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OBC VOICE



"My concern is for my people".

The OBCs' leader
GANESH SINGH M.P.

Chairperson, Parliamentary Committee for OBC

GLOBAL
INEQUALITY



50% CEILING
ON
RESERVATION



சட்ட எரிப்பும்
ஜாதி ஒழிப்பும்



SOCIAL JUSTICE
MOVEMENT IN
TAMIL NADU



THOUGHTS OF
PERIYAR

Visit of Parliamentary Committee for OBC @ Hyderabad – 22.10.2024
Office-bearers of AIOBC Employees Federation
U.Chinnaiah, S.Ravikumar, A.Yakkaiah and other leaders submitted representation to
Shri.Ganesh Singh, M.P. Chairperson of the OBC Committee.



3-days workshop for OBC representatives on Disciplinary matters
Knowledge Centre, Union Bank of India Bengaluru - Oct 3-5, 2024



Social Justice Conference organized by the
"Samajik Chetna Foundation Nyas" at Lucknow (UP) - Sept 29, 2024



Meeting of the Office-bearers (in Chennai)
of the AIOBC Employees Federation held at Chennai on 19.10.2024.



Ms.G.Preethi, Newly elected General Secretary for MFL OBC Association,Chennai felicitated



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in the articles
are not necessarily ours

GLOBAL INEQUALITY INCLUSIVE GROWTH IS THE KEY

The Nobel Memorial Prize in Economics was awarded for this year 2024 to three economists - Professors Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, and James Robinson for their work on explaining inequality among countries - why some countries are rich and others poor and have documented that freer, open societies are more likely to prosper.

According to the researchers, countries with **“inclusive” institutions** that protected personal property rights and allowed for widespread economic participation tended to **end up on a pathway to longer-term prosperity**. Those that had **“extractive” institutions** - ones that helped elites to maintain control but which gave workers little hope of sharing in the wealth - **merely provided short-term gains for the people in power**.

Dr Acemoglu said “more authoritarian growth” is often more unstable and less innovative. Asked about how economic growth in countries like China fits into the theories, the researcher doubts China can sustain its economic prosperity as long as it keeps a repressive political system. Robinson quotes, “There are many examples in world history of societies like that which do well for 40, 50 years.” “What you see is that’s never sustainable.... The Soviet Union did well for 50 or 60 years.”

The Nobel laureates have also shed light on why inclusive institutions, which are found to be extremely important for long-term economic growth, have not been adopted by more countries in the world. They attribute this to the different choices that rulers face in their respective countries. When the rulers of a country are able to safely extract sufficient resources for their personal gains through extractive institutions, the laureates argue, they have little reason to bring in political and economic reforms (or inclusive institutions) that can benefit the wider population in the long run. In such cases, extractive institutions may prevail for a really long time as long as the masses do not revolt against the status quo. But **if there is a real threat of a popular uprising against extractive institutions, at least some rulers may decide to yield to popular demand and reluctantly set up more inclusive institutions that aid economic growth**.

It is, in this context, better to make a cautionary note about the report given by the Word Inequality Lab that says that the richest 1% in India now own more than 40% of the country’s total wealth, while the lower half of the population together share just 3% of wealth. Factors such as inadequate education and low-paying jobs are key contributors to the stagnation of income growth among the lower 50% and the middle 40% of Indians. Approximately 64% of the total goods and services tax (GST) in the country came from the bottom 50% of the population, while only 4% came from the top 10%, the report said.

“Societies with a poor rule of law and institutions that exploit the population do not generate growth or change for the better.”

The laureates’ research helps us understand the problem and solution.■

NOVEMBER 16 (1992): JUDGEMENT DAY



- G.Karunanidhy

The Constitutionally mandated (Art.340) Commission for Backward Classes under the leadership of B.P.Mandal, namely the Second Backward Classes Commission, submitted the report to the Union Government on 31st December 1980 recommending 27 per cent reservation for Backward Classes in jobs and education as well as in promotion, judiciary and private sector.

On 7th August 1990, the National Front Government headed by the then Prime Minister and saviour of Social Justice V.P.Singh announced in the Parliament about the Government's decision to provide 27% reservation to OBCs in all direct recruitments of Union Government services and public sector undertakings and the office memorandum was issued on 13th August 1990 to that effect.

On 25th September 1991, the Congress Government headed by the then Prime Minister P.V.Narasimha Rao issued a modified memorandum to enable the poorer sections in SEBCs (OBCs) to receive benefits of reservation on preferential basis and to provide 10 per cent reservation for economically backward sections of the people not covered by any of the existing schemes of reservation.

Both these OM's were challenged in the Supreme Court (Indra Sawhney Case also called as Mandal Reservation Case) and the Court stayed both the government orders. Finally, after detailed arguments from both sides, the nine Judges Constitution Bench of the Supreme Court by 6-3 majority gave the following judgements on 16.11.1992.

1. Court upheld the order of V.P.Singh government reserving 27 per cent for OBCs.

2. Court rejected as unconstitutional, the 1991 order of P.V.Narasimha Rao government reserving 10 per cent for economically backward sections of the people not covered by any of the existing schemes of reservation.

3. Advanced sections among OBCs (Creamy layer) must be excluded from availing reservation of OBCs.

4. No reservation in promotion.

5. Reservation shall not exceed 50 per cent.

Now that 32 years have passed and as on date, the representation of OBCs in Central Government departments is totally dismal and disappointing.

The court's order is peppered with so many 'ifs' and 'buts' and doses of diffidence that it is extremely unlikely that the entire quota will ever be used up and the policy of reservation will remain only in paper.

Now with implementation of EWS 10 per cent for upper castes, and the Apex Court upholding the Act, the ceiling of 50 per cent has no relevance.

Every effort by all of us should be made towards total implementation of Mandal Commission Recommendations including 52 per cent reservation for OBCs, abolishing the creamy layer concept, reservation in promotion, judiciary and private sector and most importantly, action against officials for failure to comply with the order of the Government on the implementation of reservation policy.

The action program announced by AIOBC Employees Federation at Delhi on 5th December 2024 is a well thought out plan and is the duty of all OBCs and social organisations to join the protest and make it a grand success.

**(The writer is the General Secretary of
AIOBC Employees Federation)**

GANESH SINGH, M.P.

The OBCs leader as Chairperson of OBC Committee



"My concern is for my people. I should prove useful to them. I should raise my voice for their rights. These are my responsibilities as a people's representative. When I do all these, it gives me great happiness," says Shri. Ganesh Singh, MP.

Hon'ble Speaker of Lok Sabha Shri. Om Birla constituted the OBC Committee and appointed Shri. Ganesh Singh, M.P. as the Chairperson of the Committee on Welfare of Other Backward Classes. This is his third tenure as the Head of the Committee. Earlier, he was holding this Chairperson post from September 2015 to July 2020. Prior to that, he was a member in the Committee since its inception of the OBC Committee from June 2012 to September 2015. Thus, Shri. Ganesh Singh has rich experience in handling these affairs of the OBC Committee.

It was during his earlier term as the Chairperson that he effectively took up the matter and ensured OBC reservation in Navodaya, Sainik and Kendriya Vidyalayas.

Due to the repeated representations of our AIOBC Employees Federation, during his tenure as Chairperson, took up the matter of 'Rationalisation of Creamy Layer in Employment for OBCs in Services and Posts under the control of Government of India including Union Territories, PSUs etc.'

The Committee received significant number of representations from the public in response to the Press Communiqué issued by the OBC Committee for eliciting public opinion.

The report of the OBC Committee presented to both the Houses of Parliament on 9th March 2019, revealed that the 'clarificatory letter dt 14.10.2004 issued by DoPT was sent without any consultation with Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment and Department of Legal Affairs.

The OBC Committee under his steward Chairmanship exposed the anomalous clarificatory letter regarding Creamy Layer issued by DoPT on 14.10.2004, wherein about 56 OBC candidates (4 from Madhya Pradesh, 10 from Tamil Nadu, 8 from Maharashtra, 2 from Karnataka, 4 from Kerala and 2 from Andhra Pradesh) who were selected in the Civil Services Examination 2015, 2016 and 2017 were not allotted services while parents of these candidates were working in Central and State Governments Undertakings, Banks, Insurance organisations, Financial Institutions and Universities etc. and most of them were Clerks, Peons and Labourers.

The grievances of many of those successful UPSC candidates belonging to OBC but denied postings by DoPT citing 'creamy layer' were taken up by Shri. Ganesh Singh and redressed.

Had the report of the OBC Committee presented by Shri. Ganesh Singh been implemented, many of the OBC issues which are being faced today would have been sorted out.

It is good that Shri. Ganesh Singh has again been appointed as the Chairperson of this OBC Committee. Our AIOBC Employees Federation expresses its happiness and hope that some of the pressing issues confronting the OBCs will be taken up by the Committee under his leadership by taking up with the Union Government for redressal.

The Federation is also happy that few of the Members who have been, otherwise, also espousing the cause of social justice, Thiru. T.R. Baalu (DMK), Thiru. Manickam Tagore (Congress), Shri. Giridhari Yadav (JD-U), to mention a few, are in the Committee. Let us hope for the best. ■



Letter dt 7th October 2024 addressed by AIOBC Employees Federation to Hon'ble Prime Minister Shri. Narendra Modi, under copy to Union Minister of Social Justice and Empowerment, Chairpersons of NCBC and Parliamentary Committee for OBC.

