

From Round Table India

*Rough translation of **Rahul Sonpimple's** (BAPSA, JNU) powerful speech outside SSS1, JNU on 10th May, on the hypocrisy of JNU left during the Academic Council Meeting, undermining the issues of social justice - like OBC relaxation and reduction of Viva voce - for the HLEC (high Level Enquiry Committee set up to probe the events of February 9th) Report. Both these two issues, Social Justice and HLEC report, are equally important, but the left prioritised HLEC and boycotted social justice. The speech was transcribed by **Prameela KP** and **Ria De**.*

~ If Gujarat riot is fascism, if Gujarat riot is communalism, then those Brahmins, those Communist Brahmins who raped Dalits and minorities, killed Dalits in West Bengal, aren't they fascist? They (Communists) have created this Hindu-Muslim binary for us. Always, in the name of communalism, they have created this Hindu-Muslim binary, and they have been successful in doing this. I want to say that this is not a strategy only by the RSS and BJP; this is also their (Communists) strategy. They want such issues to be created, so that Rohith can die but no Dalit will be a hero. Only an upper caste Bhumihar will be a hero, for whom Shri Ram and Ram are (apparently) different.

I want to say, Comrade, for me, I want neither Ram nor Shri Ram. I want Jai Bheem that opposes both Ram and Shri Ram. We will continue to oppose both, and that is why we need to understand that if in this campus we really want to do politics, if we really want to fight for the rights of Dalits and OBCs that has not happened for 60 years. In these 60 years, many big comrades have come and gone, who have been Presidents of this campus for many four years terms, but until now viva voce marks have not been reduced.

Till now big upper castes and Muslims have been Presidents of this campus, whose surnames start with feudal names. They say, "My Dalit friends should we take Ambedkar on our heads and dance?" And now, they don't get tired of shouting "Jai Bheem, Jai Bheem", because they know very well that if they don't shout "Jai Bheem", then all the Dalits and Backwards will move ahead of them. We must understand their strategy of shouting "Jai Bheem", and that is why I repeatedly say that today they have stopped this (academic council) meeting; this meeting they have stopped over our dead bodies.

They do this every year. They will not allow any discussion on the viva voce marks. They will always create such situations. This binary that they have created of Hindu-Muslims, that of "state v/s us". Brother, if you are against the state, then why the hell do you go to court? You know, the court is part of the state. It doesn't exist in isolation. You should understand. You are a student of political science. I want to ask you, the people who are sitting on hunger-strike, I want to ask them, how many of you knew that your friends were going to court. If you have faith in the court, if you could go to court and get justice, then why did you do this drama of hunger strike?

You did this drama of hunger strike, because you know you can leave any organization that does not participate in elections, so you can form a new organization, become a hero of this campus...I want to say that sedition is not something new for Dalits and Adivasis. From where I come, Dalits, without any reason are locked up in prison in the name of sedition. In this country, there are movements to remove charges of sedition. Tell me something, lakhs of Dalits-Adivasis are rotting in Nagpur Central Jail on charges of sedition. For how many of them did Ravish Kumar start a national movement? Tell me, for how many of these Dalit-Adivasis did these comrades start a national movement?

You guys become political prisoners because you are a Bhumihar. You are the Hindu face, you are a Sayyad, but the Adivasis of this nation are not political prisoners for you. When will they be released? When will the progressive forces of this country, who make such long human

chains, when will they make chains for us? These chains will never be made for us. In a gender binary, a man becomes frustrated when a woman becomes his equal. Likewise, when Dalits and backwards start doing well for themselves, these upper castes experience a blast in their heads. And that is why, if they were really progressive, then today we would not have to stand like this in this campus and speak for ourselves in such a manner.

I will never speak about Babasaheb to these people. I will say Lal Salaam to that Adivasi, I will say Lal Salaam to that Dalit, who can respect Lal Salaam. They (Communists) have no respect for Lal Salaam. Because if they really had any respect for Lal Salaam, they would have protested in front of the CPM office, where Chitrlekha was exploited, where Jisha's mother today is saying what Communists have done to her, where in Bengal Dalits have been raped. (If they had any respect for Lal Salaam) today, they would have protested, but no. And that is why Ambedkar says, the Communists of this country are morally fractured. They are morally corrupt because they have caste consciousness, and it will remain till the time we will not break this hegemony.

