Vol: 4 No.: 5
September 2026

Private Circulation

OBC VOICE



PROVIDE ENUMERATORS WITH A COMPREHENSIVE CASTE LIST

TO ENSURE ACCURATE DATA OF ALL COMMUNITIES

CENSUS 2027 MUST CAPTURE THE REAL DIVERSITY OF INDIA

CENSUS QUESTIONNAIRE SEEKS DATA ON

- PARENTS' RELIGION
- PLACE OF BIRTH
- AADHAAR, VACCINE DETAILS
- DRIVING LICENCE DETAILS

...AND CASTE DETAILS

Census questionnaire seeks data on parents' religion, place of birth

Besides the open field option to declare caste...

The Indian EXPRESS
JOURNALISM OF COURAGE

भारत का राजपत्र
The Gazette of India
EXTRAORDINARY
PART II—Section 3—Sub-section (ii)
PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY
NEW DELHI, FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 2026/SHRAVAN 23, 1948

The Census (Household Schedule) Order, 2026 includes Caste (SC/ST/Caste) as a data field

CENSUS OF INDIA 2027
HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE

1. Name of the person
2. Relationship to head
3. Sex
4. Date of Birth & Age
5. Marital Status
6. Age at Marriage
7. Spouse Name
8. Nationality
9. Religion
10. Scheduled Caste (SC) / Scheduled Tribe (ST) / Caste
11. Father's Particulars
12. Mother's Particulars
... ...
40. Driving Licence Details

10(a) Is this person Scheduled Caste (SC)?
○ Yes ◉ No

10(c) If not SC/ST in this State/UT
Enter caste name

☐ Does not want to declare Caste
☐ No Caste

THE OPEN FIELD OPTION IS NOT ENOUGH!
PROVIDE A COMPREHENSIVE CASTE LIST FOR ACCURATE ENUMERATION

LET THE NATION KNOW THE TRUTH OF ITS SOCIAL DIVERSITY

WHY A COMPREHENSIVE CASTE LIST IS ESSENTIAL?

- Ensures visibility of all communities
- Helps in just policy making & reservations
- Protects the rights of OBC, MBC, DNC & other communities
- Prevents erasure of smaller castes

CENSUS 2027

ACCURATE DATA • JUST REPRESENTATION • EQUAL RIGHTS

OUR IDENTITY. OUR RIGHTS. OUR FUTURE.
LET EVERY COMMUNITY BE COUNTED!

CENSUS 2027
COUNT EVERYONE. LEAVE NO ONE BEHIND.

COMMUNAL G.O. 16.9.1921 → JUDICIARY DIVERSITY → MERIT Vs MARKS → SOCIAL JUSTICE UNDER ATTACK → DRAVIDIANS & HUMILIATING CODES

5th State Conference of the Union Bank OBC Employees Welfare Association, Uttar Pradesh & Uttarakhand - Lucknow - 16 August 2026



Delegation under the leadership of R.Krishnaiah, M.P. along with G.Karunanidhi (AIOBC) and Shyam Sundar (UBI OBC) submitted representation on OBC issues to Hon'ble Chairperson Sadhvi Niranjan Jyoti, NCBC (5.8.2026)



Representation on OBC issues submitted by G.Karunanidhi (AIOBC) and Shyam Sundar (UBI OBC) to Hon'ble Chairperson Ganesh Singh, M.P. (5.8.2026)



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The views expressed
in the articles
are not necessarily ours

RESERVATION IS OUR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHT: SOCIAL JUSTICE CANNOT BE ROLLED BACK

India's reservation policy is not charity, concession or political favour. It is an instrument of social justice rooted in the Constitution, created to correct centuries of caste-based exclusion and denial of opportunity. Any attempt to weaken, dilute or abolish caste-based reservation while caste discrimination survives is an assault on substantive equality itself.

The current campaign against reservation exposes a glaring contradiction. Voices demanding an "India without reservation" cannot ignore the continuing reality of caste discrimination, untouchability, exclusion and unequal access to education, employment and social power. Union Minister of State for Social Justice and Empowerment Ramdas Athawale has stated the essential truth: reservation is a "constitutional right"; those demanding its abolition should first ensure the abolition of the caste system.

The question is simple: If caste has disappeared, why does caste discrimination continue? And if caste discrimination continues, how can reservation be declared unnecessary? Reservation arose from the historic struggle against a caste hierarchy that denied entire communities education, employment and positions of power. That struggle secured constitutional safeguards, including the First Constitutional Amendment of 1951 protecting affirmative action for socially and educationally backward communities.

The implementation of the Mandal Commission recommendations and 27% OBC reservation was another historic milestone. Yet the representation of backward communities in Central institutions and services remains inadequate. Reservation has not outlived its purpose; its objectives are still far from fully achieved.

Today, the vocabulary may change—from "abolition" to "review", "reform", "merit", "creamy layer" or "economic criteria"—but the danger remains: weakening safeguards meant for historically disadvantaged communities. The debate must remain firmly anchored in social and educational backwardness, representation and constitutional justice. The demand by Bihar NDA ally Upendra Kushwaha for a 65% OBC quota also underlines the continuing demand for adequate representation based on social realities and reliable caste data.

Let there be no confusion: abolishing caste discrimination and abolishing reservation are not the same thing. Reservation addresses the consequences of caste oppression; the permanent solution is the annihilation of caste itself. Those who demand an India without reservation must first prove that they are equally committed to an India without caste hierarchy, discrimination and inherited privilege.

The message to every force inimical to social justice must be unequivocal: rights secured through decades of struggle will not be surrendered. Reservation must be protected, fully implemented and strengthened wherever continuing backwardness and under-representation demand it. Attempts to divide beneficiaries, spread misinformation or weaken constitutional safeguards must be met with unity, awareness and democratic mobilisation.

Reservation is not a favour. It is social justice. It is a constitutional safeguard. It is our right and our need. India's backward, oppressed and historically excluded communities will not remain silent. Every attempt to take away their constitutional safeguards will be resisted—democratically, constitutionally and resolutely.

LET US UNITE. LET US MOBILISE. LET US DEFEND SOCIAL JUSTICE. ■

செப்டம்பர் 16 (1921)

நீதிக்கட்சியின் வரலாற்றுச் சாதனை: சமூக நீதியின் அடித்தளமாக அமைந்த வகுப்புரிமை அரசாணை

SEPTEMBER 16 (1921):

THE JUSTICE PARTY'S LEGACY: HOW THE COMMUNAL G.O. BECAME THE FOUNDATION OF RESERVATION



க.சரஸ்வதி

G.SARASWATHI

நாடு முழுவதும் சமூகநீதி, சமத்துவம், இடஒதுக்கீடு குறித்த இன்றைய விவாதங்கள் உருவாவதற்கு வெகு காலத்திற்கு முன்பே, தென்னிந்தியாவில் ஒரு அமைதியான அரசியல் புரட்சி உருவாகிக் கொண்டிருந்தது.

20ஆம் நூற்றாண்டின் தொடக்கக் காலங்களில், சென்னை மாகாணம் ஆழமாக வேரூன்றியிருந்த ஜாதியப் படிநிலை அமைப்பின் பிடியில் சிக்கியிருந்தது. மக்கள் தொகையில் மிகச் சிறிய ஒரு கூட்டம், கல்வியையும், அரசு நிர்வாகத்தையும் தங்களுடைய ஏகபோக உரிமையாகக் கொண்டிருந்தது. பெரும்பான்மையான மக்கள் கல்வி, வேலைவாய்ப்பு, அதிகாரம் ஆகியவற்றிலிருந்து விலக்கப்பட்டு, தங்களுடைய குரலை வெளிப்படுத்தக்கூட முடியாத நிலையில் புறக்கணிக்கப்பட்டிருந்தனர்.

இந்த ஆழமான சமூக அநீதியின் பின்னணியில் தான் **1916ஆம் ஆண்டு நீதிக்கட்சி** உருவானது. சமூகத் தடைகளைத் தகர்த்து, பார்ப்பனரல்லாத மக்களுக்கு உரிய பிரதிநிதித்துவத்தைப் பெற்றுத்தர வேண்டும் என்ற உறுதியுடன், தொலைநோக்குப் பார்வை கொண்ட தலைவர்களின் கூட்டமைப்பாக நீதிக்கட்சி எழுச்சி பெற்றது.

1920ஆம் ஆண்டு நடைபெற்ற சென்னை மாகாணத்தின் முதல் ஜனநாயகத் தேர்தலில் நீதிக்கட்சி ஆட்சிப் பொறுப்பைக் கைப்பற்றிய போது, அது வெறும் ஆட்சி அதிகாரத்தைப் பெறுவதோடு நின்றுவிடவில்லை. அப்போது நிலவிய சமூக அதிகார ஏகபோகத்தையே மாற்றியமைக்கும் சீர்திருத்தப் பயணத்தைத் தொடங்கியது.

அதன் விளைவாக, 1921 மற்றும் 1928ஆம் **ஆண்டுகளில் வெளியிடப்பட்ட வரலாற்றுச் சிறப்புமிக்க வகுப்புவாரி உரிமை அரசாணைகள்** (Communal G.O.s) இந்தியாவில் இடஒதுக்கீடு மற்றும் சமூகநீதிக்கான முதல் முறையான கட்டமைப்பை உருவாக்கின.

வகுப்புவாரி உரிமை அரசாணைகள்: சமூகநீதியின்

Long before modern debates on equity and reservations shaped the nation, a quiet political revolution was brewing in the south of India. In the early decades of the 20th century, the Madras Presidency was caught in the grip of a deeply entrenched caste hierarchy. A tiny fraction of the population monopolized education and public administration, leaving the vast majority of citizens voiceless and sidelined.

Out of this profound inequality arose the Justice Party in 1916, a bold coalition of visionaries determined to shatter social barriers and claim representation for non-Brahmins. When they captured political power through the province's first democratic elections in 1920, they did not just occupy office; they actively dismantled the status quo. Through the groundbreaking Communal Government Orders of 1921 and 1928, they forged the country's first systematic framework for affirmative action.

The Communal Government Orders (G.O.s) issued by the Justice Party government in the former Madras Presidency stand as a landmark milestone in the history of affirmative action, social justice, and the reservation system in India. Looking back at the history of social justice in India, people often point to post-independence policies, but the real spark was lit much earlier down south in the Madras Presidency.

Breaking the Monopoly: The 1921 and 1928 G.O.s

Justice Party formed in 1916 by leaders like Dr.

வரலாற்றுத் திருப்புமுனை

அன்றைய சென்னை மாகாணத்தில் நீதிக்கட்சி அரசு பிறப்பித்த வகுப்புவாரி உரிமை அரசாணைகள், இந்தியாவின் **சமூகநீதி, சம வாய்ப்பு மற்றும் இடஒதுக்கீட்டு வரலாற்றில் ஒரு மாபெரும் மைல்கல்லாக** திகழ்கின்றன.

இந்தியாவில் சமூகநீதியின் வரலாற்றைப் பின்னோக்கிப் பார்க்கும்போது, சுதந்திரத்திற்குப் பிறகு உருவான கொள்கைகளையே பலர் முன்னிலைப்படுத்துகின்றனர். ஆனால், உண்மையில் சமூகநீதிக்கான அந்தப் புரட்சியின் முதல் தீப்பொறி, சுதந்திரத்திற்கு பல ஆண்டுகளுக்கு முன்பே தென்னிந்தியாவின் சென்னை மாகாணத்தில் பற்றவைக்கப்பட்டது.

ஏகபோகத்தை உடைத்த 1921 மற்றும் 1928ஆம் ஆண்டுகளின் அரசாணைகள்

டாக்டர் சி. நடேசனார், சர் பி. தியாகராயர், டாக்டர் டி.எம். நாயர் போன்ற தலைவர்களின் பங்களிப்புடன் 1916ஆம் ஆண்டு உருவாக்கப்பட்ட நீதிக்கட்சி, பார்ப்பனரல்லாத மக்களின் உரிமை களுக்காகப் போராடுவதையே தனது அடிப்படை நோக்கமாகக் கொண்டிருந்தது.

இரட்டையாட்சி முறையின் கீழ் நடைபெற்ற மாகாணத்தின் முதல் ஜனநாயகத் தேர்தலில் வெற்றி பெற்றபோது, அவர்கள் வெறுமனே ஆட்சி அதிகாரத்தைக் கைப்பற்றவில்லை; **சமூகத்தின் அடித்தளத்தையே சீரமைக்கும் வரலாற்றுச் சீர்திருத்தப் பயணத்தைத் தொடங்கினர்.**

விதிகளையே மாற்றிய 1921 மற்றும் 1928ஆம் ஆண்டுகளின் வகுப்புவாரி உரிமை அரசாணைகள்

செப்டம்பர் 1921 — சமூக வரலாற்றில் ஒரு முக்கியமான திருப்புமுனை.

