

# DALIT VOICE

The Voice of the Persecuted Nationalities  
Denied Human Rights

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**Congress politics is irrational:  
Thus Spake Ambedkar**

## Thus Spake Ambedkar

## Congress politics irrational & brought only frustration to the people

The third besetting sin of the labouring classes is the easy way which they are lead away by an appeal to Nationalism. The working classes who are beggared in every way and who have very little to spare, often sacrifice their all to the so-called cause of Nationalism. They have never cared to enquire whether the nationalism for which they are to make their offerings will, when established, give them social and economic equality. More often than not, the free independent national state which emerges from a successful nationalism and which reared on their sacrifices, turns to be the enemy of the working class under the hegemony of their masters. This is the worst kind of exploitation that Labour has allowed itself to be subjected to. If the working classes have to live under a system of Parliamentary Democracy then it must devise the best possible means to turn it to their benefit. As far as I can see, two things are necessary if this object is to be achieved. First thing to do is to discard mere establishment of Trade Unions as the final aim and object of Labour in India. It must declare that its aim is to put labour in charge of Government. For this it must organize a Labour Party as a political party. Such a party will no doubt cover Trade Unions in its organization. But it must be free from the narrow and cramping vision of Trade Unionism, with its stress on the immediate gain at the cost of ultimate benefit and with the vested right of Trade Union officials to represent Labour. It must equally dissociate itself from communal or capitalistic political parties such as the Hindu Mahasabha or the Congress. There is no necessity for Labour to submerge itself in the Congress or the Hindu Mahasabha or be the camp followers of either, simply because these bodies claim to be fighting for the freedom of India. Labour by a separate political organization of its ranks can serve both the purposes. It can prevent itself from being defrauded in the name of nationalism. What is worst important is that it will act as a powerful check on the irrationalism of Indian politics, Congress politics is claimed to be revolutionary. That is why it has secured a large number of followers. But it is also a fact that Congress politics has brought nothing but frustration. The reason is Congress politics is so irrational and it is irrational largely because Congress has no rival. A Labour Party in India would be most welcome corrective to this irrationalism which has dominated Indian politics for the last two decades.

*(Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar Writings & Speeches, Volume X, 1991, Rs.95 Govt. of Maharashtra, Bombay). The book may be had from Director, Government Printing, Stationery and Publications, Netaji Subhash Road, Bombay - 400 004.*

## DALIT VOICE

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# If privatisation comes in the way of brahminism, ruling class will scuttle PVN move

To be or not to be? To privatise or perish? To go for American-dictated free-market or stick to the corrupt Gandhi-Nehru fake socialism and continue with public sector free looting and booting?

This is the dilemma facing our rulers today. Never before they are faced with such a big question mark.

"Sacred brahmins" led by our nazi parties with whom Prime Minister PV Narasimha Rao has aligned are all for free enterprise. And against them are arrayed the much bigger and the more corrupt "socialist brahmins" led by our bogus "marxists" to oppose the privatisation drive.

Both sides are corrupt and communal. There is nothing to choose between the two. The enslaved SC/ST/BCs and Muslims/Christians/Sikhs cannot side with both. Just as when two elephants fight in the forest trees get trampled, the weaker sections will become further weak in this process.

A great majority of our parasitical rulers are in favour of continuing the existing pampered public sector policies which give enormous scope for corruption and yields income without doing any work. This Gandhi-Nehru fake socialism ruined, rusted and roasted the country and made it bankrupt. And our capitalist-roaders say that if the country has to survive, we must "discipline" the economy, prostrate before America, obey the World Bank dictates and be their slaves.

But those opposed to PVN in the Congress Party like Arjun Singh, Sharad Pawar etc. want to cut the Neogi Brahmin's throat using this occasion. Outside, the Janata Dal and our fake marxists, whose fat will be on fire if socialism yields place to capitalism, are also up against PVN move.

But the more powerful forces opposing the "privatisation drive" are outside the political system. They are our IAS officers, public sector bosses, bank employees and the entire lot in the govt. Their whole income will go away. (DV edit July

16, 1990: "Dismantle the public sector white elephants: Socialism can't be used to cover up hypocrisy."

**Nehru's fake socialism:** If the country has become stinkingly corrupt which has invaded every branch of our life, the sole responsibility goes to Jawaharlal Nehru, the king of the corrupt "socialist brahmin" empire. Indira Gandhi continued the rule. Rajiv Gandhi slightly tried to discipline this drift but he was finished.

Never before the country is in such a mess— all-round mess. And none else can be blamed for this mess except the blessed Nehru-Gandhi brahminical social order which has been ruling us for the past 45 years. *Brahminism is the other name for corruption. Without corruption, brahminism cannot survive. If privatisation, market economy were meant to end corruption, brahminism will murder capitalism.* Already the cowbelt Brahmin leaders in the Congress –

Jagannath Mishra, Narain Dutt Tiwari, Lokpati Tiwari, – are trying to see that their original brahminical party's leadership does not go out of Brahmin hands (*Statesman*, Jan. 30 '92: "Revival of Brahmin lobby"). President Venkatraman, Vice-President SD Sharma are double-distilled Brahmins.

All this amply proves that if the proposed privatisation comes in the way of brahminisation, that will not be allowed. Brahminical social order is above the country, above everything else. Who cares for the country? Poor Finance Minister Manmohan Singh has already gone mad and that is why he is silent.

**Capitalism also needs honesty:** Capitalism or the magic of the free market mantra also needs sincerity. Americans, Germans and Japanese have made their capitalist enterprise a big success because they have some ethics, basic sincerity. But *how can our ruling slave-masters of the brahminical social order with its Manu's code and Chanakya's Arthasastra that directs them not to work but make others work and eat*

## VAJPAYEE AS VICE-PRESIDENT?

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore :** To win over the nazi party, PVN is thinking of making Vajpayee as the country's next Vice-President. A total understanding exists between the Prime Minister and leader of the Opposition L.K. Advani on this issue: the BJP gets the Vice-Presidency in return for support for the Congress in a Presidential contest. According to PVN, Vajpayee would make an excellent Vice-President, to be elevated after a term, if everything goes well, as the country's President. The BJP sees itself coming to power at the Centre in the meantime. And that is why while publicly pretending to be *swadeshi* hounds tirading against multinationals, privately the nazis are supporting privatisation. The entire brahminical forces are behind PVN to make him India's first elected AICC president in 20 years. (Feb. 13, 92). ■

and grow fat exploiting the sweat, blood and toils of somebody else follow free enterprise which will force them to work? To these ruling lazy lots socialism suits eminently. Market-driven welfare state may be the order of the day in the world but inside India, the market is driven by the blood-sucker Bania. The upper castes who obey the laws of Manu can never ever be expected to follow any other law.

Market economy means merit and efficiency alone will decide things. It means competition. But in this land of the holy Brahman, none else can become the *archaka*. It is the caste-based criterion.

No merit. No competition is allowed here. So, will such a set of hard-boiled hypocrites and pot-bellied lazy lots bid goodbye to Gandhi-Nehru fake socialism which made them what they are today?

**Heart in America:** The rulers have their hearts in America with their feet in "socialist" Russia. In the past 45 years, they had the best of both the worlds. But socialism having committed suicide in Soviet Union, today America has become the sole super power. India's rulers became more happy. But how can they give up fake socialism? So from the best of both worlds our rulers are passing into the worst of both the worlds.

We are watching this fun of Aryans eating Aryans. Administration has totally collapsed. Our rulers can't even enforce simple traffic laws in cities let alone anything else. The entire Indian political life of all the parties thrives only on corruption. So, *how can the rulers live without corruption in a market economy?* How can the humbugs eat their own shit? We are watching the fun.

**Corrupt trade union bosses:** The most corrupt lot are our "trade union" bosses who get enormous income from the high-wage island of public sector. How can these leftists, marxists, socialists forego their enormous income? Will the typhoon of free enterprise take away all their income? We will not be surprised if our militant marxists murder their own leaders if such a thing happens.

"Socialist brahmins" want the existing corrupt system to continue. The Hindu nazis, comprising the "sacred brahmins" are for privatisation. Both sections are corrupt but the "socialist brahmins" always win and rule by using the "sacred brahmins". *That means in the current fight between the two sections of rulers, the "socialist brahmins" will win and that means fake socialism will continue and privatisation move is sabotaged.*

**Dalits oppose move:** The rulers are thus crushed in their own contradictions. Since brahminism stands for corruption and fake socialism alone can sustain corruption, we doubt if the "sacred brahmins" will be allowed to have their way.

As for the deprived SC/ST/BCs/Muslims etc., totalling over 85% of our population already denied jobs and

discriminated in the govt. sector, privatisation means a further blow to their human rights (reservations). They are sure to revolt and that means the ruling Congress will lose its permanent vote bank. So, neither the original brahminic party nor other parties will allow this privatisation. That means utter chaos. PVN can neither swallow the World Bank loans already given nor will be allowed to vomit it. That means death due to asphyxiation. ■

## Karnataka upper castes gunning at Bangarappa

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** Karnataka's three ruling upper castes – Brahmins, Lingayats and Vokkaligas – never liked Chief Minister Bangarappa. Having been always rulers, they somehow wanted to get rid of this Backward Caste (toddy-tapper community of Idigas) man and the State's brahminical press has been gunning at him for the past one year. Everyday these toilet papers put out one or other story about the impending "removal" of Bangarappa but he is going strong.

The complaint by these corrupt and communal press and the people is that Bangarappa is corrupt. But they don't want to speak about Kunta Hegde's Rs. 1,300 - crore all-India record and conviction by three judicial commissions.

All the noise is only in the press. All the problems are created by this *jati* press. Any political leader working for SC/ST/BCs and Muslims becomes a victim of this yellow press. Those leaders afflicted by the press are V.P. Singh, Antulay, Mulayam Singh Yadav, Bangarappa, Lalloo Prasad Yadav. They all know that they are victims of the press. But nobody is taking any steps to discipline this irresponsible anti-people press. Today it is the *jati-press that is ruling India*. ■

## Kerala's human rights body inauguration on March 8

V. PRABHAKARAN, CALCICUT

**Calicut:** The new human rights organisation, *Manushyavakasa Samrakshana*, formed in Kerala by its Scheduled Castes, Backward Castes and Muslims and other weaker sections, deceived by the upper caste human rightswalas, will be inaugurated at Calicut on March 8 (DV Jan.16 p.19).

Dr. S. Ramadoss, Founder of the powerful Pattali Makkal Kachi (PMK) – which has emerged as the only hope for Tamilians deceived by the corrupt Dravidian leadership – will inaugurate it. V.T. Rajshekar, Editor of *Dalit Voice*, will inaugurate the seminar on human rights. Dr. K.K. Rahulan, a noted Ezahava leader connected with the Sri Narayan Guru movement, is heading the new human rights commission: Those interested may contact it at IYC Bldg. 5/2525, Bank Road, Calicut-673 001. ■

# NAZIS PLAN MILITARY COUP

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** The ruling class confusion and chaos, its unending mental crisis is crossing all bounds. As the enslaved people of India are becoming more and more aware of their slavery and trying to throw off the yoke, the ruling class is also trying new and newer methods to keep the SC/ST/BCs and Muslims enslaved. When hate fails to deliver the goods, the rulers generate more hate and this stepped up hate is creating all-round hate. Today this hate has converted the whole India into a violence-packed explosive country. (DV edit Jan. 16, 1990: "Hate that Hate Produced").

Some 10 years ago, the nazi parties of the rulers used to send their own *chaddi chors* (boys) to physically attack the enslaved. Here it failed. Then it used the police and military to do this job for them. It imposed police raj and military rule on at least six States of India. There again the rulers failed. Everywhere darkness has been staring at their faces.

**Black cats:** The aggrieved, enslaved nationalities thwarted every effort of the rulers to curb them.

Everywhere the ruling class has been facing defeat after defeat. The rulers started going crazy. The thinking people among the upper castes are not getting proper sleep at night. Millions of them have already fled away to their dreamland America and other western white countries and started polluting those countries.

