



# THANTHAI PERIYAR – ARIGNAR ANNA THE LEADER AND THE COMMANDER



#### **HISTORY CREATED - RESOUNDING SUCCESS**

14<sup>th</sup> State Conference of Union Bank of India Backward Classes Employees Welfare Association - Tamil Nadu Coimbatore - 23<sup>rd</sup> August 2025

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# DITORIAL EDITOR WE REPEAT EDITORIAL EDITOR Creamy Layer

### Courts don't have jurisdiction to impose

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS (102 & 105)
HAVE SCRAPPED THE 'CREAMY LAYER' CONCEPT

Thile upholding that states have the authority to further subdivide groups within reserved categories based on varying levels of backwardness to better allocate reservation benefits, the Judges of the Supreme Court including Justice B.R.Gavai emphasised the necessity to exclude the 'creamy layer' within the Scheduled Castes from reservation benefits intended for SC categories.

Currently, this concept is only applied to reservations for Other Backward Classes (OBCs).

But it has to be reminded to Judiciary as well as the Legislators that the Parliament of India by amending the Constitution thro' Constitution (102) Amendment Act, 2018 and further amending the Constitution thro' Constitution (105) Amendment Act, 2021 has totally scrapped the concept of creamy layer even for OBCs, that was directed by Supreme Court judgement in Indra Sawhney case.

The sole reason for the Supreme Court, in Indra Sawhney case, holding that creamy layer should be excluded to constitute OBC, for the purposes of reservation under Article 16(4) and 15(4) was the fact that there was no definition for SEBC in the Constitution or under any law. Now that defect has been rectified by Constitution 102 and 105 Amendments.

Now, after those amendments, Constitution itself has defined the OBC/SEBC in Article 366(26C). It is, more than the Presidential Order defining SC&ST. The lack of definition has been fulfilled and rectified by insertion of Article 342A read with Article 366(26C).

In article 366 of the Constitution, for clause (26C), the following clause shall be substituted, namely:—'(26C) "socially and educationally backward classes" means such backward classes as are so deemed under article 342A for the purposes of the Central Government or the State or Union territory, as the case may be.'.

It is not permissible to, or there is no scope for, or compulsion for, excluding creamy layer from such backward classes as are deemed so under Article 342A.

Therefore, the basis for judgment in Indra Sawhney case, necessitating the exclusion of creamy layer from the list of SEBC, ceases to exist as opined by **Dr. Justice A.K.Rajan.** 

Leave alone, SC/ST, it is therefore clear that no section of the people from the list of OBC/SEBC should be excluded as creamy layer as that would amount to violation of the Constitution.

The Union Government and States should ponder over these constitutional provisions and scrap the creamy layer concept that will address the lame excuse of 'no suitable candidate available' theory adopted by the Govt. Departments.

(Editorial Again Repeated - OBC VOICE: Editorial – September 2024)

# தந்தை பெரியார் — அறிஞர் அண்ணா: தலைவரும் தளபதியும்

# Thanthai Periyar – Arignar Anna The Leader and the Commander

கோ.கருணாந்தி

G.Karunanidhi



தமிழகத்தின் அரசியல், சமூக, பண்பாட்டு வரலாற்றைப் புரட்டிப் போட்ட இரு பெரும் புரட்சியாளர்கள் – தந்தை பெரியார் மற்றும் அறிஞர் அண்ணா. ஒருவர் சிந்தனைத் தலைவர்; மற்றவர் செயல்தலைவர். ஒருவர் தீப்பந்தம்; மற்றவர் அந்தத் தீப்பந்தத்தைக் கொண்டு இருள் கலைத்த போராளி.

பெரியார் (17.09.1879 – 24.12.1973),

அறிஞர் அண்ணா (15.09.1909 - 03.02.1969).

அண்ணா,பெரியாரைவிட 30 ஆண்டுகள் இளையவர். ஆயினும், பெரியார் 95 ஆண்டுகள் வாழ்ந்தபோது, The history of Tamil Nadu's political, social, and cultural renaissance cannot be told without the names of two towering leaders – **Thanthai Periyar** and **Arignar Anna**. One was the torchbearer of thought; the other, the warrior who carried that torch to dispel the darkness. One was the guiding father; the other, the victorious commander who led a movement to triumph.

Thanthai Periyar (17.09.1879 - 24.12.1973) and Arignar Anna (15.09.1909 - 03.02.1969)

அண்ணா 60 ஆண்டுகள் மட்டுமே வாழ்ந்தார். பெரியார் தனது வாழ்நாளில் 60 ஆண்டுகள் தீவிரமாகப் பொதுவாழ்வில் ஈடுபட்டார். அண்ணா, தனது வாழ்நாளின் பாதி – சுமார் 30 ஆண்டுகள் – பொதுவாழ்வில் தீவிரமாகச் செயல்பட்டார்.

#### அண்ணா – பெரியாரின் சீடர், ஆனால் அதில் மட்டுப்படாதவர்

அண்ணா எப்போதும் தன்னை 'பெரியாரின் சீடர்' என்று தாழ்மையுடன் கருதினார். ஆனால் அவர் வெறும் சீடரல்ல; சிந்தனைக்கு உயிரூட்டிய சிருஷ்டி. உலக சிந்தனையின் பல்வேறு போக்குகளையும் தனக்கே உரிய முறையில் ஏற்றுக்கொண்டது போலவே, பெரியாரின் சிந்தனையையும் இயக்கத்தையும் புதுமையாக்கினார்.

ஈரோடு திராவிடர் கழக மாநாட்டில் பெரியார் சொன்னார்:

"எனக்கு வயது எழுபதைத் தாண்டிவிட்டது. பெட்டியின் சாவியை அண்ணாவிடம் ஒப்படைக்கிறேன்" என்று.

இது தலைமையின் பூரண ஒப்படைப்பு; சீடனின் மேன்மைக்கான அங்கீகாரம்.

#### முரண்பாட்டிலும் ஒன்றுபடும் மகத்துவம்.

கொள்கை வேறுபாடு இருந்தும், சமூக நீதி முன் தனிப்பட்ட விரோதங்களைத் தள்ளி வைத்து ஒன்றிணைவது பெரியாரின் இயல்பு. அண்ணா அதையே பின்பற்றினார். தி.மு.க.வைப் புறக்கணித்த நேரத்திலும், சமூக நீதிக்காக கைகோர்த்து போராடிய இருவரும், எதிரிகளை வென்றனர்.

#### அண்ணாவின் ஆட்சி – பெரியாருக்கான காணிக்கை

1967-ல் ஆட்சிக் கட்டிலைப் பிடித்த அண்ணா, உடனே அறிவித்தார்:

#### "இந்த அரியணை பெரியாருக்குக் காணிக்கை!"

தந்தை-மகன் உறவு போலவே, தலைவரும் தளபதியும் இணைந்த அரிய வரலாறு இது.

#### அண்ணா – தமிழின் பண்பாட்டு குறியீடு

அண்ணா என்ற பெயர் ஒரு பண்பாட்டு சின்னம்; பெரியார் அந்தச் சின்னத்தின் அடித்தளம்.