We need to break this hegemony in the name of Bahujan. We are Bahujans. We will show them that this campus, from henceforth will never have an upper caste consciousness. We will ensure that this campus will only have Bahujan consciousness. Jai Bheem! Inquilab Zindabad. ~

Umar khalid's reply in the form of 'open letter', taken from Youth Ki Awaz

On the day of the Academic Council Meeting, you made a speech. At the outset, let me state that I agree with some of your criticism as far as they relate to the way the parliamentary left in India has looked at the caste question. However, your speech goes much beyond just that and makes insinuations at me as someone who has become a "hero", "a political prisoner" and a "students' union election aspirant" all because of my "savarna surname - Syed". I have my differences with the same, and would like to respond.

First things first, far from a hero, if anything, over the last few months I was made into a villain. I hope you have not forgotten, how because of my Muslim identity, the kind of things I was called - "a Jaish-e-Mohammad terrorist", "anti-national", "Pakistani agent"- and that it certainly was not the most comfortable period for me or my family. My sister received rape threats, my father was singled out for attack because of his past association with SIMI and given death threats. My entire family in the initial period was confined to our house for many days for fear of their lives. While police was carrying out raids in different parts of the country, a lynch-mob as close as the north-gate of JNU was baying for my blood everyday with slogans of 'Umar Khalid ko phaasi do/goli maro'. I was forced to go into hiding for several days, and then arrested. Two cops still guard my home for fear of any possible attack on my family's lives. I just hope, you won't deny the entire branding, villainizing and baying for our blood had to do with the fact that I was born in a Muslim family. Interestingly, the state never places the emphasis that you place on my surname. For the state and the police, my name which reveals my most immediate identity - a Muslim - is enough. The point, here is simple. This is how Muslims are always looked at- anti-national, potential terrorists and fundamentalists irrespective of their caste backgrounds. If it could be done to a privileged leftist 'savarna Muslim' studying in JNU, one only wonders what goes around in the name of "national security" and "counter-terrorism" in Kashmir, Gujarat, Azamgarh and Malegaon. I wonder what you are going to call Sohrabuddin Sheikh, killed in a fake encounter by Modi's cops in Gujarat - a "savarna" Muslim who is unnecessarily remembered. Or what are the epithets you want to throw at Mohd Amir Khan (a Pathan, after all) who spent 14 years in jail (the term for life imprisonment) only to be acquitted by the courts in all of the false terror cases. Amir Khan's case never

got any media attention while he was in jail for 14 years, and why I got the same had less to do with my caste (which I share with Amir) and more to do with my JNU studentship.

And by the way, when Hindutva mobs murdered and raped Muslims in Gujarat and Muzaffarnagar they did not care to first ask them about their caste identity. If you remember, they did not even spare a Muslim MP Ehsan Jafri. This is not to say that caste or caste oppression does not operate within the Muslims in India. Nor is it to say, that only Muslims are facing persecution while dalits and Adivasis are not facing oppression. That is a binary your speech creates. The jails of this country are full of Muslims, Dalits and Adivasis and by creating a false binary between them, you are exactly doing what the state and the government wants.

It won't be correct to say that there were no protagonists (a gender-neutral synonym of hero) in this movement. The real protagonists were those students and teachers who came out on the streets to fight this unprecedented fascist attack and to defend our democratic space and right to dissent. They did not term the 9th Feb event as 'anti-constitutional'. Ironically, when the organisers of the events were branded as anti-nationals, you and your organisation distanced themselves from the program, and worst still termed it as 'anti-constitutional activities'. On the 11th February, on your facebook wall, you posted:

"We believe in our constitution and it is the only source for us to claim and reclaim our human dignity. Ambedkarism is entrenched into constitutional morality and as followers of Ambedkar and his ideology we do not support any anti-constitutional move and condemn any such act which stands against constitutional ethos."

