

108. It is clear from the general analysis at Sub-section C(i) of Section IV above as well as from the analysis of the data in the Gurnam Singh Commission's Report that the Jats of Haryana are not Socially Backward and are in fact Socially Advanced.

(iii) Delhi

109. The position of Jats in Delhi has been analysed by the Backward Classes Commission of the Govt. of the National Capital Territory of Delhi (NCT of Delhi) headed by Justice G.C. Jain (Rtd.) with 3 other Members in its Report dated 21.10.94. It is seen from the Report that the arguments raised in favour of the Request of the All India Jat Sangharsh Samiti for the Inclusion of Jats in the State List of Backward Classes for the NCT of Delhi are more or less the same as urged by the representatives of the Jat community of Uttar Pradesh. After hearing the evidence in detail and the arguments for and against the Request, and after correctly noting that to fall within the term "Backward Classes" the community must be socially backward, the Backward Classes Commission of the NCT of Delhi came to the conclusion that "on careful examination of the matter we find that this community is not socially backward", by a majority of 3 : 1, the dissenting member being Prof. K.L. Sharma, a renowned social scientist. Efforts to get the details of the data base on which Prof. Sharma relied, including personal efforts by the officers of the NCBC as well as a letter to the office of the Backward Classes Commission of the NCT of Delhi have not materialised. It has also not been possible to know the details of "several scientifically conducted studies by social scientists in Northern India" mentioned in the brief summary of the opinion of Prof. Sharma given in the Report. It is necessary to know whether these Studies in North India referred to by him pertain to Rajasthan only or to other parts of North-Western India. So far as Rajasthan is concerned, the details provided by an enlightening study of Prof. K.L. Sharma are discussed later on

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while analysing the data for the Jats of Rajasthan.

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110. The NCBC, agreeing with the conclusions of the State Commission and also on the basis of the general analysis contained in paras 57 and 58 of Sub-section A of Section IV, and the general analysis in Para C (i) of Sub-section C of Section IV, is of the view that the Jats of Delhi who, in addition to the advantages that the Jats have been explained to possess in their territory including Delhi, now have also got the advantage of urban and metropolitan residence and also the advantage of sharp rise in the value of property in the metropolis and its outskirts, are not Socially Backward.

(iv) Uttar Pradesh

111. The averments contained in the letter of Request of Major Rishi Pal Singh, and the letter of Request of Jat Samaj and the copy of the Questionnaire of the State Backward Classes Commission (earlier filled up by Akhil Bhartiya Jat Mahasabha, Lucknow) enclosed with it are discussed below. Neither of the two Request makers, as pointed out earlier, furnished the NCBC's Questionnaire duly filled-up, though one of them was addressed about 2½ years back and the other nearly a year back.

112. At the hearing on 4.7.1997, certain representatives of the Jat community including Shri Jaipal Singh, General Secretary, Jat Samaj, Lucknow and others were present. They undertook to conduct survey on their own and furnish the report within three months. This period of three months is over and no survey data have been received from them. However, the survey data already furnished by Major Rishi Pal Singh is available in the records and have been referred to in detail lower down.

113. After the hearing on 4.7.1997 by the two-Member Bench, a single-Member Bench consisting of Shri Akshay Bhai Sahu held a Public Hearing on the 6th and 7th October 1997 at Lucknow which was primarily to consider the requests pertaining to synonyms, etc. On the Member's direction, media publicity was given

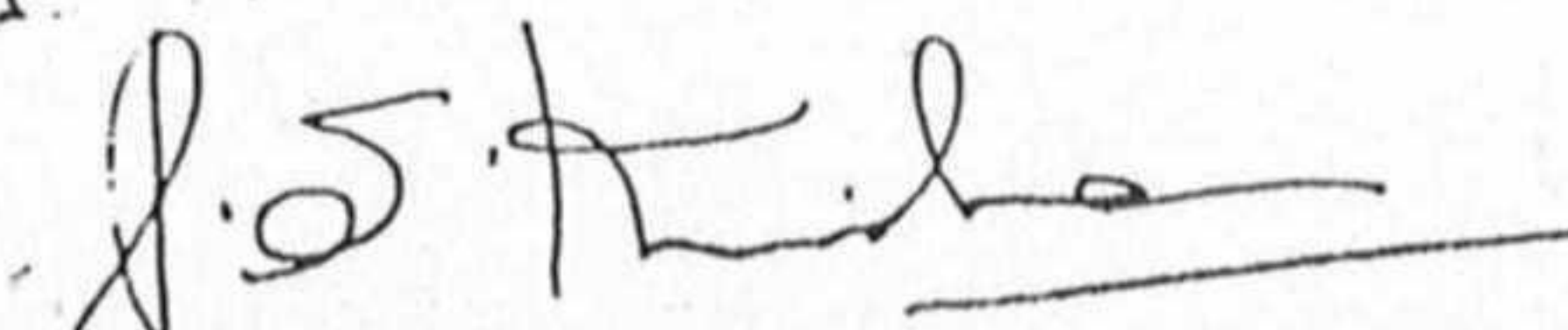
undertaking on 4.7.1997. They appeared before the single-Member Bench but were not able to furnish the promised survey data or any other information.

114. Subsequent to the Hearing on 4.7.1997, the only material received is a letter from the Jat Samaj, Lucknow signed by its General Secretary, Shri Jai Pal Singh which does not contain anything new and is only a reiteration of points already made by Jat representatives in their various requests and representations and dealt with below.

115. At the Public Hearing on 4.7.1997, it was mentioned to the Bench that the Jat community was on the agenda of the State Backward Classes Commission for a detailed social survey. The Bench gave four months' time for the completion of this and furnishing of the data. Four months have already passed. It is understood that they have not yet commenced the survey. However, it is not necessary to wait any longer for the survey since other data available including the recent scholarly work of Dipankar Gupta, a renowned social scientist referred to lower down in detail, are adequate for arriving at conclusions about the Jats of Western Uttar Pradesh.

116. Some of the points mentioned by the representatives of the community are contradicted internally or by available expert evidence. For example, it has been averred by them at one place that 20% of the population of the Jat community are landless, while at another it is claimed that as much as 45% do not have lands. On the other hand, the recent scholarly study of Dipankar Gupta mentions that most Jats are small to medium farmers. He has also stated that in his experience, he has not come across a Jat who is an agricultural labourer and the chances for a Jat to be a labourer in somebody else's fields are very slim, anywhere in West Uttar Pradesh or Haryana. It is degrading for a Jat to work as an agricultural labourer, he

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further adds. These categorical observations of Dipankar Gupta go against the probability of such a significant proportion of 20% or 45% of Jats being landless. In a predominantly agricultural community if there is a substantial proportion of landless peasants or families, the inevitable consequence to be expected is to find that some of them become agricultural labourers. In fact, as discussed under Haryana, the Request bemoans that the majority of Jats have been landless agricultural labourers. The distance between them and agricultural labourers is brought out by the observations of Dipankar Gupta that the Bhartiya Kisan Union (BKU) which according to him "draws its sustenance from certain aspects of Jat culture and ethos" has had "practically nothing to say about the poor agricultural labourers either in UP or elsewhere". Similar claims of reduction of holding size have been made on behalf of certain other castes considered to be prominent land holding castes in other States. While it is true that under the prevalent customary and statutory laws of inheritance, the holding-sizes have come down, it is also true that this has been more than compensated by the growth in technology, witnessed by the manifold increase of consumption of fertilisers from 294000 tonnes in 1960-61 to 8780000 tonnes in 1986-87 and doubling of the gross irrigated area from 28 million hectares in 1960-61 to 57.3 million hectares in 1986-87 (Statistical Outline of India 1988-89, Tata Statistical Services, Deptt. of Economic and Statistics, Bombay 1988, cited by Dipankar Gupta) and consequent increase in productivity particularly in areas with dependable irrigation like canal and tubewell irrigation as in Western Uttar Pradesh and other contiguous Jat territories in Haryana, Punjab and rural Delhi. This is specifically corroborated by Dipankar Gupta with reference to West Uttar Pradesh. He points out that the peasant farmers of West UP "are beneficiaries of green revolution, use tractors, chemicals and high-yielding varieties of seeds", and they produce for the market. The soil in West Uttar Pradesh, as rightly pointed out by Gupta, is fertile and chemicals are used and almost all the lands are irrigated by deep tubewells. In this context, it is worth

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noting that the Jats are by far the most numerous agricultural community of Western UP according to Dipankar Gupta, roughly 10% of the population of the Muzzaffarnagar and 12% in Meerut being Jats as compared with 4-5% of Gujars in these districts.

117. The average holding of Jats in Western UP as claimed by the Jat representatives/Request makers, is about 0.8 hectare, which works out to 2 acres. According to the sample statistics furnished by Dipankar Gupta in respect of one village viz; Bhaju of Muzaffarnagar District, more than half of the Jat households there have above three acres of land, which as pointed out above are of superior quality, and irrigated by canal as well as by tubewell. More than a quarter have got above five acres of land. About 10% have between 8-18 acres. Even those who have got less than five or three acres in Bhaju are apparently not landless because Dipankar Gupta refers to them as Jat households owning 0-5 acres or 0-3 acres. According to Gupta, in areas like Sisauli, or Chaprauli, or Bhaju the Jats are by and large self-cultivating farmers, who generally are able to look after their agricultural operations without the help of agricultural labourers, since a Jat farmer tends to get all the work done in a holding size of upto eight acres with the help of his own family members. But in certain other areas like Nirpura, which is near the Baraut-Saharanpur highway bordering Muzzaffarnagar District, or villages like Niloha or Incholi, Orchaprauli or Bhaju near Meerut city (in the eastern part of west UP), where Jats tend to have larger holdings, there is need to engage a significant number of Scheduled Caste agricultural labourers. Specifically he says that there are many Jats there having land upto 20 acres. The extent of land that has gone to Scheduled Castes in Niloha Village as a result of redistribution of excess land under the Land Ceiling Act is really very small, the largest beneficiary among them having got only five Bighas which is equal to one acre. Another got just two bighas which comes to less than half an acre.