உறங்கிக் கிடந்த தமிழர்களை விழித்தெழச் செய்தார் பெரியார். விழித்தெழுந்த தமிழர்களை வெற்றிக்குச் செலுத்தினார் அண்ணா.

#### அண்ணாவின் செயல்பாடு – சொல்லாடல் முதல் செயலாக்கம் வரை

 கம்பராமாயணம், பெரியபுராணம் குறித்த விவாதங்களில் வாதத்தால் வெற்றி கண்ட வாக்குவீரர். Anna was thirty years younger than Periyar, yet fate chose to take him away five years before Periyar's own demise. Periyar lived for 95 years, of which over six decades were dedicated to relentless public life. Anna lived only 60 years, half of which—thirty years—were spent in dedicated public service.

# Anna – The Disciple Who Became a Force of His Own

Anna always humbly regarded himself as "a disciple of Periyar." But he was never just a disciple; he was a creator who gave life to thought. Just as he absorbed and reshaped global ideas to suit his times, he also redefined and revitalized Periyar's ideals and movement in his own distinctive way.

At the Erode Dravidar Kazhagam Conference, Periyar declared openly:

#### "I have crossed seventy years of age. I now hand over the keys of the chest to Anna."

It was a complete transfer of leadership—an acknowledgment of the disciple's greatness.

#### **Unity Beyond Differences**

Even when ideological rifts arose, Periyar's principle was unwavering: **unite for social justice above personal disagreements.** Anna followed this legacy. Though their paths diverged politically at times, they stood together to defeat forces opposed to equality.

#### Anna's Rule - A Dedication to Periyar

In 1967, when Anna became the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, his first words were:

#### "This throne is but an offering to Periyar!"

A rare father-son bond, a leader-commander relationship – this remains unparalleled in history.

#### Anna - The Cultural Emblem of Tamil Nadu

Anna's very name became a cultural identity; Periyar was its indelible foundation.

Periyar awakened a slumbering Tamil society; Anna led the awakened Tamils to victory.

#### Anna's Journey - From Orator to Statesman

- A fearless debater who triumphed in intellectual battles on questions like the sanctity of Kamba Ramayanam and Periya Puranam.
- Founder of journals like Dravida Nadu and Kanchi Homeland.

- 'திராவிட நாடு', 'காஞ்சி ஹோம்லேண்ட்' போன்ற பத்திரிகைகளை நடத்திய எழுத்தாளர்.
- 'விடுதலை' பத்திரிகை ஆசிரியராகச் செயல்பட்ட பத்திரிகையாளர்.
- 1938 ஹிந்தி எதிர்ப்பு போராட்டத்திற்காக சிறை சென்ற போராளி.
- 18 ஆண்டுகள் இடைவெளிக்குப் பிறகு, 1967 தேர்தலில் வெற்றி பெற்றதும் முதலில் சந்தித்தவர் பெரியார்தான்.

**"நான் கண்ட தலைவர் – தந்தை பெரியார்"** என்ற உறுதி, இறுதி மூச்சுவரை நிலைத்தது.

#### பெரியாரின் கடைசி அறிவுரை:

1967, டிசம்பர் 19 – முதல்வராக இருந்த அண்ணா கேட்டார்:

"நான் மீண்டும் உங்களுடன் பகுத்தறிவுப் பயணமா? அல்லது ஆட்சிப் பொறுப்பிலா?"

பெரியார் பதிலளித்தார்:

"ஒரு நாள், ஒரு நிமிடம் மிச்சம் இருந்தாலும் முதல்வர் பதவியிலிருந்து விலகாதே! சமூகப்பணியை நான் தொடர்ந்து செய்வேன்."

இது தலைமைக்கு தலைமை வணங்கிய தருணம்! அண்ணாவின் மூன்று அழியாத சாதனைகள்:

- தமிழ்நாடு நம் மண்ணுக்கு உரிய பெயரைச் சட்டப்பூர்வமாக்கினார்.
- 2. சுய**மரியாதை திருமணங்கள்** சட்ட அங்கீகாரம் பெற்றன.
- இருமொழிக் கொள்கை தமிழ் மற்றும் ஆங்கிலம் மட்டும்; மூன்றாம் மொழி திணிப்பை நிராகரித்தார்.

அவர் சொன்னது வரலாற்றின் மணிமொழி:

"இந்த முப்பெரும் சாதனைகளை மாற்ற முயல்கின்றவர்கள் யாராயினும் அச்சப்படுவார்கள்; அந்த அச்சம் இருக்கும் வரை, இந்த நாட்டை அண்ணாதுரை ஆளுகிறார் என்றே அர்த்தம்!"

#### முடிவுரை

பெரியார் – தலைமைத் தந்தை.

அண்ணா – வெற்றித் தளபதி.

இருவரும் இணைந்து உருவாக்கிய சமூக நீதி பாதை இன்று தமிழகம் சென்று கொண்டிருக்கும் ஒளிப்பாதை!

(கட்டுரையாளர், ஓபிசி வாய்ஸ் இதழின் ஆசிரியர்)

- Editor of Viduthalai.
- Prisoner of conscience in the 1938 Anti-Hindi agitation.

After an 18-year political separation, when Anna won the historic 1967 elections, the first person he met was none other than Thanthai Periyar.

"The leader I have seen and cherished – Thanthai Periyar," he proclaimed and held firm to this conviction until his last breath.

#### Periyar's Final Counsel

On December 19, 1967, Chief Minister Anna asked:

"Shall I return to travel with you, village to village, for the rationalist cause? Or shall I continue as Chief Minister?"

Periyar's reply was profound:

"Even if you have just one day or one minute left, never give up the Chief Minister's office. I will continue the social work!"

A moment where leadership saluted leadership.

#### **Anna's Three Immortal Achievements:**

- 1. **Renaming our land as Tamil Nadu** affirming its rightful identity.
- 2. **Legalizing Self-Respect Marriages** upholding equality and dignity.
- 3. **Two-Language Policy** Tamil and English only, rejecting the imposition of a third language.

His words still resonate like timeless bells of justice:

"Those who dare to undo these three achievements will always tremble with fear. As long as that fear remains, Anna Durai still governs this land!"

#### Conclusion

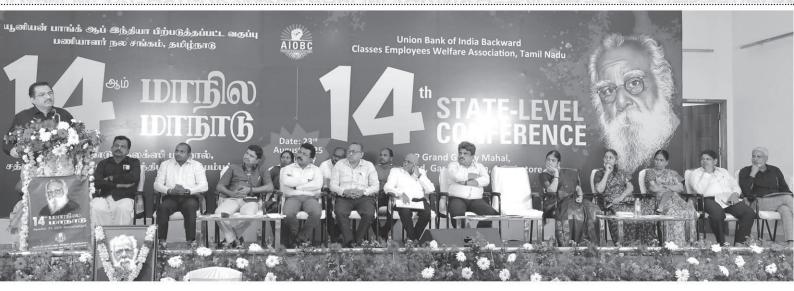
Periyar – the Father of the Movement.

