

OBC VOICE



REPRESENTATION OF OBC, SC & ST IN IAS, IPS AND IFS POSTS (CSE 2020 to CSE 2024):

Service	Total Officers in Position	OBC	SC	ST	Total % of OBC, SC, ST	Gen Category
IAS	5577	245 (4.39%)	135 (2.42%)	67 (1.2%)	8.01%	91.99%
IPS	4594	255 (5.55%)	141 (3.07%)	71 (1.55%)	10.17%	89.83%
IFS	2164	231 (10.67%)	95 (4.39%)	48 (2.22%)	17.28%	82.72%

(Compiled based on the data provided in Rajya Sabha Unstarred Question 1553 dt 12.02.2026 – MoS Dr.Jitendra Singh, Ministry of Personnel & Training)

Annai
Maniammaiyaar



Vacancies
in CG sectors



M.R.Balaji Vs
State of Mysore



Multiple
Exploitations

IMPLEMENT UGC EQUITY REGULATIONS 2026

In support of the Rohith Act and the implementation of the UGC Equity Regulations 2026, the JNU Students Union (JNUSU) organised a Social Equity Mashaal Juloos from Barak Hostel to the Main Gate on February 3, 2026. Students from various organizations participated in the event



PROTEST BY STUDENTS OF DELHI UNIVERSITY AND SOCIAL ORGANISATIONS AT DELHI 3.2.2026





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Diluting Equity Is Not Reform: A Wake-Up Call on UGC Regulations 2026

India's higher education system stands at a critical constitutional crossroads. At a time when caste-based discrimination on campuses has sharply intensified—officially acknowledged by the UGC itself with **a 118.4% rise in complaints between 2019–20 and 2023–24—the UGC (Promotion of Equity in Higher Education Institutions) Regulations, 2026** arrive not as a shield for the oppressed, but as a troubling retreat from hard-won safeguards.

The **2012 UGC Regulations** were born out of social churn, student struggles, and constitutional urgency. They were rights-based, enforceable, and clear in intent: to confront caste discrimination head-on. They defined discrimination, recognised ragging as a caste weapon, fixed accountability, mandated Equal Opportunity Cells, and ensured time-bound redressal. Above all, they acknowledged an undeniable truth—**that caste discrimination in India is structural, historical, and systemic.**

In contrast, the 2026 Regulations mark a **shift from rights to procedure**, from enforceability to discretion. Anti-discrimination is reduced to committee management, often controlled by the very institutions where discrimination thrives. This is not reform; it is regression masked as administrative efficiency.

A particularly disturbing feature is the **inclusion of Economically Weaker Sections (EWS)** within the anti-discrimination complaint framework. Let us be clear: **economic hardship is real**, but it is not caste oppression. EWS is not a socially oppressed category; it does not face untouchability, exclusion, or inherited stigma. By equating economic disadvantage with caste-based discrimination, the Regulations blur a fundamental constitutional distinction, **neutralising the purpose of anti-discrimination law itself.** This misstep emboldens dominant-caste narratives and dilutes protections meant for SC, ST, and OBC students.

Equally misleading is the claim that the 2026 Regulations newly “include” OBCs. This is factually incorrect. The **UGC's own guideline dated 19 June 2023** had already brought OBC students within the anti-discrimination framework. What the 2026 Regulations do is not expansion, but **repackaging—while weakening enforcement.**

The omission of **ragging as a specific form of discrimination** is another grave setback. For decades, caste-targeted ragging has functioned as psychological violence—humiliation, isolation, and coercion disproportionately inflicted on marginalised students. The 2012 Regulations recognised this lived reality. The 2026 silence on ragging is not accidental; it reflects an institutional unwillingness to confront caste brutality on campuses.

Further, the narrowed definition of “Higher Educational Institutions” dangerously excludes **IITs, IIMs, law universities, medical and agricultural institutions**—ironically, spaces where some of the most painful incidents of caste discrimination have occurred. Equity cannot be selective; constitutional morality does not operate by jurisdictional convenience.

The Supreme Court's ongoing scrutiny of these Regulations—arising from petitions linked to the tragic deaths of Rohith Vemula and Dr. Payal Tadvi—must be read in this larger context. Replacing a robust regime with a diluted one is not compliance; it is constitutional evasion.

Anti-discrimination laws are not meant to comfort the powerful. They exist to **protect the vulnerable**, to uphold **Articles 14, 15, 17, and 21**, and to ensure that India's campuses are spaces of dignity, not denial.

The demand is clear. The 2026 Regulations must represent a strengthening of the 2012 rights-based framework, not its dilution. They must remove EWS from caste-discrimination mechanisms, explicitly recognise ragging as a form of discrimination, expand institutional coverage across all higher educational spaces, and ensure independent, time-bound, and accountable redressal. ■

“கருப்பு உடை தரித்த சமுதாய துறவி” அன்னை மணியம்மையார் ANNAI MANIAMMAIYAR SOCIAL SAINT IN SABLE SAREE

(10-03-1917 – 16-03-1978)

க.சரஸ்வதி
G.SARASWATHI



தமிழ் மக்களால் அன்போடு அன்னை மணியம்மையார் எனப் போற்றப்படும் அன்னையாரின் இயற்பெயர் காந்திமதி.

“கருப்பு உடை தரித்த சமுதாய துறவி” என போற்றப்பட்டதக்க ஈ.வி.ஆர். மணியம்மை, திராவிட இயக்கத்தின் மிக முக்கியமானவராக இருந்தும் போதிய அளவில் பேசப்படாத வரலாற்று நாயகிகளில் ஒருவர். பெரியார் மறைவுக்குப் பிறகு திராவிடர் கழகத்தின் தலைமைப் பொறுப்பை ஏற்று, அர்ப்பணிப்புள்ள பராமரிப்பாளராக இருந்து உறுதியான அரசியல் வழிகாட்டியாக உயர்ந்தார்.

கருப்பு உடையின் அர்த்தம்

அவர் அணிந்த கருப்பு சேலை, சமூக அநீதி மற்றும் சாதி அடக்குமுறைக்கு எதிரான நிரந்தரப் போராட்டத்தின் சின்னமாக இருந்தது. அது துக்கத்தின் நிறமல்ல; எதிர்ப்பின் நிறம்.

பெரியாரின் கொள்கைகள் – வாழ்க்கை வழி

தந்தை பெரியார் கனவுகண்ட சமூகப் புரட்சி, சாதியற்ற சமூகம், மேலும் பெண்களை ஆணாதிக்கத்தின் அடக்குமுறையிலிருந்து

Fondly hailed by the Tamil people as *Annai Maniammai*, her given name was Gandhimathi. E.V.R. Maniammai, often referred to as the "Social Saint in a Sable Saree," remains one of the most significant yet understated figures in the Dravidian movement. Taking over the leadership of the Dravidar Kazhagam (DK) after Periyar's passing, she transitioned from a dedicated caretaker to a formidable political leader.

The "Social Saint in Sable": She famously wore a **black saree**, symbolizing the protest against social hierarchy and the mourning of social injustices.

Inspired by Thanthai Periyar's principles of self-respect and equality to womanhood in particular, AMMA...as she is respectfully called by the cadres of Dravidar Kazhagam came forward to attend on Periyar's health upon the able advice of her father Kanagasabai!

Thanthai Periyar's vision of a social reformation, a casteless society and liberation of women from the



விடுவித்தல் ஆகியவை அன்னையின் முதன்மை அக்கறைகளாக இருந்தன. அந்த அர்ப்பணிப்பின் வெளிப்பாடாக, நாகம்மையார் மறைவுக்குப் பிறகு, தொண்ணூற்று ஐந்து வயது வரை தந்தை பெரியாரின் உடல்நலத்தை மணியம்மையார் அக்கறையுடன் பேணியதுடன், அவரது போராட்டங்கள், எதிர்ப்புகள் மற்றும் அனைத்துக் கொள்கைப் பணிகளிலும் முழு மனப்பூர்வத்துடன் துணைநின்றார்.

திருமணம் – ஒரு இயக்கத் தேவையே

நாகம்மையார் மறைவிற்கு பத்தாண்டுகளுக்கு பின்னர், தினசரி தேவைகளில் பெரியாருக்கு துணை நிற்க மணியம்மையார் வந்தார். பெரியாரின் சொத்து மற்றும் இயக்க நிதிகளை பொறுப்புடன் காக்கும் ஒருவரை அவர் நாடினார். சட்ட ரீதியாக “தத்தெடுத்த மகளுக்கு” சொத்து உரிமை இல்லாத சூழலில், இயக்கத்தின் தொடர்ச்சியும் பாதுகாப்பும் உறுதி செய்யும் நோக்கில் பெரியார் மணியம்மையாரை திருமணம் செய்து கொண்டார். இதன் நோக்கம் தெளிவு:

“இது சொத்துக்களைப் பாதுகாக்கும் ஏற்பாடு மட்டுமே; தம்பதியரின் தனிப்பட்ட வாழ்க்கைக்காக அல்ல. இயக்க நலனுக்கான தவிர்க்க முடியாத முடிவு.”

