



Change of Guard in Punjab: The Time of New Idea has Come!

Invited editorial article

Anarrative of Dalit share in the higher echelon of power politics in Punjab have been making rounds for quite a some time with a gaze on early 2022 state assembly election. All political parties have been promising, if elected to form a government in Punjab, to honour the Dalit community (almost 1/3 of the total population in the state) by making someone of them as Deputy Chief-minister/Chief-minister. However, the Indian National Congress (INC) preempted the move much before the forthcoming state assembly elections, by elevating Charanjit Singh Channi, a Ramdassia Dalit Sikh and sitting MLA from the prestigious Chamkaur Sahib SC reserved seat, as the 17th Chief-minister of Punjab.

Channi has the ability to develop rapport even with his adversaries that rewarded him richly during the volatile circumstances just before his elevation. That his elevation has been celebrated equally across varied political and social fault lines is not only a testimony of his popularity among his peers but also spoke about his acceptance even in the camp of his opponents. Many views converge on his being a Dalit as a major factor behind his elevation. No doubt, that point cannot be set aside, as Dalits constitute on third of the total population of Punjab; and appointing a Dalit Chief-minister for the first time in the history of Punjab is not short of a masterstroke. Yes it may genuinely turn out a masterstroke in the sense that his being at the helm of

school and college days he made his place in sports. He was an ace Bhangra artiste as well as a university level player. He excelled at all these levels despite his extreme family poverty, and through sheer hard work. After his oath-taking ceremony, while interacting with the press, with wet eyes, he told how he used to help his mother to fetch mud from the village pond to repair their kachha house. He happened to be three-time councilor before chiseling his space in the electoral politics of the state. He first became an MLA as an independent candidate in 2007 assembly elections from Chamkaur Sahib assembly constituency and later joined congress and won the next two consecutive assembly election from this prestigious constituency. He has sub-

which is the only Sikh majority state. The presence of various castes within Sikhism, including Dalit Sikhs, at the outset appears to be a misnomer, since this youngest religion in world was founded on negation of caste and dignity of women: Two prominent canons of



Ronki Ram

Shaheed Bhagat Singh Chair
Professor of Political Science
Panjab University, Chandigarh 160014, India
E-mail: ronkiram@yahoo.co.in
Visiting Professor, Centre for Sikh and Panjabi Studies
University of Wolverhampton (UK)



Charanjit Singh Channi's elevation to the highest position in the state electoral democratic set up was preceded by a few months political imbroglio that kept the Punjab state Congress party leadership as well the central high command on their toes. From both ends, prominent leaders kept on shuttling between Delhi and Chandigarh. The main contention originated in the outbursts of Navjot Singh Sidhu who began raining political blows on the leadership style of former Chief-minister Captain Amarinder Singh and his poor handling of the law and order situations in the state and its fast declining financial health. In the meantime, Charanjit Singh Channi also upped the ante while highlighting the case of some of the MLAs who were not given their due and especially of neglecting the cause of the Dalits. However, though Channi raised such issues firmly, he did not make them lingering issues of controversy. He handled the situation dexterously and in the process of his astute crisis management not only improved upon the situation efficiently but also elevated the problem-solving aspect of his empathetic personality.

the government would generate lots of social capital for the Dalits of the state. Though there are 39 different castes among the Scheduled Castes of Punjab and they are scattered over Hindu, Sikh, Christian and Buddhist religions and affiliated to innumerable alternative dera-based faiths and cultural centres, but to the out side regional world they all are known for their being Ex-untouchables. In other words, there are various sub-identities within the larger umbrella Dalit identity. The elevation of Charanjit Singh Channi will cater to that larger umbrella Dalit identity in the long run. His elevation will act as a catalyst to shift Dalit votes in bulk towards the Congress in the image of his being their community fellow, who is there at the top of the political power hierarchy, as a moral and cultural solace against the historical social subjugation they have been subjected to at the grassroots and even denied any hope to climb up the citadel of power.

Apart from Dalit factor, there are many other positive considerations that converged to push his case for the post the Chief-minister. Channi is well qualified: M.A., LLB, MBA, registered PhD scholar at Panjab University, Chandigarh. During his

stantial governmental experience, as he served as a leader of opposition in Punjab assembly in 2015-17 and was technical education minister in Captain Amarinder Singh headed Punjab state government. He is known for his amicable bearings that earned him ample popularity among his electorates and wider civil society. Though, for a quite long period of time, he was surrounded by controversies and accusations, but he faced them all with a transparent stance asking for the law of the land to take its proper course of action.

Yet another important manifestation that has given rise to a lot of discussion on electronic/social as well as print media is that his elevation has dramatically propelled the issues and political identity of Dalit Sikhs to the centre stage of contemporary Punjab politics. Those who are not familiar with the ground level social structure of the Punjabi society are astounded by use of the terminology of Dalit Sikhs with reference to the social background of the newly elected Chief-minister of the state. Dalit Sikhs often grieve that for no other reason but their lower social status they remain peripheral to structures of power even in Punjab,

Sikh philosophy. Other equally significant doctrines of this religion are: Earning by the sweat of one's brow, sharing the fruits of one's labour, and – above all – meditating on the essence of *Akāl purakh* (God). The articulation of such moral norms and emphasis on their implementation in the day-to-day life of the followers of the faith from the time of the first guru Baba Nanak (1469-1539), founder of the Sikh faith, has attracted a large number of people into its fold, particularly various historically deprived and socially excluded sections of Hindu society. Consequently, over the passage of time, magnificent diversity evolved within the Sikh Panth (community).

Sikhism does not recognise any kind of social stratification including castes. Before their conversion to Sikhism, Dalit Sikhs were Hindus, and had embraced Sikhism in the hope of gaining dignity and social equality. But the curse of casteism was not so easily shed, and even in their new religious avatar, social exclusion continued to follow them. Sikhism, despite its egalitarian philosophy, and the gallant well-meaning efforts

(Contd. on next page)

Change of Guard in Punjab: The Time of New Idea has Come!

(Continue from page 1)

of various Sikh reform organisations, for various reasons could not extricate itself from caste. The Census of 1881 and 1931 recorded different castes within the Sikh community, including Aroras, Ahluwalias, Bhatras, Chhimbas, Jats, Jheers, Khatri, Kambohs, Labanas, Lohars, Mahatam, Mazhabis, Nais, Ramgarhias, Ramdasias, Ranghretas, and Sainis. Eleven of these formed the core of the 'caste constituency' – Jat and Kamboh (agrarian); Khatri and Arora (mercantile); Tarkhan, Lohar, Nai, and Chhimba (artisan); Kalal (distiller); and Chamar and Chuhra (outcaste Dalits). The last two caste categories acquire new nomenclature after converting into Sikhism. Those who were hereditary attached with weaving and leather work came to be known as Ramdassias, Ravidassias, and the ones who were dealing with scavenging were called Mazhabis and Ranghretas. Some other Dalit Sikh castes are Rai and Sansi Sikhs.

In terms of social status, Ramdassia, Ravidassia, Mazhabi, Ranghreta, Rai, and Sansi Sikhs – far from being bracketed with the top-most castes, i.e., Jat, Khatri, and Arora Sikhs – are categorised to be lower than Ramgarhia and Ahluwalia Sikhs. Most regrettably, Dalit Sikhs – like their counterparts in the Hindu caste hierarchy – are placed on the lowest rung of the Sikh caste hierarchy. They themselves disregard the egalitarian tenets of the Sikhism, and further subdivide themselves along caste lines: Marriage is within community boundaries, and Ramdasia

and Ravidasia Sikhs consider themselves superior to the Mazhabi and Ranghreta Sikhs. Although Ramdassias and Ravidassias originated from Chamars, the former consider themselves superior to the latter. Sansis and Chamars are considered lower in hierarchy than the Mazhabis. But for non-Dalit castes, hierarchy within Dalit Sikhs carries no meaning. For them Sansi, Chamar and Mazhabi Dalit Sikhs are of the same – the lowest – rank.

In the borderland state of Punjab – primarily agriculture dominated and demographically thinned by heavy migration of youth, where Dalits have lowest share in the agriculture land (less than 5 percent cultivators) – despite their significant numerical strength – they have failed to make their presence in the elected body of Punjab Legislative so far. Though 34 out of 117 assembly seats are reserved for the them in the state, but all those who got elected were supposed to toe the line of their respective political parties on whose ticket they were allowed to contest the elections. Thus despite their large numbers in the electoral constituencies in Punjab, they were compelled to feel contented with much lower than what they actually deserved as their potential share in state governance. Dalits of Punjab, however, never compromised with their so-called lower social status. Given the moral and social support provided by the egalitarian and monotheistic spiritual philosophy of Sikhism, on the one hand, and the Ad Dharm, Ambedkarite and Dalit-Bahujan

Samaj movement of Babu Kanshi Ram, also a Ramdassia Dalit Sikh, on the other, Dalits of Punjab struggled hard to generate social and political consciousness among themselves that gave rise to the idea of Dalit emancipation and empowerment.

The elevation of Charanjit Singh Channi also hints at the arrival of the time of the idea of Dalit empowerment. Though in some rival political circles, the elevation is being projected generally as a symbolic act and seemingly more out of compulsion than design, but its critical relevance at such a crucial stage in the political life of Punjab, when the state legitimacy crisis began deepening in the face of the failure of the Captain Amarinder Singh led government in fulfilling their long list of promises to the electorates and lack of faith in the genuine governability of the SAD, it seems, has at last ignited a new hope that all is not bad and there still exists possibility to start afresh to build a people-centric governing system in this borderland state of North India. Nevertheless, the new regime under the stewardship of Charanjit Singh Channi will continue to face same challenges that led to the downfall Captain Amarinder Singh. Moreover, there will be more expectations from Channi than Captain Amarinder, since his elevation was done by the high command to overcome the dysfunctionality of the earlier regime.

This was an open secret that the earlier CM was less accessible not only to general public but also to

his own MLAs and MPs. Some of the crises before Channi that can be quickly counted are: The farmers' agitation, unemployment, improvement in health and education sectors, drugs, sand mafia and long pending cases of sacrilege and law and order. In the aftermath of the change of guard, Captain Amarinder emphasized that the Congress should continue to support the farmers' agitation. Captain was about to launch a programme to provide government jobs to the next of kin of 150 farmers who have lost lives in the dharna against the farm laws. He has said that the new government should continue with the programme and provide them jobs.

Contractual workers of Punjab Roadways have been protesting and demanding permanent jobs. They have intensified their agitation and the government has to deal with that as well. The new CM will have to see to the grievances in the police department.