Those remaining inside India are virtually living in prisons guarded by Black Cats, White Cats and all sorts of Cats. Still they find their life not safe. They have all the power, all the wealth, and the whole country for their eternal and exclusive enjoyment. Yet they are miserable, sick – physically and more so mentally. All-round darkness is staring at them at every step. They see gloom everywhere.

They are desperate.

**Fake socialism fails:** Their 45-year old brahminical rule converted India into a beggar nation. Corruption is eating them. Every member of the ruling class is corrupt and one corrupt ruler is fleecing another ruler. Dog eating dog.

After the Gandhi-Nehru fake socialism failed, they are now thinking of switching over to free enterprise. The rulers have converted India into a mad, mad world.

After having failed to "discipline" the SC/ST/BCs and Muslims, and secure their unquestioned obedience through their *mantras and tantras*, their gods and goblins, they are left with no other alternative.

**Malayali Jew:** So, the latest brainwave is to clamp a Hindu Army rule. Already senior retired Aryan officers have submitted the blueprint. The Malayali Jew, Lt. Gen. Jacob ("Jewish General in Action", DV Sept. 16, 1991, p.9) has been already assigned the job that he would take over as Army chief after the military

clamp down. Since he is a non-Hindu (Jew) and hence cannot be trusted, they are understood to have coronated Kandothu, another Malayali (Nair).

Lt. Gen. Candeth, is also an important member of the nazi party. As Candeth is an Aryan and as per the Kerala custom of *sambandam* Nairs are mostly born to Namboodiri Brahmins, his appointment to carry out the Army coup is understood to have been cleared by the Brahmin leadership of the nazi party.

This has been also confirmed by a front-page report in the *Telegraph* (Feb.2) which says Candeth is heading the "defence cell" which held its first meeting on Dec.3 last. The meeting was attended by Lt.Gen.Jacob, Lt.Gen.LS. Rawat, Lt.Gen.M.L. Yadav, Lt.Gen.V.C. Khanna, Col.D.S. Jamwal, Maj.Gen. Khanduri, Maj. Gen. Bhatia, Col.L.S. Ahuja, Cdr. S.D. Sinha, T.N. Chaturvedi (ex-IAS), Brajesh Mishra (ex-IFS) and K.R. Malkani.

Gen.Jacob said, "Civilian control of defence should not mean civil service control", Gen. Yadav then said, "Indian films are silent on defence. Military history should be a compulsory subject to study. Hitler said Indian soldiers were like sheep. Mountbatten thought better of Muslim officers."

## NAZIS BUSY BREAKING INDIA

OUR CORRESPONDENT

**Bangalore:** That India's ruling brahminical social order is busy breaking India into pieces has been repeatedly pointed out in DV. Now, all that we have said has been substantiated by the Guwahati correspondent of the *Hindu*, India's chief brahminical daily:-

While the prospects of a settlement of sorts or a deal with the United Liberation Front of Asom, necessarily of a short-term duration and possibly with a faction of the ULFA leadership, are looking up, the idea of a 'Swadhin Asom' and the desirability as well as the possibility of attaining this objective implanted by ULFA are unlikely to be eradicated. In other words, the ideology of a separatist and exclusivist nationalism assiduously spread by the ULFA over the last dozen years or so has taken deep roots in Assam. The demonstration that the State cannot protect itself except by adopting, in a much harsher manner, the same methods it finds objectionable in its opponents is the greatest strategic gain made by these groups, be they in Assam, Punjab or Jammu and Kashmir. This continuing erosion of the moral authority of the State necessarily compromises its political authority as well – yet another gain for those bent upon breaking the State. (*Hindu* Jan. 1 '92).

The behaviour of the Hindu nazis "hoisting" the national flag at Srinagar on Jan. 26 (Republic Day), under Army protection with not a single Kashmiri to watch the stunt is get another evidence to prove that the Aryan nazis want Kashmir to break away from india.

# Dr. Ambedkar verdict on Jews & Dalits

K. VIJAYA RAJU, VISSANAPETA, AP - 521 215

The Rev. M.S.S. Raju, Director of the Hebrew Christian Theological Open University, Vijayawada, gave me a xerox copy of the article, "Dr. Ambedkar and the Jewish people" (reprinted in the *News from Israel*, Nov.91 from the Bombay daily, *The Afternoon Despatch and Courier*, Oct. 3, 91), in which the Israeli Consul in Bombay, Giora Becher (DV. Jan.1 92, p.19: Zionist ghosts coming to the very doorsteps of Muslims in India"), recalled Dr. Ambedkar's interview to a Jewish journal from Bombay in Nov. 1941 and Babasaheb's praise for the Jews and his comparison of the Jews with the Untouchables – as both are the world's oppressed people. The Israeli diplomat then concludes:

"It is only natural that the Jewish people have always looked at Dr. Ambedkar and his life's work with absolute admiration. His struggle for the weaker sector of society has found an echo in the hearts of those who for many hundreds of years since their expulsion from their promised land – Israel – were suffering from discrimination and persecution just because of their race, just because of being different from the majority around."

**Jews are "broken Dalits":** The article comparing Jews with our people (Dalits) gave me a shock and the arguments of Rev. Raju gave me a bigger shock.

To find the meaning of 'Dal', the Hebrew word from English-Hebrew dictionary, I went to Rev. Raju. His institute is teaching Hebrew for the last several years for evangelical purposes. He gave me his book, *Paradesi* (foreigner), in Telugu.

The book "reveals" the biblical prophecies regarding the plight of Jewish people. He believes in the biblical prophecies and identified the "broken Jews" as the present Dalits of India.

**Dalits to settle in Israel:** He visited USA and Israel. He prevailed upon Israel to recognise him as a "broken Jew" and calls himself "Hebri", the 12th gotra of Jews. As "Hebri" he

demanded the Israeli Govt. to take him back to his "motherland", the promised land to Abraham by the god. He said seven families (including his own) have been allowed to settle in Israel "as they had every right on the promised land to the Jews".

He has also agreed to write for DV on the origin of Dalits. I am shocked by all these developments. The root word "Dal" made me to search for all these details.

In his visa Rev. Raju has stated his nationality as "Hebri", though he is an Indian (Telugu) Dalit. The visa also says that his purpose of visit was to fulfil the prophecies of god.

**"Jews of India":** I simply can't believe all these things. I remember, 10 years back you too had compared India's Aryan Brahmins with Jews and called them the "Jews of India". Later, on being corrected by Leon Poliakov you admitted your mistake in your book, *Who is the Mother of Hitler?* (DSA).

Rev. Raju showed me the Hebrew-English dictionary and the meaning of "Dal" is found as "poor". You often quote the Bible to say "Know the truth and truth shall free you". So please let me know the truth. The truth of my origin. ■

*It is true that we had said that the root word for Dalit is "Dal" and it is a Hebrew word found in Bible.*

*But Rev. Raju's theory that the Dalits are "broken Jews" is yet to be verified. Rev. Raju had met us in Bangalore and had discussed this theory with us. We had then expressed our reservations about this theory.*

*It is a fact that Jews were always victimised by others. And that was how Babasaheb Ambedkar could compare the Jews with Untouchables who too are victims of racism. Both Jews and Untouchables are victims. If this is the fact, why the Jews have today joined hands with the very brahminical social order which supplied all the philosophy of racism to Nazi Hitler, their chief oppressor? Will the leaders of Jews answer this question? – EDITOR.* ■

## How can Jews join Aryans who hailed Hitler ?

BINOY KUMAR MITRA, CALCUTTA

Only DV has been criticising the Zionist invasion of India. Not even the Muslims are worried. Except for some mild statements, the Muslim leadership – both religious and political – perhaps decided to reconcile with the existing realities. So, it is left to you to take up the cudgels on behalf of the Muslim masses.

The reports about Kanchi Shankarachari having a meeting with Giora Becher (*Times of India*, Feb.2) is alarming. This particular swami is considered the most important leader for Brahmins and he is today the main adviser for all Nazi parties. P.V. Narasimha Rao had a meeting with Zionist leaders during his visit to New York.

Since nobody has the courage to expose the Nazis and the Zionists, you must take up this work. You must revise your sold out book, *Who is the Mother of Hitler?* (DSA) and publish it as it clearly exposes the brahminical perfidy.

The brahminical social order hailed Hitler as an Avatar, invited him to India, supplied him the Swastika, Sanskrit language and the dangerous "chosen people race theory". It also congratulated Hitler for his mass slaughter of Jews and defended the mayhem. You disclosed all this in your book. Jews must be told all this.

The fair-minded among Jews will definitely support you. Definitely thank you. How can the Jews trust the Indian Aryans after forgetting all their crimes?

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"It is only natural that the Jewish people have always looked at Dr. Ambedkar and his life's work with absolute admiration. His struggle for the weaker sector of society has found an echo in the hearts of those who for many hundreds of years since their expulsion from their promised land - Israel - were suffering from discrimination and persecution just because of their race, just because of being different from the majority around."

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## Hindu nazis once hailed Hitler & defended his mass murder of Jews

LIONEL JUDAH, CALCUTTA

I am a Jew by birth but still I am strongly against racism in any form. A friend regularly gives me *Dalit Voice* to read. I must say that I really enjoy reading it as it is very informative.

The report, "Zionist ghosts are coming to the very doorsteps of Muslims in India," (DV Jan. 1 '92) makes interesting reading. The report asks: "If Jews were victims of Aryanism/racism, how did they join hands with their own killers, the Aryans in India? Will the Hindu nazis fool the zionists also? We will not be surprised."

**Hitler congratulated:** The author shows a remarkably clear insight into the mentality of the Hindu nazis. For, as Golwalkar, the late commander in chief of the RSS, declared:

"German pride if their fatherland, awoke and rank the risk of starting a fresh world conflagration in order to establish an unparalleled, undisputed German empire over all this hereditary territory. This natural and logical aspiration of Germany has almost been fulfilled."

"To keep up the purity of the Race and its culture, Germany shocked the world by its purging the country of the semitic races – the Jews. Germany has shown how well high impossible it is for races and cultures, having differences going to the root, to be assimilated into one united whole, a good lesson for us in Hindustan to learn and profit by."

(M.S. Golwalkar, *We or our Nationhood Defined*, Nagpur, 1939, p.35)

The annihilation of the Jews by the nazis is

referred to with enthusiastic approval by the RSS philosopher even though, as he says, this was at the cost of the serious risk of starting a world-conflagration.

To Golwalkar and Hitler and others of their tribe, "the risk of a world conflagration" is but a small price to pay for the "natural and logical aspiration to keep up the purity of the race and its culture."

*I am simply shocked by the Jews joining hands with India's "Jews of India" who supplied the swastika to Hitler and invited him to India to rule India.*

*Brother Lionel Judah is an innocent Jew. And there must be thousands like him the world over. Jews have produced great thinkers, scholars, scientists and philosophers. And all over the world, Jews have been the victims of racism. But this is not so with the Aryan Brahmins of India. It is these Aryan Brahmins who inspired the nazi philosophy of Germany. And the Jews were the victims of the Aryan philosophy. All thinking Jews know that Aryan brahminism was the founding father of racism and India is its original home.*

*If this is a fact how did the Jews, the very victims of Aryan brahminism/racism have now joined hands with their arch foes and that too in India?*

*Will the thinking sections of Jews like our esteemed brother, Leon Poliakov, who had once warned us not to call the Aryan Brahmins as the "Jews of India", approve of this action of today's Jews? — EDITOR.*

## Zionist invasion will hasten Indias' break-up

JHON MUHAAMMED SHEIKH ZADIBAL, SRINAGAR, KASHMIR

Kudos to your report, "Zionist ghosts coming to the doorsteps of Muslims in India" (DV Jan. 1 p.19). Only a few among Muslims will ponder over it. You have diagnosed the disease but failed to suggest a remedy. We, the Muslims of India, should be thankful to you.

All the Muslims will not be able to understand your warning because almost 90% of the Muslims cannot see through the machinations of nazis of India.

