

What does it mean to oppose Brahmanism?

Anyone who adheres to the principles of the Indian Constitution is automatically anti-Brahmanical



RAJEEV BHARGAVA

A few months ago, a chilling report appeared in *Deccan Herald* stating that in 2017, 210 cases of atrocities against Dalits occurred in the urban districts of Bengaluru and 106 in its rural districts. Likewise, Kerala reported 883 cases of such crimes between June 2016 and April 2017. Other reports said that there has been a 66% growth in crimes against Dalits in the 10-year period of 2007-2017.

The horror of these statistics is made vivid when one examines concrete events. On April 12 this year, 200 people attacked a small group of Dalits for swimming in the Bhadra river in Karnataka. As they thrashed these people, the perpetrators screamed that the river belongs exclusively to the upper castes. Evidently, Article 15 of our Constitution is not worth the paper it is printed on. It remains toothless, impotent, ineffective.

What kind of thinking underlies these brutal attacks of social violence in which innocent folk are targeted merely because they belong to a particular caste? Since most atrocities revolve around the basic issues of land, wages and entitlements, poverty and powerlessness are viewed as the cause of such violence.

But such explanations do not go deep enough because they leave out the prime mover behind such atrocities – Brahmanism. This precisely was B.R. Ambedkar’s contention, who argued that without a robust movement against Brahmanism, Dalit emancipation is impossible. But then, we must ask what exactly is being opposed? What are the core features of Brahmanism?

Not ‘anti-Brahmin’

For a start, opposing ‘Brahmanism’ does not entail being ‘anti-Brahmin’. To do so would imply that all Brahmins are responsible for these atrocities. This is as preposterous as ascribing blame to all Muslims for any wrong committed in, say, the reign of Alauddin Khilji, or all British people for the Jallianwala Bagh massacre or, for that matter, all Hindus



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for the lynching of an innocent Muslim. We should not fall prey to this crude notion of collective responsibility. In a society which is riven by caste, a person may belong to the caste of Brahmins but not adhere to the core ethic of Brahmanism. He may even have morally disassociated himself from it. The resolution to burn the *Manusmriti* and thereby oppose Brahmanism was taken by Ambedkar jointly with G.S. Sahasrabudhe, a *chitpavan* Brahmin.

Indeed, Ambedkar went even further. In a speech at the G.I.P. Railways Depressed Caste Workers’ Conference in 1938, he claimed that “when I say that Brahmanism is an enemy that must be dealt with, I do not mean the power, privilege or interests of Brahmins as a community”. On the face of it, this seems odd. For, what else could Brahmanism be except a defence of the power, privilege and interests of Brahmins as a community? In fact, this statement is not that perplexing.

Take an instance from our own history. The Rig Vedic society of 1500 BCE had a community of ritual specialists that transmitted its ritual related know-how from one generation to another. Others, the political rulers or ordinary householders, did not possess it. This group of Brahmins was granted some privilege on account of the knowledge it possessed. For satisfying the ‘religious’ needs of members of other communities, the group was even accorded respect not owed to others.

This produced an inequality but the resulting hierarchy was fluid, contingent and reversible. This contingently generated superiority of Brahmins was not systemic or integral to the structure of society, and therefore not necessarily demeaning to others. This sacrifice-centred Ved-

ic Brahmanism is not to be conflated with the Brahmanism Ambedkar despised and wished to destroy. One should refuse to conflate the privilege of such ritual-performing Brahmins with Brahmanism.

A deeply conservative ideology

What then is Brahmanism? It is a sociopolitical ideology that encodes a memory of an ideal past and a vision of society in the future, one in which Brahmins occupy the highest place not only as exclusive guardians of a higher, spiritual realm but also as sole providers of wisdom on virtually every practical issue of this world. They possess superior knowledge of what a well-ordered society is and how a good state must be run. More importantly, their superior position in society and their superior knowledge stems from birth. This makes them naturally, intrinsically superior to all other humans, so superior that they form a separate species (*jati*) altogether. Nothing can challenge or alter this fact. No one becomes a Brahmin, but is born so.

A person’s acts may determine the position he occupies in the next life, but not in this one. Of course, this is true not only of Brahmins but of every other *jati*. The position of each *jati* is unalterably fixed at birth. The *ati-shudra*, the ‘untouchable’, is born into and therefore must occupy the lowest, most inferior rank; no action of his can alter this fact. This sociopolitical ideology makes hierarchy necessary, rigid and irreversible.

The hierarchical social order, it follows, corresponds to the natural order of things. No one can exchange his position with that of another, or move up or down. Any attempt to do so is morally wrong. Dalits, according to this view, must remain in ‘their place’ and if they try to move up,

they must be put down.