He will have to streamline the delay in pending cases pertaining to blasphemy law and drugs etc. Captain Amarinder had said that about 1,400 posts vacant for 25 years in educational institutions would be filled. There was often talk in bureaucratic circles and in the media that the state treasury was empty – so how will the government fulfill these pending demands? These are the challenges of governance, but the major challenge is how will the new CM keep the flock together to make a mark in the 2022 election.



SKY TRANSPORT SOLUTIONS

STRIVE FOR MORE

ਟਰੱਕਾਂ ਵਾਲਿਆਂ ਵੀਰਾਂ ਦੇ ਲਈ
ਸਕਾਈ ਟਰਾਂਸਪੋਰਟ ਸਾਲਿਊਸ਼ਨ
ਦੀਆਂ ਵਿਸ਼ੇਸ਼ ਸੇਵਾਵਾਂ



SPECIAL BIT INSPECTION AND DOT AUDIT COMPLIANCE:

SPECIAL DOT COMPLIANCE
FOR SAFETY, AUDITS AND
RECORD KEEPING.

WE PROVIDE
ALL TRUCKING
RELATED
PERMITS AND
SERVICES

ICC, DOT, IFTA, IRP Plates,
PERMITS, NYP, KYU, OR,
Canada Permit, CORPORATION AND LLC FILLING
SERVICES, 2290, PTI,
Trailer plates.

NOTARY PUBLIC SERVICES.
ON THE SPOT VIN VERIFICATION SERVICES.
DOT OUT OF SERVICES??
AUTHORIZED IRS E- FILE PROVIDER.
WE HAVE COMPLETE SOLUTIONS
FOR OUT OF SERVICE DOT.

PLEASE CONTACT US FOR MORE INFORMATION

PHONE: 209-855-6938, FAX: 209-762-6540

Email: skytransportsolution@gmail.com

Give us a chance to provide you best services

121 E 11th St. Tracy, CA 95376 (USA)

A TOT of Money Going to Nonprofits

One of my favorite things to do as a County Supervisor is support local organizations that give back to the community. Nonprofit organizations fill gaps left by government, providing services and supporting cultural growth in a way that is more personal and more direct. Every year that I have been on the Board of Supervisors, we have been able to support the invaluable work of nonprofits with funds generated by the Transient Occupancy Tax (TOT), which comes from guests staying in hotels/motels. Through the TOT Grant Program, the Board of Supervisors awards a million dollars to nonprofits every year to help them enhance their impact on the community. I am thrilled that we are yet again launching the TOT Grant Program for the 2021-2022 cycle and the applications are open! For that reason, I thought that I would use this as an opportunity to increase awareness of the program and encourage as much participation as possible.

Applications are located here: bdm.saccounty.net/TOTGrantProgram Applying organizations are required to be based in Sacramento County and must have specific programs they are

requesting to fund. Programs can be for training, events that support tourism, address community issues, or that reach underserved populations. Applications are reviewed and measured by subject area experts and are divided by the subject areas of arts and culture, community development, economic/workforce development, and health and human services. The more specific applicants can be, the better. The more information about how an organization and program have helped and will continue to help the community, the better. All applications must be submitted online and on time. I want to stress all of those points because we receive so many applications and I want every organization to maximize its chances of receiving funds.

While the total amount of grant funds available is one million dollars, no single organization can receive that much. Grants can be no smaller than \$5,000 and no larger than \$50,000. Additionally, half of the total grant funds is available for the communal competitive pool. The other half is divided among each Supervisor to award to organizations in their district, meaning a minimum of

\$100,000 is guaranteed to go to our Supervisorial District 4. I love seeing the organizations in our district submit their proposals and it is never easy to pick who gets funds, but we have always had great successes in each of the communities in our district.

For example, in the past we have been able to secure over \$40,000 for the non-profit "AboutKidz", where the funding went to purchase supplies throughout the year to equip children with a fully stocked backpack, new outfit and shoes. And last year we secured \$10,000 to "Citrus Heights HART" who provided rental assistance for Citrus Heights families who were in jeopardy of being evicted from their home due to unemployment as a result of COVID-19.

Applications for the TOT Grant Program are due no later than Monday, October 11th at 5:00 pm. As I mentioned, applications must be submitted online and no late applications will be accepted. The nonprofit organizations of Sacramento County do great work and enhance the quality of life for countless people. Whether your nonprofit organization

is seeking to provide school supplies for children, organizing a community clean up, or expanding access to the arts, I encourage you to pull together your team and put together the best application possible. And if you know someone who has a local nonprofit, please send this information to them. The TOT Grant Program is a rare opportunity for us to directly support nonprofit organizations and I hope that many qualified organizations will jump on the opportunity.

Thank you for reading – and as always, if you want to contact me, call me at 916-874-5491, or e-mail me at SupervisorFrost@saccounty.net. Sue Frost represents the 4th District, which includes all or part of the communities of Citrus Heights, Folsom, Orangevale, Antelope, Rio Linda, Elverta, Gold River, Rancho Murieta, North Highlands, Carmichael, Foothill Farms and Fair Oaks



Sue Frost

Sacramento County Supervisor

SEPTEMBER HAPPENINGS

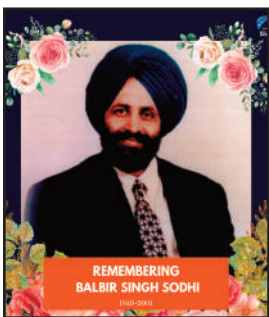
20th Anniversary of 9/11



In honor of the 20th anniversary of the attack on 9/11, we interviewed Rana Singh Sodhi to hear his reflection on that day and the backlash his

family felt four days later. Listen to his inspiring message.

Memorial of Balbir Singh Sodhi



20 years ago, Balbir Singh Sodhi became the first 9/11 backlash victim when he was shot in front of his gas station. Today, we continue to pray

for peace in America and commit to promoting equality, service, and love in our communities.

Labor Day



September 6th was Labor Day in the United States and we took the opportunity to share the Sikh core teaching of Kirat Karo. Check it out!

SIKHS IN THE NEWS
PBS Kids Adds Sikh Character to

Arthur



Did you watch the latest PBS special featuring a Sikh child?

Arthur's First Day introduces Samir who joins Arthur

and Buster on an adventure. You can watch it with your children online or on the PBS app.

Young Sikh Wins Philanthropic Award

We are so proud of Anaik who won Phoenix Business Journal's 2021 Philanthropic Hero award!

He started Anaik's Loving Library which provides books to hospitalized patients and has helped over 900 COVID patients.



First Indian and Sikh in NBA History to be Part of a Championship Roster

The Sacramento Kings won the 2021 NBA Summer League. Princepal Singh was on the team is the first Indian



in NBA history to be on a championship roster. Congratulations to Princepal and the Kings!

AUGUST HIGHLIGHTS Anniversary of Oak Creek

Last month, we honored the lives lost in the Oak Creek Gurdwara shooting.

The National Sikh Campaign was born from this tragedy and we remember August 5, 2012, as we work to raise awareness and build a more peaceful, tolerant, and loving world.



Petition to Help Afghan Sikhs

In the final weeks of the United States' extraction from Afghanistan, the Taliban took control of the country. We immediately compiled and sent a petition to the White House urging them to help Sikhs, Hindus, and other religious minorities get out of the country.



As we prayed and petitioned for the Sikhs in Afghanistan, we also dove into some of our history in the country. Guru Nanak Dev Ji visited

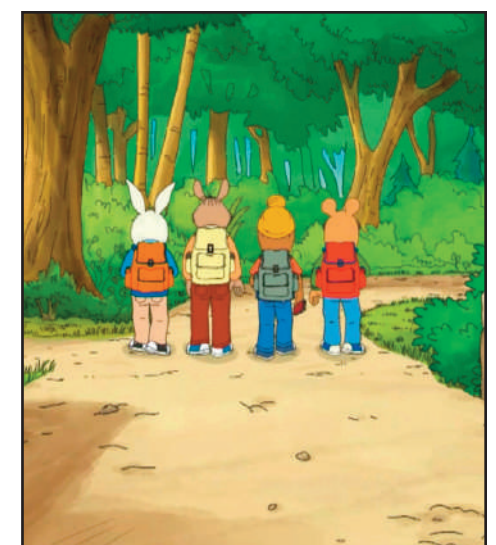
History of Sikhs in Afghanistan



Afghanistan and several other Gurus had encounters with the Afghanistan Sangat.

JOIN US

Do you want to be among the first to hear our plans, receive epic Sikh Campaign merch, and join a community of people passionate about helping Sikhs around the world?





Ishwar Das Pawar
District and Sessions Judge (Retd.)

My Struggle in Life

The Subordinate Services Selection Board

The Subordinate Services Selection Board was constituted by the Punjab government in the beginning of the last week of September 1953. I was on my job as a member of the board on 1 October. The chairman, Rao Bhim Singh, IP, who was SSP (Senior Superintendent of Police) at Amritsar, and Dr. Atma Singh, who was a medical practitioner at Tarn Taran, had already taken over. As the board was a new institution, we engaged ourselves in the preliminary task of chalking out the programs in connection with the recruitment of staff for different offices of the state. The sphere of the board's work and its jurisdiction had been specified by the rules. Still it always demands special efforts and hard work to put a new institution on the rails. Calling for requisitions from various departments and offices for recruitment to different posts, setting up of the office and the distribution of work, formulating a suitable postal and telegraphic address, and similar other matters engaged our immediate attention. With a will and determination to make it a success, we started the working of the board well and without avoidable loss of time.

Spontaneous and willing cooperation of various departments and offices of the government was, however, not readily forthcoming. They had been divested of their patronage and the privilege of recruiting their staff, and this naturally hurt them. They had been taking various objections in this matter every now and then. It took them quite some time to reconcile themselves to the new system of recruitment. Fortunately, we had a chief minister of high caliber and purity of mind in the person of Bhim Sen Sachar. This fact inspired more confidence in us to work without fear or favor and little caring for the difficulties that occasionally arose.

For some time, we also felt the burden of the new task especially on account of the fact that, very often, we had to be away from our homes on tour for as long as three weeks a month. But slowly and slowly, these difficulties melted away, and we got acclimatized to the changed way of life and working.

