CHAPTER VI

RECENT DALIT MOVEMENTS IN ANDHRA PRADESH
Dalit struggles began in British Andhra and Hyderabad (Bhagya Reddy Varma) states from 1906. The Dalit liberation movement got its impetus with the dawn of democratic institutions in India during British rule. This movement (Chinna Rao, 2007) had two objectives: rejection of the Hindu social order and fight to reconstruct self-identity. The Dalit movements were mainly anti-Brahmin aiming at a social order based on rationalism and humanism. Dalit movements had a different ideology and objectives when compared to the other anti-Brahmin movements. The Dalits fought for structural change in the caste system unlike the social/caste reform movements among upper castes which were essentially non-combative and meant to effect minimal changes. The Dalit movement sought to challenge the established non-egalitarian social order, the value system and the patterns of dominance within a rigid caste order. By the 1940s the Congress and the Communist parties attempted to co-opt the Dalit movement, the Congress through the Harijan ideology.

Movements started from the 1900s onwards in the Telugu speaking areas of Hyderabad state. The Library Movement (Krishna Devaraya Grandhalayam 1901) in 1901 and the Andhra Jana Sangham in 1922 strived for the protection of Telugu language. Untouchability was used as a plank for conversions both by Islam and Hinduism on the plea of equality which proved to be a myth. The process of religious conversion into Islam and re-conversion into Hinduism by the Arya Samaj brought enlightenment among the Dalits that the root of their exploitation, oppression and discrimination was grounded in the feudal system. The Library movement which gained momentum between 1920 and 1930 brought this awareness. The Andhra Jana Sangham later became the Andhra Maha Sabha in 1930 (Andhra Mahasabha 1941). These sporadic and isolated movements began to take on political overtones after the 1930s. By the 1940s political parties had become dominant, subsuming the social issues. The Communists took the lead in organizing movements in Hyderabad state by 1944. The reformist movement in British Andhra was a result of cross-cultural interaction. On the other hand, in Hyderabad, the struggle started as a social reform movement against the practice of untouchability and bonded labour system (vetti) and was extended to fight against the Jagirdari system and the autocratic rule of the Nizam. The movements in the first half of the 20th century in Hyderabad state had, in
fact, articulated two issues, one for representative government and the second, for social and economic equality.

By the 1970s, the class movements had turned into caste struggles in the emerging capitalistic mode of production in agriculture in coastal areas. Capitalist agriculture developed in coastal Andhra after the green revolution. The tenants and small marginal farmers (mostly Dalits) could achieve upward economic mobility but were still not integrated socially. The general understanding that class integration would happen with agricultural development was realized, but this also led to contradictions between different social groups which then resulted in atrocities against the Dalits once these castes began to assert their social identity. The Karamchedu carnage (July 1985) is an incident of an extreme form of violence and atrocity on Dalits in the history of Andhra Pradesh. When the Madigas (the lowest caste among SCs) asserted themselves and questioned the hegemony of the Kammas, the Kammas attacked the Madigas brutally. This was followed by several cold-blooded incidents in Neerukonda, Chunduru, Timmasamudram, Chalkurthi, and Vempenta.

There is no denial of caste oppression in Telangana but the Dalits had no opportunity to gain economic mobility. One of the dominant reasons could be non emergence of capitalist relations in agriculture due to green revolution. The presence of the radical left movement in Telangana has made the difference in that there have been no mass atrocities against Dalits. At the same time the weakening of the Communist party in Coastal Andhra might have been a factor that contributed to the attack on Dalits. There is also a long history of conflicts and discrimination within the Dalit groups (Mahars and Mangs in Maharashtra, Malas and Madigas in Andhra Pradesh) themselves in one form or the other since times immemorial. This conflict has intensified in the recent past and has been manifested in identity movements by the Madigas and their allies. The Karamchedu incident catalyzed the Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh and the conflict between the Malas and Madigas subsided for a short period. (Ajay, 2007)

The Madiga Hakkula Parirakshana Committee organized under ‘Madiga Dandora’ demanded further classification of Scheduled castes and reservation according to the relative backwardness of each group. The impact of the space created by the Dalit movement is mixed. The proportion of scheduled caste households
possessing land in Andhra Pradesh is less than all-India. Labour force and work participation rates are higher in Andhra Pradesh than all-India for scheduled caste households. The proportion of persons unemployed is less and the proportion of households depending on wage labour is higher in Andhra Pradesh than all-India. These facts indicate that the scheduled castes are integrated with the economy more through wage employment in the state in comparison to all India. Andhra Pradesh occupied the 3rd and 4th place among the states in India with regard to crimes committed against Scheduled castes in terms of rate of total cognizable crimes and percentage share in the total crimes in India. The economic and social assertion of the Dalits could be the underlying cause of increased violence against them. The representation of scheduled castes in the three-tier Panchayat power structure is very close to their proportion of population in the state.

Dalits are the suppressed people at the lost rung of the cast based hierarchy. Their inferior occupations and low levels of ascriptive status make them vulnerable for attacks at the hands of upper-caste people. The organizational efforts made by Dalit leadership for uplifting their status are known as Dalit movement. It is a protest against untouchability, casteism and discrimination faced by the Dalits. Dalit movement indicates some trends of protest ideologies which entail the following - withdrawal and self organization, high Varna status and extolling of non-Aryan culture's virtues, abandoning of Hinduism and embracing other religions like Buddhism and Islam. Mahatma Gandhi in 1923 founded the All India Harijan Sevak Sangh to start education and schools for the Dalits. Another most important Dalit leader Dr.Ambedkar struggled to secure the basic human dignity to the Dalits. The Mahad Satyagarh for the right of water led by him was one of the outstanding movements of the Dalits to win equal social rights. The role of All India Depressed Classes Association and All India Depressed Classes Federation were the principal organizations which initiated a movement to improve the conditions of the Dalits. These organizations aimed at improving their miserable conditions and to spread education among them. They worked to secure rights of admission to school, drawing water from the public wells, entering the temples and to use the roads. (Janardhan Rao, 1997)
There are 59 Dalit castes in Andhra Pradesh. From this list the Madigas and Malas are two major sub-castes designated in various names competing for reservation benefits. Through reservations the Malas acquired the ruling class characteristics of modern education and modern occupation in Andhra Pradesh. Coordinate Committee of Arundhatheeya and allied Sanghas cited these new inequalities among major groups that strengthened Panchama hierarchy by 1980s itself.

There are four major groups i.e., Adi-Andhra, Adi-Dravida, Mala, Madiga, and Dakkal. Besides them there are other categories of SCs who are said to have migrated from other parts of the country. The population of these groups according to 1981 census is as follows. The Adi-Andhra (8.84%) Adi-Dravida 95,156 (1.19%) Mala 31,51,378 (39.50%), Madiga 37, 31,036 (46.87%) Dakkal 1,528 (0.90%) and others 1, 51,674 (1.90%) in addition to these SCs there are 1, 27,375 (0.67%) unspecified population not included in any one of these sub-castes. There developed new inequalities within these sub-castes as they could not appropriate reservation benefits proportionate to their population in reserved spheres of education, employment and politics. These new inequalities strengthened divisions within Dalits by a strong feeling of deprivation of opportunities by Malas provided by reservation policy. By 1980’s itself the Madigas felt that lot of injustice is done to Madigas in the state in distribution of reservation benefits. (Arundhatheeyas in A.P)

The educational facilities provided by Indian constitution are not equally utilized by Dalit sub-castes as a consequence of internal cultural difference within them. Poverty of parents, exposure to social reform and Christian missionary activities (Uma Ramaswamy, 1985) helped Malas in cornering reservation benefits more than Madigas. According to census of India 1981 about 16.55% of literacy rate recorded within Dalits but there was unequal progress of literacy among Dalit Sub-castes. The Major Sub-caste, the Madiga recorded only 9.86 percent of literacy rate being more than 90 per cent of its population remained illiterates. The highest literacy rate (28%) was recorded by the Adi-Andhras, which account for just 8.98 percent of Dalits. The literacy of Malas, the Adi-Dravida, Dakkal and others is 21.75%, 20.44%, 10, 28% and 17.18% respectively. At matriculation the Malas stood first (53.15 per cent), the Madigas second (28.012%), the Adi-Andhra third (15.58%), the Adi-
Dravida fourth (1.33%) the last (c.002%) is the Dakkals in the ladder of Education. Similar pattern of educational inequalities are found within Dalit at college levels and in professional degrees.

Indian bureaucracy was characterized by the dominance of one or two castes. The same picture emerged within Dalits in the reserved sphere of employment. It is to be noted special treatment benefits have often tended to be appropriated by the more educated, articulated and organised in Scheduled Communities. (Sisir Bhattacharya 1984) It was the Malas who were more educated, articulated and organised in state and appropriated lion’s share of employment opportunities. It is evidenced from that the Malas had a dominant position at all levels of Government Jobs cornering more than 75 percent of Jobs. The Madigas secured less than 25 percent of jobs creating an unequal representation of all Dalit sub-castes within reserved sphere of public employment creating new inequality in availing reservation benefits by different Dalit castes in Andhra Pradesh.

There is summation of caste, class and power in India. It implies that ones caste position in Chaturvarna hierarchy determines and subsumes ones socio-economic and political position. It means that those who have high caste position will also have higher position in socio-economic and political spheres. (Anil Bhat,1974) In other words, the higher the caste status the higher the class and political power in India. It is also true in case of Dalits in Andhra Pradesh. The Malas have higher status than Madigas in Dalit hierarchy. Identical to their higher status the Malas have higher status in reserved spheres of education, employment and politics also indicates the position of Madiga and Mala sub-castes in reserved seat at different levels of politics within Dalits. The Malas cornered 64.28 per cent of political positions at all levels of political institutions, while the Madigas secured less than 36.16 per cent of political positions at an average. It is very significant to note that the Malas continued their dominance in the fields of politics from the days of Independence and emerged as Dominant Dalit caste in Andhra Pradesh. By 1980’s the Madigas realized their backwardness in appropriating reservation benefits and demanded for categorization of 59 Dalit castes into four groups for equitable distribution of reservation benefit among different Dalit sub-caste groups in Andhra Pradesh.
Recent Dalit Movements in Andhra Pradesh:

Dalit Mahasabha was established in 1985 to fight against culprits who were responsible for massacre of Dalits at Karamchedu village in Prakasam District. It marked the beginning of the Independent Dalit Movement in Andhra Pradesh. Protective measures implemented after the formation of Andhra Pradesh have generated the idea of egalitarianism in the socio-economic and political frontiers. The "Dalits have started raising their heads and asserting their dignity, became intolerable to the upper castes. They are demanding land, economic betterment, education, employment and above all social and economic equality. The self assertion of Dalits, however unpalatable to the upper castes and resorted to atrocities on Dalits. (Chunduru Carnage, 1991)

In Andhra Pradesh, the killing of Kotesu in Kanchika Charla in Krishna District two decades ago was usually regarded as the beginning of this phenomenon. (Chunduru Carnage, 1991) But there was a vacuum of leadership in the post-independence period for a long time to expose such incidents. The Karamchedu carnage that took place in 1985 during the rule of Telugu Desham Party laid the seeds of an independent Dalit movement in the form of Dalit Mahasabha free from the influence of ruling political parties. The Dalit Mahasabha declared in its manifesto that the congress and communist parties to be bourgeois parties and they worked in their class interest neglecting the poor people. The Dalit Maha Sabha resolved to strive for the annihilation of caste and class. It wanted to synthesize Marxism with Ambedkarism as their ideology for the realization of their objective. (Andhra Pradesh "Dalit Mahasabha) The Dalit Mahasabha felt that it is necessary to combine Marxism and Ambedkarism for the social revolution in India.

Dalit voluntary force:

The Chunduru carnage of Guntur District in which 8 Dalits were killed by upper castes gave birth to Dalit voluntary force at the initiative of the former Naxalite leader, K.G.Satyamurthy. His entry into politics gave a new impetus to the Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh. He advocated for the synthesis of Ambedkarism with Marxism to give a death blow to Brahminist communism. (Satyamurthy K.G 1991) Thus he brought Ambedkarite closer to the Marxists and vice-versa and gave a new impetus to the Dalit movement. After the Chunduru Carnage he organized a Dalit
voluntary force. The objectives of the force were; 1). To organize movement for annihilation of caste, 2). To organize depressed castes in every village, and 3). To organize depressed castes to protect them from the atrocities of upper castes and prepare them for social revolution. But this force could not be developed as mass organisation as its leaders joined in Bahujan Samaj Party.

**Dandora movement:**

The Madigas have been fighting for equal identity and equal share in reservation benefits from 1980’s itself. Arundhaeyeeya Mahasabha was first Dalit Sub-Caste Association in Andhra Pradesh fighting for a respectable identity propagating the love story of Arundhati and Maharshi Vashistha projecting a high image of Madigas. The Madigas believe that the genesis of Arundhati reveals the genesis of the Madigas that they were first born on planet the earth. After the independence, the Bandusevamandali carried on the activities of the Mahasabha as a cultural organisation of Madigas in Andhra Pradesh. Latter on Andhra Pradesh Madiga Sangham inaugurated a struggle phase of Madiga Movement for equal share in reservation benefits in 19980’s. Following the programme of Madiga Sangham, Dakshina Bharatha Adijambava /Arundhatheeya Samakhya continued struggle for equal share in reservation benefits in 1990’s. Later on, Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi emerged as a fighting organisation for equal identity and reservation benefits in Andhra Pradesh.

Arundhatheeya Mahasabha, which was established in 1920 in Andhra region of erstwhile Madras presidency and the same in 1931 in Hyderabad State, continued its activities for a considerable period. A Telugu Madiga L.C Guru Swamy propagated the genesis of Arundhati and the Aborigine King Jambavantha identifying the Madigas genesis with Arundhati as their caste daughter and Jambavantha as their grand father. (Chunduru Carnage, 1991) The Arundhaeyeeya Mahasabha of the Hyderabad followed the programme of L.C Guru Swamy in giving proud account of the Madigas on the basis of their genesis relating their kinship with Arundhati jambavantha. These wings of Arundhaeyeeya Mahasabha emerged with rise of personal associations and personality classes among Dalit leaders, prior to the Independence itself.
Arundhateeya Banduseva Mandali, a cultural organisation of Madigas was established in 1981 under Presidentship of Dr. Krishna Lal. The members of this Mandali were opposed to use their caste name as prefix to this organization and name it as Madiga Sevamandali as the word Madiga gives a meaning people bellow us and the very word is abusive and stigma attached to the word. The Bandhu Sevamandali organised Dasara Milap every year and developed kinship relations among the Madigas in Andhra Pradesh particularly in twin cities. (Chunduru Carnage, 1991) For the first time the Mandali published a book let with title “The Status of Arundhateeyas with detailed Statistics indicating disproportionate representation of Malas, showing new equality between Malas and Madigas and demanding categorization of SCs into A.B.C.D groups for equal distribution of reservation benefits among SCs. The Mandali used the methods of prayer and petitions to ventilate their demands and gave representation to successive Chief Ministers of Andhra Pradesh demanding proportional representation to Madiga Satellite casts in the reserved field of education, employment and politics.

Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (M.R.P.S) entered into struggle phase, demanding equal identity and equal share in reservation benefits in 1994. This organisation was established by 20 youth at a Katcha House in a small village by name “Eadumudi” in Prakasam District of Andhra Pradesh under the leadership of Krishna Madiga on 7th July 1994. The M.R.P.S is popularly known as Dandora by traditional duty of Madigas in administration as messenger. The Madigas cry in village streets beating drums to broadcast message of village administration. The MRPS took oath in making the caste or the word Madiga respectable suffixing caste to their names like Sharma, Rao, Reddy and Chaudary, which was treated abusive and polluting in structured caste system. The M.R.P.S used four identities Arundhathi, Jambavantha, the Madiga and Dandora (Drum) to mobilize people and capture themselves a respectable, equal identity for Madigas through the struggle.

The Madigas had given etymological meaning to term, the Madiga to make it acceptable and respectable like Sharma, Reddy Rao and Choudary. As they interpreted, the Madiga means Maha (very) + Adi (from beginning) + ga (moving). That means the Madigas are the original inhabitants of India moving and living on the earth from the very beginning. (Andhra Pradesh “Dalit Mahasabha, p.10-11)
Madigas proudly say that the (Grand father) Jambavantha was the first aborigine king who was born much before the earth takes its birth. The Madigas declared that there is nothing to be ashamed of using their caste to their names as suffix. The Dandora movement gave a sense of pride to Madigas to introduce themselves as Krishna Madiga. They are successful in forcing the society to accept Madigas as respectable by propagating aborigine history of Madiga community around Arundhati and Jambavantha through Dandora Movement.

The identities the M.R.P.S used in the movement worked as an ideology in mobilizing Madiga mass in lakh and exhibited its popular strength in forcing the Government of Andhra Pradesh in conceding their demand to categorize 59 scheduled castes into A.B.C.D. groups for proportionate and equal distribution of reservation benefits. The Dandora Movement organized various programmes demanding categorization of scheduled castes in the last 12 years. It organised pioneering programmes in history of social movements in Andhra Pradesh. The M.R.P.S mobilized about 5 lakhs of Madigas for its first programme known as “Chalo Nizam College” and it is successful in crystallizing public opinion in favor of categorization on March 2nd 1996. Surprising the residents of twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad, the state capital was flooded with Madigas on this historic day. In its second remarkable programme which was organised in September 2nd 1997, with a slogan ‘Chalo Assembly” of Madigas, the M.R.P.S was successful in forcing Government of Andhra Pradesh in accepting the Government to appoint an Inquiry Commission to go into differential exploitation of reservation benefits by Madiga and Mala sub-castes and to recommend for the need to sub-categorize scheduled castes into groups. Third, the M.R.P.S organised a novel programme and memorable in the struggle of both Madigas and Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh probably the first of its kind in history of Indian social movements which was known as Mahapada Yathra of Madigas. The convener of Dandora movement walked for 1052 kilometers within 52 days covering thousands of villages within Andhra Pradesh. (Satya Murthy K.G 1991) The Madigas received their leader with great pride expressing their happiness saying that they are lucky to get a savior of their caste. On 6th June 1997 Krishna Madiga reached the state capital with about 8 lakhs of Madigas indicating the mass support to the cause of sub-categorization. Witnessing support for the demand,
government of Andhra Pradesh under leadership of N. Chandrababu Naidu issued G.O. categorizing SCs into ABCD groups following recommendations of Justice Ramchander Raju Commission of Inquiry.

**Mala Mahanadu movement:**

The Malas one of the major sub-castes of Dalits in A.P. which has been cornering reservation benefits disproportionate to its population launched counter movement opposing the Madigas, demand for sub-categorization through different forms of protest advancing the arguments of antagonists of reservation policy in India. The convener of Mala Mahanadu P.V. Rao is an officer in Department of Information led Mala Mahanadu drawing support mostly from employees belonging to Mala Community. Mala Mahanadu that spear headed anti-categorization movement organised various programmes to press the government to withdraw G.O. categorizing scheduled castes into groups.

The Mala Mahanadu has taken the support of constitutional machinery by Challenging categorization in Honorable High Court of Andhra Pradesh to protect its lions share in reservation benefits through the list of scheduled castes provided by President of India. The Malas argued that the State Government has no power to categorize schedule castes into groups and it is unconstitutional because the scheduling of scheduled castes is there in central list as per the scheme of division of powers between central and state governments in our Federal arrangement. The Malas repeatedly referred to the article 341 in defense of their arguments. Article 341(1) says the President with respect to any state or Union Territory and where as a state, after consultation with the Governor there of by public notification, specify the castes, races or tribes or parts of or groups with in castes, races or Tribes which shall purpose of this constitution be deemed to be scheduled castes in relation to State or Union Territory as the case may be Article 341(2) says the parliament may, by law include in or exclude from the list of scheduled castes and tribes specified in a notification issued under clause 341 (1) any caste, race or tribe or part of or group with in any caste, race or tribe, but save as above said notification issued under said clause shall not be varied by any subsequent notification. (*Appala Swamy.P.J, 1956*)

On this ground the Malas challenged Go's in the Supreme Court of India. The apex pronounced its Judgement stating that State Government has no power to sub-
categorize Scheduled castes into groups to implement reservations in the field of education and employment in exercise of its power under Article 15(4) and 16(4) of Indian constitution as public employment and education. Now the Madigas are struggling to get a law passed by the Parliament of India sub-categorizing scheduled castes into groups amidst series of protests by Mala Mahanadu.

**Accommodative Politics and Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh:**

The process of accommodating Dalit elite into ruling parties was started before the Independence through reservation policy. But there has been conscious effort by Dr. B.R.Ambedkar to preserve the independent character of Dalit politics by refusing to join ruling parties. It was made possible by Dalit Associations contesting in First General Elections held in 1952 following guidelines of Dr. B.R.Ambedkar. United scheduled caste Federation (U.S.C.F.) made alliance with socialists under the instructions of party high command, Scheduled Castes Federation (S.C.F) of J.Subbaiah instead of making alliance with socialists made alliance with Progressive Democratic Front (P.D.F) in Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh. However USCF did not secure a seat, but SCF could get 5 seats in Assembly and one seat in Parliament (*Bandu Seva Mandal*, 1982).

In Andhra SFC made alliance with Praja Party, CPI, and secured 3 seats in the Assembly. (*Chunduru Carnage*) After the Independence. Dr.Ambedkar planned to form political Party at National level. In fact his intention to form Republican Party of India expressed at the same time of Ambedkar’s conversion to Buddhism at Nagpur on October, 14-15, 1956. Both efforts were aimed at taking Scheduled Castes out of untouchability and inducting them into larger groups; one religious the other political. (*Chunduru Carnage*) Inspired by spirit of Ambedkar, the two regional units of Scheduled castes Federation. The Andhra unit which was under the Presidetship of Bali Vadapally, Telangana unit under the Presidentship of B.Jagannatham were united and renamed as Republican Party of India in Andhra Pradesh in 1958. Balivadapally and J.Eshwari Bai were elected as President and General Secretary of R.P.I respectively.

In spite of best efforts of Dr. B.R.Ambedkar, the ruling congress in Andhra Pradesh successfully practiced accommodative politics by recruiting emerging Dalit elite into congress party. Sri B.H. Tirupathi, a Dalit leader hailing from Andhra region
and Sri Ramanantham, a Dalit leader and close associate of B.S. Venkat Rao hailing from Telangana region stated that after acceptance of political reservations, Dalit leadership concentrated on getting seats and this weakened the Dalit Movement as the talented Dalit leaders were accommodated into ruling parties. It is very significant to note the ruling congress party had accommodated majority of Dalit leaders in First General Elections to State Legislature. All the 33 Congress MLAs who won first Assembly Elections were Dalit activists accommodated into congress party who worked in different, Dalit Associations. (A.P. "Dalit Mahasabha, p.10)

Meanwhile, Bahujan Samaj Party entered in Andhra Pradesh in the political context of anti and pro-Mandal reservations in the state. Leaders belonging to Dalit and Backward classes who had struggle history of fighting against upper caste dominance and accommodative politics invited Kansiram to form B.S.P. unit in Andhra Pradesh in 1989. Prominent among them were Bojja Tarakam, the president of Dalit Mahasabha, B.S.A Swamy, a leader of backward castes Association, Dr. P. Sunderaiah, a leader of Yadava Employees union in Andhra Pradesh. Kansiram toured the state in 1989 and declared Andhra Pradesh unit of B.S.P on 4th June 1989 after having been convinced that there were large numbers of politically conscious people in the state. (Satya Murthy K.G.)

Bojja Tarakam, President, Katti Padama Rao, General Secretary of Dalit Mahasabha continued the Ambedkar’s tradition of anti-upper caste and independent politics by joining B.S.P in Andhra Pradesh. But, within a short period, they left B.S.P criticizing individual decisions of party supreme, Kansiram and became passive leaders in Bahujan politics. The MRPS Convener M. Krishna Madiga planned to convert sub-caste social movement into political movement by bringing together various organizations of SCs, STs, BCs and Minorities on the lines of BSP and to continue Ambedkar’s tradition of independent politics free from accommodative politics of upper castes. He made an effort to bring together leaders of 14 sub-caste organizations belonging to Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Backward Castes under an umbrella and formed political party in the name Mahajan Front. (Appala Swamy. P.J 1956) It was known that Krishna Madiga was accepted as President of Front by BCs leaders unwillingly pleading that No.1 position of Front should go to BCs, because BCs are majority community in the State. The Front contested in 134
Assembly Constituencies in Elections held in 1999 and secured 1.5 percent of voter in State. Immediately after elections Krishna Madiga resigned from Front and formed Mahajana Sangharshana Samithi and uniting SCs, STs, BCs and Minorities under his leadership and continuing his efforts on the lines of electoral strategy of Kansiram. After his resignation Mahajan Front was renamed as Mahajan Party with the same strategy under leadership of U.Sambasiva Rao. (Arundhateeyas in A.P 1982)

Congress party has been pro-Mala sub-caste from the days of independence allotting more seats to Malas. Making use of unhappiness of Madigas on this aspect TDP resolved to support Madigas allotting more seats to Madigas in 1983 elections held to State Assembly and emerged successful and consolidations its vote bank. For the same purpose of wooing Madiga voters and to consolidate its vote bank TDP Government sub-categorized SCs into ABCD groups conceding the demand of MRPS. Mala Mahanadu and MRPS supported Congress and TDP respectively during Parliament Elections held in 1996. After anti and pro-categorization movement both Congress and TDP made efforts to accommodate leaders of MRPS, but they failed as the leaders refused to join the ruling parties.

Now, the M.S.S., under the leadership of M. Krishna Madiga, organizing SCs, STs, BCs and Minorities fighting against injustice done to these sections in various fields. Reservation in private sector has been its major demand to unite these groups and fight against upper caste political hegemony in state. The leader stated that defeating T.D.P., B.J.P and Congress and establishing Bahujan rule is the state is ultimate of goal of M.S.S. He hopes that it will be made possible by increasing its votes and strengthening its votes Bank, Contesting in successive election. Further, M.S.S is planning to contest in forth coming early election to state Assembly in AP and increase its vote bank from 1.5% to 2.5% from total electorate in A.P. (Kumar, M.P., 1996)

The Madiga of Andhra Pradesh has been struggling for the last 25 years for sub-categorization of scheduled castes into A.B.C.D groups for equal distribution of reservation benefits. The categorization movement of Madigas entered into unique struggle phase with the establishment of Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (MRPS) otherwise popularly known as Dandora. Constitutional Amendment empowering state governments to sub-classify scheduled caste into ABCD groups. The Hon'ble Chief
Minister of Andhra Pradesh Y.S. Rajasekar Reddy promised that he would take initiative to take up necessary measures to introduce constitutional amendment in parliament and complete the legitimization of legitmatization of Sub-classification before the commencement of this academic year.

Varna Dharmic Values of purity and pollution high and low percolated down to scheduled castes and developed a Dalit hierarchy under Chaturvarna hierarchy. Striking features of Dalit hierarchy are: gradation, endogamy, hereditary occupations, and restricted commensual practices such as separate living quarters, separate well, separate place of worship, forbidden inter-caste marriages and distant living. These hierarchical cleavages divided Madigas and Malas long ago. Further these values are responsible for deprivation of equality in terms of reservations benefits known social scientist Uma Rama Swamy rightly pointed out that differential exploitation of protectionist policy has its roots in unequal placement of scheduled castes within traditional society.(Uma Rama Swamy Epw.,1986). During early 1980’s, new inequalities in terms of differential exploitation of reservation benefits further strengthened the feeling of deprivation and developed Dalit Movement on sub caste lines giving an impression that Dalits are divided. It is notable, in process of caste assertions development of Associations on sub-caste lines are natural and democratic.

The term scheduled castes is not single identity but a noun of multitude. There four heterogeneous groups among 59 scheduled castes in A.P. Relli satellite castes, Madiga satellite castes, Mala satellite castes, and Adi-Andhra group of communities are the four groups among SCs in Andhra Pradesh. The Madigas are untouchables to Malas and Dalits within Dalits. Relli and Mahtar communities are engaged in scavenging, fruits and vegetable retail business. The population of scheduled castes of Andhra Pradesh is 1, 23, 38.400 according to census of India 2001. From the total scheduled castes population, the Relli and Mehtar group of communities constitute 2,06,053 (1.67%) of population, Madiga group of communities are engaged traditionally in tanning the skin and trading in leather goods. The Madiga group of communities constitute 59,15,028 (47.94%) of SCs population. Mala group of communities are engaged in agriculture as farm laborers, and in villages services. The Mala group of communities constitutes 51,11,799 (41.43%) of SCs population. The Adi-Andhra group of communities is a composite caste which consists of about 60
percent of Malas and 40 percent of Madigas who belong to 2nd and 3rd generation of educated scheduled castes. The Adi-Andhras are engaged in modern occupations created by western education. The Adi-Andhra group of communities constitutes 11,05,520 (8.96%) of SCs population.

