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# OBC VOICE



## RAJA OF PANAGAL

### Panaganti Ramarayaningar

(9.7.1866 – 16.12.1928)

Legendary Premier of Madras Presidency (Tamil Nadu) who implemented women's suffrage, the Communal GO & the establishment of the Hindu Religious Endowments Board in 1921

BIHAR  
QUOTA STAY



RAJA OF  
PANAGAL



SOCIAL  
JUSTICE



LEISURE &  
FUTURE



PATH OF  
VIRTUE



## CELEBRATION OF 150th BIRTH ANNIVERSARY OF CHHATRAPATI SAHU MAHARAJ

at Maharashtra Sadan, New Delhi – 26.6.2024



## CELEBRATION OF 93rd BIRTH ANNIVERSARY OF V.P.SINGH

at Constitution Club, New Delhi – 25.6.2024



## GREETINGS AND CONGRATULATIONS

MPs: Ganesh Singh and Giridhari Yadav



## V.P.SINGH BIRTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION BY ICF OBC ASSOCIATION, CHENNAI – 25.6.2024





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# BIHAR 65% QUOTA STAY

## WHERE LIES THE SOLUTION?

A division bench of Patna High Court on 20th June 2024, struck down a pair of laws brought by the Bihar govt last year to raise job and education quotas for Dalits, backward classes and tribals from 50% to 65%, terming these "ultra vires" - or beyond the powers of the state - and a violation of the right to equality guaranteed by Articles 14, 15 and 16 of the Constitution.

Both the Bihar Reservation (for SCs, STs, and OBCs) (Amendment) Act, 2023, and the Bihar (in admission in educational institutions) Reservation (Amendment) Act, 2023, passed by the assembly and notified on 9th November 2023 were purportedly based on the findings of the govt's caste survey, which itself went through multiple legal hurdles before being completed.

The new laws individually raised the reservation percentage for SCs from 16% to 20%, STs from 1% to 2%, BCs from 15% to 18%, and EBCs from 20% to 25%. Together with the 10% Economically Backward Class (EWS) quota, the Bill had pushed reservation in Bihar to 75%,

The bench of Chief Justice K Vinod Chandran and Justice Harish Kumar of Bihar High Court said the increase in reservations beyond 50% was "bad in law based on the principles of equality emanating from the Constitution".

It noted that "...reservation, unless it is with respect to carry-forward vacancies has to be confined to 50% which has to be based on adequate representation;"

But it is a fact that the Government has not provided proportionate representation but only 43 per cent reservation to BCs (18%) and EBCs (25%) as against 63% of BC and MBC population as per the caste survey findings.

Is it not a fact that prior to extending 10% EWS reservation on the eve of the 2019 general elections, no survey was done to examine the inadequacy of representation of the EWS reservation to Upper Castes?

In fact, one was surprised by the Supreme court's judgment in the EWS case (2023), applying the sacrosanct 50 per cent upper ceiling for reservation only for SCs, STs and OBCs, and not the EWS category.

The government was well within its rights to act on the report and then the assembly unanimously passed the amendment enhancing reservation. Even the BJP, as an opposition party during that time, which had opposed the Caste Survey, supported the reservation amendment.

The Tamil Nadu Government enacted a Reservation Act in 1993, and placed it in the IX schedule of the Constitution. Based on the inputs given by Dr.K.Veeramani, the President of Thanthai Periyar movement - Dravidar Kazhagam, the 69 per cent reservation still remains intact for jobs and education in the state of Tamil Nadu.

Two things are now possible: Nitish Kumar Government in Bihar has to bring in again the two bills and pass in the Assembly and send it to the Centre to include in the IX schedule of the Constitution as it was done in Tamil Nadu. Secondly, it should make efforts for removing the 50% ceiling on reservation imposed by the Courts.

**Now that the Nitish led JD (U) is a partner in the NDA government, and that the 'I.N.D.I.A. bloc' is in sync with this agenda, this is the apt time to bring in constitutional amendment to remove the 50% ceiling imposed by the Courts.**

Shall we hope the Union (NDA) government will take up this social justice issue seriously? ■

# நம்மை வாழ்விக்க வாழ்ந்த பானகல் அரசர் வாழ்க!



முனைவர் க.அன்பழகன்



## RAJA OF PANAGAL

The legendary leader  
who lived for the people

-Dr. K.Anbazhagan

மனித இனம் தோற்றம் கண்டபின் தொடக்கத்தில் எண்ணிக்கையில் குறைவாக இருந்த நிலையில், குடும்பம் தோன்றியபின் குடும்பத் தலைவர், அதன்பின் பல குடும்பங்கள் இணைந்த தொகுப்பிற்கு ஒரு தலைவர், அதனைத் தொடர்ந்து ஒரு பகுதியில் வாழும் மக்களின் தலைவர், தொடர்ந்து குறிப்பிட்ட நிலப்பரப்பில் வாழும் இனக்குழுவின் தலைவர், பிறகு பெருநிலப்பரப்பின் தலைவர் - அவரே மன்னர் அல்லது அரசர் என்றும், அவரது ஆட்சி மன்னராட்சி என்று இருந்து - இற்றை நாளில் மக்களே தங்களை ஆளும் மக்களாட்சி வரை ஆட்சிகள் வளர்ந்து வந்துள்ளன.

அரசர்கள் காலம் முடியாட்சியாக விளங்கிய காலத்தில் அனைத்தும் அரசனுக்குச் சொந்தமானது. அரசர்கள் அவ்வளவு பெருமையும் உரிமையும் பெற்றவர்களாகத் திகழ்ந்தனர்.

இச்சிறப்பிற்குரிய அரச குடும்பத்தில் குண்டுர் மாவட்டத்திலுள்ள பானகல்லு கிராமத்திற்குரிய அரச குடும்பத்தில் பிறந்தவர்தான் பானகல் அரசர். இவரது பெயர் பி. இராமராய நிங்கர் என்பதாகும்.

பானகல் அரசரின் மூதாதையர்கள் பானகல்லு என்ற கிராமத்திலிருந்து இடம் பெயர்ந்து காளாஸ்திரியில் குடியேறியபின், காளாஸ்திரியில் தான் பானகல் அரசர் பிறந்தார்.

இவர் தெலுங்கு, சமஸ்கிருதம், ஆங்கிலம், தமிழ் ஆகிய மொழிகளை நன்கு கற்றிருந்தார். சமஸ்கிருதத்தில் நன்கு புலமை பெற்றிருந்தார்.

இவர் பிறந்த நாள் 9.7.1866. இவர் பின்னாளில் சென்னை இராஜதானியின் பிரதம அமைச்சராக (Premier of Madras Presidency) பொறுப்பேற்று புரட்சிகரமான சாதனைகளை நிகழ்த்தி சரித்திரம் படைத்தார். சாகாச் சரித்திரம் ஆனார். அரச குடும்பத்தில் பிறந்து, அடிமைகளாய் - உரிமை இழந்தவர்களாய் - நாடோடி ஆரிய இனத்தின் சுரண்டல் கொடுமையைச் சுகமாக ஏற்றிருந்த திராவிடர் இன மக்களுக்கு உரிமை இரத்தத்தை உடலில் செலுத்தி, உணர்ச்சியூட்டி அவர்களை உயர்த்திய உத்தமர்.

பானகல் அரசரின் ஆட்சிச் சிறப்பை- ஆளுமை நெருப்பை- அதனால் விளைந்த திராவிடர் செழிப்பைக் கண்டோம்.

டாக்டர் நடேசனார், சர்.பிட்டி தியாகராயர், டாக்டர் டி.எம். நாயர் ஆகிய முப்பேரும் மேதைகள் - திராவிடர் இனத்தை வாழ்விக்க வழிகண்ட வரலாற்று நாயகர்கள் - இணைந்து உருவாக்கிய அமைப்புதான் - 1916இல் உருவான தென்னிந்திய நல உரிமைச் சங்கம். இதன் சிறப்புப் பெயர் நீதிக்கட்சி. இந்த அமைப்பு 'ஜஸ்டிஸ்' என்னும் பெயரில் பத்திரிகை ஒன்று நடத்தியதால் நீதிக்கட்சி அல்லது ஜஸ்டிஸ் பார்ட்டி என்று அழைக்கப்பட்டது.

இந்த அமைப்பின் நோக்கம் பார்ப்பனரல்லாத மக்களான திராவிடர் இன மக்கள் கல்வி மற்றும் அரசு உத்தியோகங்களில்

Ever since human race evolved, human beings were at first too small in number. Gradually an institution called family was formed with a head of the family. A group of several families had a chief. Later, a group of people inhabiting a particular area had a chief. This was followed by a leader nominated for a particular race in a landscape. And then there was a leader for vast land. He was revered as the King and his rule was honoured as monarchy. After many centuries, today people rule themselves. It is Government of the people with the people and by the people today. This is briefly the growth story of numerous rules, one followed by the other.

During the era when there was monarchy headed by Kings, everything belonged to the ruling King. Their pride and glory were marvellous. Their rights were unquestionable in their kingdoms. In such a royal family at Panagal village in Guntur District, Raja of Panagal was born. His given name was B. Ramaraya Ningar.

The ancestors of Raja of Panagal had migrated from Panagal Village and settled in Kalahasti. This was the actual birth place of Raja of Panagal. He had commendable mastery over Telugu, Sanskrit, English and Tamil languages. He had acquired unfathomable knowledge especially in Sanskrit.

He was born on 09.07.1866. He was later bestowed the responsibility as the Premier of Madras Presidency. He scripted history by his revolutionary achievements. He himself ultimately became intransient history for posterity.

The people of the Dravidian race had willingly adapted themselves to the exploitation by the Aryan race inspite of their having been born in royal families. They led a life of servility losing all their rights to the nomadic race of the Aryans. Raja of Panagal made the Dravidians realise their degradation. He inculcated the thirst of basic rights in them, made them sensitive and paved the way for their upliftment. Such a noble man was Raja of Panagal who drew Dravidians from the darkness of ignorance. The world has witnessed the flourish of Dravidians, the glory of the rule of Raja of Panagal and the blaze of his mighty governance.

Dr. Natesan, Sir. Pitti Theagarayar and Dr. T.M. Nair were the three renowned scholars who helped the Dravidian race survive and emerged great men in history. In 1916 they jointly founded the South Indian Liberal Federation (SILF). This was called the Justice Party. They started a journal named 'JUSTICE'. Hence the party itself was called 'Justice Party'. The objective of this party was to strive and help the non-brahmin Dravidian race people acquire legitimate opportunities in education and Government jobs, in proper percentages.



உரிய விகிதாச்சார அளவில் சட்டப்படியான வாய்ப்பைப் பெறப் பாடுபடுவது என்பதேயாகும்.

நீதிக்கட்சி தொடங்குவதற்கு அடித்தளமிட்ட முதல் சிறப்புக் கூட்டம் 1916ஆம் ஆண்டு நவம்பர் 20ஆம் நாள் அன்று சென்னை வேப்பேரி எத்திராஜாலு (முதலியார்) இல்லத்தில் நடைபெற்றது.