Obviously, the interests of the scheduled castes and backward classes were my special responsibility. But this did not prove a burden to me as all the three of us worked as a team, reposing confidence in one another, and all of us shared the views and anxiety about the weaker sections of society. Rao Bhim Singh, with his vast experience of men and matters, is a sharp and shrewd judge of people, and to crown all this, he is a friend of the poor. Another outstanding feature of his life has been that in spite of his lifelong service in the police department, he is known for his honesty, a rare quality. It was therefore an honor and privilege to work in the company of a person who possessed ennobling qualities in its head and heart. Dr. Atma Singh was a man devoted to the Gandhian way of life and had an impressive personality. It was also a privilege for us both to have a saintly person as our colleague. In such congenial environments, the heavy work becomes a sport and its sharp edge gets blunted. But I had a peculiar difficulty. Scheduled caste candidates were not forthcoming in sufficient numbers. Therefore, I had an additional duty of searching for them by contacting friends and sometimes going to their bastis (colonies). Whatever candidates were available, they were generally found to be deficient in one respect or the other. I nostalgically recalled how Rao Bhim Singh used to remark about such candidates, lightly and humorously, of course. "This candidate, though of poor personality will be perfectly all right when he gets into the chair and have sufficient to eat and wear with the pay he would be getting from the government." My bother would disappear.

This is not to say that no real difficulty ever arose with regard to the recruitment of scheduled caste candidates. Once we had to recruit forty excise sub-inspectors, and out of them, eight posts were reserved for the scheduled castes. The minimum academic qualification was graduation. As the number of applicants was quite large, a written test had to be conducted. The result showed that only one scheduled caste candidate had qualified. The chairman congratulated

me on this by way of a joke. I replied that it would not pose any insurmountable difficulty. But it did create serious differences of opinion—the other two on one side and I on the other. They were not in favor of considering and selecting any candidate other than those who had qualified in the test. Their sole argument was that no failed candidate could be considered, otherwise, the test would be meaningless. They further asserted that any other course, if adopted, would not be countenanced by the government either. Technically, they were right. On the other hand, my argument was that all those who possessed the minimum qualifications prescribed for the post were eligible for appointment, that the test was held only for the purpose of elimination, which meant culling the unnecessary element and bringing down the number of candidates to reasonable proportions; and that if the same rule was applied in the case of scheduled caste applicants, it would evidently mean their elimination altogether while, in the case of others, this rule did not adversely affect them as they were not only in large but in unduly disproportionate numbers. Therefore, the eight candidates who were at the top of the scheduled caste candidates in the test should be selected for appointment irrespective of whether they had passed the test or not.

I further maintained that the government would not take unkindly to the procedure, and at the same time if scheduled caste candidates were eliminated that way, my being on the board would be entirely meaningless. The reservation made for these people would thus be nullified. I made it clear that I would have no answer if reservation was not implemented for any reason. But my colleagues did not seem to relent. After prolonged discussions, I took the courage to suggest that I would own the responsibility if any objection came from the government. I did not make this commitment because I was so strong but because I thought in my mind that no such occasion would ever arise. It goes to the credit of my colleagues that they ultimately accepted my view. Eight scheduled caste candidates were consequently selected and recommended along with others. I heaved a sigh of relief as social justice had been done.

Then something unexpected and strange happened. One day, I went to the old secretariat at Chandigarh to see Chaudhri Sunder Singh. As I entered the room, I saw five or six Valmiki (low caste person, janitor) MLAs, and other important figures including Bhagat Gurandas, Master Sohan Singh, S. Khem Singh, and Professor Yashwant Rai already sitting there. Just as I took my seat, the minister, casting a look at them, smiled and said to me that the Valmiki brothers present there were complaining against me. I thought it was said just in a fun. Valmikis had great regard for me as I had always been pleading their cause. In the same strain, I replied that none of those brothers could have any grouse against me. After a short while they left. Then the minister told me that actually they had complained against me to the chief minister who had discussed the matter with him also. The disquieting part of it was that, on their complaint, the chief minister proposed to write a demi-official letter to the chairman. Their complaint was that out of the eight excise sub-inspectors recruited, seven were failed candidates and none was a Valmiki in spite of the fact that one Valmiki candidate was very high in the merit securing marks as high as 76 out of a total of 100 marks. This at once brought to my mind the bold, but actually sham, assurance I had given to my colleagues that in case there was any objection from the government, I would own the responsibility. Now the time had come for me to honor the assurance. The objection, a serious one, had come from our own people. I explained to the minister the whole position and stressed the point that, in case the chief minister wrote a demi-official letter to the chairman, my path would be beset with difficulties in rendering necessary help to our people in the future. I therefore suggested that he should immediately go to the chief minister and try to persuade him not to write the proposed letter. If anything seemed wrong in the said selection first, I should be asked to make the matter clear. Chaudhri Sahib went to the chief minister as suggested by me and successfully dissuaded him from writing the proposed letter. This relieved me of the anxiety. Now I had to find out how a Valmiki candidate

with high marks was not selected. On examining the case, it was found that the candidate had actually secured only 36 marks and not 76 as asserted by the said MLAs. The tens digit

3 of 36 was not very artistically written by the office on the intimation letter, and it could mistakenly be read as 7. The position became clear. Thus the peculiar situation created by our own men due to a misunderstanding was saved. My colleagues never knew about this episode, and they need not have been apprised. In this case, ignorance was bliss.

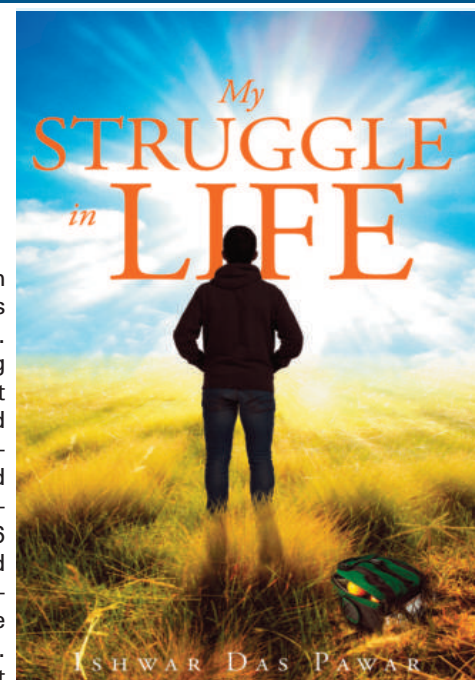
Another case which also posed some difficulty: three posts of sub-inspector in the rehabilitation department were reserved for the scheduled castes. The minimum academic qualification was graduation. There was no written test as the number of candidates was not much. Only interviews were held. Of the scheduled caste candidates, only one was considered suitable. Lack of good personality stood in the way. As the sub-inspectors were to deal with the public, they were expected to be important figures. My colleagues therefore were prepared to select only one candidate. The remaining two reserved posts were thus to be thrown open to the candidates of the general category. For reasons of my own, I did not share their view. The candidates fulfilled the minimum qualifications prescribed for the job and were therefore eligible for selection. Their haggard faces, their poor physiques, and rustic dresses only pointed to their stark poverty.

There was nothing wrong with them basically. Therefore, I pleaded their cause. As we could not agree on the point, the interview papers were handed over to me to be kept in the confidential box without finalizing the list. I quietly put the papers in the box and kept mum. A couple of days after that I was asked whether recommendations had been done. I said that the list was awaiting finalization by the board.

Some days had passed, and the papers were still gathering dust. Amusingly enough, another requisition was received from the department for another two posts reserved for the scheduled castes. The requirement of the department now stood at five instead of three. We could not agree on the point of recommending three candidates. How to recommend five? I apprised my colleagues of the additional demand for two more reserved posts. It was a knotty situation! We sat in a meeting to sort out the problem. It was really a very pleasant surprise for me and a load lifted off my mind as we decided to recommend five scheduled caste candidates out of the list of candidates already interviewed. Patience paid dividends. But more important was the consideration and understanding of the cause of the scheduled castes shown by my generous and sympathetic colleagues. I could succeed only with their helpful cooperation. They always extended such cooperation and that too ungrudgingly. The same atmosphere of cooperation and team work prevailed when Jathedar Mohan Singh replaced Dr. Atma Singh on his retirement as member of the board. The Jathedar had been the head priest of the highest religious seat at Harmandir Sahib, popularly known as the Golden Temple in Amritsar. This fact alone spoke of his towering personality. Besides, he was a worldly wise man with vast experience of public affairs. These facts contributed greatly to the success of my efforts to work for the sacred cause of the deprived and neglected people.

Difficulties in the working of the board came from government quarters also. In a case, the scheduled caste selectees formed 35 percent of the total number of candidates selected and recommended. This was due to the reason that scheduled caste candidates captured more posts by merit than they were entitled to on the basis of the 20 percent of reservation. At

(Contd. on next page)



My Struggle in Life

(Continue from page 4)

once came a letter from the concerned department that the board was not competent to recommend scheduled caste candidates in excess of the 20 percent reserved quota. Our office got jittery and noted that the board had really committed an error in recommending candidates in excess of the permissible limit.

There was a flutter of a sort in the office. The concerned assistant came to me in rather an excited mood with the letter to apprise of the "blunder" that had occurred. I directed him to examine the point raised in the letter and put up a note. His note was on the expected lines. I could not accept the view of the office. The real point involved in the case had been missed by them. The correct position was that under the reservation instructions, the scheduled castes were to get their 20 percent share of services even though they might not get any post by merit in competition with others. This was the minimum that was bound to go to them provided eligible candidates were available. The reservation formula did not and does not prescribe the upper limit, it only earmarks the minimum of the posts they should get in case they failed to obtain the same in an open competition with others. They could get even hundred per cent of the posts if they could do so by competing with others. This was perfectly legal and permissible under the rules.

At present, the position was a bit better. According to the present instructions, the posts, - whether in direct recruitment or in promotion cases, obtained by the scheduled castes by merit or on their turn are not to be counted while computing the number of the reserved vacancies or posts. As a reinforcing example, take the case of reservation in the country's legislatures. Against the reserved seats in delimited constituencies, only the scheduled caste candidates can contest the election. But they can contest an election from any of the general constituencies as well. It is an agreed and admitted proposition of the law embodied in the Representation of People Act. Again, in some posts, notably those of patwaris (village level revenue officials) and police constables, 50 percent posts were reserved for the scheduled castes.