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118. According to the Request-makers, the income of 95% of the community engaged in the traditional occupation, which is agriculture, supplemented by animal husbandry and poultry, comes to Rs. 1000-1200 per annum. This flies in the face of Dr. Gupta's assessment that according to popular estimates in this region the net income from one acre of land is about Rs. 35,00/- a year. The exaggeratedly low income of a mere Rs. 1000-1200 per annum (the Request does not even mention whether it is per acre) for 95% of the community when most of the Jats have holdings which put them in the category of small and medium farmers, nearly more than half of them having above three acres is in line with the exaggerated statement that a buffalo or cow yields one or two litres of milk a day. The wealth of the Jat community can be judged from another information given by Dipankar Gupta that one acre of land in West UP costs Rs. 1.5 lakh roughly. It is claimed by the Request makers that those who keep a buffalo or a cow have to sell the entire milk for the cash requirement of the family and cannot retain the milk for their children. This is contradicted by the observation of Dipankar Gupta that "Jats often deride the Gujars because the latter allegedly have no compunctions against selling milk" implying that Jats consider it beneath their dignity to sell milk. Dipankar Gupta also says that he has often heard Jats saying that the Gujar resort to selling milk because they are generally poor. This not only goes against the piteous plea that a number of Jats have to sell milk for their livelihood but also a commentary on Major Rishi Pal Singh's comparison of Jats and Gujars, with the claim that Jats are economically worse off than Gujars. Gupta also further mentions that Jats "publicly declare that they would never sell milk, which is what the Gujars do nor would they sell vegetables".

119. As against the piteous plea of mal-nutrition in the Jat villages according to the Request makers, we have the statement of Dipankar Gupta that they "eat a healthy diet of wheat, seasonal vegetables, fruit and milk product", no doubt simple

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food but healthy food as mentioned by Dipankar Gupta. The daily food according to him is uniform in peasant homes. The very interesting example of Jat pride given by Dipankar Gupta in different parts of the book do not go with a caste which considers itself or is considered by others to be socially inferior or backward. For example, he mentions certain occupations which Jats consider to be beneath their dignity. Jats have often told Dipankar Gupta that "the jobs that befit them are those in the armed forces, or in the police, or even in the transport sector. But here too they make a distinction. To be a bus driver is alright but not to be a bus conductor. To be a driver is to be man, but to be a conductor is more feminine Though it is not as if all Jats are in such 'manly' occupations, that is where they think they belong."

20. Major Rishi Pal Singh has from, certain limited data, drawn a picture of Jats, Yadavas and Gujars by a survey conducted by him through volunteers in three villages of each community to show that Jats are worse off than the other two. As against this, we have the reference of Dipankar Gupta to Yadavas and Kurmi as "primarily the depressed tenant community in pre-Independent India". He also gives an interesting account of Tikait's comments on the conditions of the farmers of East India. Tikait once said soon after returning from a tour "We spent forty days agitating in Bhopa, but the wretched kisans of Palamau, Kalahandi or Giridih are so poor that there is no way they can put up such a resistance for so long. I felt really sorry for them and grateful to God that we were comparatively much better off (Personal Interview)." According to Gupta, the attitude revealed by Tikait's comments is a clear endorsement of Hamza Alavi's "middle peasant thesis", in a clear and unambiguous form. Regarding Gujars, reference already made to Gupta's observations correct Major Singh's claim.

121. Among the factors that distinguish the peasants of Western UP, Jats being predominant numerically and, otherwise, in the major Jat territory of which Western UP is part, is that they have been fortunate to be spared the social and economic humiliations and debilitating situations of living under intermediary tenures like Jagirdari and Zamindari in the modern period. The specific type of land tenure system which has been prevalent in Western UP is the Bhaichara System. In Gupta's words "Bhaichara originally signified a form of tax collection prevalent in some parts of pre-British and even British India where the village was assessed as a unit." He contrasts it with "the zamindari systems which were based on a system of rent and rural overlordship", while on the contrary "Bhaichara, wherever it existed, signalled an egalitarian social structure and an extended kin network of equals". According to him this Bhaichara system has given rise to the "Bhaichara Ethos". Dipankar Gupta also refers to east UP as an area which has a longer and more deeply entrenched zamindari and brahminical tradition. In contrast in west UP large parts (particularly Meerut and Muzaffarnagar) were under the Bhaichara dispensation where land was allotted in general on the principle of equality. He cites for this the well-known authority of Indian Land Tenures; Baden-Powell formerly of the Bengal Civil Service and at one-time Judge of the Chief Court of the Punjab. The Land System of British India- Being A Manual of the Land-Tenure and of the System of Land Revenue Administration prevalent in the several Provinces. Crown Publications, New Delhi, Vol. I. First Indian Reprint 1988.

122. This is also relevant to Major Rishi Pal Singh's comparison of Jats with Yadavas to the disadvantage of Jats in the matter of their economic conditions. Apart from the general analysis contained in section IV, sub-sections A and C(i) above, Dipankar Gupta's references to west UP and east UP remind us that Yadavas are predominantly an agricultural community of eastern UP and of the contiguous and similar areas of Bihar and only to a limited

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extent of western UP while Jats in UP are confined to western UP and are not normal residents of the rest of UP or Bihar.

123. What Dipankar Gupta has stated is in keeping with the analysis contained in sub-section A of Section IV and in sub-section C (i) of Section IV.

124. In the enclosure furnished by the Jat Sabha, it has been claimed that the Jats have been considered historically to be Yadavas and have filed extracts from Kalika-Ranjan Quanungo's "History of the Jats". The extract produced bears the heading "The alleged Yadava origin of the Jats". Far from strengthening the claim of the Sabha, the author seems to be rather sarcastic about it. For example, he says that "The Jats are difficult to persuade that they are not descended from the ancient Yadavas, though they cannot produce any evidence in support of their claim". He then refers to Alberuni's account which has been discussed in detail under Madhya Pradesh and says that the "Jat or Jut" can be derived with as much probability from the Indian Yadu or Yadava as from the Chinese Yuti or Ye-ta-li-to, or from Jatas or Sujatas, a branch of the great Haihaya Yadavas. But he also points out that Haihayas were a southern people inhabiting the region of the Narmada, and were therefore little likely to be the ancestors of Jats. Whether in the Puranic past Jats originated from Yadavas or not -- which can neither be proved nor disproved -- makes no difference to the determination of whether they are now a Socially backward caste or not.

125. Major Rishi Pal Singh also gives a lot of data regarding, literacy, education etc. Even if these be true -- though it is not possible to accept them at their face value, in view of his exaggerated claims regarding yield of milk and annual agricultural income, this does not help unless it is first established that the Jat caste is Socially backward. So far as

this is concerned on the basis of the general analysis contained in sub-section A of Section IV and Sub-Section C(i) of Section IV, and the very recent study of Dipankar Gupta, it is not possible to come to the conclusion that the Jats of Uttar Pradesh are Socially Backward, but on the contrary the only possible conclusion is that they are Socially not Backward and they are Socially Advanced.

(v) Rajasthan

26. The case of the Jats of Rajasthan is that they are an exception to the exception, i.e., while the Jats of North-Western India are generally socially advanced, the Jats of Rajasthan are an exception to the situation of other North-Western Jats. Unlike the Jats of U.P., Haryana and Madhya Pradesh, the representatives of Jats of Rajasthan produced a wealth of materials to support their case, both in the NCBC's Questionnaire duly filled up and through other documents and citations.

27. Their case and claims are corroborated by the general principles brought out in para 57 and 58 of Sub-section A of Section IV and in Sub-section C(i) of Section IV. Unlike the Jats of other areas of their normal habitation and occupation, the Jats of Rajasthan (except in Bharatpur and Dhaulpur) have been subjected to the intermediary tenures of Jagirdari and Zamindari held by non-Jat people of the upper castes till some time after Independence when at last these intermediary tenures were abolished. Again except in Bharatpur and Dhaulpur, their lands were under native princely rulers or chieftains belonging to other castes, almost all of whom were Rajputs who, according to Irfan Habib, had emerged by a process of evolution as a superior landed caste of rural North India. While the struggle of these Rajput rulers for freedom are part of the admirable sagas of India's medieval history, and their sacrifices and the sufferings undergone by them in their persistent struggle against invaders continues to excite

admiration, in the economic system consisting of the native princely states, Jagridari and Zamindari, the consequences so far as the peasants and peasant-castes are concerned are one of oppression, exploitation and deprivation. While this was the general condition of peasant-castes all over India, some relief came during the British period and to some extent even before the British period, in some parts, of which the peasants and peasant-castes were beneficiaries as brought out in Sub-Section A of Section IV. In Rajasthan, the position of the peasant-castes as virtually tenants-at-will continued right upto Independence and till some time after Independence, ie., till after the abolition of Jagirdari and Zamindari rights, unlike the position of Jats in other parts, especially their main territory of Western U.P., Haryana and Punjab. In this they are comparable to Yadavas and Kurmis of Eastern U.P. and Bihar as described by Dipankar Gupta ["Rivalry and Brotherhood -- Politics in the Life of Farmers in Northern India", Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1997].