50% ceiling to be removed to provide proportional representation for OBC, SC & ST

We would like to state that the ceiling on reservation percentage was imposed by the judgement of the Supreme Court in the Indra Sawhney case, quoting Balaji vs State of Mysore case. This has seriously affected the opportunities and rights of the backward classes who constitute nearly 60% of our population.

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

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

"In view of this legal constraint, the Commission is obliged to recommend a reservation of 27% only, even though their population is almost twice this figure" (para 13.11 of Mandal Commission Report)

The Union Government by bringing the Constitution (One Hundred Third Amendment) Act, 2019 is implementing 10% reservation to EWS among upper castes, due to which, the total reservation percentage has reached 59.5%. Thus, the Union Government has already breached the 50% ceiling.

The 105th Constitution (Amendment) Act brought by the NDA government and passed in Parliament has restored the power to States in identifying SEBCs and fix a percentage. But the 50% cap in reservation, restricts the States to consider need based reservation owing to their inadequate representation in the government services and education.

The judgement of Supreme Court in Janhit Abhiyan V Union of India case delivered on 7th November 2022 has upheld the 10% reservation and Hon'ble Judges have not negated the breach of 50% ceiling. "Moreover... The ceiling limit... has not been held to be inflexible or inviolable for all times to come," the majority opinion had stated.

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

Hence it is very much necessary that the Union Government brings a constitutional amendment to remove the ceiling on reservation so that the large sections of our society who have been historically discriminated against and remain as 'socially and educationally' backward can get their rightful and legitimate share in the governance of our country.

With regards,

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





एआईओबीसी कर्मचारी महासंघ द्वारा माननीय प्रधानमंत्री श्री नरेन्द्र मोदी को संबोधित दिनांक 7 अक्टूबर 2024 का पत्र, जिसकी प्रतिलिपि केंद्रीय सामाजिक न्याय और अधिकारिता मंत्री, एनसीबीसी के अध्यक्षों और ओबीसी के लिए संसदीय समिति को भेजी गई है।

ओबीसी, एससी और एसटी को समानुपातिक प्रतिनिधित्व प्रदान करने के लिए 50% की सीमा समाप्त हो

हम निवेदन करते हैं कि भारत के सर्वोच्च न्यायालय ने बालाजी बनाम मैसूर राज्य के वाद को उद्धृत करते हुए इन्दिरा साहनी मामले में आरक्षण के प्रतिशत पर सीमा लगा दी थी। इस निर्णय ने आबादी के 60 प्रतिशत हिस्से वाले पिछड़े वर्गों के अवसरों और अधिकारों को गंभीरता से प्रभावित किया है।

1. भारत के संविधान में आरक्षण या आरक्षण के प्रतिशत की सीमा का कहीं भी उल्लेख नहीं है। संविधान के अनुच्छेद 16(4) के अंतर्गत "पर्याप्त प्रतिनिधित्व" की बात कही गई है।

2. वस्तुतः मंडल आयोग ने न्यायालय के निर्णय को उद्धृत करते हुए ओबीसी के लिए 27% आरक्षण की सीमा रखी थी जबकि वास्तव में इसी आयोग ने ओबीसी की आबादी को 52% बताया था।

"इसी कानूनी वाध्यता के आलोक में आयोग ने 27% आरक्षण की अनुशंसा की थी, जबकि इनकी आबादी इस सीमा की लगभग दुगुनी है।" (मंडल आयोग रिपोर्ट का अनुच्छेद 13.11)

केन्द्र सरकार ने संविधान में 103 वाँ संशोधन 2019 लाकर उच्च वर्गों के इ. डब्ल्यू. एस. के लिए 10% आरक्षण लागू कर दिया। इसके कारण कुल आरक्षण का प्रतिशत 59.5% तक पहुँच गया। इस प्रकार से केन्द्र सरकार ने पहले ही 50% की सीमा का उल्लंघन कर दिया है।

एन डी ए सरकार के द्वारा लाया गया और संसद के द्वारा पारित 105वाँ संविधान (संशोधन) ऐक्ट ने राज्यों के उस अधिकार को बहाल रखा है जिसके द्वारा वे सामाजिक और शैक्षिक रूप से पिछड़े वर्ग की पहचान कर सकते हैं और उनके प्रतिशत का निर्धारण कर सकते हैं। किन्तु 50% की सीमा राज्यों को उनकी जरूरत के आधार पर सरकारी सेवाओं और शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में अपर्याप्त प्रतिनिधित्व पर विचार करते हुए आरक्षण निर्धारित करने से रोकते हैं।

जनहित अभियान बनाम भारत सरकार के मामले में 7 नवम्बर, 2022 को दिए गए निर्णय में सर्वोच्च न्यायालयने 10% आरक्षण को सही ठहराया और माननीय न्यायाधीशों ने 50% की सीमा के उल्लंघन को नकारा नहीं है। "हालांकि सीमा बंदी को भविष्य के लिए अटल या परिवर्तन नहीं होने वाला नहीं बताया गया है", अधिकांश राय में ऐसा ही बताया गया।

माननीय सांसद (राज्य सभा) श्री सुरेश चन्द्र पिल्ली द्वारा पूछे गये प्रश्न कि क्या सरकार ने इ. डब्ल्यू. एस. को 10% आरक्षण देने के कारण 50% की सीमा के उल्लंघन को ध्यान में रखते हुए ओबीसी को दिए गए 27% आरक्षण को संशोधित करने की योजना बना रही है, के उत्तर में माननीया सामाजिक न्याय एवं अधिकारिता राज्य मंत्री सुश्री प्रतिमा भौमिक ने उत्तर दिया कि 50% की सीमा अनुच्छेद 15(4) और 16(4) के अंतर्गत दिये गये आरक्षण के लिए लागू है और यह अनुच्छेद 15(6) और 16(6) के अंतर्गत दिये आरक्षण के लिए लागू नहीं है। संदर्भ: 1992 के इंदिरा साहनी मामले का निर्णय (राज्य सभा के अतारांकित प्रश्न सं 1248 दिनांक. 13.12.2023)

इस प्रकार से यह अत्यंत आवश्यक है कि केन्द्र सरकार आरक्षण पर लगाई गई सीमा को समाप्त करने के लिए एक संविधान संशोधन लाए जिससे कि हमारे समाज के एक बड़े हिस्से जो ऐतिहासिक भेदभाव के शिकार रहे हैं तथा "सामाजिक और शैक्षिक" रूप से अब तक पिछड़े हैं, उन्हें देश के प्रशासन में उनका वाजिब एवं कानूनी हिस्सा मिल सके।

सम्मान के साथ,

आपका विश्वास भाजन
SD/-
(जी. करुणानिधि)
महासचिव





சட்ட எரிப்பும் – ஜாதி ஒழிப்பும்

HISTORIC AGITATION TO ANNIHILATE CASTE



முனைவர் க.அன்பழகன்

Dr. K. Anbazhagan

அன்றும் – இன்றும் உலக நாடுகளில் நடைபெற்று – நடைபெற்று வரும் போராட்டங்கள் அனைத்தும் ஏதோ ஒரு வகையில் உண்மையான காரணங்களின் அடிப்படையில் நடைபெறுகிறது என்பது தான் பொது நியதி.

ஜாதி எனும் கற்பனை

ஆனால், இந்திய துணைக்கண்டத்தில் கற்பனையாக இருந்து வரும் “ஜாதிக்கு” எதிரான போராட்டம் என்பது உலகில் வேறெங்கும் இல்லாத விந்தையானது “ஜாதி” என்ற ஒன்று உலகில் வேறு எங்கும் இல்லை என்பதிலிருந்தே அது முற்றிலும் இல்லாத ஒன்று என்பதை அறிய முடிகிறது. அறிவியல் பூர்வமாகவோ அல்லது நடைமுறை வாழ்வியல் தன்மையிலோ “ஜாதி” என்ற நிரூபிக்க இயலாத கற்பனையான ஒன்றை சுரண்டல் பேர்வழிகள் உருவாக்கி சமூகத்தை சீரழிக்கிறார்கள் என்றால் அது மிகையாகாது. ஒருவரை அவர் எந்த ஜாதி என்று கண்டுபிடித்து சொல்ல உலகில் எந்த அறிவியல் கருவியும் – அறிஞர்களும் இல்லவே இல்லை. காரணம் ஜாதி என்ற ஒன்று எவ்விடத்தும் இல்லாத ஒன்றாகும்.

ஆக, இல்லாத ஒன்றை சொல்லி அதன் மூலம் 4000க்கு மேற்பட்ட ஜாதிகள் (மண்டல் ஆணையத்தின் பரிந்துரையில் கூறியபடி) உருவாக்கப்பட்டு நம் நாட்டில் மனிதநேயத்திற்கு எதிரான – மனித உரிமைக்கு எதிரான சமூகக் கொடுமை ஆரியர்களால் மதத்தின் பெயரில் உருவாக்கப்பட்டு நிலை நிறுத்தப்பட்டுள்ளது.