Anna – the Commander of its Victory.

Together, they carved the path of social justice that continues to illuminate Tamil Nadu to this day.

Let us remember them, honor them, and live by their ideals.

(The writer is the Editor of OBC VOICE)



யூனியன் வங்கி ஓபிசி நல சங்கம், தமிழ்நாடு

14ூ**, ம் மாநில மாநாடு** வரலாறு படைத்த கோவை மாநாடு

# நல சங்க மாநாடு, சமூக நீதி மாநாடாக மிளிர்ந்தது

கோவை மாநாடு – நமது நல சங்கத்தின் பெருமையை மேலும் உயர்த்திய, சமூக நீதி கனவை நனவாக்கிய மாநாடு!

கோவையின் மண்ணில் எழுச்சியுடன் நடைபெற்ற இம்மாநாடு, முந்தைய அனைத்தையும் மிஞ்சி, சமூக நீதி மாநாடாக சிறப்பாகப் பரிணமித்தது.

தந்தை பெரியாருக்கு மலரஞ்சலி செலுத்தி, உற்சாக வரவேற்பு, சிறப்புப் பரிசுகள், நினைவுப் புத்தகங்கள் என ஆரம்பித்த மாநாடு, மாநிலம் முழுவதும் திரண்டு வந்த தோழர்களின் ஆர்வத்தால் ஒளிர்ந்தது.

பெரியாரின் சிந்தனைகள், சமூக நீதி பாடமாக பள்ளிகளில் சேர்க்கப்பட வேண்டும் என்ற சிறப்புத் தீர்மானத்தை முழங்கிய தலைவர் தோழர் கோ.கருணாநிதி தலைமையில், அனைவரும் ஒருமனதாக ஒப்புதல் வழங்கிய அந்த தருணம் – நமது வரலாற்றின் பொற்குறியாக அமைந்தது.

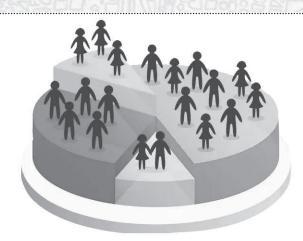
உயர் அதிகாரிகள், தோழமை அமைப்புகள், பிராந்திய தலைவர்கள் என அனைவரின் அருமையான உரைகள், சமூக நல சங்கத்தின் வலிமையையும் ஒற்றுமையையும் வெளிப்படுத்தின.

மாநாட்டின் நிறைவு, உற்சாகக் கரகோஷத்துடன், புதிய நிர்வாகிகள் தேர்வு, பெண்கள் அணி வலுவூட்டல் என எதிர்காலப் பயணத்திற்கான வலுவான துவக்கமாக அமைந்தது.

கோவை மாநாடு – நமது சங்கப் பயணத்தில், சமூக நீதி போராட்டத்தில், ஒரு பொற்கால நினைவாக!

சபாஷ்! கோவை தோழர்களே! உங்கள் அர்ப்பணிப்பு நமது வெற்றி!





# CONCEPT OF 'CREAMY LAYER' – NO MORE VALID CONSEQUENT UPON CONSTITUTION AMENDMENTS 102 & 105

#### - G.KARUNANIDHI

#### **Judiciary's Recent Observations**

Two recent developments have once again brought the controversial issue of the "creamy layer" into the spotlight:

- 1. Supreme Court's Notice: The Supreme Court has issued notice to the Centre on a petition seeking introduction of a "creamy layer" like system even for Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs). The petitioners argue for equitable distribution of reservation benefits within SC/ST communities, similar to the model applied to OBCs since 1992.
- 2. Government's Proposal on Uniformity: The Union Government is actively working on a proposal to ensure uniformity in creamy layer criteria for OBCs across Central and State services, Public Sector Undertakings, and Universities. The stated intent is to remove anomalies and harmonize quota benefits, with inputs from NITI Aayog and the National Commission for Backward Classes (NCBC).

These discussions relate both to extending the "creamy layer" logic beyond OBCs, and to streamlining it within OBC reservations.

#### The Indra Sawhney Judgement and Its Aftermath

It is a matter of history that the **Supreme Court,** in its judgement of 16th November 1992 (the Indra Sawhney case), introduced and imposed the concept of "creamy layer" exclusively on OBCs.

While striking down reservations in promotions, the Court carved out a new principle — that the "advanced sections" within OBCs should be excluded. The judges themselves had clarified that:

- This principle applies only to OBCs.
- It has no application to SCs and STs.

This judicial invention, however, had devastating consequences. Over the past three decades, thousands of eligible OBC aspirants have been denied the fruits of reservation, despite constitutional guarantees under Articles 15(4) and 16(4).

#### Misinterpretation and Bureaucratic Negativity

The problem was compounded when the Expert Committee Report (1993), which was adopted by Parliament, was deliberately misinterpreted by the Department of Personnel & Training (DoPT).

- OBC candidates selected through UPSC examinations under the OBC category were denied postings, often under the pretext of being "creamy layer."
- More than 100 such candidates have suffered injustice; several cases are still pending before the Apex Court.
- The Parliamentary Committee on OBCs, after receiving numerous complaints, strongly criticized DoPT's unilateral actions taken without consultation with the Ministry of Social Justice or the Ministry of Law.

This bureaucratic misapplication has led to absurd situations where:

- Eligible OBC candidates were disqualified citing "creamy layer," while
- Non-creamy candidates were rejected as "not suitable."

This dual discrimination has hollowed out the spirit of social justice.

## Constitutional Amendments Changed the Ground Reality:

It must now be emphasized that the **constitutional** basis for "creamy layer" has ceased to exist.

- In **2018**, the **102nd Constitutional Amendment Act** was passed, creating Article **342A** and inserting Article **366(26C)**.
- In **2021**, the **105th Constitutional Amendment Act** clarified and strengthened these provisions.

For the first time, the **Constitution itself defines** "Socially and Educationally Backward Classes (SEBCs)."

**Article 366(26C):** "Socially and educationally backward classes" means such backward classes as are so deemed under Article 342A for the purposes of the Central Government or the State or Union Territory, as the case may be.

Thus, just as the Constitution empowers the President and Governors to notify SCs and STs, it now provides a **clear constitutional definition and process for OBC/SEBC identification**.

#### Why the 'Creamy Layer' Concept No Longer Holds

The **Indra Sawhney judgement** had justified "creamy layer" exclusion solely on the ground that:

- There was no constitutional or statutory definition of OBC/SEBC.
  - That "defect" has been **fully rectified** by the 102nd and 105th Amendments.
- Parliament has filled the definitional vacuum.
- SEBCs now have **constitutional recognition** parallel to SCs and STs.

As eminent jurist **Justice A.K. Rajan** has opined:

"There is no scope, no compulsion, and no constitutional necessity to exclude a so-called creamy layer from the SEBC list under Article 342A."

Therefore, continuing with the creamy layer exclusion would not only be **unconstitutional**, but also amount to contempt of the constitutional will expressed through the amendments.