ஆனால், இந்த உயரிய நோக்கத்தையும் மீறி மணியம்மையார் அவதூறுகளையும் இகழ்ச்சிகளையும் தாங்கினார்.

பெண் தலைமையின் உறுதியான சான்று

1973 ஆம் ஆண்டு பெரியார் மறைவுக்குப் பிறகு, திராவிடர் கழகத்தின் தலைமைப் பொறுப்பை ஏற்று, பகுத்தறிவும் சமூக நீதியும் கொண்ட ஒரு பெரிய இயக்கத்தை பெண் ஒருவர் திறம்பட வழிநடத்த முடியும் என்பதை நிரூபித்தார்.

dormant clutch of manhood being her pre-dominant concern, AMMA, not only safe-guarded Thanthai Periyar's health, after the demise of Nagammaiyar, his wife till his ninety-five years of age, but also supported him in his protests, struggles and in all his ideological ventures with true devotion.

Without any hesitation, after the death of Periyar, AMMA adeptly assumed the leadership of the organisation and ably administered the work left behind by Periyar.

About ten years after Nagammaiyar's passing, Maniammaiya came forward to support Periyar in his daily needs. Periyar was seeking a responsible individual who could safeguard his properties and the organization's funds. In a legal context where an adopted daughter had no rights to inheritance, Periyar married Maniammaiya with the clear objective of ensuring the continuity, protection, and stability of the movement.

The purpose was very clear - This is merely an arrangement to protect property – it is not aimed at the life of the couple. This was an unavoidable measure for the benefit of the esteemed movement. **Yes! The purpose was clear, yet, AMMA, had to bear offensive abuses filled with contempt and cruelty.**

After Periyar's death in 1973, she took over the reins of the Dravidar Kazhagam, proving that a woman could lead a massive rationalist movement. She campaigned fiercely against the devadasi system, child marriage, and the stigma of widowhood. She worked other pioneers like **Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy** and **Moovalur Ramamirtham Ammaiyar** to end the ritualized exploitation of women under the guise of religion. She criticized the religious justification for that institution, arguing that

பெண்கள் விடுதலை – செயல்பாட்டு போராட்டம்

தேவதாசி முறை, குழந்தை திருமணம், விதவைத்தனத்தின் அவமதிப்பு – இவற்றுக்கு எதிராக அவர் இடையறாத பிரச்சாரங்களை நடத்தினார். டாக்டர் முத்துலட்சுமி ரெட்டி, மூவலூர் இராமாமிர்தம் அம்மையார் போன்ற முன்னோடி தலைவர்களைப் போல், மதத்தின் பெயரில் பெண்கள் மீது நிகழ்ந்த கட்டமைக்கப்பட்ட சுரண்டலை எதிர்த்தார்.

குழந்தை திருமணத்தை அவர் “மனித உரிமை மீறல்” எனக் குறிப்பிட்டார். வயது சம்மதச் சட்டங்களின் கடுமையான அமலாக்கத்திற்காக குரல் கொடுத்தார்.

சுயமரியாதை திருமணங்கள்

பெரியார் தொடங்கிய சுயமரியாதை திருமணங்களை அவர் தொடர்ந்தார். புரோகிதர் இன்றி, சமஸ்கிருத மந்திரங்கள் இன்றி, வயது வந்த இரு பாலர்களின் சம்மதத்தை மையமாகக் கொண்ட இத்தகைய திருமணங்கள் சமூக மாற்றத்தின் புரட்சிகர நடைமுறையாக அமைந்தன.

ராவண லீலா – கலாச்சார எதிர்ப்பு

1974 ஆம் ஆண்டு நடைபெற்ற ராவண லீலா, ஒரு சாதாரண எதிர்ப்பு மட்டுமல்ல; வட-தெற்கு அதிகாரச் சமநிலையை சவாலிட்ட கலாச்சார எதிர்ப்பின் சக்திவாய்ந்த வெளிப்பாடாகும். அது ஒரு நாடகமல்ல; சிந்தனையின் புரட்சி.

அவசரநிலை – தலைமைத் தைரியம்

அவசரநிலை காலத்தில், அச்சு ஊடகங்களுக்கு கடுமையான தணிக்கை விதிக்கப்பட்டது. இயக்கத்தின் அதிகாரப்பூர்வ நாளிதழான ‘விடுதலை’ தினந்தோறும் தணிக்கை அதிகாரிகளின் பரிசோதனைக்கு உட்பட்டது.

ஒரு கட்டத்தில், “தந்தை பெரியார்” என்ற சொல்லில் இருந்து “தந்தை” என்ற வார்த்தையை நீக்குமாறு உத்தரவு விடுக்கப்பட்டது. அதற்கு அன்னை மணியம்மையார் தைரியமாக எதிர்த்து கூறினார்:

dedicating young girls to temples is a form of institutionalized sexual violence sanctioned by caste-based traditions. She created awareness among the "Devadasis" themselves, encouraging them to break free from the system and join the mainstream social movement.

She played a pivotal role in establishing educational institutions for the underprivileged and orphanages that focused on rationalist upbringing. **She called child marriage a 'human rights violation' that deprives girls of their health and education.** She campaigned for the strict enforcement of age consent laws and tried to further raise the legal marriage age.

Suya Mariyadhai Kalyanam — She continued the self-respect marriages initiated by Thanthai Periyar. Such marriages take place without priests, without Sanskrit mantras, and often focus on the mutual consent of the two adults, rather than child contracts arranged by the family. This revolutionary move emphasizes Periyar's foundational role (as the pioneer of the Self-Respect Movement and self-respect marriages starting in the 1920s) while portraying "she" as someone who carried forward or upheld his legacy in practice.

The **Ravana Leela** of 1974 remains one of the most provocative and symbolic acts of cultural resistance in Indian history. Led by Maniammai, it wasn't just a protest; it was a theatrical "**counter-ritual**" designed to challenge the power dynamics between Northern and Southern India.

The leadership calibre of E.V.R. Maniammai became unmistakably evident during the turbulent Emergency period, when frontline leaders and cadres were arrested and imprisoned under MISA. At that time, the rulers imposed stringent censorship on the print media. The Periyar Movement, a social





“விடுதலை’ எங்கள் வழிகாட்டி தந்தை பெரியார் தொடங்கிய பகுத்தறிவுப் பத்திரிக்கை. ‘தந்தை’ என்ற சொல்லை நீக்க முடியாது. எங்கள் வழிகாட்டியின் பெயரை ‘தந்தை பெரியார்’ என்றே அச்சிடுவோம். உங்களின் இந்த நிலை நிரந்தரம் அல்ல. எதை வேண்டுமானாலும் செய்யுங்கள்; நாங்கள் அனைத்தையும் எதிர்கொள்வோம்.”

அந்த உறுதியான பதில், அதிகாரியின் வார்த்தைகளை முடக்கியது.

இந்த நிகழ்வு, பெரியார் தேர்ந்தெடுத்த வாரிசு எவ்வளவு சரியானவர் என்பதை வரலாற்றில் நிலைநிறுத்தியது.

கட்டமைப்புகளை உருவாக்கிய சமூகத் தாய்

மணியம்மையார் போராட்டங்களில் மட்டுமே நிற்கவில்லை; மாற்றத்திற்கான அடித்தளங்களையும் உருவாக்கினார்:

- **நாகம்மையார் இல்லம்:** ஆதரவற்ற பெண்கள் மற்றும் குழந்தைகளுக்கான பாதுகாப்பு மையங்கள்; பகுத்தறிவும் சுயநிறைவும் கொண்ட வளர்ப்பு மய்யங்களாக உருவாக்கினார்.
- **கல்வி அறக்கட்டளைகள்:** தனிப்பட்ட செல்வத்தை கல்விக்காக அர்ப்பணித்து, இன்று பல கல்வி நிறுவனங்கள் வழியாக பெண்கள் முன்னேற்றத்திற்கு வழி வகுத்தார்.

முடிவுரை

ஈ.வி.ஆர். மணியம்மையார் –

அவர் ஒரு தலைவி மட்டுமல்ல.

அவர் தன்னலமற்ற தியாகத்தின் உருவகமும், கொள்கை பற்றுடைய உறுதியின் நிரந்தரச் சின்னமும் ஆவார்.

(எழுத்தாளர் க. சரஸ்வதி, பொருளாளர், யூனியன் பாங்க் ஆப் இந்தியா பிற்படுத்தப்பட்ட வகுப்பு பணியாளர் நலச்சங்கம், தமிழ்நாடு)

revolutionary movement committed to peaceful ideological propagation through its daily and magazines, faced relentless scrutiny.

‘Viduthalai’, the official organ of the movement, was subjected to daily examination by censor officials prior to publication. However, this scrutiny often descended into arbitrariness. On one such occasion, a censor official demanded the deletion of the word ‘*Thanthai*’ from the phrase ‘*Thanthai Periyar*’, the revered founder of the movement. The term ‘*Thanthai*’ signifies a fatherly figure — a title deeply intertwined with Periyar’s identity.

