

# OBC VOICE



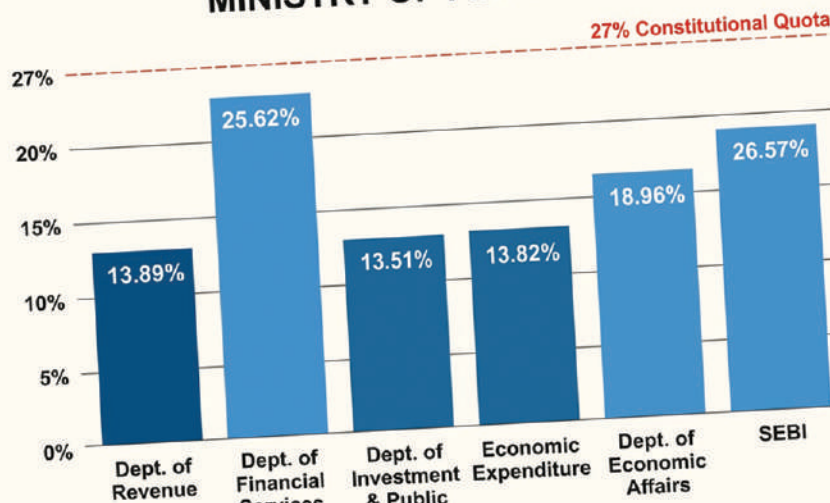
## WHERE ARE WE, OBCs

MINISTRY OF FINANCE - GOVT. OF INDIA

### OBC Representation

(Across All Departments – Group A – 31.03.2024)

#### GROUP A OBC REPRESENTATION MINISTRY OF FINANCE



AS AT 31 MARCH 2024

Even after 75 years of independence and 32 years since Mandal implementation, **OBCs remain significantly excluded from the highest echelons of Financial Governance.**

**"Representation is not charity; it is democracy in action."**

100 YEARS  
OF SELF  
RESPECT  
MOVEMENT

HISTORICAL  
DAYS OF  
DRAVIDIAN  
MOVEMENT

ECONOMIC  
RESERVATION?

OBC  
RESERVATION  
IN ICAR & MP  
GOVT

STUDENTS:  
OUR  
PRECIOUS  
ASSETS

# WHERE ARE WE, THE OBCs

## MINISTRY OF FINANCE - GOVT. OF INDIA

### OBC Representation

(Across All Departments – Group-wise - 31.03.2024)

#### DEPT OF REVENUE

Group	TOTAL STAFF	OBC STAFF	% of OBCs
Group A	8443	1173	13.89%
Group B	45737	6769	14.79%
Group C	43940	9981	22.71%
Overall (All Groups)	98120	17923	18.26%

#### DEPT OF FINANCIAL SERVICES

Group	TOTAL STAFF	OBC STAFF	% of OBCs
Group A	473133	121257	25.62%
Group B	20485	4013	19.58%
Group C	327581	83867	25.60%
Overall (All Groups)	821199	209137	25.46%

#### DEPT OF INVESTMENT AND PUBLIC ASSET MANAGEMENT

Group	TOTAL STAFF	OBC STAFF	% of OBCs
Group A	37	5	13.51%
Group B	20	2	10.00%
Group C	12	4	33.33%
Overall (All Groups)	69	11	15.94%

#### DEPT OF ECONOMIC EXPENDITURE

Group	TOTAL STAFF	OBC STAFF	% of OBCs
Group A	340	47	13.82%
Group B	601	140	23.29%
Group C	353	78	22.10%
Overall (All Groups)	1294	265	20.48%

#### DEPT OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

Group	TOTAL STAFF	OBC STAFF	% of OBCs
Group A	675	128	18.96%
Group B	1182	273	23.10%
Group C	4710	1042	22.13%
Overall (All Groups)	6567	1443	21.97%
SEBI*	1,050	279	26.57%

\*SEBI totals are not split by group and are shown separately.

#### Key Observations:

75 years after Independence,  
even after 32 years of implementation,  
still, OBCs, who constitute the majority population of this country  
could not reach even the minimum 27% in the top Group A posts.

Compiled by: G.Karunanidhi, General Secretary

10.10.2025



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in the articles  
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# The Unfinished Mandal – OBC Underrepresentation in India's Finance Powerhouse

## A Mirror to the Ministry

The recent data on OBC representation across departments of the **Ministry of Finance** presents a disturbing reflection of India's bureaucratic structure. Even after **three decades of implementing the Mandal Commission recommendations**, the very ministry that oversees the nation's fiscal justice still falls short of delivering **social justice** within its own corridors.

The numbers are not just statistics; they are **structural signals** of exclusion. While OBCs constitute nearly **52% of India's population**, their presence in the **highest decision-making cadres**—Group A and B—remains far below the mandated **27% reservation**.

## The Numbers Speak

While **two departments – DFS and SEBI shows better performance**, the picture darkens beyond these islands of progress.

- The **Department of Revenue**, employing over 98,000 staff, shows a meagre **13.89% OBCs in Group A**.
- **Economic Affairs and Expenditure** hover between **20–21% overall**, with Group A representation stubbornly below 19%.
- The **Department of Investment & Public Asset Management (DIPAM)** reveals an acute imbalance—**13.51% in Group A versus 33.33% in Group C**—a perfect case of “inverted representation,” where OBCs remain confined to the lowest rungs.

## Breach of Equity in the Ministry of Finance

Ironically, this inequality thrives in the **Ministry that frames financial inclusion policies**, oversees **banks and public sector assets**, and champions **economic empowerment**. The dissonance between its outward mission and inward composition is glaring.

The **upper bureaucracy remains heavily skewed**—dominated by a social minority that continues to occupy policy seats, while the majority remains in subordinate roles. This is not a statistical accident but the outcome of **systemic inertia and selective compliance**.

## An Administrative Mandal Yet to Be Realized

Thirty-two years after 1992, the **spirit of Mandal** remains incomplete. The **absence of OBC faces in policy-making roles** translates into **policy blind spots**—on agricultural credit, MSME access, rural banking, and other sectors where backward-class populations form the backbone.

When representation fails, governance loses balance. When equality is delayed, democracy is diminished..

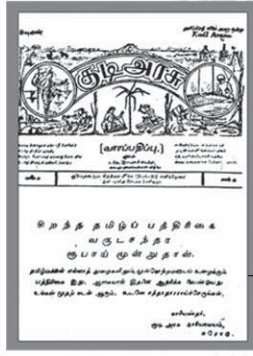
## Conclusion: The True Test of Reform

The Finance Ministry's own workforce statistics are more than a bureaucratic ledger—they are a **litmus test for India's commitment to equality**.

Until the OBCs are visible in the highest offices of governance, **the promise of Mandal will remain unfulfilled**.

Social justice must not stop at the policy paper; it must walk into the policy room.

● **“Representation is not charity; it is democracy in action.”■**



# நூற்றாண்டு நிறைவு கண்ட சுயமரியாதை இயக்கம் — தமிழரின் சிந்தனைப் புரட்சி

## The Self-Respect Movement at 100 – A Century of Tamil Awakening

முரளிதரன் காசிவிஸ்வநாதன்

Muralidharan Kasiviswanathan

### ஒரு நூற்றாண்டின் விளிம்பில்

1925 ஆம் ஆண்டில் காங்கிரசிலிருந்து வெளியேறிய தந்தை பெரியார் மனித மரியாதையை மய்யமாகக் கொண்ட ஒரு புதிய சமூக இயக்கத்தைத் துவங்கினார் — அதுதான் சுயமரியாதை இயக்கம்.

இன்று அந்த இயக்கம் தனது நூறாவது ஆண்டை கடந்துள்ளது; பெரியார் மறைந்து அரை நூற்றாண்டு ஆனாலும், அவரின் சிந்தனைகள் இன்னும் தமிழ்நாட்டின் சமூக, பண்பாட்டு, மொழி, அரசியல் தளங்களில் ஆழமாகப் பதிந்துள்ளன.

### தமிழ்நாட்டில் நிகழ்ந்த ஆழமான மாற்றம்

வரலாற்றாசிரியர் ஆ.இரா. வேங்கடாசலபதி குறிப்பிடுவது போல,

“சுயமரியாதை இயக்கத்தின் தாக்கம் இல்லாத மாநிலங்களோடு தமிழ்நாட்டை ஒப்பிட்டுப் பார்த்தால் மாற்றம் தெளிவாக தெரியும்.

வட இந்தியாவில் யாரும் சாதிக் கட்டமைப்பை கேள்வி கேட்பதே இல்லை.

