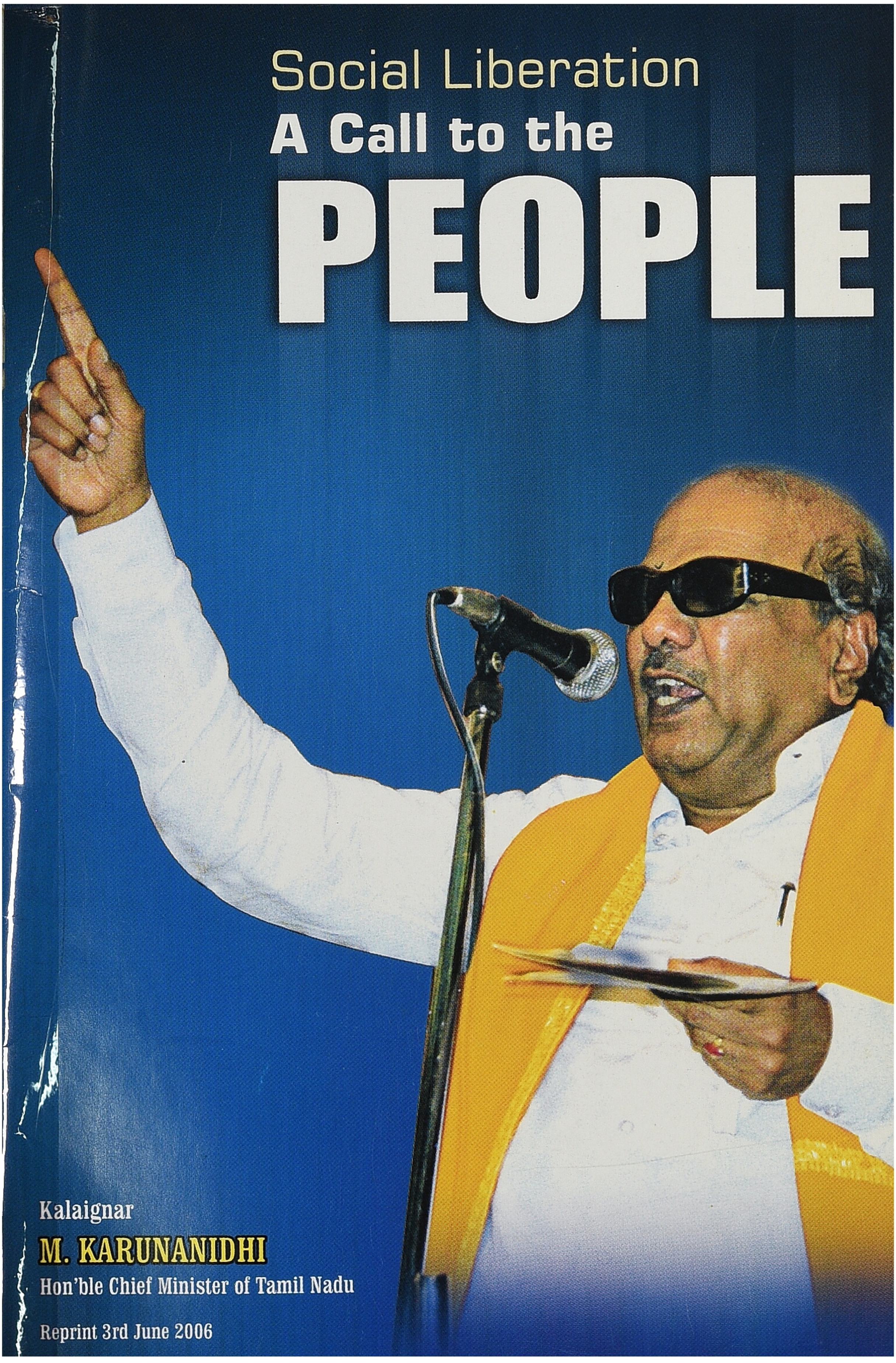
Social Liberation
A Call to the
PEOPLE



Kalaignar

M. KARUNANIDHI

Hon'ble Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu

Reprint 3rd June 2006

SOCIAL LIBERATION – A CALL TO THE PEOPLE

Kalaignar

M. KARUNANIDHI'S

address at 44th Independence Day and
Mandal Commission's Report Victory Day
in the public meeting organissed by D.M.K.
at Vadapalani Singaravelar Thidal.
On 15th August 1990

தி.மு.க. அறக்கட்டளை
பேராசிரியர்
ஆய்வக நூல்
நிலையம்
சென்னை-18
அண்ணா அறிவாலயம்

This speech gives answers to all arguments against Reservation. Therefore D.M.K. brings out the second edition of this booklet on Kalaignar' 83rd Birthday on 3.6.2006.

