are traders and landlords in Sindh and are enjoying their wealth. Because the converted Arya-Brahminist rulers of Pakistan did not give reservation separately to the scheduled caste but gave reservation for Hindus as a whole, the Arya-Brahminists have grabbed all the Hindu seats. (Dalit voice, 16-30 April 2004) Due to lack of education and awareness Dalits are under the influence of Brahmin religion and live as agricultural labourers under the hegemony of Arya-Brahminists. This is most apparent in Mirpur khas division where Dalits number more than 10 lacs. Though the Arya-Brahminists are few they are successful in holding Dalits in their strong grip with the help of converted Muslim Arya-Brahminists rulers and officers who are their relatives. In Pakistan, the common Dalits know nothing about Brahmin religion except Manu's words that they are born to serve the Arya-Brahminists to improve their status in next life. The converted Arya-Brahminists do not attempt Dalits to get converted in to Islam because they do not want that the Dalits should become their social equals in case they come into Islamic fold. No religion has taken any initiative to pull them out from the vicious circle of casteism. The land lords and police officers have humbled the Dalits by their terror. Whosoever has resisted was beaten and persecuted in various ways. The Pakistan government does not pay attention to the atrocities on Dalits of Tharparkar. The police, prosecution, doctors and judiciary work in coordination against the Dalits. The Dalits find it very difficult to lodge a police complaint against the atrocities, particularly against the criminals and the powerful persons. Sadhu Meghwal, a youth of Babrario village was killed and his body was thrown in to well by the Arya-Brahminists. His relatives and family members were threatened and instructed to keep away from this incident. Police closed the case calling it a case of suicide. In Diplo Taluka, the Arya-Brahminists of a particular party raped a Dalit girl at gun point. Her brother who tried to stop them was severely beaten and severely tortured and

threatened to keep away from the incident. The theft of livestock of Dalits in Tharparker is rampant as police never registers any such case. The incidents of atrocities and caste-based discrimination on Dalits are increasing day by day in Tharparker a district where 35 per cent people belong to different Dalit communities among a million people because of growing awareness and assertiveness of the Dalits. Mr. Gyanchand (Engineer), a Dalit leader contested for provincial Assembly election on 12th October 2002 against the Arya-Brahminist candidates. As a result Arya-Brahminist officers on the false pretexts transferred several hundred Dalits to extreme remote jungle area. False cases were registered against the politically aware Dalits Their relatives living in the town were threatened. They were not allowed to feed their cattle on the government barren land. The Dalits were stopped from voting at the polling day. Whosoever resisted was severely beaten and threatened. These few instances make it clear that whenever Dalits show some awareness about their human rights, how they are persecuted. Caste Hindu converts have changed names but not minds. (Sadhmal Surendar Valasai, Scheduled Castes Federation of Pakistan; [http://www.countercurrents.org/Plight Of Dalits In Pakistan By Yoginder Sikand.htm](http://www.countercurrents.org/Plight%20Of%20Dalits%20In%20Pakistan%20By%20Yoginder%20Sikand.htm) See also [http://www.greatestcities.com/pakdalits' Journal.htm](http://www.greatestcities.com/pakdalits%20Journal.htm)) In Sindh province of Pakistan 18 lacs agricultural labourers who are Dalits mostly are living like bonded labourers in debt. Many of them work in brick-manufacturing furnaces where these Dalit families are kept like the prisoners so that they do not run away. The anti-bonded labour law of 1992 is ineffective. (Dalit voice, 16-30 April 2004)

Following news make it is obvious that Bengali Dalits are persecuted in Pakistan (former west Pakistan)

1) Immediately after the creation of Bangladesh, many Bengalis came to Pakistan because of their affection for a 'Muslim state'. They supported of Pakistan government during the war. Life in Bangladesh became impossible and dangerous to them after 1971. These low-income Bengali-speaking people live with misery and threat in Zia ul Haq Colony in a forgotten, neglected corner of metropolitan Karachi. Narrow tiny alleys, a nasty polluted environment, unhygienic living and poor facilities of accommodation are the first thing you notice about The Lyari river that carts effluents from industrial waste to the Arabian Sea is their constant companion. They are not even recognized as refugees by the government. As a result, they have to deal with regular threats from police who use their helplessness to fill their own pockets. They live day to day with the NADRA provided temporary work permits with insecurity of both life and wealth. How Bangla-speaking people could be called illegal immigrants since they had been living in Pakistan for decades and at least 84 Bangla-speaking people had become elected councillors in the last local government elections. Though these Dalits held residential documents they were facing problems getting computerized national identity cards (CNICs) and passports.

2) PERSECUTION OF BENGALI DALITS IN EAST PAKISTAN

As a result of handing over Jassor, Khulana, Barishal, Faridpur, Dhaka and Maimansingh province to Pakistan by Arya-Brahminists, Mahapran Jogendra Nath Mandal believing the promises of Muslim league had to become Pakistani national and become law minister of Pakistan. He framed many laws in the interest of Dalits but converted Arya-Brahminists of Pakistan did not fulfil their promise to grant Dalits separate electorate. Muslim league started showing its communal fangs. The property of Bengali Dalits was destroyed and looted, they were killed, their women raped, molested and humiliated in Muslim League sponsored communal riots of 1948. In December 1949 whole Pakistan was burning in communal riots. The genocides committed during partition were nothing before the genocides and inhumanity of these riots. Communal riots of 1950 in Pakistan proved that Pakistan was not a safe place for Dalits.

Jogendranath Mandal toured riot hit areas and criticized role of police and antisocial elements. Prime minister Liyakat Ali objected his criticism and officially censored it. All the agreements meant to protect Dalits were thrown in to dustbin. The representation of Jogendranath Mandal to Jineva international labour conference was deliberately stopped. Jogendranath Mandal was banned to deliver any statement without the approval of prime minister. He was kept under round the clock vigil. The talk of Jogendranath Mandal with his colleagues use to get published in the newspapers of London. Whenever this happened prime minister asked him explanation. The naked reality explained by Mandal made prime minister answer-less. Prime minister with evil intention asked Jogendranath Mandal to pass a censorship bill which ensures any person whether an officer or a common person 7 years rigorous imprisonment and or fine if he delivers statement against the interest of Pakistan. This bill was devised to lock the lips of Mahapran Jogendranath Mandal. Their relations deteriorated day after day. Jogendranath plainly told prime minister that if he wants he would resign from the minister's post.

During this time Mahapran had to go to India to attend to his son's serious illness. When his son recovered from illness he himself became ill. On 8th October 1950 Mahapran sent his resignation to prime minister of Pakistan in protest of persecution of Dalits in Pakistan.

According to Kripesh Namoshudra Casteism and untouchability is still observed in Bangla Desh (Former East Pakistan). On 7th October 2000 in a Brahmin controlled government school 38 Dalit students were expelled from school because they had dared to drink water from school tank because as these Dalit children were very thirsty. (P. 12, Dalit Voice, 16-30 November 2000)

The condition of Dalits in Bangla Desh is deteriorated more since BNP rule of Begum Khalida Zia. According to reports in Jankantha of April 2002 a Buddhist monk who was running an orphanage at Hingala Hill was beaten to death. Because he did not pay extortion amount and did not vacate the orphanage. In Ukiya one Buddhist Vihar was set on fire by the workers of ruling

coalition. (Janakantha, March 23, 2002) In report of May 2000 it is said that in 1975 the 72% property of Hindus (read Dalits) is forcibly grabbed by members of ruling BNP. In year 1968 44% property of Dalits was forcibly grabbed by Awami league workers while 32% property was grabbed forcibly by BNP workers. ([http://members.tripod.com/~INDIA_RESOURCE/slamic Pakistan, Bangladesh, crimes, minorities, human rights violations, Hindus, Christians, Buddhists, terrorism.htm](http://members.tripod.com/~INDIA_RESOURCE/slamic%20Pakistan,%20Bangladesh,%20crimes,%20minorities,%20human%20rights%20violations,%20Hindus,%20Christians,%20Buddhists,%20terrorism.htm))

During 1971 liberation war more than twenty lacs (2 million) Hindus (read Dalits) were massacred by the Pakistani army and Bengali Muslim Razakars. Physical elimination of minorities, kicking them out of their homes, raping and molesting their women, looting and usurping their properties had been encouraged by successive East Pakistan/Bangladesh Governments by enacting discriminatory laws. The minorities of Bangladesh were formally made second class citizen with the proclamation of 8th Amendment of the Constitution by making Islam as the state religion. Perhaps nowhere in the world such a protracted systematic operation to eliminate the minorities has been carried out for more than fifty long years; yet there is no sign of its end in near future. The population of Hindus (read Dalits) has gone down from around 25% in 1947 to less than 10% at present. Even today, on an average, 500 Hindus (read Dalits) leave Bangladesh for India everyday.

The persecution of Chakma Buddhists in Bangla Desh

The Arya-Brahminists converted to Islam have been persecuting Chakma Buddhists in every respect. Their religious freedom is crushed. They are severely beaten, kidnapped and killed, their women raped, houses set on fire, to grab Chakma property and land. Though the Bangla Desh government speaks of peace accord but whole government machinery acts in coordination against Chakma Buddhists. The government came in power in year 2001 made the life of Chakma Buddhists hellish.

The Manu-Media of India misinform the world to meet its Brahmin political interests by calling atrocities on Dalits and Buddhists of Bangla Desh and Pakistan as atrocities on Hindus. But no Arya-Brahminist organization or Arya-Brahminist ruled west Bengal government even done anything to help Dalits and Buddhist tribes of Bangla Desh. Politicians and intellectuals never raised their voices in any forum against this oppression and tyranny simply because these atrocities are committed upon Dalits by their converted Arya-Brahminist rulers of Bangla Desh. Therefore they have helped Bangla Desh Rulers to persecute Dalits.

ARYA-BRAHMINIST VENGEANCE ON DALITS AND BUDDHISTS IN INDIA

Arya-Brahminists rulers of India could not have had peaceful

sleep till they avenge Bengali Dalits and Chakma Buddhists responsible for electing Dr. Ambedkar in constituent assembly. Therefore posing themselves saviours of Hindus and shedding crocodile tears over suffering of Dalits in Bangla Desh, the Arya-Brahminists asked dalits to take refuge in India.

VENGEANCE ON CHAKMA BUDDHISTS

The Chakma are spread throughout north east as refugees. Majority of them are devoid of civil rights. In spite of signing of peace accord Chakma people are unable to return to their native places in Bangla Desh. Brahminists riding Indian government on the pretext of declaration of converted Arya-Brahminist government of Bangla Desh that the violence against Chakma is stopped are denying refugee status to Chakma Buddhists. The Chakma encampments in Tripura are not “refugee camps” as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees would define them. They have none of the facilities available to, say, the Bhutanese refugees in the Jhapa camps of Nepal. The Chakma huts are of mud and thatch, and for years they have received from the Government of India a measly daily quota of 400 grams of rice, some salt, and 20 paise on the side. Therefore, many Chakmas work outside the camps for wages lower than what the locals ask. This has created tension, and recently, the Tripura state government passed an order restricting the refugees to the camps. This year, for the first time since the Chakmas arrived in Tripura, refugee students were not allowed to sit for school-leaving examinations of the state education system. In India Chakma are made victim of exploitation, persecution rioting, rape, looting and killing. Chakma Buddhists do not have their organization therefore, their voice has remained unheard in the world.

The Bengali Dalits

Arya-Brahminists riding the government of India put Bengali refugees in two categories e.g.. refugees came before 1950 (Bhadralok) and refugees came after 1950 (Dalits) to treat them discriminately.

