

DALIT SUJAAG TEHREEK
Constitution & Manifesto
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Dalit Sujaag Tehreek (DST)

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Dalit Sujaag Tehreek

Team DST (DSS)

Team DST (DSS)

Meeting Mintues

DST's DSS met on 22nd at Noor Junejo's house. Several DST members participated in it. Agenda of the meeting was to assign or distribute tasks among members of DST members. Comrade Gyand Chand of Hai Porihyat committee of CPI and young Dalit intellectual Harish participated in the meeting for the first time and formally joined DST team. It was decided that Dalit School will be launched and community based, within-community lecture programs and interactive sessions on Dalit identity, politics, culture and society would be organized. Several Dalit committees and regional Dalit units were formed to functionally work from DST platform. It was decided that the registration of members will be done soon, and Ahmed Soomro was assigned the task to prepare online form and hard copy form for that. Sahib Oad was assigned task to prepare release.

Key theoretical and political issue under discussion were meaning and definition of terms Dalit, Scheduled caste and their legal and political status, debates on social media over Dalit identity, newspaper articles written against and in favour of Dalit Sujaag Movement, Dalit politics and its de-linking from Ngoism, Hindu, Brahminic and nationalistic politics behind anti-Dalitism.

Team DST revised, updated and looked over

Dalit Sujaag Sath

1. Comrade Vesakhi Mal Baghri,
2. Comrade Khalid Masih,
3. Comrade Sahib Oad,
4. Comrade Advocate Bhooro Mal Kolhi
5. Comrade AdvocateHaman Das Kolhi
6. Comrade Dr.Seeta Kolhi
7. Comrade Navu Kolhin
8. Comrade Radha Bheel (Chairperson, Dalit Sujaag Tehreek)
9. Comrade Kumari Pushpa
10. Comrade Dr Sono Khangharani,
11. Comrade Advocate Arjan Das,
12. Comrade Advocate Bhagwan Das Bheel,
13. Comrade Dr. Harji Mal, (Harji Lal)

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14. Comrade Lalchand Parwani
15. Comrade Bhaya Ram Anjum,
16. Comrade Mahesh Bheel,
17. Comrade Meghwal Malji,
18. Comrade Chander Kolhi
19. Comrade Harish Chander Meghwar
20. Comrade Lachman Baghri
21. Arjun Baghri
22. Raja Bheel Khahori
23. Bherji Bheel

DALIT POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ACTIVIST MEMBERS of DSS

24. Comrade Amar Sindhu
25. Comrade Ahmed Soomro.
26. . Comrade Sher Mohammad Sher Muhammad Solangii
27. Comrade Sufi Hussain (Ghulam Hussain)
28. Comrade Noor Junejo
29. Suthamalli Ganga (Transnational Dalit coordinator)
30. Surabhi Singh
31. Nukhbat Malik
32. Goldy M George
33. Sanam Noor
34. Tara Qureshi
35. Ibrahim Keerio
36. Alee Sheemani
37. Dr Sarwat Sultana

Committee-wise tasks, duties and obligations of members assigned to Dalit members and activists by DST

Finance Secretaries

Advocate Haman Das Kolhi, Bhagwan Das Bheel, Malji Meghwal, Mahesh Bheel. Noor Junejo, Sarwat Sultana

Protest and Rallies Coordinators:

Lachman Baghri , Vesakhi Mal Baghri, Mahesh Bheel, Radha Bheel, Ahmed Soomro, Sher Muhammad Solangi, Chander Kolhi, Advocate Haman Das, Lalchand Parwani, Malji Meghwal, Kumari Pushpa, Bhagwan Das Bheel, Damro Mal Meghwar.

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Intra-Dalit Upliftment Committee

Dhoorio Jandawro, Dr.Sono Khangarani, Chetan Bheel, Lajpat Rai Bheel, Advocate Bhooro Mal, Lachman Baghri: Politically active communities (Kolhi, Bheel, Meghwar) and members such as Mangha Ram Oad and Lachmarn Baghri will be bound to keep make efforts to make politically aware other Dalit communities (Jandawra, Gurgula, Kabootra, Rawra, Barha, Jogi, Sami, Sensi etc). They must focus on the most oppressed and the least privileged Dalit classes to uplift them from ultra-poverty and to make efforts to bring them into the mainstream.

Dalit School & Study circles' coordinators

Bherji Bheel, Harji Lal, Noor Junejo, Sono Khangarani, , Ahmed Soomro, Sher Muhammad Solangi. Dr. Sarwat Sultana

Virtual Dalit Assembly Moderators (for social media and web pages and for chat box discussions)

Lajpat Rai bheel, Sufi Hussain, Malji Meghwar, Suthamali Ganga, Surabhi Singh, Goldy M George

Information & Media Team

Sahib Oad, Nuke Malik, (Nukhbat Malik), Surabhi Singh, Harish Chander

Dalit Meeting Coordinators (to organize general Dalit meetings, and Dalit assemblies)

Sher Mohammad Solangi, Ahmed Soomro, Mahesh Bheel, Radha Bheel, Chander Kolhi, Vesakhi Mal Baghri, Arjun Das Meghwar, Malji Meghwar. Alee Sheemani

Dalit Women Wing

Radha Bheel, Kumari Pushpa, Navu Kolhirn, Amar Sindhu, Sanam Noor, Nukhbat Malik, Surabhi Singh, Dr. Sarwart Sultana (Tara Qureshi)

Hari Porihyat Committee

Raja Bheel Khahori, Damro Mal Meghwar, Dayal Das Meghwar, Chander Kolhi, Ibrahim Keerio, Vesakhi Mal Baghri

Political party Lobbyists/Dalit Hamdard Sath

Damro Mal Meghwar, Dayal Das Meghwar, Muhib Bheel, Surender Valasai, Nemdas Kolhi, Khatu Mal, Engineer Giyan Chand, Punjo Bheel.

Civil Society Coordinators

Dr.Sono Khangarani, Amar Sindhu

Membership and Registration

Malji Meghwar, Sher Muhammad Solangi, Ahmed Soomro, Mahesh Bheel, Lalchand Parwani, Mahesh Oad.

Dalit Sujaag Publications Unit

Bherji Bheel, Lajpat Rai Bheel, Ahmed Soomro, Harish Kumar, Sufi Hussain, Lalchand Parwani.

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Regional Coordinators

Ibrahim Kerio (Ghotki)

Chetan Bheel (Naon Kot)

Sarwat Sultana and Navu Kolhira (Hyderabad Latifabad, Jamshoro)

Ibrahim Kerio (Sanghar)

Lalchand Parwani (Umerkot)

Malji Meghwar and Lajpat Rai Bheel (Mithi)

Sono Khangarani , Sanam Noor and Ahmed Soomro (Karachi)

Advocate Arjun Das Meghwar (Sukkur)

Lachman Baghri & Mahesh Oad (Larkana)

Shri Ram Lohar, Noor Junejo & Amar Sindhu (Hyderabad)

Sahib Oad (Dadu)

Parmanand Jaipal , Rejhu Jaipal and Azad Hansraj (Diplo)

Parkash Jeswani (Nangarparkar)

Gypsy FC Rathore (Jhudo)

Nemdas Kolhi (Dighri)

Alee Sheemani (Khairpur)

Kumari Pushpa (Tando Jam)

Advocate Haman Das, Khalid Pervaiz, Radha Bheel and Sher Muhammad Solangi (Mirpurkhas)

Mangha Ram Oad & Vesakhi Mal Baghri (Matiari and Sakrand)

Damro Mal Meghwar (Samaro)

Bhaiya Ram Anjum (Southern Punjab, Rahim yar Khan)

Suthamali Ganga (Transnational Coordinator)

Nukhbat Malik (USA)

Goldy M George and Surabhi Singh (India)

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Dalit School

Dalit Sujaag Tehreek is soon going to launch Dalit School, in which lectures and interactive sessions will be held within communities, at villages as well as at small towns and urban locations. Leading intellectuals of Sindh and local Dalit intellectuals and Dalit activists will deliver lectures and explain various forms of casteism, caste-based class inequalities, oppression, exploitation, patriarchy, structural violence, class inequalities, multiple untouchabilities and discriminations from Dalit perspective. Political and social alternatives will be explored in interaction with local indigenous Dalit communities. Lectures will be initially delivered by local Dalit activists and leading intellectuals of Sindh...that may include Sardar [Jagjit Singh](#) , Dr.[Sono Khangharani](#), Ganpat Rai Bheel, [Bherji Bheel](#), [Chetan Bheel](#), [Amar Sindhu](#), [Surendar Valasai](#), [Nazish Brohi](#), John O Brien, Sara Singha, [Saeed Ahmed Rid](#), Naseer memon, Adv.Bhooro Kolhi, [Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro](#), Jami Chandio, [Sahar Gul](#), [Masroor Shah](#), Nukhbat [Nuke Malik](#), Sanam [Noor Zebam](#), [Imdad Qazi](#), [Damro Mal Meghwar](#), [Manzoor Memon](#), [Manzoor Isran](#), [Shahab Usto](#), [Arfana Mallah](#), Prof [Aijaz A Qureshi](#), Dr.Saadia Abid, Kausar Qaimkhani, Imdad Soomro, [Ahmed Soomro](#),[Imdad Chandio](#), [Amar Guriro](#), Sahib [Sahib Oad](#), [Kumari Pushpa](#), [Radha Bheel](#), Prof. [Lal Buksh Jiskani](#) Pervaiz Mehdi, [Vikram Das](#) , [Nain Wolf](#) , [Chander Kolhi](#),[AdvocateHaman Das Kolhi](#), [Sarang Ram](#), [Harish Chandar Meghwar](#),[Muhib Bheel](#) , [Jogee Khalid](#), [Ram Oad](#), [Asad Chandio](#) and several others.

We will also engage certain transnational Dalit intellectuals to interact online with Dalits in Pakistan. [Suthamalli Ganga](#), [Goldy M George](#), [Kuffir Nalgundwar](#), [Surabhi Singh](#) will also be part of interactive sessions.

Rules of Dalit Movement for Re-awakening

Constitution of DST

Rules or the constitution of Dalit movement is proposed to be unwritten, flexible and ever evolving. Rules outlined below will merely serve as path-finders, as recommendations, not mandatory to follow by all Dalit forums that will become members of DST.

This draft proposal outlines rules for Dalit Sujaag Thereek (DST) that shall assume legitimacy through gradual process of acceptance, initially through the approval of the founder Dalit committee in its first meeting after the formation of this draft. Later this draft will keep

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evolving through constant review and amendments in the light of various recommendation and suggestions given in various Dalit Assemblies (DAs) and Dalit Sujag Sangat/Board of Spokesperson (DSS) meetings, and through personal individual suggestions of the DST workers brought before DSS. All suggestions and recommendations will become part of this draft or become reason for amendments in it with the accent of 2/3rd of its registered members, 2/3rd of DSS accent, and 2/3rd accent by DA/DAs. All amendments will not necessarily pass through all the processes before its approval. Local DAs can approve and amend their ways on their own through direct participatory democratic decision-making if their ways of doing do not conflict with DSS, and particularly in cases when making any on spot action shall be necessary. DSS need not to necessarily seek accent of all DAs when the seeking of approval from DA in minor issues may not be necessary. Similarly DAs and local Dalit member forums will function as before quite autonomously according to their own policies and programs but in their social and political activities will identify themselves with DST as well.

1. **Dalit Sujaag Thereek (DST):** is a social and political movement for the social and political empowerment of Dalits in Pakistan. It's a secular socialist-democratic movement grounded in the political ideas germinated through various Dalit movements and propagated by various Dalit intellectuals. Its primary aim is to develop political consciousness among Dalits so that they themselves could resist and struggle for their political, cultural, economic, ecological, and human rights. Its core constitutional document is Dalit Manifesto that contains the charter of demand, mission statement, Dalit objectives, Dalit theoretical underpinnings and Dalitology made contextually relevant to the issues of Dalits in Pakistan. Dalit Manifesto is not a fixed kind of document, and any forum or DA can recommend, add or subtract any point from it as it may suit its purpose without taking away its essence, and so long as Dalit cause is not damaged.
2. **Source of Funding:** DST shall rely on volunteerism more than any internal or external source of funding. Token fees collected shall be spent efficiently as deemed fit by DSS. However, seeking of funding from individual Dalit activists capable to fund, or from national transnational or international Dalit organizations of voluntary members that shall not put any pre-conditions before funding, shall be sought. No such funding shall be sought that may come with tags attached to it, or that may aim at the subversion of Dalit Manifesto or go

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against its spirit. DST shall not work on the agenda of any donor-led NGO, INGO. Governmental Funding or assistance in cash or in kind, however, shall be sought only if it doesn't contravene the essential or core objectives of DST.

3. Membership Criterion

3.1.Membership Eligibility: All those persons who after reading Dalit manifesto and rules of DST sign the specified online/paper-based proforma will be counted as members of DST. Payment of fees will be by mutual consent based on the personal-collective understanding of the economic status of the members.

3.1.1. DST members can be those Dalits/historically oppressed communities belonging to Scheduled Classes not bound up with any other party, practicing any religion, speaking any language and living in any part of Pakistan.

3.1.2. DST members can also be those belonging to historically oppressed poor classes, but not officially included among Scheduled classes but may have been victims of structural violence, oppression and suppression such as Sheedi, Gujarati including women of any class, ethnicity and region of Pakistan.

3.1.3. ***Dalit Hamdard Sath (DHS):*** All those who support Dalit cause and understand Dalit perspective but have been affiliated with any other existing political party and are unwilling to leave it. They will be assumed to be honorary members, not registered ones, and having little say in decision-making, but will be allowed to be part of any Dalit political gathering and program. Their membership names and position shall not be used to project Dalit cause from DST's platform, and if appropriate will be kept anonymous as per will of the DHS member.