D.M.K. Head Quarters
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THIS BOOK .....

Dear Readers,

This booklet traces the history of evolution of the Mandal Commission. The Justice Party, D.K. and D.M.K. have been carrying on with the struggle for several decades to ensure social justice and to establish an egalitarian social order.

Dr. Kalaignar M. KARUNANIDHI in his own inimitable and unequivocal style brings out in a telling way the need for implementing the Mandal Commission Recommendations.

We are happy to bring out in the form of a booklet Kalaignar's logical flow of touhghts on Mandal Commission and it's aftermath.

N. SELVENDRAN,
Publication Secretary, D.M.K.

தி.மு.க. அ
பேராசிரியர்
அன்பழகன்
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SOCIAL LIBERATION - A CALL TO THE PEOPLE

We celebrate with happiness every year the day of deliverance of this our land from the yoke of foreign rule. Today we have assembled in great multitude in this Singaravelar ground to celebrate, with double happiness, our Independence Day as also the success of our social liberation.

At this function, to celebrate our Day of Independence, Prof.K. Anbazhagan as well as other frontline leaders of Kazhagam have already dwelt at length on the acceptance of the Centre, to our great delight, of Mandal Commission Recommendations.

ENTIRE INDIA KEENLY WATCHES THE PROGRAMMES OF THE D.M.K.

D.M.K. is a mass movement with certain Ideals, Objectives and Principles set for itself. It's service spreads over the entire State; yet the impact of its service--be it it's service rendered organisationally as a party or administratively through the Government after assuming office -- does not stop with the state but is felt continually in other States also, if not throughout the Indian sub-continent. And because of that reason, the activities, the programmes, the policies and objectives of the D.M.K., despite it is a regional party, are being keenly watched by the leaders and parties at the national level. This is an irrefutable fact.

Taking a look, on that basis, we can say that certain decisions which we have taken at the State level during D.M.K. rule have been accepted at the national level as guidelines and implemented.

During the D.M.K. rule, when Aringar Anna took over as the Chief Minister he had stated, without issuing orders, that May Day and the Birth Day of the Prophet would be declared as holidays; these days were not announced as paid holidays. When I assumed office after the demise of Anna, I announced that May Day will be treated, hereafter, as a paid holiday.

Similarly, I announced that the Birth Day of the Prophet will be treated as a paid holiday -- a public holiday.

AT the time of various conferences conducted by the Federation of D.M.K. oriented Workers Progressive Unions, resolutions were passed repeatedly that just as in Tamil Nadu, the May Day should be declared as a holiday throughout the country. But those resolutions -- those requests -- have not been accepted while. Tmt. Indira Gandhi was the Prime Minister. Later even when Rajiv Gandhi ruled, after assuming office as P.M., they were ignored.

TAMIL NADU DECISIONS ADOPTED AT NATIONAL LEVEL

After the National Front Government has been formed and our beloved and endearing V.P.Singh took over as the Prime Minister, comrade Varadarajan made an appeal on behalf of C.P.I.(M), in the Assembly on the eve of May Day, to erect a May Day memorial; without ignoring it, we have not only fulfilled it at a cost of several lakhs of rupees but also rechristened the name of the Napier Park where it is erected as the May Day Park. Not only this. A few days before this, I told brother Gopalsamy on the eve of his departure for Rajya Sabha, "while speaking in the Rajya Sabha, you stress on the need for declaring May Day as a Holiday throughout India, as in Tamil Nadu". When brother Gopalsamy stressed it while speaking in the Rajya Sabha, it was

accepted immediately by the Centre. Prime Minister V.P.Singh, accepting it, has announced that just as in Tamil Nadu, May Day will be a paid holiday throughout the country.