ஆனால் இங்கே சாதிய ஏற்றத் தாழ்வை எதிர்த்த குரல்கள் எப்போதும் ஒலிக்கின்றன.”

இந்த கேள்விக்குரல்கள் தான் சமூகத்தில் சாதி வன்முறைகளை வெளிப்படுத்தியதாகவும், அதேசமயம் அதை எதிர்கொள்ளும் மனப்பாங்கை உருவாக்கியதாகவும் அவர் கூறுகிறார்.

தமிழ்நாட்டில் இன்று சாதிமறுப்புத் திருமணங்கள், பெண்களின் சம உரிமை, மதச்சார்பற்ற சிந்தனை ஆகியவை வேருன்றியுள்ளன.

இதற்கான அடித்தளத்தை அமைத்தது சுயமரியாதை இயக்கமே.

### On the Edge of a Century

In 1925, after walking out of the Indian National Congress, E.V. Ramasamy—later hailed as “Periyar”—founded a revolutionary social movement centered on one powerful idea: human dignity.

Thus was born the Self-Respect Movement (Suyamariyadai Iyakkam) — a movement that has now completed one hundred years.

Though Periyar passed away more than five decades ago, his thoughts and ideals continue to shape the social, cultural, linguistic, and political landscape of Tamil Nadu.

The pulse of this movement still beats within the state’s collective conscience.

### The Deep Transformation of Tamil Society

As historian A.R. Venkatachalapathy observes:

“The difference becomes evident when Tamil Nadu is compared with states untouched by the Self-Respect Movement.

In North India, the caste system remains unchallenged.

But here, voices constantly rise against caste hierarchy — and that, in itself, is the movement’s triumph.”

These voices of resistance transformed Tamil Nadu into a land that questions, protests, and reforms.

The prevalence of inter-caste marriages, women’s empowerment, and rationalist discourse stands as enduring evidence of this transformation — all of



## சிந்தனையிலிருந்து சமூக மாற்றம் வரை

பெரியார், சுயமரியாதை இயக்கத்தின் ஆரம்பத்தில் சாதி, மதம், புனிதம் என்ற பெயரில் நிலவிய அடிமைத்தனத்தை சவால் செய்தார்.

- 1927 இல் அவர் தனது பெயரில் இருந்த “நாயக்கர்” என்ற சாதிப் பட்டத்தை நீக்கினார்.
- 1929 செங்கல்பட்டு மாநாட்டில் சாதிப் பட்டம் ஒழிப்பு தீர்மானம் நிறைவேற்றப்பட்டது.
- அதே மாநாட்டில் பெண்களுக்கு சொத்துரிமை வழங்கும் தீர்மானமும் கொண்டுவரப்பட்டது.

இந்த முடிவுகள் தமிழ்ச் சமூகத்தில் ஒரு நவீன சிந்தனைக் கலாச்சாரத்தை தோற்றுவித்தன. அதன் பின்னர் குடிஅரசு இதழில் சாதிப் பட்டத்தை ஒழித்தவர்களின் பெயர்கள் பெருமையுடன் வெளியிடப்பட்டன.

இது ஒரு சின்ன தீர்மானம் அல்ல — ஒரு முழு சமூகத்தின் பழமையான கட்டமைப்பைச் சிதைத்த தத்துவப் புரட்சி.

## நவீன தமிழ்ச்சிந்தனையின் பிறப்பிடம்

பேராசிரியர் ஆ. திருநீலகண்டன் கூறுவது:

“சுயமரியாதை இயக்கம் தமிழ்நாட்டை சமூக-பண்பாட்டு விடுதலையின் மிக முக்கியமான நிலைக்கு கொண்டு வந்தது. இதன் காரணமாக பெண்கள் மேம்பாடு, சாதிப் பட்டம் ஒழிப்பு, பகுத்தறிவு இலக்கியம் ஆகியவை வளர்ந்தன. பெரியார் எழுப்பிய கேள்விகளால் நவீன தமிழ் இலக்கியமும், அம்பேத்கர் சிந்தனைகளும் தமிழில் வேரூன்றின.”

பெரியார் தமிழ் மொழியையே விமர்சனத்திற்கும் அறிவியற்சூரிய ஆராய்ச்சிக்கும் உட்படுத்தினார். இதன் மூலம் எதிர் வைதீக நூல்கள், பகுத்தறிவு ஆய்வுகள், முற்போக்கு தமிழ் இலக்கியங்கள் உருவாகியன.

அந்த வழியில் தமிழ் சிந்தனை முந்தைய வைதீக மரபிலிருந்து முற்போக்கு சிந்தனை மரபுக்கு நகர்ந்தது.

## பார்ப்பனரல்லாத சமூகத்தின் எழுச்சி

சுயமரியாதை இயக்கம், பார்ப்பனரல்லாத சமூகத்தை முற்போக்கு திசையில் நகர்த்திய சக்தி.

பேராசிரியர் ஆ.திருநீலகண்டனின் வார்த்தையில்: “வள்ளலார், வைகுண்டர், சென்னை வியாக்கியான சங்கம் போன்றோர்

முற்போக்கு சிந்தனையின் அடித்தளத்தை அமைத்திருந்தாலும்,

அதை இயக்க வடிவில் கொண்டு வந்தவர் பெரியார்தான்.

which trace their origin to the philosophy of Self-Respect.

## From Thought to Social Revolution

At the heart of the movement was Periyar's unflinching opposition to caste, religion, and sanctified servitude.

He did not merely preach; he acted.

- In 1927, he dropped the caste title “Naicker” from his name — becoming simply E.V. Ramasamy.
- In 1929, at the Chengalpattu Conference, resolutions were passed to abolish caste titles and grant women property rights.
- The names of those who renounced caste surnames were proudly published in *Kudi Arasu*, his journal.

These were not symbolic gestures.

They marked the collapse of an ancient social hierarchy and the birth of a new consciousness — a society learning to see itself as equal, rational, and self-respecting.

## The Birth of Modern Tamil Thought

Professor A. Thiruneelakandan writes:

“The Self-Respect Movement propelled Tamil Nadu to a state of social and cultural liberation. It awakened women's consciousness, eradicated caste-based titles, and inspired the creation of rationalist literature.

Through Periyar's critique, even Tamil itself became an instrument of inquiry and reform.”

This critical approach to language, culture, and religion paved the way for a new Tamil modernity — a tradition of rational analysis, anti-ritual literature, and secular thought. Periyar's questioning spirit transformed Tamil from a medium of ritual into a language of resistance and reason.

## The Rise of the Non-Brahmin Consciousness

The Self-Respect Movement was not confined to ideology — it was an awakening of the oppressed non-Brahmin communities.

As Thiruneelakandan notes:

“Figures like Vallalar, Vaikundar, and the Chennai Vyakhyana Sangam laid the groundwork for progressive thought.

But it was Periyar who transformed that current into a movement.

அவர் ஐரோப்பிய நவீன சிந்தனையை தமிழர் வாழ்வோடு இணைத்தார்.”

இதனால் சாதி அடிமைத்தனத்தில் உறைந்திருந்த சமூகத்தில்

தன்மானம், சிந்தனை சுதந்திரம், சமத்துவ விழிப்புணர்வு வளர்ந்தது.

தமிழ்நாடு “சாதி ஒழிப்பு” என்ற சொல்லை அரசியல் சிந்தனையின் மையத்தில் வைத்த ஒரே மாநிலமாக மாறியது.

### இந்திய சமூக வரலாற்றில் தனித்துவம்

சுயமரியாதை இயக்கம் தோன்றும் முன், இந்தியாவில் இதுபோன்ற சமூக-அரசியல் புரட்சிகளுக்கான உதாரணங்கள் மிகக் குறைவு.

ஆசிரியர்கள் வ. கீதா மற்றும் எஸ்.வி. ராஜதுரை தங்கள் “Towards a Non-Brahmin Millennium” நூலில் குறிப்பிடுகிறார்கள்:

“மகாத்மா ஜோதிபா பூலே ஒரு முன்னோடி; ஆனால் சுயமரியாதைக்காரர்கள் தேசியவாத அரசியலின் உச்சகட்டத்தில் சமூக நீதி, உரிமை, அதிகாரம் ஆகியவற்றை தனித்துவமான சிந்தனைக் கட்டமைப்பாக உருவாக்கினர். ‘சுயமரியாதை’ என்ற இலட்சியத்தால் பிணைக்கப்பட்ட புதிய வரலாற்றுப் பொருளை தமிழ்நாடு உருவாக்கியது.”

இந்த கருத்து சுயமரியாதை இயக்கத்தை இந்திய மறுமலர்ச்சியின் முக்கிய அத்தியாயமாக நிலைநிறுத்துகிறது.