நீதிக்கட்சியின் கொள்கை விளக்க அறிக்கை பார்ப்பனரல்லாதார் கொள்கை விளக்க அறிக்கை' (The Non-Brahmin Manifesto December - 1916) என்ற பெயரில், புதியதோர் வரலாற்றை திராவிடர் இனத்து மக்களுக்கு வழங்கிடும் புகழ்மிக்க புரட்சிகர அறிக்கையாக வெளியானது.

மாண்டேகு - செம்ஸ்போர்டு வழங்கிய இரட்டை ஆட்சித் திட்டத்தின் கீழ் நீதிக்கட்சி 1920ஆம் ஆண்டு தேர்தலை முதன்முதல் சந்தித்து - வெற்றியும் பெற்று சென்னை இராஜதானியில் திராவிடர் ஆட்சியை நிறுவியது.

நீதிக்கட்சியின் தந்தை என்ற பெருமைக்குரிய சர். பிட்டி தியாகராயர் அவர்களை ஆங்கிலேயக் கவர்னர் லார்டு வெல்லிங்டன் முதலமைச்சராகப் பொறுப்பேற்க அழைத்தார். தான் முதலமைச்சராக விரும்பவில்லை என அறிவித்து கடலூரைச் சேர்ந்த வழக்கறிஞர் திரு. ஏ. சுப்பராயலு ரெட்டியார் அவர்களை முதலமைச்சராக்கினார். இந்திய அரசியல் வரலாற்றில் முதலமைச்சர் பதவியை ஏற்க மறுத்திட்ட- மக்கள் பணியே மகத்தான பணி வாழ்ந்திட்ட வணக்கத்திற்குரிய முதல் மனிதர் சர்.பிட்டி தியாகராயர் ஆவார்.

அந்த வரிசையில் இரண்டாமவராக ஏன், இறுதி மனிதர் என்றே கருதிடும் ஆங்கிலேய கவர்னரால் இரண்டு முறை (வெவ்வேறு காலகட்டங்களில்) சென்னை ராஜதானிக்கு முதல்வர் பொறுப்பேற்க (Premier) அழைத்தும் பதவியைவிட மானமுள்ள சமுதாயமாக திராவிடர் சமுதாயத்தை மாற்றும் தொண்டு என்ற மாபெரும் பணி என்று வாழ்ந்து காட்டிய புதிய வரலாற்றுக்குப் புகழ் சேர்த்த தந்தை பெரியார்.

நீதிக்கட்சி ஆட்சிக்கு முதல்வர் பொறுப்பேற்ற திரு. ஏ. சுப்பராயலு ரெட்டியார் அவர்கள் ஆட்சி பெறுப்பேற்ற சில மாதங்களில் உடல் நலம் குன்றிய நிலையில் பதவியிலிருந்து விலகினார். அவருக்குப் பின் திரு.பி. இராமராய நிங்கர் எனும் பெயர் கொண்ட பானகல் அரசர் புதிய முதலமைச்சராகப் பொறுப்பேற்றார்.

1921 முதல் 1926 வரை முதலமைச்சராக இருந்த பானகல் அரசர் நீதிக்கட்சியின் கொள்கை வழிநின்று ஆற்றிய தொண்டுகள் ஏராளம். அவற்றில் சில இங்கே கோடிட்டுக்காட்டப்படுகின்றன.

**நீதிக்கட்சியின் சாதனைகள்:**

- பார்ப்பனரல்லாதார் என்பவர்கள் யார் என்பதற்கு ஒரு தீர்மானத்தை நிறைவேற்றி - வகுப்புவாரிப் பிரதிநிதித்துவம் வருவதற்கான அடிப்படையை உருவாக்கினார்.
- பெண்களுக்கு தேர்தலில் வாக்களிக்க உரிமையில்லை என்றிருந்த தடையை அரசாணை எண்.108 சட்டம் (legislative) நாள்: 10.05.1921 மூலம் நீக்கி பெண்களுக்கு வாக்களிக்கும் உரிமையை வழங்கினார்.
- 1921 ஆகஸ்ட் 16ஆம் நாள் எல்லாச் சமூகத்திற்கும் அரசுப்பணிகளில் வாய்ப்பளிக்க வேண்டும் என்ற ஆணையைப் பிறப்பித்தார்.
- ஒவ்வொரு கல்லூரியிலும் மாணவர் சேர்க்கைக் குழு ஒன்று அமைத்து அதன் மூலம் அனைத்து சமூக

The first significant meeting preceding the formation of Justice party was held on 20th November 1916 at Vepery, Chennai, in the house of Ethirajulu (Mudaliar). It laid the foundation for the Justice Party.

The Non-brahmin manifesto December - 1916 was released explaining the policies and principles of Justice Party. It was a new history bestowed to the people of Dravidian Race. It is acclaimed even today as a renowned revolutionary manifesto.

Under the dual rule scheme of Montague - Chemsford, the Justice Party faced election for the first time in 1920. It won the election and formed the Dravidian Government in Madras Presidency. The British Governor Lord Wellington invited Sir. Pitti Theagarayar to assume the post of the Chief Minister. Sir. Theagarayar was then enjoying the pride of being hailed as the father of Justice Party. He declined the offer majestically and conveyed his decision. Later, he made Advocate Thiru.A.Subbarayalu Reddiar of Cuddalore, assume the post of the Chief Minister.

In the political history of India, Sir. Pitti. Theagarayar was the first Stalwart to decline the offer of the post of the Chief Minister. For him public service was his great mission. He led his life with this noble objective and is hence revered even today for his exemplary nobility.

The second and infact the last stalwart on the footprints of Theagarayar was Thanthai Periyar. On different occasions he was invited twice by the British Governor to accept the post of the Premier of Madras Presidency. On both the occasions he refused to accept the offer since the noble task of transforming the Dravidian community as self-respectful dignified citizens was much more important for him than adorning posts and positions. He set a precedent by striving for this throughout his life and scripted a new history make it proud by his unflinching resolve.

A few months after assuming office as the Chief Minister in the governance of the Justice Party, Thiru.Subbarayalu Reddiar demitted office owing to his declining health and ailments. After him, Thiru.B.Ramaraya Ningar, also known as Raja of Panagal assumed office as the new Chief Minister. He was in the office from 1921 to 1926. During his term, his services adhering to the policies of the Justice Party are innumerable. Some of his noteworthy services are listed here below:

**The achievements of the Justice Party:**

1. He got a resolution passed determining who the non-brahmins are and formed the basis for communal representation.
2. Women then had no voting rights. Through G.O.No.108 he got ratified a legislative on 10.05.1921. The voting rights were granted to women by the repeal of the restriction existed till then.
3. On 16th August, 1921, he passed an order that all the communities must get placement opportunities in Government jobs.
4. By G.O.No.636 pertaining to education, on 20th August 1922, he passed an order that a student's Admission Committee should be formed in every college and through that committee students of all communities must be admitted into college studies. College education was monopolised till then only by brahmin students. Raja of Panagal ended the social injustice.

மாணவர்களும் கல்லூரிப் படிப்பில் சேர்க்கப்பட வேண்டும் என்று அரசாணை எண்: 636 சட்டம் (கல்வி) நாள்: 20.8.1922 மூலம் உத்தரவு பிறப்பித்தார். இதன் காரணமாக பார்ப்பனர் இனத்து மாணவர்களை படித்திடும் நிலைக்கு முற்றுப்புள்ளி வைத்தார்.

- சென்னை மாநிலக் கல்லூரியில் மாணவர்கள் சேர்க்கை பார்ப்பனரல்லாதார்க்கு 60% பார்ப்பனர்களுக்கு 40% என வரையறை செய்து அரசாணை எண்: 1880 சட்டம் (கல்வி) நாள்: 15.09.1928 ஒன்றைப் பிறப்பித்தார். பார்ப்பன ஏகபோகக் கொள்கைக்கு முடிவு கட்டினார்.
- அரசாணை எண்: 817 சட்டம்(பொது) நாள்: 25.03.1922 மூலம் பஞ்சமர் - பறையர் என்று தொல் திராவிடர் குடியினரை அழைக்கும் - எழுதும் நிலைக்கு முடிவுகட்டி, தமிழில் 'ஆதிதிராவிடர்' என்றும் தெலுங்கில் 'ஆதி தெலுங்கர்' என்றும் அழைத்திட - எழுதிட ஆணையிட்டார்.
- ஒவ்வோர் ஆண்டு இறுதியிலும் பள்ளியில் பயிலும் மாணவர்கள் பட்டியலை அனுப்பும்போது தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட மாணவர்கள் பற்றிய விவரங்கள் குறிப்பிடப்பட வேண்டும் என்று அரசாணை எண்: 205 சட்டம் (கல்வி) நாள்: 11.12.1924 ஒன்றைப் பிறப்பித்தார்.
- முதன்முதல் சென்னையில் இந்திய மருத்துவக் கல்லூரியை நிறுவிய பெருமைக்குரியவர் பானகல் அரசரே ஆவார்.
- அண்ணாமலை பல்கலைக்கழகம் உருவாக பானகல் அரசர் காலத்திலே தான் அடிப்படைப் பணிகள் மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.
- இந்து அறநிலையத்துறை பாதுகாப்புச் சட்டம் பானகல் அரசர் ஆட்சியில்தான் உருவாக்கப்பட்டது.

**அரசாணை எண்: 29சட்டம் (legislative) நாள்: 27.01.1925**

- பொதுத் துறையில் தாழ்த்தப்பட்டோர் உட்பட எல்லா மக்களுக்கும் உரிய இடங்கள் வழங்கப்பட்டன.
- துப்புரவு வகுப்பினர், தோடர்கள், கோடர்கள், படகர்கள் ஆகியவர்களுக்காகக் கூட்டுறவுச் சங்கங்கள் ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்டன.
- தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட வகுப்பினர்க்குப் பணி உயர்வு, உயர் பதவி நியமனங்கள் செய்யப்பட்டன.
- தாழ்த்தப்பட்டோர்க்கு வீட்டு மனைகள், குடியிருப்புகள் அமைத்துத் தரப்பட்டன. சாலைகள் போடப்பட்டன. அவர்களின் குழந்தைகளுக்குப் பள்ளிகள் ஏற்பாடு செய்யப்பட்டன.
- தாழ்த்தப்பட்டோரின் முன்னேற்றம் கருதி தனி அலுவலர்கள் நியமிக்கப்பட்டனர். பின்னர் தனி அலுவலர் என்பதை லேபர் கமிஷனர் என்று மாற்றினர்.
- தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட வகுப்பாரில் என்னென்ன ஜாதிகள் உள்ளன என்பதைத் தொகுக்கும் பணி மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.
- குறவர்களை எல்லா வகையிலும் சீர்திருத்த நடவடிக்கைகள் மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்டன.
- கோவை மாவட்டத்திலுள்ள வலையர், குறவர் ஆகியோரைக் குற்றப் பரம்பரையிலிருந்து மீட்க அவர்களின் குழந்தைகளுக்கு 25 நிதி உதவிகள் (ஸ்காலர்ஷிப்புகள்) அளிக்கப்பட்டன.
- ஆதிதிராவிடர்களுக்கு நிலங்கள் வழங்கப்பட்டு அதனைப் பயன்படுத்த மூலதனம், பிற ஜாதியினரிடமிருந்து பாதுகாப்பு - அடமானம் வைக்காமல் இருக்க அறிவுரை, இன்னும் பிற தொல்லைகளிலிருந்து மீட்பு என உதவிகள் செய்யப்பட்டன.

