

OBC VOICE



PARLIAMENT

DATA

APPOINTMENTS OF
HIGH COURT JUDGES (2018 – 2023)

Total: 650

UPPER CASTES
(General)

492 (75.62%)

OBC:76
(11.7%)

SC:23
(3.54%)

ST:10
(1.54%)

MINORITIES: 36 (5.54%) OTHERS:13

WOMEN JUDGES

111

SUPREME COURT
3

HIGHEST WOMEN JUDGES:

15

(PUNJAB-HARIYANA HC)

MADRAS HC

12

MUMBAI HC

11

SOCIAL DIVERSITY IN JUDICIARY

*need of
the
hour*

நூல்
அறிமுகம்

RESERVATION
IS OXYGEN

BALKANISING
THE HINDUS

THOUGHTS OF
PERIYAR

PRIVATE BILL
CENSUS &
PROMOTION

1st Nagercoil Region OBC Staff Members Meet



All India Indian Overseas Bank OBC Staff Welfare Association Nagercoil Region Meeting was held on 09.12.2023.

BOOK LAUNCH



Commemorating the 50th Remembrance Day of Periyar EVR, the Students' Federation of Dravidians launched Periyar's 'Why Proportional Representation' English Book on 21.12.2023 at Delhi. Hon'ble MPs Giridhari Yadav and P.Wilson released the book and addressed the function.

2nd STATE CONFERENCE AND 4th GENERAL BODY MEETING 23.12.2023 AT MUMBAI



Union Bank of India Backward Classes Employees (OBC) Welfare Association, Maharashtra state unit conducted its 2nd State Conference and 4th general body meeting at IMC hall, Mumbai.



DECEMBER 24: THANTHAI PERIYAR'S 50th DEATH ANNIVERSARY

On behalf of Union Bank OBC Association, Tamil Nadu, Office bearers: G Karunanidhy, President, S.Natarajan, Gen Secretary, P.Lokesh Prabhu, Treasurer, S.Sathiyamurthi, Secretary, K.Chandran, Advisor, paid respects at the memorial of social revolutionary Thanthai Periyar at Periyar Thidal, Chennai on 24.12.2023





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in the articles
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LET NEW YEAR 2024 DAWN TO ACHIEVE SOCIAL JUSTICE

The year 2023 has ended; New Year 2024 has begun. We wish our contributors and public, a Happy New Year and Pongal greetings.

During the year, every effort has been made by OBC Federation and social organisations demanding the Union Government to bring measures for the advancement of the backward classes. One of the major efforts is to impress upon the government to conduct a caste census. Demonstrations were conducted and representations were sent; But the Government is firm in declining the much needed exercise. Few State governments – Bihar, Odisha have conducted caste survey; few other states have announced to follow. But an overall exercise which is under the domain of Union Government will answer the demands of various groups that claim reservation in education and jobs. The Opposition parties now rallying in support of caste census is a welcome sign.

The creamy layer concept that was imposed by the Supreme Court has done more harm than good. As per the recent data by the Union Government in Parliament. Against a mandated 27% quota for OBCs, AIIMS Delhi has less than 19% OBC faculty, while AIIMS Jodhpur has less than 9%; Ministry cites they difficulty in finding OBC candidates for senior faculty positions. The answer is simple. Many of the eligible OBC candidates have been excluded from reservation ambit, in the guise of creamy layer.

The recent constitutional amendment 102 and 105 have identified the backward classes on the list compiled by the Union Govt. Legal experts opine that when a list of backward classes is defined in the constitution, there cannot be exclusion of these communities in the guise of creamy layer. But the Govt. is yet to answer on this serious issue.

Besides this, even the minimum action of revising the annual income ceiling of Rs. 8 lacs fixed in 2017 every three years have not been done; In Parliament, Hon'ble Minister categorically says there is no need to revise the income ceiling even after six years conveniently forgetting the inflationary impact.

Lakhs of posts remains unfilled and vacant for years. The govt. data say nearly 10 lac posts are vacant. On an average 2.7 lac OBC youths would have joined the govt. services. Their opportunities are scuttled. In the Railways alone, nearly 3 lac posts are remaining vacant.

We see no light at the end of the tunnel; Judiciary which is the last hope of the citizens is denying justice to the backward classes. They uphold the EWS Upper caste 10% reservation act forgetting that a nine-judge bench in 1992 declared that reservation under economic criteria is unconstitutional. The recent data show that the representation of judges in High Courts belonging to OBC, SC, ST and Minorities is just 24% and the remaining 76% are dominated by the Upper castes.

The Union Government gives new version of social justice: one for OBC, SC and ST and another for EWS. The government says that 50% ceiling is applicable only for OBC, SC and ST and not to EWS, as if the EWS reservation is carved out from some other planet.

Out of the recommendations of the Mandal Commission Report submitted in 1980 – only two have been implemented so far. There are other recommendations for OBC welfare such as Reservation in promotion, in private sector, in Judiciary and in all public distribution system.

Let us resolve to take up these matters in 2024 to achieve social justice.. ■



மனுதர்மத்தைப்பற்றி மேல் ஜாதிய் பெண் எழுதிய 'நான் ஏன் ஹிந்தும் பெண் அல்ல!' நூலுக்குப் பதில் என்ன?



- கி. வீரமணி

அண்மையில் சிறப்பாக ஆங்கில மொழியில் எழுதப்பட்டு, 2021ஆம் ஆண்டுக்குரிய நூலாக வெளிவந்துள்ள "Why I am not a hindu women" என்ற ஒரு நூல் ஒரு புரட்சிகரமான சிந்தனையுள்ள ஒரு பெண்ணின் சொந்த வாழ்க்கையை உள்ளடக்கிய - சுதந்திரமான துணிவுடன் எழுதப்பட்டுள்ளதாகும்.

வந்தனா சோனல்கார் என்ற பெயருடைய அந்தக் கல்வியாளர், மராத்திய மாநிலத்தைச் சேர்ந்தவர்.

பார்ப்பனரல்லாத முன்னேறிய ஜாதியைச் சார்ந்தவர். ஆனால் ஜாதி ஒழிக்கப்பட வேண்டும் என்பது பாலின வேற்றுமையை ஏகபோகமாகக் கொண்டுள்ளதால் ஹிந்து மதத்தின் பல்வேறு நிலைகளில் தனக்கு ஏற்பட்ட கசப்பான அனுபவங்கள், அதே நேரத்தில் மனித வர்க்கத்தில் எங்குமில்லாத ஜாதி - வர்ணாசிரம - மனுதர்ம முறையை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்டு மிகப் பெரும்பாலானவரை இழி குல மக்களாக்கி, சமத்துவத்திற்கு நேர் எதிரிடையான வாழ்க்கை வாழும் அவலத்தைக் கண்டு மனம் கொதித்து பல்வேறு வாழ்க்கை அனுபவங்களையும், குடும்பத்தின் நிகழ்வுகளையும், சமூகம் சார்ந்த அவலங்களும், அவற்றை நியாயப்படுத்தும் ஹிந்து தர்ம சாஸ்திர புராணங்கள், சடங்குகள், நிகழ்வுகள் பற்றியும் பல ஆண்டுகள் ஆராய்ந்து தனது 60 வயதை அடைந்துள்ள நிலையில் இவர் துணிவாக இதனை எழுதியுள்ளார்!

ஜாதியில் அடி மட்டத்திலுள்ள தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட, பழங்குடி இனத்தின் பெண்கள் அனுபவிக்கும் அளவுக்கு இவருக்குப் பெரும் அளவில் தொழிலில் - துன்பங்கள் ஏற்படவில்லை. என்றாலும், ஹிந்து மதத்தில் பிறவி காரணமான பேதம் ஏற்படுத்திய விளைவால் எப்போதும் பெண்கள் ஒரு போதும் ஆணுடன் சமத்துவத்தைப் பெற முடியாதவர்களாக ஆக்கப்பட்டுள்ளனர்.

ஜாதிக் கொடுமையால் "கீழ்ஜாதி" என்று அழைக்கப்படும் பெண்கள் படும் துன்பங்கள், வேதனைகள் அளவுக்குத் தான் படவில்லை யென்றாலும், இடைநிலைப்பட்ட நிலையில் உள்ள தம்மைப் போன்றவர்கள், முன்னேறிய பார்ப்பனரல்லாத ஜாதி பெண் கூட ஆணுடன் ஒரு போதும் சமத்துவத்தை எதிர்பார்க்கவே முடியாது ஹிந்து மதத்தின்கீழ் என்பதால், தன்னை ஒரு ஹிந்துப் பெண் என்று அழைத்துக் கொள்ள முடியாததால், "நான் ஏன் ஹிந்துப் பெண் அல்ல - பெண் என்று அழைத்துக் கொள்ளவும் விரும்பவில்லை" என்பதற்கான பல அனுபவங்களையும், காரணங்களையும் அடுக்கடுக்காக அந்த நூலில் விளக்கமாக எழுதியுள்ளார்!