E.V.R. Maniammai personally intervened and firmly resisted the directive. With courage and conviction, she declared:

“Viduthalai is the rationalist daily founded by our mentor, *Thanthai Periyar*. The word ‘*Thanthai*’ cannot be deleted. We shall continue to print our mentor’s name as ‘*Thanthai Periyar*’. You may do whatever you intend to — this situation will not last forever. We are prepared to face anything.”

Her fearless assertion left the censor official speechless.

This episode stands as compelling proof that Periyar had chosen the right successor to lead the movement. Even those who once harboured doubts were compelled to reassess their perceptions — particularly those who misunderstood Periyar’s marriage to Maniammai as a personal decision rather than an organisational necessity rooted in ideological commitment and continuity.

Conclusion:

Maniammai didn't just protest; she built infrastructure for the displaced:

- **Nagammaiyar Home:** She established and managed orphanages and homes for destitute women, ensuring they received a rationalist education and the skills to be financially independent.
- **Trusts for Education:** Before her death in 1978, she transferred her personal wealth into a trust that today supports over 40 educational institutions, primarily focused on empowering women.

E.V.R. MANIAMMAIAR – SHE IS A SYMBOL OF SELFLESS SACRIFICE AND IDEOLOGICAL COMMITMENT

(The writer G.Saraswathi is the Treasurer, Union Bank of India Backward Classes Employees Welfare Association, Tamil Nadu)

Continuing structural inequities within India's labour hierarchy

Over 66% of sanitation workers (Safai Karamcharis) in the Central Government belong to SC, ST and OBC communities



The latest report of the Department of Personnel and Training (DoPT) on the representation of Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs) and Other Backward Classes (OBCs) in Central Government employment brings into sharp focus the continuing structural inequities within India's labour hierarchy. One of the most striking revelations of the report is that **over 66% of sanitation workers (Safai Karamcharis) in the Central Government belong to SC, ST and OBC communities**, underscoring the persistent caste-linked concentration of marginalised social groups in hazardous and socially devalued occupations such as sanitation and waste handling.

Sanitation work, including waste-picking and manual cleaning, has historically been assigned to communities positioned at the lower rungs of the caste order. Despite constitutional guarantees of equality and decades of affirmative action, the DoPT data reveals that this occupational segregation remains deeply entrenched. Among Group C sanitation workers alone, **SCs constitute nearly 37%, STs over 8%, and OBCs more than 21%**, far exceeding their representation in higher administrative and decision-making positions. This disproportionate presence reflects not merely employment patterns, but the continuation of caste-based labour division in modern bureaucratic structures.

In contrast, representation of these communities sharply declines as one moves up the hierarchy of government service. In Group A posts, which involve policymaking and administrative authority, SCs account for just 14.2%, STs 6.54%, and OBCs 19.14%. This imbalance highlights a troubling reality: while marginalised communities perform a majority of essential sanitation and waste-related labour, they remain under-represented in positions that shape policy, resource allocation, and institutional priorities.

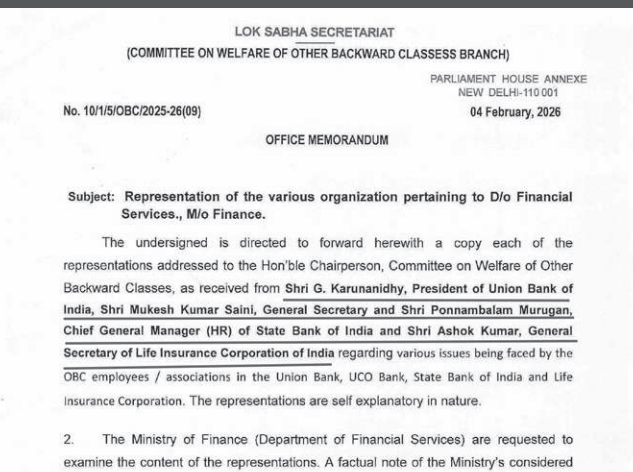
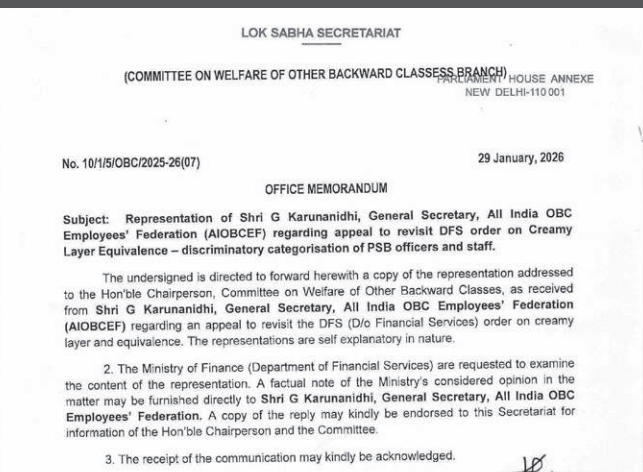
The data also exposes a significant policy blind spot. The DoPT report provides no information on the representation of Economically Weaker Sections (EWS), raising concerns about transparency and the selective documentation of social categories. More importantly, the absence of disaggregated data on contract workers—who form a large portion of urban waste-pickers—suggests that the actual burden borne by SC, ST and OBC communities in sanitation work may be even higher than officially recorded.

This pattern of representation demands urgent reflection. Sanitation and waste-picker jobs are not merely low-paid; they are often unsafe, stigmatized, and associated with health risks and social exclusion. When these roles are overwhelmingly filled by specific social groups, it points to systemic barriers that limit social mobility, despite legal safeguards such as reservations and the prohibition of manual scavenging.

True social justice requires more than numerical inclusion. It calls for **dignified working conditions, mechanisation of hazardous tasks, skill upgradation, and pathways for upward mobility** for sanitation workers. Equally crucial is ensuring fair representation of SCs, STs and OBCs across all levels of government service, particularly in leadership and policy-making roles.

In conclusion, the DoPT report serves as both evidence and warning. While affirmative action has enabled access to public employment, it has not dismantled the caste-based allocation of labour. The overwhelming presence of OBC, SC and ST communities in sanitation and waste-picker jobs reveals the unfinished agenda of social transformation. Addressing this imbalance is not only a constitutional obligation but a moral imperative central to building an equitable and inclusive society. ■

Intervention sought on discriminatory DFS Order on Creamy Layer Equivalence affecting OBC employees in PSBs and other Public Sector Institutions



The All India OBC Employees Federation (AIOBC) has submitted a detailed representation to the Hon'ble Union Finance Minister highlighting the serious anomalies and discriminatory implications arising out of the Department of Financial Services (DFS) Office Memorandum dated 07.04.2025, relating to equivalence categorisation for determination of the Creamy Layer among OBC employees.

The said DFS Order, if allowed to stand, would unjustly deprive eligible OBC employees in Public Sector Banks and other Public Sector Institutions of their constitutional and statutory entitlements, thereby defeating the very objective of social justice and affirmative action.

In response to our representation, we are pleased to place on record that respected Shri Ganesh Singh, Hon'ble Member of Parliament and Chairperson of the OBC Parliamentary Committee, has taken cognisance of the issue and escalated the matter to the Secretary, DFS, Ministry of Finance, seeking a detailed examination of the issue and a factual note to be submitted to both the Federation and the Parliamentary Committee.

The Federation expresses its deep gratitude to the Hon'ble Chairperson of the OBC Parliamentary Committee for his timely and principled intervention in safeguarding the rights and interests of OBC employees. We are confident that this intervention will pave the way for rectification of the discriminatory provisions and ensure fairness, equity, and justice in policy implementation.

"Major Intervention for OBC Justice: Parliamentary Committee Chairperson Takes Up OBC Issues with Ministry of Finance"

We had, vide our letter dated 25th November 2025, taken up the serious issue of discontinuation of Regional-level meetings with OBC representatives in Union Bank of India, citing the Department of Financial Services (DFS) guidelines. We are pleased to inform that the matter has been taken up at the highest level by Respected Shri Ganesh Singh, Hon'ble Member of Parliament and Chairperson of the Parliamentary Committee on OBCs, with the Secretary, DFS, Ministry of Finance.

We are also heartened to note that similar representations submitted by our fraternal organisations on key OBC-related issues were simultaneously taken up with the Ministry, including:

- **LIC:** Demand for periodical meetings with OBC Associations at all levels and appointment of a separate Liaison Officer for OBCs
- **United India Insurance:** Discriminatory promotion processes adversely impacting OBC officers
- **State Bank of India:** Issues relating to discrimination in OBC recruitment
- **UCo Bank:** Reservation roster, etc.