4. **Suspension or Termination of Members:** A DST member will be suspended/terminated if found involved in any immoral or unethical activity, giving anti-Dalit statements publicly or found affiliated with any other organization having aims and objectives contrary to DST. Such a decision will be taken with consensus by the larger bench/General body/collective of DAs. A member will be initially suspended for a period of one month and will be restored back if found back on track otherwise will be considered terminated after a month. No Scheduled class member shall be terminated on

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any ground, but can be suspended temporarily for few months. Suspension of any member should be enacted with the 2/3rd decision of D.A//D.As and DSS.

5. **Membership Fees:** DST shall remain a purely voluntary social and political organization not dependent financially on membership fees, not even on any donor-led money. Nevertheless little token fees will be collected from certain members to provide some nominal expenses. Membership fees will be kept progressive. Well off members will pay the maximum. Further Fees criterion will be;

1. Doctors, Executives, Lawyers, Government officers, Rs.2400 per year/Rs.200 per month.
2. Clerical jobs, teachers, small businessmen (Rs.1200 per year/ Rs. 100 per month)
3. Unemployed, peasants, wage laborers, women (Rs.20 per month).

6. **Leadership criterion:** Top leadership of DST, that may constitute Dalit Sujag Sangat/Board of Spokespersons (DSS) and members of various Committees working either independently, in relation to or under DSS, will preferably constitute Dalit women primarily, but not exclusively. DSS members will be from Dalit women and men belonging to the most marginalized Scheduled class communities that can be roughly ordered in terms of preference for leadership like this, such as Kabootra, Gurgula, Barha, Jandawra, Baghri, Malhi, Jogi, Oad, Kolhi, Bhil and Meghwar, Sheedi, Christian Dalits, Sikh Dalits and Ahmedi Dalits, Meerbahar, Kori, Mochi, Mallah, Solangi, Khaskheli, landless peasants, unemployed youth, wage laborers, workers, hawkers, and finally Dalit activists of any caste, race, religion or ethnicity. No feudal-capitalist, Pir, Mir, Seth, tribal chief or Sardar, dominant political party affiliate, religious fanatic, extremist, a terrorist or a person having criminal background or suspected of fraud and blackmail will be made member of DST.

7. Organization of DST

- 7.1. **Dalit Assembly/Dalit Units:** Dalit Assembly will constitute the members of DST gathered at any single place, event or general body meeting to debate, resolve and decide upon any issue or case at hand. Various Dalit units will come into formation at various

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places, in towns, city neighborhoods whose membership can be from five persons to hundreds. All such DAs will register their members as DST members and fees will be collected accordingly. DA shall be the final seat of arbitration and decision-making, and in locally specific unit-area issues, shall have the supremacy over DSS' decisions. DSS will however, have organizing powers over all the unite areas and could enforce very generic decisions common to all units areas/regions. Any DA that may constitute more than 30 percent of the registered members of DST, shall have the right to defy, nullify or correct, at any time, the decisions taken by DSS on its own behalf, or on behalf of the DA. Local spokespersons of any unit are shall have only organizing authority/responsibility to gather Dalits and ensure overall coordination and serve as mediators between local common Dalits, various neighboring units and the DSS. DA members registered online on social media group page will also be counted as constituting a virtual DA on par with any physical gathering anywhere with its opinion and decisions equally worthy of consideration and application.

7.2. Dalit Assembly Meeting: The Dalit Assembly meeting shall be usually held in cities of head office or regional offices/unit areas. As all the registered members can hardly be gathered at any single place, it is impossible to hold a single collective DA of all members at one time in space. So, in reality, multiple DAs will be held in different times in different physical as well as virtual (Facebook) places, and the opinion of members will be sought through participatory democratic ways. Regional offices/unit areas need not be fixed places/buildings and initially any local community hall, community association's social welfare department can be used for DA purposes. DA meetings, however, can also be held in villages too . The notice of Dalit Assembly meeting shall be sent to registered members at least a week earlier, before the date fixed for meeting. Such a notice shall be sent through known e-mail address, SMS, posted on FB page or dispatched on last known address. Any Dalit member can join any DA held in any city or town or unit area and be party of decisions taken there so long as no deliberate malafide participation in another unit area is suspected or purported by any single Dalit group from any other Dalit lying outside that unit area.

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- 7.3. Virtual Meetings:** Besides having face to face meeting (periodically) at regional offices/unit areas there could be special sessions of discussions on important matters through closed group /Chat groups on Social Media (e.g. Facebook/DST/DTP Website) or through email conversations. .Face-to-face meetings should be held at least once in a month at each region. Meetings could be held at any convenient place, not necessarily at regional offices. As most of local common Dalits do not have access to social media, discussion on social media shall be disseminated to local members not using social media. Similarly those members who cannot be physically at all places to attend all DAs, the minutes of each regional unit area based DA shall be disseminated by Media Committee among members on social group page for all online members.
- 7.4. Dalit Supreme Council (DSC):** DSC shall be representative of all Dalit sections of society, and shall consist of members from all 40/42 SCs, and Christian Dalits, Sikh Dalits, and some members from Muslim Dalits and members from Dalit communities belonging to some other religions. A two member team from amongst DSS shall arrange for Dalit Supreme Council’s meeting annually, present overall progress of the DST before them, and seek DSC approval on certain issues or matters concerning them all and to those sections that had been ignored by DSS or various DAs. Decisions taken in DSC or the issues raised during it shall be given greater weightage than the decisions taken by DSS or by a few DAs.
- 7.5. Dalit Sujaag Sangat/Board of Spokespersons (DSS).** Keeping in perspective Dalit Manifesto and its emphasis on direct participatory democracy, there will be no president, or Chief Patron or Chairperson of Dalit Sujaag Tehreek, but a Key Spokesperson locally called as ‘Dalit Rahbar’ (leader). A Key Spokesperson will only have symbolic authority to deal with public at large without any extra authority over DSS members and will be not be superior in any other respects from other DSS members.
- 7.6. Horizontal Leadership:** The hierarchy among DSS members should be assumed to be non-existing. No one DSS member shall be superior to any other member. DSS members shall have equal, compatible and complementary tasks without allocating powers of decision-making and the execution to any single member, or a few controlling the other. All the DSS members shall take decisions unanimously with consensus. Forcing of decisions shall be strictly forbidden. All DSS members shall serve as spokespersons of the DA/DAs

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and the DST at large, not its rulers. Any hard issue over which forming consensus by DSS will be difficult, will be brought before DA/DAs. Issue or case shall remain in pending in case DA/DAs are unable to resolve the issue.

7.7. Key Tasks of DSS: Keeping in line with Dalit Manifesto, giving instructions, updating all members, getting feedbacks and disseminating back will be the responsibility of DSS. Development of various plans shall be the responsibility of the whole DS. The strategies, plans and program shall be devised in the light of suggestions given by all DA members at any forum, on social media, particularly in DA meeting. All DSS members or majority of DSS members shall finalize and announce any program, case or plan that may have passed by various DAs. Each DA could be called in by any local Spokesperson having approval of DS. Local Spokesperson/s will be allowed to hold DAs in their respective unite areas, in the name of DST after the formal and symbolic approval of DSS. Plans or programs devised by DS itself shall be sent down to all local unit areas to hold DAs and seek approval and suggestions related to program or plan. Planning for empowerment, advocacy, welfare and activism shall be a continuous process that should go on cyclically, from Common Dalit at its location to DA to DSS to DA to common Dalit. No law, or the objective or rule of the DST organization or Dalit Manifesto shall be considered as the ultimate or final for all times, and can be reversed, amended or annulled any time with consensus by DA.

All existing Dalit forums that shall join DST will have to use the logo, flag and the name of DST on their posters, pads, and panaflexes along with their own forum's logos.

One of the major tasks of DST through DS and DAs, will be to evolve Dalit Manifesto into a policy based document for Dalit communities for structural reforms to present it as a case of Dalits before civil society, political society or the government, and before international, global and transnational institutions.

7.8. Election of DS. A Key Spokesperson will, however, be preferably elected from amongst elected Dalit women. Any of the Dalit women DS members can assume the responsibilities of Rahbar by mutual consensus of DS members, of Key Spokesperson, in case he/she remains inactive, ill or busy somewhere else, or could not respond to any event in time. Thirteen member DS elected by DA for a period of 1 year will regulate and supervise over all the functioning and activism of Dalit Sujaag Tehreek. DS will be formed by DA with

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2/3rd direct vote in a DA meeting held annually. In case any elected DS member resigns prematurely, another member will take over charge after being elected in any latter DA meeting. DSS members can be re-elected on rotatory basis. Six of the total twelve DSS members will be allowed with consensus to be DSS members for a period of two years. While other six out of twelve members of the DSS, after successful completion of their one year tenure will vacate their places to be filled by newly elected members. Any former DS member cannot be re-elected back for the consecutive term.

7.9. Intra-DSS relations. Any DSS member can complain against any other member addressing to DSS as a whole and calling for a meeting (virtual or physical) for any such matter. Matters internal to DSS shall not be made public, and only DA will be informed or brought into consideration of the developments at proper time. Any DSS meeting having more than 50% of its members present in it, will be considered as legal and legitimate to take decisions as per rule. DSS through its media committee or even directly shall inform within 24 hours about its decisions and developments to all registered members, via SMS, email, social media or newsletter or print media

7.10. Contacting DsS. Any application, letter, suggestion, amendment, complaint or contribution can be addressed to DSS in general, and emailed to all DSS members, and can be moved by any member and endorsed by 1/3rd (one third) of total registered members in matters of high concern, while endorsement by DSS/DA will suffice in any minor or local matter affecting any particular unit area. Application can be submitted in written or emailed or posted on First Dalit Transnational (FB group page).

7.11. Composition or Membership of DSS. DSS shall consist of elected but reserved members general DST cadre, and also some members from amongst existing Dalit forums nominated by the forums themselves. As total SC classes in Pakistan are about 40, not all SCs can become members of DSS at single time in a single tenure. Keeping that in perspective, DSS members shall be elected in such a manner so that all SC classes could be represented in succeeding tenures. Seats shall not be fixed for any class, caste or category of Dalits, and anyone from Dalits could be elected as DSS member under circumstances. Hence, following proposition to reserve some seats for women and most marginalized communities is not compulsory but recommendatory. Four DSS members will be reserved

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from amongst Dalit women eligible to be elected by DA. In case suitable Dalit women do not come up to be DSS members, their slots will be allocated to the most oppressed of the Scheduled classes. Relatively privileged SCs could have 3/13 seats. DSS shall not only constitute members as per this reservation criterion but also constitute a member from all existing-Dalit organizations or forums willing to be part DST. Dalit forum/forums shall nominate any of their member as one of the DSS. Overall DSS membership proportion will be as under.

1. Dalit Women.....5
2. Most Marginalized SCs.....3
3. Privileged SCs.....3
4. Non-SC Dalit activists.....2
5. Member/members from existing Dalit forums.....5 to 10

Hence, DSS membership shall not be fixed depending on the joining of member/members by existing Dalit forums. This proportion based on affirmative action and positive discrimination shall not be discarded till some significant horizontal, gender and ethnic equality is achieved, and till all forty SCs get representation within DA, DSS and in an overall membership of DST. Any DSS member can also be a member of any Dalit committee/committee formed for various purposes.

- 8. Dalit committees:** Various Dalit committees shall be formed to deal with specific social and political issues of Dalits whose decisions and working will be limited to specific aspects only. Dalit Committees/regional units will thoroughly investigate the matter and submit a report to the Board of Spokesperson (DSS) with its recommendations. The DSS will further deliberate the matter in light of the recommendations of the Committees and will submit its own recommendations as well as those of the Committee to the DA. Based on the recommendations of the Committees and the EC, the DA will approve or disapprove the recommendations with a simple majority of total registered members.

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- 8.1. Transnational Coordinators Committee (TCC).** TCC will remain connected transnationally with Dalit activists all around the globe to promote and secure Dalit cause, generate funds for local activism and Dalit advocacy transnationally, internationally and trans-locally.
- 8.2. Media Spokespersons Team (MST).** There will be two to three media spokespersons having better relations with print media and Satellite channels to promote and project Dalit perspective and ensure media coverage of Dalit issues. They will issue press releases on behalf of DST and check media content. Minutes of DA/DAs meetings shall be recorded and should be circulated through DST website, email address and FB DST/IDT page.
- 8.3. Financial Committee (FC).** Financial Committee will consist of two persons, one male another female, and will be formed from amongst the members of DSS, to hold a mutual account in bank or at office. All the account details or financial status will be an open secret accessible and knowable by each registered member of DST.
- 8.4. Public Mobilization Committee (PMC).** One to two DSS members will manage and organize protests, sit-ins, demonstrations, and public conferences. As it is a huge task, all DSS members shall be bound to engage with them in that activity when and where needed and to the extent possible under circumstances. Most of such activism shall be voluntary and DS or financial Committee shall not be bound pay to any TA or DA to political workers. In case of emergency, accident or loss of life, self-help shall be considered as the primary source. DST members shall be allowed to protest and demonstrate along with any other Dalit or pro-Dalit social and political organization, or to participate in their rallies and programs. Other Dalit organizations shall be convinced to use in their banners, posters and pamphlets, the logo, flag, slogan and name of DST along with their specific organizational names.
- 8.5. Political Advocacy and Awareness committee (PAAC):** PAAC will play the role of watch dog and lobby Dalit cause at civil society and political society forums at local, national and international levels. DSS members along with some other well educated and literate members including from amongst Hamdard Sath Group will be employed for that particular cause.