### முடிவுரை – சுயமரியாதை: மனிதனின் மீள்பிறப்பு

சுயமரியாதை இயக்கம் ஒரு அரசியல் நிகழ்வு அல்ல — அது மனித மரியாதையின் மீள்பிறப்பு. பெரியார் தொடங்கிய இந்தப் பயணம், தமிழரின் சிந்தனையையும் சமூகவாழ்வையும் மாற்றிய ஒரு வரலாற்றுச் சுழற்சி.

அரசியலிலோ மதத்திலோ அடிமையாக இருந்த சமூகத்திற்கு

அவர் அளித்த செய்தி தெளிவானது:

“மனிதன் தன் மரியாதையை அறிந்தால், உலகம் அவனுக்கு முன்பாக தலை வைக்கும்.”

ஒரு நூற்றாண்டுக்கு பிறகும், இந்தச் செய்தி தமிழ்நாட்டின் இதயத்துடிப்பாகவே ஒலிக்கிறது

— சமத்துவம், பகுத்தறிவு, சுயமரியாதை என்பவை இன்றும் நம்முடைய அடையாளம் ஆகும்.

{மூலம்: பிபிசி தமிழ் –

“சுயமரியாதை இயக்கம் நூற்றாண்டு சிறப்பு”

(எழுதியவர் முரளிதரன் காசிவிஸ்வநாதன், 17.09.2025)

இந்த கட்டுரை வெளியீட்டிற்காக தொகுக்கப்பட்டது.)

He blended European rationalism with Tamil social reality.”

By doing so, he cultivated among the common people a sense of self-worth, intellectual freedom, and social equality.

Under his influence, Tamil Nadu became the only Indian state where “annihilation of caste” became not just an ideal, but a public demand.

### A Unique Chapter in Indian History

Before Periyar, India had seen only a few comparable reform movements.

Scholars V. Geetha and S.V. Rajadurai, in their classic “Towards a Non-Brahmin Millennium”, explain:

“Mahatma Jyotiba Phule was a pioneer, but the Self-Respecters operated in a different era — at the height of nationalist politics.

They not only opposed Gandhi, but also formulated a distinctive framework of rights, power, and justice.

Bound by the ideal of ‘self-respect,’ they created a new historical consciousness.”

Thus, the Self-Respect Movement stands as a pivotal chapter in India’s modern social history, asserting equality and rationalism against centuries of orthodoxy.

### Conclusion – Self-Respect: The Rebirth of Human Dignity

The Self-Respect Movement was not a mere political agitation —

it was a renaissance of human dignity.

The journey from E.V. Ramasamy Naicker to Periyar mirrors the journey of an entire society — from subservience to self-realization.

For a people long bound by caste, religion, and superstition, Periyar’s message was revolutionary and simple:

“When man learns to respect himself, the world will bow before him.”

A century later, that message still echoes through Tamil Nadu —

a reminder that equality, rationality, and self-respect are not just ideals, but the very essence of Tamil identity.

{Source: Adapted from BBC Tamil – “A Century of the Self-Respect Movement” By Muralidharan

Kasiviswanathan, September 17, 2025

(Edited and translated for publication)}



NOVEMBER 13 (1938)

## The 1938 Women's Conference and the Conferment of the Title "Periyar"

# A HISTORIC TRIBUTE TO THE GREAT LEADER

- G.SARASWATHI



**T**he history of Tamil Nadu's social transformation stands illuminated by several milestones — and one of the most remarkable among them is the **Women's Conference held on 13th November 1938 in Chennai**. This gathering of enlightened Tamil women was convened in support of the Anti-Hindi agitation, a powerful movement that rose in defense of linguistic equality and cultural self-respect.

Amid this atmosphere of awakening and assertion, the conference took a momentous decision — to honor **E.V. Ramasamy**, whose fearless leadership had inspired thousands to resist domination in every form. It was here that he was conferred the title "**Periyar**", meaning *The Great Leader*. This moment marked not only an expression of gratitude but also a recognition of his extraordinary role in liberating women from centuries of oppression and inequality.

The resolution passed at the conference read:

*"In India, many social reformers have arisen, yet the noble tasks that remained unfulfilled by them are being accomplished today by our revered leader, E.V. Ramasamy. Since there is none in South India who can be regarded as equal to him or greater than him, this Conference earnestly appeals that whenever his name is spoken or written, it should always be adorned with the honorific title 'Periyar' — The Great Leader."*

This resolution reflected not merely admiration but the deep emotional and intellectual bond between **Tamil women and the ideals of social justice championed by Periyar**.

### Leadership of Enlightened Women

The Conference was a landmark in many ways. It was **presided over by Ms. Neelambikai**, daughter of the eminent Tamil scholar **Maraimalai Adigal**, symbolizing the union of Tamil scholarship and social reform. The event was **organized by Annai Meenambal Sivaraj**, a pioneering feminist and social activist, along with **Dr. Dharmambal**, an early advocate for women's education and rights.

These women were not mere admirers of Periyar; they were participants and partners in his movement for social emancipation. Their leadership in organizing the conference signified the awakening of women's consciousness and their readiness to take part in

shaping a new social order. By conferring the title "**Periyar**", they were declaring to the world that **E.V. Ramasamy was not just a leader of men but a redeemer of women's dignity**.

### Meaning and Symbolism of "Periyar"

The word "**Periyar**" — meaning *The Great Leader* — became more than a title; it became an idea, a moral authority, and a symbol of resistance. It represented **fearless truth, equality, and rationalism**. In honoring him with this name, the women of Tamil Nadu were acknowledging his **unparalleled contribution to their liberation** — his campaigns against child marriage, denial of education, caste discrimination, and patriarchal customs.

Periyar had always maintained that a society could never progress unless women were freed from ignorance and social subjugation. His advocacy for **women's education, right to property, and participation in public life** was revolutionary for its time. The women who gathered at Chennai in 1938 had experienced the transformative power of his teachings — and thus, they gave him a name that reflected the reverence of an entire generation.

### The Legacy of the 1938 Resolution

The Women's Conference of 1938 remains one of the most **defining moments in the history of social reform** in South India. It symbolized a rare and powerful gesture — women, for the first time, formally honoring a man for his role in their liberation. That the recognition came from women themselves gives the title "**Periyar**" an unmatched moral legitimacy.

The event also underlined the intellectual maturity of Tamil women at that time. It was not a mere act of devotion but a **political declaration** — a statement that women were conscious of their rights, of their role in society, and of the leaders who truly stood for their upliftment.

From that day onward, **E.V. Ramasamy was no longer merely a social reformer — he became Periyar, the Great Leader**, a name that has since inspired generations to fight for equality, rationalism, and self-respect.

### Conclusion

The conferment of the title "**Periyar**" by the Women's Conference of 1938 stands as a shining example of **mutual respect between reformer and reformed, leader and led**. It was a moment when **Tamil women, through collective recognition, immortalized the ideals of justice, courage, and compassion embodied by E.V. Ramasamy**.

More than eight decades later, that resolution continues to echo — reminding us that true greatness is not self-proclaimed but conferred by the grateful hearts of those whose lives have been transformed.

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

**NOVEMBER 20 (1916)**

## "THE BIRTH OF THE JUSTICE PARTY: FORGING A PATH TOWARD SOCIAL EQUITY IN SOUTH INDIA"



**T**he South Indian Liberal Federation, commonly known as the Justice Party, was founded on November 20, 1916, at Victoria Public Hall in Madras. This historic moment sparked one of the most profound social and political movements in South India, laying the foundation for equality, social justice, and a new political voice for non-Brahmin communities.

### **The Dawn of Social Justice**

The Justice Party emerged at a time of rigid caste hierarchies and deep social divisions in the Madras Presidency. Brahmins, despite being a numerical minority, held a disproportionate share of power in administration, education, and public life. The party's founders—Dr. C. Natesa Mudaliar, P. Theagaraya Chetty, Dr. T.M. Nair, and several other visionaries—recognized the urgent need for a political force that would dismantle these entrenched privileges and champion the rights of the socially and economically disadvantaged.

Driven by their vision, the founders organized the non-Brahmin Manifesto in December 1916, highlighting inequities and the necessity for collective action. They constructed a platform dedicated to the advancement of all communities except Brahmins, focusing on broad-based development in education, employment, and representation in governance.

### **Courage, Challenges, and Change**

The establishment of the South Indian Liberal Federation was not merely an organizational achievement; it was a declaration of courage. The party authored a powerful critique against monopolized Brahminical dominance, standing tall despite severe opposition from conservative sections and influential publications like *The Hindu*. It advocated for the abolishment of untouchability and insisted on respectful opportunities for diverse communities.