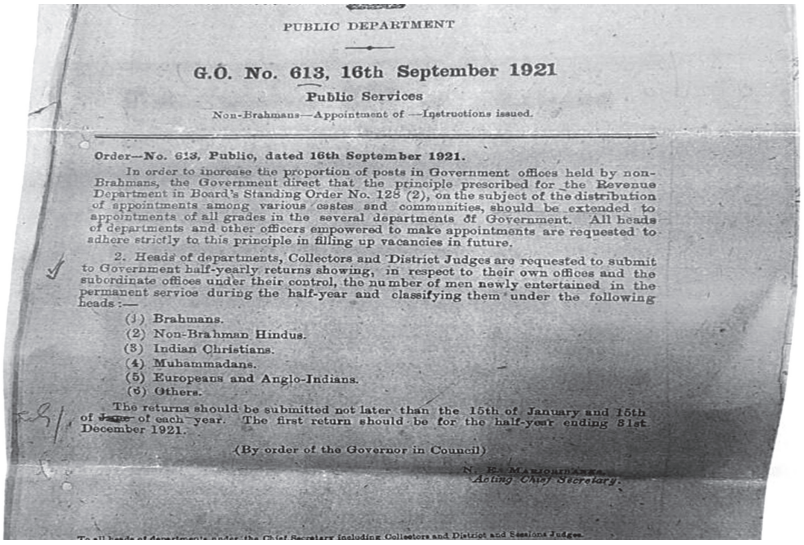
அந்த நேரத்தில் அரசு எடுத்த வரலாற்றுச் சிறப்புமிக்க நடவடிக்கையாக முதல் **வகுப்புவாரி உரிமை அரசாணை** பிறப்பிக்கப்பட்டது. அரசு வேலைகள் மற்றும் நிர்வாகப் பதவிகளில் நிலவிய ஏகபோகத்தை உடைத்து, அனைத்து சமூகங்களுக்கும் பிரதிநிதித்துவத்தை உறுதி செய்வதே இந்த அரசாணையின் அடிப்படை நோக்கமாக இருந்தது.

அது ஒரு குறிப்பிட்ட சமூகத்திற்காக மட்டுமே உருவாக்கப்பட்ட திட்டம் அல்ல. அக்காலத்தில் "பார்ப்பனரல்லாதோர்" என்ற பரந்த வரையறைக்குள் பிற்படுத்தப்பட்ட பார்ப்பனரல்லாத சமூகங்கள், முஸ்லிம்கள், இந்தியக் கிறிஸ்தவர்கள் மற்றும் தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட சமூகத்தினரும் உள்ளடங்கினர்.

1928: வகுப்புவாரி பிரதிநிதித்துவத்திற்கு மேலும் வலிமை

இதோடு அந்தப் பயணம் முடிந்துவிடவில்லை.

இரு அமைச்சர்கள் பதவி விலகியதைத் தொடர்ந்து, முதலமைச்சர் பி. சுப்பராயன், முத்தை யாவை கல்வி மற்றும் மதுவிலக்கு இலாகாக்களை நிர்வகிக்க அழைத்தார். அந்தப் பொறுப்பை ஏற்ற முத்தையா, 1930ஆம் ஆண்டு வரை கல்வி மற்றும்



PUBLIC DEPARTMENT

G.O. No. 613, 16th September 1921

Public Services

Non-Brahmans—Appointment of —Instructions issued.

Order—No. 613, Public, dated 16th September 1921.

In order to increase the proportion of posts in Government offices held by non-Brahmans, the Government direct that the principle prescribed for the Revenue Department in Board's Standing Order No. 128 (2), on the subject of the distribution of appointments among various castes and communities, should be extended to appointments of all grades in the several departments of Government. All heads of departments and other officers empowered to make appointments are requested to adhere strictly to this principle in filling up vacancies in future.

2. Heads of departments, Collectors and District Judges are requested to submit to Government half-yearly returns showing, in respect to their own offices and the subordinate offices under their control, the number of men newly entertained in the permanent service during the half-year and classifying them under the following heads :—

(1) Brahmans.
(2) Non-Brahman Hindus.
(3) Indian Christians.
(4) Muhammadans.
(5) Europeans and Anglo-Indians.
(6) Others.

The returns should be submitted not later than the 15th of January and 15th of July of each year. The first return should be for the half-year ending 31st December 1921.

(By order of the Governor in Council)

Acting Chief Secretary.





மதுவிலக்கு அமைச்சராகப் பணியாற்றினார்.

அவரது பதவிக்காலத்தில் **வகுப்புவாரி அரசாணை (Ms. No. 1021)** அறிமுகப்படுத்தப்பட்டது.

1921ஆம் ஆண்டு தொடங்கப்பட்ட இடஒதுக்கீட்டுக் கொள்கையை நடைமுறை ரீதியாக வலுப்படுத்திய இந்த வரலாற்றுச் சிறப்புமிக்க அரசாணை, தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட மக்களுக்கான பாதுகாப்பை விரிவுபடுத்தியது; இந்தியக் கிறிஸ்தவர்கள் மற்றும் முஸ்லிம்களுக்கான ஒதுக்கீட்டை அதிகரித்தது; பார்ப்பனர்கள் மற்றும் பார்ப்பனரல்லாதோருக்கான பங்கீட்டிலும் மாற்றங்களை ஏற்படுத்தியது.

இந்த வகுப்புவாரி ஆணை 1947ஆம் ஆண்டு இந்தியா சுதந்திரம் பெறும் வரை சமத்துவத்திற்கான முக்கியமான நிர்வாகக் கட்டமைப்பாகத் தொடர்ந்தது. முதற்கட்டமாக, பதிவுத்துறையில் இடஒதுக்கீடு நடைமுறைக்கு வந்தது.

சவால்களும் முதல் அரசியலமைப்புத் திருத்தத்திற்கான பாதையும்

வகுப்புவாரி அரசாணைகளின் சமூகநீதிப் பயணம் தடைகள் இல்லாததாக இருக்கவில்லை.

அரசுப் பணிகளிலும் கல்வி நிறுவனங்களிலும் இடஒதுக்கீடு நடைமுறைப்படுத்தப்பட்டதால், நீண்டகாலமாக நிலவி வந்த அதிகாரச் சமநிலையில் மாற்றம் ஏற்பட்டது. இதனால் கடுமையான சட்டரீதியான மற்றும் அரசியல் எதிர்ப்புகள் உருவாகின. பல தசாப்தங்களாகப் போராடிப் பெற்ற சமூகநீதிப் பயணத்தையே பின்னுக்குத் தள்ளும் முயற்சிகள் மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்டன.

இந்தியா குடியரசாக மாறிய உடனேயே சட்டரீதியான சவால் எழுந்தது.

1951ஆம் ஆண்டின் வரலாற்றுச் சிறப்புமிக்க செண்பகம் துரைராஜன் வழக்கில், சென்னை மாகாணத்தின் வகுப்புவாரி அரசாணையை சென்னை உயர்நீதிமன்றமும், தொடர்ந்து உச்சநீதிமன்றம் ரத்து செய்தது. அன்றைய அரசியலமைப்பில் இடம்பெற்றிருந்த முறையான சமத்துவக் கொள்கைகளுக்கு ஜாதி அடிப்படையிலான இடஒதுக்கீடு முரண்படுகிறது என நீதிமன்றம் தீர்ப்பளித்தது.

1951 உச்சநீதிமன்றத் தீர்ப்புக்கு எதிரான மக்கள் எழுச்சி

வகுப்புவாரி அரசாணை ரத்து செய்யப்பட்டதன் மூலம் பல தசாப்தங்களாகப் போராடிப் பெற்ற சமூகநீதி சாதனைகள் பறிபோகும் அபாயம் உருவானது.

இந்த நேரத்தில் தந்தை பெரியார் பின்வாங்கவில்லை. அவர் தமிழகம் முழுவதும் தீவிரமான மக்கள் இயக்கத்தை முன்னெடுத்தார். தனது ஆவேசமிக்க உரைகள், பத்திரிகைத் தலையங்கங்கள் மற்றும் மாபெரும் பொதுக்கூட்டங்கள் மூலம் தமிழக மக்களைத் திரட்டி, **இடஒதுக்கீட்டிற்கு அரசியலமைப்புச் சட்டப் பாதுகாப்பு வேண்டும்** என்ற கோரிக்கையை வலிமையாக முன்னெடுத்தார்.

தளராத சமூக புரட்சியாளரான **தந்தை பெரியார்** அவர்களின் தலைமையிலும், தமிழகம் முழுவதும்

C. Natesa Mudaliar, Sir P. Theagaraya Chetty, and Dr. T.M. Nair, was created precisely to champion the rights of non-Brahmins. When they won the province's first democratic elections under the diarchy system, they didn't just govern; they reformed.

Rewriting the Rules: The 1921 and 1928 G.O.s

In September 1921, the government took a historic step that shook the social order—the first Communal Government Order was issued. It was a bold administrative directive designed to shatter the monopoly on public jobs and government offices. This wasn't just about one group; the term "non-Brahmin" back then was a broad umbrella that pulled in backward non-Brahmins, Muslims, Indian Christians, and Dalits.

They didn't stop there. In 1928, following the resignation of two ministers, Chief Minister P. Subbarayan invited Muthiah to manage the portfolios of education and excise. Accepting the role, Muthiah served as Minister of Education and Excise until 1930 and cemented his legacy by introducing Communal G.O. (Ms. No. 1021). This landmark order operationalized the 1921 reservation policies by expanding protections for Dalits, increasing quotas for Indian Christians and Muslims, and adjusting allocations for Brahmins and non-Brahmins. The order remained a foundational equity framework until India's independence in 1947, with reservations first taking effect in the registration department.

Challenges and the Path to the First Constitutional Amendment

The progressive journey of the Communal G.O.s was neither smooth nor uncontested. As affirmative action began to genuinely shift the balance of power in public services and educational institutions, it triggered severe legal and political pushback that threatened to dismantle decades of social justice work.

Right after India became a republic, the legal system pushed back hard. In the landmark 1951 *Champakam Dorairajan* case, the Supreme Court struck down the Madras G.O., ruling that caste-based reservations violated the newly minted constitution's formal equality clauses.

மிகப்பெரிய போராட்ட இயக்கம் உருவெடுத்தது. பெருந்தலைவர் **காமராஜர்** மற்றும் **அறிஞர் அண்ணா** போன்ற அரசியல் தலைவர்களும், இந்த பிரச்சனையில் தங்களை ஈடுபடுத்திக் கொண்டனர்.

தடையைத் தகர்த்த முதல் அரசியலமைப்புத் திருத்தம் – சட்டப்பிரிவு 15(4)

நிலைமை தீவிரமடைந்ததையும், சமூகநீதியின் அவசியத்தையும் உணர்ந்த அன்றைய பிரதமர் **ஜவஹர்லால் நேரு தலைமையிலான அரசு**, தீர்க்கமான சட்ட நடவடிக்கையை மேற்கொண்டது. **1951ஆம் ஆண்டு நாடாளுமன்றம் முதல் அரசியலமைப்புத் திருத்தச் சட்டத்தை நிறைவேற்றியது.**

அதன் மூலம் அரசியலமைப்புச் சட்டத்தின் **15ஆம் பிரிவில் (4) என்ற முக்கியமான உட்பிரிவு சேர்க்கப்பட்டது.**

அந்தப் பிரிவு கூறுவது:

"சமூக ரீதியாகவும் கல்வி ரீதியாகவும் பிற்படுத்தப்பட்ட குடிமக்கள் பிரிவினரின் முன்னேற்றத்திற்காகவும், பட்டியலினத்தவர் மற்றும் பழங்குடியினரின் முன்னேற்றத்திற்காகவும் சிறப்புச் சலுகைகளை அரசு ஏற்படுத்துவதற்கு இந்தப் பிரிவிலுள்ள எதுவும் தடையாக இருக்காது."

இவ்வாறு, சென்னை மாகாணத்தில் தொடங்கிய சமூகநீதிப் போராட்டம், இறுதியில் இந்திய அரசியலமைப்பிலேயே சட்டப்பூர்வமான பாதுகாப்பைப் பெற்றது.

வரலாறு நமக்குச் சொல்லும் பாடம்

சென்னை மாகாணத்தின் வகுப்புவாரி அரசாணைகளின் வரலாறும், தந்தை பெரியார், உள்ளிட்ட தலைவர்களின் இடைவிடாத போராட்டங்களும் ஒரு மிகப்பெரிய உண்மையை நமக்கு உணர்த்துகின்றன:

உண்மையான ஜனநாயகம் யாராலும் நமக்குத் தானமாக வழங்கப்படுவதில்லை; அது போராடிப் பெறப்பட வேண்டும், கட்டியெழுப்பப்பட வேண்டும், தொடர்ந்து பாதுகாக்கப்பட வேண்டும்.

சென்னை மாகாணத்தில் ஒரு துணிச்சலான நிர்வாக உத்தரவாகத் தொடங்கிய இந்தப் பயணம், பின்னர் நவீன இந்தியாவின் **சமூகநீதி மற்றும் அரசியலமைப்புச் சிந்தனையின் அடித்தளத்தையே மாற்றியமைத்தது.**

ஜனநாயகம் என்பது வெறுமனே வாக்களிக்கும் உரிமை மட்டுமல்ல; **அதிகாரத்தின் மேசையில் ஒவ்வொருவருக்கும் உரிய இடம் இருப்பதை உறுதி செய்வதே உண்மையான ஜனநாயகம்** என்பதை இந்த வரலாறு நமக்கு நினைவூட்டுகிறது.