Few Mala leaders have been refusing equal status and equal share to Madigas for a long time. Arundhateeeya Mahasabha of Madigas was the first Madiga Association established in Hyderabad state in 1931 for welfare of Madigas against partisan attitude of Mala leaders of 1930’s itself. It originated out of sub-caste cleavages between Madigas and Malas. Bhagya Reddy Verma, B.S. Venkata Rao, and Ariga Ramaswamy belong to Mala community were considered to be pioneering Dalit leaders in Andhra Pradesh but his pro-Mala and partisan attitude layed foundation for emergence of Arundhateeeya Mahasabha in 1931 a separate organization for welfare of Madigas. Bhagya Reddy’s Pro-Mala and anti Madiga behaviour was exhibited on three occasions. One: Bhagy Reddy Varma opposed a marriage between a Madiga boy and Mala girl rescued from Devadasis. Ariga Ramaswamy took a lead and performed marriage between a Madiga and Mala girl under his personal supervision. Adi-Hindu social service league under leadership of Mala leader, Bhagya Reddy Varma ex-communicated all the Mala leaders who attended the marriage stating that Mala tradition does not accept marriage between Madigas and Malas as the Madigas are inferior to Malas in social hierarchy. Two: It was recorded, Bhagya Reddy Varma refused to encourage Madigas education in 34 schools established by the league collecting contribution from philanthropist in the name of Dalits. Three: Mala leaders refused to give due share in Adi-Hindu Bhavan constructed for welfare of Dalits and declared the ownership of Adi-Hindu Bhavan to Madigas saying that Madigas did not contribute a single paisa for construction of the Bhavan. In fact the Bhavan was constructed by collecting contributions from different philanthropists of Hyderabad for common educational purpose of Dalits in late 1920’s. To counter the Mala partisan attitude of Bhagya Reddy Varma and to work for equal rights to Madigas the ex-communicated leaders of Malas established Arundhateeeya Mahasabha in 1931 for welfare of Madigas. After the Independence, few leaders of Mala Mahanadu are following foot steps of Bhagya Reddy Varma in refusing to give equal respect and
share in reservation. (P.R. Venkata Swamy, 1954) and laid foundation for separate associations on sub-caste lines of Madigas and Malas.

For first time classification of scheduled castes was done by J.J. Hutton, in Andhra Pradesh the then Census Commissioner of India 1931 on behalf of British Government for providing welfare measures. This list was adopted by Government of India in 1935. After the Independence, the President of India adopted the same list and promulgated in the name of Scheduled castes order 1950. Primarily, Hutton based on various tests, criteria and grounds related to caste system for designation of scheduled castes.

The Census Commissioner of India, 1931 had taken social, religious and occupational disabilities suffered by untouchables for designation of depressed (SCs) classes. These restrictions are known as commensal practices adhered to by twice born castes, rooted in notions of purity and pollution. The same commensal restrictions are practiced by Malas against Madigas in A.P. Therefore, J.J. Huttons logic of commensal restrictions should be taken to logic end for sub-classification of Scheduled castes under the Article 14 of India constitution which allows reasonable classification for purpose of reservations.

Fifty nine scheduled castes in Andhra Pradesh, notified by the President of India are not equally accessible to the benefits of reservation due to their in equal placement within scheduled castes hierarchy in particular and Varna hierarchy in general. The Mala constitute only 41.43 percent of total scheduled castes population, but they have been cornering more than 70 percent of total reservation benefits and established their monopoly over reservation benefits cornering nearly 80 percent of jobs. The Adi-Andhra groups of castes are also cornering reservation benefits disproportionate to their population. Consequently, the Madiga, Relli and Mehtar group of castes which constitute more than 49.61% of SCs tended to be deprived of their due share which in turn renders grave injustice to these castes. This trend of growth and emergence of monopoly of one or two sub-castes on the reserved sphere of education and public appointments goes contrary to the philosophical concerns of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar defeating the very purpose of Social Justice Policy.

In response to the demand of MRPS the then Government of Andhra Pradesh appointed Justice P. Radmachendra Raju Commission of Inquiry on 10-09-1996. The
Commission collected sufficient data from various departments and established the fact that Mala and Adi-Andhra group of castes have been enjoying reservation benefits disproportionate to their population, while Madigas, Rellis and Mehtars have been deprived of their due share in reservation benefits. The commission felt that categorization is nothing but rationalization of reservation policy for achieving the objective of ‘Social Justice’.

**Inequality without Sub-Classification and Equality with Sub-Classification:**

Sub-Classification creates equality and absence of Sub-classification creates inequality in distribution of reservation benefits. It is the best instrument to distribute reservation benefits equality among four groups. The following table is an illustration to establish the fact that sub-categorization creates equality and absence of categorization creates inequality among SCs during the academic year 2003-04 and 2004-05.
### TABLE 6.1
Comparative statement of inequalities with in SCs before and after Categorization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>CASTES</th>
<th>GROUP (A) RELL</th>
<th>GROUP (B) MADILA</th>
<th>GROUP (C) MALA</th>
<th>GROUP (D) ADI-ANDHRA</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MEDICINE ALL UNIVERSITY</td>
<td>WITHOUT CLASSIFICATION</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>486(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WITH CLASSIFICATION</td>
<td>32(6.58)</td>
<td>227(46.70)</td>
<td>195(40.123)</td>
<td>32(6.58)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENGINEERING TWO UNIVERSITIES</td>
<td>WITHOUT CLASSIFICATION</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>70(28.11)</td>
<td>163(65.46%)</td>
<td>16(6.43)</td>
<td>249(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WITH CLASSIFICATION</td>
<td>16(6.43)</td>
<td>117(46.98)</td>
<td>100(40.16)</td>
<td>16(6.43)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSC SCIENCE COURSES THREE UNIVERSITIES</td>
<td>WITHOUT CLASSIFICATION</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>183(36.30)</td>
<td>314(62.30)</td>
<td>7(1.40)</td>
<td>504(100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WITH CLASSIFICATION</td>
<td>33(6.54)</td>
<td>236(46.82)</td>
<td>202(40.07)</td>
<td>33(6.54)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Data Collected by Govt. of A.P.
It is evident from the table that Malas and Adi-Andhras established their monopoly cornering nearby 80 percent of reservation benefits without classification while the Madigas and Rellies were deprived of their due share. It is also evident from the table all the four groups gained reservation benefits equally and in proportionate to their population with sub-classification of SCs. The experience proved that absence of classification creates new inequalities within the scheduled castes.

Data collected through sample survey is sufficient for establishment of social reality as a base for formulation of public policy. In 1996, Justice Ramachandra Raju Commission of inquiry collected data from various fields and proved any quality in terms of reservation benefits. If it is necessary, the Honorable Commission can obtain data from Heads of Department, Andhra Pradesh Public Service Commission and Universities before implementation and after implementation of sub-classification policy in Andhra Pradesh and it will certainly established the fact that there is unequal and disproportionate exploitation of reservation benefits by 59 Scheduled castes in Andhra Pradesh. If the government orders, the respective Heads of the Departments can provide data with in 24 hours with names and castes of employees and students and enable the Government to formulate sub-classification policy in Andhra Pradesh.

The strong desire of Madigas for equality and equal share in reservation is the primary motive for the emergence of sub-classification movement of Madigas. By 1980’s Madigas were thrown out of leather goods production by Machine-mode leather goods as the land lords stopped buying hand made leather chappal and leather goods and started buying from urban chappal shops made of synthetics and rubber. As a result of it, Madigas who depended on leather work started searching for alternative modern occupations. Besides, few of those who completed school education and intermediate in late 1970s were thrown into mob of unemployed. Then the Madigas started comparing themselves with Malas and found more number of unemployed educated youth among themselves and more number of employees among the Malas. With the feeling of deprivation and desire for equal share in reservations benefits the Madigas started sub-classification movement in Andhra Pradesh. Such a movement of Madigas is used by political parties. The fact is that the Madiga movement is created neither by TDP nor by Congress party.

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Categorization period in Andhra Pradesh is the Golden Period of Dalit unity as the 59 Scheduled Castes started living together as theyreservation benefits are distributed equally among the 59 Scheduled Castes. The sub-categorization policy was formulated and implemented by the government of Andhra Pradesh. For a period of four years i.e. from 01-04-2000 to 05-11-2004. During this period reservation benefits are equally distributed among 59 scheduled castes. Equal sharing of reservation benefits as a result of sub-categorization policy laid foundation for genuine Dalit unity in Andhra Pradesh. During this period they started coming together with contentment that every caste has its own due share in reservation benefits. For this reason, these four years period of sub-categorization can be considered as golden period of Dalit unity in Andhra Pradesh. On the contrary Mala Mahanadu brought back the dark age of Dalit divisions by getting struck down the Act of sub-categorization in Supreme Court of India. The Unequal distribution of reservation benefits becomes a bone of contention between Madigas and Malas and it will be a permanent divider of Dalits in Andhra Pradesh.

Sub-classification of 59 scheduled castes into A.B.C.D. groups is nothing but identification of four groups forms the already existing 59 groups. In fact, by sub-classifying 59 SCs groups are reduced into four groups and it may be viewed as a step towards unity of Dalits in Andhra Pradesh sub-categorization of SCs is not dividing Dalits but a mechanism for equal distribution of reservation benefits.

Justice Raju Commission of inquiry sub-categorized scheduled castes into A.B.C.D. groups following the principle of giving first priority to the last community in the caste hierarchy. Therefore, Rellies community which is considered last in hierarchy is placed in group ‘A’. The Adi-Andhras, most advanced in scheduled castes are placed in group ‘D’ and the Madigas and Malas are grouped as B and C groups respectively on the basis of their respective advancement.

Following the recommendations of Justice P. Raju Commission of inquiry, Government of Andhra Pradesh passed an act entitling “A.P. Scheduled Caste (Rationalization of Reservation) Act, 2000 (A.P. Act 20 of 2000) categorizing scheduled castes into A.B.C.D. groups in exercise of its power under the Article 15(4) and 16(4) of Indian Constitutions to implement reservation in the field of education and public employment. The apex Court held that the Act is ultra vires and quashed
the Act stating that categorization of SCs is beyond the competence of State Government. The court further added that Article 341(1) of Indian constitution empowers only the President of India to identify and notify the list of scheduled castes. However, the Parliament of India can sub-classify scheduled castes into groups or empower the states to do so by amending Act 341 of Indian constitution.

State limited sub-categorization is possible. Keeping in view, the verdict of Supreme Court of India on sub-categorization, legal experts suggest different alternative procedures for sub-categorization of scheduled castes. One, adding clause (iii) to Article 341 of Indian constitution empowering the states to sub-classify the scheduled castes from the list of scheduled castes notified by the President of India. Two, passing an Act in Parliament of India, amending constitutional (scheduled castes) order, 1950 and replacing the existing list of Andhra Pradesh scheduled castes by the list of A.B.C.D. groups of scheduled castes in part I of the order pertaining to Andhra Pradesh. The first method is best method because it allows the states in India to sub-categorize SCs according to local needs of state, beside it strengthens the Indian federal structure. The Second one is considered to be better to states as it allows sub-categorization limited to respective states with the consent of Parliament of India.

There has been a popular support in Andhra Pradesh in favor of sub-categorization of scheduled castes and this was expressed by unanimous resolution of State Assembly. The State Assembly of Andhra Pradesh passed unanimous resolution in support of sub-categorization twice in the last 7 years. First time in 2000, during T.D.P. rule, and second in 2005 during congress regime. Very significant and positive signal is that major political parties, now we find in NDA and UPA as allies had supported sub-categorization in State Assembly in Andhra Pradesh. Prominent among these parties were Congress, BJP, TDP, CPI, CPM, TRS and BSP. It is indicative of the fact that there is consensus among major allies of NDA and UPA in favor of sub-sub-categorization of scheduled castes in Andhra Pradesh. The Government of Andhra Pradesh had sent a copy of unanimous resolution of State Assembly to Union Government seeking constitutional amendment. Through the resolution of Assembly the Madigas draw support people of Andhra Pradesh and continuing their struggle
demanding amendment of Article 341 of India constitution empowering the states to sub-categorize SCs into A B C D groups.

The logic followed in reasonable classification of castes under the Article 14 of India Constitution need to be taken to the logical end. The fact known is that the Article 14 of Indian Constitution allowed reasonable classification of castes for the purpose of reservations benefits. Reservations in favor of scheduled castes, Scheduled tribes, backward classes, women and physically handicapped were made possible under the Article 14 guided by the concept of reasonable classification. On the basis of the same logic Backward classes were sub-categorized and the supreme court of India upheld that it was constitutional in the landmark Judgment Indra Sahney Vs Union of India & others. The same logic and spirit of Article 14 of Indian Constitution should be taken to logic end for sub-classification of SCs for equal distribution of reservation benefits in Andhra Pradesh. Then only reservations in favor of SCs will be free from logical fallacy and the reservations for SCs can be implemented for achieving the objective of social justice.

The markers of Indian Constitution preferred reservation policy in favor of SCs STs and Backward castes as a Major instrument for achieving the objectives, liberty, equality, fraternity and justice enshrined in the constitution of India. But the absence of special protection of weakest among 59 scheduled castes in Andhra Pradesh defeating the very purpose of reservation policy creating new equalities in Andhra Pradesh.

There is deference in density and quantum of the population of each sub-caste in Andhra Pradesh in the regions of Andhra, Telangana and Rayalaseema. State level sub-classification of SCs is useful for distribution of reservation benefits for state level services and benefits and in does not help the government in distributing reservation benefits at District and regional levels. Regional problem is implementation of reservation policy can be solved by incorporating a clause “Each group within Scheduled castes enjoys reservation benefits in proportionate to its population at District, Regional and state level” can be added to Scheduled castes order, 1950. This clause can enable the state government to distribute the reservations benefits equally among 59 castes and in three regions of A.P. following the principle of proportional equality among caste region.
Fraternity, which is the synthesis of the feeling that we are all brothers and sisters is the basis and cements unity among castes and community. Unity is not possible without equality. Referring to relation between equality and fraternity in his concluding speech in Constituent Assembly of India Dr. B.R. Ambedkar made it clear that “Liberty can’t be divorced from equality; equality can’t be divorced from fraternity”. Nor can liberty and equality diversified from fraternity. Now Mala Mahanadu is agitating to diversified equality from fraternity by opposing sub-classification of 59 SCs and making common reservations a permanent bone of contention and divides the Dalits permanently. On the contrary, the Madigas of Andhra Pradesh drew inspiration from Dr. B.R. Ambedkar’s trinity of these concepts and believed that liberty, equality and fraternity can’t be diversified from unity. The Madigas firmly believe that sub-categorization brings about equality among scheduled castes and strengthened unity of Dalits in Andhra Pradesh.