"சுதந்திரம் அடைந்து 70 ஆண்டுகளுக்குமேல் ஆன ஒரு நாட்டில் எப்படி எல்லாத் துறைகளிலும் பார்ப்பனர்களே ஏகபோகமாக, கல்வி, உத்தியோகம் முதலியவைகளில் (ஆராய்ச்சித் துறைகள் உட்பட) ஆதிக்கம் செலுத்தும் நிலை உள்ளது என்பதையும், அதற்கு உடந்தையாக இருப்பது ஜாதி - வர்ண தர்மமுறை தான் என்பதையும் சுட்டிக் காட்டியுள்ளார்.

"எனது தாய் அனுபவித்த கொடுமையான அனுபவத்தை எனது குழந்தைப் பருவம் முதலே கண்டு வளர்ந்ததால் இப்படிப்பட்ட எனது தனிப்பட்ட அவலங்களான அனுபவத்தையும், பிறக் குடும்பங்களில் ஏற்படும் பல நெருக்கடிகளையும் உள் வாங்கியே விவாதித்துள்ளேன்" என்கிறார்.

சிரிறி என்ற பார்ப்பனரல்லாத முன்னேறிய மேல் ஜாதியினர் (வடநாட்டு காயஸ்தா போன்றவர்கள்) மற்ற சில ஜாதியினரைப் போல 'நாங்களும், ஸ்ஹத்திரியர்கள்' என்று கூறுவதை பார்ப்பனர்கள் ஏற்றுக் கொள்வதில்லை. CKP ஜாதி என்பது மகாராட்டிரத்தில் மட்டுமே உள்ள ஒரு சிறு மேல் ஜாதிக் குழுவாகும்.

"நான் ஒரு நாத்திகவாதி. நாத்திகத்தை ஹிந்து மதம் ஒப்புக் கொள்ளுகிறது. என்றாலும், நான் என்னை ஒரு ஹிந்துப் பெண்மணி என்று அழைத்துக் கொள்ள மறுக்கிறேன். காரணம், மனுதர்மத்திலும், பகவத் கீதையும்தான், மற்றதிலும் ஹிந்துப் பெண்கள் எந்த காலக் கட்டத்திலும் சுதந்திரம் பெறவோ, ஆண்களுடன் சமத்துவத் துடன் வாழவோ இடந் தருவதாக இல்லையே!" என்று அந்நூலில் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளார்.

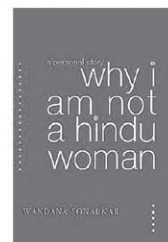
மனுதர்மத் தாக்கம்தான் ஹிந்துப் பெண்களின் இந்த நிலைக்குக் காரணம் என்பதே - மனுவின் சுலோகங்களைப் பயன்படுத்தியே எழுதிய ஜோதிபாபுலே, டாக்டர் அம்பேத்கர் முதலிய பல புரட்சியாளர்களது கருத்தாகும். இன்றைய பா.ஜ.க., - ஆர்.எஸ்.எஸ். ஆட்சி எப்படி மனுதர்மத்தை மீண்டும் நிலை நிறுத்தி - முஸ்லிம்களை எதிரிகளாக உருவகப்படுத்திக் கொண்டுள்ளது என்பதையும், ஆண் ஆதிக்க சிந்தனைக்கு அடிப்படையே மனுதான் என்பதையும் மிக அழகாகப் படம் பிடித்துக் காட்டுகிறது இந்நூல்!

அவசியம் ஒவ்வொருவரும் படிக்க வேண்டும்.

குறிப்பு: 169 பக்கங்கள் கொண்ட இந்நூல் தமிழாக்கம் செய்யப்பட்டு விரைவில் வெளிவர வேண்டியதானதும் கூட! ■

(நன்றி: விடுதலை)

Why I am not a Hindu woman: A personal story



Wandana Sonalkar is a self-proclaimed atheist and in this autobiographical account titled 'Why I am not a Hindu Woman', Sonalkar critically reflects on her position on why she has chosen to renounce her religion. This work adds to the list of works where authors are writing to declare their religious positions like Kancha Illaiah's 'Why I am Not a Hindu', Shashi Tharoor's 'Why I am a Hindu', Bertrand Russell's 'Why I am not a Christian' and Ibn Farraq 'Why I am not a Muslim'. But this work stands unique in two ways. Firstly, Sonalkar was a Hindu woman born in an upper caste, but not a Brahmin. She belongs to Chandraseniya Kayastha Prabhu, who performs the upanayana ceremony and has the right to perform the Vedic rituals. Her caste community is small but economically well-off. In such conditions, her rejection of religion came from experiences of Brahmanical patriarchy within the family and the society.

Secondly, this book is not merely a critique of patriarchal Hinduism, but also the forces of Hindutva, which she describes as 'political Hinduism'. Sonalkar declares that she does not want to call herself a Hindu woman because "caste hierarchy, is Brahminical power and patriarchy, are integral to Hinduism as it is practised in our society" (p 6) and because Hindutva that bases its political ideology "on hatred of other religions and on reinforcing the caste hierarchy among Hindus" (p 8). The emergence of Hindutva led to an upsurge of moral policing, mob violence, murder, and increasing social tolerance of violence against women. The phenomena of hate speech that is unleashed by political Hinduism is "heavily laced with a venomously misogynistic declaration of patriarchal power" (p 20). Sonalkar postulated that the rise of Hindutva is impossible without the inequities perpetuated by Hindu society and sustained by caste.

Sonalkar also critiques the limitation of leftist writing in India. Declaring herself as Marxist and Feminist, she states that "liberal Left in India has generally been silent on Hinduism, on the actual daily practices of faith, while being critical of 'fundamentalism' or virulent Hindutva" (p 17). She aims at covering this gap by attacking the discriminatory structures of Hinduism and misogynist sensibilities of Political Hinduism.

Being born in an upper caste, there is innate responsibility for their family to stay a 'happy family' which is "nested within moral boundaries and the social and sexual regulations of patriarchal hetero-normative religiosity" (p 31). In Hindu society, a happy family is epitomised by Brahmin families. This preceding notion is popularised through scriptures in which brahmin male is shown an embodiment as purity and virtue, and brahmin women as completely dependent on their husbands, and obediently following the orders of the men. Women are "not expected to be independent, so their only morality is to obey the men of the family" (p 32). Severe punishments are placed on women if they choose to act independently. But altogether different rules are applied for men- "When the patriarchy is the lynchpin that holds the family together, how does a Hindu family cope when he himself

strays? The first reaction is to brush everything under the carpet, to pretend that nothing is amiss" (p 49).

These regulations found within the family structures don't stop with the family but extend to the whole society. In Hindu society, the "relationships outside the family, in the workplace or in civil and political life, are spoken of, and thought of, in terms of relationships within the family" (p 86). This is done through the imposition of caste patriarchy using the dichotomy of purity and pollution. What is unique about contemporary times is that many "Brahmins among Hindus are eating more meat now, some pollution-related beliefs and restrictions based on them are conveniently relaxed" (p 99) and in this condition, to protect the caste purity, the idea of 'polluting Other' is professed. Women are considered as 'polluting Other' from within the Hindu society and they are denied equality by reinforcing a variety of exclusions like "social death of the widow and her exclusion from auspicious ceremonies; the exclusion of the (polluting) menstruating girl from the temple and the hearth; the exclusion of women of reproductive age and of Dalit from the temple" (p 114).

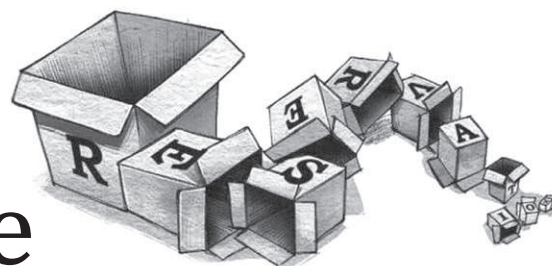
Sonalkar extends her analysis of patriarchy to other religions and she identifies the distinctive nature of patriarchy within Hinduism. In religions other than Hinduism, it is possible to "talk of moral laws for all mankind, of a universal ethics, even though that ethics, too, is patriarchal in the last instance" (p 88), but for Hinduism, there is no single undisputed text or overarching central authority that has the final word on the norms of the religion. It is completely based on "relationships between people; it lays down norms, and leaves it to us to censure each other if we do not follow them" (p 11). This gave the opportunity to upper-caste males and Brahmin males to impose and censure the caste and patriarchal rules in Hindu society.

Further extending her analysis to the varied lived experiences of upper caste, Dalit and Adivasi women, Sonalkar emphasises the need for understanding the women's conditions with the idea of 'intersectionality by acknowledging multiple "structures of exploitation, subjugation and Othering" (p 166) that women are caught up in.

Sonalkar concludes her text by highlighting the need for foregrounding the analysis of women's question in India in terms of intersectionality and the necessity of critiquing the violence of both Hinduism and Hindutva alike because they reinforce each other. This text reflects how an upper-caste woman experiences exclusion and violence at a subconscious level within the family and in society. This polemical text is certainly an important contribution to feminist studies in India and fills the gaps left by texts that came in this genre. ■

(Mucheli Rishvanth Reddy: currently pursuing final year in BA Economics, Political Science and Sociology at Christ University, Bangalore)

Reservation is the oxygen for my uphill journey



- Prof. Dr. Aditi Narayani Paswan



Family members of Darshan Solanki, who allegedly died by suicide at IIT Mumbai due to caste discrimination, hold a candle light vigil in Gujarat's Maninagar.