5. At Presidency College, Chennai, in Students' Admission, brahmin students got 40% allotment and non-brahmin students got 60% allotment. Ratifying this formally, he passed a G.O. No.1880 (education / legislative) on 15th September, 1928. Brahmin students were grabbing almost all the seats till then. He ended their atrocity by this G.O.
6. On 25th March, 1922 he released G.O.No.817 (General law) through which calling ancient Dravidians as Panchamas and Paraiyahs in speech and writing was declared punishable offence. He ordered that the term 'Adi Dravidians' should be used in Tamil and 'Adi Telugus' should be used in Telugu.
7. On 11th December, 1924, G.O.No.205 (law / education) was released by him. It was ordered by this G.O. that by the end of each Academic year, when the list of students studying in a school is sent, the details of Schedule class students must also be sent to the authorities concerned.
8. The credit of pride goes to Raja of Panagal for establishing Indian Medical College for the first time in Chennai.
9. For the establishment of Annamalai University, the ground work and initial steps were all taken only during the period of Raja of Panagal.
10. It was during the rule of Raja of Panagal that Hindu Religious Charities Endowment Department was protected by the enactment of relevant law. This was through G.O.No.29 - law (legislative) released on 27th of January, 1925.
11. In the public sector all people were offered proper positions, including the Scheduled class people.
12. Co-operative societies were formed for all the sanitary maintenance communities, Thodas, Kodas and Padagars.
13. The Scheduled class people were offered placements in higher posts and promotions as per rules.
14. Housing plots and habitats were provided to Scheduled class people. New roads were laid. Schools were exclusively built for the children of Scheduled class parents.
15. For the welfare and progress of the Scheduled class people special officers were appointed. The designation of 'Special Officer' was later changed by him as 'Labour Commissioner'.
16. The work of compiling caste wise particulars of Scheduled caste people commenced in Raja of Panagal's period.
17. Steps were taken to reform all the nomadic people called "Narikuravas" in Tamil.
18. The Valayar, Kuravar people living in Coimbatore District were isolated as traditional criminals. For their rehabilitation, steps were taken. 25 scholarships were offered to selected children of this group.
19. Adi Dravidars were given land and capital amount to make use of it. They were protected from rival caste people. They were advised not to pledge their possessions. In many other ways they were helped to be free from several other difficulties.
20. Loan facility was provided to the Scheduled class people to buy plots for building houses.



- தாழ்த்தப்பட்டவர்களுக்கு வீட்டு மனை வாங்குவதற்குக் கடன் வசதி செய்து தரப்பட்டது.
- ஆதிதிராவிடர்களுக்கு விவசாயத்திற்காக நிலங்களை ஒதுக்குகிற போது மரங்களின் மதிப்பு நில அளவைக் கட்டணத்தைத் தள்ளுபடி செய்தனர்.
- அருப்புக்கோட்டையில் குறவர் பையன்களுக்குப் படுக்கை வசதி கொண்ட மன்றம் கட்டித்தர அளிக்கப்பட்ட தொகையை உயர்த்தித் தர உத்தரவு இடப்பட்டது.
- மீனவர் நலன் காப்பதற்காக லேபர் கமிஷனர் நியமிக்கப்பட்டார்.
- கள்ளர் சமுதாய முன்னேற்றத்திற்காகப் புதிதாக லேபர் கமிஷனர் நியமிக்கப்பட்டு அவர் சில வழிமுறைகளை உருவாக்கித் தர ஏற்பாடு செய்தனர்.
- நிலத்தில் கட்டடத்தைக் கட்டிக்கொண்டு நில வாடகை செலுத்துவோர்க்கு வாடகைதாரர் குடியிருப்புச் சட்டம் கொண்டு வரப்பட்டது. இச்சட்டப்படி நில உரிமையாளர்களால் அப்புறப்படுத்தப்படுவோம் எனும் பயம் தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட மக்களுக்கு நீங்கியது.
- பி அண்டு சி மில்லின் வேலை நிறுத்தத்தின் விளைவுகளால் ஏற்பட்ட பாதிப்புகளுக்கு உதவிகள் செய்யப்பட்டன.
- தஞ்சை கள்ளர் மகா சங்கத்தின் வேண்டுகோளை ஏற்று, அய்ந்து பள்ளிகளைத் தஞ்சை வட்டாரத்தில் திறக்க உத்தரவிடப்பட்டது.
- ஆதிதிராவிடர்களின் முன்னேற்றத்திற்காகப் பொது மக்களின் உதவியையும் உறவையும் பலப்படுத்த அரசு வேண்டுகோள்களை அரசு ஆணையாகப் பிறப்பித்தது.
- குடிப்பழக்கம் உள்ளவர்களின் பழக்கத்தை மாற்ற - மக்களை நெறிப்படுத்த ஆணை வெளியிடுதல்.
- ஆதி ஆந்திரர்களுக்கு சந்தை விலையில் நிலங்களை அளித்தல்.
- தஞ்சாவூர் கள்ளர் பள்ளிகளின் நடைமுறைச் செலவுகளை ஏற்றல். சீரமைப்புப் பணிகளை மேற்கொள்ளுதல், கடன் வசதிக்கு ஏற்பாடு செய்தல்.
- மலபார் மாவட்டத்தில் மீனவப் பிள்ளைகளுக்குப் பள்ளிகள் திறக்கப்பட்டன.
- சென்னை நடுக்குப்பத்தில் மீனவப் பிள்ளைகளுக்குப் பள்ளிகள் திறக்கப்பட்டன.
- கிழக்குக் கடற்கரை ஊர்களில் ஆறு இரவுப் பள்ளிகள் திறக்கப்பட்டன. மேலும் மூன்று தொடக்கப் பள்ளிகள் நிறுவப்பட்டன.
- உள்ளாட்சி மன்றங்களில் தகுதியான தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட சமூகத்தைச் சேர்ந்தவர்கள் கிடைக்கும்போது அவர்களுக்கு நியமனங்கள் வழங்கப்பட வேண்டும் என உத்தரவு இடப்பட்டது.
- மருத்துவப் பள்ளிகள் மற்றும் கல்லூரிகளில் உதவி நிதி (Stipend) பிறப்பிக்கப்பட்ட, தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட மாணவர்களுக்கு வழங்கப்பட்டது.
- அரசுப் பள்ளிகளில் வகுப்புரிமை நிலைநாட்டப்பட ஆண்டுதோறும் அறிக்கைகள் வெளியிடப்பட பொதுத்துறை கேட்டுக் கொள்ளப்பட்டது.
- தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட மாணவர்கள், கல்வி கற்பதற்கு கல்வி நிலையங்களில் சேர்த்துக் கொள்வதற்கு ஆணைகள் பிறப்பிக்கப்பட்டன. தடைகள் ஏதாவது செய்யப்படுமானால் உடன் மாற்று ஏற்பாடு செய்யவும் உத்தரவிடப்பட்டு இருந்தது.

21. When land was allotted to Adi Dravidars for agriculture purposes, the survey charges were being collected. The value of the trees on the land was also taken into account. All these were withdrawn from levy.
22. In Aruppukkottai, the boys of nomads (Kuravas) were given financial aid for comfortable rooms with beds. It was ordered to enhance the funds allotted.
23. A Labour Commissioner was appointed to take care of fishermen's welfare.
24. A new Labour Commissioner was appointed for the upliftment of Kallar community. He chalked out certain measures for their advancement in life.
25. People who built homes on land and were paying rent for the land were being threatened by land owners that they would be evicted. A law was enacted to protect the tenancy rights of those residents. People were free from eviction fear.
26. Owing to the labour strike in B & C Mills, people were affected severely. Their grievances were redressed by appropriate relief measures.
27. Complying with the appeal and request of the Kallar Maha Sangam in Thanjavur, five schools were newly opened in Thanjavur area by an order released by Raja of Panagal.
28. For the welfare of Adi Dravidars and their advancement in life, the public support and strong, amiable relationship was sought by the Government. The Government converted its appeal as a G.O. and released its order to take suitable steps.
29. An order was released to reform alcohol addict men in society. The order also stressed refining people and making them lead a dignified life.
30. Adi Dravidars were offered land at market price.
31. The Government came forward to bear the expenses related to the Kallar Schools in Thanjavur. Modification works and other routine tasks were undertaken by the Government. Loan facilities were also provided for further improvement in them.
32. In Malabar District, Schools were opened for the education of the children of fishermen.
33. At Nadukkuppam in Chennai, Schools were opened specially for the children of fishermen.
34. In villages in the vicinity of the East Coast Road and adjacent towns, six night schools and three primary schools were opened.
35. In the Offices of local bodies such as Panchayat and Municipalities, the eligible Scheduled class candidates were assured placement. An order ratifying this was released.
36. The children hailing from the Backward and Scheduled Classes were granted stipend to study in Medical as well as other Colleges.
37. The public sector was instructed to release relevant statements every year in order to ensure communal rights of students in Government schools.
38. Order was released to admit Scheduled class students in educational institutions. In case of hurdles the institutions were declared free to make alternative arrangements without delay.
39. An order was issued announcing that the scheduled class students in Chennai District need not pay any fee for their S.S.L.C. exam.

- சென்னை மாகாணத்தில் உள்ள தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட மாணவர்கள் எஸ்.எஸ்.எல்.சி. தேர்வுக்குப் பணம் கட்டத் தேவையில்லை என ஆணை பிறப்பிக்கப்பட்டது.
- கல்லூரிகளிலும், உயர்நிலைப் பள்ளிகளிலும் படிக்கும் பிற்படுத்தப்பட்ட மாணவர்களுக்கு அரைச் சம்பளம் கட்டினால் போதும் எனச் சலுகை வழங்கப்பட்டு இருந்தது.
- தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட மாணவர்களுக்கு உதவித் தொகையைப் பெறுவதற்கு அவர்களின் எண்ணிக்கையை உயர்த்தியும் கூடுதல் நிதி அளித்தும் சலுகைகள் வழங்கப்பட்டன.