Academic year for 2007-08 already commenced in Andhra Pradesh. All the educational instructions in Andhra Pradesh have started their admission process. The most backward Madiga and Relli group of Scheduled castes loose their equal educational opportunities if the law sub-categorizing SCs into ABCD groups is not passed within shortest period. There is urgent need of sub-categorization of SCs in A.P. for providing equal educational opportunities to all 59 Scheduled castes. Political party are delaying justice to weakest among the SCs in Andhra Pradesh delay in sub categorization is a nothing but delaying justice to Madiga, Relli and Mehtra Group of communities in Andhra Pradesh.

The fact is known that in a parliamentary democracy the parliament is the final policy making body in accordance with the popular consent and desire of people. If the people so desire, the parliament can make, unmake and amend various provisions of constitution for achieving the objectives of constitution. The people of Andhra Pradesh expressed their will in favor of sub-categorization of SCs into ABCD groups by unanimous resolutions of State Assembly twice in the last 7 years. But the verdict of the supreme court of India was pronounced against the will of Andhra Pradesh. Therefore the will of Andhra Pradesh in favor of sub-categorization should be respected by passing an act in Parliament categorizing SCs into ABCD groups.
In view of the injustice done to Relli and Madiga group of castes in distribution of reservation benefits and for achieving the objectives of Indian constitution, we request you to recommend constitutional amendment empowering State Government to sub-categorize Scheduled castes into A B C D groups in Andhra Pradesh.

In view of new inequalities among 59 SCs in terms of reservation benefits among 59 SCs, I request you to recommend the sub-categorization of schedule castes in Andhra Pradesh on the lines of suggestions made above for achieving the objectives of Indian constitution and for establishment of egalitarian society.

Sub-caste conflict and Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh:

Dalit Movement in Andhra Pradesh has been caught in web of inter-caste cleavages created by Varna dharma and new inequities created by reservation benefits. The Madigas and Malas are two major sub-castes within Dalits in the State. It is known a caste has been chef determinant of social and economic life chances of different social groups in India. It continued to play a similar role in detaining life chances of these Dalit sub-castes in sharing reservation benefits. The Madigas have been deprived of their due share in reserved sphere of education, employment and politics as the Malas have been cornering reservation benefits disproportionate to their population. These new inequalities among Dalit sub-caste strengthened Dalit hierarchycus in Andhra Pradesh. In turn it developed Dandora Movement which triggered Tudum Debba Movement of Gondu Tribes, Nangara Bheri Movement of Lambada Tribes, Doludebba Movement of Yadavas, Pusala Keka Movement of Pusala castes in Andhra Pradesh. There have been constant efforts by leaders of SCs, STs, BCs, and Minorities to convert these social movements into political movement of Bahujan on lines of B.S.P. of Uttar Pradesh.

Dalit hierarchy in Andhra Pradesh:

According to traditional Varna scheme there are four varnas (castes) i.e., the Brahmin the Kshtriyas the Vysyas and the Sudras. But there is fifth caste which was also called Chandala or Panchama or untouchables, that occurs in the early Vedic literature, several of the names of the castes that were spoken of in Smritis as Antyajas"(Kane P.V.,1974). It is evident from P.V. Kane that the fifth Varna, the untouchables are called Panchamas. They are also called Atisudras and unclean
Sudras. Dalit have inherited all the properties of caste systems and successfully created a Dalit hierarchy among them under the Chaturvarna hierarchy and identical to it. This hierarchy is operating as a mechanism to divide them has deprived the lower caste Dalits the benefits of the reservations. There are five keys bases on which Dalit hierarchy is erected. They are (i) Hierarchy (ii) endogamy (iii) Hereditary occupations (iv) Commensalities (v) social and distance. New inequalities in form of reservation benefits strengthened Dalit hierarchy in 1980’s. Let us examine how traditional cleavages of caste hierarchy are op writing in the Dalit hierarchycus.

I. Chaturvarna hierarchy


Traditional occupations of Dalit castes:

The traditional occupations of the castes have been the basis for castes hierarchy. Ever caste and sub-caste professed an occupation of its own. Most of the traditional occupations are hereditary as they are inherited by individual social groups by the incident of birth in a particular caste. The Hindu Dharm Sastras have described in detail the duties and functions of different Varnas in four fold division of castes. “The caste division itself was based on the functions allotted to each caste in society distinguished by recurrence to tribal wars”(Namboodripad E.M.S 1997) These functions have become traditional occupations depending upon nature of occupations and explained them in the notion of purity and pollution or clean or unclean occupations.

Traditional occupations of Mala satellite castes:

The Mala satellite castes are engaged relatively in clean occupations which finds higher place in gradation of occupations compared to Madiga satellite castes. Mala Jangam, Mala Dasari and Mithal Ayyalwar are the priestly class of Malas. The Mala Jangam and Mala Dasaris officiate over the festivals of Saivaite section of Malas and Mithal Ayyalwar officiate ceremonies of Vaishnaviate Sect of Malas. (Census of India, 1961) The traditional occupation of the priestly class of Malas is
regions mendicancy and foretelling. (Census of India, 1961) Mala Jangam, go for begging, besides engaging themselves as agriculture laborers during agriculture seasons. (Census of India, 1961) Their traditional occupation is graded higher in traditional society.

Thurston has said that "the chef occupation of Malas is weaving and working as farm labors and few cultivate their own lands, they have enough lands. The Malas of western part of Telugu country are superior to other Dalit castes, and they have their lands, in some castes are well-to-do-cultivators. (Thurston, 1975) Traditionally they are very close to village activities. "They also render village services. The village services consist of sweeping, scavenging, carrying of burdens and grave digging, the last having been their pre-requisite for long ages. It is reported that the "Mala, Masti people are acrobats and earn their livelihood by performing physical feats, mostly in the Mala localities. (A survey Report, of Department of Social welfare, 1966) The Gurram Malas, who are considered lowest of Malas" earn their living by begging from Mala caste. (Syed Sirajul Hassan)

Traditional occupation of Madiga castes:

Madiga satellite castes were engaged in more unclean occupations compared to that of Mala traditional occupations. They have been placed at lower level in the graded occupational structure. Sangari, the spiritual advisor to Madigas perform religious functions. "Their traditional occupation is preaching to Madigas". Bindlas are also priestly class of Madigas. (Singh T.R.) Their main traditional occupation is to perform purudu (Ceremony to remove uncleanness for the home arising out of child birth), to invoke and appease the Goddesses like Muthyalamma, Ellamma and Mahishamma. (Chintala Yadaiah Vigananamulo Bavaneelu 1990) A Bindal is free to accept charity from any caste. He goes from door to door, singing songs of praise of Ellamma (the Goddess of Epidemics), and accepting alms when they are offered to him. (Singh T.R., p.34)

The Madigas traditional occupation is associated with the leather goods, "The main duty of Madiga is carrying the Dead, tanning of hides, and manufacturing rude leather articles, especially sandals, trappings for bullocks, and large well-buckets, used for irrigation" (Thurston, p. 309). They are also experts in playing musical instruments locally known as Tappetalu or Dappu. (Census of India, 1961", Vol.II,
Part V-B(12). They play them on Marriage and other religious occasions. At the time of any announcement in the villages, Madigas are asked to play Tappeta or Dappu crying in village’s streets, which is popularly known as Dandora. In villages, each Madiga household is attached to a fixed number of cultivating households. The attachment to a household is called Tega and a Madiga who is attached to the house is called Tega Madiga. Madigas used to earn their livelihood mainly from their traditional occupation and the rest from agriculture labor.

Madiga Mastu, another satellite caste earn their living by displaying their acrobatic feats, in Madiga colonies and receive their customary payments. (Singh T.R.) They visit different villages and exhibit acrobatic feats. The Sindu, the entertaining caste of Madigas earn their living from entertainment and prostitution among the Madigas. “The traditional occupation of “Sindollu” is to perform dances and play Veedibhagavatham (street ply) in Madiga Colonies. They Believe that they have right to beg from Madigas. They attend all Madiga ceremonies and entertain by singing and dancing. They also maintain themselves by prostitution (Syed Sirajul Hassan) in Madiga colonies.

The Dakkals who are considered lowest in social hierarchy and untouchable to Madigas “Given particulars relating to genealogy of different families of Madigas, that is, they are bards of Madigas. Every Dakkal family has a Jurisdiction over 10 to 20 villages where he has a right to collect amount in the house households earmarked for them. The practice of begging and telling the genealogy of Madigas is till continuing with the Dakkals in villages.

Social Distance:

Notion of purity and pollution is one of the important determinants of Physical distance between castes. It is also the indicator of their social distance and their place in cultural development and in social hierarchy. It is witnessed in the habitation of castes, in the location of village, which is the center of Social, economic and political development. Andre Beteille had aptly observed that “Physical structure of village is, in some measure, a reflection of its social structure. The distribution of population is not haphazard or random, but evinces a more or less conscious plan. It brings out in a great manner some of the basic unities and cleavages in social structure of the village. People who are closed to each other in social system tend to live side by side; people
whose social positions are widely different live apart, other things being equal, physical distance can be seen as social distance". (Beteille Andre)

The living quarters of Dalits and other castes are not together, as they were planned to the tune of social hierarchical values. "The living Quarters of depressed classes (Dalits) in all villages have to be at respectable distance from main caste people" (Census of India, 1941) at southern side of villages. Among the depressed classes Malas live next to Sudras. (Thurston, p.348) Mala and Madigas live in separate hamlets. (Uma Ramaswamy, 1986) Generally the habitations of Madigas and its satellite castes are away from the outskirts of the villages, located at distance about 0.4 km. from the cluster houses of Whashermen (Sudras). Usually the dwellings of Madigas are in outskirts of village, were the dirt of the village are lodged in helps. Dakkal, the last one in the social hierarchy live away from the Madiga living quarters. Dakkals are not allowed to enter the living Quarters of Madigas, but they pitch their huts of bamboo mats at a distance from Madiga houses. (Syed Sirajul Hassan, p.413)

This physical distance of Dalits from upper castes and Sudras and between their satellite castes is the best indicator of social and cultural distance among the different castes in village India. The social distance, which is rooted in notion of purity and pollution, is a mechanism deprives Dalits of their opportunities in various fields. In the descending order the Dalits are deprive Dalits of opportunities as many times as there are social layers. In other words the last man, Dakkal is deprived of the culture by its upper castes, that is, the Brahmins, the Kshtriyas, the Vysyas, the Sudras, the Malas and the Madigas.

Caste associations and Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh:

Caste associations of Dalits came into existence in deferent parts of the State for their emancipation from caste oppression. They have been working from the early years of 20th century to the present day. Most of the associations had declared "socio-economic and political emancipation of the depressed classes" (Abbasayulu Y.B.1982) as their broad objectives. Before independence there were independent Dalit movements in Andhra, the part of erstwhile Madras presidency and in the erstwhile Hyderabad state. In the post-Independence period there are some sings of united Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh. But these movements are dived by new socio, economic and political opportunities generated by reservations, caste
hierarchical cleavages and leadership ambitions. Consequently, the associations are
performing ceremonial function of anniversaries of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Babu
Jagjeevan Ram without seriously fighting for the protection and promoting of the
rights of the Dalits for long. Only, after 1980’s Dalits began their struggle for their
human rights after Karamchandu massacre of Dalits in Andhra Pradesh.

In Andhra a number of educated Dalits working in different organizations to
educate the depressed classes and pressurized the Madras government to take up
measures for their emancipation. Sri Vemula Kumayya of Krishna District, Kusuma
Dharmanna the Editor of “Jayabheri”. Nandanala Hari, one of the founders of Andhra
Pradesh Scheduled castes welfare Association was as “Andhra Panchama Mahajana
Sabha was organized in September, 1917, at Vijayawada, Chundru Venkaiah, a Dalit
leader was the chairman of the Reception committee. It was presided over by Bhagya
Reddy Varma, a Dalit leader from Hyderabad. Some of the resolutions passed in the
conference were; (1) Dalits should be called Adi-Andhras (2) Government and people
should take up steps for removal of Unsociability and encourage education (3) Special
representation should be given to them in legislature.( Sudershan Reddy G.,1986) In
this conference. “First Panchama Andhra Mahajana Sabha was renamed as “First Adi-
Andhra Mahajana Sabha” at the instance of Bhagya reddy Varma. (Abbasayulu Y.B.)
In all conferences of the Adi-Andhra Mahasabha these demands were reiterated by the
Dalit leaders.

The Sabha had achieved a number of demands, the political representation
being the major achievement. In response to the demands of Adi-Andhra Conferences
“the Madras government nominated Sri N. Devendrudu, Chundru Venkayya and
Gangadhar Sharma who were Andhra leaders to the Legislative Council. In Madras
Legislative Assembly there were about 11 Dalit M.L.A’s representing Andhra
Districts. (Abbasayulu Y.B.) In 1920 Arundhatheeya Mahasabha was established by
L.C. Gundu Swamy and worked for emancipation of Madiga Dalits in Andhra region.
(Appala Swamy, P.J.)

Dandora: the Madiga movement for equal identity and social justice in AP:

All over India, Dalits have been organizing themselves to fight against caste
based inequalities and for respectable identity for the last eight decades. Liberation
movements of various Dalit sections began to take from in 1920’s in the context of
strong social reform anti - caste movements. (Bharat Patnakar and Gail Omvedt 1979) Adi-Dharm movement of Punjab, Mahar Movement of Maharashtra, Adi-Andhra movement of Andhra, Adi-Dravida Movement of Tamil Nadu, Adi-Karnataka movement of Karnataka, created a struggle history of their own during this period against caste system.

The Madigas, one of 59 sub-castes of Dalits Andhra Pradesh have been struggling for respectable identity as early as 1920’s but entered a unique phase with the struggle phase of Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi (MRPS) which is popularly known as Dandora. The Madiga consciousness reached a militant phase after passing through eight decades of search for respectable identity. The M.R.P.S. has been fighting for last 9 years for categorization of 59 Scheduled Castes into A.B.C.D. groups for equal distribution of reservation benefits among all sub-castes under the leadership of Manda Krishna Madiga to counter the M.R.P.S. the Malas, one of the Dalit sub-castes, which has been cornering reservation benefits disproportionate to its population, has been opposing categorization under the auspices of “Mala Mahanadu” stating that categorization divides the Dalits in Andhra Pradesh.(Eenadu,1999) The Malas have been advancing all the arguments of anti-reservationists in order to enjoy lion’s share of reservation benefits in the guise of Dalit unity.(Frontline, July 11,1997)

In response to the demand of M.R.P.S. the government of Andhra Pradesh., Under the leadership of N.Chandrababu Naidu issued orders categorizing Scheduled Castes into A.B.C.D. groups. The Malas challenged categorization in court on grounds that it is unconstitutional and is intended to divide the Dalits. Now, the Madigas are fighting for Justice in Honourable Supreme Court of India. The Dandora organized various programmes to exhibit its popular strength, and high level consciousness in fighting for their rights. I also triggered similar sub-caste movements’ among the Tribals in the name of Tudumdebba of Koya Tribes, Banjara Bheri of Lambda tribes and Doludebba of Yadavas, in Andhra Pradesh.