In the article, 'Time to end reservations' (IE, December 11), Tavleen Singh begins by saying that her stance on reservation will invite controversy. But in the service of speaking plainly, she throws down the gauntlet and declares that all reservation should "go". The writer's rather glib categorisation of the discussion that she believes would follow her statement as "controversy" is symptomatic of the crude reductiveness that most mentions of reservation are subject to.

Dismissing the discourse that affirmative action generates as controversy belittles the journeys of resilience and struggle made possible for most by the reservation policy. A friend in JNU, who hailed from Bodoland, told me how for most of her community, it took generations to be able to board a train and make a three-day journey from Kokrajhar to New Delhi to study. For most of us who are from reserved categories, acquiring the capabilities to access reservation requires

us to break through generations of trauma and institutional handicaps that mark our place and that of our communities in society. Reservations guaranteed by the Indian Constitution allow institutional spaces to acknowledge and accommodate the fact that we as a people are chronically disadvantaged — they aren't "freebies".

The sentiments put forth in the article echo the mindset of a large segment of society who counter the need for reservation with claims that it is devoid of merit and is perpetuating mediocrity in our educational, economic, and administrative realms. This is how caste is viewed in these segments — as a mere conduit for accessing affirmative action or as an organising principle for vote banks. If only our relationship with caste was that simple or transactional. Our caste certificates should not be looked at as the ticket to enter prestigious colleges and land perky government jobs. They also make up part

“Reservations guaranteed by the Indian Constitution allow institutional spaces to acknowledge and accommodate the fact that we as a people are chronically disadvantaged — they aren’t “freebies”.

of the same culture and social ecosystem in which Singh sits and harps on the concept of merit, mediocrity and reservation. It is trite to say enough has been spoken against reservation because it’s not a convenient gesture for atonement by dominant castes but rather a solemn conviction of the founding fathers and the Constitution to bring about a cohesive society devoid of marginalisation and discrimination.

For scheduled castes and tribes and OBCs, once they step out of their communities, whether they managed to avail of the constitutional provision of reservation or not, their ascriptive identities bring along the tyranny of social and cultural isolation. Singled out as “quota kids”, we are subject to casual jabs about whether we are worthy of the spaces we are fighting to occupy, or if we are interlopers, unworthily occupying a “meritorious” space. This is the constant dehumanising chatter that follows us. For millions of Indians like me, reservation is the oxygen which enables us to undertake our uphill journey from the peripheries of society towards the epicentre.

Caste consciousness for those who aren’t oppressed by it is awakened only when it’s either about admissions, recruitment and promotions or when the purity of lineage needs to be maintained in marriage. Remove these two situations and we find ourselves in a utopian society which is classless and casteless, where all the marginalised yearn to live. Before we argue for an end to all reservation, whether for SC/STs, OBCs, or the EWS category in jobs and admissions, or more recently, women’s reservation in politics — a most pivotal affirmative action policy — we need to sit and ponder. How often do we talk about the tribal communities, Dalits, OBCs and women in our everyday conversations? We make posts expressing pity and outrage on social media when we see news of gruesome incidents of caste-based violence. We do it when a Dalit woman is gang-raped and stripped of her dignity, for example, in order to humiliate her community. Or when young Dalit men are shot for riding horses, when tribal men are being urinated upon. Who gives the perpetrators the authority to indulge in such inhumane acts?

Reservation can end when we ensure that the dignity and respect of every single marginalised person in this country are maintained and restored. As Dattatreya

Hosabale empathically pointed out, “reservation is a tool for affirmative action and is a historical necessity for India ... it should continue as long as there is inequality being experienced by a particular section of society”.

Taking a leaf from Singh’s rule book, I, too, would like to speak plainly. Reservation is a tool to simply access resources (“I am a ‘quota kid’”, IE, April 15). For example, let’s take the case of the cut-off list for SRCC (2020-21). The difference in the cut-off is approximately 2 per cent between the so-called meritorious and quota kids. No doubt, the 2 per cent difference is huge. But is it comparable to 2000 years of untouchability, injustices, oppression and marginalisation? Consequently, if we are quick to define meritocracy and mediocrity, we must also define the contours of capital which is social, cultural and gendered. Oftentimes, persons from dominant castes ask a question: How long should we pay for the injustices our grandparents and ancestors have done? The answer to that is straightforward — until we start sharing the same social, cultural, and economic capital that is currently being enjoyed by these caste categories. When the starting point is not the same for all of us and the finish line remains the same, injustice perpetuates.

We must realise how caste is embedded in our lives and how deeply entrenched it is in our consciousness. We must seek answers to why all the ragpickers and sanitation workers invariably belong to one caste and why the judiciary belongs to descendants of a few castes or families before we start to question reservation — the only line of defence for the marginalised sections of our society. It is because of reservation that we find Dalits, STs and OBCs’ names on the houses along Lutyens. Unfortunately, you would rarely find surnames belonging to lower castes when walking the lanes of posh societies in New Delhi. We must also not underpin access to reservation with the economic status of the beneficiary, because reservations are not poverty alleviation programmes. Perhaps societies would have been much simpler had reservation only been based on economic status, with a level playing field for each of us to make a living based on equal opportunity. Sadly, that is not the case.

The contemporary discussion on caste encompasses a diverse spectrum of perspectives, ranging from caste being viewed as a prominent cultural and political marker to its perceived absence from the public sphere

“reservation is a tool for affirmative action and is a historical necessity for India... it should continue as long as there is inequality being experienced by a particular section of society”.

in contemporary Indian society. The nature of caste dynamics has undergone changes and sociologists have marked the evolutionary nature of caste distinctions and functioning in the everyday lives of individuals. Although not overtly apparent in the public domain, caste nevertheless exerts a crucial influence in Indian society, as matters of the private sphere are regulated by its understanding. The interconnectedness of private and public involvement eliminates any possibility for caste to operate independently.

Whether reservation needs reform is something all of us need to think about. But in the same measure, there needs to be engagement with the inequality and discrimination

that is a central theme of the lives of the historically oppressed. When the genesis of one community starts with the fight to have the right to drinking water because the other deems them as polluting, how does one expect the oppressed community to evolve in a few decades? As long as social discrimination continues, reparations need to continue too. As RSS chief Mohan Bhagwat says, reservations should continue as long as there is discrimination in society. It is about giving respect, not just about ensuring financial or political equality.

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(Courtesy: Indian Express – December 14, 2023)

IOB OBC ASSOCIATION OBC MEET AT NAGERCOIL

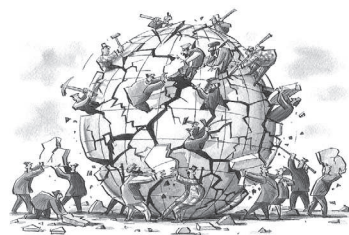


All India Indian Overseas Bank OBC Staff Welfare Association Nagercoil Region Meeting was held on 09.12.2023. Mr.A.Rajasekaran, Gen Secretary and Mr.D.Felix, President of the Association organised the function. Leaders from fraternal organisations Mr.S.Senthamil Selvan, Regional Secretary of Union Bank OBC association, Mr.Ermin Thuthish. M. Vice President of GIC (United India) BC Employees Welfare Association All India Vice President General Insurance Backward Class employee's welfare Association attended and greeted the function.

2nd STATE CONFERENCE AND 4th GENERAL BODY MEETING 23.12.2023 AT MUMBAI



he function presided by Tushar Wahval, President was addressed by G.Karunanidhy, President, AIUBOBCEWA, Vittal Rao, AGM, Digitisation Dept, CO, Mahendra Saha, Chief Manager, Birender, Chief Manager and office bearers of the state unit. Vivek Kumar, Gen Secretary rendered the vote of thanks. Ms Pooja Choudhary. Senior Manager, Zonal office, Mumbai compered the program. Members from all regions of Maharashtra attended the function in good numbers. Post lunch, in delegates session, new office bearers - Vivek Kumar as President, Mr.Yogesh Patil, Kalyan br. Mumbai as Gen Secretary, Mangesh Tikar, (Nasik) as Working President were elected.



Balkanising the Hindus through Religion

- Vaeyurutholibangan

".....The members of the community to which the parties belong "have no Vedic rites and Sanskaras prescribed for the twice-born classes among them; that they have not **the chief Sanskara, Munj** (sacred thread), which makes a man Dwija;"

- High Court of Bombay, in *Manchharam Bhiku Patil Vs. Dattu Bhiku* - 18.08.1919

"Same is the semen, skin, urine;
Same is the blood and bone;
From single source we all are born;
How one is a Sudra, the other a Brahman?"