பானகல் அரசர் நிறைவேற்றிய மேற்கண்ட சட்டங்கள்தான் தமிழ்நாட்டின் இன்றைய வளர்ச்சிக்கு அடித்தளமிட்டது என்பதோடு - இன்று தமிழ்நாட்டில் நடைபெற்றுவரும் முத்துவேல் கருணாநிதி ஸ்டாலின் தலைமை ஏற்கும் திராவிட மாடல் ஆட்சிக்கு ஆணிவேருமாகும் என்றால் அது மிகையாகாது.

நீதிக்கட்சியின் சார்பில் முதல் பார்ப்பனரல்லாதார் மாநாடு கோவை ஜில்லா மாநாடாக - ஒப்பனைக்காரத் தெரு நாடக மேடையில் 1917 ஆகஸ்ட் 19ஆம் நாள் நடைபெற்றது. அந்த மாநாட்டிற்குத் தலைமை வகித்தவர் அன்றைய நாளில் இம்பீரியல் கவுன்சில் மெம்பராக இருந்திட்ட திரு. பானகல் அரசர் ஆவார். இந்த மாநாட்டில் அவரது எழுச்சி உரை திராவிடர் இனத்து மக்களின் சமூகநீதிச் சாசனமாகும். பானகல் அரசரின் மறைவு 1928 டிசம்பர் 15 அன்று திடீர் உடல்நலக் குறைவால் நிகழ்ந்தது. சென்னை தியாகராயர் நகரில் பானகல் அரசருக்குச் சிலை வைத்து - பானகல் பூங்காவும் தமிழ்நாடு அரசால் உருவாக்கப்பட்டிருக்கிறது. பானகல் அரசர் காலமானபின் தந்தை பெரியார் எழுதிய இரங்கல் செய்தியின் தலைப்பு

**'மறைந்தார் நம் அருமைத் தலைவர்!  
எனிலும் மனமுடைந்து போகாதீர்!'**

பெரியார் தனது இரங்கல் செய்தியில் ஒரு இடத்தில் குறிப்பிடும்போது,

நாயர் பெருமான் அவர்களும் இதே மாதிரி நெருக்கடியான சமயத்தில் தேசம் விட்டுத் தேசம் போய் உயிர் துறந்தார். தியாகராய வள்ளலும் இதேபோல் இறந்தார்.

பானகல் வீரரும் அவர்களைப் பின்பற்றி நடந்தார். ஆனால் நாயர் பெருமான் காலமானவுடன் மக்கள் கண்ணிலும் மனதிலும் தியாகராய வள்ளல் தோன்றினார். அதுபோலவே தியாகராய வள்ளல் மறைந்தவுடன் நமது பானகல் வீரர் தோன்றினார். பானகல் வீரர் மறைந்த பிறகு யாரும் தோன்றக் காணோம். அவர் மறைந்த பிறகு சற்றேறக் குறைவாக இரவும் பகலுமாக 192 மணி நேரம் - லட்சக்கணக்கானவர்கள் காலஞ்சென்ற தலைவரைப்போல் ஒரு தலைவரைத் தேடித்தேடி களைத்தாய்விட்டது. இன்னமும் ஒருவரும் புலப்படவில்லை. இது ஒன்றே நம் பானகல் வீரர், ஒப்பாரும் மிக்காரும் அற்ற தலைவர் என்பதைக் காட்டுகிறது.

தந்தை பெரியாரின் இரங்கல் செய்தி குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளதிலிருந்து பானகல் அரசர் வாழ்வும் தொண்டும் நம்மினத்திற்கு எந்த அளவிற்குப் பயன் தந்தது என்பதும், அவரது மறைவும் இழப்பும் யாரும் நிரப்ப முடியாத இடமென்பதும் அறிந்திடும் நிலையில் அப்பெரும் வரலாற்று நாயகர் பானகல் அரசர் பிறந்த நாளில் (9.7.1924) சமூகநீதி நிலைக்க - திராவிடம் வெல்ல சூளுரைப்போம்!

வாழ்க பானகல் அரசர்!

(கட்டுரையாளர் - மாநில கிராமப் பிரச்சார குழு  
அமைப்பாளர், திராவிடர் கழகம்)

40. A concession was announced through an order that Backward class students in Colleges and Higher Secondary schools may pay only 50 per cent of the fees.

41. The number of scheduled class students eligible for stipend or scholarship was increased. There was also a rise in the fund allocated for educational aid. An order was released ratifying this.

All the above cited laws enacted by Raja of Panagal laid the foundation for today's growth and development of Tamil Nadu. They were the basic roots for the Dravidian Model Rule of the DMK, today in Tamil Nadu, headed by Hon'ble Chief Minister Muthuvel Karunanidhi Stalin (M.K. Stalin). This is not at all an exaggeration but the undeniable truth.

On behalf of the Justice party the first conference of non-brahmins was held on 19th of August, 1917 in Coimbatore at a venue on Oppanakkara Street. The conference was presided over by Raja of Panagal who was then a member of the Imperial Council. His provocative and inspiring speech at the conference was social justice legacy of the people belonging to Dravidian race.

Raja of Panagal took ill and passed away suddenly on 15th of December 1928. The Government of Tamil Nadu installed a statue of Raja of Panagal at Theagaraya Nagar in Chennai. A park was also built in his name, popularly known today as "Panagal Park".

Upon the passing away of Raja of Panagal, Thanthai Periyar wrote an obituary under the caption -

"Our beloved leader is no more.

But do not get dejected,

As he would live in our memory for ever"

In his obituary, Thanthai Periyar had also stated that Dr.T.M.Nair also passed away at one such crucial time while travelling from one country to another for propagation. The Philanthropist - Theagarayar also passed away suddenly owing to his sudden sickness.

Raja of Panagal followed in the footprints of his predecessors. When Nair passed away, people pinned all their hope on Theagarayar for their welfare. When Theagarayar passed away, the ray of hope for the people was Raja of Panagal. The place left behind by Raja of Panagal remains as Vacuum. Following his death, we looked for the next stalwart. Our search went on for nearly 192 hours, day and night. We grew tired looking for a leader like him. So far none could be found to replace him. This itself proves that Raja of Panagal was unparalleled. No one superior to him or even equal to him could be found so far.

From the condolence message of Thanthai Periyar one can understand, to what extent our Dravidian race reaped benefits through the life and services of Raja of Panagal. The gulf created by his passing away can never be bridged. Hence let us all take a pledge on 9th July, 2024, the Birth Anniversary of Raja of Panagal, that we shall all strive for the establishment of social justice. It was on this day in 1866 that he was born. Hence, on the remembrance day this year, let us also swear to make Dravidam win at all times by our collective efforts.

**Long live Raja of Panagal and his glory!**

(The writer is the Organiser, State Village Propaganda Committee, Dravidar Kazhagam)



## News in brief:

# Patna high court set aside Bihar govt's 65% reservation hike in jobs, education for SC/STs, Backward Classes

On June 20, The Patna high court set aside the Bihar government's notification increasing quota for backward classes, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes from 50% to 65% in government jobs and higher educational institutions in the state.

The high court delivered the judgment on a batch of writ petitions challenging the constitutional validity of the amendments passed by the Bihar legislature in November 2023 to increase the reservation for Backward Classes, Extremely Backward Classes, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (SC/STs) from 50 percent to 65 percent.

The amendments were brought in after analysing data collected during 'Caste based Survey 2022-23'.

## Paswan demanded for quota-related laws to be included in 9<sup>th</sup> schedule

DAY AFTER SC REMARK THAT RESERVATION NOT A FUNDAMENTAL RIGHT

### Include quota-related laws in 9th Schedule to bar them from judicial review: Paswan

HARIKISHAN SHARMA  
NEW DELHI, JUNE 12

REACTING TO THE Supreme Court's remarks that reservation is not a fundamental right, Lok Janshakti Party patriarch and Union minister Ram Vilas Paswan on Friday reiterated his party's demand to include all reservation-related laws in the Ninth Schedule of Constitution so that they are shielded from judicial review.

On the apex court's observations on Thursday while declining to entertain a clutch of petitions by several political parties from Tamil Nadu, Paswan said the judgment "raises resentment in the minds of people belonging to SC, ST, OBC and the poor sec-



Union Minister Ram Vilas Paswan

tions of upper caste" communities.

He told *The Indian Express*, "Leaders of all political parties have always supported us on the issue of reservation in Parliament. The LJP appeals to all parties (to understand) that to eliminate the repeated controversy over reservation forever, all reservation-related laws should be included in the Ninth Schedule of Constitution."

"Once you include these Acts in this Schedule, no one

can challenge them in courts." Stating that no government-ment by any political party can end quota, Paswan said, "Today, reservation is not confined just to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes; it is available to other backward classes and poor sections of the upper castes as well."

The LJP leader said people from these different categories face "separate issues", and have thus been included in reservation. He said: "Reservation for SCs is given due to the issue of untouchability. Therefore, it has no link with economic backwardness. Similarly, reservation for other backward classes (OBCs) is based on the parameters of social and educational backwardness. Upper caste reservation has been

granted on the basis of economic backwardness.

"All these three types of reservation have been attached to the fundamental rights under the Constitution of India."

He also said, "The SC/ST reservation is the outcome of the Poona pact between Mahatma Gandhi and Dr B R Ambedkar. Therefore, making any controversy will be a repudiation of this pact."

The Ninth Schedule of Constitution contains a list of central and state laws which cannot be challenged in courts. Currently, 284 such laws are shielded from judicial review.

The Schedule became a part of the Constitution in 1951, when the document was amended for the first time.

#### Committed to quota: BJP chief

New Delhi: BJP national president Jagat Prakash Nadda Friday said his party is committed to reservation. "Some people in society try to spread confusion about reservation. The government, led by PM Narendra Modi, and Bharatiya Janata Party are committed to (continue policy of) reservation. Our commitment to social justice is unwavering," he said. **ENS**

TheHitavada

Vidarbha Line | 2024-06-24 | Page- 7  
ehitavada.com

### Pratibha Dhanorkar assures to fight for independent ministry for OBC at Centre

■ Chandrapur Bureau  
CHANDRAPUR, June 23

A GRAND felicitation was accorded to the newly elected MP Pratibha Dhanorkar by Rashtriya OBC Mahasangh and social organisations working for Scheduled Caste, Scheduled Tribes. The felicitation function held at Priyadarshini Hall here recently.

Dr Baban Taywade, President, Rashtriya OBC Mahasangh, presided over the programme while Sudhakar Adbale, MLC, Nagpur Division Teachers Constituency, Sachin Rajurkar, Babanrao Fund, Dinesh Chokhare, Pramod Borikar, Jaideep Rode graced the function as the guests on the dais.

Addressing the function, Dhanorkar said the entire country is fighting against the



Pratibha Dhanorkar being felicitated during the programme.

tyrannical approach of the government. The people are striving to protect rights of backward classes in the country by saving the Constitution. She supported the reservation movement by some communities in the State but clarified

that they should not be given reservation from OBC, she said. She expressed her commitment to fight for the rights of OBC community.