Brahmanism then is the most perfect form of conservatism, a status quoist ideology par excellence, entirely suitable to elites who wish to perpetuate their social status, power and privilege. Paradoxically, this is the also the reason why it spread everywhere in India and beyond and why it endures: regardless of your religio-philosophical world view, if you are a privileged elite, you would find this ideology irresistible.

So, there can be Brahmanical Buddhists or Jains. And those who convert to, say, Islam or Christianity may still continue to embrace this sociopolitical ideology. Many Muslims and Christians, for all practical purposes, are Brahmins or Thakurs who continue to inferiorise Muslim or Christian Dalits.

Brahmanism naturalises existing power, privilege and higher status. The kings love it, the wealthy merchants and landlords are happy with it. Indeed, because it gives them power over *ati-shudras*, even the high-placed *shudras* in this system of graded inequality are willing to acquiesce to it. In short, everyone at the top finds it appealing because everyone below is required to carry out the task as dictated by his current social position and to not ask for more. Anyone who consents to, endorses or justifies this hierarchical order, regardless of his caste, creed or gender, is then a ‘Brahmanist’.

Because this ideology is fundamentally against any kind of social mobility, it restricts individual freedom; because it is totally enamoured of hierarchy, it is ineluctably inegalitarian; and because it separates one group of human beings from another, it is deeply incompatible with any idea of fraternity. No wonder Ambedkar defined Brahmanism as the negation of the spirit of liberty, equality and fraternity. This makes Brahmanism and the Indian Constitution fundamentally opposed to one another. Anyone who sincerely adheres to the core principles of the Indian Constitution is automatically anti-Brahmanical. And one committed to Brahmanism disabled from embracing the values enshrined in the Indian Constitution.

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Smoking e-cigarettes is more injurious to health

The government’s ban proposal needs to be welcomed



AMIT YADAV

The Narendra Modi government’s proposal to ban e-cigarettes and other electronic nicotine delivery systems (ENDS) needs to be welcomed as such a move will ensure that Indians, especially, children, are kept away from these pernicious products. Such a ban has also been recommended by the Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR), which called for a “complete prohibition on ENDS and e-cigarettes in India in the greater interest of protecting public health, in accordance with the precautionary principle preventing public harm from a noxious agent.”

The Health Ministry last year issued an advisory asking the States to ensure that products like e-cigarettes and e-nicotine-flavoured hookahs are not manufactured, distributed advertised or sold. Following this, 15 States, including Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Jammu and Kashmir and Mizoram, banned them. Several of the bans were under the Drugs and Cosmetics Act or the Poisons Act, under which nicotine was included as a ‘poison’. Further, the Central Board of Indirect Taxes and Customs (Anti-Smuggling Unit) and the Drug Controller General of India directed all their officials to ensure compliance with the advisory.

Popularity among youth

Introduced about 10 years ago in India, e-cigarettes rapidly gained popularity, especially among the youth. A misconception among students, parents and teachers that these cigarettes are free of nicotine also contributed to their appeal. The reality is that the tobacco industry, hit by the success of the state’s efforts to reduce tobacco use otherwise, had developed such products to hold on to customers who would have otherwise quit. Research suggests that many youngsters, who would otherwise have never started using nicotine, took up conventional smoking after being introduced to e-cigarettes.

While the tobacco companies promote e-cigarettes as a ‘less risky’ smoking option, some industry documents show that their real goal is to introduce ENDS products as an alternative to quitting. One company started selling its e-cigarette brand in 2014, promising that it will give the consumers the ‘pleasure of smoking any time anywhere’ (suggesting that they could use the product even

at public places, where smoking is banned).

Further, even though warnings on many ENDS products clearly indicate that they are not a ‘smoking cessation product’, e-cigarettes are often promoted that way. Dozens of studies show that smokers who use e-cigarettes are less, not more, likely to quit smoking. In fact, most of them become ‘dual users’, continuing to smoke cigarettes while also taking to e-cigarettes. This makes them vulnerable to added health risks.

The tobacco industry plans to expand by achieving these twin objectives – attracting more youngsters and reducing quitting by adults. After all, the industry’s end goal is profit and not improvement in health indicators. The fact that the industry continues to produce and sell conventional cigarettes, its flagship product that brings it the greatest amount of profit, despite marketing e-cigarettes as an alternative is evidence enough of its sinister design.

Myths and reality

A recent white paper by the ICMR and several other research studies have contradicted several claims of the industry. First, the industry says that ENDS products provide a safer alternative to conventional cigarettes. However, the reality is that ENDS users are almost at the same risk of contracting lung diseases and cancer as conventional cigarette users. In fact, ‘dual users’ are at greater risk of heart attacks.