We place on record our sincere gratitude to Hon'ble Chairperson Shri Ganesh Singh, M.P., for his proactive intervention and steadfast commitment to safeguarding the interests of OBC employees across Public Sector Institutions. We remain hopeful of an early and favourable resolution of these long-pending and vital issues in the larger interest of social justice and equity. ■

- G.Karunanidhi,
Gen Secretary, AIOBC Employees Federation

INSTITUTIONAL VACANCIES IN INDIA'S SECURITY AND HEALTHCARE GOVERNANCE

An Analytical Report Based on Parliamentary Disclosures

Parliamentary disclosures reported in February 2026 reveal substantial staffing shortages across India's critical public institutions, particularly within national security forces, medical regulatory bodies, and premier healthcare institutions.

The data indicate that institutional vacancies are not isolated administrative gaps but represent a broader structural challenge in public sector human resource governance.

Subject / Institution	Key Findings	Vacancy Details
Central Armed Police Forces (CAPFs) & Assam Rifles	Over 93,000 vacancies across forces	• CISF – 28,342 (17.7%) • CRPF – 27,400 (9%) • BSF – 14,531 (5.6%) • ITBP – 12,333 (13.2%) • SSB – 6,784 (7.2%) • Assam Rifles – 3,749 (6%)
Personnel Welfare / Service Conditions (CAPFs)	Service-related stress indicators	• 749 suicides (2021–2025) • 9,532 resignations • 46,529 voluntary retirements • 24 fratricide deaths
National Medical Commission (NMC)	Nearly one-third posts vacant	• Sanctioned Strength – 54 • Filled – 35 • Vacant – 19
AIIMS – Faculty Positions	Nearly 1 in 3 posts vacant	Examples: • AIIMS New Delhi – 446 vacancies • Jodhpur – 184 • Madurai – 113 • Rajkot – 105
AIIMS – Non-Faculty Positions	Severe staffing shortage	• Total Vacancies – 17,205 • AIIMS New Delhi – 2,542 • Madurai – 871

(SOURCE: RAJYA SABHA UNSTARRED QUESTIONS: AU 1122 & 1239 DTL 10.02.2026, AU 1348, DT: 11.02.2026 / TIMES OF INDIA 12.02.2026)

Key Findings

1. National Security Forces (CAPFs & Assam Rifles)

More than **93,000 posts remain vacant**, representing **8.7% of sanctioned strength**, with

certain forces facing disproportionately high shortages. Alongside vacancies, service indicators such as suicides, resignations, and voluntary retirements point toward workforce stress and morale concerns.

2. National Medical Commission (NMC)

Nearly **one-third of sanctioned posts are vacant**, particularly across autonomous regulatory boards responsible for medical education oversight, accreditation, and professional ethics. These vacancies emerge at a time of rapid expansion in medical education capacity.

3. All India Institutes of Medical Sciences (AIIMS)

AIIMS institutions face severe shortages:

- **Faculty Positions:** Nearly **1 in 3 posts vacant**
- **Non-Faculty Positions:** Over **17,000 vacancies**

Newer AIIMS institutions are especially affected, raising concerns about capacity utilisation and service delivery efficiency.

Systemic Interpretation

Across sectors, the vacancies reveal a common structural pattern:

- ✓ Expansion of institutions without proportional manpower synchronisation

- ✓ Persistent recruitment-output mismatches
- ✓ Operational strain on existing personnel
- ✓ Potential risks to service quality and institutional effectiveness

The data suggest that sanctioned capacity increasingly diverges from functional capacity.

Strategic Implications

If left unaddressed, large-scale vacancies may result in:

- Reduced operational efficiency in security forces
- Regulatory fragility in medical governance
- Healthcare delivery bottlenecks
- Workforce burnout and attrition cycles
- Suboptimal utilisation of public investment

Core Policy Insight

Institutional expansion without human capital alignment risks structural underperformance.

India's developmental trajectory necessitates a shift from episodic recruitment drives toward systemic manpower architecture reform. ■

Rationale Behind the Chief Minister's Letter to the Union Government on Constituting a Panel of States' Representatives for Caste Census Enumeration

The Hon'ble Chief Minister of M.K. Stalin has urged the **Union Government of India** to constitute a consultative panel of State and Union Territory representatives before finalising the framework for caste enumeration in the upcoming Census. This appeal reflects concerns rooted in social

justice, administrative accuracy, and cooperative federalism.

Stalin urges Modi to consult States before finalising caste enumeration rules for Census

Caste enumeration is a sensitive matter that touches upon deep-rooted social dynamics and has the potential to cause unintended societal tensions if not handled with utmost care, says T.N. CM

The Hindu Bureau
CHENNAI

Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M.K. Stalin on Saturday wrote to Prime Minister Narendra Modi, urging him to ensure that the Union government adopts a consultative approach with all States and Union Territories before finalising the guidelines for enumerating castes in the forthcoming Population Census.

In his letter, Mr. Stalin urged Mr. Modi to put in place a consultative mechanism involving Chief Ministers and representatives of States to discuss and refine the guidelines for caste enumeration and to exercise due diligence in designing the framework, including pilot-testing where necessary, to safeguard the sensitivity of the process and ensure the data's reliability for advancing social justice.

The Chief Minister said



Enumeration of caste in the national Census has far-reaching implications for social justice, equitable policymaking, and the federal structure of the nation

M.K. STALIN
T.N. Chief Minister

enumeration of caste in the national Census had far-reaching implications for social justice, equitable policymaking, and the federal structure of the nation.

He welcomed the decision of the Centre to include caste details in the Census, saying it aligns with the long-standing demand of the Tamil Nadu government for comprehensive, reliable data to address historical inequalities and ensure targeted welfare measures.

"Tamil Nadu has been at the forefront of this de-

mand, with our Legislative Assembly passing resolutions urging the Union government to conduct a caste-based census alongside the decadal population enumeration. This decision vindicates our consistent advocacy for evidence-based social justice," he said.

Mr. Stalin said caste enumeration was an exceedingly sensitive matter that touches upon deep-rooted social dynamics, regional variations in caste structures, and had the potential to cause unintended societal tensions if not han-

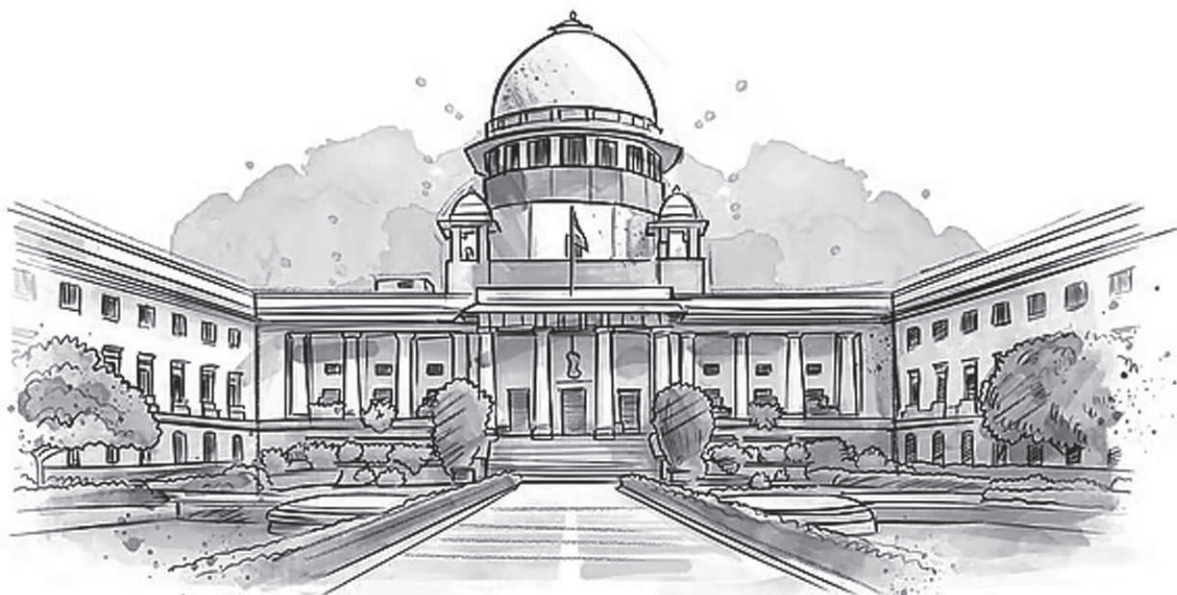
dled with the utmost care. The framing of questions, categories, sub-categories, and the methodology for data collection must be precise, inclusive and free from ambiguity to ensure accuracy and public trust. Any shortcomings in these aspects could lead to disputes, inaccuracies, or even exacerbate divisions, the Chief Minister pointed out.

Although the Census is a Union subject, its outcomes profoundly impact State-level policies on education, employment, reservations, and welfare schemes. It is imperative that the Union government consults all States and Union Territories before finalising the guidelines and questionnaire. Such consultation would allow incorporation of diverse perspectives, account for State-specific nuances, and foster cooperative federalism in this critical exercise, he added.