If your status kept whom you were referring to slightly vague, your organisation's position made it more specific with the following opening lines:

"We, BAPSA, as an Ambedkarite student organisation condemn any kind of anti - constitutional activities. Ambedkarism is entrenched into constitutional morality and as followers of Ambedkar and his ideology we condemn any anti - constitutional move by any group or individual. BAPSA was not an organiser of the event organized on 9th February 2016. We as an Ambedkarite organisation and strong believer in the Constitution, oppose any ideologies, groups and individuals who violate constitutional ethos..."

Yes, it was followed with a few perfunctory lines on ABVP being a casteist organisation that is targeting Ambedkarite activists. Interestingly not a mention of the vicious targeting of the organisers of the program, not a word on ABVP getting the program's permission cancelled, and interestingly JNU administration's role does not even find a mention in the entire poster. And most importantly, not a word on democratic right to dissent, which was shamelessly violated that evening by ABVP-administration nexus. How can an organisation which claims to follow Dr. Ambedkar's ideology term an event anti-constitutional for speaking against the Brahmanical collective conscience, against unjust execution of Afzal Guru and for the Kashmiri people's right to national self-determination.

(Here I am not trying to single out you or your organisation. I am also aware of the fact that some so-called left democratic organisations and individuals had similar positions. But frankly speaking, I was not surprised by their positions. In fact, they truly lived up to the expectations. But I was really disappointed by BAPSA's meek surrender in front of brahminical fascist onslaught). If you remember your organisation had organised the screening of the documentary 'Caste on the Menu Card' at the Sabarmati Dhaba last year, for which the permission was cancelled at the last moment by the Administration on AVBV's complaint (just like it happened on 9th Feb). The progressive democratic

organisations and students made sure that film was screened. Will you or your organisation also term that event anti-constitutional activity?

The most ludicrous part of your speech is where you, making insinuations at me, say that I left the organisation I was a part of because it does not contest elections, and now I want to contest students' union elections. It is absurd on many counts. The reason as to why I and others resigned from DSU is known to the world, because it was a public resignation. Secondly, as far as elections are concerned, all these years I have never contested any election for any post because of my opposition to Lyngdoh guidelines. Since 2008, we have consistently fought against the draconian Lyngdoh Committee Recommendations and have mobilised students to hold JNUSU elections according to the JNUSU constitution. Your organisation, on the other hand, participates in Lyngdoh bound elections, which is based on the idea of Brahmanical merit and discriminates students coming from deprived sections. However, at a more fundamental level, this ridiculous assertion reflects your election-centric political imagination.

It will not be an exaggeration to say that the present attack on the JNU students' movement is unprecedented in the history of our university. Students, alongside police cases and the HLEC, continue being served more show-cause notices and proctorial enquiries for organising political programs. At the same time, the administration has come with various machinations to scuttle several progressive provisions of the admission policy. This emphasis on elections in your speech at THIS moment shows, just like the revisionist left, all you can think of is elections. More than anyone else's it reflects sheer poverty of your political imagination. Finally, it is true that the class divisions, caste hierarchies and patriarchy

Finally, it is true that the class divisions, caste hierarchies and patriarchy exists amongst Muslims in the Indian sub-continent, just as they also exist among the Dalits and other oppressed castes. It is equally true that Muslims and Dalits, notwithstanding their internal divisions and hierarchies, also face discrimination and violence for simply being Muslims or Dalits. Any genuine force that is committed to social justice, annihilation of caste and radical social transformation has to deal with these contradictions. Not only the BJP and the Congress but also CPM, BSP, JDU, SP etc use these contradictions to cultivate vote banks to gain political power. The annihilation of caste is not on the agenda of the so-called left parties as well as for those parties who swear by the principles of social justice. In fact, some of the worst kinds of massacres of the Dalits and Muslims have taken place in states ruled by the left or by the so-called messiahs of the social justice. We also know how some of these big champions of social justice have aligned with the brahminical fascist forces to gain power. The history of the last 60 years has clearly demonstrated that Annihilation of Castes and Social Justice can't be achieved through vote bank politics. Brahmanical Hindutva fascism can't be simply defeated through electoral permutations and combinations. A real fight for the annihilation of castes has to go hand in hand with the struggle against the forces of privatisation and imperialist globalisation. And I firmly believe that the struggles against the internal divisions and hierarchy among the Muslims and Dalits will only strengthen our fight against Hindutva fascism, feudal brahminical caste system and imperialism and will forge the real unity of the oppressed people.