128. Further not only has there been no works of dependable irrigation in the Jat areas of Rajasthan as in Western U.P., Haryana and Punjab, but most of the area has rather sparse and undependable monsoon and inadequate water-resources. It is only recently that the Rajasthan Canal or Indira Gandhi Nahar has been taken up and is slowly progressing and is yet to effectively cover and benefit most of area where the Jat peasantry lives. Regarding dependable irrigation, the only very limited exception has been parts of the old Bikaner state. But even here the peasants including the Jat peasantry had the other adverse conditions of the tenurial systems etc.

129. Regarding the land tenurial situations in Rajasthan the following information is available from standard sources like the Imperial Gazetteer of India Provincial Series, Rajputana [Superintendent of Government Printing, Calcutta, 133

130. In Rajasthan the land was divided into two main groups: namely, that under the direct management of the Darbar, called Khalsa; and that held by grantees, whether individuals or religious institutions, and known as jagir, inam, bhum, muafi, sasan, dharmada, etc. In former times the word jagir was applied only to estates held by Rajputs on condition of military service. The Jagirdar was the Thakur or lord who held by grant (patta) of his chief and performed service with specified . Most of the Jagirdars were Rajputs but there were also jagirdars of Mahajan, Kayastha etc castes also. The Jagirdars employed persons from cultivating castes who ploughed their land and in lieu of their services they were allowed to retain a share of the produce. In this context, the Jats were tenants-at-will of Jagirdars. The Jagirdar as landholder was free to collect land revenue at his will as there was no land revenue law or rules prevalent in Rajputana. The rates varied according to the class of soil, the distance of the field from the village, the caste of cultivator, the kind of crop grown, the policy of the state, etc. This situation gave rise to exploitation and oppression of Jats and other peasant-castes, as they were tenants-at-will of Jagirdars.

131. KL Sharma [The Changing Rural Stratification System A Comparative Study of Six Villages in Rajasthan, India, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1974] cites Dhool Singh to show that at the time of the integration of the princely states after Independence, there were 5,400 Jagirs or units under Jagirdari system which occupied 60.7% of the total area of Rajasthan. Unlike the Imperial Gazetteer, which divides the tenurial system only into two, KL Sharma's source Dhool Singh divides it into three, namely, Jagir, Khalsa and Zamindari. The Zamindari system was in operation in ten districts of the State covering 4,867 villages and 318,860 Zamindari estates. This was abolished only by 15 January 1960, i.e., nearly 14 decades after independence.

132. Based on the Report of the Rajasthan State Land Commission (December 1959), which explains the state of affairs in Rajasthan before the abolition of the Jagirdari and Zamindari systems, KL Sharma outlines the characteristics of Jagirdari and Zamindari systems: "Jagirs were bigger estates than the Zamindaris. Jagirs were granted to certain military commanders, ministers and courtiers, who took the revenue for their own support or that of a military force which they were bound to maintain. Thus, Jagirs were under the control of assignees, grantees and sub-grantees of the former kings and chiefs. The Jagirdar was an intermediary between the tiller of the soil and the State, but practically behaved as owner of the land in relation to the peasants.... A person appointed to manage the tract under his influence was designated as 'land-holder' or 'Zamindar' of his territory. The duty of such a Zamindar was strictly to gather revenue... The Jagirdar was to pay a fixed amount of tribute to the King of his state, whereas the Zamindar was given a definite share of the total revenue. In Rajasthan about 60 percent of the total land was under the Jagirdari system and the remaining 40 percent was under the Zamindari system."

133. These systems embraced all aspects of the life of the people for, as KL Sharma states, the Jagirdars and Zamindars intervened in all aspects of the social and cultural life of the people. These systems came to an end with the enforcement of the Rajasthan Land Reforms and Resumption of Jagirs Act, 1952, and the Rajasthan Zamindari and Biswadari Abolition Act, 1959. These Acts provided full rights to the tenants by putting an end to the claims of the Jagirdars and Zamindars to any land other than their personal land. Not surprisingly, the enactment of these Acts did not mean actual immediate abolition of Jagirdari and Zamindari. The work of resumption and abolition of Jagirdari started only in 1954 and the Zamindari estates were abolished only in 1960. It is not as though immediately thereafter the intermediary tenures disappeared and the peasants-at-will became owner-occupants on their own. PS Appu ["Land Reforms in India",

Vikas Publishing Nouse Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1996], an authority on Indian land reforms, notes that in a number of States the landlords resorted to many illegal means and subterfuges to thwart the implementation of the law. But he has a special word about the resistance of landlords in Rajasthan as follows: "This resistance was the toughest in Rajasthan, classic land of feudal land relations where the Jagirdari system covered over 80% of the land."

[34. Daniel Thorner, Ford Foundation scholar and authority on land-tenures and reforms has the following comments in this regard [The Agrarian Prospect in India, Delhi University Press, 1955]:-

"It is in Rajasthan that the landed gentry have offered the most savage resistance to land reform. Practically all of the Jagirdar's lands had been cultivated for them by inferior tenants. Thorough-going abolition of intermediaries would have driven this class completely out of the rural scene. In order to allow the Jagirdars to continue to draw a living from the soil, the Rajasthan Land Reforms and Resumption of Jagirs Act of 1952 empowered them to resume for 'self-cultivation' a certain minimum of land. Thus the Jagirdars were allowed to clear the tenants off such land as they were entitled to resume. Since older agrarian legislation was practically non-existent, and tenant's rights practically unheard of the clearing off process presented no real difficulties. Rough methods of persuasion were employed upon peasants who did not agree readily to surrender or abandon their holdings. A number of leases were shortened by the termination of the lives of the tenants. After having presented these unrepentant former Jagirdars with the opportunity of remaining on the agricultural scene by carving out Khud-Kasht holdings which they could cultivate for themselves, the Rajasthan legislature went one step further. It has now granted to the holders of Khud-Kasht lands the right to let these lands out to tenants and to authorize the tenants in their turn to sublet."

135. KL Sharma's study of six sample villages, 2 each from Sikar district of the Shekhawati region and Jaipur district, both of which districts were part of the Jaipur princely state, ruled by Rajput rulers, and 2 from Bharatpur district which was a princely state under Jat rulers gives a clear picture of the period before abolition and after abolition of the Jagirdari and Zamindari systems. Two of the sample villages of Jaipur district were under the Jagirdari system and two were under the Zamindari system. The landowning caste of both the Jagirdari villages and one of the Zamindari villages was Rajput and in the other Zamindari village the land-owning caste was Charan. In one of the Jaipur villages the main tenant caste was Jat along with Ahir, and in the other the main tenant caste was Mali. In both the Sikar villages also Jat was the main tenant caste, in one of them along with Kumhar. Both the Bharatpur villages were under Zamindari system and in both of them the land-owning caste was Jat, in one along with Gujars, where the main tenant caste was Chamar, and in the other along with Brahmin where the main tenant castes were Chamar and Mali.

136. Sharma has brought out in detail the Jagirdar's position as a ruler in the Jagirdari villages and the bureaucratic system and mechanism under him.

137. It is also seen from KL Sharma that in the Zamindari villages, the small Zamindars were able to manipulate the retention of their holdings even after abolition of the Zamindari system. This included also the ex-Zamindars of Bharatpur. In the two sample villages, where the Rajputs were Jagirdars, their per capita land-holding was 202.5 and 153.0 acres before the abolition which got reduced after abolition to 25.2 and 13.5 respectively, and 13.7 acres before abolition in the sample village where they were Zamindars which got reduced to 2.2 acres after the abolition. The per capita land-holdings of Charans in their Zamindari village before and after abolition were more or less similar to that of Rajputs in their Zamindari village. The average per capita land-holdings of Jats, Gujars

and Brahmins before abolition in the two Bharatpur villages where they were zamindars were 3.8 and 3.0 acres respectively which got reduced to 1.8 and 2.1 acres respectively after abolition.

138. It also comes out that since Bharatpur had several small zamindars --- in fact Bharatpur had the largest number of Zamindari estates among all the Rajasthan districts --- it was possible for them to retain much of their landholdings. This again brings out the continuing advantage of Jats of Bharatpur, both before and after the abolition of Jagirdari and Zamindari, which comes on top of the fact that from the beginning of the 18th Century, the rulers of Bharatpur were Jats.

139. While the indepth sociological study of KL Sharma goes to corroborate along with other studies of pre-Independence and post-Independence Rajasthan, the averments of the representatives of the Jats of Rajasthan with regard to the continuing position of tenants-at-will in all of Rajasthan excluding Bharatpur and Dhaulpur, there are also interesting corroborations in KL Sharma and other sources in respect of other averments.

140. The plea of the representatives of the Jats of Rajasthan about the heavy imposition of rent and cesses at the will of jagirdars and the numerous types of other taxes is corroborated by the Imperial Gazetteer of India, Provincial Series: Rajputana (ibid) and Ram Pande's study of the Agrarian Movements in Rajasthan [Agrarian Movement in Rajasthan, University Publishers (India), Delhi, 1974]. The Imperial Gazetteer also generally corroborates their claim that the rate of rent or tax varied inter alia with the castes of the cultivators. While discussing the Bijolia Movement, Pande mentions that Kisans had to pay 86 different types of taxes and Thakur Desh Raj in his book "Jat Shakti Ka Itihas" says that Kisans were under three-fold slavery (of the Ruler, Jagirdar and the colonial power) and that they had to pay 116 taxes to the Jagirdars in Marwar.