Only in Tamil Nadu the Birth Day of the Prophet has been declared as a holiday and is in force. Today I heard a news on the T.V., Prime Minister V.P. Singh speaking after unfurling the National Flag has asserted that the Birth Day of the Prophet will be declared as a Public Holiday.

The decisions taken in Tamil Nadu are being adopted at all India Level now. The most important reason for this is that it is only the National Front that rules now in Tamil Nadu as well as in New Delhi.

TAMIL NADU--REASON FOR THE EMERGENCE OF THE HISTORICAL DECLARATION

Similarly, now V.P. Singh has accepted Mandal Commission's Recommendations and announced it on the 7th instant in the Lok Sabha as a magnificent, historically significant declaration. The primary reason for this decision to emerge there -- for this decision to blossom -- is only our Tamizhagam at the Southern end of India.

Thiru Mandal who prepared the Mandal Commission's Recommendations observes:

Tamil Nadu is the pioneering State in Communal Representation; it has given representation for Backward Classes.

Thiru Mandal has observed that only Tamil Nadu is the pioneering State for Communal reservation.

As has been pointed out here by Prof.K. Anbhzahagan and others who spoke before me, we have been the torch-bearers for the Mandal Commission Recommendations which have been accepted by the leader of the National Front Government at Delhi, by our respected, revered, beloved and affectionate V.P. Singh and the Central Cabinet and has been announced in the Parliament.

The policy of Communal Reservation was strengthened by Thanthai Periyar and Peraringar Anna. The reason why I say strengthened is that this Communal Reservation has a long historical background -- this has germinated during the period of the Justice Party itself, in the years 1916, 17, 18, and was announced during the time when Muthiah was holding the office of the Minister.

POLICY DEVELOPED FOR THE UNDEVELOPED SOCIETY

This policy was evolved in Tamil Nadu -- in the South -- during the period of the Justice Party. This policy was evolved, as it was realised that only if it was evolved it would be possible to shape a retarded society. Had it not been evolved, the epilogue would have been written long ago that this Society has been annihilated with the Backward, the Most Backward, the depressed, the Scheduled Caste and the Scheduled Tribe people having been further suppressed, oppressed and crushed.

ONLY PERIYAR AND ANNA REMOVED THE DANGER TO THE COMMUNAL RESERVATION

Not giving room for this, the Justice Party leaders had taken the arduous task upon themselves and argued and battled. The credit for having safeguarded this policy evolved by them from being endangered goes to Thanthai Periyar and Peraringar Anna.

When, after Anna and Periyar, an attempt was made by the Government, that came into being during the intervening period, to change the socio-educational criteria for the job reservation to economic criteria, it was the D.M.K. and the D.K. that vehemently opposed it. History cannot ignore this fact.

THE IDEAL RUNS IN OUR BLOODSTREAM

Only because of that opposition, the danger that popped up during the intervening period was eliminated. After such elimination of the danger, and while the D.M.K. has been returned to office in 1989, the fact that the most backward people among the backward have certain grievances has engaged our attention. They suffer because the benefits of reservation granted to the backward have not percolated to the most backward among them. Hence respecting the demand that a specific percentage from out of the 50 per cent reserved for the B.C. should be set aside for the M.B. people and as our bloodstream is imbued with such lofty deal of upliftment , we have after the D.M.K. assumed office, set aside 20 per cent to the M.B. people comprising mostly Vanniars and denotified communities. As a result of this Vannia students who could secure only 23 seats in Medical Colleges two years ago could secure 76 seats last year and more than 76 seats this year.

WHY THE HALF BAKED MAKE AN OUTCRY FOR THE D.M.K. GOVERNMENT TO GO

We have introduced with great success this 20 per cent reservation to the M.B. people among the backward, without disregarding their aspirations and with the objective of uplifting them. Not only this. This year we have brought about reservation in employment and professional education on social basis to persons born in any community. Students coming from families, be they from Agraharam, or of Adi-dravida, or of Vannia, Thevar, Yadhava, any Backward, Most Backward or from

depressed classes or from forward communities, where there is no graduate -- among their parents, brothers, and sisters--will be granted a bonus of 5 marks for admission to Medical, Engineering, Agricultural, Law and other professional colleges. In India, orders to this effect have been issued for the first time only by the D.M.K. Government in Tamil Nadu. Only for this, some people are itching with a desire to see the back of us.