Dhanorkar assured to fight for independent ministry for OBC at the Centre and

Scholarship to OBC students in the Parliament.

In his presidential speech, Taywade urged the newly elected MP to take the voice of OBC community to Parliament so that the community should get justice. Sachin Rajurkar delivered the introductory remarks. Sham Lede conducted the proceedings of the programme. Pradip Pawde proposed a vote of thanks.

Satish Bhivgade, Ritesh Gandhare, Rajesh Naidu, Pappu Deshmukh, Ashok Nagapure, Akash Sakharikar, Deorao Diwase, Dinesh Kashit, Amit Umre, Raju Hiwanj, Ratan Shilawar, Ravi Tonge, Ganesh Awari, Nandu Labhane, Prama Jogi, Ajay Balki, Krushna Masram, Manish Bobde, Rajani More, Pournima Mehkure strove tirelessly to hold a successful felicitation function.

The Indian EXPRESS Sat, 13 June 2020  
<https://epaper.indianexpress.com/c/52703426>



Telangana Backward Classes Commission at a meeting to seek the suggestions and opinions of experts on the caste survey here on Monday.  
— BY ARRANGEMENT

Prestigious IMC Ladies' Wing Award for Banking and Financial Services presented to Ms. A Manimekhalai, MD & CEO, Union Bank of India at a glittering function held at Indian Merchant Chambers Hall, Mumbai on 6th June 2024.





# Re-Discovering Social Justice



*The roadmap for the 2029 Lok Sabha election should focus on equal access to resources, economic and political, while ensuring dignity and self-respect*

**- Prof. N Sukumar, Mukesh Thakur, Ankur Kumar**

The past decade in Indian politics had witnessed the submersion of all other identities under the Hindutva juggernaut and the gradual erosion of political parties that spoke the language of social justice. A few scholars argued that the subaltern communities had unquestioningly accepted Hindutva. Similar results were expected in 2024 and there were whispers of the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) gaining a brutish majority and amending the Constitution. For the party devotees, nothing would stop India from becoming a Hindu rashtra.

However, the long-drawn elections fought in the scorching summer unleashed many surprises. The BJP

fell short of an absolute majority and regional parties, which had social justice as their agenda, were able to contain Hindutva, especially in the Hindi heartland. The communally-laden speeches and campaigns failed to sway the masses and instead issues of employment, the Agniveer scheme, the guarantee of Minimum Support Prices (MSP), the Old Pension Scheme, enhancement of the Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, 2005 (MGNREGA), education, and constitutional guarantees took centre stage. Working under the radar, the Samajwadi Party (SP) in Uttar Pradesh, the Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) in Bihar and the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) in Tamil Nadu



sought to forge new alliances across their traditional support base. A rejuvenated Congress under Rahul Gandhi and Mallikarjun Kharge also positioned itself as a party which voiced the concerns of the Dalits. A mere six months ago, nobody would have imagined that the labour of the INDIA bloc regarding seat-sharing and joint electoral campaigns would help to drastically reduce the BJP's tally of seats.

### **In Uttar Pradesh, the poll results decisively prove the validation of the strategies of the SP and the Congress.**

Field visits to Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Telangana and Tamil Nadu helped to bring out the nuances of the voters' demands vis-à-vis the manifestos of different parties. Needless to mention, the BJP manifesto only mentioned Prime Minister Narendra Modi's name multiple times rather than any specific policies. The Congress put out a Nyay Patra promising caste census and social justice. The SP and the RJD too spoke on similar lines. However, the election results indicate that much work needs to be done to promote the agenda of equal distribution of resources. For instance, in the Araria district of Bihar, MGNREGA workers have to struggle to obtain a hundred days of employment and also fight the contractors who wanted to bring in heavy machines to do the job. Civil society groups tried to help them out. The Musahar community is the most socially and economically backward amongst all the social groups. Sometimes, the dignity and safety of women workers are at risk. So, for this section of society, 5 kg rice, the Pradhan Mantri Jan Arogya Yojana (PM-JAY) scheme, the Pradhan Mantri Kisan Samman Nidhi Yojna and the Pradhan Mantri Ujjwala Yojana are more important than any other issues.

The problems of Accredited Social Health Activist (ASHA) workers, cooks employed for mid-day meal schemes and sanitation workers are seldom considered important during election campaigns. No wonder then that in Bihar, the results reflected the satisfaction with the various welfare schemes of the prime minister. The entire political discourse in Tamil Nadu was directed at the issue of Sanatana Dharma and the BJP was confident of milking it. The PM's visits to various temple towns in south India were to further buttress this agenda. But the results reflect that the voters are more concerned about the social justice agenda. In Maharashtra, the Maratha agitation was sought to be brutally suppressed, which backfired on the BJP-NDA alliance.

In Uttar Pradesh, the poll results decisively prove the validation of the strategies of the SP and the Congress. The SP weaved together a coalition of backward communities, Dalits and Muslims. The outstanding win of a Dalit candidate, Awadhesh Prasad of the SP, in Ayodhya caught everyone by surprise. It was in Ayodhya that the performance of Hindutva reached its apogee on January 22, 2024.

There was also a fear that the BJP might tamper with the constitutional values of secularism and social justice, given an opportunity. Though attempts were made by the top leadership of the party to assure that affirmative

action and similar constitutional guarantees will not be disturbed, the damage was difficult to contain.

Amidst the election campaign and statements of various political leaders, the role of the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) came in for much discussion. The BSP under the leadership of Kanshi Ram had been at the forefront of demanding social justice. His strategies helped to democratise political power. Increasingly, the BSP was perceived to be dominated by the Jatavs and lacked acceptance amongst other Dalit-Bahujan communities. In 2024, however, despite gaining a substantial margin compared to the BJP or its allies in many seats, the party failed to win a single seat in Uttar Pradesh.

However, it is a matter of conjecture whether the votes garnered by the BSP would have substantially helped increase the tally of the SP and Congress. However, anecdotal evidence suggests that a considerable number of BSP voters shifted to the INDIA bloc. Despite the cheer ushered in by the results, there remain multiple areas of concern. The fact that the voters have refused any single party an absolute majority reflects the fact that all the parties, including the BJP, need to go back to the drawing board. The crony capitalism and corporate loot promoted by the BJP have been challenged. It's a clear rejection of communal and divisive politics, but the fact is that the BJP-NDA allies have failed to send even a single Christian, Sikh, Buddhist and Muslim MP to the Lok Sabha. This sets a dangerous precedent for our democracy that minorities are losing their representation in Parliament.

The absence of Economically Backward Classes (EBCs) and Dalit leadership in the RJD and the Congress in Bihar is also a cause for concern. The politics of competitive welfarism has transformed citizens into beneficiaries or labharthis. Instead of asking for their due share in the resources of the country, citizens have been reduced to surviving on the largesse of the State. Very often such schemes are curated by the socially dominant groups and the Dalit-Bahujans only have a residual role. The real economic, social and cultural power is controlled by the traditional elite, while claiming to represent the concerns of the marginalised groups.

While thinking of a roadmap for 2029, the social justice agenda should not be confined to reservations only. As B R Ambedkar envisaged, the broader paradigm should focus on equal access to resources, economic and political, while ensuring dignity and self-respect. This will make democracy more meaningful and substantial. Civil society organisations and socially-deprived communities should set the agenda and the dominant political parties should include the Dalit-Bahujans as equal stakeholders and not simply as labharthis.

*(Views expressed are personal)*

*Sukumar teaches political science at Delhi University and was national secretary, Bharat Jhodo Abhiyan. Thakur and Kumar are research scholars in the department of political science, Delhi University*

**(Source: Outlook – June 2024)**

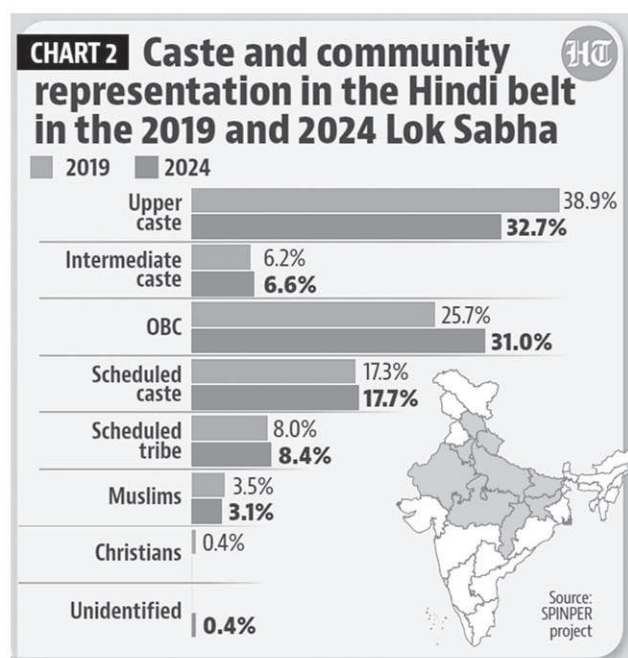
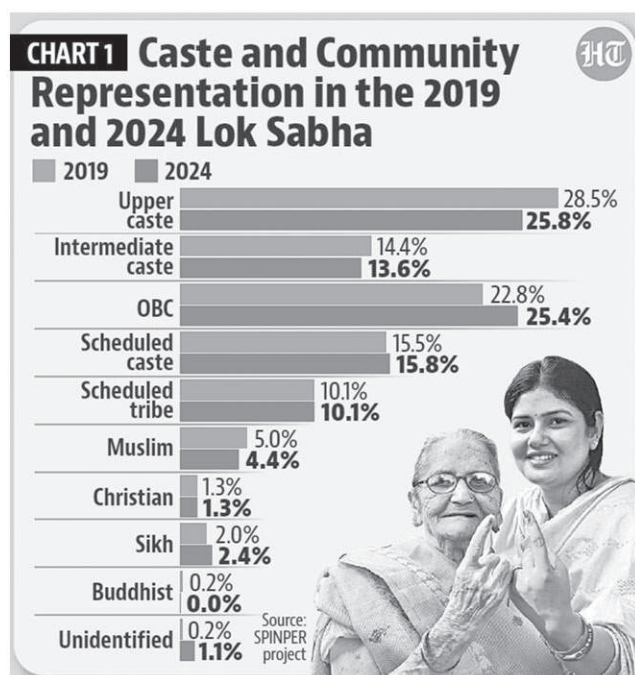
# Caste and community break-up of the new Lok Sabha

- Gilles Verniers

This article examines the caste profile of the new Lok Sabha by coding the caste of the main parties' candidates as well as MPs

Caste was at the heart of the 2024 general elections. The two contending alliances, the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) and Indian National Developmental Democratic Alliance (INDIA), offered two contrasting visions of inclusion and social justice. The BJP focused on the integration of Hindu castes under a common religious umbrella. It promoted a welfare apparatus that targets individuals rather than groups. INDIA, on the other hand, made caste a key instrument of social justice, promising representation and a welfare regime that recognises the role caste plays in perpetuating inequalities. Both alliances claim to be inclusive of India's caste diversity.