141. KL Sharma also corroborates the averments made by them about the social discrimination practised against them of the type that cannot be imagined with regard to the Jats of other areas. Sharma cites Dhool Singh to say that there was a rebellion in Sikar against the social disabilities imposed on the Jats by the ruling Rajputs. The immediate cause of this rebellion was refusal on the part of the Jagirdars to allow a Jat to ride on an elephant in a procession. The same year three persons were killed in the village Khuri, near Sikar, in an encounter with the Bhomias (Rajputs) for not allowing a Jat bridegroom to ride on the horse. These incidents remind one of the atrocities committed on Jatavs (Chamars) in Kumher (in Bharatpur District) in 1992 and the massacre of Jatavs at Kumher by the Jats for the temerity of Jatavs (Chamar) for taking a Jatav (Chamar) bridegroom on horse-back. The incident involving Jats, according to KL Sharma, was part of the widespread discontent among the intermediate and lower castes against the ruling Rajputs and these intermediate castes actively participated in the Congress movements which slowly led to Independence and the reforms such as the Rajasthan Land Reforms and Resumption of Jagirs Act, 1952; the Rajasthan Zamindari and Biswedari Abolition Act, 1958; and the Panchayati Raj Act, 1959.

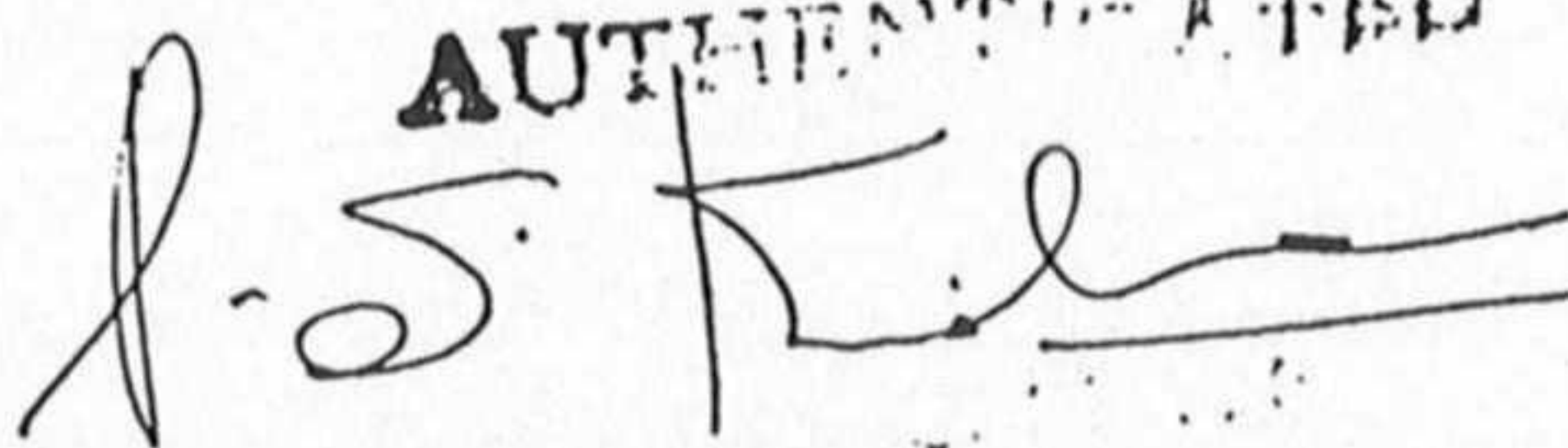
142. The nature of the peasant movements in Rajasthan spearheaded by Jats in Mewar, Marwar and in other parts of Rajasthan, as mentioned in para of Section , also brings out their sub-ordinate condition (except in Bharatpur and Dhaulpur), far different from the condition of Jats in Western U.P., Haryana and Punjab.

143. K.L.Sharma notes that the Jats could not add "Singh" after their names before the abolition of Jagirdari system and it is only recently that the Jats also have started using "Singh" after their names. It is an interesting feature of caste-humiliations that the lower castes were not allowed to have

relatively dignified names. For example, in Kerala, only Nairs were allowed to use the title-surname "Panikkar" in plural, while the Ezhavas were compelled to remain content with the name "Panikkan" only in singular, till well into the 20th Century. In North India, members of Scheduled Castes were not expected to add to their name the honorific "Singh" and they had to satisfy themselves with the suffix "Ram". Today in North India, virtually all whose names end with "Ram" are Scheduled Castes. It is only in Rajasthan where Jats also were allowed only to use the suffix "Ram" after their name, like Kumba Ram Arya, Nathu Ram Mirdha etc, though the post-Independence modern generation of Jats have also started to add the word "Singh" to their names. However, Bharatpur showed a difference in this pattern of nomenclature from early times, for example Thakur Badan Singh, the father of Maharaja Suraj Mal, in the 17th century; prior to that the most influential Jat land-owner of Bharatpur area was Gokal Ram, but soon after in the same century there was Thakur Churaman Singh, the great uncle of Maharaja Suraj Mal. After Suraj Mal all members of the Bharatpur royal family had "Singh" after their names in the 18th and 19th centuries continuing to the present century.

144. The statements of the Jat representatives regarding the low literacy figures for Jats also get corroboration, Though this factor itself would not have given strength to their case, but once it is established that there are other socio-historical factors to show that the case of Jats of Rajasthan is an exception to the case of the Jats of other areas of their occupation and consequently the condition of Jats reveals "social backwardness", the figures of literacy become relevant. The last caste-based Census of India, ie., the Census of India 1931, gives for Rajputana as well as for other areas the figures of literates per thousand. According to this the literacy of Jat males was 12 per 1000, lower than that for Ahirs (14 per 1000), far behind Khati (34 per 1000). Both Khatis and Ahirs are included in the list of Backward Classes in Rajasthan. Jats are ahead of Kumhars (11 per 1000) only marginally. Leaving

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aside the erstwhile "Untouchables" and Scheduled Tribes, only Gujars (8/1000) and Rebari (8/1000) who are in the List of Backward Classes are significantly lower than the Jats. Among the castes not included in the List of Backward Classes, but included in the List of Backward Classes in the neighbouring States, Meos are also significantly below the Jats.

145. The condition of Jats in Rajasthan is comparable to that of peasant-castes in Eastern UP, Bihar etc. which were under oppressive tenurial systems. There is evidence that they were subjected to social degradations and humiliations. No doubt after the effective abolition of Jagirdari and Zamindari systems, the condition of Jats in Rajasthan have begun to improve, but considering the time-span required for advancement of a community as a whole from a position of backwardness, the time that was available for Jats in Rajasthan (excluding Bharatpur and Dhaulpur) to move up from a position of social backwardness to that of social advancement, cannot be reasonably considered as adequate. The exceptional circumstances dating at least from the late Medieval age through the modern period which were available for communities like Kamma and Reddy of Andhra Pradesh and the Jats of Punjab etc. have not been available for Jats of Rajasthan (excluding Bharatpur and Dhaulpur). It is interesting to note that in the only part of Rajasthan which was not part of a princely State, viz., Ajmer-Merwara, there was a list of Backward Classes for educational purposes since before 1951, and Jat was included along with Kahar, Ahir, Mali, Kumhar, Gujar, Teli and Nai. All of them except Jat have been included in the present Central and State lists of Backward Classes for Rajasthan. Later, the Director of Social Welfare, Rajasthan, Jaipur issued a list of SCs, STs and OBCs in 1977 also for educational purposes only in which there were 57 communities throughout the State except Ajmer district and 23 communities in Ajmer district. In the Ajmer district all 8 communities which were there in the earlier list were included with some additions, but in the list for the rest of the State, Ahir, Jat, Gujar, Mali were not included. Out of these four, three

P. S. K. L.

excluding only Jat, which three were also in the Mandal List for Rajasthan, have been included in the State list of Backward Classes first in 1993 by verbatim reproduction of the Mandal List and then again in 1994 after rationalisation as per the Advice of the State Backward Class Commission. Even after the post-Independence changes, Rajasthan has been in the rearguard in the matter of introduction of a list of Backward Classes for all purposes in services. When the Centre, itself a late entrant, recognised Backward Classes as a category for reservation in the services of the State, there were only 4 major States in India which did not have an all-purpose list of Backward Classes and one of them was Rajasthan, which introduced such a list of Backward Classes, after the Mandal Judgement, as late as 1993/1994, during the President's rule.

146. Considering the background of Jats in Rajasthan except in Bharatpur and Dhaulpur, showing feudal oppression as well as social downgradation upto Independence and till some time after Independence, the omission of Jats is difficult to justify. The justification that it was not included in the Mandal List may not be adequate to explain its non-inclusion in the BC list against this background.

147. Regarding the points made by the State Government which have an indirect bearing on the case of Jats, if it is the view of the State Government, as mentioned in para 44 above, that all agricultural communities should be taken together for consideration, they ought to have included Ahir, Mali and other agricultural communities, mentioned by KL Sharma as agricultural castes, along with Jat for a detailed survey they had in mind. Even if they considered a survey with regard to Jats alone to be necessary, it is now 5 years after the Supreme Court pronounced the "Mandal Judgement" and the State Commission has been in existence since 1993 and after an interruption in 1996-1997 it has been partly reconstituted recently in 1997, with two new part-time Members and the Chairperson and the Member-Secretary whose first term came to an end in 1996 continued until further

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orders. Therefore, to say that survey is still to be held after these 4 or 5 years and till then the Jats would have to wait would appear to be rather unfair. The Supreme Court has laid down the mandatory revision of BC lists in every 10 years. The first of such mandatory decennial revisions will fall due in 2003 and almost half of this period is over by now. It is not fair to keep any community waiting for a decision for such indefinitely long periods in the name of survey and against the background which has been explained, it is difficult to brush aside the feeling of the Jats that survey is being used as a means to deny, or at least to delay, a decision in their case.