The party's activism was not limited to debates. Rapidly, it organized conferences across Madras, Coimbatore, Bezwada, Tirunelveli, and beyond, amplifying the non-Brahmin movement's

momentum and building an inclusive political force.

### **Reforms and Lasting Impact**

Once it achieved electoral success, the Justice Party implemented far-reaching policies:

- Introduced communal reservations, ensuring representation for all castes in jobs and education.
- Opened avenues for women's empowerment by supporting pioneering leaders like Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy and abolishing the Devadasi system.
- Launched welfare schemes such as free midday meals for children, promoted industrial parks and cooperative societies, and developed irrigation and education for marginalized families.
- Established new universities and modernized public health and infrastructure.

Their courageous campaign for proportional representation uprooted centuries-old prejudices in public spaces such as trains, restaurants, and government services. They promoted both the modernization of the South and a new pride in Dravidian heritage.

### **The Heartbeat of a Movement**

The South Indian Liberal Federation's greatest legacy was its relentless championing of dignity, opportunity, and justice for all. In a society fractured by birth-based discrimination, this party forged a collective consciousness—uniting "backward," "depressed," and minority communities for a common cause.

The Justice Party paved the way for many of the rights and progressive ideals that define modern Tamil Nadu and parts of South India. Its battles led directly to the Dravidian movement, empowering leaders like Periyar, C.N. Annadurai, and M. Karunanidhi, whose politics fundamentally altered the region's course.

### **Conclusion**

The founding of the South Indian Liberal Federation on November 20, 1916, remains a milestone in India's journey toward social equity and modern democracy. It stands as a vibrant testament to how organization, vision, and courage can ignite historic change—casting the first stone against the daunting walls of caste, privilege, and exclusion, and inspiring generations to struggle for justice, dignity, and true representation.

- Editorial Board



**NOVEMBER 23 (1925)**

## **THE DAY WHEN THE RIGHT WAS WON FOR THE SO-CALLED UNTOUCHABLES TO WALK ON ALL FOUR STREETS SURROUNDING THE VAIKOM MAHADEVA TEMPLE."**

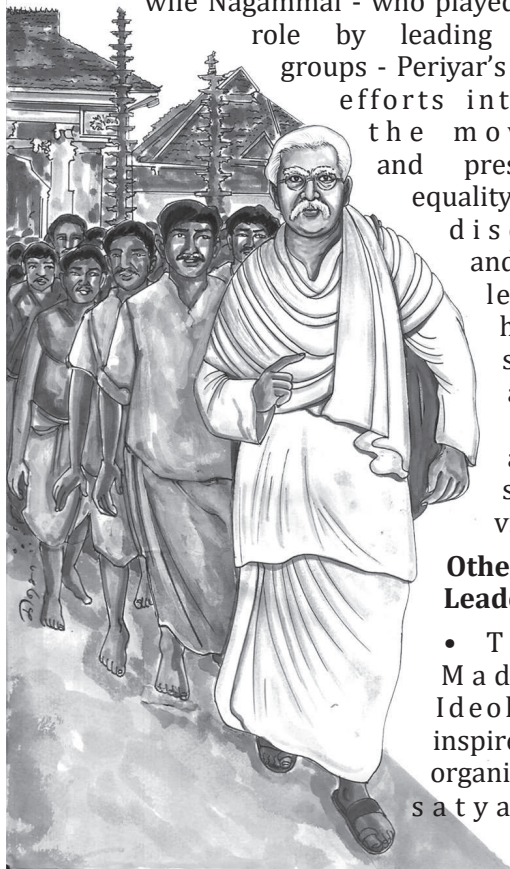
**T**his landmark in social progress was made possible largely through the dedicated efforts of leaders like Periyar and several others, whose struggles lit the path for a progressive transformation in Indian society.

### **Background of the Vaikom Satyagraha**

The Vaikom Satyagraha, started in 1924, was a peaceful agitation challenging untouchability and caste discrimination, specifically the prohibition that prevented "untouchables" from accessing the roads around the Vaikom temple. At that time, the rigid caste system in Travancore severely restricted lower castes such as Ezhavas and Pulayas from even walking on the streets near many temples.

### **Role of Periyar**

Periyar E.V. Ramasamy is celebrated as the "Hero of Vaikom" for more than just symbolic reasons. He spent 141 days actively participating in the movement, including around 74 days in jail. Responding to a call from Tamil Nadu's leaders, Periyar took up leadership in Vaikom, delivering powerful speeches and mobilizing people against the caste system and untouchability. Along with his wife Nagammai - who played a special



role by leading women's groups - Periyar's relentless efforts intensified the movement and pressed for equality. His strict discipline and selfless leadership helped sustain the agitation until it achieved significant victories.

### **Other Key Leaders**

• T . K . Madhavan: Ideologically inspired and organized the satyagraha,

continuously pushing for reforms.

- K. Kelappan: Provided crucial organizational leadership
- K.P. Kesava Menon: Editor of Mathrubhumi, played a key role in communication and awareness.
- George Joseph: Lawyer and Congress leader, offered legal guidance and solidarity.
- Mannathu Padmanabhan: Noted for his contributions as a community leader.
- Mahatma Gandhi: Advocating for peaceful negotiation and played a role in achieving compromise that led to the opening of three streets for lower castes.

### **Stages and Outcomes of the Movement**

On November 23, 1925, as a result of persistent agitations and negotiations, three of the four temple streets were opened to those formerly barred, with only one street temporarily left reserved for Brahmins. Eventually, in 1936, the famous Temple Entry Proclamation in Travancore granted all castes access to Hindu temples, furthering the legacy of the Vaikom Satyagraha.

### **Broader Social Impact**

- The Vaikom Satyagraha marked an important breakthrough in the Indian anti-caste and social justice movement, challenging the machinery of untouchability.
- Its legacy led to the abolishment of untouchability through Article 17 of the Indian Constitution.
- Periyar's continued fight against caste discrimination inspired the Self-Respect Movement and broader social reforms in South India.

### **Cultural and National Integration**

Religious minorities like the Akali Sikhs, Muslims, and Christians supported the movement through community kitchens and moral support, making the Vaikom Satyagraha a model for national unity and equality.

The Vaikom Satyagraha stands as an exemplary moment in India's struggle for social justice, with Periyar and other determined leaders guiding it towards a vision of equality and dignity for all. ■

- Editorial Board

# ECONOMIC RESERVATION: A MISGUIDED DEPARTURE FROM SOCIAL JUSTICE

- G. KARUNANIDHI



## Understanding the Misconception

In recent times, a growing section of the public — often from privileged backgrounds — has begun advocating for reservation based purely on *economic criteria*. This demand, though seemingly fair on the surface, arises from either a misunderstanding of the reservation policy's purpose or from a deliberate attempt to divert it from its constitutional foundation.

The latest example comes from **Hon'ble M.P. Supriya Sule**, who remarked that reservation should be "for those who really need it," emphasizing poverty and lack of access rather than caste discrimination. While this sentiment appears compassionate, it misses the central point

— reservation was never designed as a poverty alleviation measure; it is a social corrective to centuries of caste-based exclusion.

## Historical Foundation of Reservation

The roots of reservation in India are not products of modern politics but responses to deep-rooted structural injustice. It was **not the backward classes who demanded privileges first**; rather, it was the dominant upper castes, particularly the **Brahmins**, who monopolized education, temples, and administration, systematically excluding others.

Visionaries like **Mahatma Jotirao Phule** exposed this injustice as early as the 19th century. He pleaded



before the Hunter Commission to open educational opportunities for the *Shudras* — irrespective of wealth — and warned against Brahmin teachers who would discourage non-Brahmin students.

Following Phule, **Chhatrapati Shahu Maharaj** of Kolhapur implemented the India's first reservation policy in 1902, granting representation to backward classes in education and public employment. His bold initiative inspired similar measures in the **Mysore** and **Madras** provinces, setting the foundation for constitutional social justice.

### The Constitutional Vision

When India's Constitution was framed, the debate on whether to include *economic criteria* was settled firmly by **Dr. B.R. Ambedkar** and **Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru**. They both rejected economic considerations as the basis for reservation, insisting instead on "*socially and educationally backward classes*."

This was not a matter of semantics. It was a recognition of a deep truth: **poverty may be temporary, but caste-based exclusion is hereditary and systemic**. A poor person can become rich; but even a rich Dalit or OBC individual continues to face social barriers in marriage, temple entry, and social acceptance.

Therefore, **the disease is social; the remedy too must be social**.