For us the slogan of 'Jai Bhim Laal Salam' is not simply a call for electoral unity of the left and Ambedkarite groups. For us it's a new vision of a democratic revolution in which the struggle against caste system and patriarchy is internal to class struggle. When we speak of Bhagat Singh and Ambedkar, we speak of a new politics which talks about the fight for the annihilation of caste and revolutionary social transformation - a fight also against being reduced to a number, a thing and the most immediate identity of people. This

fight will be waged every day in the streets, factories, fields and universities and the unity will be accomplished over the course of this fight.
Hoping for that Unity in Struggle
Jai Bhim Lal Salaam!

Umar Khalid
Bhagat Singh Ambedkar Students' Organisation

A reply to [Umar Khalid's](#) open letter by Rahul Sonpimple, from facebook

I am new to this culture of open letters, I wonder if I will get one after my every speech. At the outset, let me state that I am not writing this reply to defend myself, I will never defend myself in front of savarna leftists, who enjoy impunity in this red bastion. Silence, however, has never been an option in the dalit bahujan trajectory.

Umar, it seems that you are assuming that I am unaware of the terrorization and victimization that you and your family have gone through after the 9th Feb event. I am completely aware of how you were demonized and how your family, especially women in the family were targeted. I and Bapsa stood against this witch-hunting of you and your family and I will always stand against this kind of terrorization. Coming from an oppressed minority community myself, I understand how certain minority communities persecuted. There is no denying of the state oppression you faced, however, our political differences remain.

A careful reading of your letter emphasizes two major aspects, firstly, you mention about the caste practices and untouchability within the Muslims, and secondly, you write about the unified identity of Muslims and victimization of the community, irrespective of these differences. But you used the first argument to qualify the second argument where you transform yourself from the oppressor to the oppressed. This tendency of regarding religion as a monolithic whole is to be found even among the RSS, which acknowledges caste differences merely for the sake of it but presents Hindu as a monolith identity, which has been oppressed by the Muslims according to the RSS. Here, I can turn the table around and say that you are making similar kind of argument. Sadly, in your letter you have not highlighted a single case of caste discrimination practiced by upper-caste Muslims against the lower-caste muslims, about which I spoke in my speech. The Pasmanda movement has always stood against such religious binary and vehemently criticized the self-serving politics of upper caste elite Muslims, when they say "Pichda pichda ek saman, hindu ho ya musalman". In your entire laboriously framed argument, where does the person who gives this slogan locate herself/himself?

Coming to Bapsa's stand, the statement referring to 'dignity' and 'constitutional morality' was made to highlight the fact that no religion and no mahatma could ever ensure dignity to the dalit bahujans, but only the constitution has provided space for us to claim our dignity and humanity, which has been reduced by the savarna oppressors time and again. As far as the 9th Feb event is concerned, you are selectively quoting and condemning Bapsa's stand; we neither condemned the event nor were we part of the organizers, but we stood for the organizers' right to speech. Bapsa condemned the ABVP by saying that it was using the 9th Feb event merely as a tool to suppress the larger movement of Justice for Rohith Vemula by once again putting to play the hindu-muslim binary to

