It is not only the untouchables and tribals who are depressed but in the course of social reality there are also other communities who require to be provided with benefits for their advancement in their educational, social and economic life. And therefore the burden of identifying and fixing the criteria for recognising and classifying them for special privileges and reservations, the responsibility was entrusted to the respective State Governments to establish commissions and constitutionalise the benefits for their welfare and general advancement and emancipation from their ailing conditions and plights in life. The reformatory movements like that of "Bhakti Movement" and the alternative movements like conversion to other religion by the downtrodden or depressed class of people, or any other such movements in the country are using the political means to attain their objectives.¹

The reservation benefits which the untouchables and tribals have received has created a band of new elites in untouchables and tribals community who look down upon their own fellow beings or brethren, and are found to be the high caste touchable Hindus and trying to hide their castes to gain social prestige and personal dignity as social status and dignity are attached to the high caste. This tendency is an inseparable phenomenon in the minds of Hindus in India even during the present electronic age.

No doubt, the benefits which the untouchables get is quite meager but it has just made them feel obliged and loyal to the Government. The Government also is extending the term and period of benefits with the prime motive of creating "vote-banks" in the political life. The call of B.R. Ambedkar has fallen on deaf ears of the untouchables and tribals themselves. Government does have paralysed the untouchables and tribals. We always find the domination of governing elites of landed dominant high caste touchables over the society at any point in the past history and in the present times together.¹ No doubt the so called nearly homogeneous castes form classes of citizens in Indian

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society in Hindu religion. The classes of castes bear up themselves with a stake of capturing political power in the society as a basic requisite for subordination and domination in political life of the governing elites.

The political reservation in the Parliament and Assemblies is to put before the "House" the will of his caste brethren first with that of general will of the community as a whole. The benefit of political reservation to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes is available for the Parliament and Legislative Assemblies in the country but not for the Rajya Sabha and Legislative Councils. There is no such provision in the Constitution of India.

It is mostly the urban elite group who are found involved in the political activities, from among the untouchables. The scheduled caste and scheduled tribes legislators are not helping their own people in any way.¹ In Zilla Parishad and Mandal Panchayat elections also the same system are found where we find that the Constitution dictates the politicians to accommodate

as notified some percentage of wards as reserved for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and women candidates. And so the high caste touchables field the candidates of the respective castes or sex but not with a generous heart of helping or giving the scheduled castes and tribes an opportunity to participate in the political activities for elections in Zilla Parishad and Mandal Panchayat elections. And moreover, in actual practice, the candidates chosen to contest the concerned reserved constituencies and wards will ultimately be persons from scheduled castes and tribes and women candidates who will be the puppets in the hands of the so called leaders of the high caste touchables. In the Parliamentary and Assembly elections too we find the same thing. As a result, in Legislative Assemblies and Parliament, the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes representatives do not defend the cause of their community. This is the tragedy of the untouchables and tribals. Every high caste representative upholds his caste interest with that of his own personal interest in parallel. But the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes are not loyal to their caste brethren but reap the benefits for their personal gains.

1. Mumtaz Allikhan: Scheduled Castes and Their Status in India, Uppal House, New Delhi, 1980, p.117.
Most of the State Governments have appointed the Commissions with an intention of helping the backward classes of citizens by giving them special treatment or special privileges or special benefits for their advancement in their all-round life and make them come up within the general flow of the advanced and affluent classes but one way or the other and on one or the other grounds, the Commissions' reports have been challenged in the High Courts and the Supreme Court, because no Commission could discard the concept of "Caste" as one of the criteria while identifying the backwardness of the citizens who are to be uplifted. Social, educational and economic factors, with caste, should have been taken by the Commissions in identifying the backwardness of the classes in classifying citizens. But, it appears, it has been impossible to remove the concept of "Caste" from Indian social structure. And, like Louis Dumont, and S.P. Nagenra, Rajendra Pandey also says, "... and till this day caste continues."

But the social disability is an accepted criteria by the founding fathers of the Constitution of India taking into account the social system under which all the untouchable castes come

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under the sway of Hinduism. However, in respect of the Muslims, Anglo-Indians, Christians, and Parsis the concept of "Caste" does not arise, but "Backwardness" is viewed from the viewpoint of economic and educational standard in relative comparison with advanced citizens with high socio-economic educational affluent people in the society.