Here it would be pertinent to cite an example. The nazis got the services of some Muslim hirelings to play some street *tamasha*. What was this *tamasha*? It was shown on TV that these hirelings make a "protest march" to the Pakistan High Commission abusing President Ishaq Khan, for what was allegedly done to Meena Hyat, d/o. Shaukat Hyat – i.e. rape. Very strange. There were some Muslim women protestors also. These women get raped by their

Hindu masters during anti-Muslim riots. They forget these rape episodes of Muslim women in Bhagalpur, Hyderabad, and hundreds of other places. They should have some sense of shame to make protest to foreigners.

Thousands of Muslim women here in Kashmir were dishonoured and raped. The conscience of people world over got stirred and have made protests but these handful of Delhi Muslims have had no leisure to protest. Why should they do it? They are hirelings. They abuse goondas of other countries for alleged rape cases but they are blind to what happens in India. The nazis made an experiment last year of sending Mossad commandos to Kashmir, Kashmiris gave them a lesson as they deserved. Hence the experiment failed and it would always fail here.

If these people, the nazis, invite zionists to India,

India would follow Sri Lanka or Lebanon. It would disintegrate and would be fragmented to many nations. Punjab and Kashmir would achieve their goal in a lesser period than expected. ■

## Zionists knifing S. African Blacks

JAMES ADAM

It is in the area of training that the Israelis have been able to help the white South Africans monitor the ANC. According to Israeli intelligence, several hundred ANC members have been trained by the PLO either in the Lebanon or at training camps in South Yemen. The Mossad has managed to infiltrate the camps to an astonishing degree and has unflinchingly passed back relevant data to the South African.

South Africa owes much to Israel for its successes against the ANC Black resistance. It is a (to them) fortunate coincidence that both countries have a very similar experience of guerrilla warfare. Israel, with its early background of the fight against the British in Palestine followed by its long-running conflict with the PLO, probably has more knowledge than any other nation in the art of counter-insurgency warfare. ■

## "Development" is dangerous to Dalits

FR. JOSE PULICKAL, MORNING STAR REGIONAL SEMINARY, BARRACKPORE-743 101

Students of our college organised a day's seminar on the present plight of Dalits in India, on the Dec. 7 to commemorate the Death Anniversary of Dr. Ambedkar. Papers presented on the topic made our students aware of the web of exploitation, oppression and the degradation facing Dalits for centuries. The 'well-worded' mass uplift programmes are sugar-coated selfish interests of the Hindus since they are the "policy-makers and policy-implementers".

The very concept of "development" is partial and catastrophic, since the ".....development projects compel the communities of people to leave their villages, houses, and land to make room for factories and dams, hotels and other largescale constructions," seminar explained with many facts and figures.

*The Dalits are first made landless, then coolies and then transported to towns and cities to be employed in any kind of work for unjust minimum wages. "Any attempt to unshackle themselves from... oppressive systems invited violence against them", a paper warned.*

The papers were researched and written by five students from the five states of Tamil Nadu, Kerala, West Bengal, Bihar and MP. Prof. John Romus guided the research. Beside the students of our college affiliated to Calcutta University, students from the three neighbouring academic institutes participated in the seminar. ■

## K.S. Satyamurthy flays PWG violence

Guntur: Revolutionary poet and one-time top leader of the People's War Group K.G. Satyamurthy, a Dalit, appealed to the PWG activists to give it a thought before destroying government offices. Which class benefitted from these activities, he asked. He condemned the blasting of railway tracks, burning of RTC buses and disturbing the normal civic life. He also condemned the police oppression in northern Telangana villages. Rasool case was a part of it, he observed.

He recalled that he was treated like "Nanadanar" (an untouchable poet) at the last Virasam conference. (Indian Express Jan. 12). ■

## Maiku Ram faces Hindu humiliation

New Delhi: Chairman of the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Ramdhan will hold an enquiry into allegations that a senior SC officer of the railway police was humiliated by the local police.

Nearly a year ago Maiku Ram, Inspector-General of Police (Railways), who is also the president of the Bihar State SC/ST Employees Association, was treated in a most humiliating manner when he visited the local police station to secure the release of seven persons allegedly confined wrongly at the police station.

The Senior Superintendent of Police, Patna, forcibly sent away his official car from the Gardanibagh police station and he was made to walk back. He was also allegedly abused by junior police officers belonging to upper castes. (Hindu Feb. 11). ■

## Nazis never won anything

AMULYA GANGULI

If failures are the pillars of success, the BJP is doing fine. As one of its followers said after the Lal Chowk fiasco: *Ham dono bar asafal rahe; Mandhir bhi nahin bana, Lal Chowk bhi nahin pahaounche.* (We have failed on both occasions; neither could we build the temple nor reach Lal Chowk.

(Times of India, Feb. 10). ■

## SC/ST mass persecution

New Delhi : Eight-six recently-promoted SC/ST Under Secretaries of the Central Secretariat Service have been reverted to their earlier posts of Section Officers. Promoted on Dec. 6 last year, the officers were reverted on Jan. 30 this year. (Hindu Feb. 5). ■

# Tahir Mahmood : A glaring case of intellectual prostitution

P.S. SRIDHARA MURTHY, ADVOCATE, BANGALORE

On reading Prof. Tahir Mahmood's article in the *Times of India* (Dec. 22 1991), I was reminded of a bitter comment on the Indian press that it is standing like a thick black curtain between truth and readers. In Sanskrit, there is a word, *avidya*, which has no right English equivalent. It is not ignorance but something akin to *vidya*, but all incorrect. It is wrong knowledge. While the ignorant will say that he does not know where London is, the one afflicted with *avidya* will say that it is in Australia. Tahir's essay is an exercise in *avidya*. His attempt to show Islam and Hinduism are one and the same shows him as one who is either ignorant or dishonest or both. (DV edit Feb. 16, 92: Hindu nazis corrupting Muslim intellectuals to destroy Islamic identity").

What is Hinduism? While none of the books paraded as "Hindu religious texts" mention the term, "Hindu", the present Hindu Law, i.e. the four Acts of 1955, governing marriage, succession, guardianship and adoption, define Hindus as all those other than Muslims, Jews and Christians. This negative description is so sweeping that it covers a majority of the world population.

**Supreme Court ruling:** You can be a Hindu without even believing in god. But what one MUST believe in order to be a Hindu is *varna dharma* i.e. caste hierarchy, according to several rulings of the Supreme Court. It therefore follows that *Hinduism is a social system and not a religion*. Manu Smriti, Goutama Dharma Sutras, Yagnavalkya Smriti and such other "scriptures" on which the uncodified pre-1955 Hindu law rested, are basically manuals of inhuman and reactionary caste rules and anti-women regulations and there is absolutely no soul-elevating philosophy in them.

Firstly, caste system is the only

positive and definite feature of Hinduism. Secondly, brahminism/*varnashrama dharma*/Hinduism has not been and cannot be defined in positive terms. Thirdly, Buddhists, Jains, Lingayats (or Veerashaivas) and Sikhs are not Hindus, since they embraced these new faiths to get rid of the Hindu yoke of *varna dharma*.

**Who is a Hindu?:** When the British rulers were looking for a definition for Hindus to enable courts to settle disputes, Lokamanya Tilak and Madan Mohana Malaviya, the two topmost Brahmin authorities of those days, defined Hindus as those who owed allegiance to Vedas. Since Buddhists, Jains, Lingayats and Sikhs had rejected the authority of the Vedas, they could not be counted as Hindus. These are protestant religions, while Islam had nothing to do with Vedic and *Varna Dharma* (racism).

God – the Hindu god of course – created four categories of human beings (see verse : 13, chapter : 4, *Bhagavad Gita*) but the Brahmin created the fifth category and corrected the "defect" in god's creation. This class of people were called *Panchamas*. They were and are of course outside the four *varnas* or castes. Hence called outcastes, Untouchables or the *Avarneeyas*, whom Babasaheb Ambedkar called Dalits, whom M.K. Gandhi renamed as *Harijans*.

**Dalits not Hindus:** The Manusmriti and other Hindu "scriptures" called them *Chandalas* and ordained that they shall not be treated as humans. The saga of their exploitation and ill-treatment by the *savarnas* (Hindus), meaning those within the four-fold caste system, has no parallel in history. They were and are the victims of Hinduism. *Untouchables, said Dr. Ambedkar are not Hindus and never Hindus. (Dr. Ambedkar's book, What Congress and Gandhi have done to Untouchables. 1945).*

The Hindu definition of Tilak and Malaviya also suggest the same.

**Sudras slaves of Hindus:** While the Dalits are NOT Hindus, the fourth-grade sudras (meaning slaves) are. They belong to the fourth varna. They have no right to study the Vedas and no right to education itself, according to the Manusmriti (verse 80; ch.4). If a sudra by chance listens to the chanting of Vedas, the mixture of molten lead and lac should be pured into his ears, (Gautama Dharma Sutras, verse 4; ch.3, part:2). Shankara (775-807 AD) in his commentary on the Brahma Sutras i.e. *Brahma Sutra Bhashya*, known as his magnum opus, has upheld this cruel scriptural sanction (Sutra: 38, Adhikarana:9, Pada:3, Ch.1).

Who are these sudras? Agriculturists (Jats, Kayasths, Reddies, Gowdas, Marathas, etc).

Dr. K.V. Puttappa, the poet-laureate of Karnataka and Janapita award-winner and a shudra, once said that he would have been collecting cowdung to earn a living if the British had not come to rule India and universalised education. **The one tangible accomplishment of Hinduism is that it dehumanised over 80% of Hindu population.** Even the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas belonging to second and third-grade Hindu order were subjected to violent treatment by Brahmins.

**Nehru on Hindus:** Pandit Nehru said (*Discovery of India*): "Education and opportunities of growth were withheld from the lower castes who were taught to be submissive to those higher up in the scale. The caste system was a barrier to any change.... it carried with it seeds of destruction."

Similar contempt has been expressed at what constituted the essence of Hinduism by many other enlightened among the Brahmins themselves, viz., M.N. Roy, D.D.

Kosambi. Even Hinduism's most famous monk, Vivekananda, had severely criticised Hinduism (*Caste, Culture & Socialism*).

But Tahir considers all Indians other than Muslims, Christians and Jews as "enthusiastic and loyal followers of Hinduism". *That is why I said Tahir is either ignorant or dishonest or both.* Since he is a professor of Law and called an "eminent authority", he cannot be accused of ignorance. That is why in DV, *we have very often criticised intellectual corruption as the worst form of corruption.* And Hindu fundamentalists will certainly make best use of such intellectual corruption to confuse the imbecile Muslim elite who hope to buy peace from those who hate and abuse Muslims by singing their very bogus tunes. *Muslims are heading towards dangerous times.*

**Indus civilisation:** Having taken Vedic religion as Hinduism, how can Tahir call it the world's oldest religion? There were several older unorganised religions in India followed by Dravidians, Gonds, Bhils, Nishadas and several other tribes (There were only tribes at that point of time, all over the world). Their religions were known by the name of their tribes. The Aryan hordes who drifted into India killed the peace-loving innocent Dravidian tribes in large numbers and imposed their racist rule and with it their brahminical hegemony on the original inhabitants of India. (See 1951 Census - and also *Seetajosyam*, a research work on Ramayana in Telugu by Dr. Narla Venkateswara Rao, which won the Central Sahitya Academy award).

**Tahir buttering Brahmins:** Just as the civilised (?) white man enslaved the Africans on their own soil, the Aryans destroyed India's original religions and cultures, their great glorious Indus Valley civilisation. Much of Rig Veda consists of the details of Aryan invocation to their gods to destroy the original inhabitants of India. Rig Veda is obviously the conquerer's version.

Those who resisted this onslaught were called Rakshasas. Today's Dalits (SC/STs) are the descendants of those vanquished

racers or tribes, whom the religion(?) of the exploiters termed Untouchables.

*Tahir despite knowing all these facts of history has subordinated his thinking faculty to please the ruling brahminical social order.*

**Yadavas not Hindus:** If Vedas, Smritis, Shrutis and the epics and *varna dharma* are to be taken as the basis of Hinduism, the majority of Indians do not become Hindus. *It is the height of mischief to count the tribals as Hindus. If the Backward Castes like Yadavas are Hindus, why the Hindu rulers did not accept reservations to them as recommended by the Mandal Commission?* It was Tahir's Delhi University Hindu boys who started the anti-Mandal agitation. His own Vice-Chancellor, also a professor of Law, has said all this.