1) Bhadralok or Arya-Brahminist refugees :- Almost all the refugees of first category who came in 1946-50 belonged to Arya-Brahminist community. They belonged to the landowning, merchant and professional classes. **The reason for their exodus was not large scale violence as petty extortions, threats and, above all, economic boycotts as it was with Dalits. The reason for the exodus that the Hindu “Bhadraloks” of East Bengal were used to looking down on the Muslim masses therefore they**

could not bear the challenge to their superior social status, which arose in Pakistan.

Some managed to arrange property exchange with Muslim property owners, who were leaving West Bengal. Others found jobs or could practice their respective professions. Government servants posted in East Bengal accepted the Indian "option". A number of refugees brought some money, with which they started businesses. These upper caste Arya-Brahminist refugees were settled in colonies built for them in and around Calcutta (kolkata) and were helped in every respect.

2) Dalit Refugees :- Between December 1949 and February 1950, the picture changed. Violent communal riots, comparable with the carnage of Punjab and Bihar, took place in several districts of East Bengal, particularly, **Khulna, Faridpur, Rajshahi, Barisal**. This time, those who crossed the border were very poor and possessed very little except their labour power. Calcutta was almost transformed into a vast refugee camp. As a reaction, communal riots also engineered by Arya-Brahminists in Calcutta and about 1 lac (100,000) backward Muslims were forced to leave West Bengal. There was the likelihood of full scale war between India and Pakistan. Finally, in April 1950 the Nehru-Liaquat pact was signed, to pave the way for the return of the Dalit refugees. **Nehru-liyakat Ali agreement insured Dalit-Buddhists that all the civil rights of refugees shall be protected whichever country (India and Pakistan) they take refuge.**

Indian government was not able to provide refugees food, water, medicine and shelter to these refugees. The situation became so grim that Indian government had to send its two central ministers Mr. C.C. Biswas and Mr. A. K. Chanda to East Pakistan to stop the flow of dalit refugees. They told Dalits of Bangla Desh not to migrate to India; however the doors of India shall remain always open for them. This promise was repeated by all the leaders of India.

The refugees set up squatters' colonies in many areas. The land belonged to land owners and speculators. There was waste land belonging to the garden house of the landlords. The owners of the land attacked the inhabitants fiercely. There were fierce battles with the hired goons of the landlords, often backed by the police. The Arya-Brahminist government passed eviction laws, with the purpose of helping the landowners. The refugees fought back with great courage, refusing to yield ground. Dalit refugees were ready to pay a reasonable price for the land, in easy instalment. The Arya-Brahminist Government took the side of the landowners but could not risk driving vast dalit masses due to political compulsions. **Arya-Brahminists riding the government in fact wanted to avenge Bengali Dalit refugees therefore they did not provide any of the facilities** (mentioned by Dr. Subodh Biswas on p. 9) **that were provided to Punjabi and Sindhi Arya-Brahminist refugees of west Pakistan.**

Arya-Brahminists riding the government of India

instead of rehabilitating Bengali Dalit refugees in west Bengal demonically spread them in the most difficult jungles and marshes of Maharashtra, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Bihar, Zarkhand, Uttaranchal, Andaman Nikobar in places unfit to live. The Arya-Brahminists wanted to 1) ensure that the Arya-Brahminist (Bhadralok) political power in west Bengal remain intact, 2) that these Bengali Dalits become victim of wild animals and diseases, 3) to make strong unity and organization of Bengali Dalit immigrants impossible. The Dalit refugees had been scattered all over in India with an objective to annihilate the main dalit force like Namoshudra and Paundras. Thus, the Arya-Brahminist leadership of Bengal and India diluted the national dalit movement launched by Baba Saheb Ambedkar and Jogendra Nath Mandal. 4) to keep them away from national stream of Dalit movement, and 5) to avenge thus weakened Bengali Dalit refugees in worst possible manner. 6) Namoshudra Dalits are recognized as scheduled castes in Bengal, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Orissa and Tripura. But in other states they are not recognized as Scheduled castes. They are included in general category to deprive them from their legitimate right of reservation (representation).

Bengali Dalit refugees usually live in the slums built of shanties near railway lines, roads, water drains, marshy lands and other such unhygienic places unfit to live devoid of civil rights. They work as domestic servants and exposed to all kinds of exploitation and state repression and demolition of their shanties. Under such impossible conditions Bengali Dalits were compelled to move from one place to other to earn their bread. During this period of such a long exodus they not only lost their language and culture but also lost documents of their original identity. Due to Brahmin-demoncracy of India indigenous Bengali Dalits have become beggars in their own country while the foreigner Arya-Brahminists who have always betrayed India have become its rulers.

Flow of Dalit-Buddhist refugees from east Pakistan and then formed Bangla Desh never stopped. In year 1964 widespread communal riots were engineered against Dalit-Buddhists. In year 1971 the dispute between east and west Pakistan which resulted in formation off Bangla Desh with the help of India, a large scale violence was engineered against Dalits and Buddhists resulting in the inflow of refugees in crores. In spite of the fact that the violence against Dalits and Buddhists did not stop even after the formation of Bangla Desh leaving no alternative for them than migrate to India, as a result of the agreement between then prime minister Indira Gandhi and Mujibur Rehman registration of refugees in India was stopped and rehabilitation ministry was closed.

**ARYA-BRAHMINIST COMMUNIST LEADERS
USED DALIT REFUGEES AS POLITICAL PAWNS**

Bengali Dalit refugees were initially unenthusiastic about the left parties and naturally drawn towards the ruling Arya-Brahminist Congress. Gradually they were disillusioned and actively joined the Arya-Brahminist leaders of left parties who launched a {fake} campaign to rehabilitate Dalit refugees in West Bengal itself and opposed the plans of their own Arya-Brahminist brothers of ruling Congress to rehabilitate Bengali Dalits in Andaman, Nikobar, Dandakaranya and other states. Bengali Dalit refugees were used by the left parties as pawns in their power game. **To lure Dalits at a time Arya-Brahminist communist leader Jyoti Basu took a trip to Chhattisgarh and promised Bengali dalit refugees to rehabilitate them in Marichjhanpi in Sunderban of West Bengal.** The Dalit refugees extended their wholehearted support to the Arya-Brahminist led left front in their political mobilization. The Dalit refugees were of great help not only in mass demonstrations but also during election battles. It was the number, enthusiasm and initiative of Bengali Dalit refugees that enabled the Arya-Brahminists of left front to counter the money power of the Arya-Brahminists of the Congress. It was the Bengali dalit refugees who brought the left to power in West Bengal. **As late as 1974 Jyoti Basu had demanded in a public meeting that the Dandakaranya refugees be allowed to settle in the Sundarbans. In 1974-75 leading members of the subsequent Left Front government, including Ram Chatterjee, had assured the refugees that if the Left Front came to power they would arrange their resettlement in West Bengal and at a meeting of the eight Left Front parties in 1975 it was resolved that the refugees would be settled in the Sundarbans. In 1977, Bengali Dalit refugees who had been promised permanent plots and a life of respectability in countless communist election manifestos in West Bengal before 1977, genuinely believed their misery had ended in 1977.**

In 1977, when the Left Front came to power, they found their refugee supporters had taken them at their word and sold their belongings and land to return to West Bengal. In all, 1,50,000 refugees arrived from Dandakaranya expecting the government to honour its word. The Arya-Brahminist led communist government started to forcibly send them back. Many refugees however managed to escape to various places inside West Bengal. But after Bengali Dalits reached Bengal, they realised the Arya-Brahminist government of Marxist communist parties had no plans for them. They had no choice but head for uninhabited parts and scrounge out an existence on the islands in the Sunderbans.

**BENGALI DALITS
 CONVERTED MARICHJHANPI THEIR HEAVENLY ABODE**

From the month of May the same year about 30,000 Dalit refugees, under the leadership of Satish Mandal, president of the Udbastu Unnayansil Samity, a former close associate of the Communist Party's refugee programme, sailed to Morichjhanpi and set up a settlement there. **Morichjhanpi island, being 125 square miles, was so big that the refugees were keen that the islanders join them so as to improve the dire economic situation of the Sundarbans region as a whole rather than squabble over land which, being neither fertile nor theirs to distribute, was not worth fighting over. In contrast to the ruling elite of their villages, composed essentially of large landowners who aspired to migrate towards Kolkata, the Sundarban islanders developed fraternal bonding with the Dalit refugees. They saw the East Bengali Dalit leaders as more apt to represent them. This was because they both were poor, rural, and low caste and hence not afraid to take up manual work, such as fishing, and knew, through the twists of fate what it was like to fight for their rights. The Dalit refugees were better educated and more articulate and because, having lost everything, they were having the moral courage to face the Kolkata ruling class with their rural concerns.**

The settlers – both refugees as well as islanders who had come from the adjoining villages, initially built some makeshift huts along the cultivated area of the island. Most of them survived by catching crab and fish and with the help of the islanders, by selling their products in the nearby villages. **The islanders often expressed their great admiration (awe) at the way the East Bengali Dalit refugees rapidly established Morichjhanpi as one of the best-developed islands of the Sundarbans – within a few months tube-wells had been dug, a viable fishing industry, saltpans, dispensaries and schools established. Stories abounded about the spirit of bonhomie and solidarity between Dalit refugees and Dalit islanders whose similar experiences of marginalisation brought them together to bond over a common cause which was to fight for a niche for themselves; this would become a metaphor for the reclamation of 'voice' in the new West Bengal. The villagers explained the refugees' bid to stay on in Morichjhanpi as a dignified attempt to forge a new respectable identity for themselves as well as a bid to reclaim a portion of the West Bengali political rostrum by the poorest and most marginalised.**

MASSACRE OF MORICHJHANPI DALITS BY THE ARYA-BRAHMINISTS OF COMMUNIST LED LEFT FRONT

Despite this display of self-help and cooperative spirit, the Arya-Brahminist Jyoti Basu government persisted in its effort to clear Morichjhanpi of the settlers. Jayanta, **an islander who had gone**

there as a young man with his wife and baby child reflecting on the hope the arrival of the settlers had brought them, had longed to start a new life in Morichjhanpi where for once, the aspirations and rights of the lowest would be established. But he and his family had barely been there five months when their shack was burned down by the police. He wondered why the government was bent on reclaiming Morichjhanpi for tigers when it wasn't even part of the tiger reserve. The other sore point was that the refugees had been promised land in the Sundarbans.

Dalit refugees were looted, their female flock was raped. The media started to underscore the plight of the refugees of Morichjhanpi and wrote in positive terms about the progress they were making in their rehabilitation efforts. Photographs were published in the Amrita Bazar Patrika of the February 8, 1979 and the opposition members in the state assembly staged a walkout in protest of the government's methods of treating Bengali Dalits. Fearing more backlash, and seeing the public growing warm towards the refugees' cause, the chief minister declared Morichjhanpi out of bounds for journalists and condemned their reports saying that these contributed to the refugees' militancy and self-importance and instead suggested that the press should support their eviction on the grounds of national interest (read Arya-Brahminist interest). For greater protection, the 30 launches were covered with a wire netting and police camps were established in the surrounding villages.

After the failure of the economic blockade (announced on January 26 – an ironical twist to Republic Day!) in May the same year, the government started forcible evacuation. Thirty police launches encircled the island thereby depriving the settlers of food and water; they were also tear-gassed, their huts razed, their boats sunk, their fisheries and tube-wells destroyed, and those who tried to cross the river were shot at. To fetch water, the settlers had now to venture after dark and deep into the forested portion of the island and forced to eat wild grass. Several hundred men, women and children were believed to have died during that time and their bodies thrown in the river. Jayanta, remembered how when the refugees saw their children dying of cholera and starvation they tried to break the cordon formed by the police and the military launches. A 'war' was on, one group fighting with wooden arrows and stones, the other with guns, and loudspeakers. As one islander put it, the launches started looking like 'stinging swarms of floating beehives'. On the January 31, 1979 the police killed 36 persons in firing. Journalists and opposition political leaders were disallowed from entering the vicinity of the zone selected for the operation. The killing fields lay on an island on the muddy river. The police was efficient enough to seal off the place with motor boats. Journalists could only hear the gunshots and cries of people from a distance. We

shall never know exactly how many people lost their lives. According to many of the islanders only 25 per cent of those who had come to Morichjhanpi left the island alive. Those killed in the Morichjhanpi massacre are yet to find justice, and their stories yet to appear in histories. The massacres of Dalits by CPI-M led communist government can be compared with the massacres committed by Yahya Khan in East Pakistan and Hitler in IIInd world war.