Bihar Agitation in 1977, Gujarat agitation in 1981, which have been marked as the "anti-reservation" movement, were launched by high caste touchables. But in 1987, in Karnataka State, the high caste touchables launched agitations for and in favour of the high caste touchables without any objections for the granted reservation to the scheduled castes and tribes, which is the crux of the social behavioural nature of the high caste touchables and their mental state of affairs and the standard of mentality and fallen standard of life in comparison with that of the scheduled castes and tribes. Because they too wanted benefits and for that they pleaded for and in favour of benefits to the scheduled castes, scheduled tribes so that their demands stand justified in the society.

In Balaji's case the Supreme Court gave the judgement that the extent of reservation in any case should not exceed 50% and how much less has remained to be responsible to the "circumstances." The judge randomly fixed saying that the percentage and the quantum of reservation to be fixed to each case after scientific investigation and collection of relevant data up to the maximum limit of 50%. B.R. Ambedkar said, "We are going to enter into a life of contradictions. In Politics, we will have equality. Even after forty years, inequality prevails in all walks of life." People who continue to suffer from inequalities are mostly the scheduled castes and tribes. M.N. Srinivas comments, "I am afraid the Indian road to equality is going to be marked by bloody clashes between different castes.

In the present situations the ruling Governments have taken the matter of bringing all the castes on the panels and

2. Ibid.
lists of the beneficiaries as a matter of political intent to make the benefit-aspirant citizens and voters feel that the Government which recognises and enlists them as "Backward" other than scheduled castes and scheduled tribes also would gain "confidence and votes" for legislators for the present continuance in power and success in future general elections. Thus reservation policy has been the means for political ends of the politicians.\(^1\) And it is equally true that the total set-up of the social system regulated by the governing classes and legislative instruments which have brought the whole mass population in disgrace and the clashes are increasing day by day in social life.

Indira Gandhi pointed out that the reservations would continue till scheduled castes and tribes segment attains higher visibility in decision making and sufficient momentum is gained in ameliorating the lot of this section of population.\(^2\) That is, Indira Gandhi's reference was to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in particular who are scattered throughout the country right from every village at its bottom to the urban


\(^2\) The Indian Express, Daily Newspaper, Bombay, 3rd Feb. 1984.
level at the apex and they are the people in the process of climbing Hindu religious gradational ladder in Indian social system. They are the comparable "ideal" for the backwardness in the process of conferring the rights and labels for compensatory benefits. That is, the absolutely and finally acceptable factor for fixing the criteria in classifying the people into the beneficiaries' pigeon hole, the cage of reservation on the national level by the Central Government. It is an example and "ideal" community whose standard and social status should be taken to identify the beneficiaries by the State of Karnataka. And in such process and situation, the Government of Karnataka reserved opportunities to the extent of 68% under Articles 15(4) and 16(4) of the Indian Constitution, as per the Second Backward Class Commission recommendations under Venkatswamy.

On the broad lines we find two groups of human beings in India - one is said to be of the untouchables and tribes at the lowest edge in caste gradation and the other as the high caste touchables Hindus including the other religious minorities groups of citizens. As such, the problem of doubts, is that

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whether the untouchables are brought to the level of high castes' high social status of touchable Hindus or the Hindu touchable high caste people have themselves slipped and come down to the standard and low social status of the untouchables in the state of Karnataka, because everybody in every caste group wants to be enlisted in the beneficiaries list. This is a matter of piety in our heritage and hence it seems to be in reverse gear totally.

Social discrimination has been prevailing even earlier to Lord Buddha, that is 2500 years ago, and the 46 years of Government's promises have remained far away from the actual gains realised by untouchables and tribals and as such, the gulf between the legislation and its execution is beyond imagination. And a meager budget is spent on the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes by the Government of India and the same is the treatment meted out by the Government of Karnataka.¹ And the same is the condition with the Other Backward Class of Citizens.

The community which has lost its mental stamina of knowing that there is something like "freedom and equality"

as such, being enjoyed by the high caste touchables and that, freedom was not given by the Brahmins and the other secondary or high caste touchables since ages long and pioneering of discrimination has made ways even to Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras to discriminate against the untouchables and tribals. So the present touchable high caste people in Karnataka plead and say in the public openly that the untouchability is not practised. But in private they do practice it more severely than before and it is beyond limits among the educated people. The history through which the Indian society has passed has not changed the traditions and customs but has perpetuated them (the traditions and customs) more severely, knowing fully well that Hindus are unknowingly carrying them on with a blind faith, and 'faith-realised'; only because it was his forefather's jacket. Of course, if he knows that whatever the Jacket he is wearing and carrying suits him or not or he intends to alter it to suit him, he definitely can carry on wearing it but most of the people do not know the difference between the trouser, Jacket and a shirt and thus the Hindus are wrongly using it and exploiting the innocence and ignorance of the untouchables and tribals and such other low caste people.