The country's population can be roughly analysed like this: Scheduled Castes (20%), tribals (10%), Backward Castes 35%. There is not much difference between this 65% of the population and Muslims (15%) in life-style and food habits. *This 65% of the non-Hindus of late are realising that they are the victims of Hinduism.*

**Hindus constitute just 15%:** A true picture of the social turmoil in the country is not clearly visible since the govt. as well as the press is in the grip of the less than 15% Aryan upper castes who are suppressing this supreme truth. There is so much pollution in the intellectual atmosphere of the country that it was very easy to condemn the noble Tippu Sultan and sing praises for the discredited Zionist agent, Salman Rushdie. While an overwhelming majority of non-Muslims in India have no hatred for Muslims or Islam, and therefore do not need intellectual acrobatics of the Tahir Mahmood variety, the arrogant upper caste communal Hindu is worried that the supreme truth if known widely will take away his bread and butter. So he is trying to suppress the truth that the non-Hindus are over 85% of Indian population by his periodical *rath yatra* exercises for "Hindu unity".

*All such cries need a target; a wolf.*

*The Nazi Hindu has no alternative but to describe the Muslim as wolf. He has to falsify history. He has to cry against Babri Mosque, Muslim Personal Laws, etc. The cry for uniform civil code was resisted not by the Muslims like Tahir but by the leaderless poor Muslim masses.*

That episode proved that Muslim intellectuals were not only headless but spineless. Hindus and Sikhs have the same law, but no two communities are more at loggerheads today than these two. Yet no Muslim columnist said so.

**Muslim elite going bad:** The demoralisation of the Muslim elite and their alienation from their community is so complete they are now begging recognition from the very arch enemies of Muslims and Islam, the Hindu fundamentalists, by trying to confer prophethood on glorified aggressors and deified murderers like Rama and Krishna.

For an objective scrutiny of Ramayana, one should read Morris Winternitz, A.B. Keith, Herman Jacobi, Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Sukumar Sen, Prof. Weber, D.D. Kosambi, Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, Periyar EV Ramaswamy, Dr. K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar, Jawaharlal Nehru, Ramesh Chandra Dutt, and Tolboy Wheeler.

**Rama was Brahmin agent:** The chief trait in Rama was that he was an unthinking and obedient soldier under the command of the Brahmins. *Secondly, he was the most anti-woman character in the world literature.*

**Fornicator:** Prophet Mohammed said: "Say what is true even if it be bitter". "The best Jihad is to say the truth before a tyrant ruler". *Tahir Mahmood has indulged in intellectual fornication by describing his farfetched and wishful surmises as "massive evidence" which he finds difficult to "reject or ignore".*

Lasting peace between all communities can be achieved only when the Hindu fundamentalists are humbled and when truth about both Islam and Hinduism are told to our people. But I doubt whether Tahir has such an objective at all, or has an eye on some seat of power or authority which he hopes to occupy by currying the favour of persons whose views are badly in need of credibility.



## Letters to Editor

**Kazuhiro Usui**, 4-chome 4262-1, Ikeda Machi, Kita Azumi gun, Nagano, Japan: Thank you very much for your gift-book, *Gandhi Saint or Sinner?* (DSA, 1992). I am sending the book, *The River With No Bridge*, by Sue Sumii in Japanese, translated to English by Susan Wilkinson (1989, Charles Tuttle & Co. 2-6, Suido 1-chome, Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo-112). The author portrays the plight of Burakumin, the Japan's oppressed invisible minority, to study which we had invited you to Japan in 1983.

*We had a 12-member Japanese delegation on Jan. 10 from Fukuoka where we had met a Shin sect Buddhist monk, Rev. T. Tachibana, teacher of Rev. Amemori with whom we stayed during our visit to Japan on Aug. 4, 1983. The delegation was headed by Murakami of Agano, Akaikecho, Tugowa gun, Fukuoka. The delegation belonged to the famous Higachi Honganji Buddhist Temple at Fukuoka which also we visited. We would appreciate if you could contact Murakami and also Rev. Tachibana and seek their support for our efforts to popularise Buddhism in India - EDITOR.*

**The Rev. Dr. Samuel T. Kamaleon**, Vice-President, World Vision International, 121, East Huntington Drive, Monrovia, California 91016 USA: I read DV and your books carefully. I would be grateful for ongoing association in the work of liberating the poorest of the poor in our country. I shall be honoured to meet you sometime in Bangalore.

**Ahmed Amirudin**, Roslagsvagen 101 Hus 25, S-104 05 Stockholm, Sweden: I appreciate your struggle for the oppressed in India. For decades, the *Dalit Voice* has voiced the sentiments of those unfortunate Indians who have been labelled as the "lower" castes by the oppressors in India. Please keep it up. It is time that all the oppressed in India should unite against the ruling class. The Muslims and the "lower" castes should set an example for the others by co-operating with each other on various issues. Your journal, of course, contributes to this union but I feel that a proper understanding of each other's religion would also be helpful. I am conducting a correspondence course on the Quranic way of life which consists of 19 lessons. Your readers wanting to utilise this opportunity to learn about the real Islam (as distinct from the "Islam" of the Arabs and the Indian Muslims) may write to me.

**Dr. V. Annamalai**, 14902, James River Lane, Houston, TX 77084, USA: Yogesh and myself are still trying to get more life-membership to DV. Please do not give up. It is too important not to give up our mission at this time of history. It will be absolutely

suicidal for the entire persecuted minorities to let DV shut its door for ever. I am only hoping that there are enough enlightened members of minority communities (Dalits, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs and the enlightened BCs) to come to the rescue of DV. No matter who says what, you and DV have done more to the Dalit cause than anyone else after Babasaheb. So you cannot give up without completing the mission.

**Ajit Singh**, Ottawa: The past one decade has seen unprecedented crimes against humanity committed by the brahminical rulers of India directly or indirectly. Aryan Brahminical hands were always behind every crime. Since 1947 the whole machine of oppression has passed into their hands. Lt.-Gen. Sir Francis Tukkar writes in his book, *While Memory Lasts*: "The British official has always identified himself with the so-called 'backward races' finding them usually honest and more courageous than the 'forward ones'. He has always had his reward in the trust they placed in him. The everpresent fear is that when the British have gone, these people will get short shrift from the ruthless Brahmin rule that will follow, swayed by milling hordes for whom they have little regard and against whose depredations they have for thousands of years so valiantly defended themselves". The history of Sikhs and their gurus showed us how valiantly they have fought against Aryan brahminical oppression and exploitation. Today just 3.5% Brahmins of India are occupying 70% of all the top positions. The enslaved masses must wake up and join their hands with the Sikhs to stop injustice and crimes against humanity by the Aryan rule.

**H.A. Blackway**, Williamsville, Vermont, UK: In 1948, Albert Einstein and other Jewish Americans wrote in the *New York Times* that Herut, the political party of Yitzak Shamir, Israel's current prime minister, and Menechem Begin, is "a political party closely akin in its organisation, methods and political philosophy.... to the Nazi and Fascist parties." Martin Buber, a Jewish philosopher, gave a warning in 1961 that Israel's racism is suicidal: "Only an internal revolution can have the power to heal our people of their murderous sickness of causeless hatred". In 1990, America's State Dept. in its annual *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices* lists more than 15 areas of discrimination by Jews against non-Jews.

**Daniel Cohen**, Moor Park, Middlesex, UK: Zionism is the movement for the right to self-determination for the Jewish people. The right is no more racist than that of the Kurds, or indeed the Palestinians.

**S.U. Rangari**, Vikhroli, Bombay: Supreme Court Advocate Bhagwan Das delivered two lectures here on Jan. 24/25 on Dalit movements all over India specially Bengal, Kerala, TN and Punjab. Prof. N.G. Meshram, chairman of the Buddhist International Centre, said the Peoples' Education Society founded by Dr. Ambedkar, should be run properly. Our political religious and educational leaders have failed in their

mission to take the Babasaheb's caravan ahead, he said. Dr. P.T. Borale, chairman, Peoples Education Society, took objection to the remarks of Prof. Meshram who explained that his intention was not to hurt anybody. Many office-bearers of the P.E. Society including Justice R.R. Bhole, chairman, PES, Ghansham Talwatkar were present.

**Mukundan**, Peruvattoor, Kerala: I have written an article, "The real *Harijans* are Nairs", in the *Vivekam* fortnightly (SIMI's journal). The *Dalithakam* monthly also has published it. Now, it has created a violent situation at Kadiyangad in Kozhikode dt. When we look at the history of Kerala, we can understand that Nairs are the real *Harijans*. Because their women were the Devadasis in Kerala. So I called them *Harijans*. The Nair-Nazis protested against it and other Nairs also joined them. They call us *Harijans*. But they get angry when we call them *Harijans*. They are the real *Harijans*. I have proved it in my article. I have taken quotations from the book of Kanippayyur Sankaran Namboodirippad and Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai.

**Malaji Nagarjuna**, S6 AE/E-Hostel, R.no. 250, REC, Calicut- 673 601: I am from Andhra Pradesh, and studying here. I was introduced to you at the state convention of Dalit Panthers, Mahabalikara (Mavelikara). I am in need of documentary evidences to prove that all the existing Hindu temples here once were Buddhist Viharas. Provide me with a weapon of knowledge to fight the Hindus and recover our lost treasures.

**M.K. Gaidhane**, Nagpur-2: I heard you speak about five years ago here at the convention of *Bahujan Sangharsh* in 1988. At that time I was not mature enough to understand you. Recently, I read your book, *Why Godse Killed Gandhi?*, in Marathi. After reading it, I could learn so many things. I am founder of Vidyarthi Lokshahi Aghadi (SDF).

**V. Sebastian**, Telugu "Dalit Voice", Vijayawada: The DV editorial on 'Ameena case' was reproduced in the journal *Geeturai*, a Jamate-Islami Telugu journal, with a note that the *Geeturai* is not accepting all the views of the writer.

**Saji K. Joseph**, Kerala Dalit Panthers, Bheem Bhavan, Karipuzha, Mavelikara-690 109: We don't know how to express our love and gratitude for the pain you took to attend our function. (DV Feb. 16, p.15). We realise that we could not reach up to your expectations. But your presence inspired us. We are proud that we all are the products of DV. DV gives us light and path. Certainly, DV has entered into history. We remember each and every sentence you spoke at the conference. With reference to K. Baburajan's letter (DV Feb. 16, p.15), 6 months ago we honoured Sandhya at a public function for her distinction in the academic field. Dalit organisations throughout Kerala also honoured her. Her mother, a doctor and suptd. of a taluk govt. hospital, faced all

sorts of caste oppression. The Health Minister, a Nair, is behind the mischief. N.K. Jose, a noted historian from Kerala, has agreed to support us. His latest book is *Parasurama, Pulayas' Enemy*'.

**S.R. Talukdar**, New Delhi: I am shocked to read (DV Feb.1) about the "Crisis in BSP" by Atiq Khan of Lucknow, saying that Kanshi Ram won the Lok Sabha seat with the help of BJP and Mulayam Singh Yadav. This is mischievous and those who indulge in all such falsehood are the real enemies of the Bahujan. I furnish the votes obtained by different parties in the Nov. 91 by election in Etawah. Kanshi Ram (BSP) – 1,45,168 votes, Lalsingh Varma (BJP) – 1,23,217, Ram Singh Sakya (SJP) – 81,975, Shankar Tewari (Cong) – 50,125. When there was so much of tough competition between BSP, BJP and SJP, how can you say that Kanshi Ram won with the help of BJP and SJP?

**Sansar Pal**, Delhi: I never expected this from you, Kanshi Ram's oldest and closest friend. But you also started criticising the BSP chief (DV Feb.1 p.11). Now, the *Statesman* editorial (Feb.1) also repeats what you suspected that Kanshi Ram "perhaps entered into a deal with BJP". I am worried.