**Struggle Phase of Madiga Movement:**

Andhra Pradesh Madiga Sangam was the first Dalit Association established with stigma carrying sub-caste name in the year 1982 under the leadership of Dr. Vidya Kumar. It began the militant struggle phase of Madiga movement. This Sangam gave a number of representations to the governments in 1980’s for equal share in the
fields of education, employment and politics by providing separate quota for Madigas. The activists of Madiga Sangam entered State Assembly in 1982 while the session was going on and threw pamphlets from visitors gallery titled “Separate reservation for Madiga” demanding separate reservation for Madigas. Consequently twelve activists of Madiga Sangam were convicted by State Assembly for throwing pamphlets violating the rules of Assembly proceedings. (The Hindu July 27, 1982) The activists also demanded the appointment of inquiry commission for the redressed of Madigas grievance. After some time the Madiga Sangam gave up its struggle for categorization as its felt categorization will have to be done only by the Parliament of India.

Dakshina Bharatha Adijambava/Arundhatheeya Samakhya was established in 1990 to organize the Madigas of South India to fight for their rights, Bangalore as their Head Quarters. (Adi-Jambhava/ Arundatheeya Samakhya) Sri D. Manjunath of Andhra Pradesh was elected as General Secretaries of the South India Samakhya. Dr. N. Venkata Swamy and Dr. M. Jagannath were also elected as President and general Secretaries of the Andhra Pradesh State wing of the Samakhya. Mythological identity of Arundhati and Jambavantha was chosen by the organizers as a common name acceptable to all sub-castes who were traditionally leather workers in South India. Andhra Pradesh wing of Samakhya organized three successful public meetings.

The then Chief Ministers of Andhra Pradesh N. Janardhan Reddy promised to do justice to Madigas. First notable meeting was held on 12th June, 1992 at Gandhi Bhavan in Hyderabad. (Udyam (Telugu daily) June 13-1992) They also organized a public meeting in Nellore District of Andhra Pradesh in 1994 with one lakh Madigas and demanded categorization of SCs into A.B.C.D. groups.

A very significant meeting organized by Samakhya was held on 2nd May, 1994 in Nizam College grounds of Hyderabad at the instance of the Congress Government headed by Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy. During those days, the Congress party organized a series of sub-caste meetings of SCs/BCs/STs in Andhra Pradesh to consolidate its vote bank after witnessing success of the B.S.P. and the S.P. confine in U.P. in the particular meeting, Congress C.M. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy criticized B.S.P. leader Kansi Ram and requested the Madigas not to listen to such north India leaders who criticized Gandhi. Then the audience shouted saying “we listen, we listen” indicting
the readiness of Madigas to follow the North India Madiga leader Kansiram and his Bahujan movement. Few days after this public meeting was over, Koneru Ranga Rao, a Madiga leader, was made Dy. Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh by congress party with the sole purpose of retaining the Madigas with the congress party and to stop the growth of B.S.P. in the state. It bears clear testimony to the fact that Madigas leaders of the Mandali and Samakhya worked as organic intellectuals and entered into bargaining politics and were successful in capturing some political space at various levels.

**Assertion of Madiga Identity:**

Dandora Movement emerged in changing socio-economic and political conditions of the state. The conditions prior to the launching of Dandora Movement clearly indicate factors that shaped the Dandora movement of Madigas. By 1980s Madigas were released from leather goods work which they inherited in the form of traditional occupation as the land lords stopped buying and hand made leather chappal and leather goods of Madigas and started buying from urban chappal shops made of synthesis and rubber. As a result, Madigas who depended on the leather work became unemployed. The Madigas feel that their due share from reservation benefits has been concerned by Malas. Anti and pro Mandal movement in the State of Andhra Pradesh has given rise to new terms of political discourse. Mandalization of politics questioned the continuance of upper caste leadership in Marxist and non-Marxist parties in the state. Naxalites like K.G. Sathyamurthy and Gaddar who were prominent leaders in People’s War Group of CPI (ML) left the party over questions of caste politics. Mandal discourse reduced the caste blindness of Madiga youth working in Marxist and non-Marxist parties and it sharpened their caste consciousness. During early 1990’s BSP’s slogan “Vote Hamara Raj Tumhara Nahi Chelega, Nahi Chelega” had gone to every Madiga street and enlightened them on the importance of their votes as a source of political power in India. The whole process sharpened Madiga consciousness particularly of the youth in favour of struggle for their rights.

The Madiga movement entered it struggle phase with Dandora. This phase was led by unemployed full time activists with different out look on disabilities suffered by the Madigas in the traditional socio-economic and political structure.
Most of its leaders were former of Marxists who left the party as a result of Mandalization and Bhujanization of state politics.

Madiga Reservation Porata Samithi emerged as a fighting organization in these conditions with special qualities of its own in the history of social movements. This organization was established by 20 youths at a small Kutcha house in a small village by name “Eedumdu” in Prakasam District of Andhra Pradesh under the leadership of Manda Krishna Madiga on 7th July 1994. (M.P. Kumar 1996) The participants of the meeting worked out a strategy to develop M.R.P.S step by step from village to Mandal, Mandal to District and from District to State level. They resolved to adopt the philosophy of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar and Babu Jagjeevan Ram as the guiding spirit for Madigas Rights.

**Struggle for Equal Identity Social Justice:**

Madiga struggle for equal opportunities is the struggle for equal identity and social justice from the very beginning. Due to their relative backwardness the Madigas, are not able to avail reservation benefits equally compared to their co-suffers the Malas. It is a fact the special treatment benefits have often been appropriate by more educated articulate and organized in S.C. Communities. (Sisir Bhattacharya) As per the census of India the Madigas, the Malas Constitute 37,37,609 (46.94%) and the Malas 32,63,675 (40.99%) of SCs population. But the Malas have been cornering reservation benefits disproportionate their population. These new inequality triggered Dandora movement in Andhra Pradesh. Table 6.2 gives a clear picture of disparity between Madigas and Malas in the field of Education, Employment and Politics.

From 1,07,579 Matriculates, 53.15% belong to Mala caste, 28.02% to Madigas, 15.58% belong to Adi-Andhra, 1.33% Adi-Dravida, 1.90% to other and a negligible (0.002%) to Dakkal Community. From 14,415 graduates, 56.28% belong to Mala and 25.07% belong to Madiga sub-castes. From the rest of the graduates 16.21%, 1.46%, 0.96% and 0.006% belongs to Adi-Andhra, others, Adi-Dravida and Dakkal Communities respectively. It is evident from data that there is glaring inequality within major sub caste groups being Mala at the top and Dakkal at bottom in the educational ladder of Scheduled Castes. (SCs and STs Census of India 1981)
The Scheduled Castes have been reserved seats in State Assembly in proportionate to their population 39 out of 294 Assembly seats. Out of this 70.50% and 29.50% of seats were represented by Malas and Madigas respectively. It shows, from the days of Independence Malas have been appropriating political position disproportionate to their population and maintaining their dominance throughout over Madigas.

Representative bureaucracy one of the features of pluralism. It is a necessary condition that every social and economic group has to be represented in the bureaucracy in a plural society. But the data pertaining to scheduled caste shows representation of Malas is (75.90%) more than seventy five percent in public sector understandings while Madigas represent less than twenty five percent (24.10%). It demonstrates growing monopoly of twenty five percent one or two scheduled castes in reserved quota of jobs defeating the very purpose of social justice policy. In equality between Madigas and Malas in appropriation of reservation benefits in the reserved field of education employment and Politics in 1980’s negated equal identity and social justice to Madigas.

Opposing these inequalities and for equal distribution of reservation benefits, the Dandora gave number of programmes and organized Madigas demanding categorization of SC’s into A.B.C.D. groups in the last 9 years. “Chalo Nizam College” on March 2nd 1996, “Chalo Assembly” on September 2nd 1997, and Mahapadayathra in June 1997 are remarkable programmes in the history of Dalit movement in Andhra Pradesh. In the first public meeting Dandora crystallized the public opinion in favour of categorization of SC’s into A.B.C.D. groups mobilizing about 5 lakhs of Madigas in the Nizam College grounds in Hyderabad. In the second programme Chalo Assembly, Dandora was successful in forcing the Government to appoint Justice P. Rama Chandra Raju Commission of Inquiry to go into the differential benefits of reservation by Mala and Madiga sub castes and to recommend the need for categorization of SC’s into groups for equal distribution of reservation benefits. The third
programme, Mahapadayathra (Long March) was novel method adopted but Dandora to shape public opinion in support of categorization. The movement spread to every nook and corner of the state. The leader of Dandora, Manda Krishna Madiga walked for 1052 Km starting from Naravaripalli, the native village of Chief Minister N. Chandra Babu Naidu to his official residence in Hyderabad in Padayatra. (Dalit classification in A.P, Frontline, 1997) This Yathra revealed massive response of Madiga community to the call given by their leader. On the last day of the Padayatra, June 6th 1997, he reached Hyderabad along with lakhs of Madigas and proved Dandora to be a pioneering social movement in contemporary India. After having witnessed the popular support to the Madigas, the T.D.P. government issued orders categorizing SC’s into A.B.C.D groups.

It is necessary to understand struggle of Madigas with the spirit of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar’s social Justice Philosophy. He desired to break the monopoly of twice born castes through reservation policy. In Constituent Assembly of India he stated, there shall be reservations in favour of certain communities, which have not had a proper place in the administration. The administration for historical reasons been controlled by one community or few communities should disappear and other also must have an opportunity of getting into public services. Dr. Ambedkar felt breaking monopoly of one or two communities is necessary for realization of social justice. In precise monopoly is the foundation of inequality, whether it is monopoly of one or few upper caster or monopoly of one or few Scheduled Castes or Tribes. Now the Madigas have been fighting for categorization of SC’s into groups to break the monopoly of one or two Scheduled Castes. Which facilitates equal distribution of reservation benefits among 59 Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh.? In fact the struggle of Madigas is a struggle for respectable identity, equality and the social justice. It was argued, equal identity is equality, and Identity cannot be diverse from equality, equality from social justice. Nor can equality and social justice can be diverse from identity as the equality and justice in precise identity. (M.Muttaiah

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1993) Dandora movement is a pioneering plural identity movement triggered similar movements in Andhra Pradesh.

**Plural Identity and Principles of Social Justice:**

There are 59 sub-castes in the list of Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh. Every sub-caste has its own identity and existence. The first classification of SC's was done by J.J Hutton, Census Commissioner of India 1931 who prepared a list of depressed classes from these sub-castes. This list was adopted by the Government of India act of 1935 for providing special protection to the depressed classes. It is notable that the President of India promulgated Scheduled Castes order in 1950 based on the list prepared by J.J. Hutton, following a number of tests to designate Scheduled Castes primarily based on the principles of commensality practices. (Marcgalaner 1984) Dandora movement demanded further categorization of the castes as the list provided by President did not ensure equal distribution of reservation benefits among 59 Scheduled Castes. The logic that was followed by J.J. Hutton in the designation of depressed classes was taken to its logical end in the categorization of SCs. The logic of categorization of SCs in Andhra Pradesh based on the following principles. 

a) The Principle of touchable groups: The caste system divided society into touchable and untouchable groups. The Panchamas have been untouchables to all four varnas. On the basis of same traditional caste values. The Malas and Madigas are also divided into two untouchable groups. In other words, Brahmantic values of purity and pollution percolated down to SCs and divided them into touchable and untouchable groups. Madigas allied castes and Mala allied castes are touchable groups. b) The principle of satellite living. Traditional caste values divided Scheduled Castes into Malas and Madigas and they are living together in Malapally (Village) and Madiga gudem (Collective residence) respectively. Bindia and Mala Ayyavaru are priestly castes of Madigas and Malas respectively. The respective priests believe that they have common genies and they share common sufferings and values. These two satellite castes are considered as
groups and the quantum of reservation is decided on the principles of satellite living. c). Principle of Paralles: The caste system placed different castes at different places living in various part of country. Castes with equal status are brought under one group though they migrated from different States. The Mangs in Maharashtra Madigas in Andhra Pradesh have equal status in Panchama hierarchy by virtue of their traditional occupation. Such parallel castes are grouped together for classification of SCs. d). Principle of Common name: common name is the feature of a tribe of people. They have common history, common God etc. All those castes with prefix or suffixes like Mala, Sale, Dakkal and Madiga are recognized as groups and reservations benefits are distributed between these groups. e). Principle of parity in traditional occupations: The traditional occupation of sub-castes has been the basis for caste hierarchy. Varna dharma allotted a particular traditional occupational, to each caste in society. The ritualistic pundits allotted particular grades to these occupations, and explain them in the terms of the notions of purity and pollution. On the basis of traditional occupations, the SCs are categorized into groups for distribution of reservation benefits. f). the principal of protection of grouping interest: The quantum of reservation has been decided in proportion to the population of SCs against the monopoly of one or two castes. Similarly, no single sub-caste should be allowed to corner reservation benefits disproportionate to their population. Methods should be adopted for the protection of the interests of each sub-caste. There are Scheduled Castes with a population ranging from thousand to lakhs of people in each group. A sub-caste in a group with a less percentage of population should not be allowed to corner the benefits that are due to other sub-caste. For the protection of interests of each caste, the un-represented, under represented. Adequately represented caste should be identified. The first and second priority should be given to un-represented, and under represented castes respectively in allotment of reservation benefits in each group. These priorities should be given in alphabetical order of sub-castes in the respective ABCD groups. The
commission agreed to protect group interests of satellite committees. But did not agree to protect the interest of sub-caste within the group on the principle of priority. This principle was not accepted by Inquiry Commission. The minority castes with ABCD groups are demanding for further categorization of groups.

g). The more the insult and humiliation, the more should be protection: The Dakals, Rellis and Mehtars have been subjected to isolation and humiliation both by Chaturvarnas and Panchamas who treat them as the untouchables. The population of Dakkala, Rallis and Mehtars is meager. But they deserve special protection by way of providing more benefits not necessarily proportionate proportion in their population. The commissioner after through study of the underlined principles of social structure and traditional occupation recommended the categorization of SCs into the following four groups.