The dramatics of the reservation and its implementation is that the high caste touchable are found to obtain bogus
certificate of their caste from magistrates and get themselves selected to the post of reserved seats and shout in favour of the anti-reservation movements in the state in political reservation provided in Part XVI of the Constitution and with Article 15(4) and 16(4). Moreover the country is vast and the administrative machinery is so weak and communal that it is very difficult to trace out the castes of citizens of one ethnic race to the other from one corner of the country to the other in its racial differences. There are vast opportunities openly available to the citizens to commit offences and hide their heads and if at all offences are traced out any time, the judicial lengthy procedure reduces the severity of the punishment to him. The punishment and penalties to the offender are so soft, simple and uncertain that no offender feels the pains of the punishment as against the benefits the offenders draw with high magnanimity of which wide publicity is made.

The Hindu society, is divided broadly into two compartments even when the Varnasankar (admixtures of races) has taken place - one, the high castes' touchables group with free social mobility and the other, of the untouchables without

any free social mobility. Therefore on the basis of such classification, B.R. Ambedkar had put forth his demand for safeguards to the 'depressed class' of people who were mostly from the untouchable and tribal Hindus before 'South Borrough' Commission in 1918.

B.R. Ambedkar's demands in favour of the depressed class of people were that, he wanted (i) plural representation, (ii) separate electorates for the untouchables so that, the untouchables can have a participation in the actual politics of Indian socio-political life once again vigourously. And M.K. Gandhi's hunger strike against that forced B.R. Ambedkar to agree for general electorate as Gandhiji was on the threshold of death due to hunger strike. And the situation and the atmosphere which was created thus by M.K. Gandhi, could permit only a general electorate for the untouchables in which the purity and pollution concept of untouchability persisted and the high caste touchable Hindus held majority of votes even now against the untouchables and tribals in de facto rule but in de-jure, the untouchables get divided in innumerable sub-castes than the touchables numerically. And in due course of time, the tribals who were included for political participation through reservation of seats in Parliament and Assembly elections for them are activated.
slowly. But the tragedy is that the puppets like untouchable and tribal representatives who are in the hands of high caste touchable politicians are chosen to contest and they get elected to the representative bodies. B.R. Ambedkar was not in favour of nomination in the field of filling up of the representatives as the nominees would be the most obedient persons of the touchable statesmen and hence they would turn a deaf ear to the mass of untouchable people. But as a matter of fact the public boards and corporations have got such members nominated. This has adversely affected the whole system as a means of gaining wealth through corruption.

At present on the cooperative bodies the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes members are nominated by the Karnataka Government. Such persons though capable, after coming on the working committees or on the Board of Directors of such cooperative organisations, are found to be frustrated in the society because they will never be considered at any stage of socio-political mobilization through co-operative institutions even at the lowest level of political organisations. This is because the political power is controlled by the high caste dominant feudals always and for their own welfare. And the proposals of the untouchable members on the boards are given no weight and thus they discard the proposals.
The increase in the number of touchable population is geometrically rising. It is through polling and in majority alone the untouchable could come to establish themselves as a force and as such the family planning should not be made compulsory to them. Hence, the population explosion in regard to the untouchables would bring them political power under one-man, one-vote and one vote one value. By such numerical majority in their population against touchables or any other minority groups they would gain political dominance.