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- 8.6. Research and Publication Board (RPB):** Translation and publication board will consist of those friends having interest in doing research on Dalits from Dalit perspective, and expert in translating Dalit literature from English, Hindi and Urdu into Sindhi and vice versa. It will consist of those persons having linkages with publication houses and may have been previously engaged with writing Dalit literature, books, articles, pamphlets, newsletters, and brochures. RPB will be responsible for writing original works, running history of Dalits, maintain Dalit archive, and do research on Dalit issues.
- 9. Elections:** DSS members will be elected, that will further appoint various committees for specific tasks. Election for DSS members will be made through direct election by raising of hands in favor of any candidate. In case hand raising were seem fifty-fifty or less than that, all raised hands will be counted in any single gathering to elect a member. In case gatherings were very large in hundreds, then simple first-past-post elections will be held on spot. Those registered members who live abroad, or due to unavoidable reasons could not come to be part of DA at physical spaces, can cast their online through e-voting process. Physical Das shall be held at various citifies, towns and villages to elect local as well as central DS members.
- 9.1. The Chief Election Commissioner,** appointed from amongst DSS shall announce the schedule of elections at least two months before the date of elections. The Chief Election Commissioner shall create the list of contesting candidates and eligible members prepared at least one month before the date of elections.
- 9.2. Election Commission:** Each DST unit will appoint its own election commissioner to elect members to an electorate out of which DSS members will be elected. With the announcement of the list of contesting candidates to DSS for the new elections, the old Election Commission will stand dissolved. The new Election Commission will be constituted at least one month before the election date by a consensus between the candidates contesting the election for the office of chairman/President and by the existing DSS. The retiring election commission shall be responsible for forging a consensus over the appointment of new Election Commission among the contesting candidates. The newly nominated Election Commission shall take oath

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from relieving Chief Election Commissioner as soon as possible after their nomination. Notwithstanding, Chief Election Commissioner may postpone elections, with the consent of the contesting candidates, for a period not exceeding one month, if in his/her considered opinion, grave emergency, like natural disaster, famine, etc., it is impossible to hold elections under the given circumstances.

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Dalit Alternative for Pakistan and South Asia

DALIT MANIFESTO

1. Dalit is a symbol of change, emancipation and revolution. Goal of a Dalit is to save nature, ensure health of earth, environmental justice and food autonomy, ward-off hunger, annihilate caste, and eradicate class inequality, discrimination based on descent and gender.
2. Following in the footsteps of great Dalit leader of South Asia B.R Ambedkar, we raise the slogan to 'Educate, Agitate, Organize, and Empower.
3. On his 'thought on Pakistan' Ambedkar had suggested that there should be a party representing poor Hindus and poor Muslims, entirely secular, only that could save India. Muslim communalism only feed Hindu communalism. (VB. Rawat). Hence, taking lead from Ambedkarain political philosophy, we are forming Dalit United Party, with the strong belief in social-democratic and secular values, that religion is a personal matter of each and every individual and all faiths be equally respected without favoring one over the other or condemning one for the other but to condemn only those religious narratives that lead to extremism, terrorism, fanaticism and propagate hatred and discriminations.
4. Bottom up direct participatory democracy by the people, for the people is the best way to ensure the rights of marginalized groups and communities.
5. If we are to build a Theology of Peace, of Universal Love and Compassion & Grace for All, a Society and a World of Co-Existence, then, we have to condemn all those teachings that preach and justify hatred for other religions and cultures preach fear and violence, refer to the "other" as untouchables, refer to women as inferior to men, where crusades are justified to spread any faith, where the language is one of domination and supremacy, where equality is not accepted, where the freedom to practice, preach and proselytize is limited to only the ruling and hegemonic religion, where the freedom of conscience is buried in the graveyard of the dark pages of human history, where millions of human beings have been murdered in the name of religious bigotry. This and much more needs to be done, for us to uncover and rediscover our spiritual roots, to know the Divine Soul within Each of Us. The next phase of human evolution will discard all that is violent and hateful and will embrace all that is loving and compassionate. The future lies with the rising spiritual consciousness of Humanity, whilst all the rest will wither away in to our past.

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6. What Dalit primarily condemns is one of the most ancient surviving evils called casteism and its various manifestations that include racism, discrimination on the basis of descent, caste endogamy, caste untouchability, social segregation as out-groups/out-castes, gender discrimination and patriarchy. At least 250 million people worldwide still face appalling and dehumanizing discrimination based on caste and similar systems of inherited status. This is a global problem affecting communities in Asia, Africa, Middle East, the Pacific region and in various diaspora communities. Caste-based discrimination and violence goes against the basic principles of universal human dignity and equality, as it differentiates between 'inferior' and 'superior' categories of individuals which is unacceptable. In many societies discussing these practices is taboo; we need not just legal and political responses but ways to change the mindset of individuals and the collective conscience of local communities. A Dalit believes that identifying existence of casteism and untouchability is a lesser sin, if ever it is, than covering up the evils that casteism spawns. There is, in reality, only the difference of degree between casteism, tribalism, naïve chauvinistic nationalism, totalitarianism and fascism.
7. Dalit seeks inspiration primarily from the political philosophy of Ambedkar and certain other leading leftist thinkers particularly Antonio Gramsci. Ambedkar and Gramsci's activity as leaders always combined with solid theoretical reflection, springs out of their own and others' lived experience of subalternity. Both found inspiration in Marxism, both were critical of religion, but considered religion culturally and politically relevant; both assessed the presence of subalterns through social, cultural and historical critical analysis, and sought to negotiate a rightful place within the state, society and history/historiography for these 'excluded' individuals. For both of them, the solution would come from the effort of the subalterns themselves, as active protagonists of their own destiny, to achieve 'consciousness', and 'collective will' aided by the role of leaders/intellectuals. Their 'holistic' approach – which is a global critique to culture and to the structures of subalternity – enlightens the present-day 'Dalit Question' as a challenge posited not simply to Dalits and concerned scholars, but to societies/ states and to the international community.”
8. Dalit believes that the well-being of humankind can be best ensured through political empowerment, and the political empowerment can be best ensured through political emancipation and inculcating political awareness among the poor and oppressed classes that may include all marginalized communities, religious or socioeconomic, marginalized ecologies, womenfolk and third gender, indigenous communities, peasants, wage laborers, factory workers, Adivasi or aboriginal tribes, and vulnerable and endangered ethnic groups or cultures.
9. Dalit mission is to let indigenous poor Dalits, Dalit women, third gender, women in general, Dalit-Bahujans or Mulnivasis, Socio-economically, politically and culturally marginalized classes, and castes such as Rabaari Guwaaria, Lohaar, Baawa, poor Muslim

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classes and castes, Sikhs, Parsis, Qadianis, and particularly the youth among Dalits to bring them up, to defend the rights of indigenous communities and local populations, that is, their rights over land and natural resources, and to check spread of corporate culture, weaken the hegemony of neo-feudalism or feudal-capitalist class, and to strengthen local government culture through participatory and direct democracy.

10. Although constitution of Pakistan has strongly disallowed discrimination based on caste, color and creed and proclaims to ensure equal citizenship rights, laws on the ground are not strict enough to get enforced and followed. Our society badly needs to transform itself through some kind of Cultural Revolution to get rid of deeply entrenched practices of discriminations based on descent and the caste. To bring about Cultural Revolution, again, the best way forward is to create political awareness to subvert existing system based on casteism. It is also an issue of bad governance and we believe that bad governance is due to oligarchic democratic structures. Roots of oligarchic democracy, that is the rule of the few upper caste families and capitalist class, also lie in casteism and tribalism. Hence, casteism which is the primary source of fascism in South Asia, is still culturally permitted and perpetuated by upper class Hindus, and feudal-capitalist class independent of religion. Casteism has several forms and manifestations; oligarchic democracy, Tribalism, caste endogamy, social segregation, political, administrative and social untouchability are some of its major form. Its worst victims are, however, poor class of Hindus (Dalits), indigenous communities or Adivasi tribes, nomadic tribes, Qadiani, Muslim, Sikh and Christian Dalits.
11. Ambedkar said ““Lost rights are never regained by appeals to the conscience of the usurpers, but by relentless struggle.... Goats are used for sacrificial offerings and not lions.” Therefore, before an Ambedkarite and a Dalit for achieving basic human rights, for getting counted as poor Dalit class, to transcend the divisions based on caste, color and creed, taking risks are necessary. Those Dalits who fear risking their prestige, life and status cannot be the ones that can transform society. Dalit cause is not exclusively Dalit cause; it’s the cause of all humans, for the whole of humanity. Those Braminised and myopic Dalit must be unequivocally told that Dalit cause is far beyond their narrow vision, that Dalit struggle is the all-round struggle against racism, casteism (including Brahmanism), discrimination based on descent, class inequalities, gender (patriarchy) and for the rights of indigenous communities, preservation of nature, cultural diversity and the survival of life itself. How come, so easily any committed Dalit can abandon such a great cause!
12. A Dalit always wants to ensure all basic freedoms, freedoms of speech, association and worship, and that all such rights must be ensured by the state. Taking the lead from Jinnah, the founder of Pakistan that we may reiterate here that “You may belong to any religion or caste or creed — that has nothing to do with the business of the State....We are starting with this fundamental principle: that we are all citizens, and equal citizens, of

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one State.” Jinnah. All citizens are equal regardless of their ethnicity or religious belief. As Jinnah is suggesting that all marginalized communities, independent of their caste, color and creed be uplifted and be considered as equal citizens of Pakistan in all respects of life, so is the mission of a Dalit. Ambedkar, Jinnah and Jogendar Nath Mandal and several other Dalit leaders dreamt of a casteless and classless society. Dalit strives to realize and materialize that lofty dream of our Dalit leaders by giving central importance to the rights of marginalized communities (minorities) and classes, and by ensuring the provision of economic opportunity and political participation.

13. As in post-Vedic era, the extremely oppressive brand of casteism prevailed in South Asia (Indus civilization) since the times of Lord Manu, and perpetuated itself through Brahminism, that classified social system on the basis of four castes, fifth being outcastes or untouchables, a Dalit aims at subverting that caste-based social system which is still under practice in varied and modified forms though. The draconian Laws of Manu seem very much operative in different forms and manifestation in many areas of Southern Punjab and Sindh and cruel rules of Code of Manu are still in practice away from the notice of the Pakistan’s mainstream civil society. Despite converting to Christianity and Islam and other religions, poor Hindu class could not have escaped discrimination based on descent (color, caste and background).
14. To annihilate caste is to liberate ourselves and begin the process of becoming a community of humans with shared value of liberty, equality, and fraternity. Throughout the history of the subcontinent, socio-cultural revolts, anti-caste assertions, movements, literatures and leaders have worked at socializing people away from supremacist thought and towards an egalitarian mode of being. The most cogent exposition came from Babasahed Ambedkar’s analysis of the caste system, its origin, mechanisms and its annihilation. (Kuffir)
15. Brahmin supremacy is the core belief system of the caste society and every Indian citizen is caught in its social, economic, political and psychological consequences, across religions and classes (Kuffir)
16. Annihilation of caste is for Hindus as Dr Ambedkar claimed in his book itself. But, looking at it from overall south Asian context, its not only for Hindus. It is for Indians because Indians whether they are Chritians or Muslims, or Sikhs or Parsis, they are still carrying the element of caste in their religion’. (Boja Tharakam) So it is for all Indians. Pakistan having historical links with the existing India both being identified as a the same country or nation or region having same and similar histories, cultures and religions, casteism is also as much a Pakistani phenomenon as it is an Indian even till today. Annihilation of caste, the core text of Ambedkar, is mostly for Hindus, but it is, we believe , is for all South Asians “Dr. Ambedkar in his book itself had written how caste can be annihilated when it could be annihilated. The solution is given, but since 1936 nobody is taking up the solution, nobody is following its prescription. Nodbody from all

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sections is thinking of eradicating caste, to annihilate caste because everybody wants caste including the last one in the ladder. Because everybody is getting some solace from this system. Not that they like it and therefore they want to retain it, but by compulsion, [became of brahminness hegemony], they are retaining it. And if you want to annihilate caste you should annihilate all castes. So Caste is a symbol of castes, therefore, Dr Ambedkar wanted to annihilate all castes. Therefore, its is meant for all! Caste will go only when all Indians, all hinds, [and also all South Asian Muslims and other communities] take up the cause of annihilating castes. Only then castes will be annihilated in the ways in which Dr. Ambedkar wanted this Caste to be annihilated. “
Boja Tharakam

17. Patriarchy is still the dominant social norm and womenfolk are still living their lives as permanent subordinates of man. In similar fashion, state religion Islam, also has failed to ensure rights of marginalized religious and non-religious communities of Pakistan. Instead, Islamic laws of defamation have been used by the radicals and extremists to persecute and harass religiously marginalised, women, and secular community.
18. Keeping all the above considerations in perspective, and the fact that no existing political party is representing that marginalized lot to their satisfaction, we believe that the formation of Dalit United Party (DUP) in Pakistan will be a historic and ground-breaking event that will break centuries of silence of the silenced, create an atmosphere of universal brotherhood, fraternity, mutual coexistence, acceptance of diversity, and usher in an era of subaltern politics by the poorest and the most marginalized classes of Pakistan, DUP will strive for the socio-economic, cultural, historical and spiritual emancipation of poor Dalit class.
19. Provision of adequate, effective and mandatory safeguards specifically in the constitution for socio-economically and religiously marginalised communities in provinces for the protection of their religious, cultural, economic, political, administrative and other rights and interests in consultation with them.
20. Uplift Dalit class through political empowerment, particularly poor Dalit class within Hindus that has also been constitutionally recognized as the poor and oppressed class and thus most of them have been classified as Scheduled castes. Constitution of 1973 makes a reference to the scheduled castes inasmuch as in clause (3) (b) of Article 260 of the Constitution in which “Scheduled castes” have been included among “non’Muslims” and in clause (2A) of Article 51 they have been bracketed with Hindus for the purpose of elections to reserved seats. On November 12, 1957, the Ministry of Law issued a Presidential ordinance to declare certain non-Muslim castes to be the Scheduled Castes for the purpose of Constitution. Some 40 castes were added to this Schedule. The Ordinance was called the Scheduled Castes (Declaration) Ordinance, 1957. Although most of such tribes and castes generally belong to Hindu religion, and believed to be Hindus socially, but in the constitution and legal document their religion has not been

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specifically defined, but implicitly hinted as being Hindus. Religion of certain Scheduled castes and tribes is also unclear and mixed at social level. Some amongst, Sansi, Bheel, Kolhi, Bheel, Baghri, Jogi, Sami and certain other castes have converted to Qadiani, Buddhist, Christian, Sikh and Muslim faiths. As some of Scheduled castes have converted to other religions but their socio-economic status has hardly changed and they are still treated as untouchables by the larger society, it will be more appropriate to call Scheduled caste multi-religious category of oppressed classes. Keeping multi-religious nature of Scheduled castes in perspective, it will not be fair then to assume Scheduled castes as a homogenous religious group. It will be even more appropriate to think of them as a Dalit class having varied religious background, and sharing with each other the centuries of history of oppression and suppression.