ஜாதிய பழநிலை

வர்ணாசிரம தர்மம் என்பதை மதக்கோட்பாடாக்கி அதனையே ஜாதிக்கு தொடக்கபுள்ளியாக அமைத்து நான்கு வர்ணங்கள் மூலம் உருவாக்கப்பட்ட ஜாதிகளுக்குரிய தொழில்களை அந்தந்த ஜாதி மக்கள் செய்ய வேண்டும் என்ற சமூகம் கட்டமைக்கப்பட்டது.

மனித குலத்தின் முன்னேற்றத்திற்கு அடிப்படை கல்விதான். அந்தக்கல்வி பார்ப்பனர்களுக்கு மட்டும் உரிமை ஆக்கப்பட்டது. இதன்மூலம் கல்வி-அதிகாரம் அனைத்தும் அவர்களுக்கு சொந்தம் ஆக்கப்பட்டது. உடல் உழைப்பால் நடைபெறும் தொழில்கள் – அனைத்தும் திராவிடர் இனத்திற்கு என்றே முழுமையாக உடைமையாக்கப்பட்டது.

Agitations, protests and struggles held in the past in several world countries have valid causes in a sense and so are they even at present. This has been a widely accepted common truth.

Castes – an illusion

It is really a wonder why protests against illusory castes are held only in Indian sub-continent and not in any other part of the world. This itself indicates us that there is no such thing at all called “caste”. It is sheer imagination. Its existence can never be proved scientifically or even practically in our routine life. It has been fabricated by exploiting elements. It would not be an exaggeration to say that these vested interests have infact been ruining our society all these years.

No scientific device is available to find out and tell us which caste an individual belongs to. Nor do we have scholars to determine the caste of a person. This is because castes exist nowhere on the earth and yet more than 4000 castes have been generated by these people, as specified in the Mandal Commission report. Atrocities have been committed by the Aryans in our country, against humanism and human rights. This has been made to stay under the garb of religion.

Graded Inequality

The Aryans transformed Varnasrama dharma as a religious doctrine and made it the starting point of caste segregation. Castes were classified as four in number and graded inequality was structured by those fanatics, allocating occupations to people in society, according to their castes.

Education uplifts people and helps human race progress but it was made the sole right of brahmins. By this injustice they became the monopolists of education, power, posts and positions in life. The Dravidian race was allotted all the occupations that required manual labour.

ஜாதிகொடுமையின் உச்ச விளைவாக பார்ப்பனர் தவிர்த்த பிற மனிதர்களை - நெருங்கக்கூடாதார், தொடக்கூடாதார், பார்க்கக்கூடாதார் என்று பிரிக்கப்பட்டது. மலம் எடுப்பது, முடி வெட்டுவது, துணி வெளுப்பது, செருப்பு தைப்பது, பயிர்த்தொழில் செய்வது போன்ற அனைத்து உடல் உழைப்பு வேலைகளுக்கும் தனித்தனி ஜாதி பிரிக்கப்பட்டது.

மன்னர்கள் ஆட்சியில்!

இந்த சமுதாய கட்டமைப்புக்குள் மன்னர் இருந்தார். அவரும் பார்ப்பனருக்கு (பிராமணர்) அடிமையாகவே இருந்தார். ஆரிய அமைச்சர்கள் (ராஜகுரு) ஆணைதான் அரசனை வழிநடத்தும் வல்லமை பெற்றிருந்தது. இதன் காரணமாய் நம் நாட்டின் தொல்குடி மக்களான திராவிடர்கள் ஆரியர்களால் கடவுள்-மத-ஜாதி ரீதியாக அடிமை ஆக்கப்பட்டார்கள். எந்த முன்னேற்றமும் இன்றி விலங்கிற்கு இணையான வாழ்வை தலை எழுத்து - கடவுள் கட்டளை என்று ஏற்று வாழ்ந்தனர்.

அந்த ஜாதியை எதிர்த்து திராவிடர் இனத்தின் உரிமைகள் நிலை நாட்டப்பட பெரும் உழைப்பை மேற்கொண்ட தந்தைபெரியார், இதற்கு மூலமாக இருக்க கூடிய கடவுள்-மதம்-ஜாதி-புராணம்-இதிகாசம் போன்றவற்றை எதிர்த்தார். மக்களிடையே கடும் பிரச்சாரம் செய்து தெளிவிட்டினார். இது ஒரு கோணத்தில் நடைபெற்றது. நாடு சுதந்திரம் பெற்ற பின் சுதந்திர நாட்டின் சட்டம் இக்கொடுமையான ஜாதியை ஏற்று அங்கீகரித்து பாதுகாக்கின்றது என்ற கருத்து பெரியாரை வெகுவாக பாதித்தது. வெகுண்டெழுந்து போராட்டத்துண்டியது. அதன் விளைவுதான் ஜாதி ஒழிப்பிற்காக இந்திய அரசியல் சட்டத்தில் ஜாதியை பாதுகாக்கும் சட்ட பிரிவுகளை கொளுத்திடும் சட்ட எரிப்பு போராட்டம்.

1957 நவம்பர் 26

1957 நவம்பர் 26 ஆம் நாள் இந்திய அரசியல் சட்டத்தில் ஜாதியை பாதுகாக்கும் 13(2), 25(1), 29(1)-(2), 368 ஆகிய அய்ந்து சட்டபிரிவுகளை தீ வைத்து கொளுத்திடும் போராட்டத்தை பெரியார் அறிவித்தார். எந்த நாளை? இந்திய அரசியலமைப்பு சட்டம், 1949 நவம்பர் 26 அன்று அரசியல் நிர்ணய சபையால் ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டது. அந்த நாளை முன் வைத்தே தந்தை பெரியார் போராட்டத்தை அறிவித்தார். அதுவரை சட்டத்தை கொளுத்தினால் என்ன தண்டனை என்று சட்டத்தில் இல்லாது இருந்ததை அறிந்து - பிரதமர் நேரு பதறினார். பெரியாரோ அதற்கான தண்டனையை அரசு கொண்டுவந்த பிறகே கொளுத்துவேன் எனக்கூறினார். பெரியாரின் போராட்ட நேர்மை உலகில் இதுபோல் வேறு எங்கும் காணமுடியாது. மூன்றாண்டு வரை கடுங்காவல் தண்டனை என சட்டம் இயற்றப்பட்டது. அதன் பின் பெரியார் களம் இறங்கினார்.

3000க்கும் மேல் கைது!

பெரியாரின் ஆணைப்படி நாடெங்கும் 1957 நவம்பர் 26 அன்று சட்டஎதிர்ப்பு போராட்டம் நடந்தேறியது. 10,000க்கு மேற்பட்டோர் கொளுத்தினார்கள். 3000க்குமேற்பட்டோர் சிறைபிடிக்கப்பட்டு தண்டிக்கப்பட்டார்கள். மூன்று மாதம் முதல் மூன்று ஆண்டு வரை கடுங்காவல் தண்டனை வழங்கப்பட்டது.

Caste atrocity reached extreme heights when non-brahmins were segregated as unseeables, unapproachables and untouchables. Castes were all separated and each was assigned manual labour to survive as scavengers, barbers, washermen, cobblers, farmers etc;

Rules of Monarchs

The Kings used to rule long ago in such a societal set up but they were only like the slaves of brahmins. The firm orders issued by the brahmin ministers (Raja Guru) guided the Kings and made them obey and implement. The Dravidians who were the earliest to settle in our country were enslaved by Aryans on the basis of gods, religion and castes without any progress in life. They silently suffered like animals. Their sorrow and pain were tolerated as god's will and an act of destiny.

Thanthai Periyar strove hard to protest against the caste evil and to sustain the rights of the Dravidian race. Since the root cause of castes were the gods, religion, ancient scriptures and outdated mythologies, he raised voice of protest against them all. He caused awareness in people by consistent propaganda.

The post-independence conditions in India made Periyar terribly upset. He realised that the laws of free - India recognised and conserved castes. This provoked him to rise in fury and agitate vigorously. The copies of the relevant articles in Indian Constitution that were in favour of conserving castes were later burnt by his command. It was an outlet of Periyar's fury over social injustice.

26th November, 1957

This day was chosen to burn the copies of the Indian Constitution comprising five articles and clauses: 13(2); 25(1); 29(1); 29(2); and Article 368. Periyar chose Nov 26 as that was the day, the Constituent Assembly adopted the Constitution of India in 1949. The Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru was baffled by the announcement of Periyar because the punishment for this particular offence was not specified in the constitution. Periyar further declared that the burning would take place only when the punishment is clearly announced by the Government. This kind of integrity and righteousness of Periyar in a mass agitation was never ever heard of anywhere. Only when the Government announced that a rigorous imprisonment for three years would be the punishment, Periyar took steps to organise the agitation of burning those portions in the Indian Constitution in public places.