Can absolute\(^1\) equality be achieved among all the citizens? The obvious answer is, it cannot be. However, equilibrium is to be maintained to realise harmony in the society and the government should be a means and instrument to make the society just. The liberties are dearer than anything else in life. But for nationalism, solidarity and unity, the liberties within the framework of the extra-constitutional or natural liberties are perceived by the uneducated people. Human behaviour is backed by the human tendencies and interests basically. Secularism, religion and nation-wide worship of Goddess Laxmi's photograph in public offices is common though contradictory. Submission to

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secular principles in the state is the need of the hour. But theistic social behaviour with its tendencies are making people more and more traditional, customary and caste conscious at all times. When the question comes as to who are the beneficiaries and why are they to be called as beneficiaries, the obvious answer that comes is that beneficiaries are those who are the victims of the wicked nature of human behaviour against the co-citizens in the country at the prevailing innocence of persons on whom the benefits are to be put to give them an opportunity to catch the affluent people and to avail of opportunity and equality for social justice and to get compensation against the loss caused to them had they not been victimised of their natural rights. Other benefits like relaxation in age limit, lowering of required marks for admission in schools, exemption or reduction of school fees, free ships, scholarships and hostel facilities; have been given to the untouchable and tribal students to the tune of 14, 5 and 3.5% of the available benefits. A major pool of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes with a special provision in the field of political reservation is not tolerated by the various high caste touchable Hindus in political participation under Special Provision in Part XVI of the Constitution with a proportionate percentage of Parliamentary and State Legislative Assembly seats for their
population. Dispute and disparity arises in the social status and personal dignity of the citizens in the general life of the country's population which is put to wall and peril and the guarantee of service to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in central and state services under Article 335 which could definitely strengthen them if every scheduled castes and scheduled tribe government servant knows the provision for their perusal.

The Other Backward Classes of Citizens also get the benefits like those of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes under Articles 15(4) and 16(4), but the reason why they do make a big tom-tom, of the untouchables and tribals is that both these scheduled castes and scheduled tribes form and come from the same stratified enclosed social endogamous groups of Hindu religious field. Hence the other backward class of citizens do not tolerate the policy of the Government which classifies the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes as equivalent to the Other Backward Class of citizens before law. But the high caste touchables do not publicise or make tom-tom of the benefits which they too get proportionately on the caste basis from the government public fund itself. It is because the Hindu society is based on graded inequality of social status on caste politics. Because of this

the higher caste persons do not wish to be mixed up and equated with the lower caste persons. Hence no social assimilation is seen in India and the high caste persons who are listed as Other Backward Class of citizens under Article 15(4) and 16(4), feel much jealous of the untouchables and tribals of getting raised to the higher social status legally and constitutionally.

Education is the fundamental means by which a citizen could get knowledge and realisation of the ultimate reality of life. Only when one gets standard education, one can find the ways and means to come out of the vicious circles in life in which one shall be able to find one's personality growth with that of the affluent people around. Even by giving professional education on vocational basis in the colleges and schools, the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes have to succeed in professional trade competition which they cannot overcome easily. That is why the Justice Party in the old Madras State, i.e. the present Tamil Nadu State, in the year 1916, reserved 24 constituencies out of 65 for non-Brahmins to ward-off Brahmin supremacy and to give a big boost to the non-Brahmins. In educational institutions too some seats were reserved to the depressed communities like untouchables with other non-Brahmins for their betterment. And it was in the year 1951 the first constitutional amendment was brought to the Article 15,
by adding to it the clause (4). Thus the Article 15(4) under which the reservation was made constitutional and lawful, for untouchables, i.e. scheduled castes and scheduled tribes in the Government services and for seats in educational institutions on the line B.R. Ambedkar had proposed for the reservation to be made in proportion to their population was implemented.

Some say that the reservation system is a hurdle for the meritorious students. Some say that this principle is undemocratic in practice. And some reactionaries further plead that why the present high caste touchable generation is to suffer for the wrongs committed by their forefathers? And if this be such a ground for arguments of the high caste touchable Hindus and others, can they not be or are they not the predecessors to their children and grand-children in inheriting huge wealth and means by being and remaining themselves as the touchables by thus exploiting the ignorance and innocence of the untouchables and tribals? Some people knowingly admitted by speaking on the admittance of their ancestors' mischief against the untouchables and tribals, and say that the educational standard

comes down if the teachers are appointed from among the scheduled caste and scheduled tribes communities. But then the question that arises is, since when did the untouchables got appointments as beneficiaries in the field of appointments to the teaching posts and when did the only high caste touchables did have the standard in teaching so that the recent appointments of the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes teachers are hampering the standard of realised base year of standard education. In the past, for the last thousands of years who were and who are still in majority till today in Government services teaching posts?