(- Page xxi - G.N.Das (1991). *Couplets of Kabir* - Motilal Banarsidas Private Limited)

All Dwijas were not equals

Wearing cross-thread was made an essential component of social life under the Chaturvarna social order. It was intended to balkanise the society. Wearing it was permitted only for the Brahmins first and later for Kshatriyas and Vysyas. They were collectively called as Dwijas, people who have double-birth, the second birth being the one that commences after the performance of the thread-ceremony. Yet, all the Dwijas were also not treated as equals. It was ordained that there should be difference in the thread itself for all the three categories. That fatwa had resulted in grading and degrading the two categories, the Kshatriyas and Vysyas. A Brahmin who wore the cross thread could read the Vedas and teach them too. He could become a priest. But the people of other two divisions among the Dwijas did not have those privileges. They were openly declared to have been inferior by birth to the Brahmins. The Kshatriyas and Vysyas were ranked second and third, by law.

The Law of Manu laid down various provisions differentiating the Brahmins from the other two cross-thread wearers, the Kshatriyas and Vysyas and keeping the latter two at arm's distance. In Chapter IX, Verse 319, it was laid down through Manu that every Brahmin was a deity and should, therefore, be honoured, whatever mean occupation he was doing. That was enforced as law through State machinery. That status was not given to Kshatriyas or Vaisyas. ("Thus, though Brahmanas employ

themselves in all (sorts of) mean occupations, they must be honoured in every way; for (each of) them is a **very great deity**"). The Kings, the Kshatriyas were made to obey that law.

Chapter VIII, Verse - 379 of the Law of Manu said, "Tonsure (of the head) is ordained for a Brahmana (instead of) capital punishment; but (men of) other castes shall suffer capital punishment". This shows that although the Kshatriyas and Vaishyas were manipulated to believe that they were twice born, and were also given cross-thread to wear, they were not treated on par with Brahmins.

Kshatriyas and Vysyas realised later that their cross-threads were simply inferior to those of the Brahmins. There were specific warnings by the Manu to these two classes in the Verses 165 - 168 of Chapter IV. "A twice-born man who has merely threatened a Brahmana with the intention of (doing him) a corporal injury, will wander about for a hundred years in the Tamisra hell". Not all the three twice-borns were equal twice borns. Verse 166 said, "Having intentionally struck him (a Brahmin) in anger, even with a blade of grass, he will be born during twenty-one existences in the wombs (of such beings where men are born in punishment of their) sins". Verse 167 was used to scare the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas that "A man who in his folly caused blood to flow from the body of a Brahmana who does not attack him, will suffer after death exceedingly great pain". To cap it all, the Verse 168

frightened the two wearers of fake cross-threads that *"As many particles of dust as the blood takes up from the ground, during so many years the spiller of the blood will be devoured by other (animals) in the next world"*.

Yet, those two 'low-borns', the physically-mighty Kshatriyas and the financially-mighty Vysyas, did not raise any objection to such provisions. They had, meekly, submitted themselves to that insult, and felt glorified in wearing the cross-thread which was of no real use for them. All, because they lacked education of proper kind which had been denied to them. History testifies to the fact that all the Dwijas were not treated alike in education. Brahmins were given education right from the age of 8. Kshatriyas were given from their 11th year of age and the Vysyas from 12th. Besides, the syllabus of education was also not the same among the Dwijas.

Intensive Study Vs. Ceremonial Study

Brahmins were given "intensive study" while the other two were given only "ceremonial study". (*Page -20 - Some Aspect of Education In Ancient India - Dr.C. Kunhan Raja - Professor of Sanskrit, University of Madras - 1949*). It was a very clever move on the part of the Brahmins to deny education even to the princes and kings, whom they wanted to keep under their control forever.

During the Brahmins conference held on 19.1.1986 at Chennai, Mr. C.M. Sundaram, an important Brahmins Association leader of Kerala who was also the then Local Administration Minister of Kerala confessed, "Whether it was during the rule of the Moghuls or the British rule, the power was only in our hands. Although we were not ruling the nation, we had the power to conduct the rulers". When they could hold the Kshatriyas under their control to do all their biddings, they had to necessarily maintain their claim of superiority in status by birth vis-à-vis Kshatriyas. It was for that purpose they denied their education to the Kshatriyas too. Moreover, they punished the Kshatriyas if they did not pay obeisance and deference to them and reduced them to the status of Sudras. (*For details, refer to Page 64 of the book "A Peep into the Early History of India by R. G. Bhandarkar and the book "History of Caste in India , Vol. I Page 65 by Ketkar referred to in Para 50 of the judgment of the High Court of Madras in Maharaja of Kolhapur Vs. S. Sundaram Ayyar - 21.01.1924*). The division of people in the name of Varna was not Maya Shristam, as mentioned in their Gita but, really, a Brahmins shristam. Those Kshatriyas who lost their Varna status had lost their cross thread too. Again, those who could bribe heftily, could get their Varna elevated to the status of Kshatriyas. Thus, "The sacred thread has a hundred percent value in the Brahmin, a seventy-five percent value in the Kshatriya, a fifty percent value in the Vaisya... it became the cause of the concept of high and low. It was a source of exploitation of lower classes". (*Vachanas of Basavanna - Pages 40-41 - Deveerappa H*). That was the reason the Brahmins opposed cross-thread for sudras, even in the year 2001. Because the cross thread was the "chief Sanskara" and symbolised their superior status.

Brahmins opposed cross-thread for Sudras even in Pandal

August 2001: Sion area in Mumbai. Ganesh festival was at its peak. Almost every street-corner had a podium (decorative pandal) where the statue of Lord Ganesh was kept. A trust run by Gaud Saraswat Brahmin community, called as GSB Seva Mandal, had also one such podium. When the priesthood for Non-Brahmins in the temples in which Brahmins alone officiate as priests was opposed by the Brahmins, this GSB community wanted to show up that it was for universal brotherhood. It did not work for making the suppressed Hindus priests in those temples. It just made them wear a sacred thread and perform Ganapathi homam (Ganahom) after collecting Rs. 275 per person. This was not to the liking of three members of the same trust, Shantaram Gadiyar, Jeetendra Shenoy and Chandrakant Gole. The office-bearers said that theirs was a progressive organisation and did not believe in casteism.

But the trio would have none of it. They filed a case in the city civil court accusing the office-bearers of the trust of allowing 'non-upnits' (those whose thread ceremony had not been performed) to temporarily wear the 'janvah' (sacred thread) and perform the homam. They said that that practice "is in absolute violation of religious mandate". "According to the plaintiffs, hindu dharma necessitates the wearing of the sacred thread before performing the 'homa' (puja rite). They claim that the sacred thread is worn by a person for first time when the 'upnayanaa' (thread ceremony) is performed. the ceremony has to be performed within a specified age eight years for a brahmin child, 12 years for a kshatriya child and 16 years for a vaishya child. the plaintiffs claimed that only these three communities were allowed to perform the 'upanayana' and that a sacred thread could not be put on any non-initiated person." (*Times of India - 25.08.2001*). Thus, even the pretence of elevating the Sudras to the higher social slot by making them wear a 'sacred' thread 'temporarily', and that too for a fee of Rs. 275 was not tolerated. And, they were going to the court to protect *Hindu Dharma*. The Sudras who are insulted thus through the cross-thread are expected by the Brahmins to stomach that insult and work for the perpetuation of apartheid. Strange is the art of Brahmins who want to make the slaves numb to the sense of dignity of their own. The Cross-thread demonstrated there in the year 2001 not love but only hatred towards other human beings bracketed within the same religion to which the trio of the GSB belonged too.

Brahmins opposed Saint Kabir wearing sacred thread

"The word 'Kabir' in Arabic means Great. The birth of Kabir is shrouded in mystery and legend. His mother was reputed to have been of the Brahman caste and to have become pregnant after a visit to a Hindu shrine; as she was unwed, she abandoned Kabir, who was found and adopted by a Muslim weaver. Kabir was born in

1398 at Benaras and lived there upto 1518. A brahmin virgin widow is said to have given birth to a child, who was subsequently called 'Kabir'. The birth is said to have been miraculous. Kabir Kausanithi, an old work taken as authentic by 'followers of Kabir says that in childhood he did not identify with either Hinduism or Islam. He put the Tilak (sacred thread). **Brahmin expostulated him**" (Para 68 - *Jairamdas Guru Paltudas vs Swami Satyaramdasji Shastri Guru Sohandasji - 01.08.1983 - High Court of Bombay*). The Brahmins angrily opposed Kabir wearing the cross-thread and sporting his sect-mark on his forehead, arguing that "these were not the signs of his religion but of theirs" (Page 12 - *Kabir and His Followers - F.E. Keay - 1931*). It was not love but hatred that drove the Brahmins to oppose Saint Kabir wearing the cross-thread.