மனித உரிமை காக்க நடைபெற்ற இந்த போராட்டத்தில் 16 வயது முதல் 70 வயது வரையிலான ஆண் -பெண் இருபாலரும் கலந்து கொண்டனர். கர்ப்பிணி பெண்களும், கைகுழந்தையோடு சென்ற பெண்களும் இப்போராட்டத்தில் கலந்து சிறை ஏகினர். திருமணமான 1 வார காலத்தில் மனைவியை விட்டு சிறை சென்றவர், இரு கண்களும் பார்வையற்றவர், ஒரு கால் இல்லாத நிலையில் சிறை ஏகியவர், படிப்பை விட்டு சிறை சென்ற இளந்தலைமுறையினர், ஓய்வு பெற்ற அரசு ஊழியர் என அன்றாடம் உழைத்து வரும் வருமானத்தில் வாழ்பவர் முதல் 100 ஏக்கர் நிலங்களுக்கு சொந்தக்காரர் வரை சிறை சென்ற வரலாறு உலகம் இதற்கு முன்பும் - இனிமேலும் காணமுடியாத போராட்ட சாதனையாகும்.

மேற்கண்ட போராளிகளில் 5 பேர்கள் சிறையில் மறைந்தனர், சிறையிலிருந்து விடுவிக்கப்பட்டு வெளியில் வந்து 13 பேர்கள் மாண்டனர். சட்ட எரிப்புப்போராட்டத்தில் 18 பேர்கள் ஜாதி ஒழிப்புக்காக உயிர் தியாகம் செய்தனர்.

சிறையில் மாண்ட போராளிகள்!

இப்போராளிகளில் ஒரு இளைஞனின் செயல் கேட்போரை இரத்தம் உறையச்செய்யும் நிகழ்வாகும். திருச்சி மாவட்டம் கீழ்வாளாடியைச் சேர்ந்த பெரியசாமி என்ற சிறைப்பட்டிருந்த இளைஞரை, சிறையை பார்வையிட்ட போது சந்தித்த மேதகு கவர்னர் விஷ்ணுராம் மேதி என்பவர், நீ படிக்க வேண்டிய வயதில் இருப்பதால், உன் தண்டனை குறைத்து விடுதலை செய்கிறேன், படித்து விட்டு பெரியவனானதும் போராட்டத்தை வைத்துக்கொள் என்றாராம், அதற்கு அந்த இளைஞர் என்னை விடுதலை செய்த பின் தலைவர் பெரியார் ஜாதி ஒழிய சட்டத்தைக் கொடுத்த சொன்னால் மீண்டும் கொடுத்துவேன் என்று பதிலளிக்க, மேதகு கவர்னர் ஜாதி ஒழிப்புப்போரில் பெரியாரின் ஆணை ஏற்று போராடி சிறையேகிய இளைஞசிப்பாயை பார்த்து வியந்து விடைபெற்றிருக்கிறார்.

சிறைக்குள் மறைந்து போன பட்டுக்கோட்டை இராமசாமி, மணல்மேடு வெள்ளைச்சாமியின் உடல் உறவினர்களிடம் ஒப்படைக்காமல் திருச்சி மத்திய சிறைக்குள் புதைக்கப்பட்ட செய்தி அறிந்து, பெரியார் சிறையில் இருந்த நிலையில், கழகத்திற்கு தலைமையேற்ற அன்னை மணியம்மையார் அரசாங்கத்துடன் போராடி - புதைக்கப்பட்ட உடல்களை மீட்டெடுத்து திருச்சி மாநகரில் ஆயிரக்கணக்கான மக்கள் புடை சூழ வீர வணக்க இறுதி பயணத்தை நடத்திய வரலாறு ஜாதி ஒழிப்புப்போரில் திராவிடர் கழகத்தின் - பெரியார் தொண்டர்களின் ஈடற்ற ஈகைக்கு என்றும் எடுத்துகாட்டாகும்.

வீர வணக்கம்!!!

நவம்பர் 26ஆம் நாள் ஜாதி ஒழிப்பிற்காக அதை அங்கீகரிக்கும் சட்ட பிரிவை தீயிட்டு எரித்திட்ட, சாகாப்புக்கழ் பெற்றிட்ட போராளிகளுக்கு வீர வணக்கம் செலுத்துவோம். ஜாதி ஒழிக்கப்பட அவர்கள் செய்திட்ட தியாகம் முழு வெற்றி பெற்றிட சூளுரைப்போம்.

ஜாதி ஒழியட்டும் - சமத்துவம் மலரட்டும்.

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

More than 3000 arrested

As already planned and announced, the protest against the laws was held on 26th November 1957, by the command of Periyar. More than 10,000 cadres all over the country burned the copies of the relevant sheets in the constitution. About 3000 courted arrest and were sentenced to rigorous imprisonment for a maximum period of three years.

Men and women in the age group of 16 to 70 participated in this agitation held to safeguard human rights. Many pregnant women and mothers holding tiny kids too took part. They marched boldly towards prison cells. The rich and the poor as well as many differently abled people also agitated showing solidarity. It was a unique agitation, indeed, in the Dravidian history.

Death in Prison Cells

Many cadres all over the country and the state died in prison cells owing to various ailments. Some were seriously injured by police brutality. A young cadre from Trichy district named Periyasamy refused release on remission and said with resolve that he would involve himself in such an offence again and again even in future if Periyar organised such protests. The Governor Bhishnuram Medhi was surprised by the revolutionary spirit of the young boy and his affinity towards Periyar.

Two cadres named Pattukottai Ramasamy and Manalmedu Vellaisamy died in prison cells. Their family members were not informed about it. The bodies of both the cadres were secretly buried in the prison compound. Periyar was then in a prison cell suffering imprisonment. In his absence, Annai Maniammaiar took steps, fought with the Government officials and got those bodies dug out. The funeral of the martyrs was later held in Trichy, formally honoured by the salutes of Periyar's cadres and followers. This was an instance of the unflinching loyalty exhibited by dedicated cadres of Periyar's Dravidar Kazhagam. The martyrs scripted history by their supreme sacrifice.

Revolutionary Salute

Let us all together pay glorious tribute on 26th November, 2024 to all the martyrs, by our salute of honour. Their sacrifice was not in vain. The day is not too far when castes would be annihilated from the land of Periyar. Let us all collectively take an oath to make the dreams of all the martyrs come true.

Let caste-evil perish! Let equality blossom!

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

Garoda Garo Vs. Brahmin Veto

- Vaeyurutholibangan

“Ours is the struggle not for money or power but,
for the reclamation of human dignity”

- Babasaheb Dr. B. R. Ambedkar

Garoda Garo. This was the name of a caste in the State of Gujarat. It had been categorised as the one belonging to Scheduled Castes. The people of this caste officiate as priests to the other people categorised as Scheduled Castes there. The people of this caste did not, however, want to be called as Garoda Garos. They wanted a better name and had been lobbying for it for a long time. They wanted to be called Guru Brahmins. It was on January 2, 2017 that Vijay Rupani, the Chief Minister of Gujarat conceded to their demand and said that that community would, thereafter, be called Guru Brahmin (*Times of India* 20.02.2017). Garoda Garos were delighted. The Social Justice and Empowerment Department of the Gujarat Government issued notification to that effect on 02.02.2017 declaring that “the name of Garo/Garoda community has been changed to Guru Brahmin”.

Eight days passed. There was another notification by the same ministry, on 10.02.2017, stating that “the people from the ‘Guru Brahmin’ community would be identified as ‘Guru Brahmin Anusuchit Jati’ (Guru Brahmin Scheduled Caste)”. A pall of gloom descended on the Guru Brahmin community. They felt outraged. They opposed that revised nomenclature. They did not like it. B.K. Shrimali, the general secretary of Akhil Bharatiya Guru Brahmin Mahasabha said, “There was no need to add the term Scheduled Caste to the new name given to us”. “Since Brahmins per se don’t perform rituals for Dalits, they set up a sub-caste called Garo Brahmins to do such things. With time, calling someone Garo Brahmin became derogatory. It meant we were not as good as Brahmins. We sought a more respectable name to stop such humiliation”, said Shrimali. (*Ahmedabad Mirror*, 28.10.2017 -News item titled “Why can’t you give us a respectable name? ask Guru Brahmins.”). Social activist Manishi Jani says, “This decision (dated 10.02.2017) exposes the deep-

rooted casteism in our society. The government wants to lure Dalits for votes by offering various schemes yet want to keep the nuisance of casteism alive. Instead of receiving a better name, the community has got a **more derogatory name**”.

The Brahmin veto over Non-Brahmin’s name

An Association of Brahmin Youth, called the Unity of Parshuram Parivar (UPP), claimed credit for the second notification. It said that it was their efforts which made the Chief Minister change his stand and issue the revised order on 10.02.2017. Its president Nirav Dave boasted, “We protested against the addition of the name Brahmin to the Garo community. We expressed our displeasure before CM Rupani. The CM listened to us and amended the notification.” That was not the only Brahmin organisation which claimed that credit. There had been a delegation of World Brahmin Federation members to meet the Chief Minister on the very next day itself, i.e., on February 3. Besides, there was another team of Brahmin community leaders which met the Chief Minister, further three days later, on February 6, asking him to rethink his decision. “Clarifying the reason behind their objection, a Brahmin community leader seeking anonymity, says, “Both communities share similar surnames. There have been cases where Brahmins have married Garo Brahmins due to confusion over names. So we want the government to make the **distinction clear**” (*Ibid.*).