Not only this. If that family without a single graduate is penurious, if that is a family of Adi-dravida with an annual income of only Rs.15,000/-, the first student from that family joining a professional course, be it M.B.B.S. or Engineering or Law or Agriculture, will be given free education till he/she completes that professional education. In the whole of India, it is only the D.M.K. Government in Tamil Nadu that has announced such a measure. For this only, some political nitwits are clamouring that we should lay down office.

Only as sequel, as an impact of these,some States in India have in the past granted, though not in such a revolutionary manner, concessions and rights to some extent, in stages, to the backward people. In this backdrop, it can be said that we are fighting for the backward people in the entire country, to secure social justice for them in employment in Central Government and Central quasi establishments.

THE VOICE I RAISED AT 1973 CONFERENCE

In 1973 I was invited for the Conference of Backward Class people held at Allahabad. There I spoke in Tamil. A professor from Madras by name Chandrakanth came to the Conference to translate my speech into Hindi. Leaders like Charan Singh and Chandrajit Yadhav attended that Conference.

While speaking at the Conference I told that a certain percentage of reservation has been made available to the Backward people in education and employment. But that right,

that reservation for the Backward people of Tamil Nadu in employment, could not be availed of by them in employment pertaining to the Central Government. Hence I made a request, at that Conference, to the Central Government to find ways and means to achieve it. I am not mentioning this to boast myself that I am the originator of this idea. Whatever I or Prof.Anbhzhagan speak, only the ideals of Periyar and those of Peraringar Anna form the basis for it. We are not so arrogant as to forget this. We are proud that we speak on the basis of the ideals of Periyar and Anna only and not that we speak on our own.

I gave this opinion then. Resoultions were passed in the Working committee and the General Council. It was stressed on behalf of the D.M.K.Government. Later when the Janata Party assumed office at the Centre in 1977, it announced the appointment of Mandal Commission. It was announced on 20-12-78 that Mandal Commission would be appointed. The Report of the Commission was completed and submitted on 31-12-1980 to then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi.

AGITATIONS THAT WE LAUNCHED FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MANDAL COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS

In the mean time, since the Janata Government fell, the Mandal Commission Report was submitted on 31-12-1980 to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi who was returned to office in 1980. This Report was placed in the Parliament on 30-4-1982, after two years since it was submitted. It took 2 years to place the Report in the Parliament. So much hesitation, so much confusion was there whether at all this Report was necessary. Hence the Report was not placed. Even to make them place the Report in the Parliament we had to convene several conferences here. At Delhi itself we had to organise several struggles. There was a

situation that all our Parliament Members had to go to the prison in Delhi. Only after such notable struggle was the Mandal Commission Recommendation placed in the Parliament.

After that, during the last 8 years we have raised our voices several times. We spoke in the Parliament. We even brought our Resolutions in the Parliament. We also submitted Bills there. In the Legislative Assembly we have discussed about it. At the D.M.K. Conferences we passed resoultions and sent them. We asked Indira Gandhi when we met her. WE asked Rajiv Gandhi when we met him. After that, the D.M.K. was returned to office in 1989. In the election manifesto released before the D.M.K. came to power, we have declared that if we come to power we will fight and press the Central Government to implement the Reservation provisions for the Backward people in employment opportunities. We have declared it in our election manifesto and we have won.

After that the National Front came forward to contest the election. When the National Front prepared its Election Manifesto the text that "we will implement the Mandal Commission Report" was incorporated. The National Front Government was formed. Just before this in 1989, when Rajiv Gandhi was the Prime Minister, the D.M.K. Government passed a resoultion in the Tamil Nadu Assembly requesting the Central Government to implement the Mandal Commission's Recommendations and sent it to Rajiv Gandhi. That was thrown to the dust-bin by Rajiv Gandhi.

But this year in my Budget speech I reminded the National Front Government to implement Mandal Commission Report.

After that at the meeting of National Development Council, in which all the Chief Ministers participated, i was the only one to point out in my speech, that there should not be any further delay in implementing the Mandal Commission's Recommendations.