21. To uplift Scheduled class through affirmative action. Six percent job quota was reserved for the persons of Scheduled Classes from both rural and urban quota in provincial departments of Government of Pakistan. That 6% quota gets reduced to 1 percent if calculated at national level. At federal level that quota eventually got implemented in such a manner that major Federal jobs went to Punjab where SCs are in smaller numbers while the majority of SC population in Sindh went neglected. Fact of the matter is that because of the marginalized status of Scheduled classes, their lack of political and social consciousness of their rights, and the lack of understanding of the solutions of their socioeconomic issues by themselves and by the government, in reality that quota could not be implemented in letter and spirit, and ultimately it was withdrawn when its life ended in 1998 under regrettable circumstances. Throughout the history of Pakistan, issues of Scheduled castes remained invisible not only to impending governments but also to civil and political society of Pakistan. This quota needs to be restored and introduced in provinces too as per vision of Quaid-e-Azam. Soon after independence and till Jinnah was alive, Dalit leaders were certain that the rights and reservations of Scheduled castes shall be entertained, but lamentably hopes of scheduled castes also died a premature death with the demise of Pakistan's founder. As Scheduled classes were not even in a position even to benefit from reserved quotas and were not further facilitated in any way to seek benefits from reservations, withdrawing of 6 % reservation for Scheduled castes' job quotas by the government was an illegitimate, unconstitutional act, and more than that it was an undemocratic action because the representatives from majority of Scheduled castes were not consulted at any stage of decision making to withdraw or maintain reservations. It was, thus, unethical as hardly any SC was allowed to benefit from such reservations. It was a unilateral decision on the part of government. To challenge that unilateral decision of the government, Dalit leadership will lodge a petition against such a decision of the government, as it was against the spirit of affirmative action, and keep striving for the restoration of six percent quotas not only in government

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- jobs, but also in private non-governmental jobs, and admissions in colleges, and in universities.
22. Enforcing laws that allow affirmative action for Scheduled classes and all Dalit classes (Muslim Dalits, Christian Dalits, Ravidasi Dalits, Sikh Dalits, Buddhist Dalits etc.) to ensure more seats in assemblies and quotas in jobs and in educational institutions than their population so that such marginalized communities could come out of centuries of hidden apartheid and multiple discriminations.
 23. Redefinition and replacement of the term 'Scheduled caste' in official documents and the constitution. Replacing 'Scheduled caste' with the term 'Scheduled Communities', 'Scheduled classes' or 'Marginalized Communities' or 'Dalit classes' that could be Hindus by religion or non-Hindus (newly convert poor Hindu class from Hinduism to Islam, Sikhism, Buddhism, Christianity, Ravidasia, or to any other faith). Column of Scheduled communities must not be merged with the column for religion, and must be kept separate from the column for religion. As Scheduled caste/class/ community is a socio-economic category and was evolved after socio-economic survey of marginalized castes and tribes, it must be revised after every ten years to include any other marginalized class of people, and to exclude any of the class that may no more be in need of reservations, quotas, and political representation. Keeping Scheduled class category without bringing about change in its caste/class composition and structure will again produce some other kind of caste/class inequality. Therefore, Scheduled class category must be abolished, when certain major thresholds are achieved and poor Hindu and other Dalit classes come out of their deprivation and marginalization.
 24. Since reservations and quotas for the marginalized is not an ideal solution, as it was not at all even from the times of its introduction before partition, and was quite a compromised solution offered to Dalit class in the wake of Poona Pact, as against separate electorates as demanded by B.R. Ambedkar, it is therefore demanded, in the light of new and better electoral systems introduced internationally, that Dalit class be political empowered through proportional electoral system and proportional representation in all political and social spheres of life. Till that is achieved, all the marginalized communities and the historically oppressed classes be officially called as Dalits, that is, oppressed and poor classes in need of special attention to uplift through positive discrimination, proportional representation, quotas and reservations.
 25. Political empowerment of all the marginalized communities and regions through direct political representation of Dalits including poor Muslim class into local, district, provincial and national assemblies.
 26. To bring women into leadership positions and let them lead Dalit political struggle.
 27. Expose prevailing casteism and tribalism in Sindh and Pakistan, and make nationalist, socialist and democratic forces conscious of prevailing hidden casteism and tribalism.

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28. Introduction of con-federal, decentralized inclusive administrative system with the right to collect taxes given to confederations or decentralized regional units/provinces.
29. Dalit want an equal representation of federal units in national assembly, and an equal representation of regional sub-nationalities, indigenous communities, Scheduled classes, marginalized hitherto ignored ecological regions, laborers, workers, peasants, youth, women and an equal representation of ethno-linguistically marginalized into provincial assemblies.
30. Federating units and provinces be made economically and financially autonomous with the maximum annual budget (50 %) allocated for development, particularly on health, education and poverty reduction and for the uplift of homeless, landless marginalized classes and castes.
31. Institutional reforms must be brought about in all sectors of economy, bureaucracy or services to make them ethnically neutral as well as caste neutral by eradicating nepotism and favoritism and by ensuring the quota for the marginalized ethnicities and castes.
32. Curtailment of developmental, health, education and welfare authority of Talluka and district bureaucrats as well as that of provincial and national ministers, MNAs and MPAs, and the devolution of the same to local level government or to communal councils set up for the same purpose to politically empower local communities through participatory and democratic approach. Special attention then be paid to Dalit communal councils and the marginalized regions, and 40 percent funds be allocated for them from annual provincial and national budgets for the self-development with the recognition of their right to decide themselves for their development and welfare, and the utilization of funds. Recommendations of communal councils must be taken seriously for father legislation by the district, provincial and national assemblies and the mechanisms be evolved to document decision-making and making of rules or laws at local level. Donor-led Non-governmental Organizations, madressahs, missionary services must be fully responsible for auditing, monitoring and evaluation before such communal councils in development matters that pertain to area representative of such councils. No project shall be introduced or implemented at local level without the consent and formal approval of communal councils as such. Most of the local development projects, however, must be made, evolved, implemented and monitored by communal councils themselves and must be funded by the government itself.
33. Introduction of proportional electoral system. Proportional electoral system works on the principle that all voters deserve representation and that all political groups in society deserve to be represented in our legislatures in proportion to their strength in the electorate. In other words, everyone should have the right to fair representation. Proportional electoral system seeks to create a representative body that reflects the overall distribution of public support for each political party. Majoritarian electoral system, as it is in Pakistan, in which only one candidate wins on the basis of majority

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vote keeps marginalized communities in that electorate into permanent marginalization. But in proportional electoral system, if 30% of the electorate support a particular political party, then roughly 30% of seats will be won by that party. The essence of such systems is that all votes contribute to the result: not just a plurality, or a bare majority, of them. Whereas majority or plurality systems effectively reward strong parties and penalize weak ones by providing the representation of a whole constituency to a single candidate who may have received fewer than half of the votes cast (as is the case, for example, in the with existing electoral system in Pakistan), proportional representation ensures minority groups a measure of representation proportionate to their electoral support. Systems of proportional representation have been adopted in many countries, including Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Norway, Russia, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland. Proportional electorate system can prove to be the best system of electing representatives in heterogeneous, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural countries like Pakistan, can go a long way to build nation.

34. To empower all such marginalized communities, Dalit classes or Scheduled castes, Hindus, Christian, Sikhs, regional ecologies in Pakistan who do not and cannot win majority vote or more than that in any single electorate, can be enabled to form their own party to claim representation in legislative assemblies in proportion to the votes grabbed by them. Keeping that in perspective, it will be befitting to introduce proportional electorate system, at least, in districts and electorates, such as districts of Bhawalpur and Cholistan region in Punjab, districts of Southern Sindh particularly in Mirpurkhas division, in urban electorates where Dalit population lives in Ghettoes and slums, and where religious and regionally marginalized communities constitute at least 10 percent of the population.
35. Scheduled class makes up approximately 90 percent of the marginalized communities in Sindh. Therefore, till proportional electoral system is fully implemented, 90 percent of the reserved seats in Sindh Assembly and National assemblies for minorities, will be allotted to candidates from Scheduled classes/castes.
36. Abolition of all such laws, directly or indirectly, implicitly or explicitly, supporting post-Brahminism, Neo-feudalism, feudal-capitalists class, and patriarchy.
37. Redistribution of agricultural and residential state land and feudal land among the landless peasants particularly womenfolk and landless Dalit class. Enforcing and making laws to eradicate various forms bonded labor, social bondage and debt bondage.
38. Provision of land for the urban Dalits living in slums and ghettos, ensuring their right to decent life, political organization their neighborhoods.
39. Securing universal and natural rights over water of the tail-enders and lower riparians, health of Indus Delta, and striving against environmental degradation. Protection of environment from environmental pollution and degradation, protection of endangered species, and preservation of natural habitats, recognition of the rights of locals and

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indigenous communities over natural resources, minerals, forests, hills, underground water, grazing lands and wastelands.

40. Special measures be taken to make life livable and decent for the indigenous communities of Cholistan and Thar regions. Struggle against building of Mega Dams, recommending building of small dams in Kacho, Kohistan, Parkar and all such regions of Pakistan where water may be scarce and where small dams can be built to sustain life and livestock. Struggle for the indigenous rights of local Thari and Kohistani people over their hills, sand dunes, trees, and natural resources, and to struggle for Thari people's rights over the income/royalty of Thar Coal Power Project, ensuring proper placement of local Tharis after their displacement from project area.
41. Declaration as a grave crime (and a form of racism) all kinds of social, religious, cultural and political untouchabilities practiced against poor Dalit class and all other poor and marginalized classes. Those who practice untouchability must be punished and tried in the court of law.
42. Setting up of local, provincial and national level commissions to monitor plight of Dalits in Pakistan and serve as watchdogs to end caste-discrimination, social segregation, social and political untouchability in Pakistan. International and transnational institutions human rights watchdogs must be enforced upon to put an end to caste discrimination and untouchability on their top agenda.
43. Repealment of all 'black laws' against religiously marginalized. Making of strict laws and their implementation to punish those who practice untouchability at public places, (hotels, temples, schools, buses), in political, provincial, and national assemblies.
44. Formulation of laws and rules to ensure that one marginalized community must not oppress, exploit and discriminate against another marginalized within marginalized. Official condemnation in district, provincial and national assemblies, of the powerful capitalist classes and their hegemonic organizations such as Pakistan Hindus Council (PHC) or any other such Muslim Christian or Mardrissa council. Making of laws to ban any such organization that may use religion to exploit their own co-religionists, as being done with poor Muslim or Hindu class (Dalits) and by Dewaan/Vaniya class, and pirmullah class. Strict laws be made to abet forced religious conversions, abduction and kidnapping of young Hindu and Dalit girls and women so that their economic vulnerability could not be exploited to change their faith.
45. Lobbying at national, transnational and international level to enforce upon government of Pakistan to ameliorate pathetic condition of Dalit class to ensure Dalit rights.
46. There is not a single TV Channel, a single newspaper that may be called as the voice of poor classes of Pakistan. Individual journalists off and on, however, highlight issues of poor and oppressed communities and classes. But there is not a single journalist, except a few feminists, that may truly qualify to be called the voice of oppressed classes, and poor communities. A few Ambedkarite friend, particularly Ganpat Rai Bheel, Advocate

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Bhooro Mal Kolhi, Jairam Das Abhoja, Ranshal Das Kolhi, Kausar Qaimkhani, Gypsy FC Rathore, Faiz Sheedi and Noor Junejo are trying their level best to produce Dalit literature in Sindhi language, but again, Dalit writers being marginalized and poor, face delays, impediments and hurdles at each step of literature production. , DUP will launch their own Dalit FM radio channel, TV Channels, a newspaper, a publishing house to publish journals, books, and translations.