(Source: HINDUSTAN TIMES 7.6.2024)



**CHART 3 NDA/INDIA caste, community nomination and representation**

Candidates	Candidates		MPs	
	NDA	INDIA	NDA	INDIA
<b>Upper caste</b>	31.3%	19.2%	33.2%	12.4%
BRAHMIN	14.9%	10.0%	14.7%	5.9%
RAJPUT	7.0%	2.7%	8.7%	1.5%
OTHER UC	9.4%	6.5%	9.8%	5.0%
<b>Intermediate caste</b>	15.3%	14.0%	15.7%	11.9%
MARATHA	4.3%	3.4%	3.1%	5.0%
JAT	3.4%	3.3%	2.4%	3.0%
LINGAYAT	1.5%	1.1%	1.0%	1.5%
PATIDAR	1.5%	1.5%	2.4%	0.0%
REDDY	1.7%	2.4%	2.1%	1.5%
VOKKALIGA	1.1%	1.1%	1.7%	0.5%
OTHER IC	1.7%	1.3%	2.8%	0.5%
<b>OBC</b>	25.5%	26.9%	26.2%	30.7%
YADAV	2.3%	4.2%	3.1%	3.5%
KURMI	2.5%	2.7%	3.5%	3.0%
OTHER OBC	20.8%	20.0%	19.6%	24.3%
<b>Scheduled caste</b>	15.8%	17.6%	13.3%	17.8%
<b>Scheduled tribe</b>	10.0%	9.6%	10.8%	9.9%
<b>Muslims</b>	0.9%	7.3%	0.0%	7.9%
<b>Christians</b>	0.2%	2.7%	0.0%	3.5%
<b>Sikhs</b>	0.4%	2.2%	0.0%	5.0%
<b>Buddhist</b>	0.2%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%
<b>Unidentified</b>	0.4%	0.4%	0.7%	1.0%



Letter dated 19.06.2024 written by All India Federation of Other Backward Classes Employees Welfare Associations to Tmt.Nirmala Sitharaman, Hon'ble Minister of Finance, Govt. of India under copy to Minister of Social Justice and Empowerment and NCBC, New Delhi

## Adequate budget allocation for OBC welfare:

### “Imperative for having Special Component Plan for OBCs in the Union Budget on the lines of SCs and STs”.

We would like to state that Other Backward Classes (Socially and educationally backward classes) other than SC and ST were recognised at the national level and many States as a category needing focused developmental attention only in 1990 and this could be put into effect only after the Supreme court's Mandal judgment in November 1992. On account of this unfortunate delay, there has been a serious lacuna in respect of planned development of Backward Classes and there is no national policy and programmes consensus as in the case of SCs and STs.

### Budget allocation for OBC, SC, ST (Revised Estimates)

(Schemes like Pre-Matric, Post-Matric, NBCFDC, Fellowships etc.)

(Rupees in crores)

#### 2019-20 TO 2023-24

Division	2019-20	2020-21	2021-22	2022-23	2023-24
SC	6075	6115	7807	9285	7412
ST	6847	5472	6126	8406	7529
O.B.C.	1783	1507	1780	1773	Data not available

#### 2014-15 TO 2018-19

Division	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19
SC	4433	4729	5131	5418	5562
ST	4479	4792	4798	5300	5957
O.B.C.	1015	1112	1230	1237	1745

OBCs constitute the majority population of our country and a recent report shows that **nearly 27% of OBC population lives below the poverty line**. The report further noted that 27.2 percent of the Other Backward Classes group – 160 million out of 588 million people – live in multidimensional poverty.

In this regard, we would like to mention that **during the last budget (2022-23), Rs.89,265 crores have been allocated for Scheduled Tribes Component (STC). Rs. 1,42,342 crores have been allocated for Scheduled Castes Component. (SCC).**

**In the interim budget 2024-25, the total allocation for the welfare of the SCs is Rs 1,65,598 crore and for the STs, Rs 1,21,023 crore.**

These Special Component Plans under which schemes implemented by Central and State Governments are dovetailed by apportioning funds exclusively for targeted groups (SCs and STs) for addressing their needs/problems. They are aimed at economic development of the targeted groups covering farmers, primary leather workers (flayers, tanners etc.), rural artisans, fishermen, urban unorganized labourers etc.

A similar component plan for OBCs has not been created so far by Central Government. **The present budget allocation of Rs.1773 crores for OBC welfare is nowhere near their need.**

As nearly 27% of the OBCs are living below poverty line, we request your goodself to kindly consider creating an OBC Component on the lines of SC/ST in the current budget (2023-24) in addition to the usual budget allocation to the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment. This is very much essential towards creating an equitable welfare society.

Yours sincerely,  
Sd/  
(G.Karunanidhy)  
General Secretary

# LEISURE AND THE FUTURE OF WORK IN INDIA

- Vaeyurutholibangan

(Continues from the previous issue: June 2024)

## Oozhiyam - the Unpaid Labour, the perfect weapon to deny leisure

In Kerala, the suppressed classes had to do “Oozhiyam”, the conscripted unpaid labour without wages. By Oozhiyam, “they had to clean temples and government offices, carry food and grass for the elephants and horses in the palace and also feed them. They had to hold the lamps in the Hindu temples. They had to dig pits to capture elephants; carry salt from the salt pans to the selling or loading station on head. Guard the logs and timber in the forest. For all these works, they were taken to far off places away from their families. For these works, they were given only food. They were not given any wages”. Such a gratuitous labour was exacted by the Government “from the Ezhavas, the Syrian Christians, the Sudras (Nayars) of lower categories and the low castes in general. Oozhiyam was employed for any business that called for physical labour such as construction of roads, carrying of heavy head loads, pounding of paddy, cultivation of government land, cutting and splitting of wood for temples and their Oottupuras and host of such other activities” (Page 395 - *A Social History of India - S.N. Sadasivan*). The condition of the people of India who were doing physical labour was so grim throughout the history of the nation after the arrival of the Brahmins in the North first and then in the South in the eighth century AD.

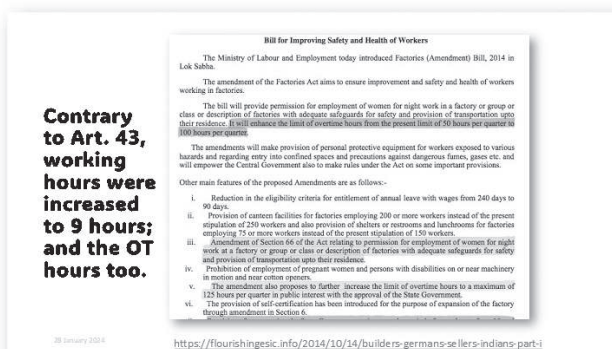
## Control over temples ensured lifetime leisure

Usage of temple for the civil control of the society and for using the temple funds to promote Brahminical

interests became possible for the Brahmins, after they infiltrated into the native idolatrous religion of the Non-Brahmins and became priests. While it started happening in the North in the era of Chanakya, that infiltration was made in an organised manner in the 8th century AD. Agnihothiram Thathachariyar has accepted the fact that the culture of idol worship is alien to Brahmins, the Smarthas. He says “Vedas are supreme in Smartha religion. Its foremost principle is to realise Brahman. In this religion, God is not one but several; Worship of Suriya, Indira, Varuna, Ganesha is practiced. Smarthas are Brahmins. Its dogma is that men alone will attain salvation. It also believes that Smartha women will attain Mukthi (salvation) only after being born as Smartha men. It believes that any offering to Gods can be made only through Yagnas (through sacred fire) and it does not believe in idol worship. Therefore, Smarthas have no temples as their own. According to Agni Hothiram Thathachariyar, before 8th Century, only the Non-Brahmins performed the pooja rituals in the temples. After 8th Century, Brahmins captured the performance of poojas and rituals in the temples. Poojas and Archanas are later developments. It may be performed by all. The word pooja is not a Sanskrit word. It has been taken from Tamil word “Poo Sei” (பூசை). They have changed it as Pooja, a Sanskrit word, using the letter “Ja”. Performing (worshipping) with flowers is Poosai. Generally, “Nature” is the God for Brahmins. No idol worship at all. They do only Sandhya vanthanam, (a form of worship during sun-rise and sun-set). Later, they appropriated the temple worship as their own.” (Para IV (iv) in Page 64 of the Tamil Nadu Government Gazette Extraordinary dated 01.12.2008 carrying the report of the High-Level Committee Chaired by Mr. Justice A. K. Rajan). The result of such infiltration was management and diversion of temple funds for Brahmins’ welfare.

## Increasing working hours, overtime and spread over

When Otto van Bismark wanted to assume more powers for the government he started making laws providing various benefits to the working population. He set up exclusive hospitals for them and enacted laws to provide disablement benefits, old age benefits, maternity benefits etc., and created atmosphere for

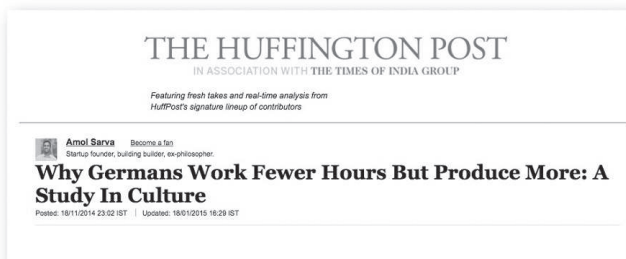




more productivity through “willing participation of labour”. But the present rulers at Delhi, who work for the resurrection of the Chaturvarna era of the days of yore, want to create atmosphere only for slave labour in India. So, they enacted law in the year 2014 to increase the overtime. This anti-labour proposal was given a cynical and sadistic title called Bill for Improving Safety and Health of Workers Act, 2014.

## Mr. Narayana Murthy's suggestion of 70 hours work

Now, Mr. Narayana Murthy, the founder of the Infosys, says that the youth should work for 70 hours in a week,



which means that one should put in 12 hours work per day for six days in a week. The issue of concern is that he reiterated the same again in January 2024. When asked, by the journalist Rajdeep Sardesai, if he was sticking by his comment that 70 hours a week should be there as a way to give back to society, Narayana Murthy said 'absolutely' but quickly added that he did not think hours were important. "No, I don't think 70 hours is important. All that it means is, that you have to be very productive, you have to work very hard like the Germans did after World War I, like the Japanese did and we owe it to the poor people in our society to work hard and make the quality of their life a little bit better." (*India Today* - 13.01.2024).

He did not say whether India was or had been at war in the recent past, the way Germany or Japan had been, after the World War I. He did not care even to think how much time it takes for an employee to commute in the cities of today in India. He did not care to bother about the leisure time needed for an employee, to ensure his physical, moral and intellectual well-being, as declared by the ILO. He has failed to take note of the fact that the Germans work fewer hours but produce more, now, as has been reported in the Huffington Post on 18.11.2014.