Based on Sikar (1982) and Biswas' (1982) pieces, Ross Mallick estimates that in all 4,128 families who had come from Dandakaranya to find a place in West Bengal perished of cholera, starvation, disease, exhaustion, in transit while sent back to their camps, by drowning when their boats were scuttled by the police or shot to death. How many of these deaths actually occurred in Morichjhanpi we shall never know. The ease and brutality with which the Arya-Brahminist communist led left front government wiped off all signs of the bustling life which had been built there in the last 18 months were proof for the villagers that they were considered completely irrelevant to the more influential urban Arya-Brahminist Bengali community. In two weeks' time all the plots had been destroyed and the refugees 'packed' off. Now half-broken embankments and the few fruit trees planted by the settlers during their stay remain as the only vestiges of previous human habitation on Morichjhanpi, the rest has been reclaimed by the forest.

These brutalities of the government was possible because it was backed by the Arya-Brahminists who perceived the refugees and the Sundarbans islanders as lesser beings. These events were recounted as a 'war' between two groups of people, one backed by state power and modern paraphernalia, the other dispossessed and who had only their hands and the spirit of companionship. 'We Dalits were vermin that our shacks had to be burned down?' asked Dalits.

'Organizer' In February 1979 wrote that the Marichjhanpi massacre has been "forgotten" in Bengal because the Marxists were very successful in making the West Bengal intellectuals prostitutes after petty jobs and government housing plots. This much vengeance on Bengali dalits did not satisfy the blood-thirst of Arya-Brahminists so the ...

ARYA-BRAHMINISTS OF COMMUNIST LED LEFT-FRONT MADE DALITS TIGER-FOOD

The corpses Bengali Dalit refugees killed by police gave tigers the taste of human flesh. Tigers initially were afraid of people. They shared the products of the forest and rivers with people. But now, due to the legitimising of Dalit killings in the name of tiger protection by the ruling elite they had begun to treat the Dalit islanders as 'tiger-food'. The tigers, taking the cue from the Dalit killing by 'Arya-Brahminists' had started feeding on indigenous Dalits. Man-eating

became part of the tiger's nature.

In the early days, tigers, did not reproduce quickly. As the government gave them fertilising injections, their reproduction rate had gone up. Arya-Brahminist led left front government hides the true figures of tigers and always quote ridiculously small numbers". Whether the indigenous Dalit islanders lived or died made no difference to W.B. Government because Dalits were just 'tiger-food'. "They have created hybrid tigers which are even more dangerous" said an islander. **Getting killed by a tiger in the Sundarbans in the 1980s was a terrifying prospect for family members, co-workers, even the entire village, of those who worked in the forest. The victim's body had to be abandoned in the forest for fear that the forest officials would get to know about it. The new widow and the victim's children were forbidden to cry and taught to say that their father had died of diarrhoea because if exposed, the family members were exhorted to pay for the dead trespasser, and were, in effect, treated like criminals.**

The fact that the same government that once declared refugee resettlement in the Sundarbans illegal and did not hesitate to wipe out all Bengali Dalit refugees of Marichjhahpi island in the name of protecting the forest reserves, now seemed to be ready to install a nuclear power plant and risk the much-vaunted resources of the Sundarbans proves beyond doubt that the Dalits massacre was performed by Arya-Brahminists led left front only to avenge Dalits.

Arya-Brahminist leaders of Communist party has a long history of betrayal with the people's struggle. They had betrayed Telangana revolt of farmers in the protection of Brahmanism. The Arya-Brahminist leaders of Communist party had betrayed Dalit refugees by separating themselves from revolt of Dalit refugee farmers in 1958 in Uttar Pradesh. Similarly, during the sixties and seventies communist parties flinging dalit refugees in movement against Mahajans and money lenders had separated themselves from this just struggle of Dalits. In late sixties the communists in terai played the role of landbrokers in the same way as chief minister Buddhadev is doing it in West Bengal on full scale. In Bengali Refugee areas the communist villages were Netaji Nagar, Vijay Nagar, Pipulia, Chandipur, etc. Most of the communist peasants in these villages lost their land and Arya-Brahminist leaders had their hand. With these examples of the betrayal of Arya-Brahminist communist party leaders Hon. Putin Biswas had asked his Dalit refugees not to go to Marichjhanpi because there shall be no place for Dalit refugees in West Bengal. Therefore no Dalit refugee from Uttar pradesh went to Marichjhanpi.

After receiving every support of Mahapran Jogendranath Mandal in elections, the Arya-Brahminist leaders of communist party always ensured that the Mahapran Jogendranath Mandal is defeated in every election and he could be established as a failed leader. The Arya-Brahminists riding the government also jailed Mahapran

Jogendranath Mandal in 1959 for raising the voice in support of Dalit Bengali refugees. Mahapran died on 5th October 1968. The Bengali Arya-Brahminist leadership never demanded citizenship for the refugees.

BENGALI DALITS CALLED AS ALIEN INTRUDERS FOR PERSECUTION AND EXPLOITATION

According to the law passed in 1955 in parliament every partition affected person who come to India shall be considered as Indian national. Their children born in India shall be natural citizens of India. Those who have left India and settled in foreign countries shall not be treated as Indian citizens. Above law was against the interest of Arya-Brahminists because with the right of citizenship Dalit Bengali refugees shall have voting right and they will oust Arya-Brahmins joining hands with OBC, Muslims and Adivasis after realising that the only aspiration of Arya-Brahminists is to avenge Bengali Dalit refugees. Bengali Dalit refugees had raised the slogan **"vote ours, rule yours shall not be tolerated"** **Therefore Arya-Brahminists of all parties like Congress, BJP, Communist parties etc. unanimously passed a black law "citizenship Amendment Act 2003" without any discussion on it on 9th January 2004. This bill ensures that the two crore indigenous Bengali Dalit refugees are converted in to alien intruders in their own country.**

1) Any person of the world is entitled to apply for citizenship of India but **this Bill says that under no circumstance the refugees from Bangladesh can get citizenship of this country.** The Bengali dalit refugees are declared not-eligible to apply for Indian citizenship. According to earlier rule the Hindu refugees were entitled to live in India. This permission was also withdrawn. This is defying Indian constitution because it does not allows discrimination on any ground.

2) According to this law the Bengali Dalit refugees living in this country for last fifty years or more and children born to them during 1971-86 shall also be treated alien intruders and shall be driven out of the country after penalizing and persecuting them. Arya-Brahminists of India have conveniently forgotten that according to international law a child born in any country has natural right to become citizen of that country. This exposes the beastly Arya-Brahminist Demoncracy of India.

3) **Persons living in India without valid documents from Bangla Desh (East Pakistan) shall be treated as alien intruder and shall be entitled for punishment in cash of Rs. 50,000/- and imprisonment of 5 years. After that they shall be driven out of the country.**

Refugees coming from east Pakistan did not require to obtain any passport or other document till 1952 because the border was

opened for them. This is very much recorded in Nehru-liyakat agreement. Majority of the Dalit Bengali refugees due to inconveniences and lack of facilities in refugee camps were compelled to scatter different places, do labour and live in shanties made of grass and straws. For bread they had to migrate from one place to other after demolition of their shanties by municipal authorities. How can anybody maintain and produce such document after such a long period when their 2nd and 3rd generation is also living in India ? In the Murshidabad district of West Bengal more than ninety percent of the population (including non-refugees) could not present the required documents to prove their citizenship.

A systematic process to disenfranchise the poor is at work so that they have no voice in democratic governance or decision making any more. Thirteen lac names have been deleted in Bengal from the electoral list in last assembly elections as the poor hut dwellers could not prove their nationality. The same process speedened throughout the county by the Arya-Brahminists riding governments will defranchise all poor people having no nationality proof. It is not only the human rights of "illegal migrants" that is under threat at present. All marginalised groups, as well as large sections of the informal working class, are being pushed to the edges of society. Much of this is being done in the name of 'protecting the environment' or 'beautifying the landscape' or 'preserving our heritage'.

4) To tell Dalit Bengali refugees that they are sub-animal creatures, Arya-Brahminists riding the government of India has granted dual citizenship to their Arya-Brahminists who have settled in foreign countries and become foreign nationals. In addition to that 15% seats in educational institutes of India are reserved for them. But the Dalits whose forefathers shed their blood for the liberation of India their children of undivided India can not have Indian citizenship.

5) According to following news the Arya-Brahminists are sensitive in granting citizenship to their Arya-Brahminist refugees but reluctant to grant the same to the indigenous Dalits of this country :-

i) It is estimated that over 17,000 refugees living in western Rajasthan are yet to be granted citizenship. As a result, a large number of the refugees who belong to the lower caste communities, have been denied rehabilitation under the SC/ST scheme, says the convener of the Pak Visthapith Sangh, Hindu Singh Sodha. Incidentally, Gehlot's predecessor Bhairon Singh Shekhawat had taken up cudgels on behalf of the Sindhi migrants and helped to rehabilitate a group from the 1971 war. Way back in 1972, Atal Bihari Vajpayee had staged a protest against sending the refugees to Pakistan in Barmer and had been arrested for it. (The Times of India – Internet Edition Date: September 1, 2001)

ii) The Arya-Brahminists have granted citizenship to their Arya-Brahminist brethren. The Indian state government of Rajasthan has started organising special camps to grant Indian citizenship to thousands of Pakistan's minority Hindu nationals went to India on valid travel documents but refused to return now residing in the state. The camps were organised after the federal government approved the grant of

citizenship to these people. The Gujarat state government will also follow suit. (Daily Times, 7 January 2005)

iii) The Centre has delegated powers to Gujarat government to grant citizenship to nearly 900 immigrants from Pakistan who have been residing in four districts of the state for the past several years. A senior Home department official told PTI that 900 refugees living in Ahmedabad, Patan, Banaskantha and Kutch districts, mainly of Sindhi and Koli community and those who have lived for a minimum of five years in India would be given citizenship. The applicants also have to give affidavits stating that they were giving up Pakistani citizenship and also had procured renunciation certificate. (New Kerala, 3 January 2005)

iv) Each year, 1,800 to 3,000 Tibetans flee from Tibet. Once The Tibetans fleeing from China reach the Tibetan Refugee Reception Centre in Kathmandu, they get entry permit from Indian mission. Since February 2002, the Indian mission here has been issuing them special entry permits to travel to India from Nepal. India continues to provide travel documents to Tibetan refugees in Nepal. Currently, the embassy has been issuing 15 special entry permits a day, on an average. **Indian embassy officials said they were not governed by Chinese or Nepalese reactions while issuing the entry permits.** (IANS, Kathmandu, January 6, 2004, The New Indian Express, 7 January 2005)

6) Threatening of deportation to Bangla Desh, the Arya-Brahminists and their agents can use the poor Dalits and the Bangla speaking Muslims as bonded labourers, political campaigners and even can be compelled them to execute criminal intentions of the Arya-Brahminist exploiters.

7) As per the law of United Nation no person can live in any country without obtaining its nationality. Such a person is not entitled to receive justice and can not buy any property of that country. Whatever earnings he has made could be declared illegal. Therefore, the moment a child is born he comes with the right of nationality in that country. (Sangharshasathi Mulniwasi Bharat, 22 January 2006) Thus the Arya-Brahminists may deprive Bengali Dalit refugees everything they have.