Caste enumeration, unlike routine statistical exercises, engages deeply with India's complex social realities. Ambiguities in definitions, categories, or methodology may lead to misclassification, disputes, and erosion of public trust. Given that Census outcomes significantly influence State policies on reservations, welfare, education, and employment, the Chief Minister emphasises the necessity of incorporating regional expertise. States, with their intimate knowledge of local social structures, can help design clearer questionnaires, refined methodologies, and reliable validation mechanisms.

The proposed panel is thus presented as a safeguard against data distortions and potential social tensions. More importantly, it strengthens the constitutional spirit of cooperative federalism by enabling collective decision-making on a matter of national sensitivity.

The request aligns with **Tamil Nadu's** long-standing advocacy for credible caste data to ensure equitable policymaking. Ultimately, the appeal seeks to ensure that caste enumeration advances its intended purpose — fostering informed governance, fairness, and social harmony. ■



M. R. BALAJI V. STATE OF MYSORE (1962): A FOUNDATIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL MOMENT

Citation: AIR 1963 SC 649

Court: Supreme Court of India

5 JUDGES BENCH: GAJENDRAGADKAR, P.B., SINHA, BHUVNESHWAR P.(CJ),
WANCHOO, K.N.. GUPTA, K.C. DAS, SHAH, J.C

DATE OF JUDGMENT: 28/09/1962

The Supreme Court's decision in *M. R. Balaji v. State of Mysore* (1962) occupies a pivotal place in India's constitutional jurisprudence on equality, affirmative action, and the meaning of "backwardness." Delivered at a time when the young Republic was grappling with translating the promises of social justice into governance, the judgment did far more than resolve a dispute about college admissions. It articulated enduring constitutional principles governing reservations, clarified the scope of Article 15(4), and shaped the delicate balance between equality of opportunity and compensatory discrimination.

At the heart of the case was a challenge to the Mysore Government's order reserving **68% of seats** in medical and engineering colleges for "socially and educationally backward classes" (SEBCs), Scheduled Castes (SCs), and Scheduled Tribes (STs). The petitioners argued that such extensive reservations violated their fundamental rights under Articles 15(1) and 29(2), contending that merit and equal access had been unjustly sacrificed.

Article 15(4): An Enabling Provision, Not an Unfettered License

The Court began by situating Article 15(4) within constitutional history. Introduced through the First Constitutional Amendment in response to *Champakam Dorairajan* (1951), Article 15(4) serves as an **exception** to the formal equality guarantee of Article 15(1). It empowers the State to make "special provisions" for socially and educationally backward classes and for SCs/STs.

However, the Court delivered a crucial warning: **Article 15(4) is not a carte blanche.** It is an enabling provision constrained by constitutional discipline. The judgment underscores that affirmative action must remain tethered to the broader constitutional vision of equality — not become a vehicle for reverse discrimination or political expediency.

The Meaning of "Backward Classes": Caste vs. Class

One of the most influential aspects of the judgment lies in its interpretation of "backward classes." The Court held that:

- Backwardness under Article 15(4) must be **both social and educational**, not merely one or the other.
- Though caste may be a **relevant factor**, it **cannot be the sole or dominant criterion**.

This distinction was constitutionally profound. By emphasising “class” over “caste,” the Court sought to prevent the ossification of caste identities through state policy. The judges recognised India’s social realities but resisted reducing constitutional categories into rigid caste-based compartments.

The Court perceptively observed that social backwardness is often deeply intertwined with **poverty, occupation, and habitation**, especially in rural India. Backwardness, therefore, must be determined through **multi-dimensional analysis**, not simplistic classification.

Reservations and the Concept of Reasonable Limits

Perhaps the most enduring doctrinal contribution of Balaji is the articulation of “**reasonable limits**” on reservations. While declining to prescribe a rigid formula, the Court famously remarked:

“Speaking generally and in a broad way, a special provision should be less than 50%.”

This was not framed as an absolute rule but as a **constitutional principle of balance**. Reservations, the Court reasoned, must advance weaker sections **without excluding deserving candidates from other communities**. Excessive reservations risk undermining the equality principle itself.

The Court characterised the Mysore order as a “**fraud on the Constitution**.” This language is striking. It conveys that constitutional powers, even when exercised ostensibly for social justice, cannot be deployed in a manner that **defeats the constitutional scheme**.

Equality: Formal vs. Substantive

The judgment reveals the Court’s early engagement with the tension between **formal equality** (treating everyone the same) and **substantive equality** (correcting historical disadvantages). The Court did not reject affirmative action; rather, it sought to ensure its **constitutional integrity**.

By insisting on rational classification, proportionality, and reasonableness, the Court aimed to harmonise two constitutional imperatives:

1. **Compensatory justice** for historically disadvantaged groups.
2. **Protection of merit and general opportunity** for society at large.

Directive Principles and Social Justice

Importantly, the Court acknowledged the relevance of Article 46 — the Directive Principle mandating the State to promote the educational and economic interests of weaker sections. Yet

it maintained that Directive Principles **cannot override Fundamental Rights**, but must be pursued within constitutional boundaries.

This nuanced approach preserved constitutional equilibrium. Social justice was affirmed as a goal, but **constitutionalism remained the method**.

Long-Term Jurisprudential Impact

Though later judgments, especially *Indra Sawhney v. Union of India* (1992), refined reservation doctrine, Balaji laid the intellectual groundwork for several enduring principles:

- Reservations must be **reasonable, not excessive**.
- Backwardness cannot be defined solely by caste.
- Affirmative action must withstand **judicial scrutiny**.
- Equality requires **balancing competing claims**, not privileging one absolutely.

Even where later courts diverged, the concerns articulated in Balaji — about overbreadth, mechanical classification, and the dangers of identity entrenchment — continue to echo in contemporary debates.

A Judgment About Constitutional Morality

Ultimately, *M. R. Balaji* is not merely about percentages or admissions policy. It is about **constitutional morality** — the disciplined exercise of state power in pursuit of justice. The Court recognised the legitimacy of affirmative action while cautioning against its distortion.

The decision reflects a deeper constitutional philosophy: **social justice must be pursued without eroding the architecture of equality**. The Constitution, the Court implied, is neither indifferent to historical disadvantage nor permissive of unlimited corrective measures.

Conclusion

M. R. Balaji v. State of Mysore stands as a foundational judgment that shaped India’s equality jurisprudence. It reminds us that affirmative action is not an exception to equality but an instrument of it — provided it remains **reasoned, proportionate, and constitutionally faithful**.

In navigating the complex terrain between redress and fairness, the Court crafted a doctrine rooted in balance. The judgment endures because it speaks to a timeless constitutional challenge: how to repair injustice **without replacing one inequity with another**, and how to advance justice **without compromising constitutional principles**.

In that sense, *Balaji* is not merely a legal precedent — it is a constitutional meditation on equality itself. ■

(The writer **G. Karunanidhi** is the General Secretary, AIOBC Employees Federation and Member, Social Justice Monitoring Committee, Govt. of Tamil Nadu)

The Case for a Decennial Census as a Constitutional Necessity

Kerala MP moves private Bill to hold Census every 10 years

The Hindu Bureau
NEW DELHI

Kerala MP Haris Beeran has moved a Private Member's Bill in the Rajya Sabha to amend the Census



exercise will now start on April 1 and conclude in February 2027, a delay of six years from the regular schedule.

The Amendment Bill said that a "periodical cen-

The Private Member's Bill moved by Kerala MP Haris Beeran in the Rajya Sabha seeking to mandate a population Census every ten years underscores the critical role of accurate demographic data in a constitutional democracy. By proposing amendments to the Census Act, 1948, the Bill argues that a regular and timely Census is not merely an administrative exercise but a legal and democratic imperative essential for effective governance and social justice.

India's last Population Census was conducted in 2011, and the subsequent Census, due in 2021, has been delayed, resulting in a six-year deviation from the established decennial cycle. This prolonged gap has serious implications, particularly for the implementation of constitutionally mandated policies such as reservations in education, public

employment, and electoral constituencies. Without updated and reliable population data—especially disaggregated caste-wise data—policy interventions risk being misdirected, exclusionary, or inequitable.

The Bill highlights that the absence of current Census data hampers access to welfare schemes and public services for large sections of the population. Accurate demographic information is vital to identify beneficiaries, assess regional and social disparities, and ensure that deserving communities are neither wrongly excluded nor overshadowed by dominant groups. In this context, caste-wise data assumes special significance, as it forms the empirical foundation for correcting historical injustices and ensuring proportional representation.

By insisting on a legally mandated ten-year Census, the proposed legislation seeks to institutionalise accountability and prevent arbitrary delays in data collection. It reinforces the principle that evidence-based policymaking is indispensable to democratic governance. Ultimately, the Bill reasserts that a timely Census is central to upholding equality, social justice, and the inclusive vision enshrined in the Indian Constitution. ■

Reservation in the Higher Judiciary: A Case for Social Justice and Democratic Representation

The proposed Constitution (Amendment) Bill, 2026, introduced by **DMK MP P. Wilson**, brings renewed focus to the question of social justice and representation in India's higher judiciary. The Bill argues that the Supreme Court and High Courts do not adequately reflect the country's social diversity, particularly in terms of representation for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and Other Backward Classes. This imbalance, it contends, is not merely statistical but a democratic concern that may weaken public trust in the justice system.