47. Revision of educational curriculum to make it free of mythical histories and make it more scientific, and to improve the relations between different religious communities and deletion from syllabus of negative portrayals of non-Muslim communities and their religions.
48. Public Holidays for Dalit employees belonging to religiously marginalized communities on the occasion of their festivals.
49. Provision of cremation grounds and graveyards for Dalit communities belonging to religiously marginalized where they do not have any such facility.
50. Provision in schools and universities for Dalit children, in accordance with their wishes, to study their own religion, speak and learn in their own native or local language.
51. Setting up of Dalit cultural and academic institutions in Dalit majority regions. Preservation and promotion of cultural heritage, folklore and different mother tongues that most of Dalits speak and practice.



دلت منشور

Written By

Ganpat Rai Bheel, Ahmed Soomro, Raja Bheel Khahori, Sufi Hussain, Lalchand Parwani

1. دلت علامت آهي تبديليءَ جي، چوٽڪاري جي، ۽ انقلاب جي. دلت جو مقصد آهي فطري ۽ قدرتي وسيلن جو تحفظ، ترقيءَ جي صحت ۽ بقاءَ ماحولياتي انصاف مهيا ڪرڻ، مڪاني سطح تي کاڌخوراڪ جي جنسن، پيداوار ۽ موجودگيءَ کي يقيني بڻائڻ، بڪ ۽ بدحالي کي پڇائڻ، ذات پات جي نظام کي ختم ڪرڻ، طبقاتي اثرائتيءَ کي مٽائڻ، رنگ، نسل ۽ صنفِي بنياد تي مرتبڙن جون پاڙون پٽڻ.
2. ڏکڻ ايشيا جي عظيم اڳواڻ ڊاڪٽر پيم رائو امبيدڪر جي پيروي ڪندي، اسان نعرو بلند ڪريون ٿا ته اڇو پيڙهيل طبقن ۾ سياسي شعور بيدار ڪريون، پنهنجي حقن لاءِ آواز اٿاريون، استحصالِي طبقي خلاف منظم ٿيون ۽ پنهنجا سماجي توڙي سياسي فيصلا پاڻ ڪرڻ جو حق حاصل ڪريون.
3. پاڪستان متعلق پنهنجن خيالن جو اظهار ڪندي ڊاڪٽر امبيدڪر تجويز ڏني هئي ته هندستان (پاڪ-ڀارت) کي صرف اهڙي سياسي پارٽي ئي بچائي سگهي ٿي، جيڪا غريب هندن ۽ غريب مسلمان طبقن جي نمائنده پارٽي هجي، ۽ جيڪا پنهنجي جوهر ۾ نج سيڪيولر هجي. جيئن ته اهڙي ڪا به پارٽي گڏيل هندستان ۾ وجود ۾ اچي نه سگهي، تنهن ڪري نتيجي طور به الڳ ملڪ وجود ۾ اچي ويا، پر غربت ۽ ذات پات وارو بنيادي مسئلو اتي ئي رهيو. غريب مسلمانن ۽ غريب هندن جي تقدير تبديل ٿي نه سگهي. اڄ به پنهنجي آزاد ملڪن، پاڪستان ۽ ڀارت ۾، امبيدڪر جي تجويز اوتري ئي مانائتي آهي، جيتري اڄ کان ستر ورهيه اڳ هئي. امبيدڪر جي مٿين تجويز کي نظر ۾ رکندي اڄ به اها ضرورت شدت سان محسوس ٿي رهي آهي ته هڪ اهڙي گڏيل دلت پارٽي هجي جيڪا سماجي، جمهوري سيڪيولر قدرن جي ترجماني ڪندي غريب مظلوم ۽ نظرانداز ٿيل طبقن جي سياسي، سماجي ۽ معاشي حقن لاءِ جاکوڙي. هڪ اهڙو سياسي پليٽ فارم جوڙجي جنهن ۾ مذهب هر هڪ فرد جو ذاتي فعل هجي. جملي عقيدن کي برابر جي حيثيت مليل هجي، سماجي جمهوري ۽ سيڪيولر قدرن جو پرچار ڪري سگهجي. مذهب قوم ۽ نسل جي نالي ۾ ٿيندڙ نسل پرستي، ذات پرستي، تشدد، چوٽ پات ۽ جبر خلاف جدوجهد ڪري سگهجي. ۽ هر ان عمل کي ننڍي سگهجي جيڪو ڪروڙ، نفرت ۽ فسطايت طرف وٺي ويندو هجي

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4. دلت جو مقصد اهڙو عوامي جمهوري نظام آهي، جنهن ۾ مقامي ماڻهن لاءِ مڪاني سطح تي جمهوريت هجي، جنهن ۾ هو مڪاني مسئلن کي پاڻ پنهنجي مرضيءَ سان حل ڪري سگهن ۽ جنهن ۾ مقامي وسيلن مٿان مقامي ماڻهن جي اختيار کي تسليم ڪيو وڃي.

5. جيڪڏهن اسان آفاقي قدرن تي ٻڌل امن، پيار ۽ فطري جماليات جي سائنس تخليق ڪرڻ گهرون ٿا، جنهن جي قبوليت سڀني وٽ هجي، ته پوءِ اسان کي اهڙي نظام جي نفي ڪرڻي پوندي جيڪو ٻين مذهبن کان نفرت ڪرڻ طرف راغب ڪري، خوف ۽ تشدد جو پرچار ڪري، مختلف مذهبن جي مڃيندڙن کي اڇوت سمجھي، عورتن کي مردن کان ڪمتر سمجھي، عقيدن جي بنياد تي قتلام يا جنگ ڪرڻ جي ترغيب ڏئي. جتي تسلط ۽ احساس برتريءَ جي زبان استعمال ٿئي، سماجي برابري قابل قبول نه هجي، آواز اٿارڻ ۽ تبليغ ڪرڻ جو حق صرف مخصوص مذهبن، حڪمرانن ۽ سامراجي طبقن جي فلسفي کي مليل هجي. جتي ضمير جي آزادي تاريخ جي اونداهن ورقن ۾ ڊبيل هجي، جتي نظام ۾ مذهبي ڪٽرپڻي انيڪ قيمتي انساني حياتيون ڳڙڪايون هجن. اسان جي دنيا ۽ ان ۾ موجود زندگيءَ جي بقا ان راز ۾ سمايل آهي ته انسان فطرت سان ئي پنهنجي فطري رشتي جو روحاني، سماجي ۽ سياسي شعور وڌيڪ اپاريندو آهي.

6. دلت کي پنهنجي سياسي جاکوڙ جي ابتداء ڏکڻ ايشان جي سڀ کان قديم برائي يعني ذات پات يا طبقاتي مرتيبي تي ٻڌل سماج خلاف آواز اٿارڻ ذريعي ڪرڻي آهي. ذات پات جي نظام جن ٻين برائين کي جنم ڏنو تن ۾ نسل پرستي، قبيلي پرستي، پنهنجي ذات ۾ پرڻجڻ، ٻين ذاتين مان شاديون نه ڪرڻ، ٻين ذاتين کي ڪمتر سمجھڻ ۽ پڌري سماج جي ترويج شامل آهن. دلت انهن سڀني برائين جون پاڙون پٽڻ لاءِ جمهوري ۽ سيڪيولر سماجي ۽ سياسي جدوجهد ڪرڻ پنهنجو عظيم مقصد سمجھي ٿو. سڄي دنيا ۾ اٽڪل پنجويهه ڪروڙ انسان ذات پات، رنگ نسل ۽ طبقاتي مرتيبي جهڙن غير انساني روين جي ور چڙهيل آهن. اهو عالمي الميو آهي جيڪو خاص طور تي ايشيا، آفريڪا، وچ اوڀر، پئسفڪ واري علائقي ڏي لڏپلاڻ ڪري ويندڙ ماڻهن تي بري نموني اثرانداز ٿئي ٿو. ذات پات تي ٻڌل نفرت، نظراندازي، ڌڪار ۽ تشدد، آفاقي ۽ بنيادي انساني برابريءَ ۽ وقار جي اصولن جي ابتڙ آهي. ذات پات تي ٻڌل نظام ايترو ته عام رواجي ٿي ويو آهي جو دنيا جي ڪيترن ئي ملڪن ۾ ان تي اعتراض ڪرڻ يا ان جي حقيقت کي نروار ڪرڻ به جهڙوڪ ڏوهه هجي. پر دلت ان ڳالهه ۾ پڪو يقين رکي ٿو ته ذات پات جي نظام تي وڌل پردو لاهڻ ۽ ذات پات جي استحصال وڃڻ وائڻو ڪرڻ سندس بنيادي فرض آهي. ذات پات واري نظام کي ختم ڪرڻ لاءِ، دلت کي هڪ ئي وقت سماجي ۽ سياسي ميدانن ۾ پاڻ ملهائڻو آهي، ڇاڪاڻ ته ذات پرستي، قبيلي پرستي، حسد ۽ نفرت

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تي ٻڌل قومپرستي ۽ فسطائيت هڪٻئي جي پيداوار آهن ۽ هڪٻئي جي ڪڪ مان جنم وٺندا رهيا آهن.

7. ڊاڪٽر امبيدڪر جو سياسي ۽ معاشي فلسفو دلت جاکوڙ جو بنياد آهي. امبيدڪر کان سواءِ ڪا به ٻي ڌر جا ڪجهه ٻيا ڏاهه، خاص طور انٽونين گرامچي، موجوده حالتن اندر دلت لاءِ مشعل راه جو ڪم ڏين ٿا. امبيدڪر ۽ گرامچي جو فڪر سندن سماجي زندگيءَ جي تجربن سان گڏ مظلوم ۽ پيڙهيل طبقن جي زندگين جي عڪاسي ڪري ٿو. ٻنهي مفڪرن جي سوچ جو سرچشمو ڪارل مارڪس جو فڪر هو، ٻنهي مذهبن کي تنقيدي نگاه سان پرکيو، ٻنهي لاءِ مذهب ثقافتي ۽ سياسي لحاظ کان وڏي اهميت رکندو هو، ٻئي مفڪر مظلوم، ٽڪاريل ۽ پيڙهيل طبقي جي وجود کي سماجي، ثقافتي ۽ تاريخي تنقيدي نظر سان ڏسندا هئا ۽ ٻنهي مظلوم طبقن کي رياست اندر سندن جائز مقام ڏيارڻ ۽ تاريخ ۾ سندن حقيقي ڪردار بحال ڪرائڻ لاءِ جاکوڙ ڪئي. ٻنهي جو اهو چوڻ هو ته دلت/پورهيت طبقن جي مسئلن جو حل ان ۾ آهي ته کين پنهنجي اندر اڳواڻي، سياسي شعور ۽ گڏيل ارادن کي پيدا ڪرڻو پوندو. ٻنهي جو اهو مرچڻ هو ته دلتن جي جدوجهد ۾ وقت جي دلت ۽ سندن حمايتي باشعور ماڻهن کي برابر جو ڪردار ادا ڪرڻو پوندو. امبيدڪر ۽ گرامچي جي اها انتهائي وسيع فڪري پهچ، جنهن کي سڄي دنيا جي طبقاتي استحصال جو تنقيدي جائزو چئي سگهجي ٿو، اڄ به دلت سوال جي جواب ڏيڻ جي پرپور سگهه رکي ٿي. اها نه صرف دلتن لاءِ بلڪ سموري سماج، رياستن ۽ عالمي برادرين کي پرکڻ جي صلاحيت رکي ٿي.

8. دلت سمجهي ٿو ته انسان ذات جي پلائي سياسي طاقت رکڻ ۽ سياسي چوٽڪارو حاصل ڪرڻ ۾ آهي. سياسي طاقت تڏهن ئي حاصل ڪري سگهجي ٿي جڏهن غريب ۽ مظلوم طبقن ۾ سياسي شعور پکيڙيو ويندو. دلت جي لاءِ مظلوم جو ڪو به روپ ۽ ظاهري شڪل ٿي سگهي ٿي، پوءِ اهي پنهنجي قبيلن، قومون ۽ ذاتيون يا برادرين هجن، اصلوڪا وارث ۽ ڌرتي ڌڻي هجن، مزور هجن، شهرن جي ڪچين آبادين ۽ جهوپڙين ۾ رهندڙ غريب ماڻهو هجن، گند جي ڍيرن مٿان خيما کوڙي ويٺل لاڏاڻو قبيلن هجن، عورتن يا ڪنهن ٽين جنس سان تعلق رکندڙ انسان هجن، پنهنجي پيل ۽ ڌرتيل علائقا هجن، تباهيءَ جي ڪنڌيءَ تي بيٺل ثقافتون ۽ ٻوليون هجن، اهڙن سڀني قسم جي مظلوم طبقن سان گڏجي مسئلن جي حل لاءِ آواز اٿارڻ دلت جو اولين فرض آهي.

9. اصلوڪن وارثن يا ڌرتي ڌڻين، دلتن، دلت عورتن، ٽين جنس، سماجي ۽ معاشي طور تي نظرانداز ٿيل برادرين جهڙوڪ: رپياڙي، گواریا، لوهار، ٻاوا، غريب مسلمان، سک، پارسي، قادياني عيسائي ۽ خاص طور تي دلت نوجوانن کي تعليم ۽ سياست جي ميدان ۾ اڳتي اڳواڻي ڏيڻ ته جيئن هو دلت حقن، اصلوڪن ۽ مقامي برادرين جي زمين ۽ قدرتي وسيلن مٿان سندن حقن لاءِ آواز اٿاري سگهن ۽ سرمائيدار اڳواڻي ۽ سڀني

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نظام ۽ نئين جاگيرداراڻي-سرمائيداراڻي نظام جي تسلط کي روڪي سگهن ۽ مقامي سطح تي جمهوريت کي ترقي وٺرائي سگهن.