Further, the industry claims that the sale of ENDS products does not violate any regulations despite the fact that the companies are in clear violation of WHO’s Framework Convention on Tobacco Control, which prohibits the sale of any product that appeals to minors. The marketing of ENDS products, targeted at youth, also impacts minors and schoolchildren. The industry’s assertion that e-cigarettes are safe is contradicted by the many fires and explosions caused by devices, resulting in injuries, loss of lives and property. Further, their accidental ingestion by children has also caused some deaths.

All these points make it clear that the Central government has shown great foresight in bringing out the ban proposal, a move that is likely to avoid causing another epidemic of nicotine addiction in the country. The ban needs to apply to all forms of ENDS products, including all ‘heat-not-burn’ devices that profess to be an alternative to the existing tobacco products.

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Subverting the RTI regime

The recent Amendment will dilute the powers and functioning of Information Commissions

ANMOLAM FARHEEN AHMAD

The recent passage of the Right to Information (Amendment) Bill by the Lok Sabha has reignited the debate on the future of important institutions in India. The Bill is being seen by many as an attempt to subvert the RTI Act and its machinery.

Two of the most controversial provisions of the Bill are: a) the stipulation that the terms of office of the Central and State Information Commissioners (CIC/SIC) will be determined by the Central government as against the existing provision which guarantees a fixed term of five years or up to an age of 65 years; and b) the proposal that their salaries, allowances, and other terms and conditions of service will be determined by the Central government. This is contrary to the currently prescribed salaries and allowances, which are equivalent to that of the Chief Election Commissioner (CEC)/Election Commissioners (ECs) for the CIC/SIC; and the Chief Secretary to the State government for the other ICs.

Equivalence with EC

The object clause attached to the Bill differentiates between the status and functions of the Election Commission and the Information Commission. It thereby reasons that the conditions of service must also be correspondingly rationalised. While introducing the Bill, Minister of State for the Prime Minister’s Office Jitendra Singh said that it was a gross anomaly to designate the CIC and ICs as equivalent to the CEC and the ECs respectively. He said this potentially equated CICs to Judges of the Supreme Court even though the order passed by CIC is liable to be challenged in a High Court.

Both these reasons are *prima facie* problematic and self-contradictory. Since information as a right is a prerequisite for an effective exercise of the right to free speech and expression, the Information Commission’s autonomy as an institution should not be viewed through the parochial lens of positioning in a statute book,

but should be seen in terms of the nature of power and functions it exercises. The Supreme Court has termed the CIC and SICs as guardians of the Act and directed that CIC and ICs shall be appointed on the same terms and conditions as applicable to the Chief Election Commissioner/Election Commissioners. Interestingly, on the question of orders passed by the CIC, the fact is that even an election petition against an order of EC can be filed in the High Court and, quite evidently, this does not have any bearing on the poll body’s constitutional stature.