"வகுப்புவாரி அரசாணை, வாய்ப்பு மறுக்கப்பட்ட மக்களுக்கு கதவைத் திறந்தது; அரசியலமைப்பு அதற்குச் சட்ட வலிமை தந்தது. அந்தக் கதவை இனி எவராலும் மூடிவிட முடியாதபடி காப்பது— நமது தலைமுறையின் வரலாற்றுக் கடமை!"

(எழுத்தாளர் க. சரஸ்வதி, பொருளாளர், யூனியன் வங்கி பிற்படுத்தப்பட்டோர் பணியாளர் நல சங்கம் – தமிழ்நாடு)

Mobilizing the Masses Against the 1951 Supreme Court Ruling

When the Supreme Court struck down the Madras Communal G.O. in the *Champakam Dorairajan* case, threatening to dismantle decades of progress, Periyar did not hesitate. He launched a fierce, state-wide mobilization campaign. Through blistering speeches, newspaper editorials, and massive public demonstrations, he galvanized the people of Tamil Nadu to demand constitutional protection for reservations.

Spearheaded by relentless social reformer **Periyar E.V. Ramasamy** alongside political leaders like Chief Minister K. Kamaraj and C.N. Annadurai, a powerful, roaring protest movement erupted across the state.

Overcoming the Obstacle: The First Constitutional Amendment (Article 15(4))

Recognizing the explosive nature of the crisis and the necessity of social justice, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's Government took decisive legislative action.

In **1951**, Parliament enacted the **First Constitutional Amendment Act**. This amendment introduced a crucial new provision—**Clause (4) to Article 15**—which explicitly stated:

"Nothing in this article or in clause (2) of article 29 shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes."

The legacy of the Madras Presidency's Communal G.O.s and the tireless crusades of leaders like Periyar and S. Muthiah Mudaliar prove that true democracy is never handed down—it is claimed, built, and fiercely defended.

What started out as a courageous administrative order in Madras ended up reshaping the moral and constitutional backbone of modern India. It stands as an enduring reminder that true democracy isn't just about casting votes, but about making sure everyone has a seat at the table.

"The Communal G.O. opened the door. The Constitution gave it legal strength. Our duty today is to ensure that no one is ever allowed to close that door again."

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

THE ACCIDENTAL AXIS: SEPTEMBER AND THE ARCHITECTURE OF RESISTANCE

THE CONVERGENCE OF SEPTEMBER SOCIAL JUSTICE MILESTONES

ARUN NEHRU



In the political history of India, certain months carry an ideological weight so profound that they appear systematically designed. Yet, historical records reveal that these decisive eras often unfold through a sequence of accidental convergences, unexpected dates, and structural shifts. Chief among these is September, often designed as "Dravidian Month." Long before it became a conscious focal point for socio-political mobilization, September repeatedly emerged as the silent axis where regional identity, social justice, and institutional reform collided:

September 17, 1879: Birth of Periyar E.V. Ramasamy, father of the Self-Respect Movement, a date officially designated as Social Justice Day to reaffirm egalitarian ideals.

September 15, 1909: Birth of C.N. Annadurai, the principal strategist who translated radical rationalism into democratic governance.

September 24, 1934: The Justice Party formally adopted Periyar's socialist Working Plan (the Erode Plan) permanently embedding anti-untouchability, equal property rights for women, labor protections, and proportional reservation into its official policy agenda.

September 11, 1938: The historic anti-language imposition march concluded in Trichy, where Periyar delivered the iconic rallying shout for regional self-determination.

September 29, 1945: The Tiruchirappalli Conference finalized the institutional charter of Dravidar Kazhagam, formally codifying policies for gender equality, rationalist education, and the iconic black uniform symbolizing oppression and dignity.

September 17, 1949: A historic organizational shift gave birth to the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), a new political entity dedicated to parliamentary social reform, deliberately scheduled on Periyar's 70th birthday.

The Global Phenomenon of Accidental Timelines

This phenomenon, where a specific calendar window unexpectedly anchors regional pride and political resistance, is a recurring pattern across global history:

Catalonia (Diada) & FC Barcelona: In Spain, Catalonia's National Day (Diada) falls on September 11, marking the 1714 fall of Barcelona during the War of the Spanish Succession. What began as a military defeat organically evolved over centuries into Catalonia's ultimate symbol of cultural preservation against authoritarian central. This identity later found institutional expression through FC Barcelona, a club founded in late

November 1899 out of modest athletic notices, which grew into “Mes que un club” (More than a club) to serve as a sporting bastion for Catalan autonomy.

The First International (International Workingmen's Association): On September 28, 1864, Karl Marx and his lifelong close collaborator Friedrich Engels co-founded the First International in London. This historic September event united international labor unions and anti-feudal movements, establishing the foundation for modern global socialism.

The Russian Revolution & November Slogans: The Russian October Revolution, the historic catalyst for global anti-feudal and labor movements led by Vladimir Lenin, actually took place on November 7 under the modern Gregorian calendar (late October under the Julian calendar).

Connected mobilizations like the November 5 political acts in Britain ("Remember, remember, the fifth of November") demonstrate how arbitrary dates frequently evolve into permanent markers of systemic resistance.

Ideological Foundations and Ambedkar’s Admiration

In mid-20th century India, the political landscape was dominated by social hierarchy. To challenge this entrenched hegemony, the Dravidian movement pioneered a radical agenda forged around self-respect and structural equality. Far from merely absorbing contemporary political thought, the Dravidian struggle was an early, formidable force whose relentless campaign against caste oppression drew the deep admiration of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar himself, who saw in its battles a living model for emancipation.

This ideological leadership materialized through groundbreaking statecraft long before others took up the cause. The movement’s early leaders spearheaded historic communal reservation orders, effectively breaking the monopoly of elite classes in education and public administration. They translated radical social philosophy into state policy, pioneering welfare schemes specifically engineered to uplift marginalized communities and empower women, championing equal property rights, female literacy, and social security. By leading the charge with these revolutionary reforms, the Dravidian movement established the foundational blueprint for social justice that inspired national icons and transformed the socio-political fabric of South India. The convergence between Periyar’s radical anti caste rationalism and Ambedkar’s constitutional framework established a durable blueprint for social justice in the region.

Ideological Resilience Across Electoral Shifts

The history of social justice movements across the globe demonstrates that transformational ideas outlive individual administrations or volatile electoral shifts. In anti-colonial history, visionary leaders faced political betrayals from within state apparatuses, yet their core principles of self-reliance and equaliy remained unshakeable blueprints for their people. A similar dynamic operates within democratic governance.

Throughout Tamil Nadu's political history, even when the Dravidian party suffered defeats in multiple legislative elections, including historical party and the major shifts seen in the 2026 assembly elections, the core Dravidian ideology it championed remained the foundational engine for Tamil Nadu’s progress.

From top-tier healthcare and public education to industrial development, reservation policies, and human development indices, Tamil Nadu's modern success stems directly from this social foundation. Electoral fortunes fluctuate, and political mandates change hands, but the ideological path built on social equality and public welfare must not be changed. It is no longer just a party platform; it has become the permanent operational DNA of the state.

An Enduring Symbolic Axis

September in Tamil Nadu did not acquire its reputation through a preplanned master design. Instead, through an unplanned convergence of foundational birth anniversaries, rights marches, radical policy blueprints, and global socialist milestones, the month transformed into an accidental calendar of reform.

Much like Catalonia's historical memory on September 11, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels establishing the First International on September 28, 1864, or the unyielding legacy of global movements, September stands as a recurring symbolic axis. It serves as a reminder that while electoral fortunes rise and fall, the structural commitment to progress remains unwavering.

Ultimately, to put it in Anna’s words: “As long as social justice, progress, and welfare continue to uplift the common people, whoever rules the state, it is the Dravidian ideology that truly rules”

(The writer Arun Nehru is a Central Committee Member of Union Bank of India Backward Classes Employees Welfare Association, Tamil Nadu, works at Vadugapatti, Tamil Nadu)



TIMES NATION

THE TIMES OF INDIA, CHENNAI
SATURDAY, AUGUST 15, 2026

Census to record caste as declared, but no menu to record OBC status

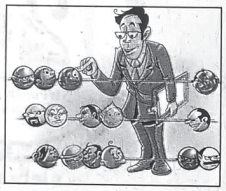
'Proposal For Segregation Rejected Due To Practical Hiccups'

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New Delhi: Segregation of non-SC, non-ST individuals into 'general' and 'OBC' categories and a drop-down menu for recording OBC status were discussed but were not found feasible as central and state lists of OBCs do not always align, sources said of Census 2027 questionnaire capturing caste for the first time.

The questionnaire — involving population enumeration — will capture caste "as declared by the respondent"

Sources told TOI that the proposal for segregation and a drop-down menu were rejected due to practical and procedural hiccups. While the central list is prepared based on recommendation of and is maintained by the National Commission for Backward Classes, the state list is the responsibility of the relevant state backward classes commission. "Given that the two lists do not perfectly overlap, the moot question for the census authorities was: which list to go by, central or state. Even for a given state, the OBC lists maintained by the Centre and by the state are different," said an officer.



POPULATION DETAILS

Further, SC/ST lists are notified by a Presidential order, where as OBCs may be extended reservation in a state merely on discretion of the relevant state govt, an official said while adding that the final consensus was to not tread into capturing OBC status of the respondent.

A second officer explained that the census, which is spread over a year, requires administrative boundaries as well as SC/ST lists to be frozen through its duration. "Mid-census changes interfere with continuity, confuse enumerators and throw calculations and tables haywire. If the OBCs are captured and the states, particularly those ruled by the opposition parties, decide to extend OBC status for a new community midway through the census, there are bound to be complications. "How does the Centre ensure that this does not happen, given that grant of OBC status is often a decision taken based on political considerations," it was debated.

It was also pointed out during discussions on the questionnaire that OBC is not a 'caste' classification but only meant to categorise "classes" which may not fall within the caste system essentially prevalent among Hindus. Even the Constitution recognises only the socially and educationally backward "classes," in addition to the Schedules Castes and Scheduled Tribes, an officer told **TOI**.

Though caste census will enable analysis of a particular caste's social, economic and educational indicators, it also runs the risk of individuals of a particular caste under-declaring their income and other indices, to project that caste as "backward" and make a case for it to be enlisted as OBC.

However, officials said statisticians can detect any misleading or falsified data through cross-referencing, value indicators and where the deviation is found to be outside acceptable limits, declare it "unreliable".

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GOI/PM-01/08/26/MP/Karur
15.08.2026

To
Thiru. Narendra Modi
The Hon'ble Prime Minister of India
Government of India
New Delhi

Subject: Urgent intervention to ensure proper enumeration of OBCs in Census 2027 – Request for an explicit OBC/SEBC category and standardised caste coding.

Dear sir,

Vanakkam.

I am writing to draw your urgent attention to a serious methodological concern in the recently notified Population Enumeration schedule for Census 2027, particularly regarding the enumeration of Other Backward Classes (OBCs).

For years, the Indian National Congress and the Hon'ble Leader of Opposition, Thiru Rahul Gandhi, have consistently demanded a comprehensive caste census as an essential instrument for social justice and evidence-based policymaking. Despite prolonged resistance from the Union Government, the demand was finally accepted in 2025. Having taken this important step, it is now essential that the methodology adopted does not undermine its very purpose.

OBCs are central to the formulation of policies and schemes for the social, educational and economic advancement of backward communities, just as reliable data on SCs and STs is essential for targeted policy.

1. **OBCs must be explicitly identifiable**

Question 10 of the Population Enumeration schedule is framed as:

"Scheduled Caste (SC)/Scheduled Tribe (ST)/Caste"

While SC and ST have specific categories, there is no explicit OBC/SEBC category. For respondents outside SC/ST, caste is instead recorded through an open-ended field.

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This is a fundamental concern.

Caste identity and OBC classification are not the same thing. A citizen may accurately declare their caste, but the subsequent determination of whether that caste belongs to the relevant OBC/SEBC category is left to post-enumeration classification.

Under Article 342A, as amended by the 105th Constitutional Amendment, the constitutional framework recognises both Central and State/UT lists of socially and educationally backward classes. Since classifications can differ across States and between Central and State purposes, the Census methodology must explicitly account for this reality.

2. **The open-ended method risks repeating SECC 2011**

The experience of the SECC 2011 demonstrates the dangers of collecting caste names without a sufficiently standardised coding framework.

Variations in spelling, local names, synonyms, sub-castes and phonetic differences produced an enormous number of distinct caste-name entries, creating serious difficulties in verification, aggregation and classification.

We should not repeat this experience in Census 2027.

If OBC data is to be scientifically reliable, it cannot depend primarily on reconstructing OBC/SEBC status from millions of raw caste-name entries after enumeration.

The Census must capture OBC/SEBC status as part of its enumeration architecture, rather than leaving it to uncertain post-enumeration bureaucratic classification.

3. **Telangana provides a practical model**

The Telangana Socio-Economic, Educational, Employment, Political and Caste (SEEEPC) Survey 2024–25 demonstrates the value of a structured caste questionnaire and systematic classification of Backward Classes.