FALSE ARYA-BRAHMINIST PROPAGANDA AGAINST BENGALI DALIT REFUGEES AND INDIGENOUS MUSLIMS

In order to isolate Bengali Dalit refugees from the other communities of Dalits of India Arya-Brahminist exploiters have been launching a fierce false propaganda as explained below.

1) False propaganda that :Bengali refugees are Pakistani Muslims.

Because the Arya-Brahminist propaganda evil, fierce and false propaganda that the Bengali refugees are Muslim terrorists the Bengali Dalit refugees could not get any sympathy and help from common dalit masses. On the contrary they developed hate for their own Bengali dalit refugee brethren whose forefathers had protected self-respect of Dr. Ambedkar.

Arya-Brahminists have also have been launching fierce and false propaganda that the Assam Muslims are Bangla Deshi intruders

Assam Governor had alleged that about 6000 Bangladesh nationals enter Assam everyday. This allegation seems false because Muslims were about 40% when Assam was merged with India in 1947. Sizeable Muslim presence in Assam was in existence even before the advent of the British. Chief Minister of Assam Tarun Gogoi in a television interview asked Assam Governor Ajay Singh to provide facts to substantiate his report that 6,000 immigrants enter the state everyday. But the Governor surprisingly remained mum, as if, he did not hear the challenge of his Chief Minister. According governor's statistics 1,80,000 Bangladeshis enter Assam every month and in a year the figure will stand at 12,96,000. According to the census of 2001, the total population of Assam was 2,66,55,528. Among them, according Indian media, the Muslims constitute 30 per cent of the total population of the state. If so, their number now should be around 79,96,659. If one year's intrusion is added, the present number of the Muslims should reach at 92, 56,659. According to the census of 1991 Muslims were 63, 73,204. This proves that the Muslims of Assam are not immigrant or outsiders, rather most of them are the sons of the soil. Profulla Kumar Mohanta, who got to power after five thousand Muslims were killed in the state during the anti-settlers movement in the eighties despite hectic efforts failed to prove the Muslims as illegal in Assam. He ruled Assam twice, but found little Muslims illegal. For this reason, Mohanta had to tone down his anti-Muslim slogan.

After fall of Gurgobinda in the 14th century, many Ahom people adjoining Sylhet converted to Islam. During the British period, thousand of Bengali speaking Muslims were brought to and settled in Assam to bring arable lands under cultivation. The descendants of these Muslims now form 30% of the total population of Assam. These descendants of those Bengali speaking Muslims forgot their language and culture, but not their religion. This new generation Muslims of Assam feel pride to identify themselves Ahoms, treat Assam as their motherland, use Ahomiya language in their daily life, send their children to schools where Ahomiya is the medium of instruction. Other than their religious activities they are hundred per cent Ahoms. They cannot be branded as foreigners or Bangladeshis. So it is itself illegal and unjustified and mere violation of human rights to brand and harass the Muslims in Assam as illegal, outsiders or infiltrators.

According to press reports, at least, one lac soldiers of Indian Army are deployed in Assam. Six battalions of BSF, 10 battalions of CRP, five companies of the Punjab Police Commandos, and one battalion of State Rifles have been deployed in the state. One can have an idea if one looks into their names and figures. Ministry of Home Affairs, **BSF:** Organisation - total 157 battalions Artillery - 7 BSF Artillery Regiments, Water Wing Air Wing Signals

Regiment 10 Frontier Headquarters 39 **Sectors Assam Rifles:** 41 battalions 3 Maintenance Groups Signal Unit Construction Company 9 Range Headquarters **Indo-Tibetan Border Police:** 29 battalions (4 specialist Battalions) over 35,569 personnel 755 Officers **Other Paramilitary Forces:** Coast Guard, Rastriya Rifles, Special Frontier Force, Central Reserve Police Force, Home Guards, **Intelligence Agencies: National :-** Research and Analysis Wing , Intelligence Bureau, Joint Intelligence Committee, **Intelligence Agencies: Military: -**Aviation Research Centre (ARC), Directorate of Military Intelligence, Directorate of Air Intelligence, Directorate of Naval Intelligence, Special Security Bureau **Other outfits are :** - All-India Radio Monitoring Service (AIRMS), Joint Cipher Bureau, Signal Intelligence Directorate, **Law enforcement Agencies:-** Central Bureau of Investigation (CBI), Criminal Investigations Department (CID), Railway Protection Force, Rapid Action Force (RAF), Central Industrial Security Force (CISF), Narcotics Control Bureau (NCB), National Security Guards (NSG)-has a strength of 7330 personnel, Special Protection Group (SPG) All these agencies have strong presence in Assam. Moreover, India erected barbed wire fence along every possible point of 272km-long Assam-Bangladesh border. Heavy security forces have been deployed in those hilly areas where India could not yet erect the fence. Observation towers and posts are seen after every 500 yards.

Therefore propaganda of heavy Muslim infiltration in Assam is a political one, launched whenever national and provincial elections approach. This propaganda started only when Dalit bengali refugees started coming to India to flee from persecution. The purpose of this false Arya-Brahminist propaganda is to **1) Hide from the Indian masses that the immigrants are Dalits so that they receive no help from their Dalits brethren of India 2) To hide from the masses that it is not the Muslims who capture and control the key positions of Assam, but the Arya-Brahminist-Banias who came from West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Rajsthan, Punjab and other states of India. 3) To speeden RSS agenda to spread communal tension and bake Arya-Brahminist breads on the pyre of Bahujans.**

The toiling masses of Assam want to get rid of these Arya-Brahminist-Baniyas who came from outside states and became rulers of Assam. To frustrate this sentiment and divert their attention from the real Arya-Brahminist outsiders, the vested quarters let loose its operatives and agents in Assam and elsewhere in the region to create anti-Muslim sentiment. **The utterance of Assam's Governor meant to start this hate campaign again.** As a result a group of Dibrugarh-based youngsters got together to form Chiring Chapori Yuva Mancha (CCYM). Some other groups like All Assam Students Union (AASU), Asom Jatiyatabadi Yuba Chhatra Parishad, Tai Ahom Students Union and Motok Students Union also joined the campaign. It is well known in Assam that these student

organizations are directly or indirectly controlled by RAW. The fear among Assamese is being created that non-Assamese are taking over jobs, land, and are also threatening to turn Assamese into a minority in their own state. This was a conspiracy of both the BJP and the AASU for their narrow political gain, which would ultimately lead to ethnic blood-bath. Various organizations have expressed concern over the harassment of the religious minorities and the attempts to revive the anti-foreigners' agitation in Assam under the garb of a campaign against illegal Bangladeshi migrants.

FORCEABLE DEPORTATION OF INDIGENOUS MUSLIMS

In 1993, Narasimha Rao government launched Operation Pushback which authorised the police to pick up thousands of poor Bengali Muslims from all over Delhi and to send them to the border. Central Government has delegated its authority to State Government and State Government has in turn delegated it to the police. Such action is taken under Foreigners Act according to which, action can be taken on anybody's complaint without any adequate primary evidence. The onus is on then accused to prove that he is an Indian Citizen. Under the current law and Action Plan, the deportation order is passed without any hearing and without disclosing the reasons which led to the conclusion that he/she is a foreign national. 'Operation Push-Back' is being implemented in a highly improper manner. Within 10 days, the accused is judged as foreign national and taken to the border to be deported. This Act does not conform to our Constitutional norms. If the Act itself is unjust, then how can one expect justice.

Bangladesh refused to accept these people - claiming that they were not Bangladeshis at all - and many were stuck in the no-man's land on the edge of the border. According to The Citizen's Campaign for Preserving Democracy, if you are a Muslim and Bengali is the language you speak, the Delhi police needs no further proof that you are an illegal Bangladeshi immigrant to be summarily deported.

Starting from 'Operation Push Back' in 1993, thousands of Bengali-speaking Muslims have been picked up from various working class settlements all over Delhi and forcibly pushed inside Bangladesh. It has never been clearly established whether these people were actually from Bangladesh or not. **Instances from various parts of Delhi have shown that Indian citizens from West Bengal and Assam, working as ragpickers in Delhi, were routinely arrested on the charge of being illegal immigrants.** The findings also revealed that, The police relied solely and absolutely on the informer's word. All pleas and submission of proof by the detainees - of authoritative documents issued by agencies of Delhi government or the Union government - invariably fell on deaf ears.

The raids included swoops on the so-called illegal migrants in the dead of night and rounding up of men, women and children

from their *bastis*. People were not even given enough time to get dressed properly or collect their documents. During other times, family members, including minors, caught in the raid were forced to face the situation alone, without being reunited with their families. Many complained of being beaten and threatened when they began to plead their case. All pleas and entreaties of the detainees for a hearing were effectively silenced by physical assaults and verbal abuse.

According to the conclusions of "Immigrants in Bombay : A Fact Finding Report." conducted by Shama Dalwai and Irfan Engineer , There have been several complaints of policemen picking up Bengali-speaking Muslims at random and abusing the procedure in order to extort money. There have also been complaints of policemen destroying documents on the ground that they are fake. Police declined to accept Bengali-language documents as proof of Indian citizenship and demanded an English version. **Commonly used documents - like electoral identity cards, ration cards, school certificates, and certificates from MLAs and *gram panchayats* were not accepted. Informally, the study team was told that only documents showing proof of ownership of land are admissible. Given the economic status of those arrested and the fact that, in India, more and more migrants to Indian metros are landless labour, unable to eke out a living from daily wages, this is an unrealistic demand and cannot be met by any poor. It is strange that the Indian government is reluctant to accept other documents issued by its own departments. In a few cases, these documents were torn up by the state authorities on the specious grounds that they were false and fabricated. Police harass Indian Muslims to make some money. It is observed that those who had the financial means to offer and pay bribes were usually set free, regardless of any other proof. Interviewees recounted how those unable to pay bribes were detained and then (presumably) sent ahead. A rough calculation based on an average amount of Rs. 1,000 paid per individual to be freed suggests that there are considerable sums to be made, including the amounts extorted by the informer.**

As per the Action Plan, the Foreigners Regional Registration Office (FRRO)/civil authority acts as the coordinating agency. The notification issued by the Delhi Administration in pursuance of its power under section 3 of the Foreigners Act, 1946, empowers the FRRO to scrutinise the proposals for deportation, and satisfy itself of their illegal status by providing the concerned person with a hearing. However, the study team did not observe the detainees being produced before the FRRO on any occasion during its visits over three months to the FRRO's office, although some ragpickers mentioned that they were sometimes briefly produced before the FRRO. **From the accounts of some detainees, it was learnt that the conditions of detention fall far below the prescribed national and international standards :-**

1) In violation of national and international rules, both men and women detainees are kept together in captivity on the ground floor, i.e. the *Baraat Ghar* of Delhi.

2) The basic amenities provided here are woefully inadequate. There are only two toilets in the building, one of which is used exclusively by the police staff, and the other is shared by male and female detainees, in violation of their right to privacy.

3) Even to use the toilet facility detainees have to seek prior permission, which is refused sometimes.

4) Items of necessity, such as blankets, are inadequate. According to one narrative, a woman detainee who had two children asked for an extra blanket because one blanket was not enough for them in biting cold. Not only was she refused the extra blanket, but was also slapped across the face for her audacity. Other items of necessity, such as milk for the children, have to be bought from the police at excessive rates.

5) No regular visitation rights are available for the relatives of the detainees.

6) Detainees are not allowed to offer prayers (*namaaz*), in direct violation of Fundamental Rights (article 25, Constitution of India, that guarantees freedom to profess and practice religion).

7) Detainees are forced to perform odd jobs for the police, like washing their motorcycles, sweeping the floor, cleaning toilets etc., which will attract section 374 of the Indian Penal Code that proscribes unlawful forced labour.

8) The team also heard several complaints of detainees being physically assaulted by the police. Slaps, kicks and punches were part of the treatment meted out to detainees. Degrading forms of punishment, like forcing detainees to squat in the *murga* position, were routinely reported.