### Caste Bias Persists Beyond Wealth and Status

Caste is not erased by wealth, education, or position — its shadow looms even over the nation's highest offices. The **unveiling of the statue of Sampooranand by late Jagjivan Ram**, then the Defence Minister of India, was followed by so-called "purification rituals" — a blatant act of caste prejudice.

Similarly, a **former President of India** was **barred entry into a temple** because of his caste, despite holding the nation's highest constitutional office. More recently, a **shoe thrown at the highest judiciary** reflected the deep frustration against systemic caste bias — a reminder that neither status nor power shields one from caste-based discrimination.

These incidents prove, beyond doubt, that **economic advancement does not dissolve social stigma**. Caste remains the most persistent axis of inequality in Indian society.

### Why Economic Reservation Dilutes Social Justice

Advocating for reservation based on economic criteria alone is like prescribing painkillers for a deep-rooted infection. It may seem like relief, but it ignores the cause. Caste remains the organizing principle of Indian society — determining access to resources, dignity, and opportunity.

Those who argue for economic reservation rarely demand the *annihilation of caste itself*. They speak against caste-based reservation but not against caste-based privilege. This selective morality exposes the real motive — not social equality, but the retention of existing hierarchies.

Moreover, economic reservation benefits the already privileged sections who might be temporarily poor but remain socially dominant. In contrast, caste-based reservation ensures representation for those who have been systemically excluded for generations.

### The Way Forward

India's progress toward true equality depends on understanding this distinction. Reservation is not charity. It is **reparation** — a constitutional tool to correct historic wrongs and democratize opportunities.

When the **EWS (Economically Weaker Sections) quota** was introduced for upper castes, it breached the 50% ceiling established by the Supreme Court. Yet, no moral outrage followed. But when states seek to provide legitimate 27% OBC reservation, the same voices invoke the "50% limit." This double standard exposes the entrenched bias against backward communities.

### Conclusion: Remembering the True Reformers

The struggle for social justice was not waged by the privileged but by revolutionaries like **Thanthai Periyar, Dr. Ambedkar, and Phule**, who fought for caste annihilation and equal representation. To advocate economic reservation while caste discrimination persists is to betray their legacy.

The future of India's democracy lies not in diluting the idea of social justice but in **deepening it** — by ensuring that those historically denied dignity, education, and opportunity are given their rightful space in the nation's growth story.

**Reservation based on caste is not an outdated idea — it is an unfinished revolution.**

(The writer is the General Secretary,  
AIOBC Employees Federation)

# Letter dated 8.10.2025 addressed by AIOBC Employees Federation to Hon'ble Prime Minister of India



भारतीय कृषि अनुसंधान परिषद  
INDIAN COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH  
कृषि भवन, डॉ० राजेन्द्र प्रसाद मार्ग, नई दिल्ली-110001  
Krishi Bhawan, Dr. Rajendra Prasad Road, New Delhi 110001

F.No. Admn.17(8)/2023-Estt. -II

Dated: 25/08/2025

## CIRCULAR

### Inviting applications for Filling up the post of Personal Assistant at ICAR Hqrs & its Institutes

Competent authority at Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR) invites applications for filling up the vacant posts of Personal Assistant on deputation basis (including short term contract) at ICAR-Hqrs. & its Institutes. Particulars and eligibility for the post are as detailed below:

Sr.No.	Name of the post	No. of posts	Scale of pay	Eligibility
1	Personal Assistant	UR-75 SC-25 ST-14 Total-114	Level-7 as per 7th CPC (Rs. 44,900-1,42,400/-)	Officials of Stenographer Cadre of Central Government or State Government or Union Territories or Autonomous Bodies or PSUs (i) Holding the analogous posts on regular basis in parent cadre/department; or (ii) Stenographers Grade-D in the Pay Level-4 of Pay Matrix (Pre-revised PB-1, Rs. 5200-20200 with GP Rs.2400) who have completed at least ten years of regular service in the grade.

2. The general terms and conditions of services at ICAR will be governed as per the Rules and Bye-laws of ICAR. The selected candidates are liable to be posted at the ICAR Institutes (list available at Annexure-

## Subject: Request for inclusion of OBC reservation in deputation/absorption posts - Revision of DoPT circular dated 28th March 2024

This has reference to the circular issued by the **Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR)** dated **25th August 2025**, inviting applications for filling up **114 posts of Personal Assistants** at ICAR Headquarters and its Institutes on **deputation basis**. The said notification provides **reservation for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes**, but excludes reservation for **Other Backward Classes (OBCs)**.

The issue was rightly raised by **Hon'ble Member of Parliament Shri Manickam Tagore** in his letter dated **2nd October 2025** addressed to your goodself, pointing out that the **exclusion of OBC reservation** in deputation posts is inconsistent with the **Government of India's commitment to social justice and equality**, and seeking its immediate inclusion.

शिवराज सिंह चौहान  
SHIVRAJ SINGH CHOUHAN



ग्रामीण विकास तथा  
कृषि एवं किसान कल्याण मंत्री  
भारत सरकार  
कृषि भवन, नई दिल्ली  
MINISTER OF  
RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND  
AGRICULTURE & FARMERS WELFARE  
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA  
KRISHI BHAWAN, NEW DELHI  
Dated 05 Oct, 2025  
DO No. 202/Camp

Respected Manickam ji,

Kind attention is invited to your letter dated 01.10.2025 addressed to the Hon'ble Prime Minister wherein it was mentioned that in ICAR's Vacancy Circular No. Admn.17(8)/2023-Estt.-11 dated 25.08.2025 for recruitment to the post of Personal Assistant (PA), there is violation of Government of India's reservation policy as "..... no reservation has been provided for the OBC category, which as per Government of India norms is entitled to 27% reservation in direct recruitment posts under the Central Government and its autonomous bodies".

At the outset it stated that the ICAR strictly follows all the norms of Government of India w.r.t. reservation provisions wherein 27% reservation is provided to OBCs in posts under **direct recruitment**. From your letter it seems that vacancy circular dated 25.08.2025 of ICAR is being considered as a notice for **direct recruitment** of fresh candidates, which is incorrect. The said circular of ICAR dated 25.08.2025, which has been referred in your letter is not an advertisement for direct recruitment but a departmental circular inviting applications from in-service eligible employees of other Government departments/organizations for filling the unfilled promotion quota posts of PA on **deputation basis** for a period of 2 years only and there is no provision of reservation for OBCs in such cases. The following relevant facts would help in further clarifying the issue:

1. Post of Personal Assistant (PA) in ICAR is filled 100% by promotion. In case of promotion, the reservation is provided only to SC & ST communities and there is no provision of reservation for OBCs or EWS etc.
2. As per the provisions in the Recruitment Rules (RRs) of the post of PA, if the post could not be filled through promotion then the unfilled vacancies are filled up by **deputation from the officials of Central/State Government or Union Territories or Autonomous Bodies /PSUs** for a short period.
3. Further, as per the reservation policy of the Govt. of India, the reservation does not apply to posts filled on **deputation basis**. However, the DoPT O.M. No. 36011/1/2022-Estt (Res.) dated 28th March, 2024 under point no.2 of Part (C) (Relaxations and Concessions) stipulates that "...Where the number of posts to be filled on deputation by any employing Ministry or Office is fairly substantial, the employing Ministries/Heads of Offices concerned should endeavour to see that a fair proportion of such posts are filled by employees belonging to Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes."

Office: 'G' Wing, Ground Floor, Krishi Bhawan, New Delhi-110001, Tel.: 011-23383548, 23782237a, 23782237, Fax: 011-23070309  
Email: minister.rd@gov.in

In response, the **Hon'ble Minister of Agriculture and Farmers' Welfare, Shri Shivraj Singh Chouhan**, vide his letter dated **5th October 2025**, has stated that the posts in question are on deputation basis and hence reservation does not ordinarily apply, further quoting the **DoPT guideline dated 28th March 2024** which allows reservation for **SCs and STs** only, not for OBCs.

With utmost respect, we submit that this position needs reconsideration in light of present constitutional and policy developments:

1. **Deputation posts are not promotion posts.** They are open to eligible candidates across various Departments and Institutions, and hence the principle of equal opportunity and social representation should apply.