Thus the 20 percent reservation formula provided only a broad guideline in this matter and did not prescribe the maximum. This limit was not to exceed only if the scheduled caste candidates were not in a position to catch up in the competition with others. I put up a note on the above lines for the consideration of the board. The board agreed with me, and a reply was sent accordingly. This clinched the matter, and there was no such further move from anywhere. Then there came another bombshell, this time from the secretariat. We used to prepare the list of the selected candidates by allotting the scheduled caste candidates their positions in accordance with the block system as prescribed by the government. The objection taken was that the scheduled caste candidates, though entitled to appointments against the reserved vacancies, were not entitled to be shown against the block system points in the merit list to be recommended so as to assign to them seniority also in that order. Therefore, it was desired that a separate list of the selected scheduled caste candidates be sent, and then it would be for the department concerned to make appointments, keeping in view the block system. It was correct that the merit list prepared by the board also assigned the scheduled caste selectees' seniority according to the reserved points, but in the view of the government seniority, it would be fixed according to the positions obtained by the scheduled caste candidates in the test or in the interview or in both as the case might be.

The case was examined carefully and meticulously, and the board came to the ultimate conclusion that the procedure and the method of making recommendations hitherto followed was correct and should be continued. A reply to the objecting department embodying the views of the board on the disputed point was sent. Nothing further was heard from the department so long as I remained on the board. I was there for a long period of full eight years. Sometimes the candidates and their parents also created unnecessary hurdles in our proper functioning. A first divisioner matriculate and a graduate were eligible for appointment to clerical posts in the secretariat offices. My effort had generally been to send as many scheduled caste candidates for appointment in the secretariat as possible.

This was as it should have been. The secretariat is the seat of the ruling elite. It is a privileged office. So some of the scheduled caste people also should be there. Then candidates and their guardians would approach me with the request that the boy should be recommended for appointment in the office of the tehsildar or the naib tehsildar of their tehsil (county) where, according to them, a post was lying vacant. This they

wanted in order to keep the boy as near their home as possible. Sometimes, I would be hard put to convince them of the advantages they would have in being in the premier office of the state government. And in a good many cases, I would stick to the orders already passed in spite of the stout resistance they would put up and the displeasure they exhibited.

Once we had gone to Jalandhar for holding interviews for the posts of signaler for the irrigation department. After the day's work in the evening, I went to see a friend of mine in the city. There were two young men, Darshan Ram and Chiranjit Lal, who were introduced to me. Both of them were matriculate. They told me that they could not apply for the posts of signaler as the advertisement published in the newspapers in that behalf had escaped their notice. As there was no scheduled caste candidate with us for these posts, I asked them to come the next day to the place of interviews and see the chairman after the day's work was over. I pointedly told them not to mention me as having tendered them that advice. The two chaps came the next day as advised, and after the interviews for the day were over, they sent in a chit to the board as they wanted to make a request.

They were called in, and they said that they had missed the advertisement and therefore failed to apply for the posts. "But how have you come to know about it now?" asked the shrewd chairman. "We were told about the interviews by Pawar Sahib, and he advised us to see the chairman in this connection. So we have come," came a prompt reply. The cat was out of the bag. They should not have mentioned my name as pointedly told. Even if they did it, it was all right. There was nothing secret or important about it. But it did show their simplemindedness. I told the members of the board that as there was no scheduled caste applicant with us, the two boys were advised by me to come there and try their luck. The board considered their request, allowed them to apply there and then, were interviewed and selected. What happened after their appointment is a story better to be told by them and them alone.

Sometimes curious situations do arise, but such things should be taken in stride. One day the chairman received a communication on behalf of Governor N. V. Gadgil inviting the members of the board for tea. There was no function at the Raj Bhawan (governor's mansion). It was an invitation extended to the members of the board only. We had never received such an invitation before. So it set us guessing as to the purpose of the invitation. The governor might have thought it proper to meet the members of the board. What else could be there? We went to the Raj Bhawan and reached there at the appointed time. The secretary of the governor was there to receive us. After we had had our tea, the governor came up. For some time we had a chat of a general nature. Then the governor expressed his desire to talk to the chairman alone. Both of them were together for a few minutes and then they came back. The meeting was over, and we begged leave of the governor and returned to our office. On reaching the office, the chairman told us that the governor had spoken about the case of a girl candidate for the post of teacher. The selection for those posts had already taken place and recommendations done. The governor had gone to Sonapat on tour. A deputation of the local citizens waited on him and brought to his notice the case of a girl of the town who had appeared in an interview before us for the post of teacher. They said that justice had not been done to her as, according to them, she possessed high qualifications and merit but was not selected while other girl candidates of much lower merit were selected. They therefore requested the governor to look into the matter so that justice was done. The allegation was apparently vague, but in view of the representation, the governor invited us to tea so that he could bring the case to our notice.

Opinion was divided. I held the view that we must go into the facts of the case to find out if somehow or the other any act of omission or commission had crept into the selection causing prejudice to the assessment of the merits of the girl. If any mistake were detected, which caused prejudice to her, we should unhesitatingly admit the same and help her by restoring to her rightful position with an apology. But in case nothing wrong was found in the selection, we should hold our hands off. If we went out of the way to help the girl, it would obviously amount to pleading guilty for no reason whatsoever. It would also inevitably arouse suspicions in the mind of the governor that originally justice was not done, and that therefore, the selection was not fair. Conversely, he might think that the board was pliable to recommendations. But the matter was not confined to the governor alone. A large number of people of the town of Sonapat knew about the case. They were bound to think that justice in the case was possible only on the intervention of the governor. Therefore, by doing

a wrong thing in a case decided rightly and correctly, we would be inviting bad name on ourselves without rhyme or reason.

We should be cautious against unnecessarily casting clouds on our own honesty and integrity. After giving a careful thought to the matter, I was asked by the board to examine the case to find out the correct position. Accordingly, I went through all the aspects of the case very carefully and minutely and found that there was no mistake whatsoever, and that the selection was perfectly in order. We had recommended the required number of candidates against the existing vacancies and had kept the names of six candidates on the waiting list. The name of the girl in question stood at the bottom of the waiting list. I therefore suggested that we might apprise the governor of the correct position, adding that the name of the girl would also be recommended provided the department intimated to the board an additional demand for at least six vacancies. With this note, the case went back to the board; and after reviewing the whole position, it was decided that the governor be informed on the suggested lines. A suitable demi-official letter was accordingly drafted and sent to the governor. The matter ended there. We had done what the governor really desired, i.e., justice.

The formation of the board was of great advantage, rather a boon, to the weaker sections of society, especially the scheduled castes. Prior to the constitution of the board, recruitment used to be made by the departmental heads or departmental selection committees. People who were not well connected or who lived in remote and inaccessible places seldom came to know about the vacancies. The board started advertising the vacancies in different newspapers and sometimes sent separate intimation of the vacancies to the institutions or organizations who could help and who would in turn inform the people and thus enable them to apply for the posts for which they were eligible. The board was particularly concerned about the hitherto neglected, deprived people, especially the scheduled castes. Among those people, the Valmiki attracted our special attention. Certain ilaqas (areas) such as the Kangra district—including Lahul and Spiti, Una tehsil; Guhla tehsil of Karnal district; and Mohindergarh district—were declared by the government as backward areas and were, on that score, entitled to specified concessions in the matter of recruitment to the state services. Poor candidates, such as the children of widowed mothers who earned their livelihood by working in others' houses as cooks and similar other categories, were taken due note of. Such considerations were necessary so that social justice could be done. These were general principles which caused no prejudice to anybody. This way, a new orientation based on just considerations was given to the selections for service.

All the members of the board, and in particular the chairman, felt kindly to the common man. The chairman was, at times, rather extra considerate and generous. As an instance: we were holding interviews at Ambala. A poor boy appeared before us. We could not help him as he was found to be not eligible for the post. His mother, who had accompanied him, came in with eyes brimming with tears. We told her we were not in a position to help her son. She said she had come with her son, and for the journey, she had borrowed money from a neighbor. She was really poor, but we too were helpless. On hearing her pitiable story, the chairman took out from his pocket a ten-rupee currency note and gave it to her to enable them to defray the expenses of the journey back home. This is just one instance. As I look back to take stock of the work done as a member of the board, I feel amply satisfied. We were able to help quite a number of those who, in the absence of the board, would not have the remotest chance to get service. I feel highly gratified to see scheduled caste people virtually in all departments of the government where, before the board came into existence, these people were found only by way of variety.

This is no mean achievement. Social justice was thrown open to all. For this, credit must go the late Bhim Sen Sachar, a pious politician who, as chief minister, had the vision and courage to establish the board for making recruitment to the state services. We made all efforts humanly possible to make the purpose of the board a success. We used to write fictitious roll numbers on the answer books and in the relevant book and compile the results ourselves so that there was no chance of any unfair means. For us, this involved a lot of labor, but it was worth its while. Sometimes we had to forego our holidays. But we considered it a duty and a mission to put every ounce of our energy into the job. To us, work had always been ennobling.

After working on the board for full eight years, I left the job at the end of September 1961 on my appointment as Additional District and Sessions Judge.

Punjab: Caught off guard, back to drawing board for Opposition for polls next year

Political observers feel that the Congress stands to gain a lot by appointing Charanjit Singh Channi as the Chief Minister and that it will offset, to a great degree, the potential advantage that the Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) had sought by entering into a pre-poll alliance with the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) and announcing a Dalit deputy CM.

The Congress move to appoint a Dalit as chief minister in Punjab has sent the Opposition parties in the state back to the drawing boards to re-calibrate their strategy ahead of the Assembly polls in 2022. None of the parties had factored in a Dalit CM in their calculations for now or for the next year's polls.

Political observers feel that the Congress stands to gain a lot by appointing Charanjit Singh Channi as the Chief Minister and that it will offset, to a great degree, the potential advantage that the Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) had sought by entering into a pre-poll alliance with the Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) and announcing a Dalit deputy CM.

Even though Channi emerged as a compromise candidate for the post of CM after an impasse over other names in the Congress, there is an opinion among a section of political watchers that the benefits which accrue from appointing a Dalit to lead the state will be considerable.

Also, the appointment of a Jat Sikh and a Hindu as two deputy CMs is expected to offset any backlash from these two communities over the appointment of a Dalit as the CM. It is, however, not known yet how the Jat Sikh belt of Punjab and the Hindu voters in the urban areas, both critical components of any party's electoral success, will respond to the recent developments. Professor Ronki Ram, an expert on Dalit politics in Punjab said that Channi's appointment as CM will definitely help Congress increase its electoral reach among the Dalit communities. "It is often said that the Dalits themselves are divided among

various sects like Ravidasia, and Adi-Dharmi. This move by Congress will consolidate the sub-identities of all these various sects and will lead to a creation of social capital for the Dalits in Punjab," he said.

Prof Ram added that till now political parties had only been making promises of appointing a Dalit as a

dubbing him as the 'nightwatchman' who would be expected to keep the CM's chair warm for state Congress president Navjot Singh Sidhu. "This is an insult to the Dalits that even before the CM was sworn in, the Congress leadership was portraying Sidhu as the CM face of the 2022 Assembly polls," both Chugh and Sharma

Opposition, Sarvjit Kaur Manuke, are both from the Dalit community.