Right from roundup and arrest, to the supposed 'hearing' and deportation, no lawful procedure is being followed by the authorities. The entire process contributes to and manifests the criminalisation and communalisation of the state and the corruption of its legal and judicial institutions.

From the FRRO the arrested persons are taken to the MCD *Ren Basera*, where the police are waiting for them. They are kept at the *Ren Basera* until there are sufficient numbers to fill a railway bogie. Subsequently, they are taken to the Old Delhi railway station in closed vehicles and put aboard a train. The Delhi police accompany them to Malda station in West Bengal, from where they are transferred to a Border Security Force (BSF) camp.

Diplomatic protocol requires that when deportation takes place, the embassy or high commission or any other representative of the State of the country of origin of the deportee be informed about the decision. This has not been undertaken, resulting in a breach of international protocol.

As the Bangladesh Government is not even informed about deportation, their border security force BDR refuses to take them.

Foreign Minister Mustafizur Rahman of Bangla Desh spelled it out by saying: "we will not accept (the deportees) unless the Indian authorities provide documents that they are our citizens" Still, Khaleda Zia, then Bangladesh's prime minister, said: **'They are not our headache since they are not Bangladeshis'** (The Economic Times, October 15, 1992; see also Tribune, October 10, 1992). **Bangladeshi Government calls the entire operation as 'Operation Push-In' as according to it the Indian Government seeks to push its citizens inside their borders.** Any sovereign nation will find it offensive and violation of their sovereignty the manner in which 'Operation Push-Back' is being conducted unilaterally by India. **The BDR therefore threatens that it would not hesitate even to shoot the people pushed into its territory.**

Since the required procedure has not been followed, care has to be taken by the BSF that their counterparts in Bangladesh (BDR) do not know that the deportees are being pushed across the border. Hence, the deportees have to be released in batches of two, and that too in the middle of the night. Thus, it may take several days for the entire lot of deportees to be evacuated from the BSF camp, and during the entire time armed guards are deployed to ensure that the people remain concealed within the camp. The people, both men and women, remain completely at the mercy and whims of the guards. Several incidents of rape, sexual harassment and physical violence have been reported by those who have somehow returned from the border. When the people are forced across the border, all their possessions are taken away along with any signs that may point to their Indian origin. If they have any money, that too is taken away. The general trend appears to be to forcibly push the people into No-Man's Land, regardless of the weather, the condition of the people, and the terrain (jungle or river). They are warned that if they turn back they will be shot as infiltrators. Thus police atrocities become inevitable part of the whole operation as they feel that unless they are terrorised by atrocities, they will return. Therefore they beat men and rape women.

This is highly condemnable and indicates that humanity is missing in the police force. This is mainly a result of undue responsibilities thrust on the police by the Government. As the end of 20th century is coming close, such inhuman treatment is unthinkable merely on the ground that the person concerned is not a citizen of our country. Following few examples shall make the situation crystal clear.

i) Indo-Bangladesh relations have been deteriorating for more than a year for several reasons, both commercial and political. The concerted and widespread attempt to push in Bangla-speaking Indian nationals on the plea that they are Bangladeshi intruders is the latest move by India to intimidate Bangladesh and bring it to heel. In the last week or so India has made at least 30 attempts to push in Bangla-speaking Indian Muslims. They have assembled several hundred

helpless, indigent people along various border outposts and are holding them under the open sky in inhuman conditions. (Holiday frontpage, 31 January 2003)

On 31st January 2003. On this day a BSF vehicle arrived at the 147th pillar carrying 51 Bangladeshis (21 women and 30 men and children). These people were dropped off at the no-mans-land. On entering the Bangladeshi territory they were all violently beaten by the BDR officers of Kazipur who again drove these people towards the Indian side of the border. The local women from the Bangladeshi side of the border entreated the BDR not to beat the women; however, their fervent requests fell on deaf ears. To escape this beating all men barring three ran away while the women and children took desperate refuge in the bamboo forest by the Indian half of the border. The Indian BSF barred their re-entrance into Indian territory at gunpoint. The BSF created a human barricade to prevent the locals from the Indian side of border from offering any assistance or aid to these tortured and torment people. *(By Krishna Banerjee & Purna Banerjee)*

ii) As per the official estimate the number of people killed in BSF firing in South Bengal districts bordering Bangladesh more than doubled in the last one year. The victims are often branded as infiltrators, ISI agents and smugglers. Even women and children are not spared. The killing of a middle-aged woman by the BSF sparked some debates. Apart from often indiscriminate firings families trying to cross the border find themselves stranded in no man's land with both the BSF and the BDR claiming that they do not belong to their part of the world for want of legal papers. Our investigative report suggests that very few people in the border areas have evidences of citizenship. Sometimes to make a political statement they are rounded up by security forces of either side and pushed to the no-man's land as happened to 213 people, largely snake charmers in Satgacchi in early February. An overwhelming number of those stranded were children yet they were kept in bitter cold and many of them became afflicted with respiratory tract infection. (As the shadows lengthened, the officers walked back and so did the media team. (among these snake charmers) shrill voice though cut through: "saab, if possible, please tell our people back in Sabor that we are in the dire distress. ("Kinsuk Basu, Satgachi, Hidustan Times, February 4) Both India and Bangladesh have well-established laws of dealing with "aliens" and are signatories to any number of international conventions against torture of children and yet in practice hapless children in the borders are consistently victimized. The tension seemed to reach break point late in the morning; soon after the crucial sector command talks between the BSF and the Bangladesh Rifles (BDR) reached a stalemate. The BDR refused to let in the 213 gypsy snake charmers – stranded in no-man's land for a week. So there they stood, or rather sat most of the time, huddling together in severe cold in the open for six days and nights, with guns of the two forces facing each other.

In the past few years we have witnessed repeated border clashes where besides the government security forces, local populations on both sides have taken part in what one newspaper commented on one such occasion, this practice of people being "pushed in" or "pushed out" as "the dance of death". **These villages are being encouraged to become "patriotic", take up lathis (sticks), tangis (broad-blade knives), spears, swords, and wherever made available guns, to strengthen the border, and "resist the illegal intruders"**. As news of the talks' failure spread, hundreds of Bangladeshi youths, who were waiting at the border, marched towards and swords and shouting anti-India slogans. Fearing an attack, the stranded gypsies began crying for help. Soon, hundreds of villagers from the Indian side rushed towards the zero line armed with bamboo sticks and stones. The BDR immediately positioned its forces and the BSF ordered its men to crawl closer. For a nerve-racking 45 minutes, a showdown seemed certain, till both forces gradually withdrew. The BSF and the state government declared an alert along the border and rushed in more forces. "We have told the district administration to evacuate civilians in case there is firing," said DIG (Headquarters), (Narayan Ghosh, in Kolkata. Hindustan Times Correspondence, Satgachi/Kolkata/New Delhi, Hindustan Times, February 4, 2003)

iii) Aktar Ahmed of the Bangladesh interior ministry and head of the Bangladesh delegation at the two-day meeting in Dhaka said that we have expressed our concern over the killing of innocent Bangladeshis by Indian Border Security Force (BSF)," More than 50 Bangladeshis have been killed in the last six months by BSF," Most victims were innocent farmers working in their rice fields or tending cattle in Bangladesh territory along the frontier. The BSF said those it shot were smugglers or illegal intruders trying to slip through the porous border. (Reuters July 16, 2006)

iv) "The BSF killed a middle-aged woman in cold blood a few months back when she went to give food and water to her son working in the field beyond the border fencing. Do they consider her a smuggler or an ISI operative?" retorted Forward Bloc MLA Gobinda Roy. A confidante of agriculture minister Kamal Guha, Roy was one of the convenors of a recent meet in Kolkata to protest 'BSF atrocities' in border districts. "You cannot fight infiltration or terrorism by terrorising your own people," said state relief minister H.A. Sairani. **He and Roy blamed BSF for running a "fiefdom" along the border. They accused the BSF of imposing 'dusk to dawn curfew' in border areas. "This is to facilitate smuggling and trafficking of men and cattle as both BSF and BDR border posts receive payment from border gangs," alleged Roy.** (Biswajit Roy, Times of India, February 21, 2003, Page 1)

More and more policemen are being pulled away from their normal duties (i.e., the maintenance of law and order) and being told to concentrate on looking for Bangladeshis. Shiv Sena-Bharatiya Janata Party Government of Maharashtra has been deporting

Bengali-speaking Muslim zari workers from Mumbai, branding them Bangladeshis. Muslim residents of Howrah, Midnapore, Hooghly and 24-Parganas districts are anxiously waiting for news from their relatives in Mumbai who are mainly engaged as zari, diamond, platinum and gold workers. Alauddin Mollah, one of them, told *Frontline* that he had not heard from his brother Salim Ali for over a month. He had heard about the raids conducted in parts of Mumbai where Muslim workers from West Bengal live.

The workers returning from Mumbai alleged that the Maharashtra Police made large-scale arrests of Muslims workers, mistaking all of them for Bangladeshi infiltrators simply because they spoke Bengali. "On July 9, the police raided a place under the Satra police station in Mumbai when my friends were asleep. The minute the police heard the terrified workers speak Bengali, they herded them into a van," Sheikh Dilwar, a resident of Bahira in Howrah district, said. Dilwar escaped being picked up since he was sleeping some distance away. News of the incident spread, and within days, almost all Bengali workers in Maharashtra left.

All district collectors in Maharashtra have been instructed to collect the data of the Bengali refugees residing in the state. The collectors in turn have issued a circular that all such persons to submit their citizenship documents within a month, failing which they would be liable for deportation. This has created anxiety among number of Bengali refugees that had settled in Bhandara, Chandrapur and Gadchirauli districts of Maharashtra since fifties.

A crowd of about 3,000 people stopped the Howrah-bound Kurla Express from Mumbai at Ulubearia, 65 km from Calcutta, on the afternoon of July 23, demanding that a batch of 34 persons in the train be set free. These passengers, who included seven women, were Bengali-speaking Muslims, all zari workers. They had been "identified as Bangladeshis" and sent by the Maharashtra Government, with police escort, to be deported to Bangladesh at West Bengal's border town of Bongaon. A section of the crowd even climbed on to the train, and the Maharashtra police personnel who were in the train fired five rounds in the air. The Railway Protection Force (RPF) too fired blank shots. Those who led the protesters, claimed that the deportees had valid documents to prove that they hailed from Barast, Bangaon, Uluberia, Howrah and Panchla in West Bengal.

2. False Propaganda that Bengali Dalit Refugees are criminals and have terrorist links

L. K. Advani, the Deputy Prime Minister (also in charge of the Home portfolio {whom his own daughter in law Gauri accused of sexually exploiting and torturing her mentally}), at a gathering of senior police officials in the Capital asked them to track down illegal migrants in the country, the Deputy Prime Minister in harsh and categorical terms said that India would not tolerate these migrants who, under the guise of asylum, indulge in nefarious activities aimed at destabilizing the nation and jeopardizing its security. **Setting aside human rights**

considerations, Advani ordered the immediate deportation of these illegal migrants.

According to the conclusions of "Immigrants in Bombay : A Fact Finding Report." conducted by Shama Dalwai and Irfan Engineer 1) there is hardly any serious danger to our security from the so called Bangladeshi infiltrators. They do not cause any serious problem for our nation as is sought to be made out. The threat and danger is more a product of imagination of the protagonists of Hindutva than real. One field visit clears any such doubts. The filth and squalor in which they exists with their children amply demonstrates that they have come here only for survival. **They are more concerned about how to feed their children and hardly have time to think about other issues.** We also found the allegations that Bangladeshi immigrants participated in the communal riots as totally baseless. **The neighbouring Hindus were speaking quite sympathetically about them. During the riots, the neighbouring Hindus had not felt any threat from them and were living peacefully in their neighbourhood. Would there be such sympathy for them amongst the Hindus staying in the neighbourhood if they had participated in the riots? Then why is the SS-BJP government trying to create illusionary danger from them. The issue of Bangladeshi infiltrators was raised by the BJP after demolition of Babri Mosque on December 6, 1992. When it was left without any issue to capture peoples attention. The issue was exploited even for the assembly elections in Delhi. The issue of 'infiltrators' could also pay rich dividends to enter North-East Region where the BJP has no significant existence so far.**

3) False Propaganda that India can not tolerate burden of such a huge number of refugees.