*Brothers Sansar Pal and Talukdar have not noticed our repeated reiteration that we continue to be friends and admirers of BSP and there is no change in our stand. –*  
**EDITOR.**

**Raj Sethia**, Calcutta: I am grateful to my German language professor, Abul Qasem, who gave me the Jan. 16 DV. I am deeply impressed by your fire-brand journalism. Every page of your magazine is equivalent to one ton of dynamite. I sincerely hope that "explosion of knowledge" will prove effective in destroying the Hindu nazism, and liberate the oppressed Indians. The article, 'Dalit self-determination means three separations from Hindus'. was extremely thought-provoking and enlightening. Random borrowing of ideas and expressions from Babasaheb cast doubts on the originality of the article. You have made a valiant effort to champion the cause of the downtrodden. I sincerely request you to adhere to your social goal and exclude petty politics from your writings.

**Chand Peer**, Bangalore: Seeing your yeoman service for the cause of the persecuted nationalities many a time I feel that if I were rich enough, I would have donated all my wealth to DV. What to do? I am still struggling for my own existence as DV is struggling for its survival.

**Baldev Singh**, Punjab & Sind Bank, Jandiala Guru, Amritsar: I went round the Gold Temple to promote sales of DV and DSA books. I also met S. Harinder Singh Khalsa, Secretary, SGPC, and talked to him about DV. He very much appreciated your efforts and support to the Sikhs. He has promised SGPC support to you. I am sending my lifemembership. ■

## Muslims can't fight brahminism without joining non-Muslim groups

NAIM SUHRAWARDY, ZUBAIR MANZIL, MORADABAD, UP.

This is with reference to the "Debate on Jamate-Islami".

While the Jamat's ideology may be laudable it appears that its strategies are quite ineffective and unrealistic. The Jamat vainly expects the whole world to be won over to Islam merely through persuasion and propaganda, in line with the discredited gandhian "change of heart theory". The Jamat believes that Islam entails merely belief in a set of doctrines and that change from "non-Islam" (*kufr*) to Islam merely involves a change in beliefs which can be achieved through persuading the oppressors.

However, this is far from what Islam really is. Islam stands above all for a certain social system and it is obvious that *establishing an ideal Islamic society involves not merely a change in beliefs but also a radical transformation of the existing social structure.*

In the present-day context of India, this social transformation can only be achieved by a concerted effort by all victims of the brahminical social order (SC/ST/BCs and Muslims) to overthrow it. The Jamat, however, believes that this can be achieved by the Muslims alone. This however is utopian, wishful thinking. Even the Prophet Mohammed entered into agreement with some non-Muslim groups to attain common objectives!

One only wishes that the Muslim *ulema*, who have long been hibernating in lofty, remote ivory towers, would descend to the level of the common Muslims and Dalits and familiarise themselves with their oppression. Only then can the *ulema* be socially relevant and true to their duty as laid down in Islam.

## Muslim job-seekers cheated by recruiting agents

M.N. MUSTAFA, C/O. P.A. RAJA, 110/12, MES COLONY, KALIMA, SANTACRUZ(E), BOMBAY-98

The "letter" by Iqbal Ahmed, Riyadh, (DV Jan.16 p.12) inspired me to write and provide some more information about the overseas employment problems of the Indian Muslims.

Most of the big overseas agents are concentrated here and they all belong to the "Savarna Fascist group". They have grabbed this lucrative big business of overseas recruitment with the help of Indian ruling class. They discriminate against Muslims. This is my experience and also that of many other Muslim friends

who are trying for jobs abroad. These Hindu sharks (agents) have come to know the Arab rulers' utter disregard for Indian Muslims and this has emboldened these sharks.

The respective Arab govts. must review this situation and take steps to put a stop to this malpractice.

**Tablighe-Jamat:** With reference to debate on Jamate-Islami, some people are expressing unfounded fears that such a debate may divide the Muslims. *In fact, such healthy debate and constructive criticisms will help Muslims to review the present situation of the Muslim ummah, under the fast-changing world situation, so that they could boldly face open hostility of all anti-Islamic forces.*

Tablighe-Jamat is asking the Muslims to keep away from the only effective weapon to fight all these world oppressive forces, the weapon, that is the Quran. They ask Muslims not to approach the Quran from this angle. The Tablighe-Jamat says the Quran is a book not to be understood by the common masses. It is reserved only for the "Muslim Brahmins" to ponder over its verses.

How strange and foolish.

A reader of the Quran can plainly see that it is the one and only sacred scripture in the world which has called upon its followers not to monopolise the Quran by the few. There is no such thing as "priestcraft" or "saintcraft" in Islam. It is time that both the Jamats changed their stand. ■

## ANOTHER AMERICAN BLUFF

**Washington:** The most effective anti-Iraq story which legitimised repeated US efforts during the Gulf War to kill President Saddam Hussein, namely portrayal of the Iraqi army as baby-killers, had "no basis," the Middle East Watch, an American human rights organisation, declared after a 16-month investigation.

The canard had been broadcast all over the world by the daughter of the Kuwait Ambassador to Washington, who took an assumed name for appearing before a congressional subcommittee. Her identity became known because of an investigating American journalist.

The Middle East Watch said it interviewed Kuwaitis who once claimed to be witnesses to the deaths of babies (the babies in incubators were said to have been thrown on the hospital floor where they died because the Iraqis wanted to take the incubators to hospitals in Baghdad). The Kuwaitis confessed to the Middle East Watch that their information was second hand. An examination of the cemetery where the babies supposed to have been buried in mass graves and hospital records showed that there was no such incident. In fact, most of the incubators were supposed to have been carted away to Baghdad were accounted for. (*Hindu* Feb. 9) ■

## Doubts on DV support to BCs, Muslims & African Blacks

MADHUKAR KAMBLE, 1303 PARK CREST APTS., 2108 S. CONGRESS PKWY, ATHENS, TN 37303 USA

You have shown courage in publishing Moreshwar Sao's article (DV Dec. 1 91 p.9): "Stop using the hated word: Dalit". The fact that you have published the article though it calls you as being ignorant of Dr. Ambedkar's views on untouchability, speaks of your adherence to the great ethics of publishing, 'without fear or favour'. Congratulations.

Moreshwar Sao, also, deserves praise for initiating a debate (DV Feb.16, 92 p.8) on Dr. Ambedkar's views. He is right in saying that your views on the origin and date of Untouchability are very different than those of Dr. Ambedkar. In addition to having differing views on untouchability, many other opinions of *Dalit Voice* differ considerably from those of Dr. Ambedkar. There is nothing wrong in this and you are entitled to have your own views. But as many of your readers unknowingly equate your opinions with those of Babasaheb, I think, for the benefit of readers, it is essential to restate here some important issues with which *Dalit Voice* has conflict with Dr. Ambedkar.

**On Black Untouchables:** You have advanced a theory that the Untouchables of India and the Black Africans have a common origin and thus India's Untouchables are 'Black Untouchables'. Dr. Ambedkar's views are totally different. At the very outset, Babasaheb has dismissed the idea that color has anything to do with the origin of untouchability. Babasaheb asks – (I do not remember his exact words): What difference in color is there between the Untouchable of Madras and the Brahmin of Madras? (Both are black). And what similarity is there in color between the Untouchable of Madras and the Untouchable of Kashmir? (One is black while the other has a fair complexion). He says Western social scientists were very quick in attaching the color criterion to the origin of untouchability and that they were wrong.

In the US, Black mostly means the people of African (negroid race) origin. This term is seldom used for other Black-colored people. Your popularizing the term 'Black Untouchables', therefore attracted a few Black Americans who think that their own lost brothers were enslaved and made Untouchables in India. But there is no historical proof that Africans were imported into India as they were here in America.

**Danger of dividing Dalits:** Secondly, in spite of uniting the Untouchables of entire India, this theory of "Black Untouchables" will divide them into two groups: Black Untouchables of South India and non-"Black Untouchables" of North India.

Anthropologically speaking, none of the people of India belong to the African Negro race.

N.K. Sharma: "African races in India", (July 1, 91 p.8). Yet because of the dark color of their skin and texture of their hair, South Indian Untouchables could be mistaken to belong to a sub-negroid race. But then proving that the North Indian Untouchables also belong to the negroid race could be very difficult.

Untouchability is unique to India. As Babasaheb said, the Blacks were never subjected to the severe form of slavery as the Untouchables are, so why make it only a Black issue? Why not appeal to all – Black and white – to help India's Untouchables?

**Why support Mandal ?:** *Dalit Voice* has been very loudly supporting Mandal Commission's recommendations leading to 70% reservations to India's Backward Castes along with SC/STs.

Will it not rob the country of competition needed for attracting talents to ensure efficiency in administration and business?. Encouraged by such reserved jobs and emboldened by the idea of never getting dismissed, these 'reserved bureaucrats' will push the nation into mediocrity and thus throw it into the same fate as we are seeing of the great Russian empire today. While, it is true that some reservation is needed to break the monopoly of the Brahmins, 70% is too high. May be a 50% reservation would be alright to which probably Dr. Ambedkar also could have agreed today, though in the 1950's he was very much against it.

**Dr. Ambedkar opposed BCs?:** Dr. Ambedkar, a true believer in open competition and the upholder of the principle of 'equality of opportunity', had strongly objected to the idea of 70%. He wanted the reservations to be kept to a bare minimum – only to SC/STs – the socially oppressed ones, from centuries. Speaking on this subject in Constitution Assembly, he said:

"Supposing for instance, reservations were made for a community or a collection of communities, the total of which came to something like 70 percent of the posts under the state and only 30 percent retained as unreserved. Could anybody say that the reservation of 30 percent as open to general competition would be satisfactory from the point of giving effect to the first principle, namely that there shall be equality of opportunity. It cannot be, in my judgement. Therefore, the seats to be reserved, if reservation is to be consistent with the subclause (i) of the article 10 (now 16), must be confined to a minority of seats. It is only then that the first principle could find its place in the Constitution and be effective in operation".

**Relations with Muslims:** *Dalit Voice* has long been equating the Muslims with Dalits. This may be true in South India, but the Muslims of North India will never tolerate to be associated with the Dalits. They are socially accepted by the Hindus and are educationally and economically better off than the Untouchables.

You have always been justifying Muslim social customs. Your recent editorial, (DV Dec. 1 1991), "Ameena Case: Muslim Leadership is Warned..." is a climax of such a defense. You see nothing wrong in child marriages amongst the Muslims. Your justification of 60 year old Saudi's marriage of 11 to 13 year-old Hyderabad-girl, Ameena, brings to my memory the shock and anger expressed by Dr. Ambedkar at the sad behaviour of the Muslims at the time of passing the famous anti-child marriage act, the Sarda Act.

Dr. Ambedkar would have been very sad to see child marriages still taking place and women's rights in many Islamic countries still being curtailed. Islamic world like Iran and Saudi Arabia even today require women to wear veils when in public.

**Driving Away Aryans:** *Dalit Voice* has not devoted even 10% of space to Buddhists and Buddhism compared to what it has devoted to Islam and Sikhs. May be it should be called a 'Muslim-Voice'.

Buddhism is not a toothless religion as some may think. Its teeth are so strong that Buddhists can eat anger and greed easily.

*Dalit Voice* has been successful in projecting Dr. B.R. Ambedkar as 'rebel-Ambedkar'. But the real Ambedkar is a patriot and a Buddhist. Dr. Ambedkar wanted the Dalits to join Buddhism in millions and thus create a religious fraternity to save the gains of equality and social justice. *Dalit Voice* should now try to project this constructive view of Dr. Ambedkar. Babasaheb never wanted to drive away the Aryans from India as *Dalit Voice* seems to have vowed to do. Aryans are here to stay in India. Untouchables should only quarrel with them if the Aryans deny them social justice and equality. Dalits will have to learn to interact with people of different cultures while keeping their identity alive.

It will be a great service if *Dalit Voice*, taking a cue from Buddhism's "middle-path", now starts teaching the Dalits to, 'live (respectfully) and let live (others)'.