What a great grievance the Brahmins had had! The Gujarat Brahmins want to retain a distinguishable identity; to protect their aloofness and exclusivity. They do not want any other group of Hindus to pilfer away any benefit that accrues to the ‘Brahmins’. Their standoffish attitude should be given government recognition and protection, they insisted. They were more concerned with maintaining their ‘puritanical’ approach in marriages. Blood purity was more important, they

divined. After all, their ancestors did the same too. When Hitler wanted to make Germany 'a land fit for the Aryans to live', he enacted and enforced a law totally prohibiting the marriage of Germans with Gypsies, Jews and people of colour. It was called the **Law for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour, 1935**. In 2017, the Brahmins around the world were not far behind Hitler. When the Gujarat government issued notification on 02.02.2017, they got worked up and worked so vigorously against the new nomenclature given to the Guru Brahmins that they began to sleep only after Vijay Rupani reneged on 10.02.2017, when they felt assured that their racial purity and exclusiveness would remain protected. Was it not a fact that the authorities in Germany were demanding "proof of **racial purity** before a marriage could go ahead under a new law in 1935"?

The same Ahmedabad Mirror of 28.10.2017 reports, 'Another leader refusing to be named bluntly states, "Garo Brahmins are not Brahmins. They should not carry this name. **The decision hurt our sentiments, so we made a representation against it.**" The stand of these Brahmins was shocking. They, first of all, do not have any say in the matter pertaining to the nomenclature of Garoda Garos. No existing law of the nation prevents the others from calling themselves Brahmins, if they want to. Yet, the BJP government yielded to the unlawful pressure tactics of the Brahmins. It respected only the sentiments of the Brahmins and pooh-poohed the sentiments of the oppressed Guru Brahmins.

The issue here was why the Brahmins were so protective of their Brahmin title. Where was the

need for them to oppose someone else being called some Brahmin? The answer lies in the fact that the Brahmins, post-independence, do have the vested interest to resurrect their vicious and anti-social Chaturvarna system that was in vogue in the days of Manu. They do not have any regret or remorse about the crimes committed against humanity in the past in the name of protecting and preserving the Chaturvarna social disorder. On the other hand, they boast of their 'heritage' and continue to subjugate the Non-Brahmins in an organised manner.

History just repeats itself in India, the darkest pages of history. The Brahmins have not come out of their warped state of mind, even in the 21st century. They treat the Non-Brahmins with ill-will. There is no scope to expect any sense of Fraternity from them, although they call the Non-Brahmins also as Hindus.

The term 'Hindu religion' is, really, a misnomer. The Brahmins equate, in essence, the term 'Hindu' only with themselves. If a Non-Brahmin exposes the Brahmanical misdeeds, the Brahmins brand him as 'anti-Hindu'. But the soul-deep aversion exhibited by the Brahmins towards the Non-Brahmins is not treated as an 'anti-Hindu' action. It is simply ignored from public discussion. As long as the Brahmins continue to have this kind of mind-set, they will pose a very serious threat to the welfare and development of the Non-Brahmins. Mr. O. Rajagopal, BJP's Vice President and in charge of Tamil Nadu and Kerala had, during his visit to Chennai on 08.08.1995, equated the term Brahmin

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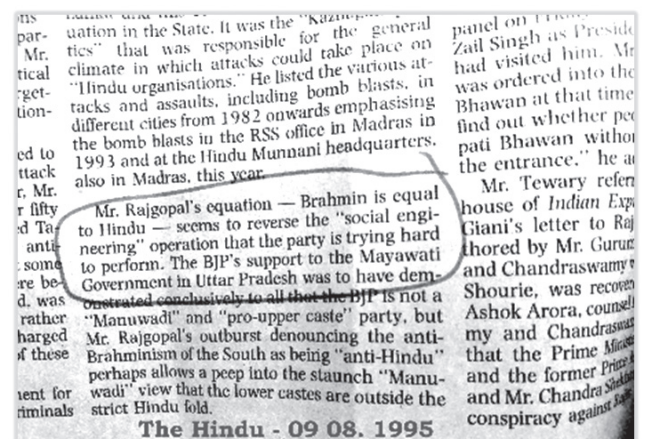
Why can't you give us a respectable name? ask Guru Brahmins

By Roxy Gogdekar, Ahmedabad Mirror | Updated: Feb 28, 2017, 02:00 IST



Dalits in Gujarat are peeved at the state government. Within a span of eight days, the government has changed the name given to Garo or Garoda Dalit community – a Dalit sub-caste – twice. Community leaders allege it is being done due to pressure from upper caste sections of the society. The first notification issued by the Department of Social Justice and Empowerment on February 2 mentioned that the

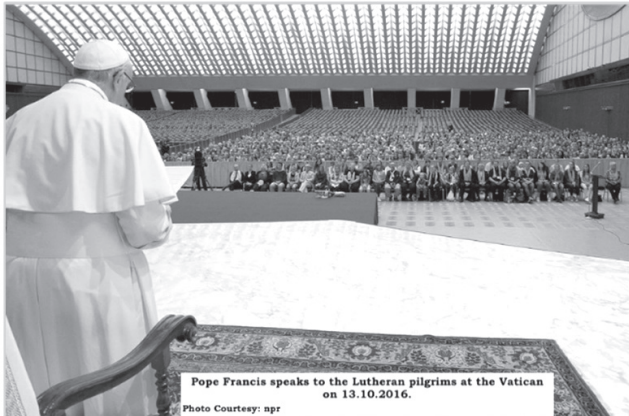
name of Garo/Garoda community has been changed to Guru Brahmin. Then, on February 10, the department issued another circular that people from the 'Guru Brahmin' community should be identified as 'Guru Brahmin Anusuchit Jati' (Guru Brahmin Schedule Caste).



with Hindu. "Mr. Rajagopal's outburst denouncing the anti-Brahminism of the South as being 'anti-Hindu' perhaps allows a peep into the staunch "Manuwadi" view that the lower-castes are outside the strict Hindu fold" (*The Hindu* 09.08.1995).

Martin Luther - Anti-Pope; not Anti-Christianity

Martin Luther was not anti-Christianity but was anti-Pope, particularly the Pope Leo X. In 2016, Pope Francis praised Martin Luther as “a great reformer”. (The magazine npr - 28.10.2016). In October 2016, Pope Francis travelled to Sweden and participated in the ceremony that started the yearlong commemoration of Protestant Reformation that split the Churches 500 years ago, in 1517 AD.



But the mainstream Brahmins are not prepared, even now, for real reformation of Hindu religion. They want the notorious Chaturvarna balkanisation to remain forever with legal recognition. They try to vilify and villainize the Hindu Non-Brahmins who expose the Brahmanical duplicity, by calling them anti-Hindus. The oft-repeated call for ‘Hindu unity’ by the Brahmins is only a call to protect Brahmin interests and not the interests of all the ‘Hindus’. That slogan was and is used by the Brahmins to utilise the services of Non-Brahmins to achieve the purpose of the Brahmins. Chaturvarna social order is a matter of shame to humanity. Worse when it is given legal sanction by the Judiciary, as in the case of priesthood. This Chaturvarna system had

been and has been the cause of numerous inhuman crimes against humanity.

Winston Churchill had, rightly, said, “Let me just direct your attention once more upon the untouchables, fifty or sixty millions of them, that is to say, more than the whole population of the British isles, all living their lives in acceptance of the validity of the awful curse pronounced upon them by the Brahmins” (Albert Hill, London. 18.03.1931). In the Hindu religious order, the fact is that all the Non-Brahmins are untouchables only, as could be seen from the arguments of the Brahmin fundamentalists in respect of priesthood and could be seen from the concept of “Theendal” enforced by them in Travancore. History is attempted to be repeated to glorify the Chaturvarna system and establish the Brahmin-raj. Let us recall that Yuan Tzang had called the sub-continent as Brahmin land, even when Harsha, his patron, was ruling the nation. He was an eyewitness to the attempt of assassination of Harsha by the Chaturvarna fanatics.

The solution to rid India of this Chaturvarna system lies in the enforcement proportionate representation to avoid being ruled by the Brahmins who, actually, hate the renaissance in the lives Non-Brahmins as has been seen from the Guru Brahmin episode, and numerous such episodes in the past including the opposition to christen a child born in an oppressed case, as Mudi Soodum Perumal in the year 1809 and brought social pressure to change him name into Muthukutty. Brahmins have driven the Non-Brahmins only to this alternative to demand proportionate reservation for all castes and religions in India in services at all the top-level posts, including the higher judiciary. There is no scope for redemption otherwise.

Let the Non-Brahmins work towards that goal, in the interest of their posterity! ■

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How Social Justice Movement transformed Tamil Nadu in the last 100 years



- Arun Janardhanan

Grounded in self-respect unlike, say, French Revolution, connected to the masses, and talking of women's reproductive rights before even the West did, the movement was far ahead of its time, though it is often now reduced to an anti-God, anti-North Indian image

Having indelibly shaped Tamil Nadu's political and social fabric for a century, the Social Justice Movement that has entered its centenary year continues to be a cornerstone of politics in the state. Rooted in the vision of equality and human dignity, the movement fought against caste-based oppression and religious supremacy, championed women's rights, and challenged traditional hierarchies.