#### The Way Forward

The implications are clear:

- **For OBCs:** The "creamy layer" concept is obsolete after the constitutional amendments. No OBC/SEBC can be excluded arbitrarily.
- For SCs/STs: The proposal to introduce "creamy layer" is against the very foundation of social justice, and must be resisted.
- For Governance: The Union and State Governments must urgently realign their policies with the constitutional framework. Continuing to use creamy layer exclusion undermines both legality and social equity.

#### **Conclusion: Reclaiming Social Justice**

The time has come to remind both the **Judiciary** and the **Executive** that **Parliament is supreme in matters of constitutional amendment.** With Articles **342A** and **366(26C)** firmly in place, the very basis of the Indra Sawhney "creamy layer" doctrine has collapsed.

It is imperative that:

- The Union and State Governments **scrap the creamy layer exclusion immediately.**
- Bureaucratic excuses such as "no suitable candidate available" be set aside.
- Reservation benefits must reach all eligible OBCs, without artificial barriers.

Only then can the **constitutional promise of social justice** — the cornerstone of India's democracy — be meaningfully fulfilled.

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

#### EXPLAINED POLICY

# Creamy layer 'equivalence'

The criteria laid down to identify 'creamy-layer' OBCs are not comprehensive. There are anomalies that prevent the uniform application of quota benefits. The government proposes to correct this situation

SHYAMLAL YADAV

NEW DELHI, AUGUST 18

THE GOVERNMENT is considering ways to ensure "equivalence" in the application of the 'creamy layer' condition in reservation for Other Backward Classes (OBCs) across a range of jobs at central and state government organisations, public sector enterprises, universities, etc.

A proposal has been prepared after consultations among several government ministries and departments, and bodies such as NIII Aayog and the National Commission for Backward Classes (NCBC), The Indian Express reported last week.

The effort is to ensure fairness and uniformity among candidates who are eligible for reservation, and to remove certain anomalies that have arisen in this regard from circulars issued over the years by the Union government's Department of Personnel and Training (DoPT), which formulates policy on recruitments and service conditions.

#### The concept of 'creamy layer'

In its landmark verdict in Indra Sawhney vs Union of India (1992), the Supreme Court upheld the government's decision to implement the recommendations of the Mandal Commission, but said that affluent sections among the socially and educationally backward classes, the so-called "creamy layer", must be excluded from job quotas.

Thereafter, on September 8, 1993, DoPT issued a circular identifying the creamy layer that would be ineligible for OBC reservation. Sons and daughters of high constitutional functionaries, and government, PSU, and armed forces officers were included in the list, along with "professional class and those engaged in trade and industry", and "property owners". An "income/ wealth test" was also mentioned.

Specifically, an individual either of whose parents was a direct recruit to a Group A/ Class I government job, or if the parent was promoted to Group A before the age of 40, was not eligible for the OBC quota.

An individual both of whose parents were direct recruits to Group Bjobs would be part of the creamy layer. Children of armed forces officials only up to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel could avail of the quota.

For those outside the government sector, the income ceiling was set at Rs 1 lakh per annum. It was subsequently revised upwards, and the limit has been Rs 8 lakh since 2017. However, income from salary and agricultural income is not included.



The implementation of the Mandal Commission report by the government of Prime Minister V P Singh (above) was upheld by the Supreme Court in the Indra Sawhney case in 1993. Swadesh Talwar/Express Archive

#### 2004 'clarification' and after

The above criteria were not comprehensive, especially with regard to jobs outside the government sector.

So, on October 14, 2004, DoPT issued detailed "Clarifications regarding creamy layer amongst OBCs" in order to determine "the creamy layer status of sons and daughters of persons employed in organisations where equivalence or comparability of posts vis-à-vis posts in Government has not been evaluated". It was determined that: "Income of the par-

ents from the salaries and from the other sources (other than salaries and agricultural land) is determined separately. If either the income of the parents from the salaries or the income of the parents from other sources (other than salaries and agricultural land) exceeds... Rs 2.5 lakh per annum (which was the creamy laver income ceilingfor private persons at the time | for a period of three consecutive years, the sons and daughters of such persons shall be treated to fall in creamy layer...

However, these "clarifications" were not widely implemented to deprive individuals of reservation benefits during the UPA years (2004-14), as the government sought to woo OBCs in pursuit of various social justice goals.

In late 2014, DoPT started examining caste certificates issued by various authorities to determine their compliance with the 2004 "clarification"

Between the Civil Services Examinations

(CSE) of 2015 and 2023 (batches of 2016-24), DoPT rejected caste certificates of more than 100 successful candidates who would have qualified as OBC under the September 1993 criteria, but who were put in the creamy layer in accordance with the new criteria. Interestingly, many of these individuals have appeared in other competitive examinations. and have been considered OBC on the basis of the same caste certificate.

#### Efforts to find 'equivalence'

The unresolved case of the more than 100 candidates determined by DoPT as being in the creamy layer led to consultations among various stakeholder ministries.

While 'equivalence' has been established with regard to the various central PSUs, the process remains pending for others - and the sons/daughters of a wide range of employees are put in the creamy layer based on their incomes, thanks to "clarification" issued in 2004.

In June this year, Home Minister Amit Shah and NCBC chairman Hansraj Ahir recommended to the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment that the policy under consideration should be implemented retrospectively so that these more than 100 candidates are also able to benefit.

Views of the Ministries of Social Justice, Education, Law, and Labour, the Department of Public Enterprises and DoPT, as well as NITI Aayog and NCBC were sought in the matter. According to sources in the government,

some of the issues in the proposal to establish 'equivalence' are:

Since the salaries of university teachers from assistant professor upward typically start from 'Level 10', which is equivalent to entry-level Group A posts in the government, it has been proposed that children of univer-

sity teachers be categorised as creamy layer.

For central/ state autonomous and statutory bodies, it is proposed to establish 'equivalence' with central government officials, depending on their level/group/ pay scale, which is aligned with the corresponding pay in central and state governments.

■ Non-teaching staff of universities are proposed to be placed in the creamy layer depending on their level/group/pay scale.

■ It is proposed that all executive-level positions in state PSUs be treated as creamy laver, akin to the 'equivalence' that has been in force for central PSUs since 2017. However, it has been proposed that executives whose income is within Rs 8 lakh - which is the ceiling for private persons - will not be categorised as creamy layer.

■ It is proposed that employees of government-aided institutions, which usually follow the service conditions and pay scales of the central or respective state government, be placed under appropriate categories based on the 'equivalence' of their post and service conditions and pay scales.

#### The likely beneficiaries

If the proposals are implemented, sons/ daughters of lower-level government employees with annual salaries of more than Rs 8 lakh are likely to benefit the most. It will correct the anomaly by which children of government teachers get the benefit of OBC quota, but children of employees of similar rank at government-aided institutions are denied on the basis of income.

A similar situation exists in several state government organisations. In one of the cases before the government, the children of an individual who fills fuel in vehicles at a pump run by a state-owned oil marketing company have been declared creamy layer on the basis of income.