10. توڻي جو پاڪستان جي آئين موجب ذات، رنگ ۽ نسل جي بنياد تي فرق ڪرڻ جي اجازت نه آهي، پر سماج ۾ سرائيت ڪري ويل مرتيڏ جي ناسور، قانون کي سندس اصل روح موجب نافذ ٿيڻ کان روڪي رکيو آهي. اسان جو سماج هڪ وڏي ثقافتي انقلاب جو گهرجائو آهي. ثقافتي انقلاب آڻڻ لاءِ سڀ کان وڌيڪ ڪارائتو طريقو ذات پات خلاف سياسي جاکوڙ ڪرڻ آهي. آئين ۽ قانون جي ناڪاره هجڻ جو ٻيو سبب حڪمرانيءَ جو غير اثرائتو ۽ بي ڀنگو طريقو به آهي، جنهن جون پاڙون ذات پات جي نظام ۾ ئي ڪٽل آهن. ڪجهه مرتئين طبقي جا حڪمران خاندان، جن ۾ مير، پير، سردار، وڏيرا، جاگيردار، سرمائيدار، سڀني شامل آهن، غريب ۽ مظلوم عوام مٿان راڄ ڪن ٿا. چند خاندانن جي حڪمرانيءَ (Oligarchic Democracy) جي انهيءَ ريت کي ختم ڪرڻ دلت جو سڀ کان مٿانهون مقصد آهي. چند خاندانن جي حڪمرانيءَ ذات پرستي، پنهنجي ذات ۾ پرڻجڻ جي رواج، غريب ۽ مظلوم طبقن کان پاسيرو رهڻ، سياسي، انتظامي ۽ سماجي ادارن ۾ قائم طبقاتي مرتيڏ خلاف آواز اٿاري عملي جاکوڙ ڪرڻ دلت جو فرض آهي.

11. ذات پات جي نظام تحت سڀ کان وڌيڪ ڏاڍائي تاريخي طور پيڙهيل طبقن سان ڪئي وڃي ٿي، جن ۾ غريب هندو (دلت)، عورتون، اصلوڪا لوڪ، سرحدن ويجهو رهندڙ قبيلو، لاڏاڻو قبيلو، غريب مسلمان، هندو، سک، قادياني ۽ عيسائي وغيره شامل آهن. ڊاڪٽر امبيدڪر موجب ڪسيل حق غاصب جي ضمير کي جاڳائڻ سان نه ملندا آهن، بلڪ انهن لاءِ مسلسل جدوجهد ڪرڻي پوي ٿي. پڪرين کي قربان ڪيو ويندو آهي، ڪيهر شينهن کي نه. تنهن ڪري هڪڙي سڄي امبيدڪر وادي ۽ دلت لاءِ خطرن سان منهن ڏيڻ ۽ پنهنجن حقن جي حاصلات کي بنيادي حق سمجهي غريب طبقي جي وجود کي تسليم ڪرڻ، ذات پات، رنگ ۽ نسل جي مدي خارج نظام کي وائڪو ڪرڻ لاءِ خطرن کي منهن ڏيڻ کان هرگز ڪيپائڻ نه گهرجي. اهڙا دلت جيڪي مصيبتن سان منهن ڏيڻ جي همت نٿا رکن، جيڪي پنهنجي موجوده وقار ۽ مرتبي کي دلت مقصد لاءِ داءِ تي نٿا لڳائين، جيڪي پنهنجي غلاماڻي ذهنيت مان نڪرڻ لاءِ تيار نه آهن، جيڪي پنهنجي ئي مظلوم طبقي کي وڌيڪ پنٿي ڏڪڻ لاءِ سڀنيءَ سرمائيدار ۽ وڏيرڪي طبقي جي حمايت ڪن ٿا، اهڙن دلتن مان تبديليءَ جي اميد ڪري نٿي سگهجي. اهڙن نالي مائٽر ۽ پٽڪيل دلتن کي ٻڌائي ڇڏڻ گهرجي ته دلتن جو مقصد انهن جي تنگ نظريءَ کان گهڻو وڏو آهي. دلت جدوجهد هڪ گهڻ رخ جي جدوجهد آهي، جيڪا نسل پرستي، ذات پرستي، قبيلي پرستي، تنگ نظري، متعصب قومپرستي، پڌري سماجي روين ۽ صنفِي اڻبرابريءَ خلاف نظرياتي ۽ عملي محاذ آهي. دلت جدوجهد اصلوڪن لوڪن جي حقن، جاگرافياڻي ۽ ماحولياتي حقن، ثقافتي ڪثرت ۽



زندگيءَ جي بقا جي جدوجهد آهي. هڪڙو سچو دلت ايڏي عظيم مقصد کان پنهنجو منهن موڙي نٿو سگهي.

12. دلت سدائين بنيادي انساني حقن جهڙوڪ؛ پنهنجو موقف عوام اڳيان رکڻ جي حق، پنهنجن حقن لاءِ آواز اٿارڻ جي حق، منظم ٿيڻ يا تنظيم سازيءَ جي حق، پنهنجي مذهب موجب عبادت ڪرڻ جي حق ۽ اهڙن ٻين حقن جي ترجماني ڪرڻ پنهنجو فرض سمجهي ٿو ۽ انهن حقن جي پاسداري ڪرڻ رياست جي ذميواري سمجهي ٿو. پاڪستان جي باني قائد اعظم محمد علي جناح جي لفظن ۾ اسان دلتن ۽ رياستن کي ياد ڏياريون ٿا ته ملڪ ۾ رهندڙن فردن جو مذهب، رنگ ۽ نسل پل ڪهڙو به هجي، رياست جي ڪاروهنوار سان ان جو ڪو به تعلق ناهي، ۽ نه هجڻ گهرجي. اسان کي ان بنيادي اصول تحت شروعات ڪرڻ گهرجي ته اسان سڀ مهذب ۽ رياست جا برابر شهري آهيون. جيئن جناح صاحب استحصال جو شڪار مذهبي ۽ نسلي برادرين کي برابر جو شهري سمجهندي هر سطح تي برابر حق ڏيڻ جي ترغيب ڏني، دلت جو مرڻ به ساڳيو آهي. ڊاڪٽر امبيدڪر، جناح، جڳندر نات منڊل ۽ ٻين ڪيترن ئي دلت اڳواڻن جو اهو خواب اڃا پنهنجي ساڻس ناهي نه سگهيو آهي. دلت جو مقصد، ان عظيم خواب کي سچو ثابت ڪرڻ آهي. دلت ان مقصد کي حاصل ڪرڻ لاءِ استحصال جو شڪار رهندڙ برادرين ۽ طبقن جي مسئلن کي بنيادي اهميت ڏئي ٿو ته جيئن انهن جون معاشي حالتون بهتر بڻائي سگهجن ۽ کين سياسي ميدان ۾ اچڻ جا موقعا فراهم ڪري سگهجن.

13. جيئن ته ڏکڻ ايشيا / سنڌو سڀيتا ۾ ويدن جي دور کان پوءِ، منوءَ جي قانون تحت ذات پات جي نظام جو بنياد پيو ۽ ان کي قانوني شڪل ڏئي طبقاتي مرتيبت جو بچ پوکيو ويو، جنهن چئن ذاتين يا طبقن ۾ سماج کي ورهائي ڇڏيو. ذات پات جي ان نظام موجب سڀ کان هيٺين طبقي (fifth class/outcaste) کي اڇوت (untouchable) يعني ڪمتر ڪوٺيو ويو ۽ کين جانورن جي برابر درجو ڏنو ويو. عورتن کي مردن جي ملڪيت ڄاڻايو ويو. اهڙي ذات پات تي ٻڌل نظام ڪجهه ذاتين، قبيلن ۽ قومن (شودر، آديواسي ۽ اڇوت) کي هميشه لاءِ برهمڻن (هندو پنڊتن)، ڪترين (ويڙهاڪ ذاتين) ۽ وٺن (واپاري طبقي) جو غلام بڻائي ڇڏيو. منو واري قانون ۽ قاعدن جو اثر ڏکڻ ايشيا جي سڄي سماج ۾ اڄ به ڏسي سگهجي ٿو. اسان جي سياست ۽ ثقافت ۽ ان جي بنيادي بيهڪ اڄ به ذات پات تي ٻڌل آهي. پر ڇاڪاڻ ته اسان جي سماج ۾ سياست ۽ ثقافت تي برهمڻ، جاگيردار ۽ سينيٽي يا ديوان طبقي جو تسلط اڄ به موجود آهي، تنهن ڪري ذات پات جي آڙ ۾ ٿيندڙ ٿوهه ڏاڍائين، ظلم ۽ جبر حڪمران طبقن ۽ سول سوسائٽيءَ کي نظر نٿا اچن. برهمڻ تسلط تي ٻڌل نسل پرستي، ڏکڻ ايشيا جي سماج جي عقيدن ۽ قورن ۾ اندر گهڙي چڪي آهي ۽ ان جا اثر ڏکڻ ايشيا جي هر مذهب ۽ طبقي جي سماجي، معاشي، سياسي ۽ نفسياتي حالتن مان پرکي سگهجن ٿا. ذات پرستي ڏيکارڻ ايشيا جي هر مذهب ۽ قوم ۾ موجود آهي. هيٺين ذاتين جا دلت هندو جڏهن پنهنجو

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مذہب تبدیل ڪري مسلمان، سک يا عيسائي ٿين ٿا، تڏهن به سندن رنگ نسل ۽ برهمڻ سماج جو ڏنل اڇوت وارو داغ نٿو لهي. مذہب مٽائڻ کان پوءِ به ساڻن غير مناسب روياروا رکيا وڃن ٿا.

14. ذات کي ختم ڪرڻ ائين آهي جيئن روح کي نفس کان آڇو ڪرڻ. ذات جي نفي انسان کي آزادي ڏئي ٿي ۽ مساوات، پائيداري ۽ آزاديءَ تي ٻڌل گڏيل انساني برادري جوڙي ٿي. ڏکڻ ايشيا جي تاريخ جي هر دور ۾ سماجي ۽ ثقافتي انقلاب ايندا رهيا آهن. ذات پات جي نظام خلاف ڪيئي تحريڪون هليون آهن ۽ ان ڏس ۾ ڪيئي اڳواڻ پڻ پيدا ٿيندا رهيا آهن، جن سدائين ماڻهن کي نسل پرستي کان ٻاهر ڪڍڻ ۽ انهن ۾ هڪجهڙائي ۽ پائيداري جو بچ پوکڻ جي ڪوشش ڪئي آهي. انهن سڀني ڪوشش منجهان ذات پات جي نظام جي بڻ بڻياد، ڍانچي ۽ ان جي خاتمي لاءِ سڀ کان وڌيڪ وزن ڏنو تجزيو بابا صاحب امبيدڪر پيش ڪيو.

15. امبيدڪر جو لکيل ڪتاب 'Annihilation of Caste' صرف هندومت لاءِ ناهي. اهو سمورين ڏکڻ ايشيائي قومن لاءِ آهي، پوءِ ڪٿي سندن مذہب ڪهڙو به هجي. ذات پات جو ناسور صرف هندومت ۾ ناهي بلڪ ڏکڻ ايشيا جي هر قوم ۾ موجود آهي. پاڪستان ۽ ڀارت جي صدين تائين گڏيل تاريخ ۽ ثقافت رهي آهي. هندو، مسلمان، سک، پارسي ۽ ٻڌمت جا پوئلڳ سڀئي هڪڙي ئي خطي ۾ رهيا آهن، تنهن ڪري هڪٻئي جي ريتن رسمن ۽ ثقافت تي مثبت ۽ منفي اثر ڇڏيو اٿن. اهوئي سبب آهي جو ذات پرستي جهڙيءَ ريت ڀارت ۾ آهي، ٿورڙي فرق سان پاڪستان ۾ پڻ ڏسي سگهجي ٿي. تنهن ڪري ذات پات جو مسئلو صرف هندن جو نه آهي بلڪ سڄي ڏکڻ ايشيا جو آهي. ڊاڪٽر امبيدڪر پنهنجي ڪتاب ۾ ذات پات جي نظام کي ختم ڪرڻ جا طريقا ٻڌايا آهن، پر 1936ع کان اڇوڪي دور تائين ڪنهن به طبقي ان طرف سنجيدگيءَ سان ڌيان نه ڏنو آهي. هر ڪو چاهي ٿو ته سندس نالي سان گڏ سندس ذات به ڳنڍيل رهي، ڇاڪاڻ ته ان ريت قبيلائي سگهه ملي ٿي. ائين به ناهي ته انهن کي ذات جو استعمال ڪرڻ چڱو لڳي ٿو، پر برهمڻ جي ثقافتي تسلط هجڻ ڪري اها سندن سماجي مجبوري ٿي پئي آهي. تنهن ڪري جيڪڏهن توهان چاهيو ٿا ته ذات پات کي ختم ڪجي ته پوءِ سڀني قسمن جي مٽيڙي کي ختم ڪريو. امبيدڪر وانگر ذات کي ختم ڪرڻ جو اهو سڀ کان موزون طريقو آهي.

16. پڙاڻا قدر سڄي دنيا ۾ حاوي آهن، پر افسوس سان چوڻو پوي ٿو ته ڏکڻ ايشيائي سماج ۾ سندن اثر ڪجهه سرس آهي. اسان جو ملڪ هڪ مذهبي رياست آهي ۽ سندس ائين صفا اڻبرابري ۽ رنگ ۽ نسل جي مٽيڙي جي ننڍا ڪري ٿو، پر هيءَ رياست تاريخي طور استحصال جو شڪار رهندڙ غريب هندن، عيسائين، سکن، قاديانين ۽ عورتن جي

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حقن جي پاسداري ڪرڻ ۾ مڪمل ناڪام رهي آهي. ان جي ابتڙ انتهاپسندن پاران توهين رسالت ۽ مذهبي تهمت وارن قانونن جو غلط استعمال ڪري سيڪيولر فردن، قاديانين، سڪن، پارسين ۽ عيسائين کي هراسيو وڃي ٿو ۽ ساڻن ڏاڍيون ڪيون وڃن ٿيون.