Kabir gave a distinct identity to his disciples as Kabir-panthis and, thus, weaned the suppressed Non-Brahmins away from the chaturvarna order of Brahmins. Brahmins were seeing their slaves getting reduced in number. The unnerved Brahmins, consequently, started their vicious campaign against the Saint, as was their wont. But Kabir was not the one to be cowed down by the threats and machinations of the Brahmins. He took them head on. He exposed the Brahmins and their theory of "impurity and caste defilement in almost everything". His questions to the Brahmins on their concept of impurity and untouchability became sharp and stinging. He questioned them,

"There is impurity in water, there is impurity in land,
There is impurity in whatever is born.
There is impurity in birth and again in death;
God's subjects are ruined by this impurity
O, Pandit, tell me who is pure;
Explain to me such knowledge
as thou hast on the Subject, my friend"

(Adi Granth: Gauri 41)

"Thy mother was impure, thy father was also impure
And impure is the fruit they have borne
The unlucky people came impure,



they departed and died impure.

Tell me, O, Pandit, what place is pure
Where I may sit and take my food".

(Adi Granth : Basant 7)

Kabir's satire against the mischief of Brahminical concept of untouchability changed the slavish mindset of Sudras and made them self-confident to stand up against the oppression by Brahmins. Kabir was redeeming the Non-Brahmins from the exploitation of the chaturvarna social order. He exploded the myth behind the concept of chaturvarnam, which was, really, a 'shrishtam', a handiwork of the Brahmins and not of the 'maya'. Kabir Das said that all the dissimilarities that Brahmins had created for them were fake. He warned of the Vedas and Scriptures, the way Mahavir, Buddha and Vallalaar warned the masses about the hollowness of the Vedas:

"The Vedas and the Scriptures are only make-believe,
O Siblings of Destiny;

They do not relieve the anxiety of the heart".

-(Guru Granth Sahib Ji, Ang 727)

Kabir wanted the Brahmins, therefore, to introspect for themselves and to throw away their Vedas and Sastras:

"O Pandit, throw away all the Vedas and Shastras!

They are the fictions of the mind- not of God".

-(Bijak, Sabda 47)

Naturally, the Brahmins were peeved. One day when certain Brahmins were expatiating on the purifying qualities of the Ganges water, Kabir filled his wooden cup with water from the river and offered it to them to drink. They were horrified at the thought of drinking out of the cup belonging to a low caste man; upon which Kabir remarked, "If the Ganges water cannot purify (the defilement of) my cup, how can I believe that it can wash away my sins?" (Page 37 - *Kabir and The Kabir Panth - G. H. Westscott*)

He asked the Brahmins, "By the touch of others you Brahmins consider yourselves polluted. Let me ask you, who is lower than you? You are puffed up with pride. Great pride never produces any good. How will he, who is called the Vanquisher of the Proud, bear with your pride? (Page 61 - *ibid.*)

Kabir ordained, "The Brahmins of this age are objects of ridicule; give not to them alms: they with their families will go to hell, and take with them their employers (i.e. those who give them fees or alms.)" - (Page 87-*ibid.*). Saint Kabir had felt so hurt and offended. "Love does not grow on trees or brought in the market, but if one wants to be 'loved' one must first know how to give unconditional 'love'..." said Kabir. But those who invented the cross-thread and converted it into a hate-thread, did not read Saint Kabir Das and do not like him. Nation needs Varna-free Hinduism. Varna system is an uncivilised concept and is, fundamentally, anti-humane. ! ■

THOUGHTS OF PERIYAR: Dravidam Admits Changes



पेरियार के विचार: द्रविड़म परिवर्तन को स्वीकार करते हैं

(On 9th July, 1945, an Association of Dravidian students invited Periyar to delight them with his speech. They were all young students in the 15-18 age group. The event was held at Mahajan High School in Erode – the native town of Periyar.)

My dear students, I have come to address you all upon the request of the Dravidian students Association. I have arrived without any specific topic in my mind. At this moment I decide to speak on certain issues that would suit your age. There are people who say students need nothing except studies. According to them, public speeches are not for students, but I disagree. The standard of education today is at a low ebb. Therefore I wish to talk to you as a corrective measure and revitalise your minds.

Aimless education

I am sure, you youngsters do not have any specific goal in life. Your education is like a travel without a fixed destination. Your school staff do not guide you satisfactorily. Your confusion is over the question what to study and of what use it would be for you when you complete your studies. Education is not merely for knowledge. I do not understand what benefit you would all reap by the present system of education. Are all our educated people truly learned? Have they all reached a higher level of intellect? Has true knowledge been acquired by them? I am very much doubtful about that.

Erroneous methodology

A student studying Geography may not be fully aware of all the aspects of the land, meridian, poles, climate, soil, weather,

(9 जुलाई, 1945 को द्रविड़ विद्यार्थियों के एक संघ ने पेरियार को अपने भाषण से उपकृत करने के लिए आमंत्रित किया था। वे सभी 15 से 18 वर्ष की छोटी उम्र के छात्र थे। यह आयोजन पेरियार के अपने शहर इरोड के महाजन उच्च विद्यालय में किया गया था।)

मैंने प्यारे विद्यार्थियों, द्रविड़ छात्र संघ के अनुरोध पर मैं आप सब को संबोधित करने के लिए आया हूँ। मैं अपने दिमाग में कोई खास विषय सोचकर नहीं आया हूँ। इस समय मैं आप सबसे कुछ ऐसे मुद्दों पर बात करूँगा जो आपके लोगों की उम्र के हिसाब से उपयोगी हों। कुछ लोग कहते हैं कि छात्रों को पढ़ने-लिखने के अलावा किसी और चीज की जरूरत नहीं है। उनके अनुसार सार्वजनिक भाषण छात्रों के लिए नहीं है। किन्तु मैं ऐसा नहीं मानता। आजकल शिक्षा का स्तर नीचे चला गया है। इसलिए मैं इसके सुधार के उपाय पर आपसे चर्चा करना चाहता हूँ और आपके दिमाग को पुनर्जीवित करना चाहता हूँ।

लक्ष्य विहीन शिक्षा

मैं समझता हूँ कि आप बच्चों का जीवन के लिए कोई खास लक्ष्य नहीं है। आपकी शिक्षा उस यात्रा की तरह है जिसकी कोई निश्चित मंजिल नहीं है। आपके स्कूल वाले आपको संतोषजनक रूप से मार्गदर्शन नहीं करते। आपका संशय इस सवाल पर बना रहता है कि क्या पढ़ा जाए और जब पढ़ाई पूरी हो जाए तो इसका उपयोग क्या हो। शिक्षा केवल ज्ञान पाने के लिए नहीं है। मैं नहीं समझ पाता हूँ कि वर्तमान शिक्षा पद्धति से आपको क्या लाभ मिल सकता है। क्या हमारे सभी शिक्षित लोग वास्तव में ज्ञानवान हैं? क्या वे बुद्धि के उच्चतर स्तर पर पहुँच पाए हैं? क्या उन्होंने सच्चा ज्ञान पा लिया है? मुझे तो इस पर पूरा संदेह है।

त्रुटिपूर्ण पद्धति

भूगोल पढ़ने वाला एक विद्यार्थी भूमि, देशान्तर रेखा, ध्रुव, ऋतु, मृदा, मौसम, पहाड़ और सागर के पहलू से पूरी तरह से परिचित



A student studying Geography may not be fully aware of all the aspects of the land, meridian, poles, climate, soil, weather, hills and ocean, but would talk about heaven, hell and the other world that do not exist.

hills and ocean, but would talk about heaven, hell and the other world that do not exist. This is caused by outdated scriptures and fabricated mythologies. A student of Astronomy may not know much about the Sun, the Moon, the Stars and the planets or the galaxy and eclipses but would deliver speeches on mind boggling superstitious concepts. The erroneous system of education makes our students absolutely irrational. The students of the present generation lack a scientific outlook in life. Science education today is totally substandard. In brief, school and college education has become impracticable for you. There is a dire need of changes in teaching methodology.

Imbibe the spirit of inquiry and drill your teachers in class rooms by a shower of questions. Get all the doubts clarified. This would make your teachers learn more to teach more. They would be forced to update their knowledge and that would ultimately pave the way for quality – education.

The present system of education has filled you all with muddled ideas. A student today cannot distinguish between the right and the wrong owing to contradictory beliefs and misinterpretations. The loopholes in the defective system have not yet been plugged by the Board of school education and the, Ministry. I have explained the problem to make you all realise that you have not been moving in the right direction, as far as your education is concerned.

The word “Dravidian”

Let me discuss the backdrop of the name of your Association – “The Dravidian Students’ Association”. Why should it be “Dravidian?” Browse any book related to Indian history. You can find elaborate details related to the terms “Dravidam” and ‘Dravidians’ on the opening page itself. On the following pages you can find explanations for the words ‘Aryans’ and ‘Aryam’; some acceptable and some unacceptable too.

At present there is much talk about ‘Dravidam’ and ‘Dravidians’. Youngsters like you are likely to wonder why these words are in vogue everywhere today. I must explain the significance. If I fail to make you understand, our political rivals and communal fanatics would thrust a wrong notion in you that ‘Dravidam’ is a new ploy to divide people and break their unity. Our foes are adept at spreading malicious remarks and comments. Hence, you must know the truth in order to defeat their purpose. I have already told you that we have historical evidence for the antiquity of ‘Dravidam’ and ‘Dravidians’.