It is the high caste touchables who always exploited the low-caste population and the untouchables of the lowest ebb of the Hindu society. And it is the most of the high caste touchables who are converted to Buddhism, Islam, Sikhism, and Veerashaivism and changed their religious stands for their own social status frequently in accordance with the nature of the political regimes in India for their own economic gains and well-being in material life since ages together when the untouchables and tribals are left where they were kept forcibly since ages together and

1. As the social mobilisation was forbidden to them it stands open fact that the untouchables did not convert but most of the Brahmins, Kshatriya, and Vaishya, and Sudras seem to have converted to other religions to expropriate the material gains and such other benefits which accrued to them on conversion to the new sect or religion and the social mobility was granted to them to go in for conversion voluntarily or under the pressures of the rulers.
unchanged mentally and materially by which the high caste
touchables gained huge wealth and carried it hereditarily
to which the laws also were legislated and enforced even today
saying that the customs and traditions are to be recognised
eternally as a matter of good law. Can it be called a good law?
When the present generation is getting the benefits of the
past ancestral property gains why can that be not checked by
new laws through the governmental policies by constitutional
amendments? And when the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes
are getting benefits for their past ailing conditions due to the
touchable high castes' pressures and present suffering why is
it not tolerated by high caste touchables, is the secret of the
Indian politics and it can be nothing more than the "Caste and
Status" issue in the society in the sense of equality and
inequality of socio-religious dictums. Because every higher caste
to
to
person wishes have/a loyalist fan in life below him.

It is very recently the untouchables have been given
an opportunity of appointments as teachers and a few other
executive posts and that too within and lesser than the legal
limits of reservation quota that too with the minimum educational
qualifications prescribed for their appointments and that no
teacher, clerk, officer from scheduled caste and scheduled tribe
community is appointed without any minimum qualification lawfully prescribed by the government recruiting bodies. Basically the Indian general touchable high caste people of the society itself is shaken of its own foundation of its mental balance for their wrongs committed personally for personal gains, then why blame others? Irresponsibility, desire for white collar jobs, and limitless corruption, tax evasion in the society from "Jawan to Diwans" (Peon to the Prime Ministers) are found in the general life as the only open means to become rich in the prevailing conditions of present society. Communal hatred has been the major aspect of the general practice in life and hence the unrest in society. And with all such nasty social behaviour more within themselves, the touchable high caste Hindus finger at the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes as the main cause for lowering of the standard of services in every sphere of public administration in life.

For all these aspects the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes or the system of reservation cannot be held responsible. Not even full 18% of the total bureaucracy for scheduled castes and scheduled tribes are filled in the services and how can this meager 18 per cent of teachers, clerks, attenders, peons and drivers and scavengers, officials etc, bring down the standard.
of education and an economic depression in the national economy, when the majority percentage of bureaucracy with key posts is in the hands of high caste touchables in all sections of Indian administration say to the tune of 82% with the minimum of 50% of the total vacancies are filled by merit and the rest by the Other Backward Classes of citizens and why blame scheduled castes and scheduled tribes? And why are they not able to raise the standard of education or standard of life when they had and have even now an overall sway over the administration to the full tune of 82% of vacancies? Only in Government services, that too the bulk of class IV the scavengers and peons, attendars, drivers etc., and only upto junior class I officers (very recently) reservations are given and not in all other spheres, of important aspect. The Government had to consider seriously and legislate in this direction and implement it effectively and make way for general mobilisation of the untouchables and tribals and extend the same to Other Backward Classes in proportion to the percentage of their population.

What is the purpose behind the system of reservation?
To uplift the untouchable and tribals who were barred from the social mobility and thus depressed who were required to be compensated for the loss thus caused. Who are getting the benefits and how much they have got so far? No doubt the granting
of benefits to the weaker perpetuates them and ultimately the perpetuation never gets them out of the dens of incapacibilities. B.R. Ambedkar also said that the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes should not depend on the reservation alone and hence the system of reservation must be withdrawn after 20 year period of time so that the beneficiaries should find their own ways and means to come-up to the standard of affluent people through militancy which is inevitable and through gaining force in the political power. It is just like a horse race in which the weak horse is to be given more time to cover and catch up with the able horses. Hence the above horses must be controlled of their time at their disposal in the race as they are able to cover and catch the goal in a shorter time in the race to achieve social justice in the society for the weaker section of the people.