This seems reasonable enough till you realize that nobody objects to immigration from Nepal. In fact, we actually encourage Nepalis to come and seek employment in India and have special laws in place that enable them to cross the border without passports and to work without visas. So, why are there enough jobs for Nepalis and not enough jobs for Bangladeshis? But why blame the BJP alone? The Congress is as responsible for creating the scare about illegal Bangladeshi immigrants.

According to the conclusions of "Immigrants in Bombay : A Fact Finding Report." conducted by Shama Dalwai and Irfan Engineer, the estimates about infiltrators is not only exaggeration but height of imagination. The refugee figures, are just concoctions. The falsity of such imagination is evident from the fact that there have been different estimates given at different times. **There has been not much of a difference in the growth rate of population of districts adjoining Bangladesh and the rest of the country. Even if there are Bangladeshi immigrants, their number is not so much that it can affect our food grain stock or compete with our**

countrymen for jobs and other scarce resources. Because of the atrocities committed on Bengali Dalit refugees in India, no Bengali Dalits are coming to India from Bangla Desh. Mr. Mukherjee chairman of rehabilitation committee in his report submitted on 31st August on 1981 mentions that there are 5533980 refugees in Bengal. In 10 years the population grows to 20% therefore, it is expected that the said population of refugees should be over one crore. Because it did not happen it proves that after year 1971 negligible number of Bengali Dalits took refuge in India. Sensus report of India makes it clear that the population growth rate of Bengal has declined from 1.43% to 1.0% and now it is almost zero. This makes it clear that immigration of Bengali Dalits to India is stopped.

Those who have come to India for economical reasons have never demanded Indian nationality. Give all of them a temporary work visa and grant all those citizenship if they pay their taxes and remain good citizens. If America can flourish based on immigrants, we can also be open and generous.

How can Bangla Desh allow 2nd and 3rd generation of refugees in their country after the lapse of 35 years without any documentary proof that they are their citizen ? If the Arya-Brahminists of India had not made golden promises to Bengali Dalit refugees and prevented them from entering the country or had sent them at the very first instance to Bangla Desh, it would have communicated a message to Dalits that the Arya-Brahminists do not want them in India. Then the dalits would have lived or died for their rights in Bangla Desh itself. Arya-Brahminists riding the government have conveniently forgotten that the Bengali Dalits contributed to the development of India for about 35 years and remain loyal to the country and have no contact with Bangla Desh in any form and who were the citizens of united India and are the victim of partition conspiracy of Arya-Brahminists which these Arya-Brahminists executed with unmatched brutality and shamelessness forcibly pushing them in no man's land to die with hunger, thirst, diseases or with the bullets of either BSF or BDF is an Arya-Brahminist brutality which is several hundred times brutal than the brutality of Zionist of Israel who are considered as the most brute demons.

PESECUTION OF BENGALI DALITS AND INDIAN MUSLIMS IS ON !

Operation Pushback - and its equivalents in other cities - continues to this day even if the name has changed. It is still the responsibility of the police to round up illegal Bangladeshis and to send them back across the border. The Delhi Police, for instance, has ten Task Forces whose primary function is to scour Delhi looking for Bangladeshis.

In 2001, the BJP government in Uttaranchal had denied domicile certificates to the Bengali Dalit refugees settled in the state since early fifties. Some moneylenders turned land Mafia even grabbed their land with the help of police and officials.

Arya-Brahminist chief minister of West Bengal Buddhadev Bhattacharya vomited his hate for Bengali Dalit refugees saying that he will not tolerate Bangla Desh intruders since it affects the balance of social characteristics of the state. Earlier Mr. Buddhadev Bhattacharya, then West Bengal Home (Police) Minister said that the State Government would prosecute Bangladeshis found to be staying in West Bengal without valid papers and hand them over to the Border Security Force. He also pointed out that the Maharashtra Police had earlier pushed about 800 people back to Bangladesh from West Bengal's border areas without informing the State Government about the action. He asserted that West Bengal had always taken action against Bangladeshi infiltrators, but not in this manner. Mamta Banerjee (Brahmin) opposition leader in more aggressive towards Bengali Dalit refugees. She tore the voter list of Gayghata assembly constituency before Loksabha speaker and declared to continue her agitation till the names of alleged Bengali Dalits are not removed. All parties led by Arya-Brahminists have the same inimical attitude towards Bengali Dalits.

Mr. Buddhadev Bhattacharya had to admit that the in "push-back" operation among the persons thrust into Bangla Desh border 70% of persons used to be Indian nationals. (Bhaskar, 3 June 2003)

In response to a petitioned filed by an Arya-Brahminist organization, the Delhi High court and the supreme court of India had ordered that at least 100 Bangla refugees should be identified each day and thus 3000 refugees should be deported to Bangla Desh.

Home Minister of India in his written reply to Mr. Ramdas Athawale and R. S. Gavai said that all the Bengali Dalit refugees who crossed over after 25th March 1971 shall be forcibly deported to Bangla Desh after they are severely penalized by the court.

According to a news the magistrate of Thane has pronounced 6 month's rigorous imprisonment to so called Bengali Dalit refugees (Samrat, 21 November 2005)

State Governments of India are rigorously implementing the court orders. BJP-BJD government of Orissa has issued notices to 1551 Bengali dalits who are residing in Nakkal block of Kendrapara District since last 40-50 years, to leave the country within 30 days

or they shall be deported forcibly to Bangla Desh. The BJP-BJD government without giving these Bengali dalits any chance to offer any explanation declared them Bangladeshi intruders.

People of this area were affected by a cyclone in last 10 years which destroyed their documents and other valuables. Most of the Bengali refugees being illiterate and labourers and lacking awareness could not obtain copies of these documents as they had no political connections and they were living far away from the district capital. The government in spite of having records of their nationality in their respective offices was not ready to find them. The similar notices are served to Bangali dalits of Nabarangpur and Malkangiri district.

In Orissa the registration of new born babies in the refugee families are being denied birth certificates. In Orissa the registration of new born babies in the refugee families are being denied birth certificates. The Orissa government stopped no less than two hundred refugee children to sit in high school examination. Birth certificates are being denied to newborn babies. BPL card, ration Card, PAN, etc have been stalled. Names of refugees in the voters' list have been deleted enmasse. According to Hindustan Times, government had asked people of Jiyaganj and Lalbag of Murshidabad to produce 19 documents in support of their Indian nationality. Over 90.60% persons did not have any of these documents. These makes it clear that these Indian nationals in the absence of these documents would be deported to Bangla Desh alleging then Bangla Deshi intruders.

3. THE TAMIL REFUGEES

Some background of Tamil Struggle in Shrilanka

Tamils are the indigenous people of Shrilanka. Sinhalese settled in Shrilanka in 500 BC. According to the 'Mohvansh' of Senhalese mythology Sinhala prince Jeet who had married to a tamil princess brought Sinhalese to Shrilanka and rehabilitated them. (Dalit Voice, 1-15 October 2000, P. 14) Gradually with the favour of state power the Sinhalese became the ruling class of Shrilanka while the indigenous tamils became the exploited class.

After Shrilankan independence the policy of Sinhalization was followed very rigorously by the Sinhalese rulers. Tamils were even denied the citizenship of Shrilanka. It became impossible for Tamil nationals to live in Cylone due to discrimination and persecution. In year 1970 the standardization law was framed to deprive Tamils from higher education. Tamil masses protested against Sinhalese oppression and evil tactics. {As a result, of barbaric repression and state terrorism, militant organizations of tamil started emerging}. In year 1963 Tamil Tigers attacked Shrilankan army and killed 13 soldiers. In vengeance, Shrilankan army launched genocide of innocent Tamil people. In the November of 1984, Tamil gorillas attacked an army post and killed an army officer. In revenge Sinhalese

army ransacked tamil houses and set them on fire. In retaliation Tamil militants continued their attacks on Sinhalese army. In July of 1987 an accord was signed between governments of Shrilanka and India according to which it was agreed to form an autonomous Tamil state in the north east of Shrilanka and the amnesty and rehabilitation to Tamil militants. While framing and signing this accord Tamil masses and their organizations were not taken into confidence. Few of the militant groups surrendered their weapons but LTTE of Prabhakaran did not lay down their weapon. Prabhakaran called Indian government as imperialist and this accord as open injustice on the Tamils and demanded independent Tamil state (Tamil Elam) for the Tamils. Indian government boasted to wipe out the existence of LTTE in just 72 hours but failed to do so. (p.322, 326, 328, Udgaonkar, M.N.)

According to Hon. V. T. Rajshekar many followers of Dr. Ambedkar fell victim to the cunning and deceiving propaganda of Arya-Brahminists that the Buddhist of India should support the Sinhalese government and oppose the Tamils. These followers of Dr. Ambedkar did not think that if the Tamils are Hindu then why the Arya-Brahminists rulers who boast of Hindutva did not support Hindu Tamils ? Why the Arya-Brahminists riding the government of India is helping non-Hindu government against the Hindu Tamils ? When the Arya-Brahminists of India did not hesitate to break Pakistan and form Bangla Desh why the Arya-Brahminists riding the government of India are militarily helping Sinhalese in the name of saving the integrity of Shrilanka ? the answer for hypocritical behaviour of Arya-Brahminists lies in the fact that the struggle going on in Shrilanka is the struggle between indigenous Nag-Dravids and the racist Aryan Sinhalese. Therefore, the Arya-Brahminists of India and the Sinhalese Aryans (whether they are Buddhist or Christians) are avenging Tamil Nag-Dravids. (Dalit Voice, 16-31 July 2000) The organization Janata Vimukti Peramuna calls itself Marxist organization but it has earned bad name for its hate toward the Tamils. (p.349, Udgaonkar, M.N.) Because the Sinhalese are basically Arya-Brahminists therefore like their Indian Arya-Brahminist brethen they can be racist as well as {fake} Marxists.

Arya-Brahminists riding the government of India know very well that if Tamil Elam comes into existence, Nag-Dravid struggle will become very powerful in Tamilnadu as well and the Arya-Brahminist rule and their Brahminism in India may get severe setback. Therefore, Arya-Brahminists of Tamilnadu in the leadership of Brahmin Jayalalita as well as Arya-Brahminists of centre are opposing Tamil Elam. (Dalit Voice, 1-15 June 2000) Mr. Vaiko was imprisoned by Brahmin Jayalalita under POTA because he had spoken in support of Tamil struggle.

The Arya-Brahminists riding the government of India sent peace keeping army of indigenous Bahujans to Shrilanka and spent 100 crores per day. Out of 60,000 indigenous soldiers, 1200 were killed and 3000 were injured. (Dalit Voice, 1-15 June 2000) In this

way Arya-Brahminists of India wanted to satisfy their vengeance by killing indigenous Tamils of Shrilanka and indigenous Bahujans of India in battle. But the Arya-Brahminists riding government of India were compelled to call back peace keeping force due to mass pressure.