Not much is expected to change for children of employees in the private sector. Sources in the government said it is noted in the proposal that it is difficult to establish 'equivalence' given the vast range of positions, pay, and perquisites in private employment, and creamy layer can be determined based on the income/ wealth criteria.

The income ceiling was revised in 2004, 2008, 2013, and 2017.





# STATE EDUCATION POLICY - SCHOOL EDUCATION - SUGGESTIONS FOR STRENGTHENING - REG.

- P.B.GAJENDRA BABU



Minister, Government of Tamil Nadu for having demonstrated in clear terms that the State Government under the federal Constitution has the authority to evolve its own policy on education taking into account the specific needs of the people and the opportunities available in the respective States in order to contribute to the overall socio-economic development of India. Tamil Nadu, being the first State to come out with a State Policy, has set an example for other States to evolve State Specific Policy for educational development of the respective States that may lead to the overall educational development of India.

The non-availability of the Report of the High Level Committee (HLC) in the public domain and the announcement of the policy without placing the draft for discussion and ascertaining the views of the public, denied the democratic space for people to negotiate on certain proposals in the policy.

SPCSS-TN studied the State Education Policy and wishes to place the following before the Government of Tamil Nadu for its kind consideration and for taking necessary measures to address the concerns and strengthen the policy.

At the outset we wish to clarify the reason for which NEP 2020 is not acceptable.

The NEP 2020 is not grounded on the premises of the Constitution of India, but on the premises of the WTO - GATS in order to safe guard the interest of the international financial capital. The NITI Aayog provides necessary inputs for formulating policy that will take care of the private players. The interest of the nation and development of people have no place in the NEP 2020.

The NEP 2020 is manipulative and well-crafted to confuse people on the purpose of school study. The NEP 2020 is a clear road map to push the majority of the students into market as cheap semi-skilled labourers by luring them with various options and that is the purpose of multiple exits and multiple entries. It is well known, given the socio-economic and educational background of the

to education for all without any discrimination.

Kalaignar realised that inequalities and branding of schools results in affecting the students psychologically, leading to inferiority complexes that demotivate and result in weakening the self-confidence of school students. He recognised the need to remove the discriminatory structures and practices in the school education and provide equitable access to education for all children till they complete their school education i.e. Higher Secondary Course. That is the reason he used the term "Samacheer Kalvi" to convey the idea of "Equity in Education".

Samacheer Kalvi should not be understood as confined to Common Syllabus and Common Board Exams. Dr. S. Muthukumaran, the Former Vice



families, generally the students who exit, will never enter again. There may be exemptions, exemptions cannot be generalized.

The PM SHRI that is considered to be the laboratory to test the NEP 2020 is nothing but a design to weaken the government school system and create a cult that will be ready to accept a sanskritised mono-cultural nation.

#### **Understanding Kalaignar's vision:**

While Kalaignar's centenary celebrations are completed and many memorials are being established to cherish his ideals and vision, it is very important that the School Education Department be guided by his vision of providing equitable access

- Chancellor and Chairperson of the Committee that drafted the Report on Samacheer Kalvi had explained the idea behind the entire process and the vision of the government while talking to the press.

The statement of Dr. S. Muthukumaran is reproduced in order to understand the vision of Kalaignar, the Five Time Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. The Hindu Madurai Desk reported as follows on August 28, 2009:

"Stating that the student community at large would benefit immensely from the uniform system, Dr. Muthukumaran observed that the new system would pave way for bringing in "neighbourhood school concept" to the fore. "The objective of our committee's recommendations was that there should be standard education in all schools. When there is equitable system, all schools will become good schools without any distinction in quality," he felt.

It should be noted that even during the period when Kalaignar was the Chief Minister there were discriminatory structures and practices in the Government School System. His vision was to remove all discriminatory structures and practices and establish a system that will place all students equal in all sense. The Common Syllabus and Common Board Exam was a step towards that direction.

SPCSS-TN, in the affidavit filed before the High Court and Supreme Court in defence of Samacheer Kalvi, had clearly stated that the aim of Samacheer Kalvi is to establish Common School System with Neighbourhood schools and the Common Syllabus and Common Board Exam is only a step towards that direction. The Government headed by Kalaignar took the first step and before it could proceed to bring in total reform, in the very next year, there was a change in the government and the entire process was derailed for the reasons best known to everybody.

Kalaignar through his writing warned of dangers that could be sensed even at the stage of discussion on Draft National Education Policy and urged the Government and the people to strengthen the education of the State that is based on the principles of Social Justice.

In the 2021 election to the State Assembly, the people were clear in rejecting the NEP 2020 and gave their mandate for evolving a State Specific Policy that could end all discriminatory structures and practices in the education sector and establish a system that could provide equitable access to education for all at all levels.

# **Expectations on the State Education Policy - School Education (SEP - SE):**

The policy being the vision statement of the Government of Tamil Nadu, should realise the constitutional goals of establishing a society of equals. It should give direction for the concerned department to formulate plans and strategies for the social transformation and emancipation of people who face different forms of oppression and denials.

Policies do not talk about technicalities. It will recognise the challenges and provide confidence to face the challenge. A policy will have clarity on government allocation of funds needed to realise the vision. A government policy cannot place the funding responsibility with the philanthropists.

A policy on school education should provide a road map for equitable access to education for all and a smooth transition from school education to higher education. The school education must aim to bring all to higher education and not push them out of mainstream education by luring them to get trained for a vocation. Making student job ready should not be the purpose of the school education.

The State Policy should be grounded on the premises of the Constitution of India. The Policy should set the curricular goals. The policy is neither a status report nor a technical document.

Fraternity as assured by the Constitution of India is possible only when social equity and gender equity are realised. The policy should ensure that at the completion of basic education in schools, the student should have a clear vision that caste is a discriminatory social practice and it is against the Constitution of India.

The policy should redesign the school assessment to ensure that the assessment is designed with necessary components to evaluate whether the student understood the contradictions between the social values thrust by the society on the individuals and the Constitutional values and resolve to adopt the Constitutional Values in her / his life.

#### **Areas of Concern in the SEP -SE:**

## Model Schools and VETRI - the Schools for Excellence:

The concept of Model Schools, VETRI Schools and involvement of volunteers in curricular activities are against the concept of Samacheer Kalvi Policy and the principles of Social Justice.

A policy cannot sustain inequalities. The discrimination is grounded on the belief that the government will not be able to provide all facilities for all students and only selected students will be able to achieve what they desire.

This approach is not only against the spirit and vision of Kalaignar's Samacheer Kalvi but also against the spirit and provisions of the Constitution of India.

The branding of schools as Model and VETRI - the Schools of Excellence are against **Article 14 and 21.** It negates the mandate given to the government by the Constitution of India through **Article 41.** 

The society is based on caste, which is a discriminatory social practice. The graded

inequality is prevalent in the society and forced on the people as social values, the social values are in contrast to the Constitutional values.

The multi-track school system within the Government Schools that provides for schools, model schools and VETRI - the schools for Excellence will further widen the inequality and provide the basis for justification of social discrimination.

Separate structures within government schools will never help in strengthening the Government schools. It will only weaken.