148. Regarding the point of the Rajasthan Government, mentioned in para above, that the SC and ST have reservation of 16% and 12% respectively and State Government has fixed 21% reservation for BCs and therefore it will be appropriate and necessary for the NCBC to keep in view the percentage of population in the State of the new castes which have applied for inclusion in the BC list, it seems to be based on an understanding, which is actually a misunderstanding, of the Supreme Court's judgement that only communities with a population percentage equal to the reservation percentage available for Backward Classes should be included in the list of Backward Classes. In fact that is not what the Supreme Court meant when it fixed a ceiling of 50% of reservation in combination with the reservation for SCs and STs under Article 16(4). The Supreme Court has categorically stated that "Adequate representation cannot be read as proportionate representation" and that it is not possible to accept the theory of proportionate representation, though the proportion of population of Backward Classes to the total population would certainly be relevant, but within what the Supreme Court considered to be the reasonable overall limit of 50%.

149. The above ground indirectly mentioned by the Rajasthan Government cannot come in the way of inclusion of a community in the BC list, if it is objectively found to be socially backward, as has been found in the above analysis in the case of the Jats

of Rajasthan except Bharatpur and Dhaulpur. Moreover, there are also certain castes already included in the List of Backward Classes like Mali/Saini, Ahir and Gujar which have also got substantial population, though less than the Jats. Whatever be the percentage of population of those objectively found to be socially backward, the percentage of reservation should be limited to the ceiling as per the Supreme Court's judgement but that judgement does not warrant or justify excluding any caste from the list of Backward Classes on this ground, even if, found objectively to be socially backward.

150. The Rajasthan Government has also been writing that the NCBC should not recommend inclusion of any community in the Central List of BCs until and unless the State Commission recommends its inclusion in the State List and if there is any difference of opinion it should be discussed with them. It has been the practice of the NCBC to write to the State Governments to get all data and information available with them and the State Commissions regarding castes/communities regarding which Requests for Inclusion in the Central List of BCs have been received by the NCBC and also to request them to be present during the Public Hearings. It has also been the practice of the NCBC to request the representatives of State Governments and the State Commissions to expedite the cases of such of those Requests which are also pending with them for inclusion in the State list and also to give a reasonable interval of time for this after the Public Hearings. In the present case, after the Public Hearing, nearly a half-year has passed. While every effort is made to ensure that there is a commonality of conclusions in respect of each community with the help of all available data and facts furnished by the State Governments including material furnished to them by the respective Commissions, it will be difficult to ensure unanimity if there are fundamental differences in basic premises and perceptions. For example, the Rajasthan Commission, in its correspondence with the NCBC, has taken a philosophico-sociological view that the caste system exists only among Hindus and castes do not

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exist among non-Hindus. This is not correct in the view of the NCBC on the basis of available data not only for North India as a whole, but also by accounts of specific Muslim castes in Rajasthan itself in authoritative texts like "The Castes of Marwar", by Munshi Hardy Singh, published in 1894 based on the Census of 1891. This has been explained in the Advice of the NCBC with regard to "Dhobi (other than those who are included in the List of Scheduled Castes)", which means in Rajasthan as in other North Indian States Dhobis who are Muslims, in its Advice No.9/Rajasthan/97 dated 11.8.1997, which may be referred to. In this context, it will not be possible to strive for a unity of views between the Central and the State Commission in all cases without, in the view of the NCBC, being unfair to communities on one ground or the other. The State Commissions and the NCBC are quasi-judicial bodies which operate independently in their respective spheres under their own procedures and any delay on the part of one or a strong prior perception on the part of one cannot be an obstacle in the way of inclusion of any community in the List of Backward Classes, based on adequate data/information available, by the other.

151. It should also be pointed out that the Jats and social backwardness are not necessarily antithetical to each other. In fact, as already mentioned, Jat has been included in the Lists of Backward Classes not only in Ajmer as mentioned earlier for educational purposes but also recommended by Kaka Kalelkar Commission in certain other States as given below:-

S.NO.	State	Entry No.	Name of Caste	Occupation	Population
1.	Bhopal	27	Jat	Landowners and cultivators	6148
2.	Bihar	50	Jat	NA	NA
3.	Bombay	142	Jat	Cultivators	228
4.	Himachal Pradesh	12	Jat	Agriculturist	3787
5.	Kutch	20	Jat	Agriculturist	3084
6.	Madhya Bharat	40	Jat	Cultivators	53642
7.	Saurashtra	34	Jat	Cultivators	1917

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These States do not include any of the major States of the Jat territory from Western U.P. to the Punjab or Rajasthan. These are the States or areas to which the Jats seem to have gone as migrants, mostly in small numbers. One of them, namely, Himachal Pradesh adjoins Punjab and the immigration of the Jats of Himachal Pradesh from Punjab has already been mentioned earlier. Bihar, which is mentioned in the Kaka Kalelkar Commission's list, is a State where the Jats do not normally exist and that Commission itself has given the Jat population and occupation in Bihar as 'NA'. All the other States in the Kaka Kalelkar Commission's list are also States where the Jats are very small in number except Madhya Bharat and Bhopal which are in the present Madhya Pradesh. In fact from none of the areas mentioned in that Commission's list except Madhya Pradesh (which includes the former Madhya Bharat and Bhopal) the NCBC has got specific Requests. The purpose of mentioning this is not that Kaka Kalelkar's Report is a conclusive base for deciding whether Jats are Socially Backward or not. The purpose of mentioning this is only that in the history of listing of Backward Classes it is not as though Jats have invariably been treated as a caste which just cannot be imagined to be a Backward Class under any circumstances. Whether or not they are actually a Backward Class in any of the States or areas will depend on the totality of evidence and the certainties/ probabilities that emerge from such totality of evidence.

152. On the basis of the data available, the NCBC is of the view that the Jats of Rajasthan except the Jats of Bharatpur and Dhaulpur are Socially Backward.

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for the State of Rajasthan

(vi) Madhya Pradesh

153. The Jats of Madhya Pradesh is only a small community which numbered 10,000 as per the 1911 Census of India, about half of them in Hoshangabad and the rest in Narsinghpur, Sagar and Jubalpur ["Russel and Hiralal, "The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India", Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, Madras, 1993, first edition 1916]
154. The Requests on behalf of the Jats of Madhya Pradesh have invoked the Report of the Backward Classes Commission constituted by the Government of Haryana, ie. the Gurnam Singh Commisison's Report. This has already been discussed in necessary detail under "Haryana" above and for the reason mentioned there, it does not help even the case of the Jats of Haryana. Obviously, it does not help the case of Jats of Madhya Pradesh also for the same reason plus the fact that that Commission did not study and was not expected to study the case of Madhya Pradesh Jats and thus had no relevance to the Jats of Madhya Pradesh.
155. While the Jats of Haryana have omitted to refer to the Gurnam Singh Commission, the Jats of Madhya Pradesh have omitted to mention the Report of the Mahajan Commission which was appointed in 1980 by the Govt. of Madhya Pradesh to identify the Backward Classes of Madhya Pradesh and submitted its Report in December 1983. That this Commission, which went into the matter so recently and has included almost all peasant-castes of Madhya Pradesh, has not included Jats in the List of Backward Classes is significant.
156. They have claimed that the then Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav announced the inclusion of Jats in the list of Backward Classes, but has not given any evidence of this so-called announcement. Their claim of such an announcement cannot be correct because the Jats have not

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been included in the State List of Backward Classes of Uttar Pradesh till now. Many of their averments are similar to the averments made in respect of Jats of other States, such as Jats being an agricultural community, Jats having been declared as of the Shudra Varna by the Court etc. and are either of no help to their present case or are not relevant to their case or are not backed up by facts. In their anxiety, they have gone back into the puranic age to claim that Lord Krishna's father Vasudeva was a Jat, on the authority of Alberuni. Though they have not filed a copy of the book or its abstract, the Commission has taken the trouble of securing a copy of the book "Alberuni's India" edited by Edward C. Sachav, et.al (Low Price Publications, Delhi, 1996, first published 1910). The following statements occur in it with reference to the phenomenon which is usually referred to as Avataras:-

"A messenger of this kind is, according to the belief of the Hindus, Vasudeva, who was sent the last time in human shape, being called Vasudeva. It was a time when the giants were numerous on earth and the earth was full of their oppression; it tottered, being hardly able to bear the whole number of them, and it trembled from the vehemence of their treading. Then there was born a child in the city of Mathura to Vasudeva by the sister of Kamsa, at that time ruler of the town. They were a Jatt family, cattle-owners, Low Sudra people."

Later on, he refers to the shifting of the child of Vasudeva in the following words:-

"As the guards had fallen into deep sleep and neglected the watch, the father stole the child and brought it to Nandakula, i.e., the stable of the cows of Nanda, the husband of Yasoda, near Mathura, but separated from this place by the river Yamuna."

Alberuni also refers to Yasoda as "the wife of the herdsman

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T. C. SACHAV

Nanda".

157. Nobody can claim Alberuni to be an authority on the Puranas of India. That he learnt so much about the philosophies, mythologies and traditions of India is admirable but that by itself is not enough to make a person an authority. No doubt what he directly observed and recorded is of great value, but what he recorded on the basis of what he heard --- since according to the Editor, in general it is the method of the author not to speak himself, but to let the Hindus speak, giving extensive quotations from their classical authors, and thus Alberuni presents a picture of Indian civilisation as painted by the Hindus themselves --- is liable to distortions in communication and understanding.