Fault is ours

Our intention is not to drag you back to the ancient eras. Our outlook is not repressive- but progressive. We have to ask one another why the facts learned long ago have been forgotten

नहीं भी हो सकता है किन्तु वह स्वर्ग, नर्क और दूसरी दुनिया के बारे में बात कर सकता है जिसका कोई आधार नहीं है। इसकी वजह अप्रचलित हो गये शास्त्र और मनगढ़ंत पौराणिक कथाएँ हैं। ज्योतिष शास्त्र के एक विद्यार्थी को सूर्य, चाँद, तारे, ग्रह-नक्षत्र, आकाश गंगा और ग्रहण के बारे में अधिक जानकारी नहीं भी हो सकती है किन्तु वह दिमाग चकरा देने वाली अंधविश्वास की अवधारणा पर भाषण झाड़ सकता है। शिक्षा की त्रुटिपूर्ण प्रणाली ने हमारे छात्रों को पूरी तरह से तर्क विहीन बना दिया है। वर्तमान पीढ़ी के छात्रों के जीवन में वैज्ञानिक दृष्टिकोण की कमी है। आजकल विज्ञान की शिक्षा पूरी तरह से निम्नस्तरीय है। संक्षेप में कहें तो स्कूल और कॉलेज की शिक्षा आपके लिए अव्यवहारिक हो गई है। शिक्षण प्रणाली में परिवर्तन सख्त जरूरी हो गया है।

जांचने की भावना को आप आत्मसात कर लें और क्लास रूम में अपने शिक्षक के सामने प्रश्नों की झड़ी लगा दें जिससे वे प्रशिक्षित हों। अपनी सारी शंकाओं का समाधान कर लें। इसके कारण आपके शिक्षक आपको अधिक पढ़ाने के लिए स्वयं अधिक सीखेंगे। तब वे अपनी जानकारी को अद्यतन रखने के लिए मजबूर होंगे और अंततः गुणवत्तापूर्ण शिक्षा का मार्ग प्रशस्त होगा। वर्तमान शिक्षा पद्धति ने आपके दिमाग को उलझन भरे विचारों से भर दिया है। परस्पर विरोधी आस्थाओं तथा गलत व्याख्याओं के कारण आज के छात्र सही और गलत के बीच के अंतर को नहीं समझ सकते। दोषपूर्ण प्रणाली की खामियों को दुरुस्त करने के लिए स्कूल की शिक्षा समितियों और शिक्षा मंत्रालय ने अभी तक कुछ भी नहीं किया है। मैं ने आपके सामने समस्याओं का विवरण प्रस्तुत किया है ताकि आप समझ सकें कि शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में आप सही दिशा की ओर नहीं जा रहे हैं।

द्रविड़

आपके एसोसिएशन के नाम “द’ द्रविड़ियन स्टूडेंट एसोसिएशन” की पृष्ठभूमि पर हम चर्चा करते हैं। इसे “द्रविड़ियन” क्यों होना चाहिए? भारतीय इतिहास के किसी भी पुस्तक के पन्नों को आप पलटें। इसके प्रारंभ के पन्नों में ही आपको “द्रविड़म” और द्रविड़ियन का विवरण विस्तार से मिलेगा। इसके बाद के पन्नों में आपको “आर्यन” और “आर्यम” की व्याख्या मिलगी जिसमें कुछ स्वीकार्य और कुछ अस्वीकार्य भी हैं। वर्तमान में “द्रविड़म” और “द्रविड़ियन” की काफी चर्चा है। आप जैसे नव युवाओं को अचरज हो सकता है कि इन दिनों ये शब्द सब जगह प्रचलन में क्यों हैं? मैं इसके महत्व को बताना चाहता हूँ। यदि मैं आपको इसे समझाने से चूक गया तो हमारे राजनैतिक प्रतिद्वंद्वी और सांप्रदायिक कट्टरपंथी आपको गलत विचार समझाने का प्रयास करेंगे कि “द्रविड़म” लोगों को बांटने और एकता को खंडित करने की एक नई चाल है। हमारे दुश्मन दुर्भावना पूर्ण टीका-टिप्पणी फैलाने में माहिर हैं। इसीलिए आपको सच्चाई जानना ही चाहिए ताकि आप उनकी मंशा को नाकामयाब कर सकें। मैंने आपको “द्रविड़म” और “द्रविड़ियन” की ऐतिहासिक महत्ता को पहले ही बता दिया है।

गलती हमारी ही है

मेरा इरादा आपको प्राचीन युग में भटकाने का बिल्कुल भी नहीं है। मेरी मंशा आपको दबाने का नहीं है बल्कि आपकी प्रगति के लिए है। हमें एक दूसरे से पूछने की जरूरत है कि पूर्व में सीखे गये



You are the custodians of tomorrow's world. Learn more and more by questioning. Listen to everyone but decide by yourself.



by our people, but reminding and recalling those old truths should not be objected to. It is our mistake that we Dravidians are today in a disgraceful condition, degraded as the fourth and fifth among the layers of inequality, languishing as mean labourers, lagging behind in education and employment, subservient to alien rulers and barbaric in culture, knowledge and self respect. We have failed to realise our true worth. We have not acquired that which we deserve. Most of us are not even conscious of the denigration imposed on us by our foes. The Dravidians alone are suffering here. All others are contended everywhere. None suffers like us on any foreign land.

Delink from bondage

When an out caste cobbler converts himself to Islam, his past degradation vanishes and he becomes equal to all others in society. Similarly, if a man delinks himself from the Aryan impact and takes pride in calling himself a Dravidian, he is salvaged from degradation and becomes equal to all others in society. One who clings to Aryan shackles would remain contemptible. A Dravidian who binds himself with Aryan system of thought, willingly accepts his degradation. He would exist belittled forever. My beloved comrade Sir.R.K. Shanmugam Chettiar, a chaste Vysya, calls himself an upper caste Hindu, but no one can deny today that as per the graded inequality, he is below the Brahmins. What I mean to say in brief is that be proud of being a Dravidian. Do not treat your denigration as a permanent stigma. Shed every kind of Aryan impact and begin a new life. There are some who scream that the Aryan blood and the Dravidian blood have got mixed. This is ridiculous. Until the denigration of Dravidians is annihilated there can be no equality. As long as the sufferings of Dravidians remain unmitigated, the wide gulf between Aryans and Dravidians's would also remain as it is now.

The world to come

Aryan system of thought resists changes but Dravidam always admits changes. We believe in growth – not in stagnation. The name 'Dravidam' is a sign word for "objectives" – "aim" and a "mission". The word has a rich implicit meaning. Being a 'Dravidian' keeps us away from superstitions and blind belief. A Dravidian always exists with self respect, humanism and a rational outlook. That is our exclusive identity. Ignore the ridicule of Aryans. Be thick-skinned and stick to our ideals at all times.

There would be amazing advancement in the world to come. Outdated thoughts and practices would be discarded. Changes are inevitable. Welcome them. The new world depends on you. You are the custodians of tomorrow's world. Learn more and more by questioning. Listen to everyone but decide by yourself. Argue, debate and distinguish between the right and the wrong. Be proud of being a Dravidian.

(Source: 'Kudi Arasu'- 14th July 1945)

(English Translation by:M.R. Manohar – Hindi by Ravindra Ram, Patna)

ज्ञान को हमारे लोग क्यों भूल गए हैं, हमें याद रखने की जरूरत है कि हम पुरानी सच्चाईयों का विरोध न करें। हमारी अपनी ही भूल की वजह से हम द्रविड़ आज अपमानजनक स्थिति में जी रहे हैं, आज हम असमानता के स्तर, सुस्त मजदूर, शिक्षा और रोजगार में पिछड़े हुए, विदेशी और बर्बर शासकों के अधीन तथा ज्ञान और आत्म सम्मान के चौथे और पांचवे पायदान पर हैं। हम अपना सही मूल्य आंकने में विफल हैं। हम अपनी योग्यता के लायक चीजों को नहीं पा सके हैं। अपने दुश्मनों के द्वारा थोपे गये अपमान के प्रति हममें से अधिकांश सचेत नहीं हैं। यहाँ अकेले द्रविड़ ही तकलीफ झेल रहे हैं। बाकी सभी हर जगह खुशहाल हैं। किसी भी विदेशी धरती पर लोग हमारी तरह कष्ट नहीं झेल रहे हैं।