After that a Committee was appointed under the Chairmanship of the then Deputy Prime Minister Devi Lal to implement the recommendations of the Mandal Commission. After that I and brother Maran met Devi Lal and enquired about that Committee. He said 'we are not hesitating to implement the Mandal Commission's Recommendations. But there is hesitation as to the communities to be included. That is the reason why we are delaying without being able to announce it immediately". I told him that there was no need for such trouble, that "there is a list of Backward class and Most Backward class people in each State. Hence get those lists and come forward to implement the Recommendations accordingly". Devi Lal said, "this is a good idea".

But delay occurred even after this. Once again we met the Prime Minister and requested him on behalf of the D.M.K. to implement this immediately. We have passed resolutions in our Working Committee and General Council and sent them. As a result, today on this Day of Independence, we have got this gift of having the Mandal Commission's Recommendations implemented.

REASON FOR STRESSING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF MANDAL COMMISSION

I want to highlight the need to emphasis the implementation of Mandal Commission's Recommendations. While Aläadi Aruna spoke here he indicated certain statistical data in a superficial way.

I wish to state a few facts. I appeal to all the impartial persons, that at least after this they may ruminate over whether the implementation of Mandal Commission's Recommendation is justified or not.

It is alright to take steps to promote the welfare of the Backward classes are opposed by forward classes. But my anguish is that these are not properly understood by the Backward classes themselves. It is this that worries me!!

A few might ask whether these Backward, Most Backward and Scheduled Caste people "for whom you are doing so much good, are supporting you or realising this". I wish to tell them that these people remain Backward and Most Backward and depressed because they lack this understanding. Therefore, there is no use of blaming them. We are only guilty. We have not educated them adequately. We have not clarified to the extent they need to be clarified.

Therefore, we have to understand that a lot of service still remains to be done by us instead of blaming them. I would therefore like to state the following facts:

I wish to place the statistics collected by Mandal and also the Commission at the time of its appointment.

REPRESENTATION GIVEN TO THE BACKWARD CLASSES

Look at the Statistics!

You should know how many are occupying Class I posts in the Department of Defence. total number of officials and administrative staff was 1379. I mean here only officers and not soldiers. May be these soldiers are Backward or Scheduled Caste poeple. Out of 1379 officials there, 1322 belonged to forward classes, 48 to Scheduled Castes and only 9 were Backward classes.

Already there is 22.5% reservation for Scheduled Castes. According to this they should have been given 310 jobs. They were cheated out of their legitimate share.

According to the recent announcement of V.P. Singh, Backward Classes should get 372 jobs. What they secured was only 9 jobs. What they are going to secure hereafter will be 372 jobs. Will not be bowels yearn for those who so far enjoyed the benefits?

In the same Department of Defence, there was 7752 Class II officials. Among them 6762 belonged to higher castes. According to their own reservation, there should be 1774 Scheduled Caste people. But there were only 803. According to the present proportion (27%) announced by V.P. Singh, there should be 2093 persons from Backward classes. But there were only 187 persons.

In the Department of Defence there was a total of 2177 Class III Class IV officials. Among them 1392 belonged to high castes, 131 to Backward classes and 604 to Scheduled Castes. Though Scheduled Castes should get 470 jobs, they got a share of 604 jobs. The reason is that these jobs were class III and class IV and not Class I or Class II. Even in this category, Backward classes secured only 131 posts. If the job reservation of today were available to them at that time, they should have secured 574 posts.

The total number of officials in the Depa.tment of Defence were 11258 persons. Of these persons,10476 were high caste people; Scheduled Caste were 1455 persons and Backward classes were 372 persons. Is Mandal Commission necessary or not?

In the Union Ministry of Finance, the total number of Class I officials were 1008 persons. The number of high caste people among them was 941; the number of Scheduled Caste people was 66. According to the existing proportion of 22.5% there should be 227 Scheduled Caste persons. But they were not given this share. They have only 66 posts. Do you know how

many Backward class, Class I officials were there in this Department? It was only one, a precious single person. I am not saying this for fun. I ask what was going on till date? It was only an attempt to gogue out the eyes of the society that was going on. Is not Mandal Commission necessary to change this?(Necessary, Necessary -- the crowd roars)

In the same Department of Finance there was a total number of 2824 Class II officers. these, 2007 were from high caste persons. There were 306 Scheduled Caste and 11 Backward class persons only. If, today, V.P.Singh's recommendations were implemented, 767 Backward class persons will get jobs. I ask the Backward class people whether Mandal Commission is necessary or not.