A perusal of the book and the specific portions mentioned above also indicate that there are certain confusions in his account. To the extent Lord Krishna and the people among whom he was born and brought up are identified with any caste, it is with Yadavas and not with Jats. Apparently there has been some confusion in Alberuni's understanding of Yadavas and Jats, because along with Jats he also juxtaposes words like cattle owners, herdsmen, etc. In any case, this does not have any relevance to their present case.

158. They have also cited certain discriminations prevalent against the Jats of Rajasthan. This is no doubt relevant to the case of Jats of Rajasthan and has been dealt with under Rajasthan, but it does not in any case help the Jats of Madhya Pradesh or of any State other than of Rajasthan. The other points urged by them regarding the names of regiments and regarding rulers of backward classes in the distant past are also not relevant to their case. There were of course rulers belonging to certain castes which subsequently became backward or even "Untouchable". But the issue of whether there were rulers who belonged to certain castes in the distant past or early medieval period cannot be of much relevance to judging whether they are backward or not today, even though the

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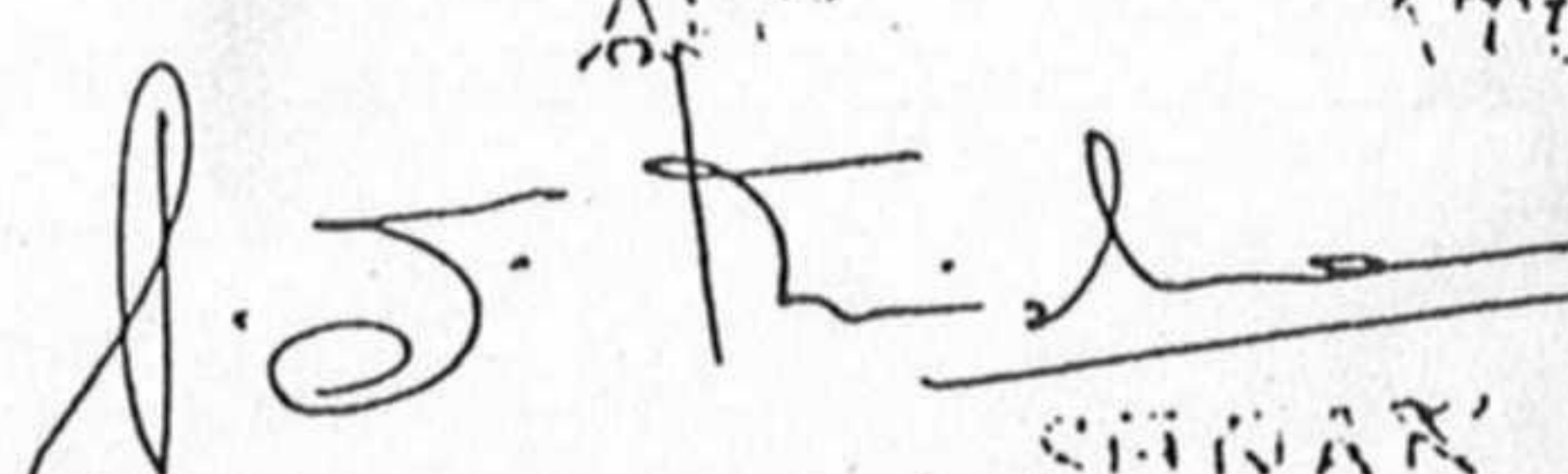
existence of a ruling class emerging from among certain caste in the late medieval period or in the modern period is no doubt relevant and has been taken duly into account.

159. Obviously, the Jats of Madhya Pradesh themselves are not convinced of the strength of their case or are not serious about their case to judge from the fact that they have not filled up the NCBC's Questionnaire, though sent to them nearly 4 years back and none of them appeared at the Public Hearing held by the Madhya Pradesh Bench, despite personal intimation to them and publicity about the Public Hearing through the media.

160. Russel and Hiralal [ibid] quote Sir C. Elliot ["Hoshangabad Settlement Report"] as stating that the Jats "entered the Hoshangabad District.... in the eighteenth century, and came originally from Bharatpur...."

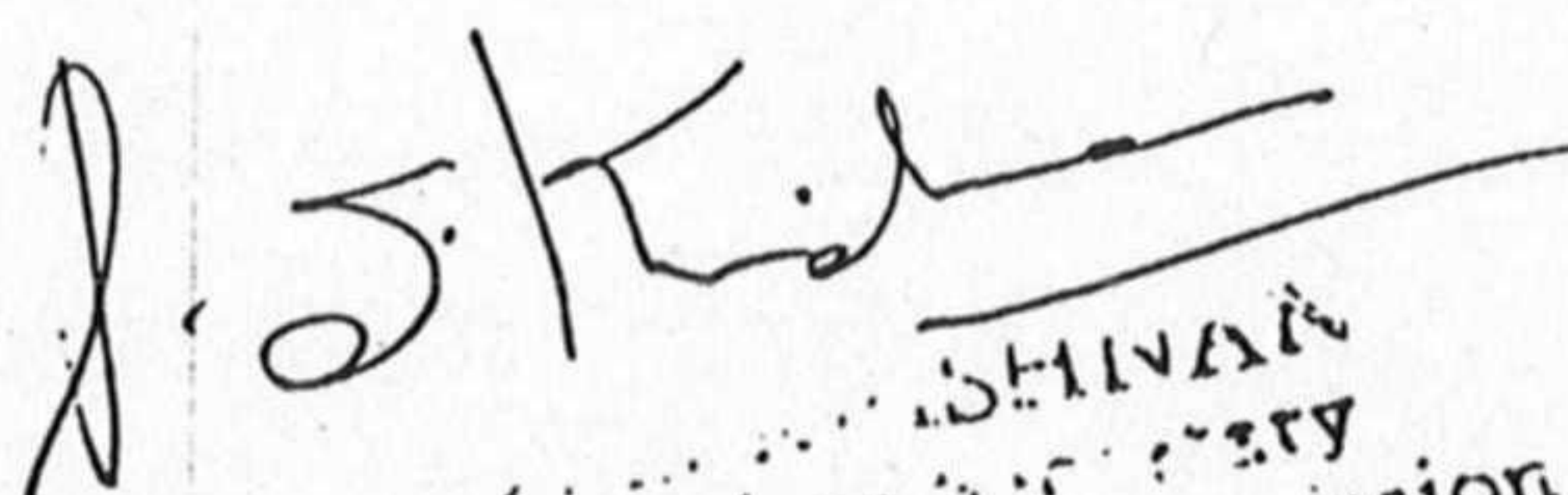
161. Thus to the extent information is available, they are of Bharatpur origin. Bharatpur is the one major part of Rajasthan which has been found to be similar to Western Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Punjab with regard to the position of Jats as discussed under Rajasthan. The link with Bharatpur certainly could indicate that the Jats of Madhya Pradesh are an offshoot of Jats from a territory where they have been advantaged. There is also a mention in Russel and Hiralal with reference to Central Provinces (that part of Central Provinces which is now in Madhya Pradesh) that "at the thirty years' settlement (1865) several members of the caste held considerable estates." This indicates their similarity with the Jats of the area where they are more advantaged, i.e. Bharatpur, though Russel and Hiralal also record that "a number of these estates have now been lost, owing probably to extravagance of living."

162. From the above evidence and from their non-inclusion by the Mahajan Commission which examined the case of the Jats and all other castes of Madhya Pradesh recently, and from whatever


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evidence is available and discussed above, the conclusion of this Commission is that the Jats of Madhya Pradesh have not been able to make out their case of Social Backwardness and are not socially backward but are socially advanced.

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D. J. Kishore
Member Secretary
National Commission
for Backward Classes

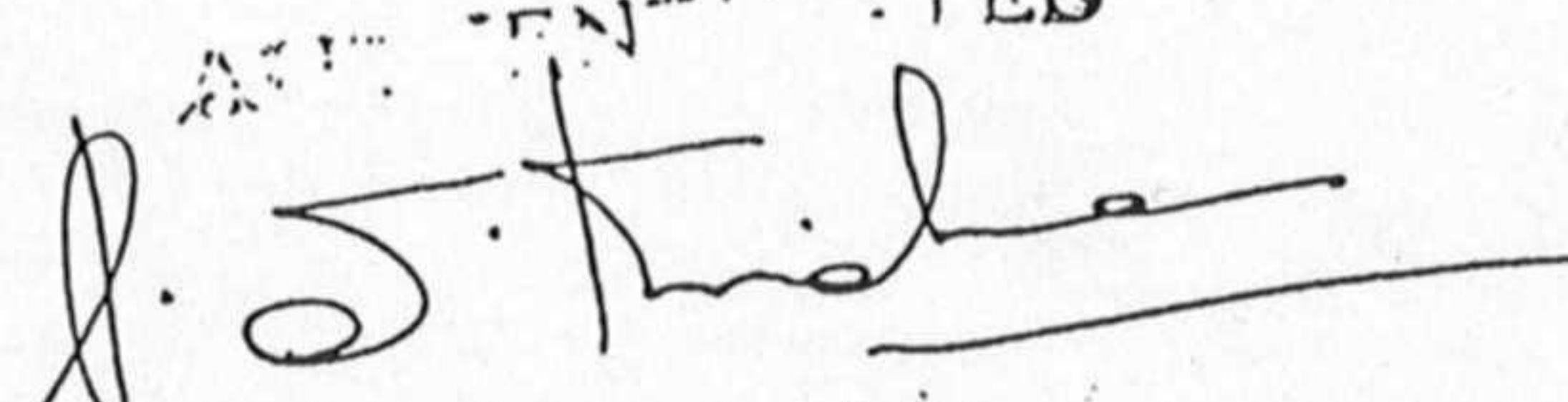
V. Findings and Advice of the NCBC

On the basis of the above data and analysis it is the Finding of the NCBC that the Jats of Rajasthan except in Bharatpur and Dhaulpur are Socially Backward and among those who have specifically applied for Inclusion in the Central List of Backward Classes, the Jats of Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Madhya Pradesh are not Socially Backward. Other States where they are not Socially Backward are not mentioned in the Findings and Advice because there are no specific applications from them, though they have been dealt with in the analysis of data.