**Manickam Tagore.B**  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT (LOK SABHA)  
Virudhunagar Constituency - Tamil Nadu  
MEMBER:  
• Standing Committee on Urban Development  
• Standing Committee on Welfare of OBCs  
• Committee on Privilege  
• Consultative Committee, Ministry of Civil Aviation  
• AIMS Madurai  
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02 October 2025

To

**Shri Narendra Modi Ji**  
Hon'ble Prime Minister of India  
South Block, Raisina Hill  
New Delhi - 110011

**Subject:** Representation regarding Non-Inclusion of OBC Reservation in ICAR  
Vacancy Circular F.No. Admn.17(8)/2023-Estt.-11 dated 25/08/2025

*Dear Prime Minister,*

I wish to bring to your kind attention a matter of serious concern regarding the recruitment notification issued by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR) vide **F.No. Admn.17(8)/2023-Estt.-11 dated 25/08/2025**, for the post of **Personal Assistant** at ICAR Headquarters and its Institutes.

As per the circular, a total of **114 vacancies** have been advertised, with the following distribution:

- UR - 75 ,SC - 25,ST - 14

However, it is extremely disheartening to note that **no reservation has been provided for the OBC category**, which as per Government of India norms is entitled to **27% reservation** in direct recruitment posts under the Central Government and its autonomous bodies.

This omission appears to be in **violation of the constitutional provisions and Government of India guidelines** on reservation for the Other Backward Classes (OBC). ICAR, being an autonomous body under the Ministry of Agriculture & Farmers Welfare, is bound to comply with these norms.

We demand the **immediate withdrawal and revision of the said circular** and a **public clarification** from ICAR and the Ministry regarding this violation.

2. The cited DoPT circular **F.No.36011/1/2022-Estt.(Res-I)** dated **28<sup>th</sup> March 2024** is a **compendium of all existing instructions on reservation**. The clause quoted —  
“Where the number of posts to be filled on deputation or absorption by any employing Ministry or Office is fairly substantial, the employing Ministry/Head of Office concerned should endeavor to see that a fair proportion of such posts is filled by employees belonging to Scheduled Castes/Scheduled Tribes” — is derived from the **DP&AR Office Memoranda dated 9th October 1975 and 21st January 1978**, which were issued **before the introduction of OBC reservation in 1993**.
3. The **DoPT O.M. No. 36012/22/93-Estt. (SCT)** dated **8<sup>th</sup> September 1993** formally introduced **27% reservation for OBCs** in Central Government services. Hence, the 1978 provision must now be **revisited and revised** to align with the current constitutional mandate of representation for **SCs, STs, and OBCs** alike.
4. The **representation of OBCs** in the **Department of Agricultural Research and Education (DARE)** under the Ministry of Agriculture continues to remain disproportionately low —
  - o **Group A:** 39 out of 176 posts
  - o **Group B:** 5 out of 24 posts

**Manickam Tagore.B**  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT (LOK SABHA)  
Virudhunagar Constituency - Tamil Nadu  
MEMBER:  
• Standing Committee on Urban Development  
• Standing Committee on Welfare of OBCs  
• Committee on Privilege  
• Consultative Committee, Ministry of Civil Aviation  
• AIMS Madurai  
CHAIRMAN : Madurai Airport Advisory Committee



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We also urge you, Prime Minister, to take this matter seriously and ensure that **constitutional provisions for reservation are strictly followed by all government departments and autonomous bodies**, failing which we reserve the right to raise this issue in Parliament and before appropriate constitutional and legal forums.

This is not just a policy matter—it is about **justice, representation**, and the **rightful place of OBC communities** in India's governance and public service.

Thanking you in anticipation.

Yours Sincerely,

(MANICKAM TAGORE.B)

Copy to:

1. Shri Shivraj Singh Chouhan Ji, Hon'ble Minister of Agriculture & Farmers Welfare, Krishi Bhawan, New Delhi - 110001
2. Director General, ICAR, Krishi Anusandhan Bhavan-II, Pusa Road, New Delhi - 110012

(Source: Public Enterprises Survey 2023–24, Statement 24).

Given these facts, extending **OBC inclusion in deputation/absorption posts** is not merely a procedural correction but a **moral and constitutional necessity** to ensure equitable participation in public service.

As rightly observed by **Hon'ble MP Thiru. Manickam Tagore**, this issue goes beyond administrative policy — it concerns **justice, representation, and the rightful place of OBC communities** in the nation's governance framework.

We, therefore, **most respectfully request your kind intervention to advise the Department of Personnel & Training (DoPT) to amend the relevant guideline** — originating from the 1975 and 1978 instructions and consolidated in the circular dated **28<sup>th</sup> March 2024** — to explicitly include **OBCs alongside SCs and STs** for reservation in **deputation and absorption posts**.

Such a step will reaffirm your Government's commitment to the ideals of **social justice, equality, and inclusive governance** enshrined in our Constitution.

We remain hopeful of your kind attention and positive action in this matter of great significance to the OBC community and the principles of fair representation in Central Government establishments.

With respectful regards,  
**G.Karunanidhi,**  
General Secretary

# DETAILED ANALYSIS: MADHYA PRADESH GOVERNMENT'S DEFENCE OF 27% OBC QUOTA

- G. KARUNANIDHI



## Context and Background

The Indian Express report (October 1, 2025) covers the **Madhya Pradesh government's defence before the Supreme Court** for increasing the **OBC reservation from 14% to 27%**, which takes the overall reservation in the State beyond the **50% limit** fixed by the Indra Sawhney (Mandal) judgment of 1992.

The issue has revived the larger constitutional debate on whether the 50% cap is a **rigid ceiling** or a **flexible principle** that can yield to social realities and compelling data on persistent backwardness.

## The State Government's Affidavit and Core Argument

The affidavit filed by the Madhya Pradesh government on **September 23, 2025**, relies heavily

on decades of empirical studies and commission reports, asserting that the **OBC population in MP continues to suffer from deep-rooted social, educational, and economic backwardness**.

It argues that the 50% ceiling cannot be treated as **inviolable**, especially when **exceptional circumstances** and **updated data** justify higher reservation.

## Historical and Empirical Foundations

### 3. Successive Recommendations

Each study re-confirmed that **OBCs remain excluded despite earlier measures**.

### Constitutional Reasoning

The affidavit contends that the **Indra Sawhney (1992)** ruling established 50% as a **general**



Report	Year	Recommendation
Mahajan Commission	1983	35 % reservation for OBCs
MPBCC Report	1996-97	raise from 14 % to 27 %
MPBCC Report	2000-01	raise further to 35 %
Ambedkar University Study	2023	reaffirmed continuing backwardness

**rule**, not an **iron ceiling**, and explicitly allowed exceptions in **extraordinary situations** such as overwhelming backwardness or regional disparity. The State argues that its action is consistent with these exceptions, backed by extensive factual material and field research showing **systemic inequality** and **historic underrepresentation**.

### The EWS Precedent and Its Implications

The affidavit and supporting arguments gain further constitutional weight in light of the **Union Government's introduction of 10% reservation for the Economically Weaker Sections (EWS)** among the upper castes in 2019, which **took total reservation in India to 59.5%**.

Importantly, the **Supreme Court upheld the 103rd Constitutional Amendment (EWS quota)** in **November 2022**, despite it breaching the 50% ceiling.

This precedent **fundamentally weakens the rationale for denying MP's 27% OBC reservation** on the same ground.

If the **EWS quota**—benefiting the socially advanced sections—can justifiably cross the 50% mark, **there is no constitutional or moral basis** to deny higher reservation for OBCs, whose backwardness is empirically established.

Thus, **the 50% ceiling has already been breached and judicially endorsed**, making it untenable to withhold Madhya Pradesh's order citing that very limit.

### Legislative Developments in MP

- **1995:** OBC quota raised to 23%, later 27%.
- **December 2021:** The **MP Lok Seva (Reservation for SCs, STs, and OBCs) Amendment Bill** passed, taking total reservation to around **73%**.
- **Governor withheld assent**, leading to the current Supreme Court litigation.

### Broader Constitutional and Political Implications

#### a. Social Justice Framework

If upheld, the MP case could **redefine India's**

**reservation jurisprudence**, confirming that the **ceiling is not sacrosanct** when compelling data justify it. It would strengthen the principle that **social justice must evolve with society's realities**.

#### b. Federal Autonomy

The case also tests the **balance between Union and State powers**. States, being closer to local realities, must retain the authority to determine the extent of backwardness and the remedies required.

#### c. Political Dimension

The MP government's stance reflects a **strategic assertion of OBC representation**, echoing similar political trends nationwide as OBC empowerment becomes a decisive electoral factor.

#### Analytical Assessment

The Madhya Pradesh government has presented a **comprehensive, data-backed justification** supported by four decades of research.

By invoking both **empirical evidence** and **constitutional precedent (EWS case)**, it has built a strong argument that the **50% rule is neither immutable nor equitable** in the face of continuing social disparity.

This stance situates Madhya Pradesh at the **forefront of a new phase** in India's reservation debate — one that emphasizes **empirical justice over numerical rigidity**.