*Brother Madhukar's name is familiar to our readers. He has been our subscriber since 1985. We respect his views and throw open his critique of DV policies for a wider debate which goes to prove what a virile readership we have - EDITOR.*

## COMMUNICATION

## Supporting SC/STs & Opposing BC reservations

ANDRE BETEILLE, PROF. OF SOCIOLOGY, DELHI, UNIVERSITY, DELHI 110 007

With ref. to your DV Dec.16, "India's corrupt intellectuals", I have been wrongly described there as belonging to the JNU. I am a professor of sociology in the University of Delhi. The JNU has a distinguished faculty and you have done it an injustice by describing me as a member of it while calling me a fake intellectual. Like you, I believe that a great many things need to be done for the disadvantaged sections of Indian society. But unlike you, *I do not believe that much good can come out of caste quotas in education and employment. I am opposed to caste quotas for the Other Backward Classes but not opposed to affirmative action, including reservation, for the SC/ST.* I believe that it is a serious mistake to club the SC/ST along with the OBCs and the religious minorities. I hope you will at a future date allow me the hospitality of your column to explain my views more fully. you do a disservice to your cause, for which I have some sympathy, by describing a newspaper such as *The Times of India* as 'toilet paper'.

*The professor has repeated his good old brahminical stand of opposing reservations to BCs while supporting it (in words) in the case of SC/STs but in action sabotaging it. The ruling brahminical social order is a pastmaster in this cunning game making SC/STs fight BCs and vice versa and then rule and ride over both. We know this game. The oppressed original inhabitants of India, victims of this Aryan terrorism - aided and abetted by its the corrupt intellectuals - are becoming*

*aware of their enslavement.*

*Reservations are part of our human rights assured in the Constitution of India to both SC/STs as well as to BCs who are identified as "socially and educationally" backward. "Economic backwardness" is not mentioned in the Constitution.*

**Reservation for Archakas:** *If our city-bred "intellectuals" want "economic criterion" they must get the Constitution amended.*

*SC/STs are no different from BCs. Both are original inhabitants of India. And both suffer from the same Aryan oppression. The brahminical mischief to divide the two will not work any longer.*

*If the professor is honest in opposing caste-based reservations why he is not opposing the cent per cent reservation for Brahmins as archakas in govt-managed temples? The oppressed people of India have started understanding the mischief of our fake intellectuals and the country's toilet papers.*

**Strong language:** *As for the use of "strong language", this is so with all the victims of violence all over the world. The only weapon of the hurt mind is to loudly protest. Well-fed people using deception to enslave the oppressed need not resort to invectives or polemics. Read our DV edit March 1, 1991. The professor should know that DV is the country's only journal for the persecuted nationalities denied human rights. Its language, its style cannot be changed. That is the only language the enemy understands. DV is not meant for the cunning and the well-fed. - EDITOR.*

# Beef-Eating by Vedic Brahmins

That the vedic Brahmins have been voracious beef-eaters is an established fact and admitted by Brahmin historians themselves. Today's Hindu nazi parties led by Brahmins, however, strangely oppose beef-eating and use violence to stop cow slaughter. They use state force to ban cow-slaughter - while at the same time advocating that if India has to progress, "we must go back to vedic days". Going back to vedic days means Brahmins must take to beef-eating. They demand cow slaughter ban and in the same breath they also advocate "back to vedas". (DV Nov. 1, 1989 "When Brahmins were gluttonous Beef-Eaters", Mukundi Lal p.16 to 21 & DV Dec. 1, 1989 p.22: Secret of cow worship")

The Nazis do this not because they love the cow which they call their mother. If they are really born to the cow, and not their mothers, why they are permitting widespread beef-eating in Kerala? Are not the Kerala cows their mother? In Kerala, every hotel serves delicious beef-fry and the customers are the very members of the brahminical social order who are today in the forefront of anti-cow slaughter campaign all over India - of course except Kerala.

Here is a verdict on the vedic brahmins, ancestors of today's Brahmins, who were such gluttonous beef-eaters. The author is a noted Brahmin historian from Maharashtra, D.R. Bhandarkar, whose book, **Ancient Indian Culture**, (1939) is now available in Asian Educational Services - reprint (1989) : C2/15, SDA, New Delhi-16. The following is the VI Chapter, "Indianisation" (from his book, pages 70 to 81).

## DR. D.R. BHANARKAR

In this Lecture we shall set ourselves to the task of illustrating a different phase of Indian civilisation. I have remarked more than once that when two civilisations impinge upon each other, one adopts and imbibes many features of the other according to the degree of its pre-eminence. And it is always interesting to note what features are so absorbed and by what process. Sometimes, however, some of these features are superimposed upon the old civilisation, and it looks as if they too are being absorbed by it. But somehow they are found unassimilable and gradually thrown out till the corresponding features of the old civilisation assert themselves in their pristine form and virulence. Both these elements are traceable in the Indianisation of foreign cultures. In fact, we have already pointed out what constituents of Aryan culture were selected and imbibed by Indian civilisation. We shall now single out one of the Aryan customs and practices which was discarded by Hinduism although it was being foisted upon it for a long time. Perhaps "Position of Woman in Ancient India" would have been a better subject for this purpose from

all points of view, because that would have shown what constituents of non-Indian foreign cultures, Aryan and non-Aryan, were adopted and what others thrown out by Ancient India. But this would require at least four Lectures for its proper elucidation and treatment. We have therefore to be content with "the Cow in Ancient India", and here we shall describe that peculiar phase of Indianisation which shows what pabulum of foreign culture Ancient India had tried to gulp but ejected because it was found unassimilable.

### BEEF IN RIG VEDA

We shall turn first to the Vedas, and above all to Rig-Veda to determine whether or not the cow was immolated and also to ascertain what position this animal held in the estimation of the people. Rig-Veda, X, 91, 14 gives us an insight into the kinds of animals that were slaughtered on the occasion of sacrifices, and may be translated as follows:

"He, in whom horses, bulls, oxen, and barren cows (*vasa*) and rams, when duly set apart, are offered up, - To Agni, Soma-sprinkled, drinker of sweet juice, disposer, with my heart

I bring a fair hymn forth".

It will be seen from this Rik that bulls and barren cows were sacrificed along with horses and rams; and many such hymns from the Vedas can similarly be quoted. Nay, of the animals of sacrifice, bulls and barren cows appear to be favourites of Agni, the god of fire. In Rig-Veda, VIII, 43, 11, e.g. Agni is called *ukshanna* and *vasanna*, i.e. 'eater of bulls and of barren cows'. The bulls, again, were killed not only for the purpose of sacrifices but also for food; and there seem to have been regular slaughter-houses kept. This is evident from Rig-Veda, X, 89, 14:

"Where was the vengeful dart when thou, O Indra, cleavest the demon ever bent on an outrage?

When fiends lay there upon the ground extended like cattle (*gavah*) in the shambles?"

Further, it is worthy of note that the ox-hide was in the time of the Rig-Veda turned to many uses, and served as the material of various objects, such as a bowstring, a sling, reins, the lash of a whip, or thongs to fasten part of the chariot. In fact, the ox-hide was so commonly used that the word *go* is

often employed synonymously with *charman*.

In the hymns that have been quoted above, the Sanskrit word used for 'cow'; is *vasa*, which, truly speaking, signifies 'a sterile cow'. It, therefore, seems to have been the general practice to sacrifice a cow that was barren. What is to be borne in mind here is the fact that a milch-cow was seldom, if ever, sacrificed, and consequently the sacrificial cow was the sterile cow during the Vedic times, there being apparently no restriction in regard to the slaughter of bulls. In the Atharva-Veda we have a hymn (XII 4) which insists upon the gift of a barren cow being made over to a Brahman as soon as she is discovered to be so.

"The sterile cow in her very birth is born for the gods and Brahmans. Hence to the Brahmans she is to be given: that, they say, guarantees the security of one's own property "

#### ARYANS FOREIGNERS

Next, the slaying of a cow formed a most essential feature of the funeral ceremonies also. Thus Rig-Veda, X, 16, 7, has : "(O corpse) put on the armour, which comes from the parts of the cow, (which will protect thee) against Agni; envelop thyself with (her) thick fat". The meaning of this will be clear from *Asvalayana-Grihasutra*, IV, 3, which gives detailed directions as to what parts of the cow are to be used and how. Thus we have : "Taking out the omentum of the cow called *anustarani* he should cover therewith the head and the mouth (of the dead person), with the verse *Agner-varma*" (.V., X. 16.7), and so forth and so on. In fact, all the various parts of a cow slain were used to cover the corresponding parts of a corpse, with the object of ensuring the unimpeded march of the dead person in the next world. It thus clearly indicates that in the time of the Rig-Veda the cow was considered by some to be of great sacramental efficacy.

This peculiar combination of the sense of utility with the sacramental efficacy of the cow did not spring

up in the minds of the Aryans after they penetrated and were settled in India as the effect of their new environments, but was a feeling which they shared with their Iranian brothers and which they really brought into India. This is seen from the position which she occupies in the Old Avestic literature and even in the mind of the modern Parsi. In the 9th chapter of the Vendidad of the Avesta, the purificatory power of the cow's urine is dilated upon. It is declared to be a panacea for all bodily and moral evils. It is drunk as well as applied externally, as is done by the Hindus also. Urine of the bull or cow, called *nirang*, is brought to orthodox Parsi houses every morning, and a small quantity of it is applied to the face, hand and feet. The milk of it is applied to the face, hand and feet. The milk of the cow was a favourite and universal article of food. And "flesh seems also to have been dressed for eating. Bows were strung with the sinews of the ox". It is thus quite reasonable to hold that the reverence for the cow, as shown in the Vedic hymns cited above, was not something which was new and unknown before and which generated itself in the mind of the Vedic Aryan in his new surroundings but was a feeling which his forefathers harboured and nurtured and which was consequently hereditary.

Although the barren cow was sacrificed and killed even for the sake of ordinary food and the cow-hide was used for various purposes, sacramental and secular, the animal did command an exceedingly high degree of sanctity with some people in those days of yore. Thus in Rig-Veda, VIII, 90, we have two verses in praise of the cow. The first of these is as follows:-

Mata Rudranam duhita Vasunam  
svas-Adityanam-amritasya nabhih  
Pra nu vocham chikitushe janaya ma  
gam-anagam-Aditim vadhishtha

Translation

"The Rudras' Mother, Daughter of the Vasus, centre of nectar, the Adityas' Sister —

To folk who understand will I proclaim it — kill not the cow, Aditi, the sinless".