undermine the questions of caste. After the 9th feb event Bapsa has stood with the organisers's right to freedom of expression. Bapsa continued to stand for the right to freedom of expression of not just you and Anirban but also SAR Geelani, in an atmosphere where other left parties except DSU, were not even ready to speak about Geelani, additionally these left revolutionaries many times attempted to stop anyone who dared to speak about this. Further, had you read Ambedkar's stand on the issue of Kashmir and plebiscite you would not have misunderstood mine or Bapsa's stand, as Bapsa is entrenched in Ambedkar's ideology. I am not surprised to see your ignorance even though you have started an organization in Ambedkar's name. This is what happens, comrade when you start an organization to counter the dalit bahujan movement, this is the Brahmanic counter revolution which Ambedkar spoke of. You have given a blind eye to Bapsa's participation in the [#StandwithJNU](#) movement, and I am not surprised with your selective observation. I wonder when you will write an open letter to either to the JNUSU, or other left organisations, or savarna revolutionaries who have categorically stated that they believe in Kashmir being an integral part of India. I am sure you are aware that the JNUSU believes in the idea of 'Akhand Bharat'. However, you have been forging unity with these very savarna revolutionaries in countering the dalit bahujan unity in JNU, forgetting your fundamental differences with them. What is your stand on President. Kanhaiya Kumar who believes in 'Akhand Bharat', will you dare to write an open letter to him?

The history of dalit bahujan assertion is witness to the politics of stigmatization which is levelled at them by the savarna left, right and centre. From Ravidas to Savitribai, from Ambedkar to Periyar to Kanshiram, all were stigmatized in some way by savarna regressives as well as savarna progressives. The dalit bahujan unity and assertion challenges not just the savarna Hindu but also the caste politeness of progressive left savarnas. It is in this context that Ambedkar was termed as an agent of imperialism, a colonialist, a bourgeois and an anti-national by upper caste left, right and centre. The Red savarnas have either stood against dalit bahujan assertion or attempted to appropriate it for their self-interests, and JNU is no exception. Whenever the dalit bahujans in JNU dare to speak against the upper caste hegemony of the left and right, they have been termed as 'castiest' by the right-wing and termed as 'backed by ABVP' by the left. I was aware that I would be targeted by the left savarnas for challenging their caste hegemony. The slandering has stooped to such a level that the savarna leftists are saying that I and BAPSA are backed by ABVP. This is nothing but history repeating itself. Any sensible person can understand this politics of stigmatization which has been historically used by the oppressor against the oppressed. Let me once again reiterate what I spoke in my speech, "we don't differentiate between Ram and Sri Ram", like your fellow comrades do. For us we need neither Ram nor Sri Ram. Whether it is cultural or political, Ram is always oppressive. I hope you can understand who is closer to right wing ideology? I am amazed to see the unity of Red Savarnas across religion, region, gender and most importantly across ideologies, forging a unity against dissenting dalit bahujan voices. It is interesting to see how red savarnas have come together forgetting their very own internal differences, which many time appear worth dying for.

On your suggestions about fighting unitedly against colonialism, imperialism and privatization, dalit bahujans have long been fighting these oppressive systems, most importantly they are aware about who the oppressor is. Please deconstruct this typical savarna, leftist, Mai-Baap attitude which

reeks of caste arrogance and antiquity where the Jajmans decide what is in favour of the dalit bahujans or against whom they should fight. I would urge you and your savarna revolutionaries to fight against internal caste colonialism and caste imperialism which savarnas have been practicing from centuries; rather than bothering about the welfare of dalit bahujans.

Most importantly, Comrade, as is typical of savarna left, you have once again forgotten to address, even in your open letter, the issues in context of which my speech was made. Let me remind you the speech was made in context of the red sarvarna's backstabbing of dalit bahujan's issues of OBC reservation, viva voce, deprivation points and other issues of social justice. Sadly, revolutions have come and gone in this Red Bastion, but the issues of social justice like OBC reservation, viva voce, the forceful drop-out of sc/st students, gender discrimination have remained. I wish your letter addressed my questions on the hypocrisy of savarna left on issues concerning the sc/st/obcs. Still my major concern is why the discussion on OBC reservation & viva voce were given an inferior priority vis-à-vis the HLEC, when it is agreed by all that both HLEC & social justice are of equal importance? How long will the dalit bahujans have to wait? How many more AC meetings will be convened? Which will be a convenient year for red savarnas to solely prioritize these issues of social justice? When is the 'revolution' going to come for dalit bahujans?

Lastly, I must say your open letter proves that the dalit-bahujan unity is threatening the upper-caste supremacy in JNU. And as always, let me tell you solidarity will never come at the cost of social justice.