#### Conclusion

The Madhya Pradesh government's defence of **27% OBC reservation** represents a **historic constitutional moment**.

With the **EWS quota already breaching the 50% ceiling and upheld by the Supreme Court**, the logic of limiting OBC representation to stay within that ceiling no longer holds.

Upholding the MP move would:

- Affirm **federal flexibility** in advancing social justice,
- Recognize **empirical realities over theoretical limits**, and
- Signal a **progressive shift** toward inclusive and data-driven affirmative action.

Conversely, striking it down would reinforce an outdated cap that fails to reflect the **evolving social and constitutional landscape** of India.

-G.Karunanidhi,

Gen Secretary, AIOBC Employees Federation



# THOUGHTS OF PERIYAR: Students - Our Precious Assets

पेरियार के विचार:  
छात्र - हमारे  
बहुमूल्य संपत्ति

“STUDENTS MUST HAVE FAITH IN NON VIOLENCE, NOT FOR EARNING GOOD KARMA, BUT BECAUSE VIOLENCE HURTS EVERYONE” – **THANTHAI PERIYAR**

“छात्रों को अहिंसा पर विश्वास रखना चाहिए – अच्छे कर्म के लिए नहीं, बल्कि इसलिए कि हिंसा सभी को आहत करती है।” - थंथई पेरियार

*[From a speech delivered in the Dravidian Students' Conference in Trichy on 02.12.1947. From 'Kudi Arasu' 03.04.1948]*

You are aware that nobody who is invited to address Manavar Kazhagam fails to heap praise on you. Student life is not permanent. Human beings are not always the same. You were children till yesterday and you are pursuing your studies today. Tomorrow you will be grown up and will be living in the society. In the unsteady period of the present, you cannot easily decide what is good for you.

I cannot believe that students are capable of thinking and planning useful deed and carrying it on to the finish. All the same I feel that I can make use of them for carrying out many useful deeds. For that they should hand over all their collective energy to well meaning leaders.

You should not get upset with me for what I am telling you. Students are capable of putting into action the mandate given to them by their leaders and learning what they are taught. They should never get the idea that they know everything. Only those who think like that will be generating uncontrollable anarchic tendencies. Hence they must be cautious in their thinking. To the best of their judgment they must find good leaders to lead them. They should get hold of great men who have the same affection towards the students as the students have for them and must have the concern to lead them in the proper path. We on our part have won the confidence of a small section of the students who repose faith in our principle. We consider them as our valuable assets.

## The Real Worth of Students

Students are good soldiers, not good generals. Good warriors, not good commanders.

(2 दिसंबर 1947 को त्रिची में आयोजित द्रविड़ छात्र सम्मेलन में दिए गए भाषण के अंश।)

आप जानते हैं कि जिसे भी मानवर कजगम (Manavar Kazhagam) में बोलने के लिए आमंत्रित किया जाता है, वह आपकी प्रशंसा किए बिना नहीं रहता। छात्र जीवन स्थायी नहीं है। मनुष्य हमेशा एक जैसा नहीं रहता। कल तक आप बच्चे थे, आज पढ़ाई कर रहे हैं, कल आप समाज में वयस्क बनकर जीवन व्यतीत करेंगे। वर्तमान के इस अस्थिर समय में आप आसानी से यह तय नहीं कर सकते कि आपके लिए क्या अच्छा है।

मुझे विश्वास नहीं कि छात्र अपने दम पर कोई उपयोगी कार्य सोचकर योजना बनाकर उसे पूरा कर सकते हैं। फिर भी मुझे लगता है कि मैं उन्हें कई उपयोगी कार्यों के लिए प्रेरित कर सकता हूँ – यदि वे अपनी सामूहिक ऊर्जा को सच्चे और समझदार नेताओं के अधीन कर दें।

आप मेरे इन शब्दों से नाराज़ न हों। छात्र अपने नेताओं द्वारा दिए गए आदेशों को अमल में लाने और जो सिखाया जाए उसे सीखने में सक्षम हैं। उन्हें कभी यह नहीं सोचना चाहिए कि वे सब कुछ जानते हैं। ऐसा सोचने वाले अराजक प्रवृत्तियाँ पैदा करते हैं। इसलिए उन्हें अपने विचारों में सावधान रहना चाहिए।

अपनी समझ के अनुसार उन्हें अच्छे नेताओं को पहचानना चाहिए जो उन्हें सही दिशा में मार्गदर्शन करें। ऐसे नेता जिनमें छात्रों के प्रति वही स्नेह हो जो छात्रों के मन में उनके लिए है।

हमने उन कुछ छात्रों का विश्वास जीता है जो हमारे सिद्धांतों पर आस्था रखते हैं – हम उन्हें अपनी बहुमूल्य संपत्ति मानते हैं।

## छात्रों का वास्तविक मूल्य

छात्र अच्छे सैनिक होते हैं, अच्छे सेनापति नहीं। वे अच्छे योद्धा होते हैं, परंतु अच्छे सेनानायक नहीं।



## Self Examination before Taking up Social Service

Before taking up social service, students must make an assessment whether they are capable of that. They must be prepared to forget their own welfare and forego it. They must find out if they are ready not to think highly of their position or their education and to consider themselves as no more than average human beings. They must also modify their lifestyle to that of an ordinary human being.

## Self Control

Just as parents take utmost care of their girl children so that they do not get spoilt by the outside world, students must be careful and not squander their physical and intellectual talents.

## Self Abnegation

You must think of yourselves as common men. You must minimize your physical comforts. You must be very humble. You must be utterly selfless. Only such students can do something useful. You must not be pleasure seekers. If you allow pleasure seekers to enter the Movement they will make use of the Movement for their personal gains and will desert it when their personal life is affected. They might work against the organisation or play into the hands of the opponents. Students must protect the Movement from such black sheep getting into it.

## Those Unfit for Service

Those who think very highly of themselves as soon as they get into public life and those who expect undue recognition and protection are incapable of remaining in any movement.

## Dangerous Disease

A social activist should have humility. He should never have ego. He must have the forbearance to withstand disappointments. There is one more malaise affecting the students. If they get on the platform just once or twice and receive applause, or they get their writings published in magazines, they start thinking that they are great leaders and preachers and expect respect from others. This is a dangerous trend. Then any movement with any principle will give them up. He will get fed up with public life and become unfit for it.

## My Experience

I have been a student. I have been a conceited vagabond. I have been a tyrannical rogue. But once I came to public life I have given up all that. I used to consider myself a common man and wait in the background until someone called me. That is why I am able to continue in public life without getting fed up or disappointed. I have never been disappointed that I failed to get recognition.

It was 1916 or 1917. I was the chairman of Erode Municipality. Then I owned a big horse drawn coach. Some VIPs visited my house. All of us had to go somewhere to condole a death. I made all of them get seated in the vehicle. There was no room for me. If the vehicle had to return for a second trip it would take a long time. Without hesitation I told the vehicle to be started and seated myself near the coachman. Those

## सामाजिक सेवा करने से पहले आत्म-परीक्षण

सामाजिक सेवा में उतरने से पहले छात्रों को स्वयं आकलन करना चाहिए कि क्या वे इसके योग्य हैं। उन्हें अपने स्वार्थ और सुविधा को भूलाने के लिए तैयार रहना चाहिए। उन्हें यह भी सोचना चाहिए कि क्या वे अपनी स्थिति या शिक्षा पर घमंड किए बिना खुद को एक साधारण मनुष्य मान सकते हैं। उन्हें अपनी जीवनशैली को भी सामान्य मनुष्य जैसी बनानी चाहिए।

## आत्म-संयम

जैसे माता-पिता अपनी कन्याओं की रक्षा के लिए अत्यधिक सावधान रहते हैं ताकि वे बिगड़ न जाएँ, वैसे ही छात्रों को भी अपने शारीरिक और बौद्धिक गुणों को व्यर्थ नहीं गंवाना चाहिए।

## आत्म-त्याग

आपको अपने आप को साधारण मनुष्य समझना चाहिए। अपने भौतिक सुखों को न्यूनतम रखना चाहिए। आप अत्यंत विनम्र और निस्वार्थ बनें। केवल ऐसे छात्र ही समाज के लिए उपयोगी हो सकते हैं। आपको भोग-विलासी नहीं बनना चाहिए।

यदि सुख-भोगी लोग आंदोलन में घुस आएँगे तो वे उसे अपने स्वार्थ के लिए इस्तेमाल करेंगे और जब उनका व्यक्तिगत जीवन प्रभावित होगा, वे आंदोलन छोड़ देंगे – बल्कि विरोधियों के हाथों में खेल भी सकते हैं। छात्रों को ऐसे काले भेड़ों से आंदोलन की रक्षा करनी चाहिए।