Principles of social structure and traditional occupation of the categorization of SCs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No, Name of the Caste</th>
<th>Traditional Occupation</th>
<th>Total of Sub-caste</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Bavuri</td>
<td>Basket makers</td>
<td>756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Chachathi</td>
<td>Fruit selling and scavenging</td>
<td>5,244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Chandala</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Danadasi</td>
<td>Village Watchman</td>
<td>5,410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Dom, Combara, Paidi</td>
<td>Weavers, Musicians, Drum Beaters</td>
<td>23,214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Chasi, Hatti Relli</td>
<td>Fruit and Vegetable sellers Sweeping and scavenging</td>
<td>1,872</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Godagali</td>
<td>Basket making Bamboo making</td>
<td>2,212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Mehtar</td>
<td>Scavenging</td>
<td>4,553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Paki, Moti, Thoti</td>
<td>Scavenging</td>
<td>7,876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Pamidi</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>5,647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Relli</td>
<td>Scavenging, fruit sellers</td>
<td>76,329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Sapru</td>
<td>Scavenging and Fruit sellers</td>
<td>592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,33,689 (1.68%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

269
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Name of the Caste</th>
<th>Traditional Occupation</th>
<th>Total of Sub-caste</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Arundhatheeya</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>78,496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Beda Jangam, Budgajangam</td>
<td>Hunting, Flowers and Cultivators</td>
<td>12,024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Bindia</td>
<td>Priests of Madigas, Appcasers of Goddesses</td>
<td>13,589</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Chamar, Mochi</td>
<td>Shoes makers and leathers</td>
<td>12,881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Chambar</td>
<td>Shoes makers and leather workers</td>
<td>519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Dakkal Madiga, Dakkal war</td>
<td>Mendicants, Bards of Madigas, leather workers</td>
<td>1,598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Dhor</td>
<td>Leather and tanning works</td>
<td>2,452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Godari</td>
<td>Leather and shoemakers</td>
<td>834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Jaggali Laborers</td>
<td>Leather workers and agriculture</td>
<td>983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Jambavulu</td>
<td>Agriculture laborers</td>
<td>22,335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Kolupula Vandlu</td>
<td>Fore telling, Appeasers Of Goddesses</td>
<td>961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Madiga</td>
<td>Leather, Tanning, Chappal Making</td>
<td>35,72,622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Madiga Dasu, Masteen</td>
<td>Spiritual advisers, acrobatics story tellers to Madigas</td>
<td>5,450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Mang</td>
<td>Drum beaters, Basket, Mat making, tanning, Jugglers, Snake charmers</td>
<td>8,007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Mang Garodi</td>
<td>Snake charming, Buffellows Shaving, Acrobats, Jugglers</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Matangi</td>
<td>Begging, singing, Tanning</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Samagara</td>
<td>Leather and tanning workers</td>
<td>1,845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Sindhollu</td>
<td>Drama, Dancing and prostitution</td>
<td>2,583</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>37,37,609</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(46.94%)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Name of the Caste</th>
<th>Traditional Occupation</th>
<th>Total of Sub-caste</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Adi Dravida</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>1,00,382</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Anamukh</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Arya Mala</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>1,395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Arvamala</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>22,937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Banaki</td>
<td>Village watchman, Palanqui bearers, Watchman</td>
<td>11,844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Byagara</td>
<td>Watchman of graveyards, Weaving</td>
<td>14,120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Chalvad</td>
<td>Village watchman, weaving course cloth</td>
<td>1,740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Ellamalwaru</td>
<td>Vagrant caste Yallmmalwandlu</td>
<td>358</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Gosangi</td>
<td>Mendicants</td>
<td>7,653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Holeya</td>
<td>Weaving course cloth Agriculture laborers, Serfs</td>
<td>665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Holeya Dasari</td>
<td>Begging</td>
<td>620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Madasi Kuruva</td>
<td>Sheep and goat rearing</td>
<td>3,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Mahar</td>
<td>Weaving course cloth, village watch laborers</td>
<td>11,486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Mala</td>
<td>Watchman, laborers</td>
<td>28,94,643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Mala Dasari</td>
<td>Spiritual Advisors to Malas Agricultural laborers</td>
<td>18,416</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Mala Dasu</td>
<td>Spiritual advisers, Acrobatics Story tellers</td>
<td>8,335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Mala Hannai</td>
<td>Vagarent Caste</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Malajangam</td>
<td>Agriculture Laborers</td>
<td>4,895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Mala Masthi</td>
<td>Acrobatics</td>
<td>474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Mala Sale Nethakani</td>
<td>Weavers, Agricultural laborers</td>
<td>18,272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Malasanyai</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Manne</td>
<td>Village Watchman</td>
<td>64,668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Mandala</td>
<td>Agricultural laborer</td>
<td>840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Pambada Pambanda</td>
<td>Devil Dancers and Musicians to Malas</td>
<td>3,233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Samban</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>3,233</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total Population: 32,63,675 (40.99%)
Group – D
Adi Andhra Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Name of the Caste</th>
<th>Traditional Occupation</th>
<th>Total of Sub-caste</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Adi Andhra (Mala’s &amp; Madigas)</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>6,98,860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Masthi</td>
<td>Dancers, Acrobatics Carpenters</td>
<td>2,922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mitha Ayyalwar</td>
<td>Priests and spiritual Advisors to Madigas and Malas</td>
<td>2,777</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Panchama, Pariah</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>9,265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Unclassified in Census</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>1,12,933</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>8,26,757 (10.39%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Grand total</td>
<td></td>
<td>79,61,780 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Data on traditional occupation is collected from ethnographic notes of India 1961. And classics like Thurston, S.S.Hasan etc.

The Relli and Mehtar group of communities constitutes 1,33,689 (1.67%) of SCs population. They are categorized as Group “A” with 1% entitlement of reservations in public appointments and educational institutions. The commission identified the “Madigas” group of communities, the leather workers as the next backward among SCs. They constitute 3737,609 (46.94%) of SC population. They are categorized 32,63,675 (40.99%) of SC population. The Adi –Andhras are categorized as “D” with 1% entitlement of reservations. This is the most advancement group in terms of education and employment among the Scheduled Castes in Andhra Pradesh.

Sphere of State Authority

Categorization policy formulated by Government of Andhra Pradesh brought forth the controversy between state and central authority. In modern democratic system, State government is legal plural authority while central government represents monistic authority. In adjudication of categorization policy Madigas advanced pluralistic arguments while the Malas, advanced monistic arguments (against Categorization of SCs in A.P.Mala Mahanadu 1998). The Malas under the auspices of “Mala Mahanadu “challenged G.Os issued categorizing 59 Scheduled
Castes in the Honourable High Court of Andhra Pradesh stating it is unconstitutional and categorization divides the Dalits.

The state government argued that it is competent to categorize Scheduled Castes into four groups for equal distribution of reservation benefits in exercise of its power under Article 15(4) and 16(4) of Constitution of India to implement reservations in the field of education and employment as this power was allocated to states in scheme of division of powers in our federal structure. Malas argued reservation to SCs and STs is the subject matter of Union Government alone as per the scheme of division of powers between State and Union of Government of India. In Indian constitution powers are divided into three lists, Union list (97) state list (66) and the concurrent list (47). State public services are included in list-II of 7th schedules at entry 41. Education was included in list-III of schedule at entry 25 in concurrent list. The Malas took procedure for identification of SCs and STs, inclusion in and exclusion out of SCs and STs from the list to defend their argument Indian Constitution established a procedure for identification of SCs and STs for inclusion in or exclusion out of SCs and STs from list for the purpose of reservations. The Article 341(1) of our constitution says that the President of India with respect to any State or Union Territory, after consultation with the Governor, there after by public notification specify the castes, races or tribes or part of or groups within castes, races or tribes which shall for the purpose of Constitution deemed to be Scheduled Caste. Article 341(2) states the parliament may by law include in or exclude out from the list of Scheduled Castes specified in notification issued under clause 341(1), any caste or race or any group within caste. The Malas argued that the Government of Andhra Pradesh violated Article 341 of Indian constitution by categorizing Schedules Castes into four groups and further argued that the state government is not competent to formulate a policy for Scheduled Castes. Government of AP and Madigas argued that the job or President of India was over by identification and notification of 59 scheduled castes in Andhra Pradesh who can deemed to be Scheduled Castes in exercise of is power under the Article 15(4) and 16(4) of Indian constitution to implement reservations in field of education and employment and it is within the legislative competence of the states. Further, the T.D.P. Government argued that Article 341 does no diminish the state legislative competence for legislation with
respect to education and state employment for this reason. And it was argued that Article 341 enables the President of India as one time measure to specify castes, races, tribes or parts of groups within castes which shall be deemed to scheduled castes for the purpose of Constitutions.

The Malas argued that the categorization of SCs amounts to inclusion in or exclusion out of SCs from list of scheduled castes which is unconstitutional and violative of Article 341(2) which empowers the Parliament of India to include in or exclude out of a caste or group from list of scheduled castes. The state government argued that the President of India bracketed scheduled castes, the state government had put small bracket within the bracketed scheduled castes, the state government had put small bracket within the bracket without excluding out or including in any caste or group from the list of SCs in exercise of states power for implement of reservations under Article 15(4) and 16(4) of Indian Constitution. In exercise of its power state government proposed a resolution in A.P. State Assembly on 22nd April 1998 in favour of categorization and unsurprisingly A.P State Assembly unanimously passed a resolution supporting categorization.

Malas advanced true monistic argument against categorization. They said “all the specified and notified castes in the Schedule are one single unit called Scheduled Castes”; they further argued “once a caste is specified in the list of Scheduled Castes they are equally entitled for attendant benefits unconditionally. Though they are heterogeneous by their caste, race or tribe they become homogeneous single unit when they are included in the schedule. The stand of Malas to ignore relative backwardness and heterogeneous occupational diversity is identical to that of ruling classing general and Brahmanic in their partisan attitude. The list of Scheduled Castes was identified on the criteria of caste. Brahmnic commensality practices and social backwardness of castes. The Malas accepted the Schedule thus identified, but refused to accept categorization of SCs when it takes the logic of identification of castes to the logical end for the realization of Social Justice.

Full Bench of Honourable High Court of A.P. after hearing the case declared that the G.O.s 68 and 69 categorizing Scheduled Castes is unconstitutional and violative of Article 338, 341 of Indian constitution on 18-9-1997. In its judgment, the High court of AP came to these conclusions i.e.(1) categorization made by state
government amounts to identification of most backward as notified under clause(1) of Article 341,(2). Any further clarification of SCs shall be permissible only in the manner as envisaged under Article 341 read with Article 338 of Indian Constitution, (3) Sub-Classification of SCs is major policy matter affecting Schedule castes and as envisaged under Article 338 (9) of Constitution of India, and State is obliged to consult National Commission for SCs and STs.

Following the judgment of High court, the State Government consulted National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, The Commission had recommended to have re-looked at the working of reservation policy and development efforts that have to be made for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The Commission also recommended that the Government of India, being the custodian of interests of SCs come out with an appropriate national level policy, which would take care of disparities within SCs and a new formula has to be evolved to reduce disparities within SCs and a new formula has to be evolved to reduce disparities between communities and families among the communities and finalize in consultation with National Commission for SCs and STs under Article 338(9) of the constitution. After hearing from the national commission, the State Government issued an ordinance categorizing SCs and sent to the President of India seeking his opinion under article 213 (1) of I Indian Constitution. Then President of Indian K.R. Naryanan, assented ordinance categorization of SCs as step towards rationalization of reservations. (Hindu December 3rd 1991) Thereafter T.D.P. Government passed an Act in A.P. Legislative Assembly categorizing SCs. Malas challenged the Act on the legislative competence of State Government. Larger bench of High Court of Andhra Pradesh heard the case and declared its judgment stating that categorization was made on intelligible and discernable and passed for rationalization of reservation for Scheduled castes is valid and constitutional. Mala Mahanadu challenged the categorization of reservation for Scheduled Castes is valid and constitutional. Mala Mahanadu Challenged the categorization in Honourable Supreme Court of India. Now Madigas are fighting to protect categorization of SCs which ensures equal identity and the social justice in Supreme Court of India.
Judicial interference:

Living apart as they do from social realities, judges sometimes come up with wrong judgments at disastrously wrong moments. A notable feature of Indian society in recent years is that from out of disadvantaged people who are dealt with by the law as well as in the idiom of social justice as homogeneous classes (Dalits, minorities, women, etc), categories asserting their further discrimination have emerged, seeking society’s attention to their particular plight. The situation calls for a sensitive response that will neither deny them further discrimination nor use it as a stick to beat the parent category with.

The Madiga campaign for subdivision of the scheduled caste reservation in Andhra Pradesh is a very prominent such instance. Asserting that within the scheduled castes there is a local hierarchy of social status, worth, value (and even touchability), and also that the scheduled caste reservation is being taken disproportionately by two of them, namely, the Adi Andhras and Malas, the Madigas ran a successful campaign to persuade the state government to make a four-fold sub-division of the scheduled castes in the state, and apportion the reservation to the four sub-groups in such a manner that all may in fact get a more equitable share.

Almost nobody other than a section of the relatively better placed scheduled castes has denied the fact of further discrimination within the Dalit communities, and all political parties have supported the campaign. But it has foundered on the law as understood by the courts. The conclusive (for the present) view of a Constitution bench of five judges of the Supreme Court is that it is constitutionally impermissible to do what the Madigas wanted. Why and how the court said so we shall see below. But as a general caveat it must be said that whatever may be the defects of our Constitution, and there are many, any one who knows that document would view with skepticism any assertion of a disjoint between its prescriptions and any aspiration for social or political justice and the social or political impediments in giving effect to constitutional possibilities. The only exception to this would be the aspiration for self-determination of unwilling components of what would be the Indian Nation, which is irrefutably unconstitutional, as the Constitution now stands. Andhra Pradesh order

Persuaded by the vigorous campaign launched by the Madigas, the government of Andhra Pradesh initially issued an order which was struck down by a full bench of the
high court, principally on the ground that the government had not consulted the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, but also on more doubtful grounds. Later, after completing that consultation, the government passed an Act (Act 20 of 2000) to the same effect. As before, this was challenged by persons of the Mala and Adi Andhra communities, but a five-judge bench of the high court, by a majority of four to one, upheld the Act, overruling the other objections the previous bench had expressed. Against that the petitioners appealed to the Supreme Court, for which leave was granted by the high court, and in the apex court they have succeeded. A five-judge bench of the Supreme Court, in E V Chinnaiah vs State of Andhra Pradesh, has unanimously held the Act to be unconstitutional, in a judgment that is poor in logic and poorer in judicial wisdom.