Jai Savitri Jai Bhim Jai Birsa Jai Mandal

Rahul Sonpimple

BAPSA

P.S.: From my village to my slum, from my school to my university, me and my community (we don't own fields & factories) live without social capital and caste privileges, so for me it is more important to fight for social justice rather than writing responses to savarna revolutionaries.

Comrade, rather than working on the oppressed

please start projects to civilize and humanize the oppressors, who will be more easily accessible to you. So unless you write an open letter to your savarna colleagues with whom you are working on your revolutionary projects, please do not write open letters to dalit-bahujans, they can fight their own battles.

BAPSA (Birsa Ambedkar Phule Students' Association) says :

To the revolutionary feudal lords:

Our existence is not your mercy but the courageous struggles led by ourselves on the face of oppression. The AC meeting dated 10/05/2016 showcased contradictions of the campus, society and the self-righteous revolutionaries of our times. At the core of these contradictions, this resists to die, the JNUSU and the left organisations once again put to use all the tactics from slander, emotional blackmails, to abuses and intimidations of physical violence. It was reported

that JNUTA and JNUSU were not willing to discuss the issue of the Viva voce, OBC reservation and deprivation points inside the AC meeting before discussing the HLEC. However, we also feel that the HLEC need to be discussed at the primacy but then the revolutionary JNUTA which has clear stand on the HLEC doesn't even ready to recognise the issue of Viva voce. This double standard of both JNUTA and JNUSU is highly condemnable. In fact, at the end the HLEC has been resolved not because of the hunger strike that has been taking place from the last 14 days but because of the stay order given by the court. This once again proves the fact that the hunger strike is a futile mode of protest, which yields no justice.

We stood with JNU; can the JNU stand with social justice? However, this divide of the other and we seems to be fictive and not actually advocated by the left brigade of the campus but in reality the left parties conveniently without advocating this divide, practices with great vigour. There is an innate danger in it, like the way those who talk about the caste practices inherently becomes castiests, similarly those who exposes sectarian tendencies becomes sectarian. But then we are happy to be branded as the sectarian rather than compromising on the issues of marginalised and celebrating their dissenting voices while speaking to the power whether the power operates in the form of fascist regime at the centre or the fascism of unity which try to show unity rather than making unity.

The tussle for the reduction in viva marking is tussle for social justice and tussle with the brahmanical administration and reluctant but self-proclaimed champions of social justice. The high echo of 'stand with JNU' is still lingering around us. Irrespective of the almost irreconcilable political and ideological differences with each other, we all felt the need, to unite, to save, the campus from the unprecedented attack on not just campus but the very idea of the autonomy of a university and democracy. We all united to see to it, the autonomy of the campus, which is so dear to us will be safeguarded from the assault of the shameless fascist forces, which are very well allied with the ruling classes of the country to dismantle the democratic fabric of the country by destroying the symbols of dissent. Therefore, preserving the JNU appeared to be the preservation of democracy and dissent of the country and we did what the context asked us to do. However, the same dissenting voice of the self-proclaimed democracy has its own invisible but deep-rooted brahmanical face hiding behind the veil of progressive pretentions.

While the JNU claims itself as the most progressive university, the progressive credentials of the university evaporate once the question of the social justice comes forward. The criminal silence of the organizations that have been in power, as office bearers in JNUSU never raised the issue that needs a serious debate and policy level clinch. Even in the instances, when they raised these issues, they were raised to silence the dissenting voices of social justice, to make sure, they were raised, to curtail, the emergence of alternative voices which in turn threaten the existence of the dominant left politics and then form a counter force of the marginalized to destabilize the empty rhetoric of the left organizations enmeshed comfortably with the brahmanical ruling classes. The left political organizations of the campus that have been in the power in the name of social justice were for very long time took the issue with wilful negligence. In this campus, all the dominant left organizations were in power for very long time. Organizations such as AISF, SFI, DSF, and recently AISA occupied the JNUSU with the mandate from the marginalized sections of the campus. While all these organizations indulge in ideological battles with each other, but at the same time they are united in scuttling the voices of social justice to ensure the denial of justice for the marginalized which in turn hamper the interest of the privileged of the campus. Here, they blatantly take the side of privileged by being indifferent and ensuring the criminal silence on the issues that undermine the entry of the marginalized sections of the society. This shows nothing but the unity of the ruling classes divided by ideology.