## सेवा के अयोग्य कौन

जो लोग सार्वजनिक जीवन में प्रवेश करते ही अपने बारे में अत्यधिक ऊँचा सोचने लगते हैं या जो हर समय प्रशंसा और संरक्षण की अपेक्षा करते हैं – वे किसी भी आंदोलन में टिक नहीं सकते।

## खतरनाक बीमारी

एक सामाजिक कार्यकर्ता को विनम्र होना चाहिए।

उसे अहंकारी नहीं होना चाहिए। उसमें निराशा झेलने का धैर्य होना चाहिए। छात्रों में एक और बीमारी होती है –

यदि वे एक-दो बार मंच पर बोलकर तालियाँ पा लें या उनकी रचनाएँ पत्र-पत्रिकाओं में छप जाएँ, तो वे खुद को महान नेता और विचारक समझने लगते हैं और दूसरों से सम्मान की अपेक्षा करने लगते हैं। यह प्रवृत्ति अत्यंत खतरनाक है। ऐसे लोग किसी सिद्धांत निष्ठ आंदोलन में टिक नहीं पाते और अंततः सार्वजनिक जीवन से ऊबकर अयोग्य बन जाते हैं।

## मेरा अनुभव

मैं भी एक छात्र रहा हूँ। मैंने भी अभिमानी आवाज़ और कठोर स्वभाव का जीवन जिया है। परंतु जब से सार्वजनिक जीवन में आया हूँ, यह सब छोड़ दिया है। मैंने अपने आप को एक सामान्य व्यक्ति समझा और हमेशा तब तक पीछे रहा जब तक किसी ने मुझे आगे नहीं बुलाया। इसी कारण मैं बिना ऊबे या निराश हुए सार्वजनिक जीवन में निरंतर बना रहा। मुझे कभी यह दुख नहीं हुआ कि मुझे पहचान नहीं मिली।

1916 या 1917 की बात है – मैं इरोड नगर पालिका का अध्यक्ष था। मेरे पास एक बड़ा घोड़ा-गाड़ी थी। कुछ बड़े अतिथि मेरे घर आए। हमें एक शोक-संवेदना के लिए कहीं जाना था।

मैंने सबको गाड़ी में बैठा दिया। मेरे लिए जगह नहीं बची। दूसरी बार गाड़ी भेजने में देर होती, इसलिए मैंने बिना झिझक गाड़ी चलाने को कहा और खुद कोचवान के पास जाकर बैठ गया। जो लोग भीतर बैठे थे, उन्हें इसका पता नहीं था।

inside the vehicle did not know this. After reaching the destination, when they saw me seated in the front they were all shocked. From that day their respect for me grew higher. The zamindar who was one of them would bow down before me and call me a prophet. I would make fun of him in return. They realized that I did not think it beneath my dignity to be seated near the coachmen, and also how ready I was to forego my comforts for the sake of my guests and started thinking high of me.

Even when I was in the Congress, I used to travel only in the III class. C. Rajagopalachari and Thiru.Vi.Ka used to travel II class. Thiru.Vi.Ka used to feel ashamed of it. I used to console him reminding him of his health condition.

Like this, students must make their needs very simple from very early days. They must be satisfied with simple food. While being the President of the Congress Party I used to argue a lot. But while working I would follow only their advice. I was generous in sacrificing my needs and respecting the others. In the same way you must always be prepared to sacrifice your needs for others.

### The Movement Belongs to Students

The principles of Dravida Kazhagam are difficult to follow. Even the activities will be hard. But all these must be performed only by the students, taking into account the future generation. They must be more enthusiastic than the elders.

### Non violence is the Symbol of Wisdom

Students must have faith in non violence, not for earning good Karma, but because violence hurts everyone. We have wisdom; therefore we must get things done through non violence. While we have wisdom, why should we use brutality? Non violence is an indispensable part of humanism.

As we are in the majority in the country, the violence engendered by us will hurt only us. You must all realize this. If you learn to follow a life of simplicity, your life will be comfortable and pleasant. Above everything, you must have a lot of patience, humility, and obedience.

Translated by Prof. A. Ayyasamy

गंतव्य पर पहुँचने पर जब उन्होंने मुझे आगे बैठा देखा तो वे स्तब्ध रह गए। उस दिन से उनका मेरे प्रति सम्मान और बढ़ गया। उनमें से एक ज़मींदार मुझे "ऋषि" कहकर झुककर प्रणाम करने लगा। मैं मज़ाक में उसे टाल देता था। उन्हें यह समझ में आया कि मुझे अपने सम्मान की परवाह नहीं और मैं अपने अतिथियों की सुविधा के लिए अपनी सुख-सुविधा त्यागने को तत्पर हूँ।

कांग्रेस में रहते हुए भी मैं तीसरे दर्जे (III क्लास) में यात्रा करता था, जबकि सी. राजगोपालाचारी और तिरु.वि.का दूसरे दर्जे (II क्लास) में यात्रा करते थे। तिरु.वि.का को इस पर संकोच होता था, और मैं उन्हें उनके स्वास्थ्य का हवाला देकर सांत्वना देता था।

छात्रों को भी आरंभ से ही अपनी आवश्यकताएँ सीमित रखनी चाहिए, सादा भोजन और जीवन अपनाना चाहिए। जब मैं कांग्रेस का अध्यक्ष था, मैं बहस बहुत करता था, लेकिन कार्य में हमेशा दूसरों की सलाह मानता था। मैं अपनी आवश्यकताओं का बलिदान देता और दूसरों का सम्मान करता था। उसी प्रकार आपको भी दूसरों के लिए अपनी आवश्यकताओं का त्याग करने के लिए सदा तैयार रहना चाहिए।

### आंदोलन छात्रों का है

द्रविड़ कड़गम के सिद्धांत कठिन हैं। इसकी गतिविधियाँ भी कठिन हैं। लेकिन इन्हें निभाना छात्रों का कर्तव्य है, क्योंकि भविष्य उन्हीं का है। उन्हें बड़ों से भी अधिक उत्साही होना चाहिए।

### अहिंसा – बुद्धिमत्ता का प्रतीक

छात्रों को अहिंसा में विश्वास रखना चाहिए –

अच्छे कर्म के लिए नहीं, बल्कि इसलिए कि हिंसा सभी को आहत करती है। हमारे पास बुद्धि है, इसलिए हमें कार्यों को अहिंसा के माध्यम से ही पूरा करना चाहिए। जब हमारे पास विवेक है, तो हम क्रूरता का सहारा क्यों लें? अहिंसा मानवता का अविभाज्य अंग है।

हम देश में बहुसंख्यक हैं – इसलिए हमारे द्वारा की गई हिंसा का नुकसान सबसे अधिक हमें ही होगा। आप सबको यह समझना चाहिए। यदि आप सादा जीवन जीना सीख लें, तो आपका जीवन सुखद और शांतिपूर्ण होगा। सबसे बढ़कर, आपको अत्यधिक धैर्य, विनम्रता और आज्ञाकारिता रखनी चाहिए।

सौजन्य: "कुडी आरसु", 3 अप्रैल 1948

अंग्रेजी अनुवाद: प्रो. ए.

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Editor: G.Karunanidhi



## HEARTFELT WARM WELCOME



**Shri. Asheesh Pandey** assumed charge as the Managing Director and Chief Executive Officer of **Union Bank of India**. His rich and distinguished experience, having held leadership roles across Union Bank of India, Bank of Maharashtra, and Corporation Bank, will undoubtedly steer the Bank towards greater growth and excellence. *On behalf of All India Union Bank OBC Employees Welfare Association, we extend our heartiest greetings and warmest congratulations.*

## WORKSHOP ON DISCIPLINARY PROCEEDINGS FOR OBC REPRESENTATIVES HELD AT HYDERABAD – OCT 13-15, 2025



The 3 days Disciplinary Proceedings Workshop for OBC representatives held at Zonal Learning Centre (LTC) Hyderabad between October 13-15, 2025. A total of 32 OBC representatives from all Zones of the Bank attended the program.

## PERIYAR BIRTH ANNIVERSARY – RUN/WALK FOR PERIYAR – CANADA



To mark the birth anniversary of Thanthai Periyar, the “Run/Walk for Periyar” was held with great spirit on Saturday, 27.09.2025, at Erindale Park, Mississauga, Canada, organised by Periyar Ambedkar Study Circle, Canada. G.Karunanidhi, Gen Secretary AIOBC Employees Federation participated in the event and presented books on Periyar to the organisers including children.

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