The purpose behind the reservation was to uplift the untouchables and tribals who were barred from the social mobility and thus depressed and who were required to be compensated to the loss thus caused. They cannot argue against the conditions of the untouchables and tribals nor are they in a position to deny that the Hindu social system has been the cause of the ailing conditions of the untouchables and tribals

and hence every high caste individual wishes and aspires to be enrolled and enlisted in the list of the beneficiaries down for the purposes of Article 15(4) and 16(4) in the way of untouchables and tribals only because of the vicious social conditions.

These restrictions are reasonably imposed on the fundamental rights guaranteed under the Indian Constitution over the affluent people, so that the less affluent would catch up the standard of the able and affluent people and find themselves fully assimilated in the national mainstream. But the tragedy of Karnataka State is that, the political power is held by high caste Vokkaliga and Lingayat in majority and they also get reservations. Therefore the untouchables feel that they are born to live at the mercy of the high castes. The past mental torture, fear/trace is still existing in their mind.

Those enlightened and benefited from this scheme from amongst the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes are not propagating the opportunities available in the Constitution and make their brethren avail of them for their development in life. On the contrary, those benefited scheduled castes and scheduled tribes and such 'elite' groups keep them under darkness and they are partly responsible for the present condition of the scheduled
castes and scheduled tribes even after gaining political independence and democratic Constitution came into force with a secular nature for society in which every opportunity is precisely written and guaranteed to every citizen. But the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes are still in a slumberous sleep as a matter of imposed habit and personal incapacities. Hence they are to be held responsible partly for their own ailing conditions in the society.

The constitutional categorisation of the beneficiaries as scheduled castes and scheduled tribes have been guaranteed for their socio-economic and educational development and for improving their standard of life. The Other Backward Classes of citizens comprise the graded high caste touchables and the communities from the other religious minorities also other than the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes at large who with their communal diversification with social, educational and economic backwardness are lying behind. There is a classification in the Constitution as Other Backward Classes of citizens because of the graded inequality in the caste system in Indian society. Therefore there cannot be any unity among the Other Backward Classes of citizens because the Other Backward Class of citizens is a class of Hindu high caste touchables and the people
from different religious fold also; and the caste has been the
basic factor with variable mental maturity of thinking, status,
enlightenment, and realisation of perfect knowledge charged in
with their personal religious philosophies and such other varied
denominations.

The scheduled castes and scheduled tribes have one benefit
that they have been identified once after a survey under the
Government of India Act 1935. The innumerable castes have
been labelled and brought under a single banner as scheduled
castes and scheduled tribes under the Government of India Act
1935. They agree on the compromising equality in social status
among themselves with a common label and banner of "scheduled
castes and tribes" for political unity and purposes to go
together for consolidation of the political affinity. And this
banner under which there are only untouchables and tribals have
been linked together with a common feeling and they have a common
stage for political organisation on national level. And this way
the innumerable untouchable castes, have been labelled as
"scheduled castes" as a single legally branded name and many
tribal people with different ethnic races, groups and communities
have been brought under a single banner of 'scheduled tribes'
with a single tag for their nation-wide identification according
to the Government of India Act 1935. But the label 'Other Backward
Classes of citizens' shall never have a common ground for the
ethnic affinity to each other and hence they cannot unite on the national level on the basis of Other Backward Class of citizens, as a criteria for socio-political cultural unity, national solidarity and political stability. But, however, they would unite on the common ground of Hindu religious foundation with caste gradation and scheduled castes and scheduled tribes V/s high caste Hindus rift would persist and though the scheduled caste and scheduled tribes could form a majority in and for political unity, it would be the high caste who would be in a position to win the political confidence of these scheduled castes and scheduled tribes to hold the prime posts. The scheduled castes and tribes will remain united on the national plane because the total Indian community remain divided as touchables and untouchables broadly in Hindus and equality of social status, economic opportunities and social justice as the essential factors for the socialisation in the country for political game are taken for account. As B.R. Ambedkar says, "there is complete absence of two things in Indian society. One of these is equality; on the social plane, we have in India a society based on privilege of graded inequality which means elevation for some and degradation for others." Andre Beteille said, "this principle, and this compensatory discrimination is to continue."¹ The executive officers have the half-heartedness in their details towards such aspects.

If at all the system of reservation is to continue it should be made available to the fullest extent and the whatever benefits the scheduled castes and tribes got so far with those of the Other Backward Classes of citizens are inadequate and quite negligible and most of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes are ignorant that there are some provisions and privileges in the Constitution for their coming up in life to catch up the main stream of national life. Under such condition of ignorance, the benefits guaranteed are not being availed of fully by the untouchables and tribals and if the executive says or pleads that the resources spared on the floor of the Parliament or Assembly are fully unutilised for the welfare of the untouchables and tribals it can be said that it is the "book adjustments" on the papers alone, than of a little reality in practice.