Its methodology, including structured household data collection and subsequent caste and BC-category analysis, provides useful field experience for designing a robust national system.

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The Union Government should learn from such established State-level practices rather than repeat the shortcomings of SECC 2011.

4. **Immediate corrective measures are required**

I therefore urge the Union Government to urgently revise the methodology to:

1. Provide an explicit OBC/SEBC category in the Census questionnaire alongside SC and ST;
2. Prepare a comprehensive State-wise master caste directory, recognising the State-specific nature of OBC/SEBC classification;
3. Assign unique digital codes to recognised castes and communities to eliminate spelling, nomenclature and phonetic variations;
4. Create a mechanism to separately flag unlisted, disputed or locally recognised caste names for verification; and
5. Preserve both the respondent's declared caste and the corresponding administrative classification, ensuring a transparent and auditable dataset.
6. Do not reduce a caste census to a caste-name census

The Hon'ble Leader of Opposition, **Thiru. Rahul Gandhi**, has consistently fought for a caste census because data is the foundation of social justice. The objective is not merely to collect caste names, but to accurately establish the demographic composition of India's communities and create a reliable evidence base for representation, reservations, welfare and socio-economic policy.

There is a serious danger that the caste census will become an exercise in collecting caste names without producing the OBC data that the exercise is fundamentally meant to establish. This cannot be dismissed as a mere technical limitation. The methodology adopted reflects a political choice.

If the Government knowingly leaves OBC/SEBC identification to an uncertain post-enumeration exercise, it risks creating a situation where, after claiming to have conducted a caste census, it can later plead that the data is too complex or inconclusive to be meaningfully used.

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That would defeat the very purpose for which the demand for a caste census has been raised for decades.

I therefore request your immediate intervention and urge you to direct the Ministry of Home Affairs and the Registrar General & Census Commissioner of India to review Question 10 and introduce an explicit OBC/SEBC category, supported by a standardised, digitally coded and State-sensitive caste enumeration framework, before the Population Enumeration exercise begins.

This is essential to ensure that Census 2027 produces credible, transparent and usable data on the OBC population, which can serve as a reliable foundation for policies relating to representation, reservation, social justice and the socio-economic and educational advancement of backward communities.

The country has waited for a comprehensive caste census for decades. The Government must now ensure that the methodology adopted does not compromise the very data that this historic exercise is intended to establish.

I request your urgent and personal intervention in this matter.

Kind regards,

S. Jothimani

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Manickam Tagore, M.P.

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09th August 2026

To
Shri Narendra Modi Ji
Hon'ble Prime Minister of India
South Block
New Delhi – 110011

Subject: Urgent Representation Regarding Methodology, Institutional Framework, and Systematic Flaws in the Proposed Caste-Wise Population Enumeration for Census 2027 - Request to Adopt Standardized Coded Enumeration & National Best Practices.

Dear Prime Minister,

I am writing to you to draw your immediate attention to critical technical and methodological concerns regarding the upcoming Population Enumeration (PE) phase of Census 2027. While the decision to conduct a nationwide caste-wise enumeration in independent India is a welcome and a step toward evidence-based policymaking, recent field reports from the ongoing Census rehearsal across 16 States and Union Territories (including pre-tests in Faridabad, Haryana) have raised serious alarm among experts, socio-economic researchers, and backward class federations.

Specifically, reports indicate that the Population Enumeration schedule contains an "open column" for respondents to record their caste freely, rather than utilizing officially pre-notified caste lists with pre-assigned digitized codes - a system currently reserved only for Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs).

1. THE FALLACY OF THE "OPEN COLUMN" METHOD: LESSONS FROM SECC 2011

A reliance on an un-coded "open column" threatens the accuracy, credibility, and operational utility of Census 2027. Rather than relying on outdated data-collection schedules, we must incorporate the vital methodological lessons from SECC 2011 to build a modern, error-free system.

a. Unprecedented Data Fragmentation: In SECC 2011, the open-column methodology resulted in an astonishing 46 lakh (4.6 million) distinct "caste names" being recorded nationwide. This massive fragmentation stemmed from subtle variations in spelling, local dialects, sub-castes, titles, surnames, and regional phonetic differences.

b. Historical Discrepancy: In contrast, the last comprehensive baseline caste census conducted in 1931 enumerated only 4,147 distinct castes. Returning 46 lakh entries created insurmountable hurdles in verification, aggregation, and post-enumeration classification, ultimately rendering the 2011 caste data unusable for social justice policies.

c. Government's Own Baseline: The Ministry of Home Affairs and Union Cabinet have consistently maintained over the past decade that SECC 2011 caste data suffered from severe "data collection errors." Repeating the identical open column schedule during the Census 2027 rehearsal defeats the very purpose of approval granted by the Cabinet.

2. NATIONAL IMPERATIVE: STRATEGIC VALUE OF STANDARDIZED CODED DATA

Adopting a standardized methodology and structured coding system is not merely a technical adjustment; it is a strategic national necessity for building targeted, high-impact social welfare frameworks across India:

a. Rationalizing Reservations & Welfare Targeting: Accurate, standardized baseline data at the national level is essential to rationalize affirmative action quotas in Union institutions, while eliminating duplication to ensure flagship central schemes reach the most vulnerable, unrepresented sub-castes across state lines.

b. Building a Digitally Verifiable Architecture: Integrating pre-coded master lists with real-time GPS-tagged mobile applications creates an auditable, transparent infrastructure that eliminates inter-state classification disputes, guarantees public trust, and ensures long-term policy continuity beyond political cycles.

3. INSIGHTS & BEST PRACTICES FROM THE TELANGANA SEEEPC MODEL (2024–2025)

To ensure the national Census is scientifically robust, the Union Government should incorporate the successful field practices, structured questionnaire design, and empirical findings from the Telangana Socio, Economic, Educational, Employment, Political and Caste (SEEEPC) Survey 2024–2025:

a. STRUCTURED 56-QUESTIONNAIRE SCHEDULE & ADMINISTRATIVE ARCHITECTURE

i. Well-Organized Household Schedule: Telangana utilized a comprehensive 56-question schedule divided into Part-I (Personal Details: Caste, Synonyms, Education, Medium of Instruction, Occupation, Income, Tax Payee, Dharani Land Passbook details, Reservation Benefits, Out-Migration) and Part-II (Household Assets, Dwelling Type, Sanitation, Loans/Debt Source, Inter-Caste Marriage, and Temple/Worship Place Discrimination).

ii. Strict Enumeration Cadre Ratio: Deployed 94,261 enumerators organized strictly into blocks of 150 households with 1 supervisor per 10 enumerators, managed directly by the State Planning Department.

iii. Judicial & Academic Audit: Survey findings were evaluated post-survey by an 11-member Independent Expert Working Group chaired by a retired Supreme Court Justice using a 42-parameter Composite Backwardness Index (CBI).

4. KEY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CENSUS 2027 METHODOLOGY

In light of representations received from the All India Other Backward Classes Employees' Federation (AIOBC) and leading policy experts, I earnestly urge the Union Government and the Census Commissioner of India to adopt the following streamlined measures:

a. Hand Over Full Pre-Notified Caste Directory to Enumerators: Discontinue the open-column format immediately. Every enumerator should be handed a complete, official state-wise master caste list (prepared and digitized by the Union and State Governments) during field survey operations.

b. Easy Identification for Citizens: Displaying the official, comprehensive caste directory directly to respondents will make it effortless for individuals and families to accurately identify and confirm their caste identity without confusion or spelling mistakes.

c. Assign Unique Caste Codes to Avoid Discrepancies: Every recognized caste in the master directory must be assigned a unique numeric identification code. Selecting the pre-fixed unique code directly during enumeration will completely eliminate phonetic errors, spelling variations, sub-caste confusion, and post-enumeration classification discrepancies.

d. Supervisory Mechanism for Unlisted Cases: Establish a dedicated digital flagging system where rare, unlisted, or local phonetic variants are recorded in a secondary field for prompt verification by a District Supervisory Committee prior to final database integration.

The decision to enumerate castes in Census 2027 has generated immense expectations among socially and educationally backward classes across India. To fulfill the constitutional mandate of social justice, the data gathered must be scientifically rigorous, verifiable, and free from the chaotic errors of SECC 2011.

I request your kind personal intervention in directing the Ministry of Home Affairs to implement a standardized, coded caste enumeration framework for Census 2027.

Yours Faithfully,

(B. Manickam Tagore)



R.KRISHNAIAH, M.P.

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MA, LLM, M.Phil
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT
(RAJYA SABHA)
Member of Parliamentary Standing Committee on Consumer Affairs, Food and Public Distribution, Govt. of India
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Lr.No. MP (RS) /AP/DEL/115/2026, Dated: 13-08-2026

Shri Amit Shah
Hon'ble Union Home Minister
Government of India
New Delhi

Subject: Request to adopt standardized caste codes and official caste lists during Population Enumeration for accurate caste-wise census data:-Reg

Respected Sir,

We welcome the historic decision of the Government of India to conduct caste-wise enumeration as part of the forthcoming Census 2027. This long-awaited exercise has the potential to provide authentic and scientific data regarding the socio-economic and educational status of various communities and will serve as a vital foundation for evidence-based policymaking and social justice initiatives.

However, recent media reports regarding the ongoing rehearsal of the second phase of Census operations indicate that the Population Enumeration (PE) schedule contains an **"open column"** for respondents to record their caste. While this may be intended as a preliminary exercise, **we respectfully submit that such a methodology may seriously compromise the accuracy and reliability of the caste census.**

As reported, a similar methodology adopted during the **Socio-Economic and Caste Census (SECC), 2011** resulted in the recording of more than **46 lakh different caste names**, creating enormous difficulties in classification, standardization, verification, and meaningful analysis of the data. Variations in spelling, regional usage, sub-castes, clan names, titles, surnames, and local identities led to fragmentation of data and ultimately prevented the generation of a reliable caste database.

The very purpose of conducting a caste census is to obtain accurate and scientifically verifiable information. Therefore, repeating the methodology

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that led to confusion and data inconsistencies in SECC 2011 may defeat the objective of the exercise.

We respectfully submit that the Government may adopt the same methodology that has been successfully followed for the enumeration of **Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs)** during previous Census operations.

Suggested Methodology

1. The Census Commission may prepare and digitize the official list of castes recognized by the Central Government and State Governments.
2. During Population Enumeration, the Enumerator should display the relevant official caste list applicable to the State concerned.
3. The respondent may identify his/her caste from the notified list.
4. The Enumerator should record:
   - Name of the caste; and
   - Corresponding caste code/identification number.
5. Suitable provisions may be made for verification and classification of rare or unlisted cases through a separate supervisory mechanism.

Advantages of this Method

- Ensures uniformity and standardization across the country.
- Eliminates duplication caused by multiple spellings and local variations.
- Prevents data distortion arising from surnames, clan names, titles, and sub-caste descriptions being recorded as separate castes.
- Facilitates scientific analysis and policy formulation.
- Reduces post-enumeration classification work and administrative burden.
- Produces a reliable and credible caste database that can be used for welfare planning and social justice measures.

The decision of the Government to conduct caste-wise enumeration has generated immense expectations among socially and educationally

backward communities across the country. To fulfil the objective of this historic exercise, the methodology adopted must ensure accuracy, consistency, and credibility.

We therefore earnestly request the Government of India and the Census Commission to reconsider the proposed "open column" approach and adopt a **coded caste enumeration system based on officially notified caste lists**, similar to the procedure followed for SC and ST enumeration.

Such a measure will prevent a recurrence of the difficulties experienced during SECC 2011 and will ensure that Census 2027 produces authentic and usable caste-wise population data for the benefit of the nation.

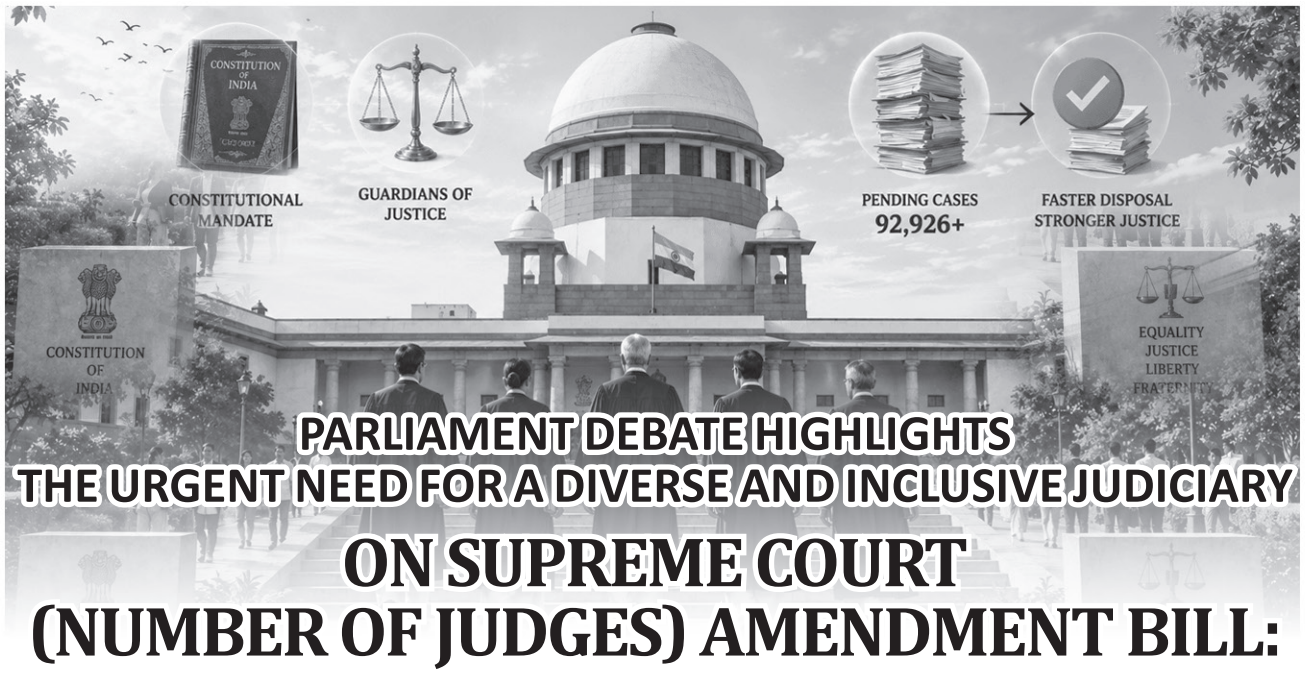
We shall be grateful for your kind consideration and appropriate action.