In the Department of Finance there was total number of 821 persons in the Class III & IV categories. High caste persons among them were 606, Scheduled caste persons were 202 and Backward class persons 13. I ask the Backward community. Is Mandal Commission necessary or not (--"Necessary"--Replies the crowd.). If the voice is so feeble it will not fall on the ears of Indian Express (Necessary, Necessary -- the crowd roars).

In the Department of Information, there was a total number of 16505 persons. High Caste persons were 11498. Scheduled caste persons numbered 3660. According to the existing proportion of reservation, there should be 3714 Scheduled caste persons. But there were only 3660 persons. The Backward classes accounted for 1347 persons only.

In the Department of planning there were 6917 officials. High caste persons among them were 4582. There should be 1556 Scheduled Caste persons. But there were only 977 persons. There should be 1868 Backward persons. But at that time there were only 358 persons.

In the Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation, there were 9185 officials. The High caste accounted for 6463 persons. The Backward classes accounted for 541 persons only.

In the President's Secretariat there was a total number of 307 officials. Among them the high castes accounted for 260 persons. The Scheduled castes accounted for 47 persons. The number of Backward class officials was zero. Zeroes! O! Ye! who have been reduced to zeros in the office of the President because the destiny written in your head was not in order. O!Ye!the members of the depressed society. I ask you! Is Mandal Commission necessary or not (-- Necessary--reply from the audience).

NEHRU'S REPLY TO THE CRY FOR ECONOMIC CRITERION

Some people opposing Mandal Commission Recommendations argue that job reservation should be based on economic criterion. To them, not me, Pandit Nehru had replied at the time of bringing the First Amendment to the Constitution. Do you know his reply? "Economic status is not a permanent one. One may be rich this year. Next year there may not be any income. The year after next income may be earned. Therefore economic criterion should not form the basis", was Pandit Nehru's reply to the protagonists of economic criteria. Here, when Thanthai Periyar and Anna were struggling; when High Court and Supreme Court had rejected the principle of communal reservation; when Thanthai Periyar E.V.R. and Anna were taking up the cudgels for ushering in communal reservation; when Pandit Nehru brought forward the First Constitutional Amendment as it was thought necessary since there was great upheaval in Tamil Nadu; this was the reply given by Pandit Nehru when many made a hue and cry that reservation should be considered on the basis of economic criterion.

Economic criterion will change frequently. A poor man this year can become a rich man next year. The rich man may become poor. Therefore frequently changing criteria cannot form the basis. This was the view expressed by Pandit Nehru in 1952-53 and not by us (D.M.K.).

I wish to tell those--

* Who cling to the implementation of Mandal Commission's Recommendation as an excuse to foment trouble to National Front Government and D.M.K. Government in Tamil Nadu; and

* Who after exhausting their editorial exhortation of the people to come forward to launch agitation, also, entreat at the end to abhor violence as if to remind them of violence;

Like Prof.K. Anbazhagan pointed out here, that:

* We are not enamored of office;

* Goals are what we are keen about;

* Office does not appeal to us;

* Only the safeguarding of the principles of social justice evolved by Ayya (Periyar E.V.R.) and Anna matters to us.

* We will continue to be the soldiers to safeguard this social justice; and

* We are not interested in sitting in state in the Fort with a Crown on our head, like a couple of buffons after butchering social justice and burying it underground.

Because of our stubbornness to uphold this ideal, our office may be forfeited. So what?

WE WILL LIVE LIKE KATTABOMMAN

Kattabomman too died. He was hanged. Till today the name of Kattabomman remains indelibly etched in our memory. Kattabomman died for principles. History has not forgotten him to this day. Many people do not know the name of the British man against whom Kattabomman revolted. But the name of Kattabomman is known to every one here. If we ask who hanged him only a few may know and certainly not all.

We like to live like Kattabomman but not live like Ettappan. I express my happiness over the fact that on this Independence Day we have also attained social liberation.

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