Had there been no reservations in the political areas for the untouchables it would definitely have been a great problem for the untouchables to realise themselves that they are human beings at least because the inhuman treatments that they have had from the high caste touchables in the Hindu system.

of life have washed off their brain itself. And B.R. Ambedkar knew that politics alone is the key for the change in the social field in which the youths would prepare for the further heavy leap in life.

The whole aspects have been settled around the cause of backwardness in the areas like social, economic and educational in the unity of the trinity for the benefits of the schemes in which politics as a common factor runs throughout the trinity and it springs from every citizen's mind naturally and it has the concern with the conscience and morality in the society and upheld by the laws for realisation. Hence it is the justice which always has to prevail as a testing stone in the social laboratory to balance the force through the general process of the affairs with the phenomenon of "caste" as an unavoidable factor and "criteria" with a judicial supremacy in life by advancing the social justice to the citizen. In this connection S.N. Dubey of Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, says, "... to measure backwardness, poverty of a group of people only in terms of economic deprivation is not adequate."¹

As caste is an inseparable phenomenon of every human being in Hindu set up of life; and as the castes and casteism are bound to multiply in their magnanimity it cannot be possible for any backward class commission appointed under the Commission of Inquiry Act, 1952, to inquire, investigate and report to the Government concerned about the eternally changeable and changing social activities during the specified period of time within which the commission has to study, investigate, identify, and classify; and to make recommendations to Government and dissolve itself. Hence it is advisable that this should be replaced by a statutory and a permanent body of backward class commission, like the University Grants Commission, Election Commission, or Public Service Commission, etc., whose duty should be to investigate, study and recommend to the Government to act in this behalf at the national level for national unity and uniform social growth for the sake of national integrity and solidarity with internal sound social harmony between the various segments of human beings for their all-round development in the field of educational, social and economic aspects, periodically with its regional branches on state level to act upon.

Those social groups who are enjoying the high social status in the society, and personal influence and authority in government services and with such means as of trade, industry and commerce in the society can be placed in the "advanced group" and those who suffer from social disabilities like untouchability, caste-based social incapabilities and lower social status and indignities without any means of trade, commerce and industry which are meant for economic advancement, and suffer from lower or lesser education or illiteracy in life without any authority and personal influence in government service and those who have no proper or adequate representation in government service can be grouped and categorised as backward for special treatment by the Government for their emancipation under Article 15(4) and 16(4).

But the sense of caste bias, cheating, criminal intent, illiteracy, deceit, nepotism, favouritism, untouchability, selfishness, corruption, wicked mentality, atrocities, on untouchables and raping of untouchable women, religious fanaticism, linguistic force, regionalism which have been commonly found in the general social behaviour of the high caste touchable people, seem to act as a hurdle to the aim and ideal of a

"welfare state" and "secularism" by the Government to be achieved. The reservation in the field of educational institution in distribution of seats in the professional colleges like medical, engineering and higher education are required for both the groups of people of untouchables and tribals, and the touchable higher castes for the social harmony and homogeneity in general society. And the political reservation in part XVI of the Constitution of India for seats for the untouchables and tribals in the Assembly and Parliament should continue till the sense of untouchability as a social stigma disappear and the tribals are brought within the general cultural contacts in the main stream of national life. And politics alone is the key for social change as a silent and early process of social transformation or else the untouchables and the tribals themselves voluntarily reject and discard the reservation and resort to fight with mauled fists tooth and nail in life without caring for death even through a strong organisation as a political block through constant agitations against the socio-political disparity in life.

As measures for removal of backwardness from the society and to aim for egalitarian society the plan of removal of

backwardness with innumerable ideals and legislative policies with a sincere administrative activities in the multifarious dimensions in different fields like those of — planning, in the field of political spheres, socio-economic spheres and in the educational field with an adequate representation to every backward class of citizens in government service be assured.