#### ASURAS

Here the cow is said to be related to the various divinities and has been asked not to be slain at all. Here the word used is, not *vasa*, 'a barren cow', but *gau* which denotes the cow in general. In this connection it is worthy of note that another word for cow which occurs in the Rig-Veda is *aghnya*, which means 'not fit to be killed, inviolable.' Sometimes this word is used by itself, sometimes as an epithet of the cow. Sixteen times has this word been traced in the Rig-Veda, and its masculine form *aghnya* has also been employed thrice with reference to the bull. It seems that even in the Rigvedic period the whole of the bovine species was considered inviolable by some composers of the hymns. Who these were it is difficult to say. They must be some pre-Aryan Indians who became Aryanised like the Asuras and the Vratyas and contributed to the scriptural hymnology of India, *for outside India the worship of the cow as a divinity and the inviolability of her person are utterly unknown.*

During the period when the Brahmanas were composed, the slaughter of cows seems to have increased. Among the *kamyeshitis* set forth in the Taittiriya-Brahmana, not only the sacrifices of oxen and cows are laid down, but we are even told what kind and description of this animal are to be offered to what deities. Thus we have to sacrifice a dwarf ox to Vishnu; a drooping-horned bull with a blaze on the forehead to Indra as the destroyer of Vritra; a black cow to Pushan; a red cow to Rudra; and so on. This Brahmana notes another sacrifice called *Panchasaradiya-sava*, the most important element of which was the immolation of seventeen five-year old, humpless, dwarf bulls, and as many dwarf heifers under three years. We refrain from giving

more instances, as those just given are sufficient to show beyond all doubt that cows continued to be killed, nay were killed perhaps in large numbers, during the Brahmana period. We shall, however, here notice one or two protests, that are to be met with in a Brahmana and which are the only ones that we have been able to trace in the whole of the Brahmana literature. They are not protests in the strict sense of the word, but rather exhortations against eating beef. It is contained in the Satapatha-Brahmana III.1.2.21, and is as follows:

### MADHUPARKA

He (the Adhvaryu) then makes him enter the hall. Let him not eat (the flesh) of either the cow or the ox, for the cow and the ox doubtless support everything here on earth. The gods spake, 'Verily, the cow and the ox support everything here: come, let us bestow on the cow and the ox whatever vigour belonged to other species (of animals); and therefore the cow and the ox eat most. Hence, were one to eat (the flesh) of an ox or a cow, there would be, as it were, an eating of everything, or, as it were, a going to the end (or, to destruction).... Let him therefore not eat (the flesh) of the cow and the ox. Nevertheless Yajnavalkya said "I, for one, eat it, provided that it is tender' (h=ovacha Yajnavalkyo=snamy=evaham=amsalam ched=bhava=iti). In spite of the inordinate fondness displayed by Jajnavalkya for beef, this passage from the Satapatha-Brahmana contains an undoubted exhortation against eating bovine flesh, certainly not on religious, but on utilitarian grounds. The other passage also is an exhortation, not a protest, against sacrificing not simply the ox, but all animals, not so much again on utilitarian as on ethical grounds. We shall now turn to the Sutra literature, which comprise "manuals of conduct in domestic and social relations." The first of these is called Grihya-sutraas. Here we must confine ourselves only to one or two

instances. The name of the *Madhuparka* rite is familiar to every Hindu, and is set forth in the *Asvalayana Grihayasutra* (I:24). The personages in whose honour its performance was imperative are a Ritvig priest, a Vedic student on his return home, a king and so forth. The most important offering was of *Madhuparka*, whose name has been given to the whole ceremony. It consisted of honey and curds. The householder rinsed his mouth twice, and sipped a little water. A cow was thereafter brought forward and offered to the guest. Having mumbled *hato me papma me hatah*, "destroyed be my sin, my sin be destroyed," he ordered the immolation of the cow, with the word *omkuru* (accomplish, amen!). But if he chose to let her loose, he repeated *Mata Rudranam duhita Vasunam* etc., just the Rik, quoted above, which speaks of the cow as a divinity and as an inviolable creature. Anyhow this rite, ordians *Asvalayana*, is not to be concluded without flesh-meat. On this the commentator remarks: "when the cow was sacrificed, her flesh served food; but if she was let off, another kind of flesh-meat was provided." If we carefully reflect upon this passage from the *Grihya-sutra*, we come to the following conclusions: (1) that those who pertained to the Brahmanic faith were expected to eat meat at least during such an important ceremony as the *Madhuparka*; and (2) that some of them considered it to be a sin to eat bovine flesh. Nevertheless, some of them did partake of it, because it was so required by the religious ceremony handed down from time immemorial. In that circumstances they could wash off their sin by the recitation of the mantra (*hato me papma &c.*) referred to above; but (3) that if they could not get over the qualms of their conscience, they were quite justified in eschewing beef in favour of any other meat. *This clearly shows that the pre-Aryan Indian feeling of reverence for the cow as a divinity was gradually getting the better of the Brahmanic sense of utility of the*

*animals, because through madhuparka was accepted by the Aryanised Indians, all of them could not bring themselves to have a cow killed in their honour as they considered it to be 'a sin' (papama).*

### EATING OX & GOAT

The *Madhuparka* ceremony seems to have been very old and popular. In the *Satapatha-Brahmana* III. 4.1 an account is given of *Atithya* or hospitable reception of king Soma.

"He, the purchased Soma; truly comes as the sacrificer's guest - to him (is offered) that (hospitable reception): even as for king or a Brahman one would cook a large ox or a large he-goat-for that is human (fare offered to guest) and the oblation is that of the gods - so he prepares for him that guest-offering".

This extract from the *Satapatha-Brahmana* indubitably points to the conclusion that the ceremony of killing an ox in honour of a guest of distinction was prevalent even in the time of the Brahmanas. Nay, there are indications which prove that it was in all likelihood known also in the *Rig-Veda* period. *Madhuparka* has been prescribed even in such late works as the *Manu* (III, 119-20) and *Yajnavalkya smritis* (I, 109-10). *Yajnavalkya* distinctly lays down that a big ox (*mahoksha*) or a big goat (*mahaja*) is to be immolated on such an occasion, but *Manu* makes no remarks in this respect. There can, however, be no doubt that *Manu* meant a bull to be killed for the observance of this rite. For in Chapter III. v. 3 he ordains that the student, who, after completing his term, has become a *snataka*, shall be honoured with a bull (*gava*), which commentators have rightly taken to mean *go-sadhana-Madhuparkena*, 'with *Madhuparka* which the bull is a means of celebrating.' The killing of ox formed such an essential part of the hospitality to be shown to a distinguished guest that a compound word consisting of two words meaning 'a bull' and 'to kill' respectively was coined to deno-

a guest. The word is no other than *goghna*, which, according to Panini, III, 3, 73; means *gam hanti tasmai goghno-tithih*, in other words, *goghna* is one for whom one kills a bull, i.e., a guest.

#### VASISTA LIKED BEEF

We now turn to the literature on Dharma, the earlier stratum of which has been represented by the Dharma-sutras. Vasishtha (XIV. 40) distinctly lays down that "among (domestic) animals those having teeth in one jaw only, excepting camels, (may be eaten)". This category obviously includes the bovine animal, as we shall see it in detail when we come to consider the views of Manu. Vasishtha, however, makes an exception in favour of milch-cows and draught-oxen, dictated no doubt by the economic exigencies of the state. But he allows their slaughter only for religious purposes, because the Vajasaneyaka decalres, says he, that the milch-cow and the draught-ox are *medhya* or fit for sacrifice. Curiously, Gautama says nothing about animals having teeth in one jaw only, but lays down (XVII. 30) that milch-cows and draught-oxen shall not be killed. This last statement, however, clearly implies that he allowed the flesh of those cows and those bulls which were not milch-cows and draught-oxen. He thus practically agrees with Vasishtha. The case, however, is different with Apastamba who in 1.5.17.29 lays a general embargo on the eating of the bovine flesh, but is compelled to allow it even in the case of a milch-cow and draught-ox because like Vasishtha he quotes the Vajasaneyaka which declares bull's flesh as *medhya* or fit for sacrifice. Because beef-eating has been summarily prohibited by Apastamba, we must not suppose that the cow had become a sacred animal and it was therefore considered sacrilegious to kill her. For in another place (1.9.16.1) he ordains that if a milch-cow or draught-ox is slain without a reason, the same penance has to be

performed as that for killing a Sudra. Haradatta, the commentator, says that a reason for hurting a cow is anger or the desire to obtain meat. And when such a reason does not exist, what is the punishment inflicted upon the killer?

Only such a small penance as that of killing a Sudra. And when the animal, be it noted, is neither a milch-cow nor a draught-ox, such a cow or such an ox may be killed with impunity. Does this show that the cow was regarded by Apastamba as a sacred animal as in modern times? Baudhayana is better and clearer in this respect, because even for the destruction of an ordinary cow he (1.10.19. 3-4) imposes the fine laid down for slaying a Sudra, that is, one bull and ten cows, but for killing a milch-cow or a draught-ox, the performance of the Chandrayana (lunar penance) over and above the prescribed fine.

#### MANU & BEEF

We now come to the later period of the Dharma or Smriti literature. Of the Smritis, those of Manu and Yajnavalkya are regarded as the oldest and most important. And we had occasion to allude to these Smritis, while we were inquiring into the nature of the *Madhuparka* rite.

It will have been noticed that beef frequently formed an essential part of this ceremony. This conclusion is also in agreement with other prescriptions of these legislators whether connected with the subject of food or sin. It deserves to be noticed that in Chap. V. of his Smriti which deals with lawful and forbidden food, Manu nowhere prohibits the use of beef as he would most certainly have done if it had been condemned in his time as it is to-day. On the contrary, in verse 18 of this Chapter (*bhakhshyan pancha-nakhesh-ahuh an-ushtrams-ch-akatodatah*), he like Vasishtha sanctions the consumption of the flesh of all domestic animals that have teeth in one jaw only, excepting camels. Under the category just referred to

come not only camels but also cows. But whereas he has placed restrictions on the former, he has said nothing about the latter. Obviously, therefore, Manu allows the consumption of bovine flesh. This is not the conclusion which a heterodox person like myself draws, but is also what has been deduced by orthodox Pandits like Medhatithi and Raghavananda, who have commented on this passage from the Manusmriti. Thus the first of these says: *Ushtra-varjita ekatodatah go-vy-aja mriga bhakshyah*. And the second has: *ekatodatah ekapanktidanta-yuktan gavadin*. It is thus clear that both these commentators agree in saying that **cow's flesh for food is allowed by Manu**. Secondly, students of Smriti literature are well aware that both Manu and Yajnavalkya distinguish between two kinds of sins: (1) *mahapataka* or mortal sins and (2) *upapataka* or minor offences, and that while 'killing a Brahman', drinking spirituous liquors' and so forth are put by them under the first class, 'slaying kine is relegated to the second.

#### COW-KILLING ALLOWED

This also indicates that these Hindu law-givers do not consider *go-hatya* as heinous and inexcusable as it is to-day. It may, however, be asked why slaying kine was considered an *upapataka* at all if beef was allowed. The reply to this question has obviously to be given in the words of the Apastamba which we have considered above. *Go-hatya* is reprehensible only if a cow is killed without any good reason such as uncontrollable anger or desire to eating her flesh. It will be seen from the above discussion that ***go-hatya* was not universally considered heinous or inexcusable even till the time of the Manu or the Yajnavalkya Smriti**. When then it may be asked: did this offence come to be placed under the category of *mahapataka* as it undoubtedly is at the present day?

We have got the incontrovertible evidence of inscriptions to show that early in the 5th century A.D. killing a cow was looked upon as an offence of the deepest turpitude, turpitude as deep as that involved in murdering a Brahman. We have thus a copper-plate inscription dated 465 A.D. and referring itself to the reign of Skandagupta of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. It registers a grant and ends with a verse saying: "Whosoever will transgress this grant that has been assigned (shall become as guilty as) the slayer of a cow, the slayer of a spiritual preceptor, (or) the slayer of a Brahman. A still earlier record placing *go-hatya* on the same footing as *brahma-hatya* is that of Chandragupta II, grand-father of Skandagupta just mentioned. It bears the Gupta date 93, which is equivalent to 412 A.D. It is engraved on the railing which surrounds the celebrated Buddhist stupa at Sanchi, in Central India. This also speaks of a benefaction made by an officer of Chandragupta and ends as follows: *tad-etat-pravrittam ya uchchhind-yat sa go-brahma-hatyaya samyukto bhavet panchabhis-ch-anantaryair-iti*, "Whosoever shall interfere with this arrangement – he shall become invested with (the guilt of) the slaughter of a cow or of a Brahman, and with (guilt of) the five *anantarya*". Here the object of this statement is to threaten the resumer of the grant, be he a Brahmanist or a Buddhist, with the sins regarded as moral by each community. The *anantaryas* are the five *mahapatakas* according to Buddhist theology. They are : matricide, parricide, killing an Arhat, shedding the blood of a Buddha, and causing a split among the priesthood. The *mahapatakas* with which a Brahmanist is here threatened are only two : viz., the killing of a cow and the murdering of a Brahmin. The latter is obviously a *mahapataka* as it is mentioned as such in all the Smritis, but the former has been specified only an *upapataka* by Apastamba, Manu, Yajnavalkya and so forth. But the

very fact that it is here associated with *brahma-hatya* and both have been put on a par with the *anantaryas* of the Buddhists shows that in the beginning of the fifth century A.D. it was raised to the category of *mahapatakas*. Thus *go-hatya* must have come to be considered a *mahapataka* at least one century earlier, i.e. about the commencement of the fourth century A.D.