Yours faithfully,

R. KRISHNAIAH
(M.A,LL.M,M.Phil)
Member Of Parliament
(Rajya Sabha)

Copy:-

The Registrar General & Census Commissioner of India
Ministry of Home Affairs
Government of India
New Delhi



PARLIAMENT DEBATE HIGHLIGHTS
THE URGENT NEED FOR A DIVERSE AND INCLUSIVE JUDICIARY

ON SUPREME COURT (NUMBER OF JUDGES) AMENDMENT BILL:

(APPROVED IN RAJYA SABHA ON 5.8.2026)

DR. MENAKA GURUSWAMY, M.P. (TMC):



I speak with some experience; I am a Senior Advocate of the Supreme Court. The problems of the Judiciary are not going to be solved by passing through Ordinance and increase of four more Judges in the Supreme Court. There are these problems. (Contd. by DPS/1N)

The problems are: The Central Government will not appoint women to the judiciary. …(Interruptions)… They will not appoint lower caste to the judiciary. They will not appoint religious minorities to the judiciary. They will not appoint gay people to the judiciary.

Sir, there are 30 per cent vacancies in all the High Courts. Women are 14 per cent! Women constitute only 14 per cent of all the High Court judges! The reality is that the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and the women together make up under 20 per cent of the judiciary. Between 2018 to 2026, this Government appointed just 3 per cent Scheduled Caste Judges, 2 per cent ST Judges and 12 per cent OBC Judges. These are the issues.

It is not about four more Judges. …(Interruptions)… You solve issues when you work with the Constitution.

R. GIRIRAJAN, M.P. (DMK)



The Supreme Court (Number of Judges) Amendment Bill, 2026 aimed to increase the sanctioned strength of the Supreme Court judges from 33 to 37, bringing total maximum strength from 34 to 38. Though, we support this increase of Supreme Court Judges, we also emphasize to follow a fair and equitable share in judicial system. The volume of litigation of cases in the Supreme Court of India has constantly been on the rise due to the persistent gap between the institution and the final disposal of cases in the Court. As on 1st January, 2026, there were 92,101 cases pending in the Supreme Court. Even while working at near full sanctioned capacity of 34 judges since 2019, the Supreme Court recorded institution of 75,410 fresh matters in 2025 against a disposal of 65,615.

Sir, there has been a consistent gap between the institution and the final disposal of cases which highlights the ongoing challenges of the managing the docket, particularly, in relation to the older pending cases and those necessitating the attention and adjudication by larger benches. The increase of judge strength of the Court is one of the most exigent and viable solutions for tackling the pending backlog of the cases in the Supreme Court.

Sir, independence of the judiciary is a constitutional vision that has been incorporated in the Constitution of India. Unfortunately, a single dominant caste holds a large majority of positions in the India's higher judiciary, including the Supreme Court and

High Courts. The Government data and independent studies show that roughly 76 per cent to 80 per cent of the High Court judges, appointed in recent years, belong to upper caste general categories, while marginalized groups like the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes and the Other Backward Classes remain severely unrepresented.

Sir, according to data presented in the Parliament by the Union Law Ministry, nearly 79 per cent to 80 per cent of Judges appointed to High Courts between 2021 and early 2026, came from upper-caste backgrounds. Out of the 33 Judges, 12 Judges are from one particular community which is only 3 per cent of the India's population. Low marginalized representation - out of hundreds of appointments made in the recent years, only a tiny fraction went to SC, ST and OBC candidates combined.

Sir, representation of the Scheduled Tribes and the women remains exceptionally low or entirely absent at various points in the Apex Court's history. There exists a collegium system in which the Judges are chosen by a closed group of senior judges known as the collegium, which, critics argue, lacks the transparent diversity criteria and relies heavily on informal networks. Several judges have also acknowledged that nepotism is still plaguing the Indian judiciary and have insisted that more first-generation lawyers and judges should come.

Sir, pendency of cases in India has reached record levels- over 96,000 cases pending in the Supreme Court and millions more across the High Courts, driven by shortage of judges. Then, regarding post-retirement appointments, nominating or appointing retired judges to political or quasi-judicial posts, such as tribunals or Parliament, raises concerns about compromising judicial independence during their active tenure.

In Tamil Nadu, Dr. Kalaignar M. Karunanidhi championed social justice by advancing inclusive representation, enabling the historic elevation of marginalized jurists to the High Courts, and legally defending the Statelevel reservation quotas against judicial challenges. Dr. Kalaignar M. Karunanidhi was instrumental in supporting and facilitating the rise of jurists from suppressed communities through the ranks, actively enabling the elevation of district judge, A. Varadarajan to the Madras High Court, making him the first High Court Judge in the country from the Scheduled Caste community, a path that later led to his appointment as the first Supreme Court judge who belonged to the Scheduled Caste community. His political and administrative support consistently pushed for institutional space and representation for Adi-Dravidars and backward classes within the formal legal and judicial machinery.

Sir, Dr. Kalaignar himself has acknowledged that he hailed from a socially backward, extremely oppressed community, with no claim to any honour. Economically too, he belonged to a family with no affluence. He always remembered all this. And it acted as a motivating force through his career by all his initiatives whether as a politician or a man of letters or a valiant fighter for social justice.

P. WILSON, M.P. (DMK):



Sir, I have three demands. One is regarding establishing Regional Benches of Supreme Court. A Bench at Chennai has to be established because Chennai is a metropolitan city. Dr. Ambedkar said, "Article 32 is the heart and soul of the Constitution." Therefore, access to justice should be made easily available. A Bench of Supreme Court should be established in Chennai. This is number one. Number two, Sir, with regard to diversity, there is a diversity deficit in the High Court as well as in the Supreme Court.

In fact, if you see the data that has been given by the Law Ministry itself, of 593 Judges, 26 belong to the Scheduled Castes, that is, 4.38 per cent; 14 belong to the Scheduled Tribes, that is, 2.36 per cent; and 80 belong to the Backward Classes, that is, 13.49 per cent; and 80 per cent belong to the Upper Castes. Therefore, there is a diversity deficit. A constitutional amendment should be brought in to compel that the diversity should be followed in the appointment of Judges. Sir, number three is regarding the age-limit.

The retirement age of the Judges of the High Court and Supreme Court has to be increased -- High Court Judges from 62 to 65 years and Supreme Court Judges from 65 to 70 years.

For that, a constitutional amendment has to be brought in. I would request the Law Minister for this. No Scheduled Tribe Judge has been appointed. The Law Minister is the first Scheduled Caste Law Minister who has been appointed. So far as the Scheduled Tribe is concerned, Kiren Rijijuji has been appointed. ■

Compiled by: G.Karunanidhi, Gen Secretary, AIOBC Employees Federation



MERIT: MORE THAN MARKS

THE SUPREME COURT'S CONSTITUTIONAL VISION

B.K. Pavitra & Others v. Union of India & Others (10 May 2019) - Supreme Court Judges: Dr.D.Y.Chandrachud and Justice U.U.Lalit

The Supreme Court's judgment in *B.K. Pavitra & Others v. Union of India & Others* (10 May 2019) contains an important discussion on the meaning of **"merit"**, particularly in the context of reservation, equality and administrative efficiency. The judgment challenges the conventional assumption that merit is simply a matter of marks, rank or performance in a standardised examination.

Merit cannot be reduced to examination marks

The Court points out that a common argument against reservation is that selecting candidates on the basis of "merit" automatically ensures greater efficiency in administration. **The Court rejects such an assumption. Administrative efficiency is an outcome of the work performed by officials after their appointment or promotion; it cannot simply be presumed from the method by which they were selected.** Any claim that one selection method produces more efficient officials must be supported by evidence.

Thus, a high score in an examination may demonstrate performance in that examination, but it does not by itself establish that the candidate will necessarily become a more efficient administrator.

What is "merit"?

The Court questions the practice of treating candidates who cross a particular examination cut-off as "meritorious" and those below it as "non-meritorious". It describes this as a narrow and distorted understanding of merit.

The judgment draws upon the work of **Amartya Sen**, explaining that merit is not an absolute quality existing independently of society. What is considered meritorious depends upon **what a society values and what it seeks to achieve.**

Therefore, if a constitutional democracy values **equality, social justice, diversity and inclusive governance,** these objectives must also be reflected in our understanding of merit.

MERIT AND SOCIAL JUSTICE ARE NOT OPPOSITES

One of the most powerful conclusions of the judgment is that **reservation is not necessarily opposed to meritocracy**.

The Court observes that government employment is intended not merely to select people who perform well in standardised examinations, but also to achieve broader constitutional objectives, including the upliftment of disadvantaged sections and the creation of an inclusive government.

This means that the debate should not be framed as:

"MERIT VS RESERVATION"

The more appropriate constitutional question is:

"WHAT SHOULD COUNT AS MERIT IN A DEMOCRATIC AND EQUAL SOCIETY?"

If public institutions are expected to represent the whole society, then the participation of historically excluded communities is itself relevant to the quality and legitimacy of governance.

EFFICIENCY CANNOT BE PRESUMED

The word **"efficiency"** is frequently invoked against reservation. The judgment gives an important response to this argument.

The Court explains that efficiency cannot be understood through a one-sided approach that ignores the positive contribution of inclusion and diversity. A government that includes different sections of society can itself be an important component of good governance.

The judgment also refers to the observations of Justice Chinnappa Reddy in *K.C. Vasanth Kumar,* questioning the assumption that persons selected through the general category are automatically more efficient than those selected through reservation. Such assumptions, the judgment indicates, cannot be accepted merely because they are repeatedly asserted.

Therefore:

Efficiency must be demonstrated, not presumed.

Merit must be assessed, not assumed.

MERIT IN AN UNEQUAL SOCIETY

The judgment's reasoning is particularly significant in a society where educational and social opportunities have historically been unequal.

A standardised examination may give everyone the **same question paper**, but that does not mean everyone had the same opportunity to prepare for it.

Access to quality education, coaching, books, technology, economic security and social resources can influence examination performance. Therefore, examination marks may reflect both **individual effort and the circumstances in which that effort took place.**

The Court's reasoning consequently supports a broader understanding of substantive equality: equality cannot always mean treating everyone identically when people begin from unequal social circumstances.

MERIT MUST SERVE THE CONSTITUTION

The Supreme Court's reasoning does not reject merit. On the contrary, it recognises merit and efficiency as important. What it rejects is the idea that there is only **one narrow definition of merit.**

Merit in public service must ultimately be connected with the purposes for which public institutions exist.

A good public servant requires not merely examination knowledge but also:

- **competence and professional ability;**
- **integrity and accountability;**
- **sound judgment and decision-making;**
- **commitment to public service;**
- **ability to work with diverse sections of society; and**
- **capacity to contribute to effective and inclusive governance.**

Thus, the constitutional concept of merit is broader than marks alone.

THE SUPREME COURT'S MESSAGE

The importance of *B.K. Pavitra* lies in changing the way we understand the relationship between **merit, equality and reservation.**

The Court's reasoning leads to four important conclusions:

1. Merit is not synonymous with examination marks.
2. A high examination score cannot automatically establish administrative efficiency.
3. Reservation and merit are not constitutional opposites.
4. Equality, diversity and inclusive governance can themselves form part of the objectives that merit should serve.

The real issue, therefore, is not whether India should have **merit or reservation.**

The constitutional challenge is to ensure that **merit itself is understood within the framework of equality and social justice.**

CONCLUSION

The Supreme Court has provided a powerful constitutional answer to the simplistic argument that reservation is the opposite of merit.

Merit is not a monopoly of privilege.

Marks are not the complete measure of merit.

Efficiency cannot be presumed from selection method.

Inclusion is not the enemy of efficiency.