Accordingly the Commission tender the following Advice to the Central Government under Section 9(1) of the NCBC Act, 1993, as follows:-

- (i) The Jats of Rajasthan except in Bharatpur and Dhaulpur Districts be included in the Central List of Backward Classes for Rajasthan at entry no. 58, as follows:-

"58. Jat (except in Bharatpur and Dhaulpur Districts)"
- (ii) The Request of the Jats of Rajasthan in so far as it relates to Bharatpur and Dhaulpur districts be rejected.
- (iii) The Request for Inclusion of Jats of Haryana in the Central List of Backward Classes for Haryana be rejected.
- (iv) The Request for Inclusion of Jats of Uttar Pradesh in the Central List of Backward Classes for Uttar Pradesh be rejected.

APPROVED

J. S. Thakur
Member
National Commission
for Backward Classes

(v) The Request for Inclusion of Jats of Madhya Pradesh in the Central List of Backward Classes for Madhya Pradesh be rejected.

(vi) It is necessary that the Government do issue Notification covering (i) and (v) above simultaneously.

R. Shyam
28.11.97

P. S. Krishna
28.11.97

Chaitanya Chandra
28.11.97

K. S. Srinivasulu
28.11.97

P. K. Srinivasulu
28.11.97

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P. S. Krishna

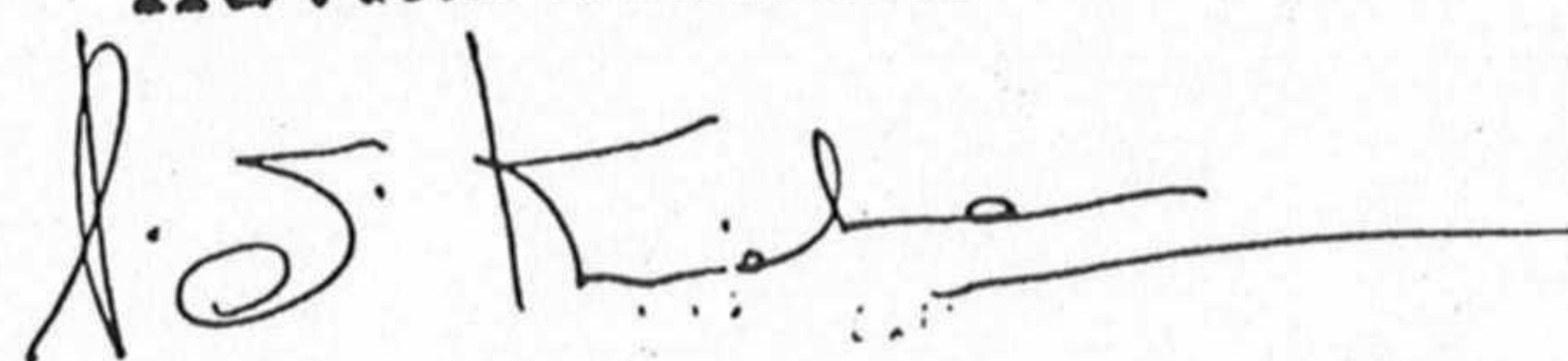
P. S. KRISHNA
Min. of Education
National Commission
for Backward Classes

I. RAJASTHAN

Dated: Appendix-I

1. Shri Goverdhan Singh Chaudhary
President
Rajasthan Jat Maha Sabha
Other Backward Classes
P-8, Tilak Marg, C-Scheme,
Jaipur
5.4.95
31.8.96
4.4.97
10.7.97
17.7.97
26.5.97
2. Shri Shishu Pal Singh.
Member Executive, Rajasthan Jat Maha Sabha
Jaipur.
4.4.97
3. Shri Mam Raj Singh Chaudhary,
General Secretary,
Akhil Bhartiya Jat Maha Sabha(A)
Disttict Sikar.
28.5.97
12.6.96
4. Sh. E.S. Nehra
President,
Akhil Bhartvarshiya Jat Maha Sabha
Lakshman Vila,
Fatehpur Road,
Sikar.
30.5.97
5. Sh. Arjun Singh Chaudhary
President,
Jaipur Jat Samaj Sansthan
197-A, Jai Nagar
Chaudhary Charan Singh Marg
Murlipura Scheme
Jaipur-13.
4.4.97
30.5.97
6. Dr. Hari Singh,
Member of Parliament
Sikar.
30.5.97
7. Shri Vinod Punia
President
Law College Student's Union,
University of Rajasthan
Jaipur
30.5.97
8. Shri Dharmavir
4-Ka-12,
Jawahar Nagar,
Jaipur.
30.5.97
18.6.97
9. Shri Misrilal Dha
Gokhali Marg,
Ajmer.
30.5.97

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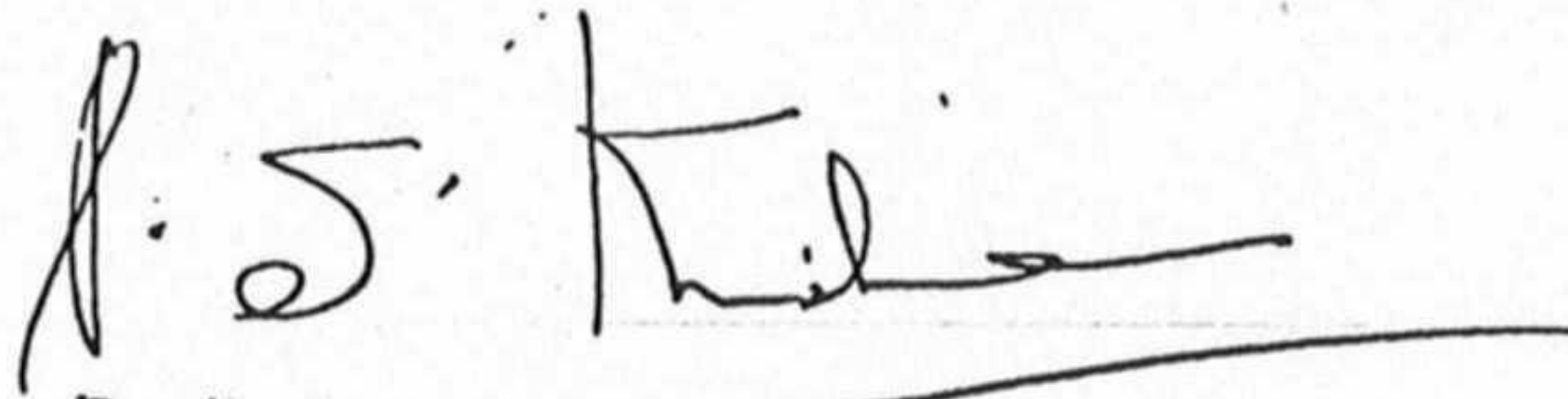


Madhya pradesh

Appendix-II

1. Madhya Pradesh Samajwadi Party
32, Lohiya Sadan, Neelam Colony
Near Lili Talkies
Bhopal. 21.9.94
2. Shri Pratap Singh Malik
Prantiya Secretary
Madhya Pradesh Samajwadi Party
32, Lohiya Sadan, Neelam Colony
Near Lili Talkies,
Bhopal. 20.9.94
3. Shri Gore Lal Singh
Spokesperson
M.P. Samajwadi Party
Bhopal 20.9.94
4. Shri B.L. Thakur
& Shri V.P. Singh 25.6.97

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P. S. KRISHNAN
Member Secretary
National Commission
for Backward Classes

Uttar Pradesh

Appendix-III

1. Shri Jaipal Singh
Secretary-General
Jat Samaj
G-69, Liberty Colony
Sarvodaya Nagar
Lucknow.
2. Major (Retd.) Rishi Pal Singh
Advocate
A/195, Defence Colony
Mawana Road
Meerut

21.11.94
21.10.97

22.6.97.