The candidates who are selected to field and fight in the general elections from the reserved constituencies must have a minimum educational qualification and a zeal to serve the society in general with that of his caste brethren by imposing some "reasonable" restrictions on the party candidates by law, by amending the provisions of the Constitution like those of fundamental rights and Articles 330, 332 and thus eliminate ignorant or less educated representatives to the State Assembly and to the Parliament as well so that it will be possible for the elected members to know of the legal implications of the policies and Bills on the floor of the Assembly and of the Parliament for debate on it as the society is under the rule of law and not under any dictatorship of personalities.

In the social realm, the defusion of economic technology is likely to produce a gradual emergence of a new social
formation at the elite levels in all societies. Hence the difference among the citizens should be minimised by strong and effective public administration. Therefore the economic planning by the Government be such that the growth and development of trade, commerce and industry should ultimately respond and reflect in the positive effects on the society as a whole and that it should not make the traders, mercantilists and industrialists alone flourish but also it must make ways for co-operative development by providing general employment for total poor mass for full scale industrial and economic growth on the ways of the goal of "high-mass-consumption" in the area of rural and urban sectors together for achieving socio-economic equality to its citizens, and as S.N.Dubey says, ".... inequality in economic, social and political aspects has been the major issue in defying poverty and thus indirectly backwardness. ...."2

By the by, the social dynamism must be such that religious restrictions and taboos on food and drink and traditional hatred, untouchability and filthy behaviours should be strictly


dealt with by legal positive actions and by the executive officers in implementing the policies. Again, the most important aspect in the socio-religious measure is that to achieve the principles of secularism in its strict sense, the public temples, mosques and churches etc., must be converted into museums and that the worship of their individual impersonal deity can be allowed within the private premises of the citizen and public worship of any deity on the roads or through procession and in public pandals should be banned legally. But, it however, can be allowed inside their respective homes. The "patriotism" and "nationalism" should be made the religion and public deity for worship with the national anthem chanted publicly everyday by every citizen at office and schools before attending the work compulsorily in the way of mass national prayer.

So long as the educational planning and representation in Government services is concerned the privately managed schools and colleges must be taken over by the Government as the Government is paying the full grants and maintaining the private schools to avoid favouritism, nepotism, corruption, bribery, communalism, casteism which has hampered the advancement of the society in the field of education by the private management board members and reduce or remove mismanagement and frauds from the social
and educational institutions who run the private educational institutions for public purposes who receive aid from the State, or from the union Government.

The sub-standard management and motivated members are definitely responsible for the sub-standard of the education as those members employ sub-standard teachers through nepotism, corruption and donations from the newly appointed teachers of the institutions. Though the Government has imposed a large number of restrictions on the management of privately managed associations and societies through the directorate of education they bribe the officers and corruption would manipulate the affairs.

Moreover, the system of education is so defective that it differs from state to state in this country. Communalism and regionalism is found practised in recruitment of teaching staff. Regionalism and linguistic rift and caste hatred has its seeds in the system of educational policies and religious teachings and scriptures like Shastras, Puranas and Smritis. As education is an instrument which bridges the citizens from one corner of the country to the other has been stained by the state governments as the states are established on linguistic principles.
and foundations under the States Reorganisation Commission under Fazal Ali's Chairmanship. Education having been put by the Constitution drafting committee in the state list in the Centre-State relations, it is very difficult to find harmony in common syllabus and standard in the educational aspects in the country. Through amending the Constitution of India, education departments must be withdrawn from the State list and it is advisable to put the same in the Central list so that there can be found a uniformity in education throughout the country which shall accelerate the social mobility and educational development on secularistic, national, uniform pattern. So long as the caste is the basis for the social mobility in the State, the differentiation is found to exist in the status aspects of citizens even when the economic factors are little successful in reducing the difference between the citizens, in the standard of life. Therefore the downtrodden class of citizens, especially the untouchables and the tribals together with such near homogenous castes people must be provided with the shelters by the government for their upliftment to bring them to the mainstream of national life. In the words of President Johnson, as noted in his graduation address to the students of Howard University; he said "... freedom is the right to share fully and equally in American society .... but .... freedom is
not enough. You do not take a person who for years has been hobbled by chains and liberate him, bring him to the starting line and then say, you are free to compete with all others and still justly believe that you have been completely fair .... thus it is not enough just to open the gates of opportunity. All our citizens must have the ability to walk through those gates and this is the next and the more profound stage of the battle for Civil Rights.¹ And this shows the condition of the untouchables and the tribals and such other lowly castes in India is worst than those of the Negros in the U.S.A. because India is governed by religious rules.