A truly meritocratic public administration is one that **combines competence with equality, efficiency with representation, and individual ability with constitutional justice.**

"THE QUESTION IS NOT MERIT OR RESERVATION;

THE QUESTION IS WHAT KIND OF MERIT A CONSTITUTIONAL DEMOCRACY SHOULD VALUE."

- G.Karunanidhi, Editor, OBC VOICE

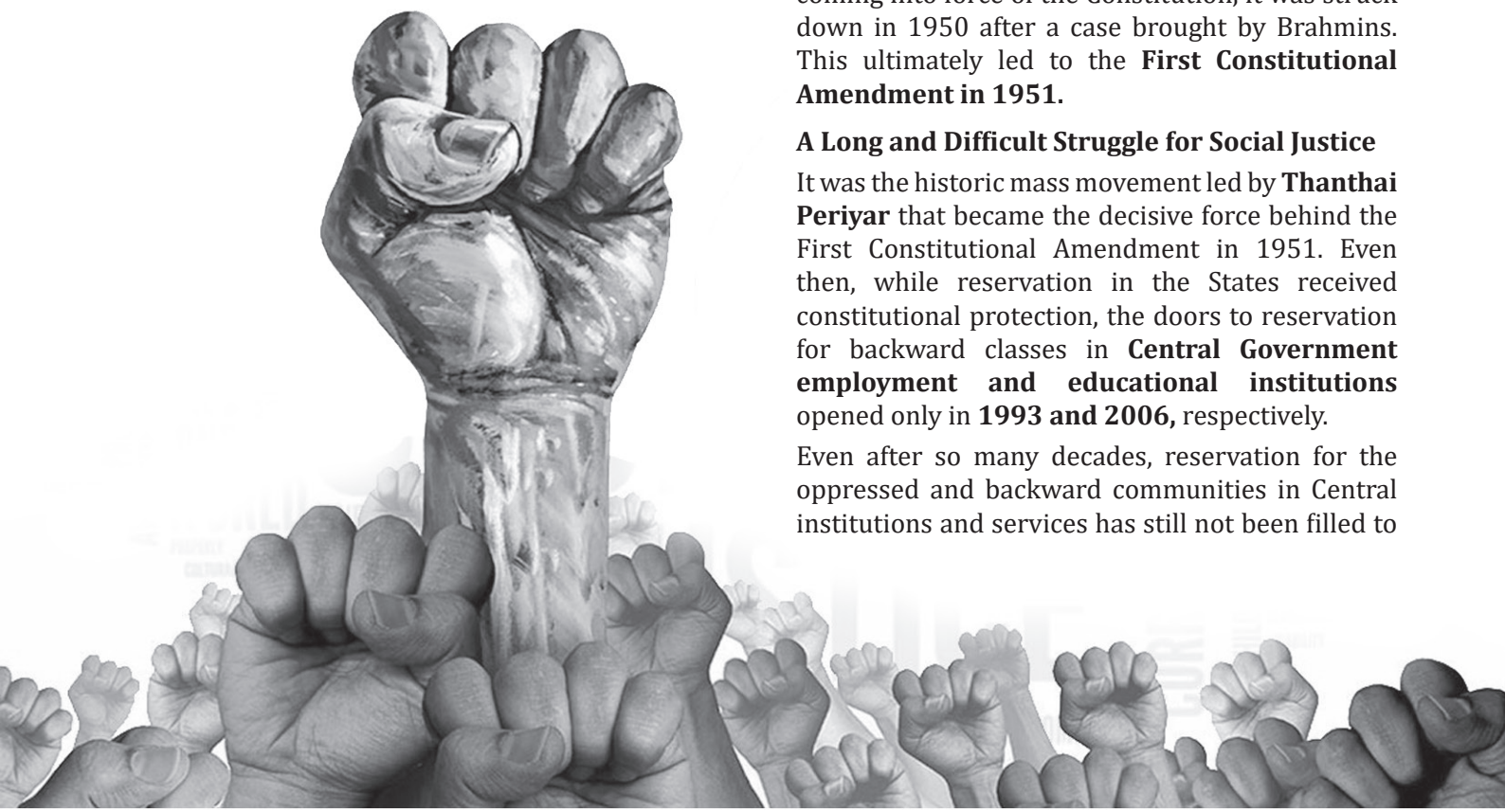
SOCIAL JUSTICE UNDER ATTACK: LET US UNITE TO DEFEND RESERVATION

"There are only two forces in India: those who stand for Social Justice and reservation, and those who stand against them."

DR. K. VEERAMANI

Reservation is a system introduced as an instrument of Social Justice to provide opportunities and improve the lives of people who, for generations, were oppressed, suppressed and denied opportunities under the evils of the Varna system and caste hierarchy.

In reality, it was the Brahmin and upper-caste sections who had historically *"reserved"* positions of power and education exclusively for themselves. The Manusmriti's system of reservation was based on the principle that *"this is meant for this person, and these rights are not available to those persons."* The present system of reservation for Social Justice is, in essence, a **counter-reservation designed to dismantle that Brahminical and upper-caste monopoly.**



The struggle to establish this system has continued for decades. Reservations for non-Brahmins were introduced in the princely states of **Kolhapur in 1902 and Mysore in 1921.** It was only in **1928** that communal reservation was implemented in the Madras Presidency. However, following the coming into force of the Constitution, it was struck down in 1950 after a case brought by Brahmins. This ultimately led to the **First Constitutional Amendment in 1951.**

A Long and Difficult Struggle for Social Justice

It was the historic mass movement led by **Thanthai Periyar** that became the decisive force behind the First Constitutional Amendment in 1951. Even then, while reservation in the States received constitutional protection, the doors to reservation for backward classes in **Central Government employment and educational institutions** opened only in **1993 and 2006,** respectively.

Even after so many decades, reservation for the oppressed and backward communities in Central institutions and services has still not been filled to

its full extent. **The statistics themselves tell this story.**

At every stage, moving the chariot of Social Justice even one step forward has required years of struggle. Public awareness had to be created, people mobilised, and legislation secured through State Legislatures and Parliament. Yet, the judiciary would intervene and create obstacles. Those obstacles too had to be challenged legally and overcome, while enduring the cuts, wounds and setbacks inflicted along the way. It is only through such sustained struggles that reservation has been implemented to the extent possible.

Reservation Is About Social and Educational Backwardness

When the Constitution was framed, it was decided that those who were socially and educationally backward should be given the rights and opportunities denied to them for generations. Even then, attempts were made to introduce economic backwardness as a criterion. But that could never be a lasting solution.

The fundamental reason for India's economic inequalities lies in **birth-based social discrimination.** That is why the Constitution rightly recognised **social and educational backwardness** as the basis for reservation.

The Supreme Court and the Economic Criterion

It was the Supreme Court that subsequently introduced the barrier of an economic criterion.

After the Mandal Commission recommendations were accepted and the Government headed by former Prime Minister and champion of Social Justice **V.P. Singh** implemented **27% reservation for Other Backward Classes**, the Supreme Court, in the *Indra Sawhney* case, imposed two major restrictions: the **50% ceiling on reservations**, which is not expressly provided in the Constitution, and the exclusion of the so-called **"creamy layer"** among backward classes on the basis of an economic criterion.

We conducted nationwide struggles demanding implementation of the Mandal Commission recommendations. Yet the media that ignored these struggles gave enormous publicity to protests organised by sections of the upper castes in North India against reservation.

The same pattern was repeated in 2006 when the **93rd Constitutional Amendment** introduced reservation in educational institutions. Protests were organised against reservation then too.

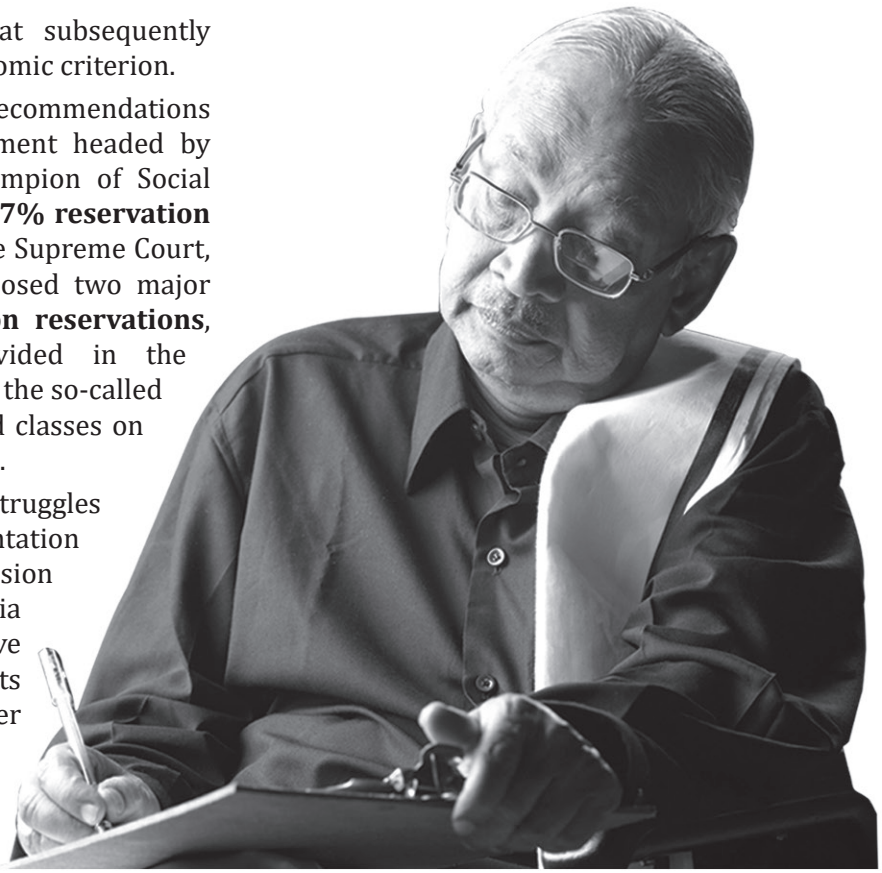
When it concerns Brahmins and upper castes, everything seems to happen with astonishing ease!

Without prolonged struggle or waiting, reservation for economically weaker sections among the upper castes — **EWS** — was rushed through under the **103rd Constitutional Amendment**. An economic criterion that had been rejected during the Constituent Assembly debates, and which was contrary to the basic framework of the Constitution, was introduced and subsequently upheld by the Supreme Court.

Discrimination in Educational Institutions

The cases of students such as **Rohith Vemula and Payal Tadvi** highlighted caste- and religion-based discrimination in educational institutions. Following a case filed in the Supreme Court in 2019, directions were issued to take measures against such discrimination.

It was only in **March 2026** that the UGC issued guidelines aimed at preventing caste- and religion-based discrimination in higher educational



institutions. Reports claimed that sections of the upper castes protested against these guidelines. The Supreme Court immediately intervened and stayed the guidelines intended to prevent discrimination.

If even attempts to prevent discrimination and institutional deaths cause pain to the upper castes, what does that reveal about the mindset and dominance that continue to prevail?

This is the reality of India even today.

The New Slogan: "An India Without Reservation"

Today, a section of the upper castes has begun raising the arrogant slogan of **"An India Without Reservation"**, demanding the destruction of Social Justice and reservation, even though oppressed and backward communities continue to face caste discrimination, untouchability and numerous barriers.

The demand is now to replace reservation based on **social and educational backwardness with reservation based on economic criteria**, thereby once again concentrating education and employment opportunities in the hands of the upper castes.

Earlier too, Brahminical media in North and South India systematically spread misinformation about the Mandal Commission recommendations. Right-wing forces such as the RSS and BJP withdrew their external support to the V.P. Singh Government, while the Left parties failed to provide adequate support.

The statement also recalls the controversy over the **₹9,000 income limit** introduced during M.G. Ramachandran's tenure as Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu. It notes that the CPI(M), in accordance with its national position supporting an economic criterion or creamy-layer principle in reservation, supported the income ceiling. By contrast, the CPI, along with the Dravidar Kazhagam, DMK and Muslim League, opposed the economic ceiling on the ground that **social backwardness must remain the decisive criterion**.

A Warning Against a Renewed Attack on Social Justice

The statement warns that the same forces are once again attempting to weaken Social Justice, allegedly with the support and encouragement of the BJP and RSS, particularly with elections in Uttar Pradesh and other States in mind.

The oppressed and backward communities are being viewed as divided and fragmented, and as being distracted by religious propaganda. Against this background, the statement calls upon all those who believe in Social Justice to **unite and stand together as one force**.

Destroy the Inferiority Complex Created Against Reservation

This is a time that demands **vigilance and awareness**.

Various forms of media and propaganda have attempted to create an inferiority complex among the very communities that have benefited from Social Justice — portraying reservation as something inferior or degrading and trapping young people in the deceptive discourse of **"merit"** and **"ability."**

Some among us, having benefited themselves, now ask: *"I have climbed the ladder; why should the next person need it?"* — and then kick away the very ladder that helped them climb.

We must recognise this tendency and **unite everyone to fight against it.**

"AN INDIA WITHOUT CASTE"

Our ultimate struggle is to create an "India without caste."

Young people must come forward to achieve this goal.

Caste is the disease; discrimination and untouchability are its manifestations. Reservation is the medicine administered to counter the effects of that very disease. But the permanent cure is the annihilation of caste.