Hence, we appeal to the marginalised of the campus to unite and once again, this reiterates the fact that the heroes of the nation will not emancipate the oppressed. The battle for the justice has to be articulated and led by the

oppressed for the realisation of justice not as rhetoric but for the realisation at the substantial level.

Chintu Kumari (AISA) says, from facebook :

I feel it necessary to respond to the post of [Chinmaya](#) who has shown tremendous public concern for me on facebook (even though he never bothered to enquire about my wellbeing even once while i was on the hunger strike) and also because despite his concern for me as a Dalit woman, he doesn't think it necessary to respect my agency as a Dalit woman.

To begin with, I am a proud dalit, communist and ambedkarite as well. I have chosen to be part of left activism (AISA) by my own choice. In fact nobody had come to give me Aisa membership but I had gone to take the membership. Also, over the past few years, I have also emerged as a left leader in the campus. When I have chosen to be part of CPI-ML liberation it should not be taken as victimisation of dalit because what I have experienced since my childhood that it is the only party which stood for the most marginalised caste and class of Bihar. Liberation of dalits and backward could not be possible without our struggle. I have no issues with my comrades who have different opinions about caste n class..I don't want to preach here about history of caste and class. but yes, the understanding that identity politics is 100% right and left is always wrong or that left parties are 24 karat pure gold and identity politics is wrong is highly problematic. We have seen how in some states, governments led by those who claim to be followers of Ambedkar and upholders of social justice have betrayed the Dalits, allowed massacres of Dalits to happen and let the guilty to go unpunished. Similarly, we have also seen how also in some states, those who claim to be adherents of left, when in government, have betrayed the cause of Dalits and the other oppressed sections in order to stay in power. In history both have done mistakes and both should introspect and make some necessary changes with time.

But really, when some one says that being a dalit I am being victimised by the left it raises certain questions in my mind.

- Do the dalit women and I as a Dalit woman have my own agency to have my political orientation?
- Is it necessary for anyone to dictate to me what my political orientation should be?
- Who gives anyone right to publicly name me and saying that I m victim of left activism?
- Being a dalit can't I have my own opinion or political orientation?

I sat on hunger strike for 16 long days for social justice and social inclusion. I was fighting to save the deprivation points for marginalised caste and class.I was fighting to save the same OBC reservation which was fought by the AISA and students of JNU. I was fighting against HLEC in which along with other comrades mainly students from marginalised caste and class were targeted. Many people including teachers, alumni, students , parents who were concerned about our deteriorating health condition came and sat on relay and encouraged us for our struggle. But I am shocked that the people who say that they share same feeling and emotions despite their different opinions, they never ever even bothered to come to ask whether we are dying or alive. People may

have difference of opinion on methods. But it doesn't stop them to evolve other methods for the same purpose.

Yahan, mera hausla badhane ki jagah mere independent soch ko hi victimise kiya ja raha hai!!! As far as I am concerned, mera political orientation kya hoga ye Tay karne layak main khud hun. I don't want any patriarchal bullying by anyone. The same patriarchy jiska shikhar caste ke andar hai. Yahan pe yeh bhi dhyaan rehna chaahiye ki dalit mahilaon ke upar bhi dalit mardon ka apaar soshan hota hai.

Finally, With due respect I would like to say ki mere political orientation ki chinta koi dusra na kare mai apna political choice khud kar sakti hun. Yes, my association with JNU has made me identify with and be sensitive to many more issues than i could have imagined. I will fight for annihilation of caste and I will also fight against patriarchy, communalism, minority witch hunt, tribal displacement, corporate loot, discrimination against sexual minorities, oppression of workers, agricultural labourers and other poor and marginalised sections. You talk of Rohith Vemula, but please don't use his name to deny me my choices, and if anything, respecting Rohith Vemula's struggles and words, kindly do not reduce me to my immediate identity!!