Central to the proposal is the idea that diversity strengthens both the legitimacy and quality of judicial decision-making. Judges inevitably draw upon their lived experiences and social contexts; therefore, a judiciary dominated by a narrow social segment risks overlooking the realities and concerns of marginalised communities. Ensuring broader representation is thus framed as a constitutional necessity aligned with equality and inclusiveness.

The Bill also critiques the opacity of the

DMK MP moves Bill seeking reservation in higher judiciary

The Hindu Bureau
NEW DELHI

Contending that India's higher judiciary does not reflect the country's social

character of India's pluralistic character.

To address what it calls "systemic barriers," the Bill proposes reservation in appointments to the Su-

Collegium system, highlighting the need for greater transparency and accountability in judicial appointments. It advocates for a structured Memorandum of Procedure developed through consultations involving constitutional stakeholders, including governments and judicial authorities. Additionally, it emphasises the relevance of State governments' views in High Court appointments.

Overall, the Bill reframes judicial reform as a question of representation, transparency, and constitutional morality, urging reflection on whether a socially unrepresentative judiciary can fully deliver substantive justice. ■



THOUGHTS OF PERIYAR: MULTIPLE EXPLOITATIONS

पेरियार के विचार: तरह-तरह के शोषण

Thanthai Periyar used 'Kudi Arasu' weekly as an organ and mouth piece of Self-Respect Movement. His editorials made readers realise the exploitations by the upper caste fanatics. He exposed their malicious intention in confining our people to the darkness of ignorance. In his editorial in 22.11.1931 and 05.04.1936 issues of 'Kudi Arasu', his views were thought provoking. Let us see how he stirred the feelings of the readers:

Never ending conflict

The clashes between the Aryans and the Dravidians seem to be an everlasting conflict. Until the Aryans stop exploiting our people this would be an unsolved problem. In spite of our consistent efforts, gullible people continue to be exploited in many ways. The divide between the Brahmins and non-brahmins is an obstacle for the establishment of an egalitarian society. Infact, it is the non-brahmins who welcome unity and brotherhood. Brahmins refuse to give up their divisive tactics. They do not understand us because they hate us and they hate us because they do not understand us. This is an unpalatable truth.

Among other religions such as Islam and Christianity the conflicts are issue based and principles based but in the Hindu religion, the conflicts between the Aryans and Dravidians; brahmins and non-brahmins are not issue based but birth based. Hence, the discriminations cannot be eradicated easily overnight. The war in the minds of people must end. Unless it happens, our people would not be free from various types of exploitations. The Aryans called brahmins do not wish to bridge the gulf because they are benefited by the never ending clashes.

Undesirable discriminations

Coffee houses and lunch homes isolate non-brahmins and humiliate them. In public places, brahmins avoid proximity to non-brahmins. They even place sign boards that read "For brahmins only." The humiliation suffered by non-brahmins in temples is already known to all of

थंथई पेरियार ने 'कुडी अरासु' साप्ताहिक पत्रिका को आत्मसम्मान आंदोलन के एक माध्यम और मुखपत्र के रूप में उपयोग किया। उनके संपादकीयों ने पाठकों को ऊँची जाति के कट्टरपंथियों द्वारा किए जा रहे शोषण का एहसास कराया। उन्होंने हमारे लोगों को अज्ञानता के अंधकार में बनाए रखने की उनकी दुर्भावनापूर्ण मंशा को उजागर किया। 'कुडी अरासु' के 22.11.1931 और 05.04.1936 के अंकों में प्रकाशित उनके संपादकीयों में उनके विचार अत्यंत विचारोत्तेजक थे। आइए देखें कि उन्होंने पाठकों की भावनाओं को किस प्रकार उद्वेलित किया:-

कभी न समाप्त होने वाला संघर्ष

आर्यों और द्रविड़ों के बीच होने वाले टकराव एक अंतहीन संघर्ष प्रतीत होते हैं। जब तक आर्य हमारे लोगों का शोषण करना बंद नहीं करेंगे, यह समस्या अनसुलझी ही रहेगी। हमारे निरंतर प्रयासों के बावजूद भोले-भाले लोग अनेक प्रकार से शोषित होते रहते हैं। ब्राह्मणों और गैर-ब्राह्मणों के बीच का विभाजन एक समतामूलक समाज की स्थापना में बाधा है। वस्तुतः एकता और भाईचारे का स्वागत गैर-ब्राह्मण ही करते हैं। ब्राह्मण अपनी विभाजनकारी नीतियाँ छोड़ने से इंकार करते हैं। वे हमें इसलिए नहीं समझते क्योंकि वे हमसे घृणा करते हैं और वे हमसे घृणा इसलिए करते हैं क्योंकि वे हमें समझते नहीं हैं। यह एक कड़वा सत्य है।

इस्लाम और ईसाई धर्म जैसे अन्य धर्मों में संघर्ष मुद्दों और सिद्धांतों पर आधारित होते हैं, लेकिन हिंदू धर्म में आर्यों और द्रविड़ों तथा ब्राह्मणों और गैर-ब्राह्मणों के बीच के संघर्ष मुद्दों पर आधारित नहीं बल्कि जन्म पर आधारित हैं। इसलिए इन भेदभावों को एक ही रात में समाप्त नहीं किया जा सकता। लोगों के मन में चल रहा संघर्ष समाप्त होना चाहिए। जब तक ऐसा नहीं होता, हमारे लोग विभिन्न प्रकार के शोषण से मुक्त नहीं हो पाएंगे। आर्य कहलाने वाले ब्राह्मण इस दूरी को समाप्त करना नहीं चाहते क्योंकि उन्हें इस अंतहीन संघर्ष से लाभ मिलता है।

अवांछनीय भेदभाव

काँफी हाउस और भोजनालयों में गैर-ब्राह्मणों को अलग रखा जाता है और उनका अपमान किया जाता है। ब्राह्मण सार्वजनिक स्थानों पर गैर-ब्राह्मणों के निकट आने से बचते हैं। वे "केवल ब्राह्मणों के लिए" लिखे हुए बोर्ड भी लगाते हैं। मंदिरों में गैर-ब्राह्मणों को जो अपमान सहना पड़ता है,

us. Our people are being quarantined and insulted by ill-treatments. How can we dream of an egalitarian society as long as such undesirable discriminations exist?

The Aryans have been organising conferences and public meetings to spread brahminism. Religious discourses are being conducted by exponents of spiritual thoughts. They are vigorously attempting to safeguard Manudharma, Varnasrama and Sanatan principles. Vedas and Shastras are being propagated by them seriously all over the state. Pontiffs and temple priests patronise all the activities of the Aryans and encourage exploitations. The outdated scriptures and codes of conduct are insisted upon. Our people are soaked in blind belief and superstitions dumped on them by the exploiting fanatics. How can we dream of equality and progressive outlook?

Efforts of non-brahmins

I am really glad to see our non-brahmin friends organising conferences and public meetings to make people realise the dire need of unity. They are not against brahmin individuals; they are only against brahminism that divides people. I welcome the widespread protests and agitations of non-brahmins against the disparity being nourished by brahmins. I hope, gradually there would be some change in the minds of audacious brahmins who oppose unity and equality. The resolutions being passed by non-brahmins in several conferences give us a hope of reform. People supporting brahmins should realise that lack of unity would be hazardous for the entire country and for the society of humankind too.

Brahmin leaders

Some brahmin leaders pretend to be supporters of unity. They talk much about unity in diversity and universal brotherhood but do not really prove it in action. They do not come out with remedial measures to smash the barriers existing between the Aryans and non-aryans. Their lip-sympathy would not redress the grievances of the downtrodden non-brahmins. I urge upon brahmin leaders who are influential to persuade Government officials to prohibit exploitations of non-brahmins by the coterie of brahmins.

Brahmins are 3 per cent of the entire population but they dominate non-brahmins who are 97 per cent of the population. They work hard while the upper caste brahmins hardly work. Is it not an exploitation of labour? Economically the upper caste Aryans are all quite well off but our non-aryans continue to live below the poverty line and struggle for their survival, existence and livelihood. This injustice must perish. Eradication of poverty is essential for the upliftment of all the downtrodden non-Aryans. The gullible Aryans are urged upon to ignore the crocodile tears of brahmins who do not mean what they say. Let us hope changes in the political world and forthcoming elections would pave the way for the emancipation of non-Aryans.

Irreparable loss

Numerous mythologies and scriptures fabricated by the Aryans exploit our people in the names of countless festivals. For instance, nearly 20 crore people would have celebrated Diwali recently and I am sure nearly 10 crore rupees might have been totally spent all over the country. Can we afford to tolerate this irreparable loss of hard earned money, besides the loss of precious

वह हम सभी जानते हैं। हमारे लोगों को बुरे व्यवहार के द्वारा अलग-थलग किया जाता है और उनका अपमान किया जाता है। जब तक ऐसे अवांछनीय भेदभाव मौजूद हैं, हम समतामूलक समाज का सपना कैसे देख सकते हैं?