The statement that slowly the model schools will be expanded in order to make all schools as Model Schools is only an illusion. It is a carefully crafted design on the lines of NITI Aayog suggestions to close the non-viable schools by merging several government schools.

Branding of certain schools within the Government Schools is nothing but a design to weaken the government schools and slowly merge several schools into one school and thereby reduce the number of government schools. The final goal is to handover the management of the remaining government schools to the private parties as it is being done with the Sainik Schools.

The State policy is expected to remove all discriminatory structures and practices in school education and provide for equitable access to quality education for all.

## Vocational Training, Curricular Developments, Practical classes, Experiential Learning:

Practical and Theory classes are different from experiential learning.

Experiential learning is different from vocational skilling / training.

Vocational Stream in Higher Education is different from Vocational Training for Higher Secondary Students. Vocational Stream is not for ensuring job ready youth.

The students getting admitted into a vocational stream may be focused on a particular technological or engineering course. The students opt vocational stream in higher secondary courses not for immediate job opportunities but to pursue higher studies in the area of their interest.

The State Policy aims at providing career guidance from secondary level onwards. The secondary level starts from class 9. Career guidance from secondary level will only motivate the students to get into a job to meet the immediate financial needs of the family. Youngsters born in the working class families will

not be willing to see their parents suffer in poverty. The students at secondary level must only be informed of educational opportunities in different fields of study.

In vocational training, the students are pushed towards a vocation and the training is aimed to help the student secure employment. This approach will drive the students, even before completing their childhood, to enter the job market as just semiskilled cheap labourers.

The purpose of experiential learning is for better understanding of the subject and developing an aptitude and attitude to pursue higher studies in the concerned subject.

The curricular reforms are needed not only for vocational streams courses but for every course including the General Stream.

Students pursuing any subject should have the opportunity to visit the connected industry, it may be hospital, hospitality, financial institutions, agriculture fields etc. They should visit for observation and to understand how the theory they learn is practiced.

Students pursuing an agriculture course will study the latest development in agriculture practice, the new technology and scientific approach in production, they may also study the economic impact and needs of agricultural production with relation to the population size and expected growth. The purpose is not to train the students to learn which crops yield better profit and become a cultivator of that crop.

Students will visit agriculture fields, plantations and connected industries to understand the theory they study and relate them to the agricultural practices in the place of their visit. They don't visit to get trained for becoming an agriculturalist themselves.

Experiential learning is being confused with vocational training.

The policy should clarify the intention, whether the course is designed for the student to pursue higher studies or push them into a job.

Certain communities still have no representation in higher education. As long as the burden of family poverty falls on the younger ones in the family, this stagnation will continue. This will also affect the GER in higher education. The welfare state should provide means for the family to survive, and encourage the younger ones to pursue higher education.

The School Education should provide opportunities for holistic development of the individual. School

Education should help the child to grow into an adult with full confidence and knowledge to remove all forms of disparities and discriminations and to establish a society of equals as envisioned by the Constitution of India.

The purpose of school education is not to enhance workplace readiness.

The purpose of school education is to help the students pursue higher studies.

## The Government Schools and Government Grant in Aid Schools:

The State policy should treat all aided schools on par with government schools. The policy document provides various technical details but fails to state the number of Government Aided Schools and the Government Schools under various departments and number of permanent teacher posts.

#### **Staff Appointments:**

Extracting work from the teacher qualified personnel without any guarantee for permanent employment and meagre wages just for the period of their service is in violation of **Article 43** of the Constitution of India. Permanent teaching and non-teaching staff are must for continuous formative assessment. They are the lifeline of school education. The policy should direct appointment of all staff on permanent posts.

It is the duty of the teachers to ensure basic literacy and numeracy. The age appropriate syllabus and textbooks are meant for the purpose. The entry of volunteers in the curricular activities will undermine the purpose of school education.

#### **Financial Commitment:**

The policy should not be expected to be implemented through volunteerism and philanthropic contribution. The entire funds needed for the school education should come from the budgetary allocation.

## Transition from School Education to Higher Studies:

The State policy should clearly state that the scores of the Board Exams conducted at the end of Higher Secondary Courses will be the eligibility for entering higher studies and there will be no other entrance or eligibility test as far the State Government Colleges and Universities are concerned in general as well as professional courses.

The policy should clearly state that the curriculum and syllabus will be designed for each subject in order to ensure that the students will be fully prepared to pursue their higher studies in the respective fields and will be capable of mastering in the subjects concerned. The policy should state that the evaluation through board exams will test the competence of the students in all aspects to ensure that the students are fully prepared to undergo higher studies in the respective fields.

The policy on higher education is yet to be released. The State Education Policy will be complete only when the Policy on Higher Education is also released.

The policy on higher education should be clear in ensuring full funding for all Government and Aided Colleges, and Government Universities. The full grant should be provided by the Government. The University and affiliated college system should continue. Each University has its own uniqueness and nobody including TANSCHE should be permitted to interfere through Common Syllabus and other modes.

The policy on higher education should reject Outcome Based Education and evaluation based on OBE. The Blended learning and OBE are to encourage campus-less study and aimed at driving the students to market as semi-skilled cheap labourers. The Policy on higher education should be designed more carefully in order to strengthen and expand the Government Higher Education Institutions.

The student organisations, the educational bodies and educationists have come out with various suggestions to improve and strengthen the policy. Hallmark of democracy is to hear and respond to criticism. We sincerely expect that the Government will approach the issue democratically in order to strengthen the policy. If the policy is to be implemented, without addressing any of the issues raised by various forums, it will have a disastrous effect on the Government Funded School Education System that has been built on the principles of Social Justice.

We earnestly request the Hon'ble Chief Minister to examine the concerns expressed and hold direct consultation with all members of the High Level Committee and the organisations and individuals who have presented their suggestions for strengthening the State Education Policy - School Education. ■

(Copy of the letter written to Hon'ble Thiru.M.K.Stalin, Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu by P.B, Gajendra Babu, General Secretary of State Platform for Common School System – Tamil Nadu (SPCSS-TN))



THOUGHTS OF PERIYAR:

# Untouchability – A Social Curse

पेरियार के विचार:

छुआछूत - एक सामाजिक अभिशाप

On 1st May 1969, Thanthai Periyar addressed a public gathering at Triplicane, Chennai, strongly condemning the widespread practice of untouchability in Tamil Nadu and many other parts of India. He emphatically stated that this deeprooted social evil cannot be eradicated without dismantling Brahminism. The essence of his speech is as follows—

In our conference held at Chennai on 20th April 1969, a resolution was passed giving top priority to eradicating our social degradation. Who governs us is of secondary importance. However benevolent a foreign rule might be, the Brahmins seek to overthrow it and seize power. During British rule, Brahmins in the Congress wanted to replace it with self-rule. Senior leader Sathyamurthy supported self-rule but never spelt out its benefits for the State.

#### The Curse Continues...

Untouchability has persisted for thousands of years. It was not eradicated even under the British. Even after independence and becoming a Republic, and despite 22 years having passed since the British left India, this evil remains entrenched. Why are we still tolerating this menace? How long will it continue?