Harpal Cheema said his party's chances for the 2022 polls would not be affected by the Congress move. "We are a secular party and we take all sections of the society with us. We are focused on doing good work for the people on the lines of the work being done in Delhi by the Arvind Kejriwal government. Our strategy is very simple," he said.

The bravado showed by the AAP leadership notwithstanding, the appointment of Channi along with that of OP Soni and Sukhjinder Singh Randhawa as deputy CMs have already become a cause concern to their strategists. Both Soni and Randhawa are from the Majha belt of Punjab where AAP has been focussing a lot this time around and was expecting a good response.

The de facto CM face of SAD, Sukhbir Singh Badal, has put out a

tweet congratulating Channi on his appointment and said that it was expected that he would fulfill the promises made by the Congress that have remained unfulfilled in the past four and a half years. Pawan Kumar Tinu, a Dalit MLA of SAD, said that even though Channi was a compromise candidate he should seize the opportunity and right all the wrongs done to the Dalits under the Congress government so far.

Courtesy:

<https://indianexpress.com/article/cities/chandigarh/congress-appoints-dalit-cm-in-punjab-caught-off-guard-back-to-drawing-board-for-opp-for-polls-next-year-7523533/>

Written by Man Aman Singh Chhina

| Chandigarh |

Updated: September 21, 2021
7:02:37 am



Punjab Chief Minister Charanjit Singh Channi offers sweets to state Congress president Navjot Singh Sidhu after taking charge of office, in Chandigarh on Monday.

deputy CM. But the Congress went a step ahead and the benefits of such a move cannot be denied to the party.

The BJP leadership had made a comment in April this year that it would appoint a Dalit CM if they came to power next year. That comment had come in response to the Akalis announcing deputy CM's post for a Dalit if voted to power in 2022. However, since then there has not been any concrete follow-up statements by any state BJP leader and with the vehement protests that the party is facing in Punjab over the three contentious new farm laws, there is a scant possibility of it coming to power.

BJP national general secretary Tarun Chugh and the state party president Ashwani Sharma have already reacted to Channi's appointment by

said. Chugh said that Dalits cannot be just expected to be 'chowkidars' in state politics, while the actual 'raj' would be done by others.

However, with BJP's marginalised role in the 2022 polls, largely due to the backlash over the new farm laws, the other major parties in the fray – the AAP, the SAD, and the BSP – will now have to figure out a way to deal with the fallout of a Dalit Congress CM.

The AAP has already announced that a Sikh will be its chief ministerial candidate. While the party had announced a Dalit deputy CM in the run-up to the 2017 polls, it has not made any such statements this time around. The party also has never once so far hesitated in pointing out that the Leader of Opposition, Harpal Singh Cheema, and deputy Leader of



Dr. Paramjit S Takhar, MD

URGENT CARE CLINIC

DR. TAKHAR'S FAMILY MEDICINE & URGENT CARE CLINIC

8191 Timberlake Way, Suite # 400, Sacramento, CA 95823

Phone: 916-688-8888 Fax: 916-688-8837

Clinic Hours: Monday to Friday 9:00 AM to 5:30 PM, Saturday 9:00 AM – 4:00 PM & Sunday closed

We speak your language: Panjabi, Hindi, Urdu, Farsi, Arabic and Spanish



Goodie Takhar, PhD

Explained: Why Dalits and a Dalit CM matter in Punjab's politics

At a time when all political parties in Punjab were wooing Dalits ahead of 2022 Assembly elections and promising them plum posts if voted to power, the ruling Congress appointed the state's first Dalit chief minister. What does this mean for Punjab politics in which Dalits have only had a chequered presence so far, despite constituting a third of the state's population? What could be the implications of this move?

What do experts make of this move?

From a monarch (Capt Amarinder Singh) to a Dalit chief minister, Congress has created history and a powerful symbolism, say experts. This may be a move for vote politics, but every Dalit community including Ravidassia, Ramdassia, Valmiki, Ad-Dharmi, Mazhabi Sikh etc. are elated with the move, they further said, adding that this may not bring many votes to Congress, but the floating 5-7 per cent Dalit votes may go to its kitty if the new CM manages to deliver to some extent.

Prof Santosh K Singh, a sociologist who has researched and published on the theme of caste and religion interface in Punjab, said: "Anybody who knows the caste history of Punjab, would agree that this is a historical moment, a milestone which is loaded with immense symbolism. Despite having numbers, the Dalits of the region waited for far too long. So whichever way one sees it, it is clearly a grand departure towards inclusive democracy."

What are its possible implications in Punjab politics?

Prof Singh said: "Not only Punjab, not many seem to be talking about is the implication of this move in UP politics. Dalit politics in Punjab is strategically and historically linked with UP. Given UP elections too are

round the corner, the move appears to be intended towards giving a larger message beyond Punjab."

"This move is opening new vistas of democratic politics. Now Jats (upper caste) have to accommodate other communities like other backward classes which has very less representation in politics," said Professor Surinder Singh Jodhka, who teaches sociology at JNU, Delhi.

"There may be a larger and shrewd political motive behind this move but Congress has shown guts and courage in a state like Punjab. This will change the ground reality now that Dalits are no longer listeners. It will lead to decline of agrarian influence in Punjab politics and for posts like CM," said Prof Jodhka, adding that it will also sharpen identity politics on caste basis.

Prof G C Kaul of DAV College Jalandhar, an expert on both Ad-Dharma and Ravidassia movements, said: "Though Jat Sikhs may not accept a Dalit CM from their heart, but because of vote bank politics, everyone will have to listen to him, who may or may not get solved long-pending issues related to Dalits like implementation of 85th Amendment (Consequential Seniority to promoted SC/ST candidate), which will further bring Dalits to the negotiation tables in politics of the state and other north

Indian states where several young, educated Dalit leaders will be emerge now."

What is the total Dalit population of the state and how do they vote?

According to the 2011 census Punjab has a 31.9 per cent SC population (2.77 crore) including 19.4 per



cent SC Sikhs, 12.4 per cent SC Hindu and .098 per cent Buddhist SCs. Among these SC communities, 26.33 per cent are Mazhabi Singh, 20.7 per cent are Ravidassia and Ramdassia, 10 per cent Ad-Dharmi and 8.6 per cent are Balmiki.

According to the Centre for Study of Developing Societies, an Indian research institute for social sciences and humanities, among the Dalit votes, Congress managed to get 33 per cent, 49 per cent, 51 per cent and 41 per cent Dalit Sikh votes in 2002, 2007, 2012 and 2017 Assembly polls respectively, and 47 per cent, 56 per cent, 37 per cent and 43 per cent Hindu Dalit votes respectively.

So Dalit Sikhs and Dalit Hin-

dus do not vote for a single party in Punjab, they go by their old party affiliations and commitments. "A Dalit CM can fetch 5 to 7 per cent floating votes in the party's favour, if he performs," said Prof Kaul.

What are BSP's prospects in Punjab?

Despite the fact that BSP is a party synonymous with Dalits, it could not gain popularity in Punjab even though its founder Kanshi Ram was a Punjabi and Dalits form a third of Punjab's population.

Experts said the party could not establish itself in state politics because its founder Kanshi Ram made Uttar Pradesh (UP) his main 'karambhumi' and Mayawati took all power in her hands due to his ill health in early 2000. Mayawati's main focus was UP, she used to do a couple of tours in Punjab only during elections.

A senior BSP leader of the state said that Mayawati could not gain popularity among Dalit communities of the state and because of a lack of discipline and strong organisational structure, except its committed voters, other Dalit voters do not take the party seriously here. It did gain some ground for over a decade after its formation in 1984, but then its decline started, which has continued till the last Assembly election. From a 19.7 per cent vote share in 1992 Lok Sabha elections (which took place a year later in Punjab due to terrorism), the party reduced to a 1.5 per cent vote share in 2017 Assembly polls.

Courtesy:

<https://indianexpress.com/article/explained/punjab-dalit-chief-minister-charanjit-singh-channi-congress-7523739/>

Written by Anju Agnihotri Chaba.
Jalandhar | September 21, 2021
8:57:44 am

S. Charanjit Singh Channi takes oath as Punjab chief minister

Sukhjinder Singh Randhawa and OP Soni sworn in as deputy CMs

Chandigarh- Congress leader Charanjit Singh Channi was on Monday sworn in as chief minister of Punjab, making him the first Dalit to hold the top post in the state.

Sukhjinder Singh Randhawa and OP Soni were also sworn in. They will be designated as deputy chief ministers.

Punjab Governor Banwarilal Purohit administered the oath to the 58-year-old Channi at a ceremony held at the Raj Bhawan here. Channi took oath in Punjabi.

Prominent among those who were present at the oath-taking ceremony were Rahul Gandhi and Punjab Con-



gress chief Navjot Singh Sidhu. Amarinder Singh, who re-

signed as chief minister two days back, was conspicuous by his ab-

sence.

Will continue to work with Punjab Govt: Modi

New Delhi: Prime Minister Narendra Modi on Monday congratulated Charanjit Singh Channi on being sworn in as Punjab chief minister, and said the Centre would continue to work for the betterment of the people of the state.

Modi tweeted, "Congratulations to Shri Charanjit Singh Channi Ji on being sworn-in as Punjab's Chief Minister. Will continue to work with the Punjab government for the betterment of the people of Punjab."

Courtesy: Tribune News Service (Rajmeet Singh)

An Expert Explains: Is appointing Channi, a Dalit, the Congress' masterstroke in Punjab?

How far can Congress gain from its selection of Charanjit Singh Channi as Punjab's first Dalit CM? Survey data show it was already the popular choice among both Sikh and Hindu Dalits, but it needs to hold on.