आर्य ब्राह्मणवाद फैलाने के लिए सम्मेलन और सार्वजनिक सभाएँ आयोजित करते रहे हैं। आध्यात्मिक विचारों के प्रवक्ता धार्मिक प्रवचन करते हैं। वे मनुधर्म, वर्णाश्रम और सनातन सिद्धांतों की रक्षा के लिए जोरदार प्रयास कर रहे हैं। वेद और शास्त्रों का पूरे राज्य में गंभीरता से प्रचार किया जा रहा है। मठाधीश और मंदिरों के पुजारी आर्यों की इन गतिविधियों को संरक्षण देते हैं और शोषण को बढ़ावा देते हैं। पुराने और अप्रासंगिक ग्रंथों तथा आचार-संहिताओं पर जोर दिया जाता है। हमारे लोगों को शोषण करने वाले कट्टरपंथियों द्वारा थोपे गए अंधविश्वासों और अंधश्रद्धाओं में डूबो दिया गया है। ऐसे में हम समानता और प्रगतिशील दृष्टिकोण का सपना कैसे देख सकते हैं?

गैर-ब्राह्मणों के प्रयास

मुझे यह देखकर अत्यंत प्रसन्नता होती है कि हमारे गैर-ब्राह्मण मित्र लोगों को एकता की आवश्यकता का एहसास कराने के लिए सम्मेलन और सार्वजनिक सभाएँ आयोजित कर रहे हैं। वे ब्राह्मण व्यक्तियों के विरोधी नहीं हैं; वे केवल लोगों को बाँटने वाली ब्राह्मणवादी सोच के विरोधी हैं। ब्राह्मणों द्वारा पोषित असमानता के विरुद्ध गैर-ब्राह्मणों के व्यापक विरोध और आंदोलनों का मैं स्वागत करता हूँ। मुझे आशा है कि धीरे-धीरे उन साहसी ब्राह्मणों के मन में भी परिवर्तन आएगा जो एकता और समानता का विरोध करते हैं। विभिन्न सम्मेलनों में गैर-ब्राह्मणों द्वारा पारित प्रस्ताव हमें सुधार की आशा देते हैं। ब्राह्मणों का समर्थन करने वाले लोगों को यह समझना चाहिए कि एकता की कमी पूरे देश और मानव समाज दोनों के लिए हानिकारक होगी।

ब्राह्मण नेता

कुछ ब्राह्मण नेता स्वयं को एकता का समर्थक होने का दिखावा करते हैं। वे विविधता में एकता और सार्वभौमिक भाईचारे की बहुत बातें करते हैं, लेकिन व्यवहार में उसे सिद्ध नहीं करते। वे आर्यों और गैर-आर्यों के बीच मौजूद बाधाओं को समाप्त करने के लिए ठोस उपाय प्रस्तुत नहीं करते। उनकी केवल मौखिक सहानुभूति पीड़ित गैर-ब्राह्मणों की समस्याओं का समाधान नहीं कर सकती। मैं प्रभावशाली ब्राह्मण नेताओं से आग्रह करता हूँ कि वे सरकारी अधिकारियों को ब्राह्मण समूहों द्वारा गैर-ब्राह्मणों के शोषण को रोकने के लिए प्रेरित करें।

ब्राह्मण कुल जनसंख्या का केवल 3 प्रतिशत हैं, लेकिन वे 97 प्रतिशत गैर-ब्राह्मणों पर प्रभुत्व रखते हैं। गैर-ब्राह्मण कठोर परिश्रम करते हैं, जबकि ऊँची जाति के ब्राह्मण बहुत कम काम करते हैं। क्या यह श्रम का शोषण नहीं है? आर्थिक रूप से ऊँची जाति के आर्य काफी समृद्ध हैं, लेकिन हमारे गैर-आर्य गरीबी रेखा के नीचे जीवन जी रहे हैं। इस अन्याय का अंत होना चाहिए। गरीबी का उन्मूलन सभी पीड़ित गैर-आर्यों के उत्थान के लिए आवश्यक है। भोले-भाले आर्यों से आग्रह किया जाता है कि वे उन ब्राह्मणों के झूठे आँसुओं से प्रभावित न हों जो अपने शब्दों के प्रति ईमानदार नहीं हैं। आइए आशा करें कि राजनीतिक परिवर्तनों और आने वाले चुनावों से गैर-आर्यों की मुक्ति का मार्ग प्रशस्त होगा।

अपूर्णता हानि

आर्यों द्वारा गढ़ी गई अनेक पौराणिक कथाएँ और ग्रंथ असंख्य त्योहारों के नाम पर हमारे लोगों का शोषण करते हैं। उदाहरण के लिए, हाल ही में लगभग 20 करोड़ लोगों ने दीवाली मनाई होगी और मेरा अनुमान है कि पूरे देश में लगभग 10 करोड़ रुपये खर्च हुए होंगे। क्या हम अपनी मेहनत की कमाई के इस अपूर्णता नुकसान को, समय और ऊर्जा की बर्बादी के साथ, सहन कर सकते हैं? आतिशबाजी

time and energy? Fireworks would have polluted the atmosphere. Sweet meats and clothes would have consumed a huge amount of money. Are such festivals productive in any way? Does real happiness lie in such wasteful celebrations? When would our people realise their folly? I welcome harvest festival Pongal, that honours the dignity of a farmer's labour. I am in favour of May Day celebration too that glorifies the sweat of a labourer. But all other festivals seem to be meaningless in my opinion. These festivals imposed by Aryans also exploit our people in a different way. This is not merely my opinion but also my belief.

Tedious pilgrimages

It was an Aryan Ploy that made our people believe in divinity, salvation, heaven, hell, rebirth, atonement of sins; to make amends. People undergo tedious long journeys to places of worship squandering money and straining themselves. These pilgrimages could cause communicable diseases besides various biological complications and physical discomforts.

Thousands of lamps lit in temples and other places consume a large quantity of oil. Millions of containers of milk are emptied gladly while a similar number of kids crave for milk all over the country. These are all indirect exploitations, indeed. Does pouring of precious milk upon idols of stones really make any sense? Besides those, waste of hundreds of other materials is really irksome. Belief in fabricated mythologies is the root cause of such activities. Do people really derive any benefit out of these festivals, journey and worship? Making people superstitious is also an exploitation in my opinion. I urge upon all our people to think over and decide whether I am right or wrong.

Obscene mythologies

Aryans have fabricated thousands of obscene mythologies revolving around non-existent Gods and Goddesses. They are all webs spun for sheer deceit. Most of them are really nauseating. I am surprised, how our people digest all those fictitious trash. Tales of adultery, immorality, incest and incredible horrors have been thrust upon us by the exploiting Aryans. Where is divinity in these filthy fabrications? Infact, they have caused the birth of religions and other insane practices associated with it.

Besides all these, the clashes between Shaivites and Vaishnavites are ridiculous indeed. The former are devotees of Shiva and the latter, worshippers of Vishnu. Does this make any sense?" People have been divided as two exclusive groups among Aryans themselves. It is a pity, our non-Aryan people are taken for a ride by both the rival groups. Our people do not even realise that they are being exploited in multiple ways by the Aryans called Brahmins. Until non-brahmins wake up from their deep slumber, these exploitations would never cease.

Irrationalism to the core

Nature has bestowed the power of reasoning only upon humankind, but it is not being used sensibly by our people. Irrationalism is in abundance. People believe in fake God men and get duped in many ways. Tricksters and Charlatans deceive people threatening them with the fear of black magic and witchcraft. These rogues exploit people by promising to ward off the evil. Under

से वातावरण प्रदूषित होता है। मिठाइयों और कपड़ों पर भारी धन खर्च होता है। क्या ऐसे त्योहार किसी भी प्रकार से उत्पादक हैं? क्या वास्तविक खुशी ऐसे अपव्ययी उत्सवों में निहित है? हमारे लोग अपनी भूल कब समझेंगे? मैं पोंगल जैसे फसल उत्सव का स्वागत करता हूँ, जो किसान के श्रम की गरिमा का सम्मान करता है। मैं मैई दिवस के उत्सव के पक्ष में भी हूँ, जो मजदूर के पसीने का सम्मान करता है। लेकिन अन्य सभी त्योहार मेरे विचार में निरर्थक प्रतीत होते हैं। आर्यों द्वारा थोपे गए ये त्योहार हमारे लोगों का एक अलग तरीके से शोषण भी करते हैं। यह केवल मेरा मत नहीं बल्कि मेरा विश्वास भी है।