He did not care to see that the Microsoft's productivity boosted by 40% when it had only four-days week, with three holidays per week (*Times of India* 05.11.2019).

He refused to see that the four-day working week was an “overwhelming success” in Iceland. “A number of other trials are now being run across the world, including in Spain and by Unilever in New Zealand. The consumer goods giant is giving staff in New Zealand a chance to cut their hours by 20% without hurting their pay in a trial. (*Indiatimes* - 06.07.2021). But Mr. Narayana Murthy would not care even to make trial in his organisation to



see for himself whether shorter working hours would result in more productivity. He belongs to the past, when the need for leisure for employees was never a criterion. He does not care why the present rulers in India want to crush the rights of labour through four new Labour Codes, and do not want to bring in legislation in India like the Fair Labour Standards Act in Germany.



What is more interesting and more annoying is the fact that Mr. Narayana Murthy tries to project that his suggestion about the increased working hours was in the interest of the poor people in our society to make the “quality of their life a little bit better”.

Strange! Mr. Murthy is talking against the provisions of Art. 43 of the Constitution of India and is making attempts at snatching away even the available ‘quality’ in the life of the poor people, by denying them even the existing leisure time. If only Mr. Murthy is so interested in the welfare of the poor people of India, he should have told the present-day rulers at Delhi that Germany and Japan (1) do not have Electoral Bonds, (2) do not permit foreign funds to political parties and (3) do not have Electronic Voting machines for poll.



Moreover, he should tell the Nagpur regime at Delhi that the enactments like the CAA & NRC are uncivilised enactments intended to make stateless the Muslims who live in India for centuries, and that that law should not be enforced, because, his own son-in-law could not have become Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, if there are laws like the CAA & NRC in the UK. That would be a real service by him for the welfare of the entire India.



(Concluded)



# THOUGHTS OF PERIYAR: Path of Virtue



## पेरियार के विचार: सदाचार का मार्ग

In 1931, Thanthai Periyar delivered a speech at Grey Nagar near Perundurai (Erode Taluk) during the Annual day celebration of the Scheduled Caste people's Forum. The central idea of his speech was that equality and Path of Virtue continue to be elusive to human life all over the world. The content of his speech was published in nutshell in 'Kudi Arasu', issue of 08.02.1931.

Great thinkers and erudite scholars have been emphasising a religious doctrine, advocating love of fellow beings and equality, which could be attained only through the path of virtue. My beloved brothers and sisters assembled here, please note that this is easier said than done, because human life, not only in our country, but almost all over the world, is quite contrary to what we really mean by this doctrine.

### Untrodden Path

The difference in our country is much more striking, compared to other countries. The doctrine of equality and path of virtue is in fact defied by our concepts such as god, religion, fate, caste, wealth and industries. Our ambience is inappropriate to this doctrine. Noblemen and intellectuals would also hesitate to advocate this doctrine because its need itself is not felt by our society. Love for fellow human beings, equality and universal brotherhood are not being cared for. Hence, the path of virtue itself is deserted.

In my opinion, identifying the obstacles and removing them itself is the path of virtue and equality. This may be irksome to most of you, but all those who attained it in the past achieved it only by removing the obstacles. People who remained inactive, ultimately failed in their search.

### Surge in Russia

For instance, Russians attained the path of virtue and equality only by annihilating churches and the dominating bourgeois class. They believed them to be obstacles in laying the path

1931 में पेरुन्दुराई (इरोड तलुक) के पास ग्रे नगर में तंतई पेरियार ने अनुसूचित जाति के लोगों के एक मंच के वार्षिकोत्सव में एक भाषण दिया था। उनके भाषण का केन्द्रीय भाव यह था कि पूरी दुनिया में मानव जीवन के लिए समानता और सदाचार का मार्ग एक अप्राप्य वस्तु बन गई है। इस भाषण की विषयवस्तु का सार संक्षेप "कुदी अरासु" के 08.02.1931 के अंक में प्रकाशित हुआ था।

महान विचारक और प्रकांड विद्वान लगातार धार्मिक सिद्धांत के रूप में लोगों से प्रेम और समानता की वकालत करते आ रहे हैं जिसकी प्राप्ति सदाचार के मार्ग से ही हो सकती है। यहाँ उपस्थित मेरे प्यारे भाईयों और बहनों कृपया ध्यान दें कि ऐसा कहना करने से ज्यादा आसान है, क्योंकि अपने देश में ही नहीं बल्कि मेरी समझ से प्रायः पूरी दुनिया में मानव जीवन इस सिद्धांत के एकदम विपरीत है।

### कठिन मार्ग

यह अंतर अपने देश में अन्य देशों की तुलना में बहुत अधिक प्रभावशाली है। दरअसल समानता के सिद्धांत और सदाचार के मार्ग को ईश्वर, धर्म, भाग्य, जाति, संपत्ति तथा उद्योग के प्रति हमारी अवधारणा से चुनौती मिलती है। हमारा परिवेश इस सिद्धांत के लिए अनुपयुक्त है। उदार और बुद्धिजीवी लोग भी इस सिद्धांत की वकालत करने में हिचकिचाते हैं क्योंकि इसकी आवश्यकता को हमारा समाज भी महसूस नहीं करता है। साथ में रहने वाले इंसान के लिए प्रेम, समानता और वैश्विक भाईचारे की यहाँ कदर नहीं की जाती। इस प्रकार से सदाचार का मार्ग यहाँ वीरान पड़ा है।

मेरे विचार में बाधाओं को पहचानना और उन्हें मिटाना भी अपने आप में सदाचार और समानता का मार्ग ही है। आप में से अधिकांश लोगों को यह कष्टकर लग सकता है किन्तु पूर्व में जिस किसी ने भी इसे पाया है, उन सभी ने बाधाओं को मिटा कर ही इसे प्राप्त किया है। जो लोग निष्क्रिय रहे, अंततः वे इसकी खोज में असफल रहे।

### रूस का उभार

दृष्टांत के लिए रूस ने चर्च और बुर्जुआ वर्ग के आधिपत्य को मिटा कर ही सदाचार के मार्ग और समानता को हासिल किया। रूसियों का विश्वास था कि वे सब सदाचार का मार्ग प्रशस्त करने और समानता



of virtue and equality. Pastors and parish priests were all shortlisted by Russian revolutionists. Except those who resisted equality, people were all enlisted in army, employed in agriculture, medical services etc. Substandard people were used as security guards. Churches were converted into factories and schools. Buildings which were unfit for conversion were all demolished.

Property were seized from rich landlords and distributed among the landless poor. The wealth of the capitalists became public property. It was used to educate the illiterate and establish industries for the unemployed. The institution called marriage was abolished and enslavement of women got eradicated. Population growth was curbed by implementing family planning. It helped men and women lead a comfortable life. There were various other great reforms all over Russia.

Only rich people and arrogant upper caste fanatics would ask us if such reforms are feasible in our country. But they would be only five or six out of a hundred. The rest are more than ninety out of one hundred citizens. Therefore the demand for control, restriction and relaxation by the minority must be ignored, since they are soaked in sheer selfishness. My dear comrades, think over it deeply and tell me, would you pay heed to these selfish people?

We do not expect overnight reforms. We are prepared to wait. Our turn would also come at some point of time. Hence, all hope is not lost. The spark ignited by Russia would one day become wild fire all over the world. Perseverance is the need of the hour.

## Make Life Meaningful

Our country is chock-a-block with numerous castes and classes. This is where we differ from other countries. Castes are to be abolished. But remaining idle with our hands tied and relying on blind faith, god, religion, ancient myths and outdated doctrines would not help. Think out of the box and fight. Eating and sleeping alone is not life. Man is a rational animal. The ability to reason makes him different from beasts.

Make life meaningful by determining a purpose. Banish from your life people who pull wool over your eyes by thrusting senseless concepts in you. For ages we have all been bound by their shackles. We were born free but we are in chains everywhere. It is a shameful existence. Delink yourself and storm the wicked world. I would dare say that it is time to die when it is a shame to live. Don't you agree with me?

Ignore the fanatics who babble about heaven and hell, salvation and redemption. Do not believe stupidly in reincarnation and rebirth. You remember nothing of your former life because there wasn't any. Stop grumbling over your sufferings in this life. Be optimistic and overcome all the hurdles. Never waste your life in lethargy and make your heirs suffer after your death. Allow your mind to operate on a higher level of intellect.

## Always Introspect

Indulge in introspection and start mulling over your past mistakes which have led to your downfall. Give a twist and a new turn to your life and watch the results. No more building temples, worshipping non-existent god and goddesses, squandering money on festivals and rituals. Trust your own wisdom and knowledge. You will never regret it. Stop lamenting over miseries. Never look back at your painful past. The moment you become self-reliant, your search for the path of virtue ends. The power to create an egalitarian society is in you. Hence do it yourself without depending on anybody. Fix a goal and strive to succeed in your mission. Your meaningful existence would make it possible.

के लिए बाधक हैं। रूसी क्रांतिकारियों ने पादरी और पैरिश (चर्च में कार्मिक) की पहचान की। समानता का विरोध करने वालों को छोड़कर सभी लोगों को सेना में भर्ती कर लिया गया, कृषि में रोजगार दे दिया गया और चिकित्सा सेवाओं में लगा दिया गया। निम्न स्तर के लोगों को सुरक्षा प्रहरी के रूप में इस्तेमाल किया गया। चर्चों को कारखानों और विद्यालयों में बदल दिया गया। परिवर्तन के लिए अनुपयुक्त भवनों को गिरा दिया गया।

अमीर जमींदारों की संपत्ति जब्त करके उन्हें भूमिहीन गरीबों में बाँट दिया गया। पूंजीपतियों के धन सार्वजनिक संपत्ति बन गये। इसका उपयोग निरक्षरों को शिक्षित करने हेतु स्कूल और बेरोजगारों के लिए उद्योग स्थापित करने में किया गया। शादी जैसी संस्था को समाप्त कर दिया गया और स्त्रियों की गुलामी को खत्म कर दिया गया। आबादी वृद्धि को परिवार नियोजन के द्वारा नियंत्रित कर दिया गया। इससे पुरुषों तथा महिलाओं को आरामदायक जीवन जीने में मदद मिली। अन्य अनेक सुधार पूरे रूस में किये गये।

अमीर और अहंकारी उच्च जाति के कट्टर ही हमसे पूछेंगे कि ऐसे सुधार की संभावना हमारे देश में है क्या! किन्तु उनकी संख्या मात्र पाँच या छह प्रतिशत ही होगी। बाकी लोगों की संख्या नब्बे प्रतिशत से भी अधिक होगी। इस प्रकार से अल्पसंख्यकों द्वारा नियंत्रण, प्रतिबंध या रियायत की मांग की अनुसूची की जा सकती है, क्योंकि वे निरे स्वार्थ में डूबे हुए हैं। मेरे प्यारे साथियों इस पर गहराई से विचार कीजिए और मुझे बताइए कि इन स्वार्थी लोगों की बात पर आप ध्यान देंगे?