17. مٿئين پسمنظر ۽ حقيقتن کي سامهون رکي ڏسجي ته موجوده سياسي تنظيمن منجهان ڪا به تنظيم تاريخي طور استحصال جي شڪار برادرين، مذهبن، فرقن، ذاتين، قبيلن ۽ علائقن جي نمائندگي نٿي ڪري. اسان سمجهون ٿا ته دلت يونائيٽڊ پارٽيءَ جو قيام هڪ تاريخ ساز ۽ پيڙه جو پٿر رکڻ جهڙو عمل آهي، جيڪو صدين جي خاموشيءَ کي ٽوڙيندو ۽ پيڙهيل طبقن جو آواز بڻجندي. مظلوم طبقن جي سياست جي ابتدا ٿيندي، اهڙي سياست جيڪا استحصال جو شڪار طبقا پاڻ ڪندا ۽ پنهنجي لاءِ ڪندا. اهڙي سياست جيڪا سموري سماج کي انساني پائيجاري، روحاني چوٽڪاري، تاريخي، سماجي ۽ سياسي برابريءَ ڏانهن ڌڪيندي ۽ امن ۽ رواداريءَ سان زندگي گذارڻ جو ڪلچر پيدا ڪندي.

18. تاريخي، سماجي ۽ سياسي طور تي استحصال جو شڪار رهندڙ برادرين ۽ طبقن کي مناسب، اثراتو ۽ لازمي آئيني تحفظ ڏيارڻ لاءِ رياست کي مڃرائڻ ته جيئن سڀني صوبن ۽ علائقن ۾ استحصال جو شڪار رهندڙ طبقن جي مرضي موجب کين سياسي، انتظامي، اصولڪا سماجي، معاشي ۽ ثقافتي حق ڏياري سگهجن.

19. سمورن مظلوم ۽ تاريخي طور استحصال جو شڪار رهندڙ غريب دلت طبقن، برادرين کي مڪاني، ضلعي، صوبائي، قومي ۽ رياستي سطح تي سياسي نمائندگي (political representation) ڏيارڻ.

20. مائرن ۽ پينرن کي سياسي ۽ سماجي ميدان ۾ اڳتي آڻڻ ۽ دلتن جي سياسي جدوجهد عورتن جي اڳواڻيءَ ۾ ڪرڻ.

21. دلت صوبن جي سياسي ۽ معاشي خودمختياري ۽ ٽيڪس اوڳاڙڻ ۽ خرچ ڪرڻ جو سمورو اختيار صوبن کي ڏيارڻ چاهين ٿا. اسان چاهيون ٿا ته هر سطح تي مقامي ماڻهن کي اختيار ڏنا وڃن.

22. دلت چاهي ٿو ته صوبائي ۽ قومي اسيمبلي ۾ ٻٽو نظام (Bi-cameral) هجي جنهن موجب نه صرف صوبن کي برابر جي نمائندگي ڏني وڃي، بلڪ صوبن اندر رهندڙ اصولڪن لوڪن، مختلف مذهبن، نظرانداز ڪيل برادرين، نوجوانن، عورتن، هارين،



مزورن ۽ شيديوول ڪاسٽ طبقن ۽ پٽي پيل علائقن جي ماڻهن جي نمائندگيءَ کي يقيني بڻائڻ لاءِ برابر نشستون رکيون وڃن.

23. تعلقي ۽ ضلعي جي سطح تي سرڪاري ڪامورن ۽ صوبائي توڙي وفاقي اسيمبلي جي ميمبرن ۽ وزيرن جا ترقياتي فنڊ ۽ تعليم ۽ صحت سان لاڳاپيل اختيار گهٽائي، مڪاني حڪومت حوالي ڪيا وڃن. برادرين، ڳوٺن، ديھن ۽ يونين ڪائونسلن جي سطح تي ڪميٽيون ٺاهي کين سڌيءَ ريت ترقياتي فنڊ ۽ صحت ۽ تعليم لاءِ مخصوص وفاقي ۽ صوبائي فنڊن مان 40 سيڪڙو فنڊ ڏنا وڃن. ان ڏس ۾ دلت طبقي کي خاص طور تي ان ۾ رکيو وڃي. مڪاني سطح تي ٺهيل ڪائونسلن جي سياسي، معاشي ۽ سماجي خودمختياري کي ضلعي، صوبي ۽ وفاقي سطح تي مڃتا ڏيندي انهن جي سفارشن کي آئيني حيثيت ڏيارڻ لاءِ صوبائي ۽ وفاقي اسيمبلي ۾ قانون سازيءَ هيٺ آندو وڃي. مڪاني سطح تي جڙندڙ قاعدن ۽ قانونن کي لکت ۾ آندو وڃي ته جيئن مستقبل ۾ پاليسيون ٺاهڻ ۾ ڪم اچي سگهن. عالمي ۽ ملڪي امداد تي هلندڙ غير سرڪاري فلاحي ادارا (NGOs)، مدرسا ۽ مشنريز، مڪاني ڪائونسلن پاران آڊٽ ۽ سار پرڪ جا پابند هجن. ڪنهن به پراجيڪٽ جي منظوري ۽ تڪميل تائين ان جي سار پرڪ جو اختيار مڪاني ڪائونسلن کي ڏنو وڃي.

24. دلت طبقي جي سياسي نمائندگيءَ، ترقي ۽ تنظيم سازيءَ، خاص طور پاڪستان جي هنڌو برادري جو 90 سيڪڙو حصو جنهن کي سرڪاري ۽ آئيني طور شيديوول ڪاسٽ ڪوٺيو وڃي ٿو، تنهن جي ترقي ۽ سياسي حقن لاءِ جاکوڙڻ. پاڪستان جو 1973ع وارو آئين شيديوول ڪاسٽ جو حوالو آرٽيڪل 260 (3) (ب) ۾ ڄاڻائيندي، غريب هنڌن کي غيرمسلم جي خاني ۾ رکي ٿو. ۽ آرٽيڪل 51 (2) A) ۾ کين هنڌن سان گڏ ڏنگين ۾ رکيو ويو آهي. 12 نومبر 1957ع تي قانون واري وزارت، صدارتي آرڊيننس وسيلي 40 مختلف غير مسلم ذاتين کي شيديوول ڪاسٽ جي فهرست ۾ شامل ڪيو. توڙي جو انهن مرڙني ذاتين ۽ قبيلن کي عام طور هندو سمجهيو وڃي ٿو، پر آئين ۽ قانون ۾ سندن مذهبي وابستگيءَ کي مبهم رکيو ويو آهي. ان کان سواءِ ڪيترن ئي شيديوول ڪاسٽ جو مذهب سماجي سطح تي به واضح طور هندو يا مسلم ناهي رهيو. مذهب جي تبديلي جو رجحان شيديوول ڪاسٽ ۾ هجڻ ڪري ڪجهه ذاتيون جهڙوڪ پيل، ڪولهي، باگڙي ۽ جوڳي وغيره ۾ قاديانيت، سک مذهب، عيسائيت ۽ اسلام جا پيروڪار پڻ موجود آهن. مختلف مذهبي وابستگين کي ذهن ۾ رکندي شيديوول ڪاسٽ کي خالص هنڌن جو غريب طبقو چوڻ به غلط ٿيندو. مناسب اهو هوندو ته شيديوول ڪاسٽ کي مذهب کان پاسيرو رکي معاشي طور تي صدين کان ڊپل ۽ جبر پيڙهيل ۽ نظر انداز ٿيل دلت طبقو سمجهيو وڃي.



25. مثبت تفریق ۽ عملن وسيلي شيدیول کاسٽ کي ترقي ڏيارڻ. پاڪستان سرڪار صوبائي دفترن ۾ شيدیول کاسٽ لاءِ 6 سيڪڙو کان به گهٽ ڪوٽا رکي هئي، جيڪا وفاقي سطح تي 1 سيڪڙو وڃي بيهي ٿي. اها ڪوٽا اهڙي ريت نافذ ٿي جو صرف پنجاب ۾ موجود شيدیول کاسٽ جي ڪجهه برادرين کي فائڊو رسيو، جڏهن ته سنڌ ۾ وسندڙن کي ڪو خاص فائڊو نه رسيو. جيئن ته شيدیول ڪلاس پنهنجي حقن جو سياسي ۽ سماجي شعور نٿا رکن، تنهن ڪري انهيءَ ڪوٽا مان مستفيد ٿي نه سهڻيا ۽ آخرڪار نوڪرين جي ڪوٽا کي واپس ورتو ويو جڏهن ان جو مدو سن 1998ع ۾ ختم ٿي ويو. سرڪار به سندن لاءِ آساني پيدا ڪرڻ خاطر ڪي جوڳا اپاءَ نٿي وٺي. پاڪستان جي سڄي تاريخ ۾ شيدیول کاسٽ جا مسئلا هر حڪومت، سول سوسائٽي ۽ سياسي پارٽين جي نظرن کان لڪيل رهيا آهن. اڄ به ضرورت ان ڳالهه جي آهي ته قائد اعظم جي سوچ کي اڳيان رکندي شيدیول کاسٽ جي ڪوٽا کي نه صرف وفاقي سطح تي بحال ڪيو وڃي، پر هر صوبي ۾ پڻ کين مناسب ڪوٽا ڏني وڃي. پاڪستان جي آزاديءَ کان ترٽ پوءِ دلت اڳواڻن کي اهو ويساهه هو ته شيدیول کاسٽ جي حقن کي مڃتا ملندي، پر افسوس جو دلت اڳواڻن جا خواب قائد اعظم جي مرڻ سان گڏ ئي دفن ٿي ويا. جيئن ته شيدیول کاسٽ طبقا پنهنجي تحفظات کي حل ڪرائڻ جي سگهه ۾ نه هئا ۽ سرڪار به سندن حوصلا افزائي نه ڪئي، تنهن ڪري 6 سيڪڙو ڪوٽا کي ختم ڪري ڇڏڻ هڪڙو ناجائز، غير آئيني ۽ غير جمهوري عمل سمجهڻ گهرجي، ڇاڪاڻ ته شيدیول کاسٽ طبقي جي اڪثريت کي اهڙو فيصلو ڪرڻ وقت شامل نه ڪيو ويو ۽ نه کين اعتماد ۾ ورتو ويو. سرڪار جي اهڙي هڪ طرف فيصلي کي دلت چيلينج ڪندي پٺڀڻس داخل ڪندا، ڇاڪاڻ ته اهڙو فيصلو مثبت تفریق جي جائز اصول جي خلاف آهي. دلت نه صرف 6 سيڪڙو نوڪرين جي ڪوٽا جي بحالي لاءِ جدوجهد ڪندا، بلڪ سرڪاري ڪاليجن، يونيورسٽين ۽ خانگي ادارن ۾ به نوڪرين ۽ تعليم ۾ ڪوٽا حاصل ڪرڻ جو مطالبو ۽ جاکوڙ ڪندا.

26. اهڙن سڀني قانونن تي عمل کي يقيني بڻائڻ، جن وسيلي شيدیول کاسٽ ۽ سڀني دلت ذاتين (مسلمانن، عيسائين، سکن، عورتن، بيروگار نوجوانن، اصلوڪن لوڪن) جون اسيمبلين ۾ سيٽون، نوڪرين ۾ ڪوٽا، تعليمي ادارن جي داخلا ۾ ڪوٽا، مثبت تفریق (positive discrimination and affirmative action) جي اصول تحت سندن آباديءَ جي تناسب موجب ملي سگهي ته جيئن هو صدين جي جبر، تسلط ۽ احساس ڪمٽري مان پاڻ آڄو ڪرائي سگهن.



27. ائين ۾ موجود اصطلاح ”شيديوول ڪاسٽ“ جي معنيٰ ۽ مفهوم کي واضح ڪري لکيو وڃي ۽ ان اصطلاح ۾ تبديلي آڻيندي، لفظ ڪاسٽ کي ڪڍي ”شيديوول ڪميونٽيز (برادريون)“، ”شيديوول ڪلاس“، ”پيڙهيل برادريون“ يا ”دلت طبقو“ لکيو وڃي. اهڙي ڪنهن به اصطلاح کي ڪنهن مذهب جي خاني ۾ ڄاڻائڻ بدران طبقاتي لحاظ کان ڄاڻايو وڃي. دلت طبقي ۾ هندن جون غريب ۽ مظلوم ذاتيون، مذهب مٿاهي هندن مان ڦري مسلمان، قادياني، سک ۽ عيسائي ٿيندڙ برادريون ۽ ذاتين کي پڻ شامل سمجهيو وڃي. شيديوول ڪاسٽ سماجي ۽ معاشي طور استحصال، ظلم ۽ ڏاڍ جو شڪار رهندڙ قومن ۽ قبيلن تي ٻڌل آهي. سماجي ۽ معاشي سروي ڪرڻ کان پوءِ هندو برادريءَ جي پيڙهيل طبقن کي هن طبقي ۾ ان نيت سان رکيو ويو ته جيئن کين سندن ڳڻپ کان وڌيڪ مراعتون، ڪوٽا ۽ سياسي نمائندگي ڏني وڃي ته جيئن اهي پنهنجي پيل طبقاتي سراج جي ٻين طبقن سان ڪلهو ڪلهي ۾ ملائي ترقي ڪري سگهن ۽ وڌيڪ پنهنجي نه رهن. سرڪار کي پيڙهيل طبقن کي پاڻيڙو ڪرڻ خاطر هر ڏهن سالن ۾ گهٽ ۾ گهٽ هڪ ڀيرو سروي ڪري شيديوول ڪاسٽ طبقن جي معاشي ۽ ثقافتي حالتن جو اڀياس ڪرڻ گهرجي ته جيئن کين ترقيءَ لاءِ گهربل مراعتون ميسر ڪري سگهجن. جيڪي برادريون پيڙهيل هجڻ باوجود شيديوول ڪاسٽ ۾ شامل نه آهن، تن کي شامل ڪيو وڃي ۽ جيڪي برادريون پاڻيڙيون ٿي چڪيون آهن، تن کي هن خاني مان ٻاهر ڪڍيو وڃي ته جيئن پنهنجي پيل ٻين ذاتين کي به پاڻيڙو ٿيڻ جو مناسب موقعو ملي سگهي. جڏهن سماجي، معاشي ۽ ثقافتي برابريءَ جا مقصد حاصل ٿي وڃن، تڏهن شيديوول ڪاسٽ جي بنياد تي ڪيل درجه بنديءَ کي ختم ڪرڻ گهرجي.