As Mr. Puspa Nathan explains, the international media is being manipulated by Sri Lanka. All the news circulating in the international media has originated either from the Sinhala chauvinist press or from sections of the Brahmin owned Indian press. We have a duty to counter and expose this global misinformation campaign conducted by Sri Lanka with the help of sections of the Brahmin owned Indian press and some Trojan horses within our Tamil community. The Sinhala government has successfully silenced any truth coming out to the international media by the killings of Thinamurasu Atputhan, Kumar Ponnambalam and now Nirmalarajan. Sri Lanka has persecuted and intimidated every other independent newspaper and journalist - examples are Thinakural, Uthayan, the journalist Manicakavaskar, the Virakesari reporter and others. Even the unlawful arrest, detention and torture of Red Cross Official Mr. Kishore was part of a plot to silence the NGOs. Sri Lanka terrorism has even reached abroad. The killing of Elamurasu Gajan in Paris and the recent attempted attack on the eminent lawyer Ms. Karen Parker are a few examples. The recent SBS Australia TV program is yet another attempt to intimidate and silence even the few voices which are left abroad... (Tamilnation.org, Responding to Sri Lanka's Misinformation Campaign Sara Ananthan, 3 November 2000)

According to TamilNet : **Sri Lanka's Army-backed Tamil paramilitaries are seeking recruits amongst Tamil refugees in Tamil Nadu, offering hefty salaries, an Indian news agency reported this week.** The Eelam National Democratic Liberation Front (ENDLF), an India-based paramilitary group now operating in an anti-LTTE grouping under the Karuna Group, is seeking recruits from refugee camps and orphanages in southern India, an Indian website reported, citing local press reports. The recruitment is being conducted with the knowledge of India's external intelligence agency, RAW (Research and Analysis Wing). The ENDLF is being used by RAW as a rallying point of anti-LTTE groups. Sri Lanka's military has brought a number of paramilitary groups, including the ENDLF under one grouping to wage a campaign against the LTTE and its supporters. ENDLF cadres based in India have been rotating into Sri Lanka's Northeast on one-year visas issued by the Sri Lankan government to bolster the 'shadow war.' (tamilnet , RAW aiding paramilitary recruitment in India - report [TamilNet, June 25, 2006 01:15 GMT])

SRI LANKAN TAMIL REFUGEES IN INDIA

After 1983, New Delhi followed a policy which had two characteristics -- mediatory and militant-supportive. India deliberately created a political dimension with the Sri Lankan Tamil refugees to ensure that they become a leverage to the country's foreign policy vis-à-vis Colombo. **One has to keep in mind the fact that the Tamil refugees were a leverage to India's foreign policy. After Rajiv Gandhi's assassination, the educational facilities for Tamil refugees were taken away from the Tamil Nadu government.** (A homeland Denied, 'If Jaffna falls, there will be a flood of refugees to Tamil Nadu' by George Iype)

D. Ravikumar, who was appointed by the Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi, to submit a report on camp conditions said **"No body seems to bother about their plight. The Indian Government is acting as if it is doling out alms to the refugees for their sustenance. The inmates of these camps are, at best, looked at with suspicion, and at worst, treated as criminals,"** (Daily mirror 28 June 2006)

The Sri Lankan Tamil Refugees fall into following three categories.

(1) Those in the Refugee Camps which number 133 as on date. There are about 65,000 refugees in them.

(2) Refugees who maintain themselves outside the Camps. Following the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi in May 1991, these refugees were directed by the State Government to register themselves in the nearest police stations.

(3) Refugees who have been identified as belonging to militant groups. They are at present kept in three Special Camps: (a) Tippu Mahal, Vellore Fort, Vellore, (b) Chingleput and (c) Mellur.

Currently, the Indian Government reports that there are about 1,60,000 Sri Lankan Tamil refugees in India of which about 76,000 live in refugee camps in Tamil Nadu and about 30,000 live outside these camps in cities and towns across Tamil Nadu. Other non-governmental sources believe that there are actually closer to 100,000 refugees outside the camp.

After the assassination of Rajiv Gandhi the Sri Lankan Refugees in India had to undergo severe ordeals. While the second category of the refugees escaped with mandatory registration in the police station with occasional enquiries and harassments by the police, the other two categories of refugees faced the worse. The plight of these refugees especially those in the Special Camps has been a source of deep concern for PUCL. The security arrangements in these special camps are unprecedented and surpass the security arrangements in any of the central prisons in the state of Tamil Nadu. The persons in the special camps are not prisoners or convicts or under-trials or accused of any specific offence under Indian Penal Code. But these detainees in the Special Camps do not enjoy even the rights of the convict prisoners lodged in ordinary prisons. The reality of the persons detained in the camp is that they are under 24 hours detention in conditions which

are worse than those prevalent in the Central Prison in India. As per the Commission Report, the inmates of the Tippu Mahal are not permitted to go out of the camp. The inmates are in RIGOROUS CONFINEMENT in the Special camp and the long detention has made the inmates desperate. In fact, even facilities of parole, which are generally available to convicts, and provision of coming out on bail available to under-trials is not available to the inmates. Visitors to the camp are restricted. By contrast, the prisoners in India enjoy a Constitutional guarantee of enjoying all fundamental rights within the prison walls. A person desirous of meeting the detainees in the camp has to make an application to the Special Tahsildar. The Special Tahsildar sits in the Collectorate several kms away from the Camp. The Special Tahsildar seeks the comments of the Superintendent of Police on the application and only thereafter permission is granted. Generally for the papers to move it takes several days. It is all the more difficult for Sri Lankans who are in other refugee camps to meet those in the Special Camps as they have to seek permission first to leave their camp and also to visit the Special Camp detainees. **The so-called inmates have been in detention for several years now and there is no time limit specified for their release. This can have psychologically a very traumatizing and demoralizing influence on the detainees. There are several persons who have not come outside the camp for more than ten years now. They are not sure as to when they are likely to be released. The uncertainty of their incarceration is itself agonizing and inhuman.**

The PUCL Team Members collected the details of the following handicapped persons detained in this Camp: 1. Ansar: Right foot disabled due to gun shot injury. 2. Mukilan: Totally blind. 3. Ranga: Has lost both the hands below the wrists, lost vision in the left eye and lost hearing faculty in the left ear. 4. "Moscow": Lost the right hand below the wrist and the thumb in the left hand. 5. "Hitler": Lost both hands below the wrist and totally blind. 6. Jerry: Right leg paralysed. 7. Ajanthan: Has a bullet embedded in the head resulting in paralysis of right leg, right hand and has lost the hearing faculty in the right ear. 8. Yogan: Left leg damaged by gun shot injury. 9. Jeevan: Right foot severed. 10. Radha: Lost vision in the right eye. 11. Nimilan: Lost the vision in the left eye. 12. Shiva: Left foot severed. **UN Human Rights groups are not allowed access to the Sri Lankan Tamil refugee camps in Tamil Nadu, because the Indian government fears that they would be "critical of conditions in the camps"**. This is the charge made by the United States Commission for Refugees in its latest report. Essentially, the Indian Government has been and continues to violate key human rights of the refugees. The Sri Lankan Tamil refugees have been stripped of such basic human rights as the freedom to leave the campsites, proper medical assistance, and perhaps most importantly, non-refoulement.

Earlier in March of 1992, the Indian Government passed an

order to "persuade and advise Sri Lankan Tamil refugees to repatriate." The refugees who opted to return cannot be termed as purely "voluntary" because very many of them may have opted for repatriation due to the withdrawal of following facilities that had been provided to them before the repatriation process commenced :- 1) Stoppage of doles and rations after the 9 September 1993. 2) Not providing proper educational facilities to refugee children. 3) Not repairing huts and failing to maintain other facilities in camps. 4) Restricting movements of refugees resulting in preventing refugees from going to work to supplement their meagre dole to make ends meet. 5) **Arresting and locking up refugees in sub-jails designated as (special camps) without stating reasons or inquiry or trial.** 6) Not providing access to information necessary to enable refugees to make a voluntary decision. 7) Failing to provide proper medical assistance. 8) Prevention of assistance and services to the refugees in camps by Non-Governmental Organizations.

From the various reports it becomes clear that when the Tamil refugees are deported to Shrilanka, they are persecuted and tortured by military and intelligence agencies. In this connection news in Tamilnation.org, 'Deported Tamil Asylum Seekers arrested & tortured, December 1999' can be cited as an example.

Various cases have come to light which shows the attitude adopted by the Indian Government in dealing with the Sri Lankan Tamil refugees:

In a Habeas Corpus Petition (No 1465 of 1993) filed by one K. Sarojini Sivalingam on behalf of her husband, Mr R R Sivalingam, it has been stated that her husband was confined in the Special Camp for Sri Lankans at Chengalpattu. The wife petitioned the Court to provide constant and intensive medical care and attention to Mr R R Sivalingam. The Court, vide its order dated 9.9.93, directed the Tamil Nadu State Government to admit him in the Government Hospital, Madras, for proper assessment and better management of his ailment (heart disease), based on the opinion of the Medical Board.

Though the order was pronounced on 9.9.93, the Tamil Nadu State Government failed to implement the said order of the Court for nearly 10 days. It was only after a telegram was issued to the Tamil Nadu State Government that Mr Sivalingam was admitted to the Government Central Hospital on 19.9.93. But, shockingly, he was brought handcuffed, with a chain initially to the Office of the Commissioner of Police and thereafter, to the Government General Hospital, Madras. But, even after admission, he was kept tied to the bed in the hospital, despite several protests on his part. At the hospital, he was not allowed to communicate with outsiders and not allowed to write letters, even to his counsel. Whenever, he was taken to other wards or to the X-ray Department, or to the lab for certain tests, he was taken handcuffed and tied with a chain. His counsel was also told by the escort policemen to get a court order if they wanted to visit him. Moreover, he was not allowed to speak to his legal counsels in confidence and the police guards, including an

official from the Special Branch insisted on hearing every word that was spoken. This was clearly illegal.

Despite several protests and representations, the State Government failed to take off his handcuffs and chains. As he was not allowed to write any letters, he was unable to submit a representation in this regard. However, when his counsel visited him on 24 September 1993, at about 5.30 p.m, he forwarded a representation to the Commissioner of Police through him. When his counsel went to submit the representation to the Police Commissioner, he was not present; his Personal Assistant received the representation but refused to give any acknowledgement. In any case, several officials of the police establishment including the Assistant Commissioner (Intelligence) visited him and had seen him chained to the bed; he also complained to them; but no action was taken. It also had a deleterious effect on Mr Sivalingam's health. It is therefore proper that Mr Sivalingam should claim appropriate damages and compensation in respect of the illegal detention and all further illegal acts perpetrated upon him.

The above is just a single instance of many more horrifying cases perpetrated by the Indian Government. The police, without giving any reasons for their arrest and detention in special camps, have arbitrarily and illegally acted in a manner by which the refugee protection given to these persons is withdrawn. Most of these persons are languishing in sub-jails for periods upto two years. In most cases, such detention was followed by the serving of orders under the Foreigner's Act without adherence to the principles of natural justice. This is against Indian and International Humanitarian norms and is a complete travesty of justice.

PART IV : WHERE TO LOOK FOR SOLUTION OF THESE ARYA-BRAHMINIST BRUTALITIES ?

We present below extremely brief synthesis of the nature of persons / organizations and their limitations in retaliating these Arya-Brahminist brutalities on indigenous Bahujans.

1) NEVER DEPEND ON THE THICKNESS SIDE OF THE MANUIST-COIN : - It is now well established fact that the **Sangh-Parivar parties** of Arya-Brahminists on one hand and Congress, Communist, Socialists etc. **so called secular parties** on the other form two sides of Manuist-coin. **The "thickness part of the Manuist-coin" is not properly identified and understood. This has always resulted in wrong solution of the problem.**

The thickness part of Manuist coin is made of Parties of OBC, Dalit, Muslim and Adivasi led by vote-beggar leaders are confined exclusively to **VOTE-BEGGING political stunts** and have nothing to do with genuine struggle against the global system of exploitation and oppression.