कष्टदायक तीर्थयात्राएँ

यह आर्यों की एक चाल थी जिसने हमारे लोगों को ईश्वरत्व, मुक्ति, स्वर्ग, नरक, पुनर्जन्म और पापों के प्रायश्चित्त जैसे विचारों में विश्वास करने के लिए प्रेरित किया। लोग पूजा स्थलों की लंबी और कष्टदायक यात्राएँ करते हैं, जिससे धन की बर्बादी होती है और वे शारीरिक रूप से थक जाते हैं। ये तीर्थयात्राएँ संक्रामक रोगों के साथ-साथ विभिन्न शारीरिक जटिलताओं और असुविधाओं का कारण बन सकती हैं।

मंदिरों और अन्य स्थानों पर जलाए जाने वाले हजारों दीपक बड़ी मात्रा में तेल की खपत करते हैं। लाखों बर्तन दूध के खाली कर दिए जाते हैं, जबकि देश में उतनी ही संख्या में बच्चे दूध के लिए तरसते हैं। यह सब वास्तव में अप्रत्यक्ष शोषण है। क्या पत्थर की मूर्तियों पर कीमती दूध चढ़ाने का कोई अर्थ है? इसके अलावा सैकड़ों अन्य वस्तुओं की बर्बादी भी अत्यंत खेदजनक है। गढ़ी हुई पौराणिक कथाओं में विश्वास ही इन गतिविधियों का मूल कारण है। क्या लोग वास्तव में इन त्योहारों, यात्राओं और पूजा से कोई लाभ प्राप्त करते हैं? लोगों को अंधविश्वासी बनाना भी मेरे विचार में एक प्रकार का शोषण है। मैं अपने सभी लोगों से आग्रह करता हूँ कि वे विचार करें और स्वयं तय करें कि मैं सही हूँ या गलत।

अश्लील पौराणिक कथाएँ

आर्यों ने अस्तित्वहीन देवताओं और देवियों के इर्द-गिर्द हजारों अश्लील पौराणिक कथाएँ गढ़ी हैं। वे सब केवल छल के लिए बने गए जाल हैं। उनमें से अधिकांश वास्तव में घृणित हैं। मुझे आश्चर्य होता है कि हमारे लोग इन काल्पनिक बातों को कैसे स्वीकार कर लेते हैं। व्यभिचार, अनैतिकता, रक्त-संबंधों और भयावह घटनाओं की कहानियाँ शोषण करने वाले आर्यों द्वारा हम पर थोपी गई हैं। इन गढ़ी रचनाओं में दिव्यता कहाँ है? वास्तव में, इन्होंने ही धर्म और उनसे जुड़ी अन्य अविवेकपूर्ण प्रथाओं को जन्म दिया है।

इन सबके अतिरिक्त शैव और वैष्णवों के बीच के संघर्ष भी वास्तव में हास्यास्पद हैं। पहले शिव के भक्त हैं और दूसरे विष्णु के उपासक। क्या इसका कोई अर्थ है? आर्यों के भीतर ही लोग दो अलग-अलग समूहों में बँट गए हैं। यह दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण है कि हमारे गैर-आर्य लोग इन दोनों प्रतिद्वंद्वी समूहों द्वारा भ्रमित किए जाते हैं। हमारे लोग यह भी नहीं समझते कि ब्राह्मण कहलाने वाले आर्यों द्वारा उनका अनेक प्रकार से शोषण किया जा रहा है। जब तक गैर-ब्राह्मण अपनी गहरी नींद से नहीं जागेंगे, यह शोषण समाप्त नहीं होगा।

अतार्किकता की पराकाष्ठा

प्रकृति ने तर्क करने की शक्ति केवल मनुष्य को दी है, लेकिन हमारे लोग उसका विवेकपूर्ण उपयोग नहीं कर रहे हैं। अतार्किकता हर जगह फैली हुई है। लोग नकली बाबाओं पर विश्वास करते हैं और कई तरह से ठगे जाते हैं। ठग और धूर्त लोग काला जादू और टोने-टोटके का भय दिखाकर लोगों को धोखा देते हैं। ये लोग बुराइयों से बचाने का वादा करके लोगों का शोषण करते हैं। भूत-प्रेत उतारने के बहाने वे लोगों की मेहनत की कमाई लूट लेते हैं।

the pretext of exorcism they rob our people of their hard earned money.

A coterie of tricksters make people believe in possession by evil spirits and extort huge amounts pretending to be experts in ghost busting. This is undeniably an exploitation. Fake conjurers are behind every case of human sacrifice. Innocent people are sometimes tortured when they are suspected wrongly of black magic crimes. These wicked people go scot-free; unpunished by law. Exploiters thus thrive and multiply in leaps and bounds.

Another coterie of exploiters is the group of astrologers and palmists. They pull wool over the eyes of superstitious people by making them believe in the powers of stars and planets; Omen and ill omen. Those fortune tellers and soothsayers fill their coffers by exploiting people. Even educated nuts fall a prey to these frauds. How are we to make those people rationalists? There are publishers who churn out books on irrational subjects and market them to exploit gullible readers. Some of the newspapers, dailies, weeklies and other periodicals publish irrational rubbish and dump on readers. People waste money and buy those garbage in print. And we are struggling to spread rationalism. There are none to pity us.

I wish to drive home the point that we are not being exploited by the Aryans; Brahmins alone. There are others too who play games.

Another instance is temples – exploitation. In multiple ways this is being executed people pour money into the temple containers like torrential rain fall. The collections are not used for public welfare. There is undetected corruption and maladministration to the core. Hundreds of rituals and festivals in temples suck people's money to fill the blind mouths of priests in temples.

There is a dire need of scientific temper to curb all these exploitations. Self-respect is the best antidote to defeat and crush caste system and religious fanaticism. Rationalism is the right path for truly progressive people. Let us never fall a prey to any sort of exploitation.

Source: 'Kudi Arasu' – 22.11.1931 & 5.4.1936

Translated by : M.R. Manohar

कुछ ठग लोगों को यह विश्वास दिलाते हैं कि उन पर बुरी आत्माओं का साया है और स्वयं को भूत भगाने का विशेषज्ञ बताकर उनसे भारी धन वसूलते हैं। यह निस्संदेह शोषण है। मानव बलि जैसे मामलों के पीछे भी नकली तांत्रिक होते हैं। कभी-कभी निर्दोष लोगों को काला जादू करने के झूठे आरोप में प्रताड़ित किया जाता है। ये दुष्ट लोग कानून से बच निकलते हैं और बिना दंड के घूमते रहते हैं। इस प्रकार शोषण करने वाले फलते-फूलते रहते हैं।

शोषण करने वालों का एक अन्य समूह ज्योतिषियों और हस्तेरेखा देखने वालों का है। वे अंधविश्वासी लोगों को ग्रह-नक्षत्रों, शुभ-अशुभ संकेतों में विश्वास दिलाकर उन्हें भ्रमित करते हैं। ये भविष्यवक्ता और कथित ज्ञानी लोगों का शोषण करके धन कमाते हैं। शिक्षित लोग भी कभी-कभी इन धोखेबाजों के शिकार बन जाते हैं। हम ऐसे लोगों को तर्कवादी कैसे बनाएँ? कुछ प्रकाशक अतार्किक विषयों पर पुस्तकें प्रकाशित कर भोलै-भाले पाठकों का शोषण करते हैं। कुछ समाचार पत्र, दैनिक, साप्ताहिक और अन्य पत्रिकाएँ भी अतार्किक सामग्री प्रकाशित कर पाठकों पर थोपती हैं। लोग पैसा खर्च करके इस छपी हुई निरर्थक सामग्री को खरीदते हैं। और हम तर्कवाद फैलाने के लिए संघर्ष कर रहे हैं। हमारी स्थिति पर दया करने वाला कोई नहीं है।

मैं यह स्पष्ट करना चाहता हूँ कि हमारा शोषण केवल आर्यों या ब्राह्मणों द्वारा ही नहीं किया जा रहा है; अन्य लोग भी इसमें शामिल हैं।

एक और उदाहरण मंदिरों से जुड़ा शोषण है। कई तरीकों से यह किया जाता है। लोग मंदिरों के दानपात्रों में वर्षा की तरह धन डालते हैं। इन धनराशियों का उपयोग जनकल्याण के लिए नहीं किया जाता। इसके भीतर गहरा भ्रष्टाचार और कप्रबंधन छिपा हुआ है। मंदिरों में होने वाले सैकड़ों अनुष्ठान और त्योहार लोगों के द्वारा दिए गए धन को पुजारियों की आय का साधन बना देते हैं।

इन सभी शोषणों को रोकने के लिए वैज्ञानिक दृष्टिकोण की अत्यंत आवश्यकता है। "आत्मसम्मान" ही जाति व्यवस्था और धार्मिक कट्टरता को समाप्त करने का सबसे प्रभावी उपाय है। वास्तव में प्रगतिशील लोगों के लिए "तर्कवाद" ही सही मार्ग है। हमें किसी भी प्रकार के शोषण का शिकार नहीं बनना चाहिए।

स्रोत: 'कुडी अरासु' - 22.11.1931 एवं 5.4.1936

अनुवादक : एम. आर. मनोहर; हिन्दी अनुवाद: रवीन्द्र राम

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