Those upper-caste forces who suddenly pose as champions of caste abolition must answer a basic question:

Will they genuinely come forward to abolish caste?

Do these newly emerged champions of equality oppose caste dominance in religion, society and politics?

Their actual position appears to be:

"Caste must remain; its hierarchy must remain; their dominance must not diminish — but caste-based reservation alone must disappear!"

What greater deception could there be?

Is There Really Equal Opportunity?

Does everyone in this country enjoy equal opportunities?

If equal opportunities, equal facilities and equal rights are not provided, **how can equal merit and ability emerge?**

Only by exposing this deception can our young people and students understand what Social Justice truly means. **Is it not the foremost duty of those committed to Social Justice to do so?**

LET US UNITE! LET US MOBILISE!

The Dravidar Kazhagam will take the lead and work vigorously towards this objective.

Setting aside short-term political differences, everyone must unite. This is a period in which attempts to take away our rights are coming from all directions — through conspiracies, obstacles, attacks and enormous political pressures.

We must confront them all. We shall protect our rights, even at the cost of our lives!

RESERVATION IS OUR RIGHT! OUR NEED!

Rising above party lines, we must stand against the forces opposing reservation.

Reservation is our right!

Reservation is our need — our urgent need!

To defeat every attempt to take away this right, **a second Mandal struggle must once again assume a historic and massive form. We must make it happen.**

There are only two forces in India:

One — the force that stands for Social Justice.

The other — the force that opposes Social Justice and reservation.

Our first duty is to **strengthen the Social Justice forces.**

Let us unite!

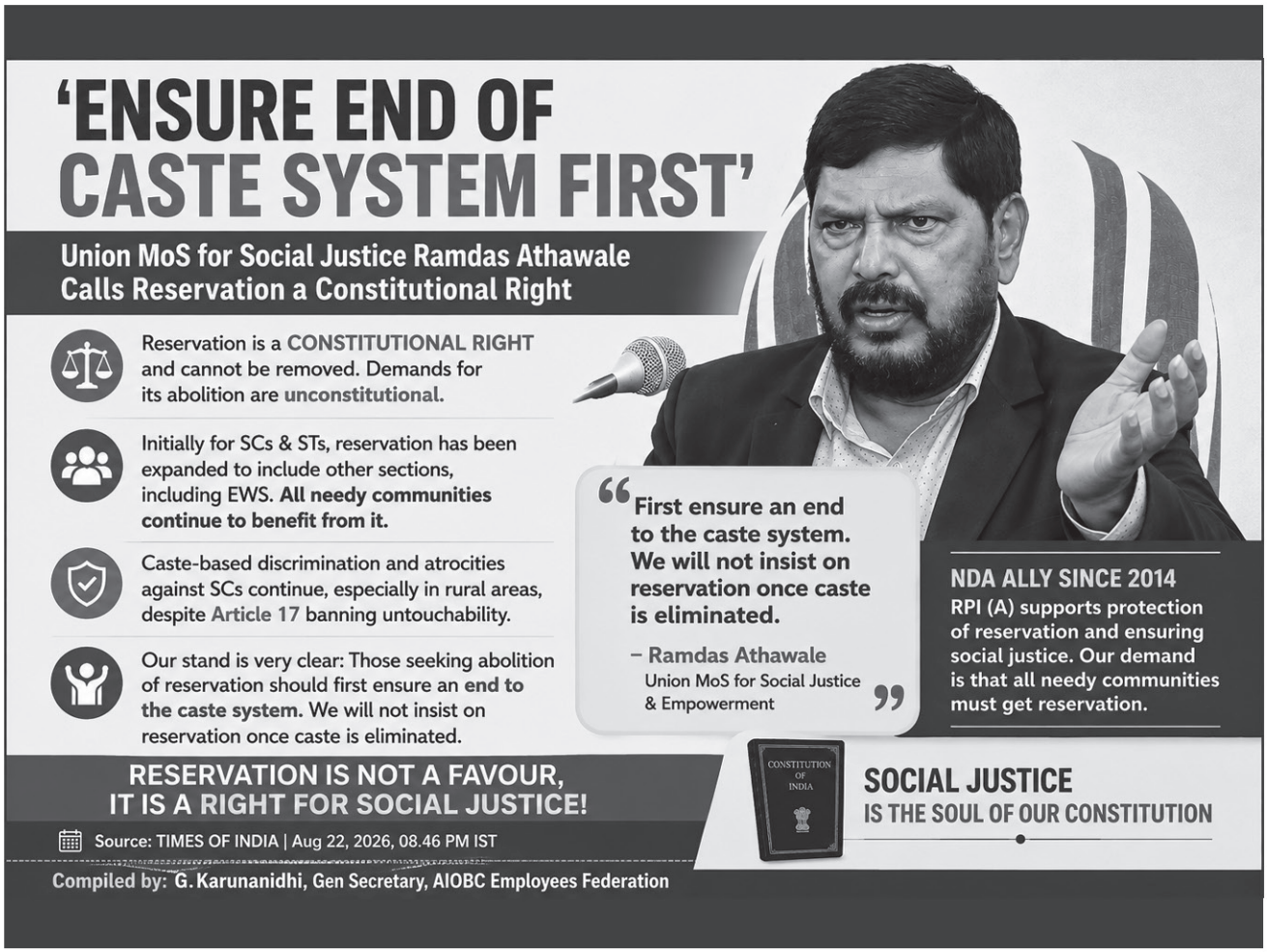
Let us mobilise!

Let us raise our voice!

Let us win our rights!

Let us win our rights!

(Statement of the tallest leader of Dravidian Movement Dr.K.Veeramani, (aged 93) President, Dravidar Kazhagam, published in Tamil daily "Viduthalai" dt 11.8.2026 – English Translation: G.Karunanidhi, Editor)





THOUGHTS OF PERIYAR: DRAVIDIANS AND HUMILIATING CODES

पेरियार के विचार: द्रविड़ और अपमानजनक नियम

The following write-up of Thanthai Periyar was published in Kudi Arasu dated 20th September 1947. The translated version is here below:

Dravidar Kazhagam (DK) is an establishment with the liberation and progress of people as its prime objective. It was organized to strive for achieving it. The Aryans had been misusing their freedom in the country to denigrate and degrade other people in the name of race and on the basis of birth. They have belittled others by suppressing and oppressing them. Dravidar Kazhagam was formed to liberate such downtrodden people from the Aryan shackles. To elucidate further, it is a movement which strives for the deliverance of all the people who have been maligned as Sudhras. As per the Arya dharma, they were graded as people belonging to the fourth group 'Varnas' or the fifth group 'Avarnas', in the layers of inequality. The mission of the Dravidar Kazhagam is to struggle and salvage all those victims of disparity.

Crazy Codes

Under the garb of the Hindu religion, Aryans have been calling Dravidians as 'Sudhras'. There are many evidences to vouch for this. For instance, in the tenth chapter of Manu smirti, under the caption of 'Shankara caste', it has been specified that those who have discarded the caste dharma and those who are their offsprings are called 'Dravidians'. This particular chapter also says that the children begotten by 'Sudhra' males and brahmin women should be treated as 'Bhagya caste' persons or people of a contemptuous 'Chandal' caste who should never ever come near upper caste people. The chapter concerned also adds that the children born of Brahmin men and Sudhra women should be called in the Aryan land as a low caste people of fishermen community.

In the same chapter it has been stated that cobblers who work using cattle-hide, grave diggers and beggars called 'Pariahs' are all born of intercaste marriages, to couples who have discarded the codes of caste-dharma. It has been very clearly specified in that chapter that the people who reigned over Dravidian country have become 'Sudhras'. For reference one can find it in the 44th 'verse' (couplets), in the 10th chapter of Manu Smriti. It has also been explicitly stated there that all those who speak a barbaric language are to be known as 'Dasyus'. The 45th

थंथई पेरियार का निम्नलिखित लेख **20 सितंबर 1947** को प्रकाशित "कुडी अरासु" में छपा था। इसका अनुवाद निम्न प्रकार से है:-

द्रविड़ कड़गम (DK) एक ऐसा संगठन है जिसका मुख्य उद्देश्य लोगों की **मुक्ति और प्रगति** है। इसी उद्देश्य को प्राप्त करने के लिए इस संगठन का गठन किया गया था। पेरियार के अनुसार, आर्यों ने देश में मिली अपनी स्वतंत्रता का गलत इस्तेमाल करके नस्ल और जन्म के आधार पर दूसरे लोगों का अपमान और उन्हें नीचा दिखाया। उन्होंने दूसरों को दबाकर और उनका शोषण करके उन्हें छोटा समझा। ऐसे दबे-कुचले लोगों को आर्यों की इन बेड़ियों से मुक्त कराने के लिए **द्रविड़ कड़गम** बनाया गया था। दूसरे शब्दों में, यह उन सभी लोगों की मुक्ति के लिए चलाया गया आंदोलन है जिन्हें **'शूद्र'** कहकर अपमानित किया गया था। आर्य धर्म के अनुसार, असमानता की व्यवस्था में उन्हें चौथे वर्ग **'वर्ण'** या पाँचवें वर्ग **'अवर्ण'** में रखा गया था। द्रविड़ कड़गम का उद्देश्य ऐसे सभी लोगों के लिए संघर्ष करना और उन्हें इस असमानता से मुक्त कराना है।

पागलपन भरे नियम

हिंदू धर्म की आड़ में आर्यों ने द्रविड़ों को **'शूद्र'** कहा। इसके समर्थन में कई उदाहरण दिए जाते हैं। उदाहरण के लिए, **मनुस्मृति के दसवें अध्याय** में 'शंकर जाति' के बारे में बताया गया है कि जो लोग जाति-धर्म के नियमों को छोड़ देते हैं और जो उनकी संतानें होती हैं, उन्हें **'द्रविड़'** कहा जाता है। इसी अध्याय में कहा गया है कि शूद्र पुरुष और ब्राह्मण महिला से पैदा हुए बच्चों को **'भाग्य जाति'** का माना जाना चाहिए या उन्हें **'चांडाल'** जैसी नीची और तिरस्कृत जाति का माना जाना चाहिए। ऐसे लोगों को ऊँची जाति के लोगों के पास भी नहीं जाने देना चाहिए। इसी अध्याय में यह भी कहा गया है कि ब्राह्मण पुरुष और शूद्र महिला से पैदा हुए बच्चों को आर्यों के देश में मछली पकड़ने वाले समुदाय की **निम्न जाति** का माना जाना चाहिए।

उसी अध्याय में कहा गया है कि पशुओं की खाल से काम करने वाले मोची, कब्र खोदने वाले और 'परिया' कहे जाने वाले भिखारी के अंतरजातीय विवाहों से पैदा हुए हैं, और जिन लोगों ने जाति-धर्म के नियमों को तोड़ा था। उस अध्याय में यह भी स्पष्ट रूप से कहा गया है कि जो लोग द्रविड़ देश पर शासन करते थे, वे भी **'शूद्र'** बन गए। इसका उल्लेख मनुस्मृति के दसवें अध्याय के **44वें श्लोक** में किया गया है। वहाँ यह भी कहा गया है कि जो लोग किसी 'असभ्य भाषा' में बोलते हैं, उन्हें **'दस्यु'** कहा जाना चाहिए। इसके प्रमाण के लिए दसवें अध्याय के **45वें श्लोक** का उल्लेख किया गया है। उस पृष्ठ के नीचे दिए गए अर्थ में **'दस्यु' का अर्थ 'चोर'** भी बताया गया है।

verse in chapter 10 must be noted for reference to vouch for this. A footnote on the page concerned also defines 'Dasyus' as 'thieves'.

Unpardonable denigration

A noteworthy fact is that like the term 'Dravidian', the name 'Andhran' is also found in Manusmiriti. It is stated that an 'Andhran' is one who hunts animals in forests and brings them to the cities to sell. Reference at verse 46 in the same tenth chapter. Hence it can be perceived that besides segregating Dravidians as Andhras, the Manu Dharma also stresses that Dravidians are low caste people who are contemptible, untouchable thieves. The 'Shankara Caste' segment in chapter 10 makes it clear as crystal. This is how Dravidians have been belittled.

The 50th verse states that all these low caste people should live on the outskirts of cities, in avenues, under the trees or somewhere near burial grounds, making everyone know that they are workers involved in filthy mean labour. They must exist in such a way that others can easily identify them as castaway elements and stay away from them. This particular verse also stresses that such Dravidians should rear only dogs and donkeys and that they are not permitted to rear cattle to eke out their living and survive.

'Humiliating restrictions'

My dear Dravidian comrades, you will be shocked if I reveal what verse from 52 to 57 say about us, but I must. According to those six verses, Dravidians should dress themselves in coffin cloth and eat their food from broken clay pots. They should not use vessels made of any metal. Women should wear jewels made of steel or brass.

Throughout their life they must loiter seeking jobs for their survival. They should not be sighted on auspicious event at home. None should talk to them. They must be forced for intra marriages within their own circle of people. No offering should be made in their presence. They must be given leftover food only in broken, dirty containers. During nights, they should not be allowed to move around in the city. Besides all these inhuman codes of treatment to be meted out to Dravidians, it also stresses that even if they appear neat, tidy and well-dressed, they must be considered filthy people of the lowest caste.