The movement's roots lie in the formation of the South Indian Liberal Federation (SILF), commonly known as the Justice Party, in 1916. This was the first organised political effort to challenge the Brahmins' monopoly over power in the Madras Presidency. According to the 1871 Census, 3.6% of Brahmins held 42.2% of jobs with a salary of Rs 10 and above while 87% of other Hindus held 36.5% of the jobs.

The SILF was led by Dr C Natesa Mudaliar, T M Nair, P Theagaraya Chetty, and Alamelu Mangai Thayarammal. The party introduced several

reforms to level the playing field for non-Brahmins and marginalised communities, including the historic Communal Government Order (GO) of 1921, which was finally passed in 1928, that ensured proportional representation for all communities in government employment and education. It remained in effect till the Constitution of India came into effect in 1950.

Dravidian politics expert **Prof A Karunanandham** said the Social Justice Movement was never an anti-Brahmin movement but a non-Brahmin one. "Its early leaders, except Nair, were not atheists but leaders who continued practising local customs. They united against the systematic monopolisation of power by Brahmins in offices, education, and religious practice. They viewed it as a deliberate plan and their demands focused on social reforms, a secular attempt to reset the social order unlike in northern India, where reforms were religious in nature," he said.

Unlike northern India and Bengal, where social reform movements remained confined to elites, in Tamil Nadu, leaders such as Vaikunda Swamy and Ramalinga Vallalar connected with the masses, most importantly with the non-Brahmin majority. While the Brahmo Samaj of Raja Ram Mohan Roy retained its religious character, Tamil Nadu's non-Brahmin movement was largely secular.

"The Justice Party believed that religious reforms alone would not suffice; practical reforms that included power-sharing among all sections of society were necessary," Karunanandham said.

Periyar's entry and reforms

The movement took a radical new dimension with the entry of **E V Ramasamy, better known as Periyar**, who launched the Self-Respect Movement in 1925 after resigning from the Congress.

Periyar's vision expanded the Justice Party's goals. He believed that political movements and reservation alone were insufficient and that people's mindsets also needed to change. He introduced reforms such as caste-less, priest-less, and ritual-less marriages, which were revolutionary at a time when marrying outside one's caste was a punishable offence.

Periyar fought for women's rights, demanding equal inheritance, education, and jobs. He championed family planning, insisting women decide whether to have children, quite a radical position for the 1930s. He abolished caste surnames and caste markers and the Self-Respect Movement pushed for a shared social identity. At Congress conferences, he introduced non-Brahmin and Dalit cooks, forcing northern Congress leaders to bring their own Brahmin cooks to the South.

The Justice Party's reforms ended segregation in public spaces such as railway stations, canteens, and public transport. Justice Party leaders warned transport owners of license revocations if they continued such discrimination.

They also reformed college admissions, increasing the number of non-Brahmin students. A Labour Department was created for "Shudras and Panchamas", as defined by Manu, leaving out caste names. The Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Act of 1925 took away temple control from upper castes. The abolition of the Devadasi system in October 1947 triggered a backlash from nationalists, who saw it as cultural destruction. "All these were secular reforms, not atheistic ones," Karunanandham said.

The movement's legacy

The Social Justice Movement stands out for being grounded in self-respect, a concept central to its ideology.

"Periyar's Self-Respect Movement is considered unique in world history. Unlike the Soviet Revolution or the French Revolution, which emphasised political independence, liberty or fraternity, the self-respect movement focused on human dignity, an essential issue in India's caste-based society," said **Dr Gopalan Ravindran**, who teaches media and communications at the Central

University of Tamil Nadu in Thiruvavur, about 310 km from Chennai.

Dr Ravindran pointed out that Periyar advocating for women's control over reproductive choices was an idea not mainstream even among Western feminists at the time.

"Unfortunately, the public perception of the movement has often been reduced to its anti-God, anti-North Indian rhetoric. The movement's original purpose shifted as it grew and adapted to new social and political realities and it was only later that the movement evolved into what became known as the Dravidian or Social Justice Movement," he said.

The political entities that subsequently sprang up from the movement, such as the DMK and the AIADMK, came to be mistaken for it. Periyar had criticised C N Annadurai's shift toward politics. Still, Annadurai was committed to carrying Periyar's ideals forward. Despite tensions, he sought to implement Periyar's wishes and after coming to power declared his government would work to fulfil the reformer's vision. "This included legalising self-respect marriages and renaming the state Tamil Nadu, both seen as victories for the Self-Respect Movement," Ravindran said.

From the beginning, the movement was not only a Tamil Nadu phenomenon. It also united people across south India, including Telugu people, Kannadigas, and Malayalis, with leaders such as Nair playing a pivotal role in this pan-South unity.

All India Federation of Other Backward Classes Employees' Welfare Associations' General Secretary **G Karunanidhy** said, "After the Justice Party captured power in 1920, they started implementing their significant reforms that laid the foundation of everything that we see today. One of the first significant steps towards women's empowerment was the introduction of women's franchise in 1921. The Communal GO introduced reservation for various communities, a crucial step in ensuring that reservation for OBCs and other marginalised groups in education and public employment."

On the legacy and impact of the movement, **Karunanidhy** said, "Today, Tamil Nadu's Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) in higher education is around 50%, a target for India by 2035. The state's doctor-patient ratio stands at 250:1, far better than the national average of 1000:1. Amartya Sen and Jean Drèze attribute Tamil Nadu's success to the participation of underprivileged communities, especially in rural areas, whereas dominant castes typically hold sway in the north. The movement has notably improved the state's socioeconomic standing." (Courtesy: Indian Express – 7.10.2024)



THOUGHTS OF PERIYAR: CASTE BASED HEREDITARY EDUCATION – A SOCIAL INJUSTICE

पेरियार के विचार: जाति आधारित वंशानुगत शिक्षा - एक सामाजिक अन्याय

The 'Vishwakarma' scheme of the BJP headed Union Government is like old wine in a new bottle. It differs in no way from the 'Hereditary Education System' imposed long ago by C. Rajagopalachari. Periyar had condemned it as an injustice. On 10th March, 1954 he spoke at two public meetings voicing his protest against the unjust system. The excerpts are as follow:

My dear cadres, volunteers, well-wishers and the elders in the venue, I have come to address you inspite of the scorching hot weather and my declining health condition. My topic today is 'Hereditary Education Scheme' imposed by Rajaji. He is bent upon preventing the upliftment of downtrodden people. During the British rule we had a Communal G.O. that ensured employment opportunities for us. The current brahminist government has thrown it overboard. We suffered a lot before the British rule and today, after their leaving us, we are once again in the same pitiable condition. The British rule was kind enough to legally prohibit using derogatory terms to abuse low caste people. The present government monopolised by Brahmins has begun degradation of low caste people.

Visible improvements

Our people lack food, clothing, shelter and education but the Brahmin coteries are seen immersed in pleasures, comforts and even luxuries. The hereditary education system would ruin us completely. Hence, I have decided to wreak vengeance on the merciless government headed by Brahmins. I am ready even to face the gallows, fighting against these fanatics. Within a couple of months, I must achieve my objective.

Long ago, most of you silently endured sufferings, leading a meaningless life, doing odd jobs and enjoying festivals and celebrations. You people used to babble that everything is an act of God and the effect of your destiny. Alleast you have now realised that your destiny lies in your efforts for progress. The credit goes to the British who made our people read and write. Literacy has led to some improvement.

Once the son of a farmer had to be a farmer, the son of a cobbler had to be a cobbler. The children of a blacksmith, potter, barber, washerman, weaver, carpenter, locksmith, goldsmith and a fisherman had to undertake the occupation of the parents. Today, youngsters hate

भाजपा की अगुवाई वाली केंद्र सरकार की 'विश्वकर्मा' योजना पुरानी शराब को नई बोतल में परोसने जैसा है। यह किसी भी तरह से सी. राजगोपालाचारी द्वारा थोपी गई 'वंशानुगत शिक्षा प्रणाली' से अलग नहीं है। पेरियार ने एक अन्याय के रूप में इसकी निंदा की थी। 10 मार्च, 1954 को उन्होंने दो सार्वजनिक सभाओं में इस अन्यायपूर्ण व्यवस्था के खिलाफ अपना विरोध जताया था। उनके भाषण के अंश इस प्रकार हैं:

मेरे प्रिय कैडर, स्वयंसेवक, शुभचिंतक और यहां मौजूद बुजुर्गों, मैंने कड़ी धूप और अपनी गिरती स्वास्थ्य स्थिति के बावजूद आपसे बात करने के लिए यहां आने का फैसला किया है। आज का मेरा विषय है 'राजजी द्वारा थोपी गई वंशानुगत शिक्षा योजना'। वह दलितों के उत्थान को रोकने पर तुले हुए हैं। ब्रिटिश शासन के दौरान हमारे पास एक सांप्रदायिक जी.ओ. (सरकारी आदेश) था, जिसने हमें रोजगार के अवसर सुनिश्चित किए थे। वर्तमान ब्राह्मणवादी सरकार ने इसे खत्म कर दिया है। ब्रिटिश शासन से पहले हमने बहुत कष्ट सहे, और आज उनके जाने के बाद, हम फिर से उसी दयनीय स्थिति में हैं। ब्रिटिश शासन ने निम्न जाति के लोगों को अपमानित करने के लिए अपमानजनक शब्दों के इस्तेमाल पर कानूनी रोक लगाई थी। वर्तमान ब्राह्मणों द्वारा संचालित सरकार ने निम्न जाति के लोगों का अपमान शुरू कर दिया है।