बंधन से मुक्त हों

जब जाति से बहिष्कृत एक मोची इस्लाम धर्म कबूल कर लेता है तो उसकी दुर्दशा (नीच होना) समाप्त हो जाती है और वह समाज में अन्य लोगों के बराबर बन जाता है। उसी तरह यदि कोई व्यक्ति आर्यन प्रभाव से अलग होकर अपने को द्रविड़ कहने में गर्व महसूस करता है तो वह नीच होने की स्थिति से उबर जाता है और समाज में सबके बराबर बन जाता है। जो आर्यन की बेड़ी से चिपका रहता है उसकी स्थिति घिनौनी ही बनी रह जाती है। जो द्रविड़ अपने को आर्यन संस्कृति के विचारों से बांधे रहता है वह अपनी मर्जी से नीच बना रहता है। वह हमेशा के लिए नीच बना रह जाता है। वैश्य जाति के मेरे प्रिय साथी सर आर.के. शनमगम चेटियार अपने को उच्च जाति का हिन्दू बताते हैं। किन्तु इससे कोई इनकार नहीं कर सकता कि श्रेणीगत गैर बराबरी के अनुसार वे ब्राह्मणों से नीचे माने जाते हैं। संक्षेप में मेरे कहने का आशय यह है कि आप द्रविड़ होने पर गर्व महसूस करें। अपनी बदनामी को आप स्थायी कलंक न समझें। हर प्रकार के आर्यन प्रभाव से अपने को मुक्त करें और एक नई जिन्दगी की शुरुआत करें। कुछ ऐसे लोग हैं जो चीखते रहते हैं कि आर्यन रक्त और द्रविड़ रक्त का मिश्रण हो गया है। यह शरारती विचार है। बदनामी से मुक्त हुए बिना द्रविड़ों के बीच बराबरी नहीं आ सकती। जबतक द्रविड़ों का उत्पीड़न जारी रहेगा, आर्यन और द्रविड़ के बीच की खाई पूर्ववत् बनी रहेगी।

आने वाली दुनिया

आर्यन विचार पद्धति परिवर्तन का प्रतिरोध करती है किन्तु द्रविड़ परिवर्तन को स्वीकार करने के लिए हमेशा तैयार रहते हैं। हम प्रगति में विश्वास रखते हैं न कि यथास्थिति में। 'द्रविड़म' उद्देश्य, लक्ष्य और मिशन का सांकेतिक नाम है। यह शब्द अपने आप में एक समृद्ध अर्थ समेटे हुए है। द्रविड़ होना हमें वहम और अंधविश्वास से दूर रखता है। द्रविड़ हमेशा आत्म-सम्मान, मानववाद और तार्किक दृष्टिकोण के साथ रहता है। यही हमारी विशिष्ट पहचान है। आर्यन के उपहास को नजरअंदाज करें। मोटी चमड़ी के बने रहें और हमेशा अपने आदर्शों से बंधे रहें।

आने वाली दुनिया में आश्चर्य जनक प्रगति होने वाली है। पुराने पड़ गये विचार और व्यवहार खारिज हो जाने वाले हैं। बदलाव अवश्यभावी है। उनका स्वागत करें। नई दुनिया आप पर निर्भर करती है। कल की दुनिया के आप संरक्षक हैं। सवाल करते हुए अधिक से अधिक सीखने का प्रयास करें। सबकी सुनें किन्तु निर्णय अपने आप से लें। बहस करें, वाद-विवाद करें और सही तथा गलत के बीच फर्क करना जानें।

द्रविड़ होने में गर्व महसूस करें।

(स्रोत: 'कुडी अरासु' - 14 जुलाई 1945)

(अंग्रेजी अनुवाद: एम.आर. मनोहर - हिन्दी अनुवाद: रवीन्द्र राम, पटना)

IS THE 50% CEILING APPLICABLE ONLY FOR OBC, SC AND ST AND NOT APPLICABLE TO UPPER CASTE EWS?

- G.Karunanidhy, Editor

To the question raised by Shri.Suresh Chandra Bose Pilli, Hon'ble M.P.(R.S.), if the Govt has plan to revise the 27% percentage provided to OBCs in view of breach of 50% ceiling consequent upon implementation of 10% EWS reservation, Hon'ble MoS for SJ&E Ms.Pratima Bhoomick replied: 50% ceiling applicable to reservation is provided under Art. 15 (4) and 16 (4) and not to EWS provided under Art 15 (6) and 16 (6) citing Indra Sawhney judgement of 1992. (Rajya Sabha Unstarred Question No.1248 dt:13.12.2023).

Reservation in appointments in govt. services or admissions in educational institutions for OBC, SC and ST as well as 10% EWS among Upper Castes is done only as per the rosters approved by the Government. There is no separate roster point for EWS and for OBC/SC/ST. The seats or vacancies are filled among the reserved groups including EWS 10%. So, the question of delinking EWS and attaching only OBC/SC/ST is not only illogical but also unconstitutional.

The Govt. is well aware that the 93rd Constitutional amendment Act 2005 was passed in Parliament in 2005 and consequently, THE CENTRAL EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS (RESERVATION IN ADMISSION) ACT, 2006, was passed by Parliament to provide reservation in education for OBC, SC and STs under Art. 15 (5).

In that case, does the Union Govt. agree that 50% ceiling on reservation is not applicable to

reservation in education provided under Art 15 (5) to OBC, SC and STs?

The Constitution of India nowhere speaks about ceiling on reservation or reservation percentage. Under Art 16 (4) of the Constitution, it has been mentioned as 'adequate representation'.

In fact, Mandal Commission has to restrict to 27% reservation to OBCs citing court judgement despite the fact that the Commission had estimated OBC population around 52%.

Mandal recommendation Para 13.11

13.11 As stated in the last Chapter (para 12.22) the population of OBCs, both Hindu and non-Hindu, is around 52% of the total population of India. Accordingly, 52% of all posts under the Central Government should be reserved for them. But this provision may go against the law laid down in a number of Supreme Court judgements wherein it has been held that the total quantum of reservation under Articles 15(4) and 16(4) of the Constitution should be below 50%. In view of this the proposed reservation for OBCs would have to be pegged at a figure which, when added to 22.5% for SCs and STs, remains below 50%. In view of this legal constraint, the Commission is obliged to recommend a reservation of 27% only, even though their population is almost twice this figure.

It is very much necessary that the Union Government brings a constitutional amendment to remove the ceiling on reservation and settle this matter or else, it may be inferred that the Union Govt. is in favour of Upper Caste EWS and ignores OBC, SC and ST. ■

PRIVATE MEMBER BILL MOVED BY P.WILSON, M.P.: RESERVATION IN PROMOTION FOR OBC & CENSUS



CENSUS TO BE MOVED TO CONCURRENT LIST

Hon'ble Member of Parliament (Rajya Sabha) Thiru.P.Wilson moved a bill in the Parliament seeking to amend list, 1 Entry 69 of 7th schedule of the Constitution and to move the power of census to state government, so that the power of Census can be exercised by the state government in order to carry out Caste Census and grant reservations in accordance with the percentage of population to OBC communities. (Dec 8, 2023)

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS

1. An objective and thorough census across the country will give a correct picture of the representation of castes and communities in mainstream education and employment.

Only based on such a scientific and empirical data can we make targeted, effective, affirmative action policies to uplift the really backward communities.

2. The states are not in a position to grant any reservation to any class or communities for want of empirical data and any reservation laws enacted by the states are being struck down by Constitutional Courts on the ground of lack of empirical data. Thus, the mandate of reservation by the Constitution is being defeated.

3. The states are in need of an accurate caste census data to enact targeted welfare measures on the basis of caste and community. Ultimately, this leads to perpetuating the status quo and social injustice. The data collected 92 years back cannot determine the entitlement and share of communities in this country.

4. The 73rd and 74th constitutional amendments advocated the need of strengthening the local bodies and parts IX and IXA of the Constitution provided for a robust framework for conducting local body elections. The prime objective was democratic decentralization of power and participation of the oppressed and backward classes in governance. The amendments provided for mandatory reservation for Scheduled Caste and Schedule Tribe communities and women belonging to these communities. On the other hand, for backward

classes, the articles 243-D(6) and 243-T(6) were only enabling in nature. When States have attempted to apply these provisions, there were legal obstacles due to which reservations granted to Other Backward Classes (OBC) communities in local bodies have been struck down by the Hon'ble Supreme Court. The impediment to the states to grant OBC reservations was due to want of 'empirical data'. With the advent of 105th constitutional amendment and insertion of article 342A(3), a State or a Union Territory can gather information for ascertaining political backwardness of the backward classes and can specify the proportion of the reservation required local body-wise and can prepare and maintain for its own purposes, a list of socially and educationally backward classes.

5. However, the entry 69 in List I of the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution empowers only the Union to conduct census. Since, a state or a Union Territory is not empowered to conduct their own census, the population of each class or community on the basis of local units cannot be ascertained by the states and consequentially, maintaining an accurate head count based upon the list of backward classes contemplated under article 342A(3) would not be possible.

6. The objectives of democratic decentralization are not only to bring governance closer to the people, but also to make it more participatory, inclusive and accountable to the weaker sections of the society. Reservations in local self-government are intended to directly benefit the community as a whole rather than just the elected representatives. Despite the fact that Parts IX and

IXA were introduced in the Constitution 30 years ago, reservation in politics and sharing of political power is still a distant dream, leaving the OBCs unrepresented in the local self-governments.

7. Therefore, placing the entry "census" in the Concurrent List would enable both the Union and the states to conduct their own census. The power to conduct a headcount by the states themselves will not only be useful for maintaining an accurate list of all classes including backward classes under article 342A(3), and collect empirical data of communities on the basis of the local units and to grant reservations in local bodies,

but also for other targeted welfare measures. This will enable the states to implement appropriate affirmative and welfare measures for all castes and communities based upon their due entitlement and share. The states can then grant reservations in accordance with this data, which would be constitutionally and legally tenable and therefore avoid judicial intervention in the grant of reservations.