Freedom from interference

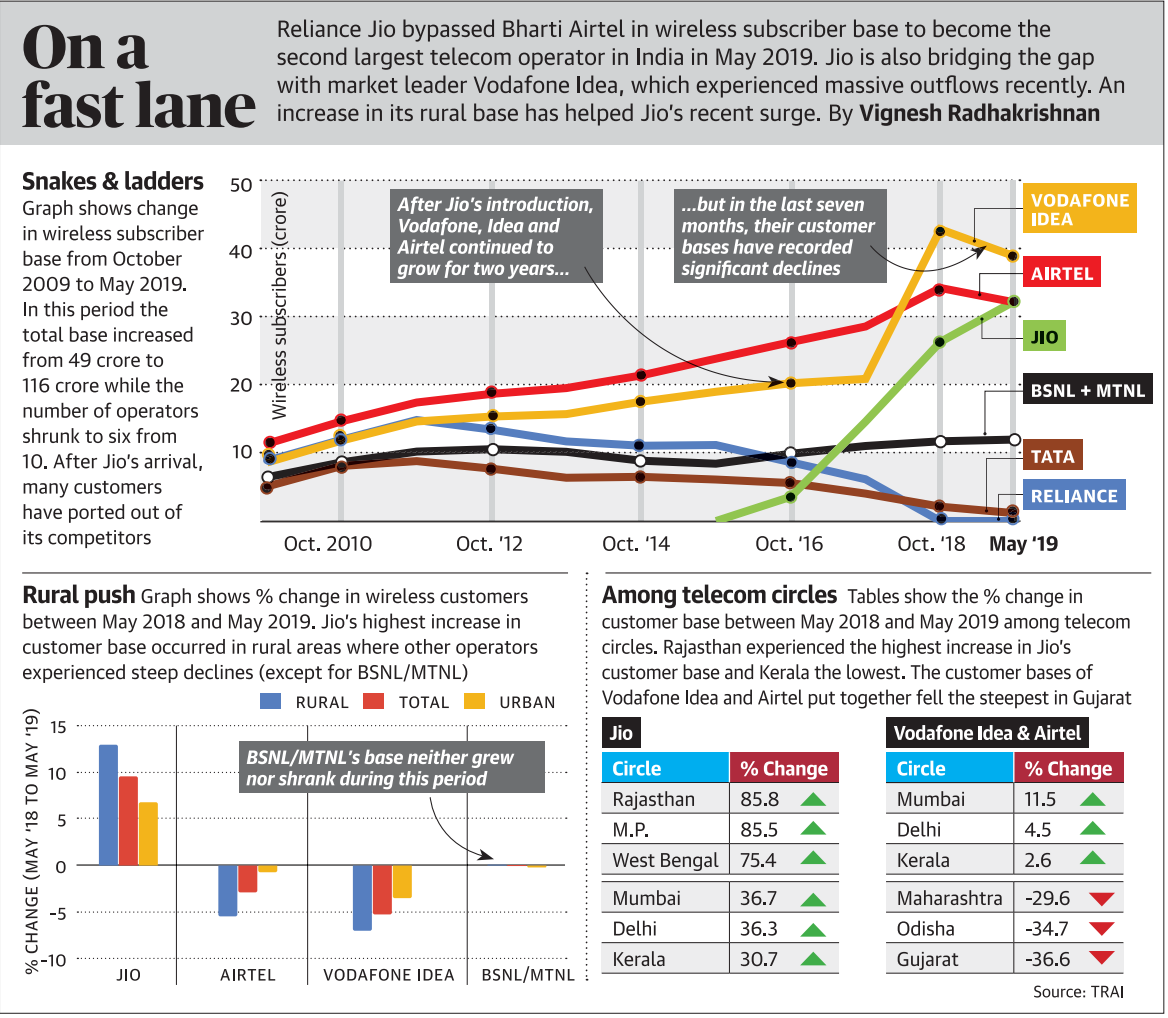
Power has an inherent tendency to tempt governments to cajole or control institutions. Freedom from interference and pressures provide the necessary atmosphere where one can work with an absolute commitment to the cause of transparency. Discipline in life, habits and outlook facilitate a constitutional functionary to be fair. Its existence depends however, not only on idealistic and metaphysical aspects but also upon numerous mundane things – security in

tenure, freedom from ordinary monetary worries, freedom from influences and pressures. In the words of the Supreme Court, “The right to get information... is [a] natural right flowing from the concept of democracy. That right has reached new dimensions and urgency. That right puts greater responsibility upon those who take upon the responsibility to inform...” Instead of playing one institutional body against the other and diluting their powers, what is expected of the government is to focus on the real challenges faced by these institutions, such as pendency of applications; vacancies; and qualitative decline in adjudication standards.

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DATA POINT



The Hindu.

FROM THE ARCHIVES

FIFTY YEARS AGO JULY 23, 1969

EMS called to Delhi for remarks

The Home Minister, Mr. Y.B. Chavan, has asked the Kerala Chief Minister, Mr. E.M.S. Nambudiripad, to come to Delhi to discuss the reported statement issued by the latter jointly with Mr. A.K. Gopalan, Marxist Communist leader, declaring their intention to “break the Constitution from within.” This was disclosed by Mr. V.C. Shukla, Minister of State for Home, while replying to a call-attention motion tabled by a Congress member, Mr. A.G. Kulkarni, in the Rajya Sabha today [July 22]. Mr. Shukla turned down a suggestion for banning the Communist Party, saying that the Government had no power to do so. The discussion on the motion was marked by sharp exchanges between the Marxist Communist members on the one side and Swatantra and Congress members on the other. The Marxist Communist members made a futile bid to have the discussion put off. At one stage, the interruption and wordy duel, reached such a pitch that the Deputy Chairman, Mrs. Violet Alva, said that she would put off the discussion. But the Swatantra leader, Mr. Dahyabhai Patel, was quick to tell the Chair that was exactly what the Communists wanted and pleaded that the Chair should not oblige them.

A HUNDRED YEARS AGO JULY 23, 1919.

Trade with East Africa.

The committee of the Indian Merchants Chamber and Bureau [in Bombay] have addressed the Government of India on the question of trade between India and East Africa. They point out that trade could be developed to a very large extent if the present disabilities are removed. The committee state that they are given to understand for sometime past that colour prejudice, which is responsible for a great deal of mischief, has begun to make itself felt even in East Africa. If the allegations are true the committee for Indian trade in East Africa will be subjected to the same sort of harassment as in South Africa. With the removal of all grievances and inequalities there will be a natural development in the trade between India and East Africa without any interference from the Government on the lines suggested by Major Mackerrow in his scheme for a trading company. While the committee are opposed to the proposal of floating a concern with the assistance of the Government they strongly approve the idea of the appointment of an Indian Trade Commissioner to watch and develop the interest of trade between India and East Africa.