Against Reservations:

At the end what we have is a judgment purportedly against subdivision of the scheduled caste reservation quota, but which is in fact replete with arguments against reservations as such. A little more than a decade ago, in the Mandal Commission case (Indira Sawhney vs Union of India, 1992) nine judges of the Supreme Court went into the whole gamut of the reservations question and answered all the issues, affirming some earlier judgments, overruling some, and laying down the law in quite a satisfactory manner. It was hoped that most of the ghosts that have haunted the provision of reservations/special provisions for the oppressed castes of Hindu society had been laid to rest. Apparently not, but then, what more do you expect when a section of the dalits themselves go to court against those below them, and employ all the arguments the Brahmins invented against reservations and special provisions for the deprived castes as such? Did they not ask for it? Did they not lay it open to the court to once again happily walk over what in law would be called ‘covered ground’? Every one in Andhra Pradesh recalls the glee with which casteist society welcomed the arguments used by the Malas against the demand raised by the Madigas. There is in general in human affairs nothing more calculated to please than the appropriation of your arguments by your own opponent in the innocent assumption that he is protecting the right obtained against you from an encroacher. And like society, like judges, for the tortuous reluctance with which the courts came to accept that India is a
caste society and something should be done about it if we are ever to be a real democracy is evident from the history of judicial pronouncements on reservations.

To the judges, one is tempted to read what a predecessor of theirs said two decades ago. In K C Vasanth Kumar vs State of Mysore, 1985, O Chinnappa Reddy said something about how the Constitution of India, at least in its more positive aspect, may be read: We must also remember that we are expounding a Constitution born...of an anti-imperialist struggle, influenced by constitutional instruments, events and revolutions elsewhere, in search of a better world, and wedded to the idea of justice, economic, social and political to all. Such a Constitution must be given a generous interpretation so as to give all its citizens the full measure of the justice promised by it. This probably sounds terribly like 20th century discourse, but it was 20th century aspirations that shaped the Republic of India, and there is no cogent reason for declaring that Republic dead. (K.Balagopal)

Categorization of the SC Reservations: Madiga Dandora versus Mala Mahanadu:

The Madiga Dandora based its demand for categorization was representation. It was argued that although the reservation opportunities have been provided for the Dalit group as a matter of representation, the Madigas are singled out by their under representation in the scheme. Such condition was an outcome of the socio-cultural and historical disadvantages suffered by them due to: (1) the caste-related occupations of the Madigas, especially leather-making; (2) the physical location of the majority of Madigas in the Telangana region; and (3) caste-based humiliations. These disadvantages prevented the Madigas from accessing reservation opportunities, which, in turn, helped the better-off castes, such as the Malas and Adi-Andhras, to access reservation opportunities disproportionately to their population-weight in the group. In other words, the disadvantages suffered by the marginalized, translated into advantages for the better-off castes in the Dalit group. In support of this contention, the Madiga Dandora has provided data pertaining to the caste-wise representations of the four major Dalit castes in the state: the Madigas, Rellis, Malas, and Adi-Andhras in education, employment, and political opportunities. These data clearly establish the overrepresentation of the Malas and Adi-Andhras in them. Thus, a lack of proportional representation of the Madigas in the reservation opportunities provided for the Dalit group constitutes an injustice against them. The Mala Mahanadu rejected
the Madiga Dandora’s claim and argued that it was not socio-cultural and historical causes but a lack of merit that prevented them from accessing the reservations. Interestingly, this is the argument that has been invoked by the caste-Hindus against reservation opportunities for the lower castes at large. In the following passages, I first examine Madiga Dandora’s claim before examining the Mala Mahanadu’s response. I, finally, analyse the Dandora’s demand from the point of view of representation.

In all their pamphlets and political speeches, the leaders of the Madiga Dandora support their demand for categorization by presenting data pertaining to the education, employment, and political opportunities accessed by the Madigas, Rellis, Malas, and Adi-Andhras in the state. These suggest the overrepresentation of the latter two castes and the underrepresentation of the former two castes in the reservation opportunities. Although the accuracy of the data in the field of education and employment is questionable, the data on political opportunities, especially in reserved seats in the State Assembly as well as parliament, which is verified by this researcher, clearly establish the overrepresentation of the Malas. A pamphlet distributed by the Madiga Dandora in one of its mass mobilization gatherings in Ongole town in 1995, presents the following statistics relating to political reservations for the Dalits in the state:
The statistics presented (as shown in Tables) were taken from the total number of Dalits elected to the first ten state Legislative Assemblies over the period of forty-five years. Of the 39 reserved seats, the Malas have been representing in 26 seats, while the Madigas have held merely 12 seats. "If these seats were to be distributed between the Madigas and Malas on the basis of each caste's demographic weight", the pamphlet claimed, "the Malas would get 15 seats and the Madigas would obtain 24 seats. Injustice had been done to the Madigas in the Madigas in the last forty-five years to the tune of 120 assembly seats".

Table 2 presents the number of reserved seats for the state's Dalits in the Lok Sabha and the distribution of these seats between the two castes. Of the 54 seats (during the nine General elections between 1951 and 1995), the Madigas secured 18 seats, while the Malas obtained 36 seats. However, had these seats been distributed proportionally, the share of the Madigas and Malas would have been 36 and 18, respectively. "The underrepresentation of the Madigas", the pamphlet asserted, is a gross injustice against the Madigas and other similarly placed Dalit castes, an
injustice that is against the equality principle of democracy.” In a similar argument Krishna Madiga, one of the two main leaders of the Dandora, observed:

Of the 59 Dalit castes in the state, only the Malas, with their population of 45 per cent in the total Dalit population have appropriated 75 per cent of the reservations, whereas the Madigas, whose percentage of population among the Dalits is 55, did not even get 25 per cent of reservations. This is gross injustice against the Madigas and other unrepresented Dalit castes. When would we get our share in the reservations? We want our representation in the reservations.

Two aspects are clear from the above quote. First, injustice has been conceived in terms of under-representation of the Madigas in accordance with their proportionality in the field of education, employment, and political opportunities accorded to the Dalit group. Second, proportional representation of the under-represented Madigas in these opportunities is associated with democratic equality, which is in turn envisioned as social justice. Before we proceed to discuss these ideas, we need to ask: given that all Dalits, irrespective of their individual caste membership, have been granted equal access to reservation opportunities (at least in theory), why was it that the Madigas, in particular, became under-represented?

Second; the geographical location. It has been argued by the Madiga Dandora that, of the three geographical regions in the state—that is, Coastal Andhra, Telangana and Rayalaseema the former is one of the most developed regions in India, a region in which a large percentage of the Malas and Adi-Andhra live. The development of the region and early exposure of the Dalits to education through the institutions established by the caste-Hindu reformers and Christian missionaries facilitated the early entry of the Malas and Adi-Andhras into the fields of education and employment. Conversely, a large percentage of the Madigas reside in the Telangana region, a region that was part of the erstwhile princely (Nizam) state of Hyderabad, and known as one of the most underdeveloped regions in India. Furthermore, unlike in coastal Andhra, no social reforms were initiated either for the upliftment of the lower castes or the spread of education among the Dalits in this region. The Madigas of this region, owing to their position in the social hierarchy and the underdevelopment of the region, remained one of the backward castes in the state.
**Madigas and Political Parties:**

Malas tried their best to show that the issue of categorization is an attempt to break the vote bank of congress by TDP. It is absolutely false allegation because at the time making the resolution in the assembly the congress party was in opposition. Dr. Y. S. Raja Sekhar reddy, the present chief minister of Andhra Pradesh was the opposition leader. He and his party members unanimously accepted the resolution of categorization. Then how can any one say that categorization is TDP conspiracy.

Madiga did not get any thing disproportional to their population at any point of time including during the TDP Government. On the other hand Malas continued to enjoy as many extra benefits as they enjoyed in Congress government. They enjoyed double share of the SC quota in Telugu Deasm Party rule. Sri Balayogi was consistently a minister in TDP government and was made the speaker of the Lokh Sabha. Smt. Pratiba Bharati was consistently a minister in TDP government and was made the speaker of the Legislative Assembly. Sri K. Madhavarao was made the chief secretary to government of Andhra Pradesh. Justice Punnaiah was made chairman SC, ST Commission during TDP rule. Out of 39 Legislature assembly seats reserved for SC; they were enjoying 25-28 seats. Out of the 6 seats reserved in parliament 4-5 seats were enjoyed by Malas.

**Congress party:**

The congress party which ruled for 50 years in the last 60 years after Independence has the main responsibility to bring Madigas at par with the other castes.

There are 6 parliament seats reserved for SCs.

Andhra area has 2 seats, Rayalaseema has 1 seat and Telangana has 3 seats. The congress party did not allot even once to Madigas in Andhra area during last 50 years but for once in Nellore. Out of the 3 seats in Telangana at the most one seat is allotted to Madigas. So far elections were held 11 times to the parliament Out of which 66 SC candidates were given seats in the election the congress did not allocate even 10 seats to Madigas.

Similarly in case of state legislature assembly were there are 39 seats reserved for SCs. out of 462 seats available for SCs in the last 12 assembly elections, Madigas
are not given more than 100 seats. Particularly in the coastal districts of Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, Guntur Prakasam, and Nellore Districts. There is no representation for Madigas. In East Godavari district there are 3 seats in state assembly and one seat for parliament reserved for SCs. In the 12 elections held so far the congress party allocated 60 seats Congress did not did not allot even a single seat to Madigas.

Categorization simply means giving proportional representation according to population. The congress party which declared that it was committed to categorization gave 5 out of 6 parliament seats to Malas in the elections held in 2004. In the state legislature assembly it allotted 28 seats out 39 seats to Malas. It allocated 3 out of 4 seats in Zilla parishats Malas only. In the municipal election held in 2005 while 12 municipal chair person seats reserved for SCs congress allotted all the 12 seats to Malas only. It is evident that there is no sense of social justice in the congress party in Andhra Pradesh There cannot be more injustice than this. One should know that it would be strongly imprinted on the psyche of Madigas.

Now congress party is in power it often declares that it is committed to categorization of reservation of SCs. They passed unanimous resolution in state assembly. But the congress party MLAs and state ministers belonging to Mala caste formed groups and gave statements against the sub categorization of SC reservation... Mala caste MLAs and Ministers met the Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and the congress president Smt. Sonia Gandhi and pressurizing them not to introduce bill for sub-categorization the SC reservations, if such a kind of act is performed by any other they would have been suspended from the party on the ground that they are working against the party. It seems the MLAs and Ministers of Mala caste belonging to congress party are immune to the party discipline, party procedures and code of conduct.

In all party committee has been formed and it met twice Smt. Sonia Gandhi, the president of congress and Sri Manmoham Singh, the 1st committee led by Sri Koneru Rangarao. All party legislature party consisting of 17 members who went on 11th August 2005 to the centre and the 2nd committee led by the chief minister Sri Rajasekhar reddy it appeared that they requested the central government to introduce
the categorization bill in the parliament as early as possible. Nothing came out of the 2 delegation. 2007

Malas Mahanadu is always claiming that congress party won to the power by the support of Malas and they say that they are always supporting congress. Let us see how far the claim is true. If winning to power is in the hands of Malas and Malas are always supporting congress why then congress was dislodged from power for 15 years in Andhra Pradesh.

When TDP came to power in Andhra Pradesh Malas claimed they brought the TDP to power. They enjoyed double quota during Telugu Deasm party rule as well. Sri Balayogi was consistently a minister in TDP government and was made the speaker of the lok Sabha; Smt. Pratiba Bharati was consistently a minister in TDP government and was made the speaker of the legislative assembly. Sri K. Madhavarao was made the chief secretary to government of Andhra Pradesh. Justice Ponnaiah was made chairman SC/ST Commission during TDP rule Out of 39 Legislature assembly seats reserved for SC; they were enjoying 25-28 seats. Out of the six seats reserved in Parliament 4-5 were enjoyed by Malas they are very clever and can convert every thing in their favour. Then how can any one say that TDP is supporting Madigas. The fact is that no party supported Madigas. Madigas built such a kind of movement that no party can dare to ignore Madigas.

One more point has to be made clear that Malas are never supported congress in to because Dr. B.R.Ambedkar was fully against congress. Dr. Ambedkar clearly told to quit the congress. They neither followed Ambedkar nor congress. Malas are distributed in all parties. Some of them are in the left parties. Gunturu Bapanaiah Ballad singers Gaddar, K.G Satyamurty are the leaders in the left parties. Bojja Tarakam, Katti Padmarao was the leaders of the BSP. EV Chinnaiah, B.V Ramaiah, Eswaribai, Ganta Arun Kumar are the leaders of Republican Party of India. Smt. Eswari bai and Sri B.V.Ramaiah were elected to assembly from RPI

The BJP supports categorization of Sc reservations when both the ruling party and the opposition parties are supporting the categorization of SC Reservation then why this delay-delaying on introducing the bill.
The TDP considered demands of MRPS sympathetically. It took historical decisions by constituting the Justice Ramachandra Raju commission and enacting the law for categorization of reservations.

Mala Mahanadu emerged during this period. It made allegation that the TDP launched a conspiracy to divide the Dalits with interior political motives. But it failed to recognize that there is justice in the demands of Madigas.

That is why along with political representation, there is need for a law on categorization. It is the credit of Telugu Deasm party that it made the Act to categories the reservations of SCs. Today, there is need for the TDP to make efforts from its side to help in the passing of the Bills in parliament but taking initiation in tackling their problems that arose against the bill. It is unfortunate that there is no representation of the TDP in the committee of members led by Dr. Rajasekhar Reddy that met the Central Government recently to represent on the Bill.

**Left Parties CPI, CPI (M):**

Communist ideology is on the side of the working class. As all the Madigas are working class, communist parties both CPI, CPI (M) automatically stand by the side of Madigas. As the facts and figures are very clear that Madigas are marginalized and discriminated Left parties have recognized Madigas movement for justice. They have openly supported the Madigas demand for categorization and declared that it is necessary to categories the SC Reservations to do justice. But one has to realize that most the left party cadre and leaders are Malas. They felt where ever they are Malas are abusing the Left parties as they are supporting the Madigas demand for categorization.

**Republican Party of India:**

Dr Ambedkar wanted to see his people as the rulers of this country; he said that political power is the master key which can solve all the problems. Thus he floated Independent Labour party. (ILP) Later on he converted the party into scheduled castes federation. He could not succeed and his dreams remain unfulfilled. Because he has to fight all fronts all alone he could not concentrate on building the party.

Republican Party of India was established as per the dreams of Dr Ambedkar after his death. It seems that the followers of Ambedkar did not understand the spirit
of Dr Ambedkar. It is unfortunate that the party was limited to Mahars of Maharashtra and Malas of Andhra Pradesh. They never distributed the seats to Madigas and other most backward castes. They are following the method of give and take. RPI is prepared to loose than to distribute to others including Madigas. Hence the RPI be came a big failure.