After the resignation of Amarinder Singh as the Chief Minister of Punjab, the Congress

vote can be assessed from the fact that there are 54 Assembly constituencies where Dalits constitute

Programme at the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS). While his core area of research is electoral politics,

he has been engaged in survey-based research on a very wide range of themes - Indian youth, state of democracy in South Asia, state of Indian farmers, slums of Delhi and electoral violence.

reserved seats — only 10 out of 34. Clearly, the overall performance of the party in reserved and unreserved constituencies does not help us understand how Dalits in Punjab have voted in various elections (Tables 2 and 3). But evidence from surveys conducted by the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS) indicates that even in the past, the Congress has successfully mobilised both Hindu Dalit and Sikh Dalit votes. The findings also indicate that the party needs to maintain its hold over the Dalits if it aims to win the 2022

The significant number of Dalits is the reason why, over the last few months, all political parties



Charanjit Singh Channi is Punjab's first Dalit CM. Express

TABLE 2

ASSEMBLY ELECTION 2012, CATEGORY-WISE

Category	Total seats	Congress		BJP		Akali Dal		BSP	
		Won	Vote (%)	Won	Vote (%)	Won	Vote (%)	Won	Vote (%)
SC	34	10	40.13	3	5.74	21	36.55	0	6.11
Gen	83	36	40.07	9	7.77	35	33.99	0	3.55
Total	117	46	40.09	12	7.18	56	34.73	0	4.29

TABLE 1

CONSTITUENCY-WISE CONCENTRATION OF DALIT VOTE

SC concentration	Seats
10.1-20%	18
20.1-30%	45
30.1-40%	43
40%+	11

TABLE 3

ASSEMBLY ELECTION 2017, CATEGORY-WISE

Category	Congress		BJP		Akali Dal		AAP		BSP	
	Won	Vote (%)	Won	Vote (%)	Won	Vote (%)	Won	Vote (%)	Won	Vote (%)
SC	21	36.63	1	4.16	3	24.57	9	28.53	0	2.27
Gen	56	39.28	2	5.91	12	25.52	11	21.72	0	1.21
Total	77	38.50	3	5.39	15	25.24	20	23.72	0	1.52

TABLE 4

DALIT VOTES, PARTY-WISE

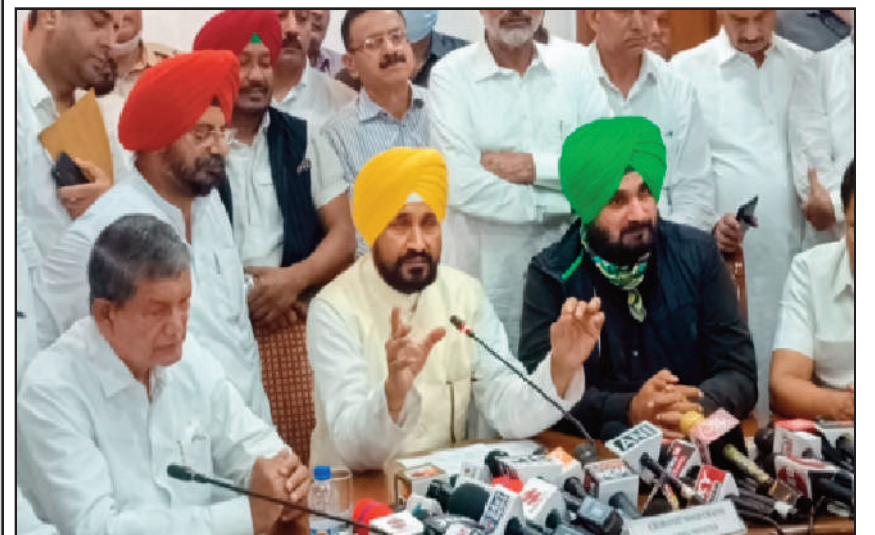
Election	Congress		SAD+BJP		AAP	
	Dalit Sikh	Hindu Dalit	Dalit Sikh	Hindu Dalit	Dalit Sikh	Hindu Dalit
2002	33	47	26	11	-	-
2007	49	56	32	25	-	-
2012	51	37	34	33	-	-
2017	41	43	34	26	19	21

TABLE 5

NON-DALIT HINDU VOTE

Election	Congress	SAD+BJP	AAP
	2002	52	26
2007	49	38	-
2012	46	36	-
2017	48	22	23

(Vote shares in all tables are in %); Source: Punjab Assembly Election Studies 2002, 2007, 2012 & 2017; CSDS Data Unit



have made attempts to mobilise them on their side. One way or the other, each party had indicated that it would give a decent share in power to the Dalits if it is voted to power. While the AAP promised to appoint a Dalit as Deputy Chief Minister if voted to power, the SAD formed an alliance with the BSP in an effort to woo Dalits.

The resignation of Amarinder Singh provided an opportunity to the Congress to appoint a new Chief Minister, and the party has trumped its rivals by appointing Channi as the first Dalit Chief Minister of Punjab. At the moment, it is difficult to say which party will be able to swing the Dalit vote in its favour,

Assembly elections.

Also in Explained | 5 challenges before the new Punjab chief minister

The evidence suggests the Congress has been the popular choice among both Dalit Sikhs and Hindu Dalits, although in slightly different proportions (Table 4). Having formed an alliance with the BSP, the SAD is eyeing the Dalit vote. But now, having appointed a Dalit Sikh as the Chief Minister, the Congress would be hoping to make a significant dent in the SAD's Sikh Dalit vote bank. It is important to note that only recently, the Congress had also appointed Sukhwinder Singh 'Danny' Bandala, a Dalit leader, as one of its four working presidents in Punjab. Having a Dalit Sikh as the Chief Minister and another Dalit leader in another important position is likely have an impact on how Dalits vote in next year's elections.

It is also important to note the evidence that suggests that among Hindu Dalits, the Congress is more popular than the SAD. The Dalit Hindus of Punjab have voted for the Congress in larger numbers than they have for the Akalis during the last few elections.

The entry of the AAP, and the fact that the BJP is contesting on its own, may potentially impact the Congress Hindu vote bank to an extent, but having a Dalit Chief Minister might help the party mitigate this impact and keep its Hindu Dalit vote intact.

Written by Sanjay Kumar , Edited by Explained Desk

chose Charanjit Singh Channi over various other leaders as the first Dalit Chief Minister of Punjab. It has been claimed that Channi was the party's unanimous choice, which may be true, but it cannot be denied that his selection as Punjab's first Dalit Chief Minister was made with an eye on the sizeable Dalit vote in the state. As per Census 2011 estimates, Scheduled Castes constitute 32% of the total population of Punjab; among them, one-third are Dalit Sikh.

Assembly elections in Punjab are due next year.

The Dalit numbers

The importance of the Dalit

more than 30% of the total voters. In another 45 Assembly constituencies, Dalits constitute between 20% and 30% of the voters (Table 1)

In the contest that the state is set to witness among the Congress, the Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) — Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) alliance and the Aam Aadmi Party (AAP), one-third of the vote — from any one community — are going to play a significant role in the victory or defeat of any political party.

THE EXPERT

Sanjay Kumar is Professor and Co-Director of Lokniti, a Research

but many see this as a masterstroke by the Congress party.

Dalit vote in previous polls

The results of the last few elections suggest that no particular party has done significantly better in SC-reserved constituencies compared to the non-Dalit constituencies. During the 2017 Assembly elections, the Congress won 21 of the 34 SC-reserved constituencies, but its votes share in these constituencies was slightly lower than its average vote share. On the other hand, in 2012, although the Congress's vote share was equal in SC-reserved and unreserved constituencies, it won fewer

It is time to remind – Someone may listen

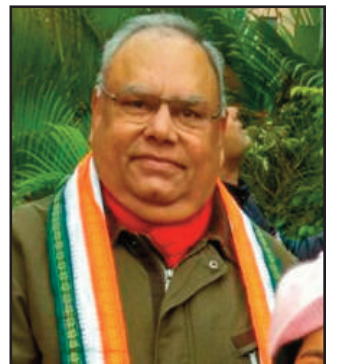
This is the 7th UNGA annual session to be held in New York since June, 2015 when proposal to declare, under the aegis of the UN, April 14, birth anniversary of Babasaheb Ambedkar as International Day of Equality, was made to then EAM Sushma Swaraj. Ever since we have been reminding the Government India through EAMs Sushma Swaraj and EAM Dr. S. Jaishankar and other important and concerned Ministers by keeping the PM and PMO on the loop. But it is a matter of regret to say nothing moved and nobody cared to respond. Everybody is swearing by the name of Ambedkar and trying to own his legacy. I don't know the reasons behind this indifference. If the GOI does not agree with the proposal or otherwise finds it not possible to carry it forward to the UN, there is no harm in saying so. We are not that foolish that would not understand the position. From the day one, we have been saying that our proposal is sug-

Ambedkar, as International Day of Equality is resting with the MEA since June, 2015. We have been pursuing the matter since then. It is time to wake up and use the forthcoming address of PM Narendra Modi to the UNGA on September 25 and send a right and positive signal to the millions and millions of supporters and followers of Babasaheb, one of the greatest sons of India. The Congress Party has already showed the way by appointing a dalit as the CM of Punjab. Narendra Modi's Government has already done many good things with regard to the empowerment of the marginalised sections of the society. A positive decision and pronouncement on the International Day of Equality would tend to provide good dividends in the emerging political scenario in the country. It will be just not possible to ignore Babasaheb Ambedkar anymore.

I venture to write this as a well wisher of the GOI and a nation-

Ambedkar is increasingly getting international recognition. It is surprising that our own government, which has taken many initiatives to honour one of the greatest sons of India otherwise, is taking time to consider the proposal and take a decision to make an appropriate demarche to the UN in this regard. I may inform, which you may already be aware, that the State of British Columbia in Canada proclaimed to declare April 14 as Dr. B.R. Ambedkar Day of Equality in April, 2021. Some days ago in July, 2021 itself the Gray's Inn in London has named and opened Ambedkar Room and unveiled his portrait to recognize Babasaheb. You may know that 'Dr BR Ambedkar is the first person of the Indian origin and the very second jurist in the world to have a room dedicated to him at the Gray's Inn. The

It would send a very positive political signal within the country and to the international community in underpinning the 'Soft Diplomacy of India' to move towards establishing a just and equitable world order.



Ramesh Chander
Ambassador - I.F.S. (Retired)
91-99885-10940

With personal regards,
Yours truly,
(Ramesh Chander)



gestive and positive which could be realized only by the GOI.

Anyway, we are determined to keep saying what we feel as true followers of Babasaheb Ambedkar, the greatest son of India without any political agenda or affiliation. It is time to remind the GOI before PM Narendra Modi speaks in the UNGA with the hope that he might consider and mention something about the proposal on International Day of Equality. We have done the ritual by tweeting and sending an e-mail to PMO on the subject. It is said that PM is only a 'call away' from the matters of concern and interest to the citizens of India. Let us hope someone may listen and respond.

For Principal Secretary to PM, Dr. PK Mishra

Dear Sirs,

Kindly see my tweet of a little while ago on the captioned subject - International Day of Equality:-

ramesh chander
@rameshchander50

PM Modi will address UNGA on September 25. Proposal on April 14 as International Day of Equality may find a mention in his speech to address the emerging situation in the wake of Congress stealing the show in Punjab. It is not only my wish but will be a political masterstroke."