A strange way of salvation has also been stated as a solace for us. It is specified that if a 'Sudhra' woman marries a Brahmin and begets a child continuously in her seven births on earth, the child thus born in her seventh birth would become Brahmin. This ridiculous way of redemption was declared by Gandhi when he visited Tirupur in our State seven or eight years ago.

Intolerable disgrace

Verse 713 in chapter 10 says that a brahmin would always remain a brahmin, however mean his job might be. Similarly, even if a sudhra individual does a superior job of a brahmin, he would continue to exist as Sudhra and never become a brahmin. A sudhra individual cannot be transformed as a brahmin merely by performing the tasks of a brahmin. The verse concerned says that this has been ordained by Brahma Dev and that it is an indelible philosophical truth.

Verse 83 says that a brahmin could choose any mean job for survival, except farming and cultivation. In case, his livelihood and survival are not possible without stepping on agricultural work, and if there is no option, he can get farming done through others. Since ploughing and cultivation require use of spade and shovel to dig the field it is an unsuitable job for a brahmin. So a brahmin

अक्षम्य अपमान

एक महत्वपूर्ण बात यह है कि 'द्रविड़' शब्द की तरह **'आंध्र'** नाम भी मनुस्मृति में मिलता है। इसमें कहा गया है कि **'आंध्र'** वह व्यक्ति है जो जंगल में जानवरों का शिकार करता है और उन्हें शहरों में बेचने के लिए लाता है। इसका उल्लेख उसी दसवें अध्याय के **46वें श्लोक** में है। इससे यह समझा जा सकता है कि द्रविड़ों को आंध्र आदि नामों से अलग करने के साथ-साथ **मनु धर्म** में उन्हें निम्न जाति, तिरस्कृत, अछूत और चोर बताया गया है। दसवें अध्याय का **'शंकर जाति' वाला भाग** इस बात को बहुत स्पष्ट करता है। इस प्रकार द्रविड़ों को नीचा दिखाया गया है।

दसवें अध्याय के **50वें श्लोक** में कहा गया है कि इन सभी निम्न जाति के लोगों को शहरों के बाहर, रास्तों पर, पेड़ों के नीचे या कब्रिस्तान के पास रहना चाहिए। उनका जीवन ऐसा होना चाहिए कि हर कोई उन्हें गंदा और नीच काम करने वाले लोग समझ सकें। उन्हें इस तरह रहना चाहिए कि दूसरे लोग आसानी से पहचान सकें कि वे समाज से अलग किए गए लोग हैं और उनसे दूर रहें। इस श्लोक में यह भी कहा गया है कि ऐसे द्रविड़ केवल **कुत्ते और गधे पाल सकते हैं।** उन्हें अपनी आजीविका और जीवन चलाने के लिए **गाय-बैल जैसे पशु पालने की अनुमति नहीं** होनी चाहिए।

'अपमानजनक प्रतिबंध'

मेरे प्रिय द्रविड़ साथियो, अगर मैं आपको बताऊँ कि **52वें से 57वें श्लोक** में हमारे बारे में क्या लिखा है, तो आपको बहुत दुख और हैरानी होगी। लेकिन मुझे यह बताना जरूरी है। इन छह श्लोकों के अनुसार, द्रविड़ों को **कफन जैसे** कपड़े पहनने चाहिए और अपना भोजन **टूटे हुए मिट्टी के बर्तनों** में खाना चाहिए। उन्हें किसी भी धातु से बने बर्तनों का इस्तेमाल नहीं करना चाहिए। महिलाओं को **लोहे या पीतल के आभूषण** पहनने चाहिए।

उन्हें जीवन भर अपने जीवन-यापन के लिए काम की तलाश में घूमते रहना चाहिए। उन्हें घर में होने वाले शुभ अवसरों पर दिखाई नहीं देना चाहिए। कोई भी व्यक्ति उनसे बात नहीं करे। उन्हें अपने ही समुदाय के लोगों के बीच विवाह करने के लिए मजबूर किया जाना चाहिए। उनकी मौजूदगी में कोई धार्मिक भेंट या चढ़ावा नहीं दिया जाना चाहिए। उन्हें केवल बचा हुआ खाना टूटे और गंदे बर्तनों में दिया जाना चाहिए। रात के समय उन्हें शहर में घूमने की अनुमति नहीं होनी चाहिए। द्रविड़ों के साथ किए जाने वाले इन सभी अमानवीय व्यवहारों के अलावा यह भी कहा गया है कि अगर वे साफ-सुथरे और अच्छे कपड़े पहने हुए दिखाई दें, तब भी उन्हें सबसे नीची जाति के गंदे लोगों के रूप में ही माना जाना चाहिए।

हमारे लिए मुक्ति का एक अजीब तरीका भी बताया गया है। कहा गया है कि अगर कोई **शूद्र महिला किसी ब्राह्मण से विवाह करे** और उसके सात जन्मों तक लगातार बच्चा पैदा हो, तो उसके सातवें जन्म में पैदा होने वाला बच्चा **ब्राह्मण** बन जाएगा। पेरियार के अनुसार, मुक्ति का यह हास्यास्पद तरीका गांधी ने हमारे राज्य में लगभग सात-आठ साल पहले **तिरुपुर** आने के समय बताया था।

असहनीय अपमान

दसवें अध्याय के **श्लोक 713** में कहा गया है कि एक ब्राह्मण हमेशा ब्राह्मण ही रहेगा, चाहे उसका काम कितना भी नीचा क्यों न हो। इसी तरह, अगर कोई शूद्र व्यक्ति ब्राह्मण से भी अच्छा काम करता है, तब भी वह शूद्र ही रहेगा और कभी ब्राह्मण नहीं बन सकता। केवल ब्राह्मण का काम करने से कोई शूद्र व्यक्ति ब्राह्मण नहीं बन सकता। उस श्लोक के अनुसार, ऐसा नियम **ब्रह्मा देव द्वारा बनाया गया है** और इसे बदला नहीं जा सकता।

श्लोक 83 में कहा गया है कि कोई ब्राह्मण अपना जीवन चलाने के लिए खेती और कृषि को छोड़कर कोई भी छोटा या सामान्य काम कर सकता है। अगर उसके जीवन-यापन के लिए खेती के अलावा कोई दूसरा रास्ता न हो, तो वह दूसरों से खेती करवा सकता है। खेती करने के लिए हल, फावड़ा और दूसरे औजारों से जमीन खोदनी पड़ती है, इसलिए इसे ब्राह्मण के लिए उचित काम नहीं माना गया है। इसलिए ब्राह्मण को खेती से जुड़े काम में स्वयं नहीं लगना चाहिए। दसवें अध्याय के श्लोक 84 में ऐसा ही कहा गया है।

should never involve himself in agriculture related work. Verse 84 of chapter.10 has specified thus.

Harsh restrictions

Verse of the same chapter says that if a low caste person does the work meant only for an upper caste men, all belongings of his are to be seized by the king and the offender must be driven away from the country. No 'Sudhra' has the right to perform rituals pertaining to religion, according to verse 126 of chapter 10. Verse 129 says a 'Sudhra' individual should not be allowed to earn more than what is the least required for his existence, however skilled and capable he might be. If he earns more than what he actually needs to survive, that would only turn out to be harmful to brahmins.

A 'Sudhra' has no right to perform ceremonial sacrifices or to perform rituals. He has no hold over his possessions. Therefore, his entire wealth and belongings can be grabbed and taken away righteously by any brahmin, according to Verse 13 of chapter 11.

Asuras with a gigantic appearance actually denote 'Sudhras'. This is indicated by Verse 20 of chapter 11. It states that those who do not perform ceremonial sacrifices called 'Yagas' are known as 'Asuras', and that seizing their belongings by force is a permitted 'dharma'.

None Superior

By all these chapters it is clear that Dravidians are being called 'Sudhras'. 'Sudhras' have no right to perform rituals in front of fire. Such people are 'Asuras'. If Manusmiriti is full of such horrible codes of conduct and treatment, we can say without hesitation that it was fabricated exclusively for the Hindu religion. What would be the condition of Dravidians if they are converted as Hindus? Common public is urged upon by me to give it a deep thought.

My dear Dravidian comrades, we must collectively eradicate all the humiliating codes specified in the Manusmiriti and reveal our true identity with dignity. If we keep tolerating, that would only mean shameful acceptance of all the degrading codes. Let us be proud of our Dravidian race and discard all the verbal rubbish in the so called 'Manu Dharma Shastra'. Let us strive to prove that Dravidians are inferior to none on the earth.

Courtesy: 'Kudi Arasu' – 20th September 1947
Translated by : M.R. Manohar

कठोर प्रतिबंध

उसी अध्याय के एक श्लोक में कहा गया है कि अगर कोई निम्न जाति का व्यक्ति ऐसा काम करता है जो केवल ऊँची जाति के लोगों के लिए निर्धारित है, तो राजा को उसकी सारी संपत्ति जब्त कर लेनी चाहिए और उसे देश से निकाल देना चाहिए। दसवें अध्याय के **श्लोक 126** के अनुसार, किसी शूद्र को धार्मिक अनुष्ठान करने का अधिकार नहीं है। **श्लोक 129** में कहा गया है कि कोई शूद्र व्यक्ति कितना भी योग्य और कुशल क्यों न हो, उसे अपनी जरूरत से अधिक कमाने की अनुमति नहीं होनी चाहिए। अगर वह अपनी जरूरत से ज्यादा धन कमाता है, तो इससे ब्राह्मणों को नुकसान होगा।

एक **शूद्र** को धार्मिक बलि या धार्मिक अनुष्ठान करने का अधिकार नहीं है। उसे अपनी संपत्ति पर भी पूरा अधिकार नहीं है। इसलिए, **ग्यारहवें अध्याय के श्लोक 13** के अनुसार, कोई ब्राह्मण उसकी पूरी संपत्ति और सामान को अपने अधिकार में ले सकता है और इसे सही माना जाता है।

बड़े और डरावने रूप वाले **असुरों** का संबंध वास्तव में 'शूद्रों' से बताया गया है। ग्यारहवें अध्याय के **श्लोक 20** में इसका उल्लेख है। इसमें कहा गया है कि जो लोग **'यज्ञ'** जैसे धार्मिक अनुष्ठान नहीं करते, उन्हें **'असुर'** कहा जाता है। और उनके सामान को बलपूर्वक छीन लेना भी एक स्वीकार्य 'धर्म' बताया गया है।

कोई भी श्रेष्ठ नहीं

इन सभी अध्यायों से यह स्पष्ट होता है कि द्रविड़ों को **'शूद्र'** कहा गया है। 'शूद्रों' को अग्नि के सामने धार्मिक अनुष्ठान करने का अधिकार नहीं दिया गया है। ऐसे लोगों को **'असुर'** कहा गया है। अगर मनुस्मृति में इस तरह के इतने कठोर और भेदभावपूर्ण नियम हैं, तो हम बिना किसी संदेह के कह सकते हैं कि इसे हिंदू धर्म के लिए बनाया गया था। अगर द्रविड़ों को हिंदू बना दिया जाए, तो उनकी स्थिति क्या होगी? मैं आम जनता से कहता हूँ कि इस विषय पर **गहराई से विचार करें।**

मेरे प्रिय द्रविड़ साथियो, हमें मिलकर मनुस्मृति में बताए गए इन सभी **अपमानजनक नियमों को समाप्त करना चाहिए** और सम्मान के साथ अपनी असली पहचान सामने लानी चाहिए। अगर हम इन नियमों को सहते रहेंगे, तो इसका अर्थ होगा कि हम इन सभी अपमानजनक नियमों को स्वीकार कर रहे हैं। हमें अपनी **द्रविड़ पहचान पर गर्व** होना चाहिए और तथाकथित **'मनु धर्म शास्त्र'** में लिखी इन बातों को अस्वीकार करना चाहिए। हमें यह साबित करने के लिए प्रयास करना चाहिए कि **द्रविड़ दुनिया में किसी से भी कम या नीच नहीं हैं।**

साभार: 'कुडी अरासु' - 20 सितंबर 1947;
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1st State Conference of Tamil Nadu Grama Bank OBC Employees Welfare Association – Tirunelveli – 22.08.2026

Chief Guest: V.Sankar Raju, GM, H.O., TNGB, Speakers: G.Karunanidhi, Gen Secy. AIOBC Employees Federation, M.Senthamil Selvan, Treasurer, AIUB OBCEWA, Puvan Guru, Liaison Officer for OBC, TNGB



Office-bearers of West Bengal OBC Federation led by Asok Kr Sarkar (Working President, AIOBC Employees Federation) met Sri Gouri Shankar Ghosh, Honble Backward Classes Minister ,Govt.of West Bengal on 31.7.2026 and submitted nine points OBC demands like Creamy Layer, Caste Census,new Caste inclusion like Mahishya,Tili, Sadgope, Chassatti,Baishnab, Saha,Gandhya Banik etc, Construct Kesh Kala Board, Corporation/ Municipalities OBC seats reservation, 27 percent reservation in service & education etc.





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