I am certain that the present State government will do nothing to abolish untouchability. No article in our Constitution can remove it. We once hoped that foreign rule would end it—but that hope has vanished.

Even during the British period, the poor untouchables did not attain liberation. If any other foreign rule can wipe out this evil, we

1 मई 1969 को, तंतई पेरियार ने चेन्नई के ट्रिप्लिकेन में एक सार्वजनिक सभा को संबोधित करते हुए तमिलनाडु और भारत के अन्य कई हिस्सों में फैले छुआछूत की कड़ी निंदा की। उन्होंने दढ़ता से कहा कि गहरे जड़ जमा चुकी इस सामाजिक बुराई का अंत तब तक संभव नहीं है, जब तक ब्राह्मणवाद को खत्म नहीं किया जाता। उनके भाषण का सार इस प्रकार है—

#### चेन्नई सम्मेलन का संकल्प

20 अप्रैल 1969 को चेन्नई में आयोजित हमारे सम्मेलन में सामाजिक गिरावट को समाप्त करने को सर्वोच्च प्राथमिकता देने का संकल्प लिया गया। हम पर कौन शासन करता है, यह हमारे लिए द्वितीयक महत्व का है। चाहे विदेशी शासन कितना भी उदार क्यों न हो, ब्राहमण उसे उखाड़ फेंक कर सत्ता हथियाना चाहते हैं। ब्रिटिश शासन के दौरान कांग्रेस में ब्राहमण चाहते थे कि इसे स्वशासन से बदला जाए। विरष्ठ नेता सत्यमूर्ति स्वशासन के पक्ष में थे, लेकिन उन्होंने कभी यह नहीं बताया कि इससे राज्य को क्या लाभ होगा।

#### अभिशाप जारी...

छुआछूत हजारों वर्षों से बना हुआ है। ब्रिटिश शासन में भी इसका अंत नहीं हुआ। आज़ादी और गणराज्य बनने के बाद भी और ब्रिटिशों के भारत छोड़ने के 22 वर्ष बीत जाने पर भी यह बुराई जस की तस है। हम इसे कब तक सहेंगे? यह कितने समय तक चलता रहेगा? मुझे पूरा विश्वास है कि वर्तमान राज्य सरकार इसे खत्म करने के लिए कुछ नहीं करेगी। हमारे संविधान का कोई अनुच्छेद इसे समाप्त नहीं कर सकता। हमने कभी उम्मीद की थी कि विदेशी शासन इसे खत्म करेगा – पर वह उम्मीद भी टूट चुकी है।

ब्रिटिश काल में भी गरीब अछूतों को मुक्ति नहीं मिली। अगर कोई अन्य विदेशी शासन इस बुराई को मिटा सकता है, तो हमें उसका स्वागत करना चाहिए और पूरी तरह उसका समर्थन करना चाहिए। should welcome it and support such a saviour wholeheartedly.

#### **Remedial Measures**

Our people detest foreign rule as if it were some contaminated food forced upon them. They eat fish, meat, chicken, and pork—but shun beef. Pigs, fish, goats, and chickens consume all kinds of filth, but cows do not. Yet people, blinded by superstition, believe that eating beef is against their religion and scriptures.

Similarly, while they yearn to end their degradation, meaningless patriotism makes them recoil at the idea of foreign governance. This is an unfounded fear. What has patriotism yielded so far? Nothing but humiliation and contempt. Is it not high time we awoke from this delusion?

To completely annihilate untouchability, we must renounce blind faith in God, religion, traditional customs, outdated scriptures, and mythological tales. As long as these survive, untouchability will persist. Without overthrowing the present rule in Delhi and the Constitution it upholds, this evil will not end. As long as Brahminist domination endures, untouchability will remain.

Our current government is a democratic one of our own people, yet it cannot abolish untouchability. If the State acts against Delhi's will, the Centre can dismiss it under constitutional powers. Thus, the State government's hands are tied.

#### **Political Changes**

In my view, for smooth administration, municipalities should be managed entirely by the ruling party, without interference. If opposition parties capture them, the result will be endless accusations, quarrels, and chaos. The recent election results are therefore satisfactory.

Alongside holding thanksgiving meetings across the State, our cadres should praise the government. They must also press it to allocate rights, positions, and employment to our people in proportion to religion and caste-based representation.

#### **Prime Tasks Ahead**

The government should ignore petty scandals involving ministers and legislators, focusing instead on the welfare of the people. Those who played a key role in bringing the government to power must be given preference in education and employment. Minorities should not receive privileges beyond reasonable limits, and the majority should not be denied their rightful share. This is the true spirit of democracy.

Jobs in the police department—from constables to sub-inspectors—should be reserved exclusively

#### उपचारात्मक कदम

हमारे लोग विदेशी शासन से ऐसे नफ़रत करते हैं मानो यह कोई दूषित भोजन हो जो उन पर थोप दिया गया हो। वे मछली, मांस, चिकन, और सूअर का मांस खाते हैं — पर गाय का मांस नहीं। सूअर, मछली, बकरी, और मुर्गी सब तरह की गंदगी खाते हैं, लेकिन गाय नहीं। फिर भी लोग अंधविश्वास में फंसकर मानते हैं कि गोमांस खाना धर्म और शास्त्र के खिलाफ है।

इसी तरह, वे अपनी सामाजिक गिरावट का अंत चाहते हैं, लेकिन निरर्थक देशभिक्त उन्हें विदेशी शासन के विचार से पीछे हटने पर मजबूर कर देती है। यह निराधार डर है। अब तक देशभिक्त ने क्या दिया है? केवल अपमान और तिरस्कार। क्या अब समय नहीं आ गया है कि हम इस भ्रम से जागें?

छुआछूत को पूरी तरह समाप्त करने के लिए हमें भगवान, धर्म, पारंपरिक रीति-रिवाज, पुराने शास्त्र और पौराणिक कथाओं में अंधविश्वास छोड़ना होगा। जब तक ये जिंदा हैं, छुआछूत भी रहेगा। जब तक दिल्ली का मौजूदा शासन और उसका संविधान कायम है, यह बुराई खत्म नहीं होगी। और जब तक ब्राह्मणवादी वर्चस्व बना रहेगा, छुआछूत भी रहेगा। हमारी वर्तमान सरकार लोकतांत्रिक है, अपने ही लोगों की है, फिर भी छुआछूत समाप्त नहीं कर सकती। यदि राज्य दिल्ली की इच्छा के खिलाफ कार्य करता है, तो केंद्र उसे संवैधानिक शक्तियों के तहत भंग कर सकता है। इसलिए राज्य सरकार के हाथ बंधे हुए हैं।

#### राजनीतिक बदलाव

मेरे विचार में, सुचारू प्रशासन के लिए नगरपालिकाओं का संचालन पूरी तरह सत्तारूढ़ दल के हाथों में होना चाहिए, बिना किसी हस्तक्षेप के। अगर विपक्षी पार्टियां उन्हें हथिया लेंगी, तो परिणाम आरोप-प्रत्यारोप, झगड़े और अव्यवस्था ही होगा। हालिया चुनाव नतीजे इसलिए संतोषजनक हैं।