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P. S. KRISHNAN
Member Secretary
National Commission
for Backward Classes

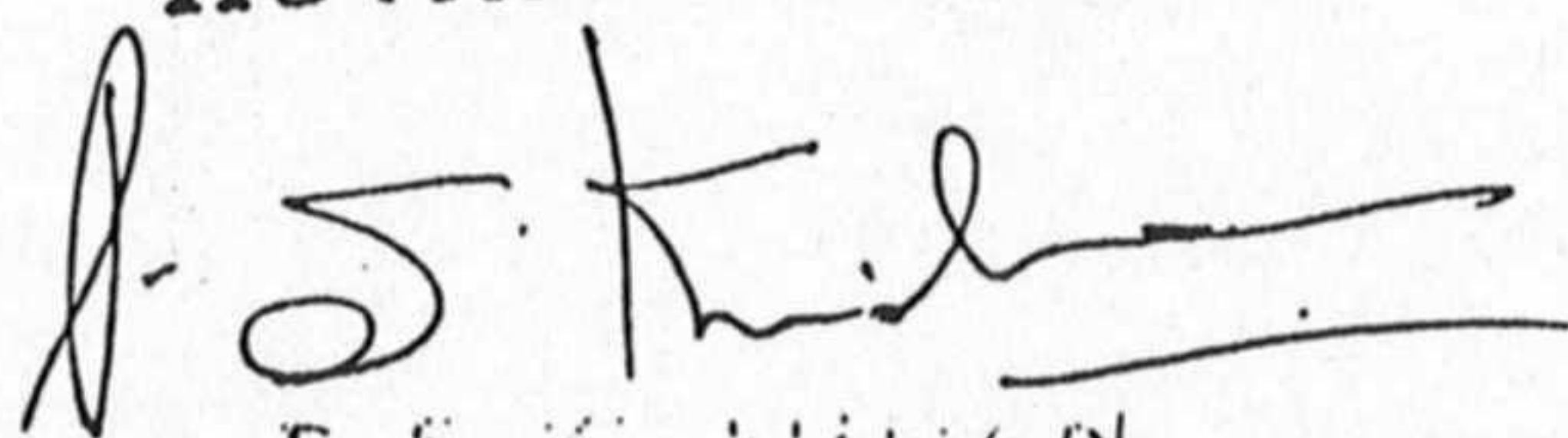
Haryana

Appendix-IV

1. Haryana Jat Sabha (Regd.)
H.O. 6-B, Jat Dharamsala,
Choudhary Chotu Ram Marg,
Hissar.

14.7.97

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P. S. K. MISHRA
Member Secretary
National Commission
for Backward Classes

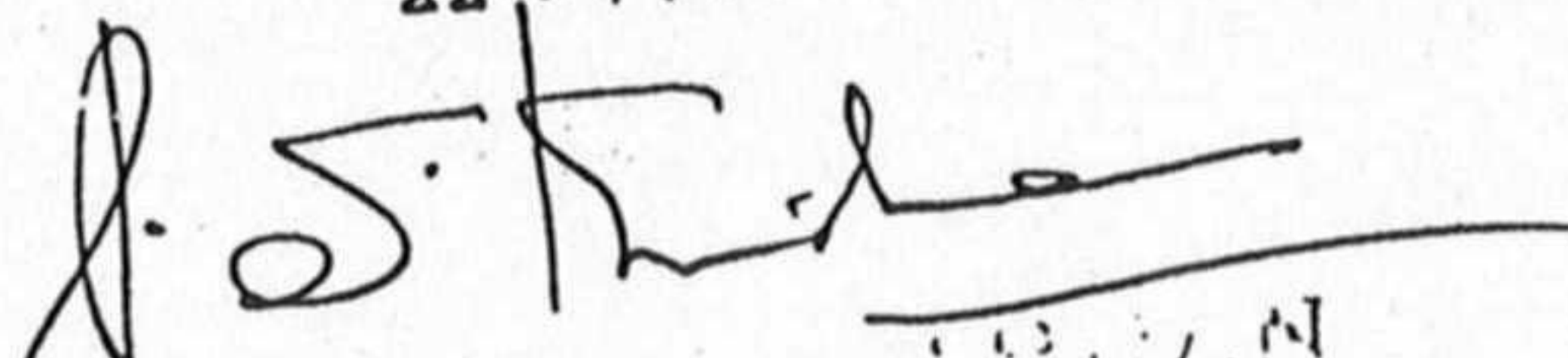
Appendix -V

List of Community's representatives who appeared before the
Bench for Public hearing on 30.5.97 .

RAJASTHAN

1. Shri Jagdish Dhankal,
M.L.A.
2. Shri Shishu Pal Singh.
3. Prof.N.K.Mahle.
4. Dr. Hari Singh .
5. Shri Man Raj Choudhary
and others.

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Secretary
National Commission
for Backward Classes

Madhya Pradesh

Appendix-VI

List of community's representatives who appeared before the Bench for Public hearing Madhya Pradesh on 25.6.97.

1. Shri V.P. Singh.
2. Shri B.L. Thakur.

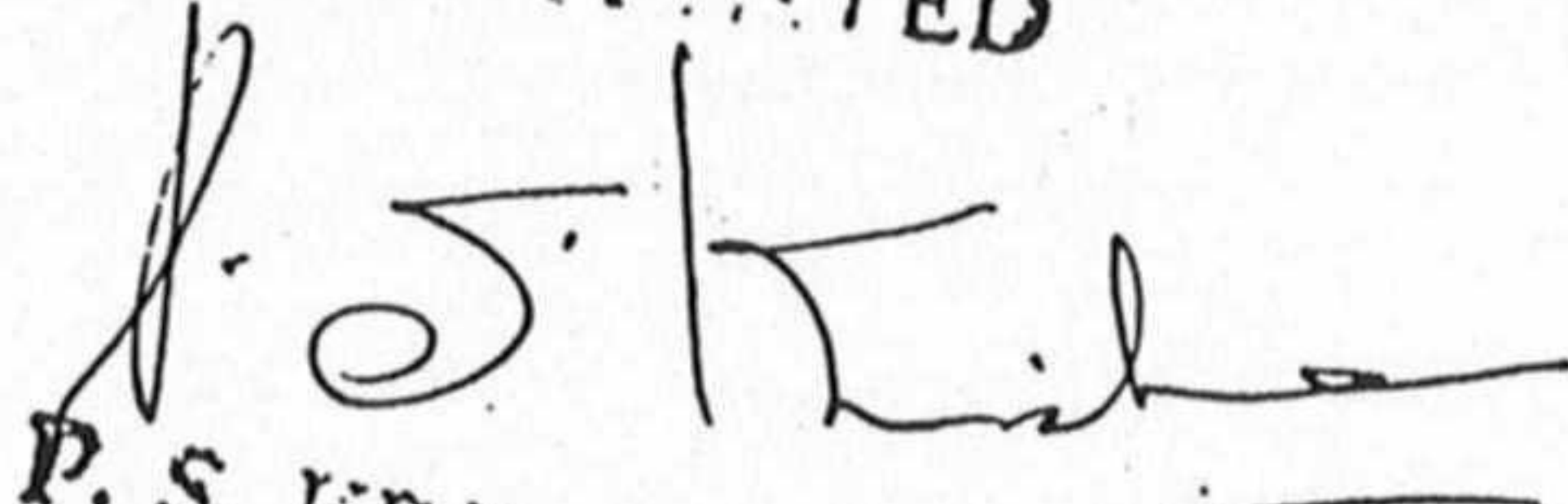
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List of Community's representative who appeared before
the Bench for public hearing on 4.7.1997

1. Shri Jai Pal Singh
General Secretary
Jat Samaj, Lucknow

2. ³⁰Other representatives of the caste

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P. S. KRISHNAN

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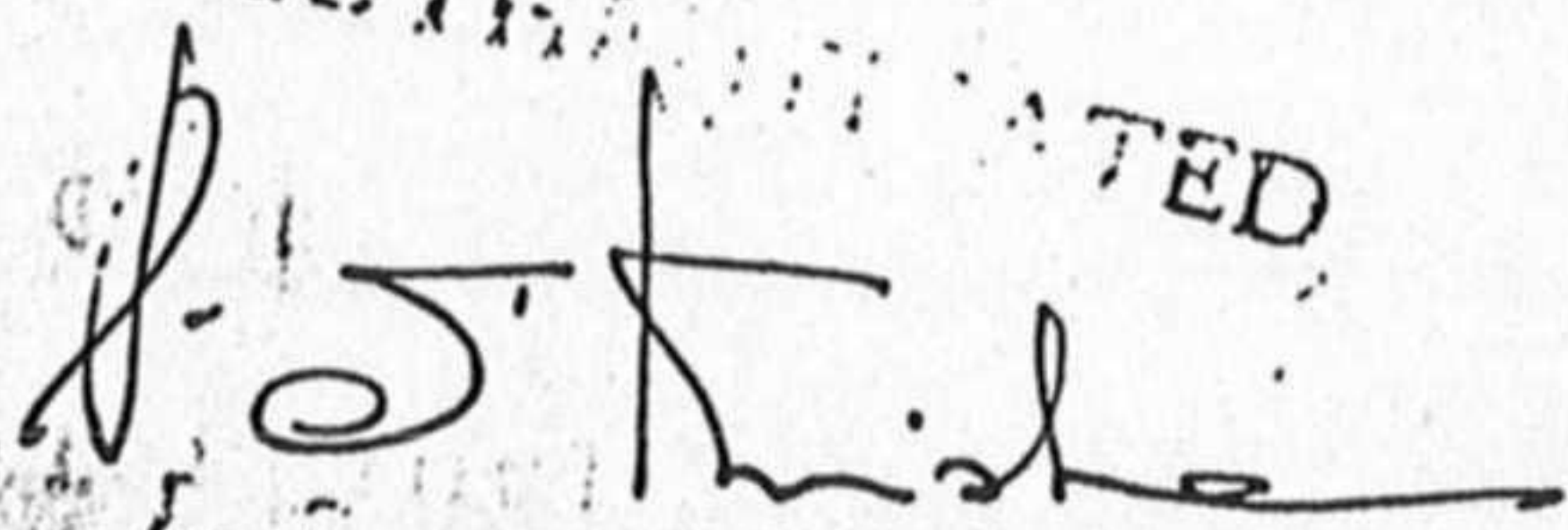
Haryana

Appendix-VIII

List of Community's representative who appeared before the Bench for public hearing on 14.7.97

1. Shri Zile Singh Rana.
Haryana Jat Sabha (Regd)
H.O. 6-B, Jat Dharmasala,
Chaudhary Chotu Ram Marg,
Hissar.

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J. S. CHINNAN
Member Secretary
National Commission
for Backward Classes