These vote beggar leaders are like Arya-Brahminist priests. They sing praise sermons of Bahujan deities (Bahujan liberation warriors such as Fule, Shahu, Ambedkar, Periyar etc.) and receive "Vote-Dakshina" from the devotee masses. The members of such parties are "devotees" and not followers of our Bahujan liberation warriors. They are only concerned with the praise sermons of their leaders. **The existence of Manuist exploitation and oppression gives life to vote-begging politics therefore these vote begging party leaders are unconcerned in missionary activities leading to the destruction of the exploitation and oppression system of Tri-Iblis.**

The "insides" of the two sides of the Manuist-coin are connected to the very thickness part. Similarly, the Bahujan organizations led by vote-beggar leaders are in alliance the very Arya-Brahminist Manuist oppressors. It is crystal-clear from the following news synthesis :-

1) Bihar Chief Minister Nitish Kumar wound up the Amir Das commission probing political links of Ranvir Sena under pressure. The probe body was set up in 1997 after 59 Dalits, including 26 women and 19 children - some under 10 years - were killed by armed Ranvir Sena men in Laxmanpur-Bathe village in Jehanabad district. **Justice Amir Das has been quoted as saying in media reports that the government had decided to scrap the commission because he had strong evidence against some powerful people.** The last person to depose before the commission was jailed Ranvir Sena chief Brahmeshwar Singh, who was arrested two years ago and is believed to have masterminded the killings of at least 300 Dalits and backward castes since forming the group in 1994. Others who had been summoned over the years include nearly 40 politicians. These include Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) leader C.P. Thakur, former state Congress president Ram Jatan Sinha, now in Lok Janshakti Party, union Minister of State for Agriculture Akilesh Singh from the Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) and Janata Dal-United's Sunil Pandey all upper caste Bhumihars. No other party has voiced its protest against the winding up of report by Nitish government because all seems to be linked with Ranveer Sena. Deputy Chief Minister Sushil Kumar Modi and former BJP president Murli Manohar Joshi were also among the 450 witnesses that deposed. **It's well-known that the Sena enjoys the patronage of sections of the BJP, Congress and the RJD. And it is this all-party character of its support that gives the Sena its strength. So despite being a banned group, there has been no crackdown yet on the Sena. On the contrary, RJD leader and Union Minister Chandradeo Prasad Verma openly demanded that the ban on Ranvir Sena be lifted when there was pressure for a crackdown after the Bathani Tola massacre in July 1997.** Leader of Opposition in the Bihar Assembly Sushil Kumar Modi charged at a press conference that it is the RJD president who has close relations with the Ranvir Sena chief Brahmeshwar Singh," Modi alleged that Yadav was twice instrumental in the release of Brahmeshwar Singh from police custody, after his

arrest in Patna and Dhanbad and added that the RJD president shared the dais with a senior leader of the banned Maoist Communist Centre (MCC) Vijay Kumar Arya in Gaya and Aurangabad districts in 1996 Lok Sabha elections. More than a dozen scholars from UK and USA have urged chief minister Rabri Devi to probe the links between the Ranvir Sena and political parties. **"We are extremely concerned that despite your (read CM) declared commitment to the cause of women empowerment, social justice and secularism, the Ranvir Sena, which is a feudal, upper caste, anti-woman, anti-Dalit and anti-poor terror group linked to the Sangh Parivar, is being nurtured and protected by your government and important ministers. This despite the fact that the Sena has been declared an outlawed outfit,"** they said. **"The level of complicity of your administration and the patronage of the state government is demonstrated by the killing of Manju Devi in broad daylight despite the presence of the district officials, particularly the SP, who went to the spot but came back without disturbing the Sena men who stayed on in the village of the prominent Congress leader,"** they pointed out. (Ranvir Sena thriving on politicians' support Yogesh Vajpeyi, Wednesday, December 03 1997 ; India News 7th April 2006, Nitish Winds up Ranvir sena probe at last stage; Telugu portal, PIL to seek revival of probe into Ranvir Sena Date 2006/5/3 ; UK, US scholars for probe into Ranvir Sena's links Add to Clippings Pranava K Chaudhary, 27 Nov, 2003 0231hrs ISTTIMES NEWS NETWORK)

Almost all Muslim leaders of Arya-Brahminist led / directed parties such as BJP, Congress, JDU, etc remained loyal with their Arya-Brahminist leaders during Gujrat genocide of Muslims and ignored that these Arya-Brahminist leaders directly and indirectly supported massacre of Muslims in Gujarat . Some dalit leaders did not hesitate to 1) support the ongoing Gujarat massacre, 2) to launch joint election campaign with BJP in Gujarat, 3) invited BJP leader Lal Krishna Advani in public meeting of their party, 4) not filing revised charge-sheet against Advani and other BJP-VHP-Bajrang Dal leaders responsible for demolition of Babri Mosque. 5) and ignored forcible bloody displacement of OBC, Dalit Adivasis from their age-old living places by the Arya-Brahminist governments and remained silent about liberalization, privation and globalization. **There are hundreds of such examples when these vote-beggar leaders shamelessly went to profit from the blood of indigenous OBC, Dalit, Muslim, Adivasi Bahujan masses. There are 100 dalit member of parliaments but they had become disciples of the monkeys of Gandhi and did not see the agonies of Bengali Dalit refugees, did not want to hear their cries and did not want to speak for their human rights. These priestly vote-beggar dalit leaders have done nothing to oppose the draconian citizenship bill which unleashes all kinds of brutalities on Bengali Dalits and Chakma Buddhists.** In spite of that the "devotee party members" of these parties will

keep on tolerating such betrayals because they are not concerned with Bahujan mission but in the "**priestly sermons**" that their party leaders sing.

The Bengali dalit refugees and their organizations must realize that these "priestly vote-begging leaders" will do nothing unless their selfish political interests to get "vote-Dakshina" or fear of loosing "vote-dakshina" compel them to do some "lip-service" and "drama" in favour of Bengali Dalit refugees. The RPI leaders like R.S. Gavai in Rajyasabha on 7th December 2004 and Ramdas Athawale on 6th December 2004 in Parliament could not do beyond some lip sympathy in response to appeals of Bengal branches of Matua Mahasabha and Reppican Party. The Dalit bengali refugees will be continuously avenged by Arya-Brahminists for protecting the self-respect of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar while none of these leaders will do anything to wipe out the stigma of betrayal written on the face of the followers of Ambedkar for not helping Bengali Dalits who protected self-respect of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar.

2) HERE IS SOME HOPE : - Dalit Bengali refugees and there organizations can only have little hope from the Bahujan organizations who give supreme importance to awakening indigenous masses for struggle against exploitation and do not have electioneering ambitions. The nature and extent of help shall depend upon the composition of these organizations. Most of these organizations consist of middle class elites hence can be useful in creating mass awareness and can do some peaceful demonstrations. Nothing more than this can be expected from them as middle class is not fit for bitter struggle against exploiter and oppressor class.

3) HERE LIE OUR EVERY HOPE :- Our every hope lie in the aware section of exploited toiling masses and genuine **followers** of Fule, shahu, Ambedkar, Periyar and who are not the **devotees** of our Bahujan liberation warriors. They are the genuine and trustworthy warriors sailing in the same boat amidst the storm of Brahminist-exploitation and oppression. Let us make a common cause with them and rely only on them and their collective decision making system in deciding every step of the struggle.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE ?

Aware section of exploited masses and the genuine followers of our Bahujan warriors must take following measures with strongest determination.

1) **Every body of us must remove all confusions from our mind and realize that BJP, Congress, Communist parties of India (Brahminists in the mask of Marxist, Leninist, maoist etc.,) and all other Arya-Brahminist led or directed parties are enemies of indigenous Bahujan masses. Once we conclude this, we must treat all these parties as enemies of indigenous Bahujans and commit ourselves for their destruction.**

2) Only Bahujan masses and Bahujan police suffer in police firing on our protest marches. Not a single hair of any Arya-Brahminist exploiter is bent. Therefore, vengeance of Arya-Brahminists on the indigenous masses shall remain unabated until Arya-Brahminist exploiters remain unharmed. **Unless the Arya-Brahminist exploiters and oppressors themselves experience severe punishment and some of the brutalities they have inflicted on indigenous masses they shall never even think before inflicting wounds after wounds on we indigenous Bahujans.**

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar asked dalits never surrender before the exploiters and kill the oppressors while defending the chastity of their women and protecting their property. **We searched the internet vigorously by applying different words for example "Brahmins killed by dalits" to whether any dalit in the history of mankind has killed any Arya-Brahminist. But we could not find any. Words like 'devastation of Brahmins', 'rape on Brahmin women', 'torching of Brahmin houses' and so on were put in search window but could not find a single incidence of Brahmin persecution. On the contrary we found thousands of instances where dalits were killed and their women raped and their little property destroyed while they keep on begging for mercy falling on Arya-Brahminist feet. When the dalits are as harmless as the earthworms, who on the earth will bother to listen to them ?** Therefore Dr. Ambedkar wanted to develop self respect in dalits so that they retaliate against the oppression and exploitation.

Considering the ability of common aware Bahujans following few measures must be applied to inflict harm on the Arya-Brahminist interests.

1) Any attempt of voting in favour of Arya-Brahminist exploiters, their parties or their stooges must be fought bitterly. **We must see that votes received by all these enemy parties reduce drastically. Then only they will be compelled to give some heed to our demands.** If we become football we shall receive kicks no matter wherever we (our election mandate) goes. Because we vote them alternatively they have no need to bother about us. Therefore, without any fear of loosing votes, they keep on inflicting wounds after wounds on we Bahujans.

2) Vote only to those candidates who help your mass struggle. If no such candidate is available, sleep comfortably in your home.

Manuist-coin thickness potion parties of OBC, Dalit, Muslim Adivasi for the same reason will keep on betraying our cause because they feel we have no alternative but to vote them. Let us raise ourselves from the shameful state of "devotees" because the devotees are the real killers of the life mission of our Bahujan warriors (Fule, Shahu, Periyar, Ambedkar). **LET US raise ourselves to the glorious state of aware followers of our**

Bahujan warriors by concerning only with missionary activities. A missionary activity is that activity which unites exploited masses and weakens Arya-Brahminists and their exploitation system. **LET US HELP EVERY MISSIONARY ACTIVITY IRRESPECTIVE OF ANY PARTY LABEL.**

3) Aware Bahujans must use their every resources in the destruction of exploitation and oppression system of Arya-Brahminists and to establish Bahujanwadi Samajik Ganatantra which is exploitation-free society based on Bahujanwad. (For details read Tri-iblisi Shoshan Vyuh Vidhvans, Part II, the handbook of People's struggle written in Hindi)

4) **Awareness campaign is always neglected.** Importance of awareness campaign can become clear from the following story :- An indigenous king who was pleased with a Brahmin promised to fulfil his demand to give him one seed of grain on first day two grains on second day, 4 on third day and so on for a period of one year. The king was shocked to see that within few months the whole grain of his kingdom had to be handed over to the cunning Brahmin and not a single seed of grain would remain for the people. The king wisely killed the Brahmin for his anti-people demand and issued a decree not to entertain any Arya-Brahminist henceforth in his kingdom. The awareness grow in the same way as number of grains double if rigorous awareness campaign is launched by every aware Bahujan with whatever resources he has with him.

Aware masses are wise enough to decide their course of action themselves. We must not forget that strength of aware masses in the world has compelled the exploiters to step down after little resistance. Because, aware exploited masses never remain earthworm or sheep to be killed and sacrificed. Awareness grows strong teeth and nails in toiling masses to tear the exploiters into pieces. Every measure of repression in the hands of exploiters no longer remain in their control. Therefore, the exploiter class of France, Nepal, Russia and of other countries of the world preferred to step down. Exploiters know very well that if the Islamic law of killing one for the life of one that is taken is applied to the brutalities they have inflicted upon the masses, the exploiter class of the whole world would be wiped out.

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