राज्य भर में धन्यवाद सभाएं आयोजित करने के साथ-साथ, हमारे कार्यकर्ताओं को सरकार की प्रशंसा करनी चाहिए। साथ ही, उन्हें सरकार पर दबाव बनाना चाहिए कि धर्म और जाति-आधारित प्रतिनिधित्व के अनुपात में हमारे लोगों को अधिकार, पद और रोजगार दिए जाएं।

#### मुख्य कार्य

सरकार को मंत्रियों और विधायकों से जुड़े छोटे-मोटे घोटालों की अनदेखी कर जनता के कल्याण पर ध्यान देना चाहिए। जिन्होंने सरकार बनाने में अहम भूमिका निभाई, उन्हें शिक्षा और रोजगार में प्राथमिकता मिलनी चाहिए। अल्पसंख्यकों को उचित सीमा से अधिक विशेषाधिकार नहीं मिलने चाहिए और बहुसंख्यकों को उनके अधिकार से वंचित नहीं किया जाना चाहिए। यही लोकतंत्र की सच्ची भावना है।

पुलिस विभाग में — कांस्टेबल से लेकर सब-इंस्पेक्टर तक — सभी नौकरियां केवल अनुसूचित जाति के उम्मीदवारों के लिए आरक्षित होनी चाहिए। इससे ऊँची जातियों को उनका सम्मान करने के लिए मजबूर होना पड़ेगा और धीरे-धीरे उनका सामाजिक कलंक मिट जाएगा।

for Scheduled Caste candidates. This would compel upper castes to respect them, gradually erasing the social stigma they endure.

#### **Punishment for Arrogance**

Any regime that ignores its voters is doomed to collapse. The Congress fell due to its arrogance, neglecting the majority and favouring the minority. The current government must avoid repeating this blunder

#### **Urgent Need for Judicial Reforms**

Cases in the Madras High Court drag on for years. A personal case of mine has been pending for five years—imagine the plight of ordinary citizens. With only one High Court in Madras, a person from Kanyakumari faces great hardship. The Supreme Court in Delhi is over 2,000 miles away. Comprehensive reforms in the judicial system are urgently needed.

#### **Justice Delayed**

An excess of lower courts often causes confusion and inconvenience. Prolonged delays in case disposal undermine public faith in the judiciary and indirectly fuel crime. Swift justice would instil fear in wrongdoers. Courts across the country need reorganisation, modernisation, and efficiency.

#### Conclusion

All this may seem far removed from my central theme—untouchability—but I stress that Brahminist domination is the root cause not only of untouchability but of hundreds of other societal problems. Once it is eradicated, the rest will gradually vanish with time.

(Courtesy: Viduthalai / The Modern Rationalist, December 2022) Translated by: M.R. Manohar

#### अहंकार की सजा

कोई भी शासन जो अपने मतदाताओं की अनदेखी करता है, उसका पतन निश्चित है। कांग्रेस अपने अहंकार के कारण गिरी, क्योंकि उसने बहुसंख्यकों की उपेक्षा की और अल्पसंख्यकों का पक्ष लिया। मौजूदा सरकार को इस गलती को नहीं दोहराना चाहिए।

#### न्यायिक स्धार की तात्कालिक आवश्यकता

मद्रास उच्च न्यायालय में मुकदमे वर्षों तक लंबित रहते हैं। मेरा एक निजी मामला पाँच वर्षों से लंबित है – तो आम नागरिक की क्या हालत होती होगी, सोचिए। मद्रास में केवल एक ही उच्च न्यायालय होने से कन्याकुमारी के व्यक्ति को बड़ी कठिनाई होती है। दिल्ली का सर्वोच्च न्यायालय 2,000 मील से भी अधिक दूर है। न्यायिक व्यवस्था में व्यापक सुधार की सख्त जरूरत है।

#### न्याय में देरी

निचली अदालतों की अधिकता अक्सर भ्रम और असुविधा पैदा करती है। मामलों के निपटान में लंबी देरी से जनता का न्यायपालिका पर विश्वास डगमगा जाता है और अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से अपराध को बढ़ावा मिलता है। त्वरित न्याय से अपराधियों में भय पैदा होगा। पूरे देश में अदालतों के प्नर्गठन, आध्निकीकरण और दक्षता की आवश्यकता है।

#### निष्कर्ष

यह सब मेरे मुख्य विषय "छुआछूत" से दूर लगने जैसा हो सकता है, लेकिन मैं यह जोर देकर कहना चाहता हूं कि ब्राह्मणवादी वर्चस्व केवल छुआछूत का ही नहीं, बल्कि सैकड़ों अन्य सामाजिक समस्याओं का भी मूल कारण है। जब यह समाप्त हो जाएगा, तो बाकी समस्याएं समय के साथ धीरे-धीरे मिट जाएंगी।

> (सौजन्यः विदुथलाईः द मॉडर्न रैशनिलस्ट, दिसंबर 2022) अनुवादः एम.आर. मनोहर हिन्दी अनुवादः रवीन्द्र राम

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#### **VALEDICTORY SESSION**







#### PM Surya Ghar Muft Bijili Yojna (PMSGMBY)

Parameter	Features
Features	Installation of Roof Top Solar for residential purpose only.
	Solar subsidy up to Rs.78000.00
	No Processing Fees for PM Suryaghar: Muft Bijli Yojna (PMSMBY)
	❖ Maximum loan Tenure up to 120 Months
	No Income Documents up to 2 Lakh
	STP journey for Roof top solar is live from 29.03.2025
Eligible Entities	<ul> <li>Existing Home Loan borrowers</li> </ul>
	Individuals who have not availed home loans
	Individuals who have availed home loan with other bank (subject to submission of NOC from Bank).
	Staff members of our bank are eligible for availing loan under the scheme on terms as applicable to general public.
	* Applicant having CIC score 680 & above (NTB also eligible)
	* Having sufficient area as mandated by MNRE from time t
	time.
ROI	❖ EBLR -2.25 i.e. Presently 6.00 %
Quantum of Finance	❖ Up to Rs 15.00 lakhs /25 Kw
Margin	10 % of project cost (for PMSMBY) & 20% for others
Repayment Period	Maximum 120 months (10 years)
Moratorium	❖ 6 Months
Subsidy	<ul> <li>a) 1KW- Rs. 30000/- b) 2KW- Rs. 60000/- c) 3KW- Rs. 7800</li> <li>To be claimed by borrower (Loan account number to b provided for credit of subsidy amount in loan account)</li> </ul>
Security	❖ Hypothecation of Roof Top Solar
Net Annual income	❖ Not Required up to 2 Lakhs
Processing charge	❖ Nil for PM Suryaghar
	❖ 0.50% of loan amount plus GST for Composite & Standalone
Insurance	The URTS should be insured by the borrower with usual ban clause
For more details, contact branch nearest to you	Clause  Union Bank Of India A Government of India Ledenthiang seed aposite to some with seed aposite to some with C 1800 2333