The proposal to declare April 14, birth anniversary of Dr. B.R.

alist to the core. My last letter on the subject to EAM Dr. S Jaishankar is attached for ready reference.

With regards,
(Ramesh Chander)

Before I conclude, I take the liberty of underlining the fact that there could not be more appropriate time to make a demarche to the UN on the International day both to address the political imperatives in India and strengthen the hands of international community to march forward towards the goal of "Equitable world order". Moreover, India's 'Soft Diplomacy' will get yet another feather in hits turban.

Attachment of the Email
sent to PMO
July 25, 2021

Dear Sir,

Ever since you have taken over as the EAM in May/June, 2019, I have been writing to you about the International Day of Equality, my last letter dated April 1, 2021 (copy enclosed for ready reference) refers. The proposal to declare April 14, birth anniversary of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, as International Day of Equality was first made in June, 2015 to your predecessor EAM Sushma Swaraj ever since the proposal is resting with the esteemed MEA.

I thought of reminding you on the subject in the run up to the forthcoming UNGA in September, 2021. You would appreciate, Sir, Babasaheb



Inn, previously had a room dedicated to Rose Heilbronn, England's first woman queen counsel and judge' as reported by the Tribune of July 22, 2021.

I don't feel any need to say much, Sir, as you very well know and understand how to go about and what to do to get declared April 14 as International day of Equality. There may not be more opportune time when India will occupy the HeadChair at the UNSC and UNGA -76 in September, 2021 will be presided over by Foreign Minister of our friend Maldives, Abdullah Shahid

I am confident that my submissions would find an urgent consideration and a favourable decision is taken to see that the proposal is sent and taken up at the UN appropriately.

Dr. S. Jaishankar,
Minister of External Affairs,
South Block, New Delhi

Copy to:

1. Shri Narendra Modi, PM of India, PMO, South Block, New Delhi
2. Dr. Varinder Kumar, Minister of Social Justice and Empowerment, New Delhi
3. Shri Ramdas Athawale, MOS, Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, New Delhi
4. Shri Som Parkash, MOS, Ministry of Industry and Trade, New Delhi
5. Ms. Meenakshi Lekhi, MOS, MEA, New Delhi
6. Shri Vijay Sampla, Chairman, National SC Commission, New Delhi
7. Shri Dushyant Gautam, MP, New Delhi

As Charanjit Channi takes oath as Punjab's 1st Dalit Sikh CM, a look at past Dalit CMs of India

Ahead of 2022 polls, Congress picks Dalit leader Charanjit Singh Channi as the new Punjab CM. ThePrint takes a look at the past Dalit CMs of India

New Delhi: Fifty-eight-year-old Charanjit Singh Channi took oath as the new chief minister of Punjab Monday after Amarinder Singh's resignation last week.

Channi, a three-time MLA, is a Dalit Sikh leader. With Channi's appointment, the Congress is expecting a major fillip to its prospects in Dalit belts in the run-up to the 2022 assembly elections.

As Dalit politics takes centre stage ahead of the assembly polls in five states early next year, ThePrint looks at the past Dalit CMs of India.

BholaPaswanShastri

It was in 1968 that Bihar got its first Dalit chief minister. Bhola-PaswanShastri, an Indian freedom fighter who was born in the Purnia district of Bihar, represented the Jatav community in the state.

He was sworn in as the chief minister of Bihar on 22 March 1968, but his term lasted only for three months as the Congress lost the majority in the Bihar assembly.

This was followed by mid-term assembly polls. Shastri went to become the CM again in 1969. This time his tenure lasted only for 13 days. He became the chief minister for the third time in 1971 and served for seven months.

Ram Sundar Das

Ram Sundar Das, a Dalit leader who rose from the grassroots and joined the Congress, became the



Congress leader Charanjit Singh Channi takes oath as Chief Minister of Punjab during the swearing-in ceremony, at Raj Bhawan in Chandigarh.

second Dalit CM of Bihar.

During the 1977 Bihar Legislative Assembly election, when the Congress was defeated by the Janata Dal, Das won from Sonpur assembly seat. A Dalit leader, two-time MP from HajipurLoksabha seat, and later a close aide of Bihar CM Nitish Kumar, Das died in 2015 at the age of 95.

Jitan Ram Manjhi

In May 2014, following JD (U)'s poor performance in the Lok Sabha election, Nitish Kumar resigned

as the Bihar CM, taking moral responsibility for his party's debacle.

But he brought in a low profile Mahadalit face — Jitan Ram Manjhi — as his successor. Manjhi, a six-time MLA, was the minister for SC/ST welfare in Nitish's cabinet. Manjhi, who belongs to the Mushahar community, which comprises two per cent of the state electorate, was

sworn as the 23rd chief minister of Bihar. Manjhi, who was once a clerk, played a significant role in the state's backward class political discourse, with stints with the Congress, Rashtriya Janata Dal and JD (U).

Mayawati

Born in a middle-class Dalit family in New Delhi, Mayawati went on to become the first female Dalit chief minister of Uttar Pradesh, in June 1995. Her term, however, ended within four months. Within a decade, she emerged as the tallest Dalit leader in the country. The BSP supremo led her party to a sensation triumph in 2007 UP assembly election when it got absolute majority with 206 seats in the 403-member assembly. This was the first time that the BSP won the majority on its own since its inception.

In 2007, Mayawati took oath as the chief minister for the fourth time. She went to create history by becoming the first chief minister of Uttar Pradesh to complete the five-year term. None of the previous Cms could complete their five-year terms, be it V.P. Singh, Mulayam Singh Yadav, KayalN Singh, or KamalapatiTripathi. *Courtesy: The Print*
JYOTI YADAV 20 September, 2021 1:06 pm IST

Congress got the messaging right in Punjab but the Gandhis and Sidhu can't celebrate yet

If Channi succeeds in doing what Amarinder couldn't do in over four years, it would be difficult for the Gandhis to boot him out. That will trouble Sidhu

Congress party's surprise pick of a Dalit Sikh, Charanjit Singh Channi, as the next chief minister of Punjab is a politically smart move, on the face of it. A Dalit Sikh as CM and a Jat Sikh, Navjot Singh Sidhu, as state Congress president make a strong combination in a Sikh-majority state. Channi is a Ramdasia Sikh, the same community Kanshi Ram, founder of the Bahujan Samaj Party, belonged to. With this, the Congress may hope to neutralise the alliance between the Shiromani Akali Dal (SAD) and the BSP. The SAD and the AamAdmi Party (AAP), too, have been trying to woo the community with the promise of a Dalit deputy CM.

In terms of social engineering,

the Congress high command has sought to do in Punjab what Prime Minister Narendra Modi and home minister Amit Shah did in Gujarat by appointing Bhupendra Patel the CM, the first Kadva Patel to occupy that post. Whether these messages will hit home will be known only after elections in these states next year.

But for the high commands of the two parties, the shake-ups in Punjab and Gujarat have produced different results. For the BJP, the stakes were different. The idea was to beat anti-incumbency by offering a 'new government' to the electorate and an olive branch to the Patidars. So they shunted out CM Vijay Rupani and his entire council of ministers were

packed off lock, stock, and barrel. You can blame Modi-Shah for running the Gujarat government by proxy — through a set of bureaucrats — but it's Modi the people vote for and he has changed the regents who failed to perform. There was nothing personal at stake. It was about the BJP's interest in Gujarat and to that extent, the party high command was successful, no matter what happens in next year's elections.

The objectives were, however, different for the Congress high command. It was more personal- the inviolability of the Gandhi family writ. It's about the Gandhis' discretionary powers- to reward or sack whosoever they wished at a time of their choos-

ing. Captain Amarinder Singh was expected to act as a mere regent, not as a sovereign. So if the Gandhis wanted Singh to make way for Sidhu, he had better comply. Captain

was expected to act like Vijay Rupani who read out from a given text, with bowed head, the reasons for his resignation. A Congress CM looking the high command in the eye was an affront. He had to go.

- Dr. Ambedkar



D.K. SINGH

What is first, Economic progress or conversion?

What is first, Economic progress or conversion? I will prefer conversion to economic reform. Untouchability is a permanent obstacle in your path of progress. And unless you remove it, your path cannot be smooth and without conversion, this hurdle cannot be removed.

If you sincerely desire that your qualifications should be valued, your

education should be of some use to you, you must throw away the shackles of untouchability.

A religion which allows a touch of animals but prohibits the touch of human beings is not a religion but a mockery. A religion that compels the illiterate to remain illiterate, and the poor to remain poor, is not a religion but a punishment. If the decision is taken in

favor of conversion, and the people start embracing any religion they like individually, I will not intervene in your conversion. If you decide today to be liberated, your future generations will definitely be liberated. If you decide to remain slaves, your future generations will also be slaves. I tell you specifically that man is not for religion, religion is for man. To become human, convert

yourselves. To get organized, convert yourselves. To achieve strength, convert yourselves. To secure equality, convert yourselves. To get liberty, convert yourselves. To make your domestic life happy, convert yourselves.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar"

Read more-

<http://www.ambedkartimes.com/rajkumar.htm>

JUDICIAL MESS OF RESERVATION POLICY

Certainty and consistency are two basic essentials of law. At the same time the prime task of the judicial function is not to unsettle the settled issues and thereby multiply litigations. Yet, recently the Supreme Court of India by its one more judicial pronouncement on the subject of promotions to the Scheduled Castes, Tribes and OBC employees in state services in case of U.P. Power Corporation Ltd has further complicated the issue of implementation of reservation policy which will definitely open a new Pandora box for further litigations in near future. On the issue of reservation policy, from 1962, barring few decisions, judgments after judgments, the Supreme Court of India has adopted a zigzag approach and case after case has unfortunately narrowed down the scope of reservation policy by evolving new tests and parameters making the constitutional task difficult. This has also lead to passing of several constitution amendments by the Parliament to accord effectiveness to the constitutional programme of affirmative action. Shockingly, this all has happened despite the fact that the Supreme Court itself has pronounced in 1997 that "the duty to implement the rule of reservation is a constitutional duty", naturally binding on the judiciary also.