दृश्यमान सुधार

हमारे लोगों के पास भोजन, वस्त्र, आश्रय और शिक्षा का अभाव है, लेकिन ब्राह्मण वर्ग सुख, सुविधाओं और यहां तक कि विलासिताओं में डूबा हुआ दिखाई देता है। वंशानुगत शिक्षा प्रणाली हमें पूरी तरह से बर्बाद कर देगी। इसलिए, मैंने ब्राह्मणों द्वारा संचालित निर्दयी सरकार से बदला लेने का निर्णय लिया है। मैं इन कट्टरपंथियों के खिलाफ लड़ते हुए फांसी का सामना करने के लिए भी तैयार हूँ। कुछ ही महीनों में मुझे अपना लक्ष्य हासिल करना है।

काफी पहले, आपमें से अधिकांश लोगों ने चुपचाप कष्ट सहते हुए, निरर्थक जीवन व्यतीत किया है, छोटे-मोटे काम करते हुए त्योहारों और उत्सवों को मनाया है। आप लोग प्रलाप करते रहते थे कि सब कुछ भगवान का किया हुआ है और सब आपकी नियति का परिणाम है। कम से कम अब आपको यह एहसास तो हुआ है कि आपकी नियति आपकी प्रगति के प्रयासों में निहित है। इसका श्रेय ब्रिटिशों को जाता है जिन्होंने हमारे लोगों को पढ़ने-लिखने योग्य बनाया। साक्षरता से कुछ सुधार हुआ है।

पहले एक किसान का बेटा किसान ही बनता था, मोची का बेटा मोची। लोहार, कुम्हार, नाई, धोबी, बुनकर, बढ़ई, ताला बनाने वाला, सुनार

hereditary occupations. We were all suppressed and stifled by communal fanatics. The attitude of our people changed in the period of the British rule. The current brahminist government is really threatened by the awareness of our people. We are no longer the gullible muck that we were, long ago. We must now move to the next stages by fighting collectively against social injustice. Nobody else is bothered about your upliftment and progress except our Dravidar Kazhagam.

Mission possible

Brahmins expect our people to be in an occupation as per our caste. If downtrodden low caste people acquire education and get placement in career, it would be disrespect to these selfish Brahmins. The British made even a low caste man an assembly member. A scheduled caste man occupied the coveted position of a district collector. Many of the marginalised people were offered lucrative posts in offices. The British were magnanimous in treating us. They motivated our people to think deeply and plan for the future of their children. But today this brahminist rule has become an obstacle for us. We made even the British quit India. Driving away these Brahmins and their rule is not an impossible mission.

The British had a strong army, arms, ammunitions, guns and aircrafts. These Brahmin rulers have nothing. Getting rid of them is not difficult for us. Therefore, be ready to attack our rivals. We ourselves are an invincible force.

Transformation – dire need

Most people here are hypocrites pretending to be involved in public service. They do not mean what they say and do not say what they mean. Identify them and be alert. Every one of you must vigorously propagate our views and policies. These fanatics and self-centred people have denigrated us and made us all more or less barbarians. It is high time we woke up from our slumber. I expect you all to think and decide yourselves. Analyse every issue with a spirit of enquiry. It is not enough if you read what I write against the Hereditary education scheme. You must also read what my opponents write disagreeing with me. Ask yourself who is right and who is wrong. Sharpen your brain and raise the level of your intellect. The literacy the British have given us would help us analyse every problem with a balanced state of mind.

I want you all to think over and understand advancement in science and technology. What made the invention of loud speakers, radio, telegraph, motors and aircrafts absolute necessities? Study about all these developments in society. Read as much as possible. I sell the low-priced books of our movement with this purpose. I address people in public meetings restlessly, only to transform you people.

Time to protest

We find only downtrodden people as labourers working like bulls. Not even two Brahmins are found working as scavengers, cobblers, farmers or woodcutters. If man is destined to carry on with all such occupations that need physical efforts, why is it that we do not find Brahmins in these occupations? Our people strive as policemen taking care of law and order, but no Brahmin comes forward to work as a police constable. Downtrodden people alone have been labourers for many generations. These Brahmins have made most of our people worship non-existent gods and goddesses. There is vulgarity and obscenity in all the tales woven around gods like Krishna. Our people worship all the idols with blind

और मछुआरे के बच्चे अपने माता-पिता का पेशा अपनाने के लिए मजबूर थे। आज के युवा वंशानुगत व्यवसायों से नफरत करते हैं। हम सभी को सांप्रदायिक कट्टरपंथियों ने दबा दिया था। हमारे लोगों का दृष्टिकोण ब्रिटिश शासन के दौरान बदल गया। वर्तमान ब्राह्मणवादी सरकार वास्तव में हमारे लोगों की जागरूकता से भयभीत है। हम अब वो भोले-भाले लोग नहीं रहे जो हम पहले हुआ करते थे। अब हमें सामाजिक अन्याय के खिलाफ सामूहिक रूप से लड़कर अगले चरण की ओर बढ़ना चाहिए। हमारे उत्थान और प्रगति की चिंता किसी को नहीं है, सिवाय हमारे द्रविड़ कषगम के।

मिशन संभव

ब्राह्मण चाहते हैं कि हमारे लोग अपनी जाति के अनुसार ही व्यवसाय करें। यदि दलित और निम्न जाति के लोग शिक्षा प्राप्त कर करियर में जगह पाते हैं, तो यह स्वार्थी ब्राह्मणों के लिए अपमान होगा। ब्रिटिशों ने एक निम्न जाति के व्यक्ति को भी विधान सभा सदस्य बनाया। एक अनुसूचित जाति का व्यक्ति जिला कलेक्टर जैसे प्रतिष्ठित पद पर आसीन हुआ। हाशिए पर रहने वाले कई लोगों को कार्यालयों में आकर्षक पद दिए गए। ब्रिटिशों ने हमारे साथ उदारता से व्यवहार किया। उन्होंने हमारे लोगों को गहराई से सोचने और अपने बच्चों के भविष्य के लिए योजना बनाने के लिए प्रेरित किया। लेकिन आज यह ब्राह्मणवादी शासन हमारे लिए बाधा बन गया है। हमने ब्रिटिशों को भी भारत से बाहर निकाल दिया। इन ब्राह्मणों और उनके शासन को भगाना कोई असंभव मिशन नहीं है।

ब्रिटिशों के पास एक मजबूत सेना, हथियार, गोला-बारूद, बंदूकें और हवाई जहाज थे। इन ब्राह्मण शासकों के पास तो कुछ भी नहीं है। इन्हें हटाना हमारे लिए कठिन नहीं है। इसलिए, अपने विरोधियों पर हमला करने के लिए तैयार हो जाओ। हम स्वयं एक अजेय शक्ति हैं।

परिवर्तन - समय की गंभीर आवश्यकता

यहां ज्यादातर लोग ढोंगी हैं, जो सार्वजनिक सेवा में लगे होने का दिखावा करते हैं। वे जो कहते हैं उसका वही मतलब नहीं होता और जो उनका मतलब होता है वो नहीं कहते। ऐसे लोगों की पहचान करो और सतर्क रहो। आप में से हर एक को हमारे विचारों और नीतियों का जोरदार प्रचार करना चाहिए। इन कट्टरपंथियों और स्वार्थी लोगों ने हमें बदनाम किया है और हमें कमोबेश बर्बर बना दिया है। अब समय आ गया है कि हम अपनी नींद से जागें। मैं आप सभी से उम्मीद करता हूँ कि आप सोचें और खुद निर्णय लें। हर मुद्दे का विश्लेषण जिज्ञासा की भावना से करें। यह पर्याप्त नहीं है कि आप केवल मेरे द्वारा वंशानुगत शिक्षा योजना के खिलाफ लिखी बातों को पढ़ें। आपको यह भी पढ़ना चाहिए कि मेरे विरोधी मेरे विचारों से असहमति जताते हुए क्या लिखते हैं। खुद से पूछें कि कौन सही है और कौन गलत। अपने दिमाग को तेज करें और अपनी बुद्धि के स्तर को ऊंचा उठाएं। ब्रिटिशों द्वारा दी गई साक्षरता हमें हर समस्या का विश्लेषण संतुलित मानसिक स्थिति से करने में मदद करेगी।

मैं चाहता हूँ कि आप सभी विज्ञान और प्रौद्योगिकी में हुई प्रगति को समझें। क्या कारण था कि लाउडस्पीकर, रेडियो, टेलीग्राफ, मोटर और हवाई जहाज जैसी चीज़ें आवश्यकताएं बन गईं? समाज में इन सभी विकासों के बारे में अध्ययन करें। जितना हो सके पढ़ें। मैं अपने आंदोलन की कम कीमत वाली किताबें इसी उद्देश्य से बेचता हूँ। मैं लोगों को सार्वजनिक बैठकों में बेचैन होकर संबोधित करता हूँ, सिर्फ इसलिए कि आप लोगों में बदलाव ला सकूँ।