8. It is therefore proposed to amend the Constitution to achieve the above objectives.

P. WILSON

RESERVATION IN PROMOTION TO OTHER BACKWARD CLASSES

Hon'ble Member of Parliament (Rajya Sabha) Thiru.P.Wilson moved bill in the Parliament, seeking for amendment of article 16 and substitution of article 16(4)(A) for granting reservations in promotions and continuity in seniority for the other backward classes. (Dec 8, 2023)

In article 16 of the Constitution, for clause 4A, the following new clause shall be substituted, namely: -

"(4A) Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any provision for reservation in matters of promotion, with consequential seniority, to any class or classes of posts in the services under the State in favour of the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes or Other Backward Classes which, in the opinion of the State, are not adequately represented in the services under the State."

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS

The Constitution being a legal as well as a social document should be dynamic in nature. With the changing needs of society and the foray of new ideas, the Constitution must change from time to time for the welfare of the people of India. If existing impediments to the welfare of the people are not removed, the Constitution would suffer virtual atrophy.

2. The Constitution (Seventy-seventh Amendment) Act, 1995 inserted, clause (4A) to article 16 to extend the benefit of reservations in promotions as clause (4) is confined only to reservation in initial appointments. Parliament felt that it was necessary to continue providing reservations in promotion posts as well in the case of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. However, the said amendment did not consider the case of Other Backward Classes (OBCs).

3. The discrimination faced by the OBCs is comparable and a similar level to the discrimination faced by the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. The abhorrent and inhuman system of classification of human beings merely based on their birth, over which they obviously had no control, led to systemic oppression and discrimination. The effect of this systemic discrimination was not just economic, it was social and psychological which was the primary reason to insert article 16(4) in the Constitution.

4. The founding fathers of our Constitution have designedly couched articles 14, 15 and 16 in comprehensive phraseology so that the frail and emaciated sections of the people living in poverty, rearing in obscurity, possessing no wealth or influence, having no education,

much less high education and suffering from social repression and oppression should not be denied equality before law and equal protection of the laws or subjected to any prohibition of discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. These people who have been historically ostracized from mainstream education and employment should be afforded equal opportunity in the matters of public employment. OBCs are constitutionally recognised to be socially backward but still there are no enabling provisions to provide reservations for them in promotional posts. Due to such non-inclusion, the OBCs are vastly unrepresented at the higher posts of the administration as they were never considered for promotions due to social status. Even the States which are interested in granting reservations in promotional posts for OBCs cannot do so for lack of enabling provision in the Constitution.

5. Recently, Parliament has extended the benefit of reservations to forward castes also in the category of economically weaker sections.

6. Due to absence of the aforesaid Constitutional mandate in promotions, the real oppressed and downtrodden are not brought into the mainstream till today. Mere entry into service is not sufficient. Only when the OBCs are duly represented in promotional posts, a truly representative administration could be achieved and real substantive equality is enabled.

Historical injustice is still meted out to backward classes of citizens and their due share in jobs in the higher posts is denied and they are not adequately represented even till today.

7. Therefore, article 16 of the Constitution of India must be further amended to grant reservation in promotional posts with consequential seniority for the backward classes of citizens and this would result in true Social justice as it would ensure adequate representation of the backward class of citizens in higher offices of the administration.

8. It is, therefore, proposed to amend the Constitution to achieve the above objectives. ■

P. WILSON

NUMBER OF DROP OUT STUDENTS DURING THE LAST FIVE YEARS

Minister of State for Education Dr.Subhas Sarkar in reply to question raised by Mr.Ritesh Pandey, M.P. (L.S.) replied:

SL.NO.	INSTITUTES	No. of Students Drop Out		
		OBC	SC	ST
1	CENTRAL UNIVERSITIES (CUs)	4596	2424	2622
2	INDIAN INSTITUTES OF TECHNOLOGY (IITs)	2066	1068	408
3	INDIAN INSTITUTES OF MANAGEMENT (IIMs)	163	188	91

REVISION OF ANNUAL INCOME LIMIT OF THE OBC CREAMY LAYER

To a question by Shri.Ram Nath Thakur, M.P., as to the reason for not revising the income limit of OBC creamy layer in time, Hon'ble Minister of State for Social Justice and Empowerment replied: "At present there is no proposal for revision of the OBC non-creamy layer limit." **(Rajya Sabha - Unstarred Question No.453, dt: 6th Dec 2023).**

RESERVATION IN PROMOTION FOR OBCs

To a question raised by Hon'ble Thiru. Manickam Tagore, M.P. that the representation of OBC, SC, and STs in Professors' posts in Central Universities is 4.5%, 7% and 2% respectively and 85% of posts have been occupied by Upper Castes and the steps taken by Govt. to ensure adequate representation of the reserved categories, Hon'ble Minister of State for Education Dr.Subhas Sarkar replied: As on date, there is no proposal regarding reservation in promotion for OBCs. **(LS unstarred question no.1244 dt: 11.12.2023)**

CREAMY LAYER CRITERIA FOR OBC

To another question by Shri.Subash Chandra Bose Pilli, M.P. that while computing the annual income of OBC employees working in PSUs, banks, why the Govt is taking into account 'salary' as well as 'agricultural income' in

contravention of DoPT order dt 8.9.1993 which excludes 'salary' and 'agricultural income', Hon'ble Minister of State for Social Justice and Empowerment Smt.Pratima Bhoomik replied: "The computation of annual income of OBC employees working in PSUs, banks etc is done as per the extant guidelines issued by DoPT vide O.M.dated 8.9.1993 together with the Dept of Public Enterprises OM dated 25.10.2017 and DFS OM dated 6.12.2017". **(Rajya Sabha - Unstarred question No.454, dt 6th Dec 2023)**

LOANS WRITTEN OFF BY BANKS:

To a question by Thiru.S.Venkatesan, M.P. regarding a) the details of amount of loans written off by Nationalised Banks in the Financial Years starting from 2014-15 to 2022-23; and (b) the details of amount realised from bad debts written off in the Financial Years starting from 2014-15 to 2022-23?

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF FINANCE DR. BHAGWAT KARAD has replied:

(a) and (b): As per Reserve Bank of India data, public sector banks have written-off an aggregate loan amount of Rs. 10.42 lakh crore and recovered an aggregate amount of Rs. 1.61 lakh crore from written off loans, from the financial year 2014-15 to financial year 2022-23. **(Lok Sabha - Unstarred Question No-1205, Dt: 11.12.2023) ■**

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fvg: **EMPOWER**, Trust for Social Justice with Union Bank of India IFSC: UBIN0533262

GPAY (Mobile Number 76958-23527)





30 Years FOUNDATION ANNIVERSARY 1994-2024

Venue: M.R.RADHA MANDRAM, PERIYAR THIDAL, CHENNAI-7
SUNDAY 07.01.2024 - 10.30 A.M.

Welcome Address:
S.Natarajan General Secretary

Presidential Address:
G.Karunanidhy President

Inaugural Address:
Thiru. Satyaban Behera
Field General Manager, Union Bank of India, Chennai Zone

Guest of Honour:
Thiru. Suresh Chandra Teli
Chief General Manager / Liaison Officer for OBC
Union Bank of India, Central Office, Mumbai

Address by Chief Guest:
Dr. K.Veeramani
Chancellor, Periyar Maniammai Deemed University, Vallam
President, Dravidar Kazhagam

Address by Distinguished Guests:
Thiru. V.Narayanasamy Former Chief Minister, Puducherry
Dr. J.Jeyaranjan Vice-Chairman, State Planning Commission, Govt. of Tamil Nadu

Greetings:

Ms. R.Jasmine
DGM, FGMO,
UBI, Chennai Zone

Thiru. C.Prabhu
DGM / Regional Head, UBI,
Chennai Broadway Region

Dr. Amritanshu
Working President,
AIUBOBCEWA

Thiru. S.Subramanian
DGM/Liaison Officer for OBC, UBI
FGMO, Chennai Zone

Thiru. Renjith Swaminathan
DGM / Regional Head, UBI,
Chennai Whites Road Region

Thiru. Ravindra Ram
Advisor,
AIUBOBCEWA

Thiru. P.V.J.Narasimha Murthy
DGM, Zonal Audit Office, UBI
Chennai Zone

Thiru. V.Ravikumar
DGM / Regional Head, UBI,
Kanchipuram Region

Tmt. G.Malarkodi
Convenor, OBC Women Wing,
AIUBOBCEWA

& Leaders from Fraternal Organisations

Vote of Thanks
M.Bagyaraj Dy. Gen. Secretary

Comperre
G.Saraswathi Treasurer

YOU ARE CORDIALLY INVITED

G.Karunanidhy
President

S.Natarajan
Gen.Secretary

M.Bagyaraj
Dy. Gen.Secretary

G.Saraswathi
Treasurer



Union Bank of India Backward Classes Employees
Welfare Association, Tamil Nadu
139, Broadway, Chennai 600 108 Email: aiobc.gk@gmail.com



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