The whole issue of reservation in state employment-education to SCs, STs and OBCs has travelled with wide range of issues compounded with multiple interpretative approaches from the first judicial pronouncement of the Supreme Court in Champakam Doorairajan's case in 1951 to the recent decision in 2012 as well as from the First Constitution Amendment Act, 1951 to the Constitution Ninety-Third Amendment Act, 2005-the last concerned amendment. During these six decades, on most of the occasions although reservation policy is an integral part of the principle of equality, instead of devising the full proof strategy to realise constitutional goal of equality along with empowerment of marginalised based on the spirit of the Constitution, the policy of reservation has been subject to judicial scrutiny from several sociological to legal tests and sometimes of the principles and doctrines which have never been a part of our constitutional edifice. As a consequence sometimes the policy has faced the judicial resilience on one or other pretexts.

This is self-evident from the Supreme Court's latest verdict in U.P. Power Corporation Ltd. setting aside the Uttar Pradesh government's decision to provide reservations in promotions to SC, ST and OBC employees in State services by subjecting it to multiple tests laid down in its earlier decisions in the case of M. Nagraj in 2006, Suraj Bhan Meena's case in 2011 and i.e., quantifiable data to support, the parameters of backwardness, inadequacy of representation in respect of the posts in a particular cadre and maintenance of efficiency in administration as engrafted in Article 335 of the Constitution. By such claver verdict, on one hand the Court has upheld

the legality of all challenged 77th, 81st, 82nd and 85th constitutional amendments relating to reservation in promotions and on the other side perse the Supreme Court has not struck down the policy of reservation in promotion but has made it non-operative by following the multiple yardsticks which are difficult to comply with by State.

Actually the whole constitutional law relating to reservation in employment is outlined in Articles 16 (1) (2) (3) (4), 16(4-A), 16 (4-B) and 335 along with the preambler promise of equality and justice to all. By several constitution amendments the Parliament has tried to give an effect to the policy of reservations including in promotions, but since the Mandal case decision in 1992 the entire gamut of reservations in state services has been totally hijacked by the judiciary guided by the leading lights of the supreme court bar who are unknown for their pro-reservationist approaches, leaving executives to the position of helplessness. This entire exercise is being done in the name of several judicial innovative tests such as, "width test", "test of identity", "Article 16 (4- A and B) are "enabling provisions", "theory of guided power", "catch-up rule", etc. which the common man does not understand.

Although provisions of Article 16 (4), (4-A) and (4-B) are the part of scheme of Part III of the Constitution and are fundamental rights, but according to several judicial pronouncements of the Supreme Court they are not fundamental rights but merely are "enabling provisions" and hence do not impose any constitutional duty on State, according to the Supreme Court's judicial invention in the case of Ajit Singh V. State of Punjab (1999). In fact in the case of Ashok Kumar Gupta V. State of U.P (1997) Justice Ramaswamy has ruled that social justice as well as the right of socio-economic empowerment were fundamental rights and this was reiterated by the Supreme Court in its observation in the case of Badrinath V. Government of Tamil Nadu (2000) declaring that the right to be considered for promotion is a fundamental right. But now it is an established principle of the Supreme Court that Article 16 (4-A) and (4-B) do not confer any fundamental rights because they are merely "enabling provisions". It is strange that besides these provisions not a single provision of the Constitution either in Part III or in the entire Constitution is not termed as an "enabling provision". What an injudicious approach of judicial wing of governance which was considered by the framers of the Constitution as an arm of social revolution in India.

In India, the policy of reservation in promotion is in existence since 1955. In 1962, thirty years before Mandal decision (1992), the Supreme Court in its milestone decision in Rangachari case, after considering the issue of reservations in promotions,

systematically laid down a principle that, "...the appointment includes promotion, hence reservation in appointment means accelerated promotion". In Mandal decision the Supreme Court

departed from this settled position for more than 30 years and ruled adversely, which contributed for the Constitution 77th Amendment Act, 1995 to overcome the Mandal effect by addition of 16(4-A). After Mandal decision, the Supreme Court in Virpal Singh Chauhan case (1995) deprived the backward class employees of the seniority on promotion. In R. K. Sabharwal (1995) the court forced the new post based roster without clarifying for filling backlog vacancies. In Vinodkumar case (1996) it cancelled the relaxations, concessions and lowering standard for promotions of SCs and STs, laid down 50% limit to current as well as backlog vacancies. Unfortunately, apart from further litigations, this reverse activism of the court created manifold problems of constitutional, administrative and political nature as well as an environment of social unrest and tension in the country.

It is paradox that, in Mandals case in 1992, the Supreme Court needlessly, in the name of finality, which never exists in judicial process, and forgetting the basic principle of interpretation of constitutional law that constitutional issues cannot be adjudicated on hypothetical basis, ruled that Article 16(4) is confined to the initial appointment and cannot extend to reservation in the matter of promotion and also confined total reservation to 50%. The 9 judges bench's judicial logic did not stop there but went on fixing the five years time limit to continue reservation in promotion and then stop it permanently even without bothering to leave the issue for parliamentary consideration. Therefore the Supreme Court's injudicious and unwarranted decision in Mandal's case on several issues is the genesis of all subsequent complexities, multiplicity of conflicting decisions as well as a number of constitution amendments.

Before Mandal too, the zigzag approach of the Supreme Court sans consistency and certainty is also primarily responsible for this entire mess of reservation policy. The decision in R. K. Sabarwal case gave another blow to the reservation policy by declaring that, while reserved candidates are entitled to accelerated promotion but not to the consequential seniority, whereas in Jagdishlal case (1997), a three-Judge Bench ruled that on promotion the reserve candidates get both- accelerated seniority as well as consequential seniority. Faced with such diverse judicial trends the Supreme Court in Ajit Singh case (II) (1999) re-considered three decisions together- Vir Pal Singh Chauhan, Jagdish Lal, and Ajit Singh (I) - and pronounced that Article 16(1) deals with the fundamental right and the clauses of the same article (4) and (4-A) are the enabling provisions,

negating the decisions in Jagdish Lal as well as Ashok Kumar Gupta. In response to that in a damage control exercise the Parliament introduced Articles 16 (4-A and B) by constitutional amendments restoring reservation in promotion with consequential seniority to any class or class of posts in the services under the State, in favour of SCs and STs who are not adequately represented. The legality of these amendments was tested in M. Nagraj case (2006).

Reservation is a temporary measure. The founding fathers of the Constitution aimed it with speedy empowerment of weaker sections to secure equality of status and opportunity to make Indian democracy meaningful. The recent decision in U.P. Power Corporation Ltd. has a political background too since the effect in reservation to promotions was given in 2007 by Miss. Mayawati's BSP government and the present government in Uttar Pradesh of Samajwadi Party has seized the opportunity to roll-back the policy decision of earlier BSP Government. The decision has also exposed the judicial indiscipline of Lucknow and Allahabad Benches of High Court of Uttar Pradesh over the issue of determination of legality of reservations in promotions as well as the applicability of the ratio of Nagraj case. Now such judicial impropriety and indiscipline suggest the attitudes adopted by the judiciary in course of administration of justice, of which rightly the cognizance has been taken by the Supreme Court in its Paragraphs 3 to 15 of the decision in U.P. Power Corporation case. While deciding the matter, the Report of the Uttar Pradesh "Social Justice Committee" of 28-06-2001 categorically emphasised on the need for implementation of reservation in promotions in public service in U.P. was also not considered by the court. The judgment has also exposed the absolute misconceived understanding of backwardness of SCs and STs because their inclusion and exclusion in the Presidential list is by virtue of Articles 341 and 342 of the Constitution. In such a case any kind of collection of data regarding backwardness is practically impossible. Does it mean that 'no data-no promotion rule'? The concepts of efficiency, backwardness and inadequacy of representation are required to be measured and identified hereafter to protect reservations in promotions with consequential seniority. This exercise is rather difficult, multi-faced and hence subject to challenge once again before the court of law and thus the purpose of whole exercise may not settle the conflicting claims. As a result, already there has been a hue and cry in the Parliament for another constitutional amendment and very soon it will be there sowing further seeds for the new constitutional battles in the Supreme Court.

**The author is a former Prof. & Head of Dept. Of Law, University of Mumbai and National Gen. Secretary of BSP. (drsureshlaw@yahoo.com)*

**Adv. (Dr.)
Suresh Mane**



Congratulations to the New CM of Punjab

A congratulatory and felicitatory meeting of the prominent residents of Bootan Mandi, axel of dalit consciousness in Punjab, was held on

'one vote one value', in the past seventy odd years no dalit could make it to the top. Now the situation has taken a full circle with the elevation

ate the development and progress of Punjab. Sweets and snacks were kindly arranged and shared with the public by Harish Mahey and Ramesh

cluded ; Manohar Mahey, Amar Nath



Ramesh Chander
Ambassador - I.F.S. (Retired)
91-99885-10940



September 20 to congratulate and felicitate the new CM of Punjab, Sardar Charanjit Singh Channi. The entire people of the area were jubilant and happy on the appointment of a dalit leader to the coveted post irrespective of political affiliations. Punjab state has a large share of dalits, about 35%, in the population, the highest in any state of India. Surprisingly in a democratic country having a norm of

of Charanjit Singh Channi to the top job. It will have a salutary effect on the entire political spectrum and would strengthen the agenda of 'empowerment' of the weaker sections of the society. The meeting wished all the very best to Sardar Charanjit Singh Channi in his new assignment and expressed confidence that he and his new team would be able to deliver and acceler-

Warikoo to celebrate the occasion. Prominent among the present in-

Ambasador Ramesh Chander among others.



Mr. Ranjit Aujla sports person of Banga of Shaheed Bhagat Singh Nagar (Punjab) India has been included by the World Book of Records for performing maximum (290) single bounce rope skipping in 01 minute with 120 kilograms body weight on September 02, 2021. The certificate of inclusion was presented to Mr. Ranjit Dadra sportsperson by Mr. Jasvir Singh Shinda (Vice President of WNR, Punjab) along with other prominent guests.

Read more
www.ambedkartimes.com

Change of Name

I, Surinder Singh Butter
S/O Beant Singh
Resident of:
1759 Ertle St, Manteca,
CA-95337, U.S.A.

Now I have changed my name
From: Surinder Singh Butter
To: Surinder Singh

All concerned Kindly note it.

Change of Name

I, Navjot Kaur Aujla
w/o Kunal Puri
Resident of:
2951 Reynolds Ranch Pkwy,
Apt G326 Lodi, CA-95240, U.S.A.

Now I have changed my name
From: Navjot Kaur Aujla
To: Navjot Kaur Puri

All concerned Kindly note it.

Change of Name

I, Lakhwinder Singh Sandhu
s/o Shumar Singh
Resident of:
5966 E Pitt Ave, Fresno,
CA-93727, U.S.A.

Now I have changed my name
From: Lakhwinder Singh Sandhu
To: Lakhwinder Singh

All concerned Kindly note it.