विरोध का समय

हम देखते हैं कि केवल दलित लोग बैलों की तरह काम करने वाले मजदूर होते हैं। दो ब्राह्मण भी सफाईकर्मी, मोची, किसान या लकड़हारे के रूप में काम करते नहीं मिलते। अगर मनुष्य का भाग्य शारीरिक मेहनत वाले इन व्यवसायों में काम करना है, तो फिर ब्राह्मण इन व्यवसायों में क्यों नहीं दिखते? हमारे लोग पुलिसकर्मी के रूप में कानून और व्यवस्था बनाए रखने के लिए संघर्ष करते हैं, लेकिन कोई ब्राह्मण पुलिस कांस्टेबल बनने के लिए आगे नहीं आता। दलित लोग ही कई पैदियों से मजदूर बने हुए हैं।

इन ब्राह्मणों ने हमारे ज्यादातर लोगों को गैर-मौजूद देवताओं और देवियों की पूजा में लगा रखा है। कृष्ण जैसे देवताओं के इर्द-गिर्द बुनी

faith. It is a pity that even in this modern year of 1954, these Brahmins treat us as gullible people of illegitimate birth. Should we not resist and voice our protest against the ill-treatment meted out to us?

Welcome warfare

I am not a coward to stoop. I have so far faced 13 cases and have been imprisoned in all those 13 cases. I am ready to face all the dire consequences. All the cadres in our movement are dare devils. I never mince words. I speak my mind. Some people call me a bundle of contradictions. They say I am not consistent in my views. Views are bound to change according to the changing situations in life. Changes are inevitable. The warfare today is between the Aryans and the Dravidians. I have given the brahminist rulers three months' time to drop the Hereditary education scheme. The caste supremacy of brahmins must be annihilated. We shall not rest until this objective is achieved.

Faulty systems

We build houses, we toil in the field, we grow food, we weave. The society exists by our blood-and sweat. And yet, we endure degradation. This must change. We must selflessly work for the welfare of others. We must fight against unjust laws. Trust me. We can emerge in future, the noblest people in the world if we transform ourselves in every possible manner.

The current system of education is baffling indeed. Classes are held for half a day. Private coaching classes are prohibited. Schools with the strength of less than 30 students are asked to pull down the shutters. Teachers in excess are to be terminated. One teacher has to take care of five classes. I have seen these government orders. The policies of education are all unacceptable. The entire system is faulty. The government is indifferent towards us.

Continuous atrocities

Recently there was an attempt by miscreants to set our abode in Trichy on fire. The culprit was caught red-handed. It was found out that a group of Brahmins had planned to destroy our building, but so far no action has been taken against the hooligans.

The atrocities of Brahmins are on the rise. The only solution is to force these Brahmins quit. Once they shrieked at the British- "Quit India!" -and the British too quit quietly. Why can't we scream at these Brahmins similarly- "Quit our land"?

In the ancient days waging a war was a matter of pride. Many brave women sent off their husband and sons to the battlefield, wishing them victory. All of us need that kind of warfare spirit in society. Ignore cowards. Be prepared as brave warriors and soldiers to crush the rivals.

Our cadres must be ready to sign in blood and assure participation in the warfare. This war is not only to scrap the hereditary education scheme but also to wipe off every stigma on us, such as Shudras, untouchables, low caste people etc; This is the right time for our fight. We are in the "Now or Never" stage. I urge you all to become the vanguards on the battle field and also to fight along with us. Thank you.

Source: 'Viduthalai' 19.03.1954

Translated English: Prof. M.R. Manohar Hindi:
Ravindra Ram

गई कहानियों में अश्लीलता और फूहड़ता भरी हुई है। हमारे लोग बिना सोचे-समझे अंधविश्वास के साथ मूर्तियों की पूजा करते हैं। यह दुःख की बात है कि इस आधुनिक समय, 1954 में भी, ये ब्राह्मण हमें अवैध जन्म के भोले-भाले लोग समझते हैं। क्या हमें इस अन्यायपूर्ण व्यवहार के खिलाफ आवाज़ नहीं उठाना चाहिए और विरोध नहीं करना चाहिए?

युद्ध का स्वागत

मैं कोई कायर नहीं हूँ जो झुक जाऊँ। अब तक मैंने 13 मुकदमे झेले हैं और उन सभी में जेल गया हूँ। मैं सभी गंभीर परिणामों का सामना करने के लिए तैयार हूँ। हमारे आंदोलन के सभी कार्यकर्ता साहसी हैं। मैं कभी शब्दों को तोल-मोल कर नहीं बोलता, जो मेरे मन में होता है वही कहता हूँ। कुछ लोग मुझे विरोधाभासों का पुलिंदा कहते हैं। वे कहते हैं कि मेरे विचारों में स्थिरता नहीं है। विचार समय के अनुसार बदलते रहते हैं, जीवन में बदलाव अनिवार्य हैं। आज का युद्ध आर्यों और द्रविड़ों के बीच है। मैंने ब्राह्मणवादी शासकों को वंशानुगत शिक्षा योजना को वापस लेने के लिए तीन महीने का समय दिया है। ब्राह्मणों की जातीय श्रेष्ठता का अंत होना चाहिए। जब तक यह उद्देश्य प्राप्त नहीं हो जाता, हम चैन से नहीं बैठेंगे।

खराब व्यवस्थाएं

हम घर बनाते हैं, खेतों में मेहनत करते हैं, अन्न उगाते हैं, बुनाई करते हैं। यह समाज हमारे खून-पसीने से चलता है। फिर भी, हम अपमान सहते हैं। यह बदलना चाहिए। हमें निःस्वार्थ भाव से दूसरों के कल्याण के लिए काम करना चाहिए। हमें अन्यायपूर्ण कानूनों के खिलाफ लड़ना चाहिए। मुझ पर विश्वास करो। अगर हम हर संभव तरीके से खुद को बदल लें, तो भविष्य में हम दुनिया के सबसे महान लोग बन सकते हैं।

वर्तमान शिक्षा प्रणाली वास्तव में चोंकाने वाली है। कक्षाएं आधे दिन के लिए लगती हैं। निजी कोचिंग कक्षाओं पर प्रतिबंध है। 30 से कम छात्रों वाले स्कूलों को बंद करने के लिए कहा जाता है। अतिरिक्त शिक्षकों को हटाया जाता है। एक शिक्षक को पांच कक्षाओं का ध्यान रखना होता है। मैंने इन सरकारी आदेशों को देखा है। शिक्षा की ये नीतियां पूरी तरह से अस्वीकार्य हैं। पूरी प्रणाली दोषपूर्ण है। सरकार हमारे प्रति उदासीन है।

लगातार अत्याचार

हाल ही में त्रिची में हमारे निवास को जलाने का प्रयास किया गया। अपराधी को रंगे हाथों पकड़ा गया। पता चला कि ब्राह्मणों के एक समूह हमारी इमारत को नष्ट करने की योजना बनाई थी, लेकिन अब तक उन गुंडों के खिलाफ कोई कार्रवाई नहीं की गई है।

ब्राह्मणों के अत्याचार बढ़ते ही जा रहे हैं। इसका एकमात्र समाधान है कि इन ब्राह्मणों को मजबूर किया जाए कि वे यहाँ से चले जाएँ। कभी उन्होंने ब्रिटिशों को "भारत छोड़ो" कहकर ललकारा था और ब्रिटिश भी चुपचाप चले गए थे। तो फिर हम इन ब्राह्मणों को भी वैसे ही क्यों नहीं ललकार सकते कि "हमारी जमीन छोड़ो"?

प्राचीन काल में युद्ध छेड़ना गर्व की बात थी। कई बहादुर महिलाएँ अपने पति और पुत्रों को युद्धभूमि के लिए भेजते समय उन्हें विजय की शुभ कामनाएँ देती थीं। हम सभी को समाज में उसी तरह की युद्ध भावना चाहिए। कार्यों को नज़रअंदाज़ करें। प्रतिद्वंद्वियों को कुचलने के लिए बहादुर योद्धाओं और सैनिकों के रूप में तैयार रहें।

हमारे कार्यकर्ताओं को खून से हस्ताक्षर करने और युद्ध में भाग लेने का आश्वासन देने के लिए तैयार रहना चाहिए। यह युद्ध केवल वंशानुगत शिक्षा योजना को समाप्त करने के लिए नहीं है, बल्कि हम पर लगे हर कलंक जैसे शूद्र, अछूत, नीची जाति के लोग आदि को मिटाने के लिए है। यह हमारे संघर्ष का सही समय है। हम "अब या कभी नहीं" की स्थिति में हैं। मैं आप सभी से आग्रह करता हूँ कि आप युद्धभूमि में अग्रदूत बनें और हमारे साथ मिलकर लड़ें। धन्यवाद।

स्रोत: "विदुतलाई" 19.03.1954

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



DHARNA

11 a.m.
JANTAR MANTAR,
NEW DELHI

DELHI
CHALO

5th
December
2024

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5.30 pm
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