Bahujan Samaj Party:

BSP is also emerged from the ideals of Dr Ambedkar it is found by a Chamar of Punjab Kanshi Ram. In the year 1982, contrary to the RPI the BSP recognized the importance of uniting the backward castes that have never entered the Assembly. They distributed the seats top them. As a result the party gained the confidence of those castes and started voting to BSP. When BSP started strengthening the Congress stared loosing. Hither to Congress was ruling with the votes of Chamars and other most backward castes (MBC) of Uttar Pradesh. Miss Mayavathi a Chamar became Chief minister 4 times to the state of Uttar Pradesh which it the largest populated state in the country. Hither to people were of the opinion that the scheduled castes are also dependants. Their votes can be easily captured by attractive slogans, distribution of money, and intoxicating liquors etc. that was disproved by BSP. During 2007 elections BSP emerged as single largest party with absolute Majority. Congress party is pushed to the 4th position.

Politics of Internal Classification:

The state of Andhra Pradesh was formed on 1st November, 1956. The two major political parties such as the congress mostly led by Reddys and the Telugu Desam party mostly led by Kamma community rule the se so far. We can hardly find any significant Dalit party or Dalit movements in the state due to exploitation as well as manipulation by the existing parties. In fact, two major incidents of atrocities on the Dalits by the upper caste groups held under the two different ideological political regimes in Andhra Pradesh. The firs incident was carnage at the Karamchedu in 1985 during the TDP regime and the second one was at Chundur in 1991 during the Congress party rule. In both the cases, justice was delayed and the Dalit victims got justice after a prolonged struggle.

However, there had been a strong sub-caste consciousness arising among the Dalits. This led to a friction between the Malas and the Madigas which attracted the
attention of Gopal Guru. He rightly pointed out that sub-caste consciousness divides the Dalit community both vertically and horizontally.

This may be partially true and partially not as well in the context of Andhra Pradesh. This is precisely because he did not locate adequately the social and economic context for the Mala and Madiga conflict. Another version is that Madiga Dandora may divide the Dalit movement. It also may be valid that non-Dalit forces used this friction as an instrument to liquidate the Dalit movement itself. This is what is mostly happening in the State.

As per the 2001 census, the scheduled caste population literacy rate was 53.5 which were lower than the state literacy rate of 60.5. The TDP government should have done better for improving literacy among Dalit community especially in backward region of Telangana. Cynics feel that instead of working towards providing basic education for all Dalit groups, both the TDP and Congress governments played unhealthy politics for division in order to provide admission to educational institutions for their own self interests.

However, many Dalit group leaders, Dalit bureaucrats, Dalit political leaders and other Dalit intellectuals also felt that internal classification issue was harmful to their unity and fraternity. They also felt that because of their lack of co-ordination and harmony they were unable to pressurize and bargain with the respective TDP and Congress governments. As a result, both governments did not deliver much with regard to implementation of poverty alleviation schemes, budget allocations, and jobs and so on for Dalit empowerment. Therefore, it is high time the government should provide to Dalits whatever the rightful as well as justifiable share from the growth process.

The internal classification discourse here is that the policies of positive discrimination must be devised in away that they enhance the principle of fraternity. Reinterpreting John Rawl’s theory of justice in this context, Dipankar Gupta maintains that positive discrimination benefits the society as a whole rather than any one section of people. Moreover, in the interest of fraternity, he suggests that “it is necessary to extend special consideration to those who did not possess any social assets”. If this is the case, Madiga community deserves a special consideration from the government for their social and economic upliftment.
However, B.R. Ambedkar's policy of reservations was designed primarily to remove the social disadvantage to a particular period. It may be extended till achieving the goal of justice for all. In this way Madiga community feels that their demand is basically in proportion to their population, social and economic backwardness. Therefore, one can also rationally think that the Madiga community's demand is genuine and political parties should take it into the consideration for providing justice to their community.

On the other hand, one can also think and suggest a rational balanced policy recommendation to the government of Andhra Pradesh and the present Usha Mehra Commission appointed by the Government of India if they want to internally classify the scheduled castes, they need keep in their minds in order to achieve subdivision with equity, subdivision with distribution, subdivision with justice and subdivision with a human face.
Table No.6.5
Inequality in Education among SCs in Andhra Pradesh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No</th>
<th>Castes</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Illiterates</th>
<th>Literates</th>
<th>SSC Metric</th>
<th>Graduates Other than Technical</th>
<th>Engineering</th>
<th>Medicine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Adi-Andra</td>
<td>703633 (8.98%)</td>
<td>506561 (72%)</td>
<td>197072 (28%)</td>
<td>16763 (15.28%)</td>
<td>2338 (16.21%)</td>
<td>101 (17.11%)</td>
<td>83 (14.26%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Adi Dravida</td>
<td>95156 (1.22%)</td>
<td>75704 (79.56%)</td>
<td>19452 (20.44%)</td>
<td>14.29 (1.33%)</td>
<td>138 (0.96%)</td>
<td>8 (1.36%)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Mala</td>
<td>3151378 (40.22%)</td>
<td>2465909 (78.25%)</td>
<td>685469 (21.75%)</td>
<td>57194 (53.15%)</td>
<td>8113 (56.28%)</td>
<td>371 (62.88%)</td>
<td>357 (61.34%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Madiga</td>
<td>37310339 (47.62%)</td>
<td>3363107 (90.14%)</td>
<td>367932 (9.86%)</td>
<td>30147 (28.02%)</td>
<td>3614 (25.07%)</td>
<td>101 (17.11%)</td>
<td>128 (21.99%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Dakkal</td>
<td>1528 (0.19%)</td>
<td>1371 (89.72%)</td>
<td>157 (10.28%)</td>
<td>3 (0.002%)</td>
<td>1 (0.006%)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
<td>0 (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>151675 (1.94%)</td>
<td>125727 (82.82%)</td>
<td>26048 (17.18%)</td>
<td>2045 (1.90%)</td>
<td>211 (1.46%)</td>
<td>9 (1.53%)</td>
<td>14 (2.40%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To</td>
<td></td>
<td>7834409 (100%)</td>
<td>6538279 (83.45%)</td>
<td>12966130 (16.55%)</td>
<td>107579 (100%)</td>
<td>14415 (100%)</td>
<td>590 (100%)</td>
<td>582 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: (1) census of India 1981, (2) figures in parenthesis are percentages in respective category of educational level.
Percentages of Inequality in Education among SCs in Andhra Pradesh

![Chart showing percentages of inequality in education among SCs in Andhra Pradesh]
### Table No.6.6

**Inequality in Employment among SCs in Andhra Pradesh**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No</th>
<th>Sub-Caste Groups</th>
<th>Madiga Allied Caste</th>
<th>Mala Allied Castes</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>I.A.S</td>
<td>14 (20%)</td>
<td>56 (80%)</td>
<td>70 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>I.P.S</td>
<td>3 (23.07%)</td>
<td>10 (76.92%)</td>
<td>13 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Allied Central Services</td>
<td>5 (20%)</td>
<td>20 (80%)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>High Court Advocates</td>
<td>5 (20%)</td>
<td>20 (80%)</td>
<td>25 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Public sector Gazitted officers</td>
<td>20,884 (24.99%)</td>
<td>62,655 (75%)</td>
<td>83,539 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>And Non-Gazitted Officers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>20,962 (25.00956%)</td>
<td>62,756 (75.0024%)</td>
<td>83,672 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Report and status of Arundhateeyas, page no.9 and 10.

### Percentage of Inequality in Employment among SCs in Andhra Pradesh

![Bar chart showing percentage of inequality in employment among SCs in Andhra Pradesh](chart.png)
Table No. 6.7
Inequality in Politics among SCs in Andhra Pradesh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.</th>
<th>Levels of Political Institutions</th>
<th>Madiga Allied Caste</th>
<th>Mala Allied Castes</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>MPP Presidents</td>
<td>57 (35.84%)</td>
<td>102 (64.15%)</td>
<td>159 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>ZPP Chairmen</td>
<td>1 (33.3%)</td>
<td>2 (66.6%)</td>
<td>3 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Municipal Chairmen</td>
<td>6 (37.5%)</td>
<td>10 (62.5%)</td>
<td>16 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>MPS</td>
<td>1 (14.28%)</td>
<td>6 (85.71%)</td>
<td>7 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>MLAs</td>
<td>16 (41.02%)</td>
<td>24 (61.53%)</td>
<td>39 (100%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>81 (36.16%)</td>
<td>144 (64.28%)</td>
<td>224 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Percentage of Inequality in Politics among SCs in Andhra Pradesh
Dalit hierarchy and new inequalities created by reservation benefits between Madigas and Malas in fields of education, employment and polities.

As a result of reservations marginal section of poor Dalit emerged as class by acquiring modern education and modern jobs by 1980's. The rise of new class is clearly visible in the field of education, employment and polis within Dalit. Malas have emerged as dominant Dalit caste over the Madigas by acquiring modern education, modern occupation and disproportionate political share in Andhra Pradesh. These new inequalities strengthened Dalit hierarchy in Andhra Pradesh by 1980's. The newly emerged class is sufficient to corner all the reservations benefits provided by the central and state governments. The antagonism against newly emerged Dalit class is found among Dalit activists in post-Dalit Mahasabha Movement in Andhra Pradesh.

In the post-independence period the Brahmins, Reddis, Kammas and Velmas continued to dominant political power in Andhra Pradesh even in the reserved sphere of political power, the higher caste Dalits, the Malas continued to share political power disproportion to their population. The summation of caste, class and political power continued to be there even within the Dalits.

The Madiga campaign for subdivision of the scheduled caste reservation in Andhra Pradesh is a very prominent such instance. Asserting that within the scheduled castes there is a local hierarchy of social status, worth, value (and even touchability), and also that the scheduled caste reservation is being taken disproportionately by two of them, namely, the Adi Andhras and Malas, the Madigas ran a successful campaign to persuade the state government to make a four-fold subdivision of the scheduled castes in the state, and apportion the reservation to the four sub-groups in such a manner that all may in fact get a more equitable share. Almost nobody other than a section of the relatively better placed scheduled castes has denied the fact of further discrimination within the Dalit communities, and all political parties have supported the campaign.

But it has foundered on the law as understood by the courts. The conclusive (for the present) view of a Constitution bench of five judges of the Supreme Court is that it is constitutionally impermissible to do what the Madigas wanted. Why and how the court said so we shall see below. But as a general caveat it must be said that
whatever may be the defects of our constitution, and there are many, any one who knows that document would view with scepticism any assertion of a disjoint between its prescriptions and any aspiration for social or political justice and the social or political impediments in giving effect to constitutional possibilities. The only exception to this would be the aspiration for self-determination of unwilling components of what would be the Indian Nation, which is irrefutably unconstitutional, as the constitution now stands.

**Andhra Pradesh Order:**

Persuaded by the vigorous campaign launched by the Madigas, the government of Andhra Pradesh initially issued an order which was struck down by a full bench of the high court, principally on the ground that the government had not consulted the National Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, but also on more doubtful grounds. Later, after completing that consultation, the government passed an Act (Act 20 of 2000) to the same effect.

As before, this was challenged by persons of the Mala and Adi Andhra communities, but a five-judge bench of the high court, by a majority of four to one, upheld the Act, overruling the other objections the previous bench had expressed. Against that the petitioners appealed to the Supreme Court, for which leave was granted by the high court, and in the apex court they have succeeded. A five-judge bench of the Supreme Court, in E V Chinnaiah vs State of AP, has unanimously held the Act to be unconstitutional, in a judgment that is poor in logic and poorer in judicial wisdom.

The Supreme Court says two things: (1) Apportionment of the reservations made to SCs or STs to subgroups within cannot be done by the state legislatures. Only Parliament has the competence to do so. (2) But even Parliament does not have the competence to do so since the Constitution has intended that the SCs and STs are an indivisible, homogeneous entity. Maybe in fact they are not, but for all constitutional purposes they are. Both the contentions are demonstrably ill-founded. But until at least a bench of seven judges of the Supreme Court says so, or the Constitution is amended to clarify that it has been saddled with what the makers of the document never intended, all aspirations for inter se justice within the Dalit and adivasis groups aspirations which are only now finding voice will have to stay mute, constitutionally
speaking. In fact, the Supreme Court has gone to the extent of saying that it is not permissible to even appoint a commission of enquiry to identify the more backward among the scheduled castes. Three separate but concurring judgments have been written by the five-judge bench, none of them more edifying than the others: N Santosh Hegde for himself, S N Variava and B P Singh; H K Sema for himself; and S B Sinha for himself. It is something of a strain to unravel the thread of the reasoning adopted by them, not because it is profound, but because lack of logical clarity and connectedness has become a very common characteristic of judicial pronouncements even at the highest level these days and this judgment is a classic instance.

The constitutional position concerning the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe lists (there is a separate list for each state) is clear. Article 341 says: (1) The president may with respect to any State or Union Territory, and where it is a State, in consultation with the governor thereof, by public notification, specify the castes, races, or tribes, or parts of or groups within castes, races or tribes which shall for the purposes of this Constitution be deemed to be scheduled castes in relation to that State or Union Territory, as the case may be. (2) Parliament may by law include or exclude from the list of scheduled castes specified in a notification issued under clause (1) any caste, race or tribe or part of or group within any caste, race or tribe, but save as aforesaid a notification issued under the said clause shall not be varied by any subsequent notification.

Article 342 is a similar provision for scheduled tribes. Thus, the president initially declares the list of scheduled castes in consultation with the governors of the respective states, and any inclusion or exclusion thereafter is done by an Act of Parliament. Except by an Act of Parliament the SC or ST list cannot be modified to include or exclude a caste. Every other authority including the state and central governments is bound by these lists so declared and amended.

**Argument against Equity:**

It is trite indeed that justice must be equitable. But the rider that ‘justice to one group at the cost of injustice to another group is another way of perpetrating injustice’, without any reference to the unequal position of the two groups, which fact is nowhere disbelieved by the judge, is not an argument for but against equity. And it is an argument against reservations as such, and not just their categorization, for 'justice
to some at the cost of injustice to the others' has ever been the rallying cry of anti-
reservationists. And if one is to talk of discrimination in reverse, it is the court's
injunction against classifying the lesser among the dalits separately for the purpose of
allotting their quota to them that deserves the appellation. For have the same courts
not held again and again that not making a classification when it cries out to be made
amounts to treating unequals as equals, which would truly 'earn the wrath of Article
14'? It is strange that the judge thinks it is the making of such a classification whose
factual basis, I must reiterate yet once more, is not in dispute attracts such wrath.

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