हम रातोंरात सुधार की अपेक्षा नहीं रखते। हम प्रतीक्षा के लिए तैयार हैं। कभी न कभी हमारा समय भी आयेगा। इस प्रकार से सारी आशाएँ समाप्त नहीं हुई हैं। रूस द्वारा सुलगाई गई चिंगारी एक न एक दिन समूची दुनिया में दावानल की तरह भड़केगी।

## जीवन को सार्थक बनाइये

हमारा देश अनगिनत जातियों और वर्गों से ठसाठस भरा हुआ है। यहाँ पर हममें और दूसरे देशों में फर्क हो जाता है। जातियों को नष्ट करना ही होगा। अंधविश्वास, ईश्वर, धर्म, प्राचीन पुराणकथा एवं पुराने पड़ गये सिद्धांतों पर भरोसा करके चुपचाप बंधे हाथ से हमें कुछ भी हासिल नहीं होगा। अलग सोच के साथ विचार करके हमें लड़ना होगा। खाना और सोना मात्र ही जीवन नहीं है। मनुष्य विचारवान प्राणी है। विचार करने की योग्यता ही उसे पशु से अलग करता है।

उद्देश्य निर्धारित करके जीवन को सार्थक बनाइये। बेमतलब विचार थोप कर आँखों में धूल झाँकने वाले लोगों से अपने जीवन को बाहर निकालिए। सदियों से हम सब उनकी बेड़ियों से जकड़े रहे हैं। हम सब आजाद पैदा हुए थे किन्तु हम हर जगह बंधन में पड़े हैं। यह शर्मनाक स्थिति है। अपने को मुक्त कीजिए और इस दुष्ट दुनिया पर धावा बोल दीजिये। हमें साहस पूर्वक कहना होगा कि जब जीने में शर्म आए तब मरने का समय आ गया है। क्या आपको मेरी बात ठीक नहीं लग रही?

उस कट्टरता को नज़रअंदाज़ कीजिए जो स्वर्ग और नर्क, मोक्ष और प्रायश्चित के बारे में बकवास करता है। अवतार और पुनर्जन्म की मूर्खता पर विश्वास मत कीजिए। आपको पीछे के जीवन का कुछ भी याद नहीं है क्योंकि ऐसा कुछ था ही नहीं। इस जीवन में अपना पीड़ा के बारे में शिकायत करना बंद कीजिए। आशावादी बनिए और सभी बाधाओं से छुटकारा पाईये। आलस में अपना जीवन कभी भी बर्बाद मत कीजिए और मरने के बाद अपनी संतान को पीड़ा में मत छोड़िये। अपने दिमाग को उच्च स्तर की बुद्धि के लिए संचालित करते रहिये।

## हमेशा आत्मनिरीक्षण करते रहें

हमेशा आत्मनिरीक्षण में लगे रहें और अवनति की ओर ढकेलने वाली पुरानी भूलों पर विचार करना शुरू कर दें। अपनी जिन्दगी को एक नया मोड़ दें और इसके परिणामों पर ध्यान दें। अब और मंदिर निर्माण नहीं, अस्तित्वहीन देवी-देवताओं की पूजा नहीं, त्योहारों और संस्कारों पर फिजूलखर्ची नहीं। अपनी बुद्धि और ज्ञान पर भरोसा करें। इसके लिए आपको कभी भी पछतावा नहीं होगा। मुसीबतों पर विलाप बन्द करें। दर्दनाक अतीत को पीछे मुड़कर न देखें। जैसे ही आप आत्मनिर्भर होंगे, सदाचार के मार्ग की खोज पूरी हो चुकेगी। समतावादी समाज के निर्माण की शक्ति आपमें विद्यमान है। इस लिए किसी और पर आश्रित होने के बजाय इसे स्वयं करें। लक्ष्य का निर्धारण करें और इसे प्राप्त करने के लिए भरपूर प्रयास करें। आपका सार्थक अस्तित्व इसे मुमकिन बनाएगा।

## Dehumanisation

I would now deviate a little and discuss the ill-treatment meted out to women by merciless men. It is worse than the atrocities of the rich crushing the have-nots and worse than the torture inflicted on the low-caste people by the upper caste fanatics. It is also worse than the way a master treats his servant. At least these people torture only when they have an occasional encounter, but women suffer from their birth to death. The living condition of women is pitiable to a great extent, especially in our country. Our country is still in a brutal stage, probably because of our men's brutality towards women. Since women have been enslaved by men for centuries, we were also conceived by slaves and raised by slaves in a sense. Would you disagree my dear friends?

We have an unwritten law here that a man is free to have any number of wives, at any stage or age in life, but a woman should marry only once in her life and avoid marital obligations for ever, if he dies. She is forced to exist with the stigma of widow and our people blame it on her destiny or sins committed in her former birth. This double-standard code is inhuman, injustice and absolutely unpardonable.

The path of virtue is not meant only for women. It is to be trodden by men too. I would advise women to liberate themselves from brutal men and lead a life freely as they like it. Hypocrites may scream that it would be an erosion of culture. But I do not care a hoot! If there is incompatibility in married life, women should also have the right to divorce and remarry. Advising erring men is of no use. We have been trying to correct them for centuries but they have not mended their ways. Hence, women should establish equality by revolting against brutal men and this unjust society.

## Ignore Small People

Women should insist on a small family by planning wisely. Child birth is not a gift of any god. It is a course of nature. Women should ignore stupid people's babble and avoid frequent pregnancy. It is ideal for their health too. Besides, a small family means a peaceful, comfortable family. Women are more than flesh and blood. They must not exist as machines. Beasts and birds need not plan their families. But we human beings must plan ours. Growth of a country does not depend on the growth of population. Infact it is detrimental. I advise you all to think deeply and arrive at decisions on your own. Never ever listen to the rubbish talk of small people.

'Kudi Arasu' 08th February 1931

Translated by : M.R. Manohar

## अमानवीकरण

अब हम थोड़ा सा लीक से हटेंगे और निर्दयी पुरुषों द्वारा स्त्रियों के साथ किए जा रहे दुर्व्यवहार पर चर्चा करेंगे। यह अमीरों द्वारा गरीबों के दमन से भी बुरा है और कड़ुर उच्च जाति के लोगों द्वारा निम्न जाति के लोगों पर यातना से भी बुरा है। यह मालिकों द्वारा नौकरों के साथ के वर्ताव से भी बुरा है। ये लोग कम से कम कभी-कभार के मुठभेड़ में ही ऐसी यातना बरपाते हैं, किन्तु स्त्रियाँ अपने जन्म से लेकर मृत्यु तक यातना झेलती रहती हैं। हमारे देश में स्त्रियों के रहन-सहन का स्तर बहुत ही दयनीय है। स्त्रियों पर पुरुषों द्वारा बर्बरता की वजह से ही शायद हमारा देश अभी भी बर्बर स्थिति में है। चूंकि स्त्रियाँ सदियों से पुरुषों द्वारा गुलाम बनी रही हैं, इस कारण से हमें एक अर्थ में गुलामों के गर्भ में पलें और गुलामों के द्वारा ही जन्म के बाद पाले-पोसे गये। मेरे प्यारे साथी, क्या आप मुझसे असहमत होंगे?

हमारे यहाँ ऐसा अलिखित कानून है कि पुरुष कितनी भी संख्या में पत्नियाँ रख सकता है, परन्तु स्त्री को अपनी जिन्दगी में एक ही बार विवाह करना चाहिए और पति की मृत्यु के उपरांत सभी वैवाहिक दायित्व का त्याग कर देना चाहिए। उसे विधवा के कलंक के साथ जीने को मजबूर होना पड़ता है और हमारे लोग इसके लिए उसके भाग्य को दोष देते हैं या फिर उसके पूर्व जन्म में किये पाप का फल बताते हैं। ऐसा दोहरा मानदण्ड अमानवीय, अन्यायपूर्ण और अक्षम्य है। सदाचार का मार्ग सिर्फ स्त्रियों के लिए ही नहीं है। इस पर पुरुषों को भी चलना है। मैं तो स्त्रियों को सलाह दूंगा कि वे ऐसे बर्बर पुरुषों से अपने को मुक्त कर लें और आजादी से अपने मन मुताबिक जीवन जीएँ। पाखंडी लोग चीख पुकार मचा सकते हैं कि इससे संस्कृति का नाश हो जायेगा। किन्तु मुझे ऐसे हो हल्ला की कोई परवाह नहीं है। यदि वैवाहिक जीवन में कोई विसंगति है तो स्त्रियों को भी तलाक और पुनर्विवाह का अधिकार होना चाहिए। गलती करने वाले पुरुषों को समझाने का कोई औचित्य नहीं है। सदियों से हम उन्हें समझाते आ रहे हैं परन्तु उन्होंने अपना रास्ता नहीं बदला। इस लिए स्त्रियों को ऐसे बर्बर पुरुषों और अन्यायी समाज से विद्रोह करके बराबरी का हक हासिल कर लेना चाहिए।

## छोटे लोगों को नजरअंदाज कर

स्त्रियों को बुद्धिमानी से छोटे परिवार के लिए जोर देना चाहिए। बच्चे का जन्म किसी देवता का उपहार नहीं है। यह प्रकृति की एक कार्य प्रणाली है। स्त्रियों को मूर्खों के बकबास पर ध्यान न देकर बार-बार के गर्भाधान से बचना चाहिए। यह उनके सेहत के लिए भी अच्छा है। इसके अलावा छोटे परिवार का मतलब शांतिपूर्ण और आरामदायक परिवार है। स्त्रियाँ शरीर के अलावा भी कुछ हैं। उन्हें मशीन की तरह नहीं होना चाहिए। पशुओं और पक्षियों को परिवार नियोजन की कोई जरूरत नहीं है। किन्तु हमें ऐसा करना ही चाहिए। किसी देश का विकास इसकी आबादी के विकास पर निर्भर नहीं है। दरअसल यह नुकसान पहुंचाने वाला है। मैं आप सभी को सलाह देता हूँ कि आप गहराई से सोचें और स्वयं निर्णय लें। आप कभी भी छोटे लोगों की फालतू बातों पर ध्यान न दें।

"कुदी अरासु" 08 फरवरी, 1931

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

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## FELICITATION TO VN. PURUSHOTHAMAN, PRESIDENT, NLC OBC EMPLOYEES' WELFARE ASSOCIATION & VICE PRESIDENT, AIOBC EMPLOYEES' FEDERATION



On behalf of our AIOBC Employees Federation, VN.Purushothaman, President of NLC OBC association was felicitated on the eve of his superannuation from NLC, Neyveli on 30.6.2024 at a function held at NLC OBC association office, Neyveli on 21.6.2024.

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