#### AHIMSA NOT IN HINDUISM

What could be the cause of this complete change in the popular mind in regard to the status of the cow? How could the view about the inviolability of the person of the cow and the bull completely dominate the Vedic Aryan practice of slaughtering the cow not only for sacrifice but also for food? How could *go-hatya* come to occupy exactly the same place in the popular estimation as *Brahma-hatya*? About the end of Lecture IV attention has been drawn to the prevalence of Vrishala culture represented in its religious aspect, by the Sramana sects such as Buddhism, Jainism and Ajivikism. One notable feature of this culture was Ahimsa, 'abstention from injury to all creatures. To take one instance, **Buddha like other Sramana teachers was strongly opposed to the slaughter of the animals in general and of cows in particular.** Thus Samyutta-Nikaya (III 1.9) informs us that once a great sacrifice was being arranged for Pasenadi, the Kosala king. Five hundred bulls, five hundred calves and many heifers, goats and rams were led to the pillar to be sacrificed. On coming to know about it, the Buddha burst out saying: "Asvamedha, Purushamedha, Vajapeya and such fussy rites can never bring a rich result, because diverse goats and sheep and kine are slain. To such a rite never repair the noble seers who walk the perfect way." This is a protest against *himsa* in general. But a protest against cow-killing in particular is contained in the

*Brahman dhammikasutta* of the 'Sutta-nipata. In this Sutta, Buddha contrasts the profound self-abnegation of the Brahmans long long anterior to his time with the ever-waxing cupidity of the Brahmans who were his contemporaries or lived shortly before his time. Some of the concluding verses may be translated here:

"23. And they having thus received wealth wished for a store, and the desire of those who had given way to (their) wishes increased still more; they then, in this matter, having composed hymns, went again to okkaka....

25. And then the king, the lord of chariots, instructed by the Brahmans, caused many hundred thousand cows to be slain in offerings.

26. The cows, that are like goats, do not hurt any one with their feet or with either of their horns, they are tender, and yield vessels (of milk) – seizing them by the horns the king caused them to be slain with a weapon.

27. Then the gods, the forefathers, Indra, the Asuras, and the Rakkasas cried out : "This is injustice," because of the weapon falling on the cows.

29. This injustice of (using) violence that has come down (to us), was old, innocent (cows) are slain, the sacrificing (priests) have fallen from the Dhamma".

#### BUDDHA'S ROLE

Can there be a more forcible protest against cow-slaughter than this one couched in the language of Buddha? I have also pointed out elsewhere that prior to the rise of the Sungas the greater portion of India was held by the Mauryas, the Nandas, the Nagas and so forth who were adherents of one Sramana sect or another and not one of whom performed Brahmanical rites and sacrifices which constituted the essence of Brahmanism. It is true that, with the advent of the Sungas to power, there was a revival of Brahmanism. But Buddhism and Jainism had

already spread over the whole of India with virulence and thoroughness. They could not but have deeply impressed the mentality of the people and changed their outlook on life to a large extent. It is therefore no wonder, if by the fourth century A.D. the killing of the cow was considered to be as heinous a sin as the murder of a Brahman, even by the followers of Brahmanism, although it had all along allowed the slaughter of the bovine species for the purposes of sacrifice and food. This ascendancy of the Sramana sects made itself felt on Hinduism from the Gupta period onwards in a variety of ways. If we open e.g. Chapter V. of the Manu-smriti we shall find the first fifty-four verses devoted to the description at length of 'lawful and forbidden food', where minute details have been given in regard to what kind of bird and animal flesh could be eaten. But the twelve verses following it dwell upon the

merits of abstaining from eating meat and are evidently later additions. Two of these have been given in regard to what kind of bird and animal flesh could be eaten. But the twelve verses following it dwell upon the merits of abstaining from eating meat and are evidently later additions. Two of these have the following :

(V. 48) "Meat can never be obtained without injury to living creatures; injury to sentient beings is detrimental to heavenly bliss; let him therefore shun meat", (V. 53) "He, who during a hundred years annually offers a horse-sacrifice, and he, who entirely abstains from meat, obtain the same reward for their meritorious (conduct)."

These verses clearly show that the Ahimsa dharma of the Sramana sects was producing an impression on the followers of Brahmanism and their law books. The same is the case with the

shaving of widow's head which seems to have been adopted from the nuns of Sramana sects, - either Buddhism or Jainism. The older Smritis, including Manu and Yajnavalkya recommend Brahmacharya or celibacy only to the widows. The later Smritis, such as Vishnu and Narada, recommend either Brahmacharya or Suttee. Still later Smritis recommend Suttee only. But no genuine Smriti entertains the idea of shaving her head. This custom appears to have been adopted at a very late period from the nuns of Buddhism or Jainism who relinquished all dress and all ornamentation and put on ochre-coloured clothes after shaving their heads. The influence of these Sramana sects is far deeper than is generally imagined, because even Buddha the founder of Buddhism and Rishabhadeva the originator of Jainism are looked upon as incarnations of Vishnu by Hinduism. ■

#### WARNING TO BCs

### Sargur Dalits organise self-defence to meet Hindu violence

M. GOPINATH, GEN. SECRETARY, KARNATAKA SAMATA SAINIK DAL, BANGALORE.

Even before the Chundur mass murder of Dalits is forgotten, six Dalits of Sargur village, Mysore dt. Karnataka, are cut into pieces in November last and thrown into the flowing Kabini canal. ("Chundur proves non-Hindus can't live with Hindus" DV Sept.1 1991, p.3). Though these two "caste wars" - Chundur and Sargur - have occurred in different states and times, there are very many striking similarities between them. ("Mysore Caste War DV Dec. 1 '91, p.20).

The origin of the Sargur Hindu barbarity is in the alleged "quarrel" over a cinema ticket between Dalits and Lingayats of Anchipura. This is just a pretext to conceal the truth.

Dalits of Mysore dt. have a glorious history of fighting the tyrannical brahminism. Hindus in this area had never tolerated Dalits and the hostility between the two had been increasing.

**Rule of Dalit Kings:** Mysore dt. and the surrounding areas were once ruled by Dalit kings. They were Buddhists and always opposed the brahminical ceremonies like killing of animals (*yagnas*). Mahishasura was a powerful ruler with a mighty army. He had defeated all petty principalities and built a large empire called *Mahishasurana Ooru* (Area of Mahishasura). The Buddhist rule put a stop to Brahmin *yagnas* and they too were forced to work like others.

**Chamundi used:** Brahmins, having lost their only source of livelihood, had a tough time. As they could not fight Mahishasura face to face they used a Dalit woman, Chamundi (also called Durga or Durgi), to poison him to death. Later, they manufactured stories to malign the great king and worshipped Chamundi as an

incarnation of goddess 'Shakti'.

"Mahishasurana Ooru" later became "Mysooru". Mahishasura's was not the first or the last battle against brahminism. After his death, his empire got divided and weakend.

**Lingayats Hinduised:** Mahadeshwara, a Buddhist saint, had waged a furious battle against brahminism. But he was soon absorbed by Veerashaivism which later got corrupted and Hinduised. Most of today's Veerashaivas (Lingayats) were once Dalits.

Our Dalit culture was also co-opted by the Brahmins. They branded us as Holeyas and Madigas. But the Dalits have not forgotten the heinous role played by Brahmins and hence this hatred between the two continued. That is why the Brahmins and the allies of Brahmins are so much afraid of Dalits and impose every possible restriction to

keep us away.

This is the glorious history of Dalits of Mysore. Our late Chief Minister Devaraj Urs, who also hailed from Mysore dt, was pro-Dalit and Backward Caste. Even today, many villages in this district are dominated by Dalits. In some of the villages, the hatred against Dalits is acute.

**Highly educated Dalits:** Sargur is one such village where the Dalits are acutely conscious of their glorious past and the brahminical treachery. Of the 250 houses of Dalits, over 30 have graduates, 5 post-graduates. Over 50 boys and girls are now studying in colleges. At least, one educated person is found every house.

Bogappa, a young graduate, was the first person to light the fire by propagating the ideals of Babasaheb and craving for self-respect among our people. Today, over 150 Dalit houses have their own lands.

The Sargur Dalits did not limit their activities to their village. They influenced nearby villages where Dalits were not allowed to wear chappals in the village limits. This ban was ended by the Sargur Dalits. In the Mandal elections, Bogappa was elected Upa-pradhan. This was a big blow to the Lingayats.

**Insult to Babasaheb:** On the "Independence Day", Dalits wanted to place Babasaheb's portrait along with that of M.K. Gandhi. The Lingayats objected and threw out Babasaheb's portrait. This was taken as a serious insult by our people and in retaliation they stamped over Gandhi's photo and broke it. This was the beginning of the battle. Lingayats stepped up persecution of Dalits. They put fire to their ragi stacks on the night of Nov. 9, 91.

Things reached a boiling point on Nov. 11 when the Lingayats of Anchipura alighted from a State bus bound for Sargur and abused the Dalits. The verbal fracas exploded into fist fight. Lingayats attacked three Dalits and hurled them into the canal. But the sturdy Dalits saved themselves. Dalits then

smashed the heads of two Lingayats and threw them into the flowing Kabini canal.

The Hindus thought that the Dalits would silently submit. They never expected the Dalits to hit back. They did not realise the revolutionary changes brought about by Babasaheb's thoughts. *The brave heroes of Sargur made history and joined their ancestor, Mahishasura.*

**Hindu Police help Hindus :** The Lingayats of Anchipura, who had no guts to face Dalits sought the help of police. Dalits expected this and had made every preparation. But they never expected that the police too would turn Hindu and support the Hindus. Scores of policemen with guns and lathis beelined into the colony and attacked the Dalits. Men fled away and as they were fleeing the Lingayats hiding in the fields caught hold of the Dalits and butchered them. *They killed in all six Dalits and threw them into the Kabini canal. Six more Dalits are suspected to have been killed.* The Hindu police excelled the Hindu villagers in brutality. Women were stripped, their houses looted and burnt and children beaten up. The joint attack lasted for five hours.

**Shudras & BCs warned:** It is true that the total loss of life and property suffered by our people was much higher than that of Hindus. But an important lesson of Sargur is that it proved to the world that the Dalits would no longer simply submit and tolerate loss of self-respect and their human rights.

Murder is permitted for self-defence. Sargur has exploded the Hindu myth that the Dalits are meek, weak and cowardly.

**SCs not enemies of BCs:** Though we appreciate the Dalit self-defence efforts, we should note that our oppressors in rural areas are Sudras and also BCs. They are not Brahmins but brahminised. In Sargur, the backward castes also joined the Lingayats in anti-Dalit violence. So, it is our duty to warn these idiotic, unthinking BCs that Dalits are not the enemies of BCs.

The dispute between Dalits and

others at Sargur is the by-product of brahminical oppression. The village economy is controlled by cities which are mainly dominated by Brahmins and Banias. It is because of these elements, villages are decaying. Compared to industry and services, agriculture is a losing industry. But the people (Dalits and BCs) have no other alternative, owing to lack of education and technology.

**Principal contradiction:** India's Brahmin-Bania combine is deliberately promoting minor contradictions into a major antagonistic contradiction so that the Dalits and BCs keep fighting. Such a clash between two non-antagonistic people will help the real enemy to hide itself. As the Brahmin-Bania combine has the press, it can engineer such clashes and fan the fire of hatred between the two. *The shudras and BCs must note that they too are oppressed by the very same brahminism. All of us are oppressed by a common enemy.*

So it is for the BCs and Shudras to realise that their liberation is possible only when we all join hands to fight and eliminate brahminism which is the principal contradiction in India. As long as brahminism continues not one of us can be happy.

**BCs are also indigenous:** Dalits have always joined and led the movements of BCs and Shudras like the Mandal agitation. In fact, we firmly believe that the BCs, like Dalits, are also indigenous people. Today, they are made to cling to unproductive agriculture by not allowing them to switch on to industry. Shudras and BCs are brainwashed to do this.

They must go up in the ladder of production system rather than come down to fight Dalits. Sooner they realise this supreme truth better it would be. Until they realise this truth, we cannot keep losing our lives and property. Brahminism cannot be eradicated so soon and so easily. Hence, we need to think of separate settlements as Babasaheb suggested.

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