28. جيئن ته شيديوول ذاتين جي لاءِ رزرويشنز (يا مخصوص نمائندگي) هڪڙو گانڌيءَ طرفان مڙهيل ڪمپرومائيز هو جيڪو مجبوراً پيم راءِ آمبيدڪر کي مڃڻو پيو ۽ پونا پيڪٽ جي صورت ۾ اڳيان آيو، تنهنڪري مخصوص نمائندگي دلتن جي لاءِ ڪو آڻيڻي حل ناهي. دلتن جي لاءِ سياسي نمائندگي جيڪا آمبيدڪر جداگانہ انتخاب جي ذريعي گهري پئي تنهن کي اڄ جي دور ۾ اسان پروپورشنل اليڪٽورل سسٽم يا مناسب انتخابي نظام جي ذريعي حاصل ڪري سگهون ٿا، جنهن جي نفاذ لاءِ اسان کي جدوجهد ڪرڻ گهرجي. هاڻي نون ۽ اصلاحي بين الاقوامي چونڊ نظام جي روشنيءَ ۾ اها گهر ڪئي وڃي ٿي ته متناسب چونڊ نظام (Proportional Electoral System) تحت دلت طبقي کي متناسب سياسي نمائندگي (Proportional representation) ڏني وڃي. جيستائين اهڙو ڪو انصاف تي ٻڌل سياسي چونڊ نظام آئيني طور رائج نٿي، تيستائين تاريخي طور نظرانداز ڪيل برادريون، گروهن ۽ طبقن کي دلت يا پيڙهيل طبقو سمجهندي مثبت تفریق (Positive discrimination and Affirmative action) تحت متناسب سياسي ۽ سماجي نمائندگي ۽ معاشي حق ڏنا وڃن.



29. متناسب چونڊ نظام (Proportional Electoral System) جو نفاذ. هي نظام ان اصول تحت هلندو آهي ته ڪنهن به چونڊ تک جو سڄو عوام خاص طور ان ۾ رهندڙ ننڍيون برادريون يا گروھ به پنهنجن ووٽن آڌار مڪاني، صوبائي ۽ وفاقي اسيمبلي ۾ چونڊجي سگهن. مطلب اهو ته هر فرد کي سياسي نمائندگيءَ جو حق ملڻ گهرجي. هن نظام تحت هر سياسي تنظيم پنهنجي عوامي حمايت آڌار قانون ساز ادارن ۾ نمائندگيءَ کي يقيني بنائڻ جي ڪوشش ڪندي آهي. اڪثريتي چونڊ نظام، جيڪو پاڪستان ۾ رائج آهي، ان نظام تحت صرف اهو اميدوار ئي اسيمبلي تائين پڄي سگهي ٿو جيڪو سڀ کان وڌيڪ ووٽ حاصل ڪري سگهي ٿو. هن نظام سبب اقليتن ۽ پيڙهيل برادرين جا اميدوار چونڊ کٽي نٿا سگهن. متناسب چونڊ نظام تحت جيڪا سياسي پارٽي جيترا سيڪڙو ووٽ کٽندي، کيس اسيمبلي ۾ اوتري ئي نمائندگي ڏني ويندي. اهڙي نظام ۾ ڪل ڪنيل ووٽ جي بنياد تي فيصلو ڪيو ويندو آهي ته ڪنهن پارٽيءَ کي اسيمبليءَ ۾ ڪيتريون سيٽون ملنديون. اڪثريتي ۽ گڏيل چونڊ نظام ۾ چونڊ تک ۾ جنهن پارٽيءَ جو اميدوار گهڻا ووٽ کٽندو آهي، صرف اهو ئي کٽيندو آهي ٿوڻي جو کٽيندڙ اميدوار ڪل ووٽن جو ات به نه کٽي سگهي. پاڪستان ۾ هن وقت اهو چونڊ نظام رائج آهي. هن نظام تحت طاقتور ۽ وڏيون پارٽيون ئي کٽي سگهن ٿيون، جڏهن ته ڪمزور يا ننڍڙين تنظيمن کي اسيمبلي تائين پڄڻ جو موقعو ئي نٿو ملي. متناسب چونڊ نظام ۾ اقليتن جي اميدوارن جي چونڊڻ جا امڪان وڌندا. دنيا جي ڪيترن ئي ملڪن ۾ متناسب چونڊ نظام کي ڪاميابي سان نافذ ڪيو ويو آهي، جن ۾ بيلجيم، ڊينمارڪ، فنلينڊ، يونان، هنگري، اسرائيل، ليڪسنبرگ، ناروي، روس، اسپين، سويڊن ۽ سوئزرلينڊ جا نالا شامل آهن. متناسب چونڊ نظام پاڪستان جهڙي گهڻ نسل، گهڻ مذهبي ۽ گهڻ ثقافتي ملڪ لاءِ بهترين نظام ثابت ٿي سگهي ٿو.

30. متناسب چونڊ نظام وسيلي اهڙن سڀني نظرانداز ڪيل دلت اڪثريتي علائقن ۽ برادرين ٿوڻي سياسي تنظيمن کي قانون ساز ادارن تائين پهچي پنهنجي ماڻهن جي خدمت ڪرڻ جو موقعو ميسر ٿي سگهندو، جيڪي اڪثريتي چونڊ نظام تحت اهڙو موقعو حاصل ڪري نه ٿيون سگهن. خاص طور اهڙا علائقا جتي نظرانداز ڪيل برادرين جي آبادي 10 سيڪڙو کان مٿي هجي، جيئن سنڌ جا ڏاکڻا ضلعا ۽ پنجاب ۾ چولستان ۽ بهاولپور جا علائقا ۽ ٻين شهرن ۾ موجود دلت طبقن جون ڪچيون آباديون. اهڙن سڀني علائقن ۾ متناسب چونڊ نظام تحت چونڊيون ڪرايون وڃن.

31. هڪ اندازي موجب سنڌ جي هندو آباديءَ جو اٽڪل 90 سيڪڙو حصو دلت ذاتين تي ٻڌل آهي. تنهن ڪري جيستائين متناسب چونڊ نظام نافذ نٿو ڪيو وڃي، تيستائين اهو

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يقيني بڻايو وڃي ته اهڙيون سڀني صوبائي ۽ وفاقي سيٽون جيڪي اقليتن لاءِ مخصوص آهن، انهن تي شيڊيول ڪاسٽ منجهان نمائندا ڪنيا ويندا.

32. اهڙي هر قانون جو خاتمو ڪرڻ جيڪو ملائيت، پيرپرستي، جديد مابعد برهمڻ ازم، جديد جاگيرداريت ۽ سرمائيداريت کي سڌي يا اڻسڌيءَ طرح حمايت ۽ تحفظ فراهم ڪندو هجي.

33. جاگيردارن، وڏيرن ۽ رياست جي آباديءَ لائق ۽ رهائش لائق زمين جي غريبن ۽ بيزمين هارين ۽ پيڙهيل طبقن ۾ ورهاست. اهڙا قانون ٺاهڻ ۽ نافذ ڪرڻ جن وسيلي زوري پورهيو، سماجي قيد ۽ قرض عيوض انسانن جي گروي رکڻ جو خاتمو ٿي سگهي.

34. شهرن جي ڪچين آبادين ۾ رهندڙ دلتن لاءِ زمين، باعزت روزگار ۽ زندگيءَ کي يقيني بڻائڻ ۽ کين حقن جي حصول لاءِ سياسي سطح تي منظم ڪرڻ.

35. درياھ جي پاڻيءَ مٿان پڇڙي ۽ چوڙ واري علائقي (ڊيلٽا) ۾ رهندڙ ماڻهن، جهنگلي جيوت ۽ دريائي توڻي سامونڊي تمر جي بيلن جي صحت ۽ بقا کي يقيني بڻائڻ. سماجي زندگي ۽ جهنگلي جيوت کي ماحولياتي گڏلاڻ کان پاڪ رکڻ. اصلوڪن لوڪن جو سندن قدرتي وسيلن، بيلن، ٽڪرين، چراگاهن ۽ گڏيل زمينن مٿان سندن حق کي تسليم ڪرڻ.

36. نظرانداز ڪيل ٿر ۽ چولستان جي علائقن ۽ اصلوڪن لوڪن جي پلائي ۽ خوشحاليءَ تي خاص تيان ڏيڻ. وڏا ڊيم ٺاهڻ خلاف آواز اٿارڻ ۽ جدوجهد ڪرڻ، ننڍا ڊيم ٺهرائڻ لاءِ ڪوششون وٺڻ، خاص طور ڪوهستان، نگرپارڪر ۽ اهڙن ٻين علائقن ۾ جتي پاڻيءَ جي کوٽ هجي، اتي ماڻهن ۽ مال جي زندگين جي بقا لاءِ ننڍا ڊيم ٺهرائڻ جون ڪوششون ڪرڻ. ٿر ۽ ڪوهستان جي پٽي پيل برادرين جي سندن زمين، پٽن، واڙن، جبلن ۽ قدرتي وسيلن تي سندن اصلوڪن حقن کي مڃڻ. مقامي ٿرين جو ٿر ۽ پارڪر جي قدرتي وسيلن خاص طور تي ٿر منجهان نڪرندڙ ڪوئلي جي حق کي تسليم ڪرڻ. ٿر ڪول پراجيڪٽ ۾ مقامي ٿري ماڻهن کي نوڪريون ۽ رائلٽي جي حق کي صوبائي ۽ وفاقي سرڪار آڏو تسليم ڪرائڻ.

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37. دلتن خلاف هر قسم جي سياسي، سماجي، مذهبي ۽ ثقافتي مرتيبت کي سنگين ٿوهر قرار ڏيڻ. منفي تفریق ڪندڙ فردن ۽ گروهن کي سخت سزائون ڏنيون وڃن.
38. مڪاني، صوبائي ۽ وفاقي سطح تي اهڙيون ڪميشنون ٺاهيون وڃن جيڪي چوڪيدار وارو ڪردار ادا ڪندي دلتن جي حقن جي خلاف ورزي، ذات پرستي، سماجي نفرتن ۽ مرتيبت کي وائڪو ڪن. انساني حقن لاءِ ڪم ڪندڙ عالمي ادارن تي زور ڏجي ته اهي اهڙن منفي رجحانن جي خاتمي لاءِ پنهنجو ڪردار ادا ڪن.
39. اهڙن سڀني ڪارن قانونن جو خاتمو، جيڪي مختلف مذهبن جي آزاديءَ جي خلاف هجن. عوامي ميڙاڪن، سياسي ۽ سماجي گڏجاڻين، صوبائي ۽ وفاقي اسيمبليين، هوٽلن، اسپتالن، عبادتگاهن، تعليمي ادارن، بس اڏڻ وغيره ۾ ٿيندڙ مرتيبت جو خاتمو آڻڻ.
40. اهڙا قانون جوڙڻ ته جنهن هڪڙو پيڙهيل طبقو، پاڻ کان وڌيڪ پيڙهيل طبقي جو استحصال ڪري نه سگهي. سرڪاري سطح تي مڪاني، ضلعي، صوبائي ۽ وفاقي اسيمبليين ۾ هندو يا مسلم ڪائونسل ۽ استحصالِي سينيا فورمن کي ننڍو وڃي جيڪي مذهب جي نالي ۾ سياست ڪندي پٺتي پيل طبقن جو استحصال ڪن ٿا. عمل جوڳا قانون ٺاهي سڀني تنظيمن مٿان اهو لازمي ڪيو وڃي ته مذهبي ۽ طبقاتي بنياد تي ڪنهن به فرد يا گروه جو استحصال نه ڪيو ويندو. نوجوان هندو ۽ دلت نياڻين کي اغوا ڪرڻ ۽ زوري مذهب مٿرائڻ خلاف قانون سازي ڪئي وڃي.
41. وفاقي ۽ عالمي سطح تي دلت طبقي جي حقن بابت آواز اٿارڻ ته جيئن دلت مسئلن کي حل ڪرڻ لاءِ ۽ ذات پات جي نظام جو خاتمو آڻڻ لاءِ عملي سطح تي رٿابندي ڪري سگهجي.
42. پاڪستان ۾ اهڙو ڪو به ٽيليويزن چئنل يا روزاني اخبار نه آهي، جنهن کي دلتن جو آواز چئي سگهجي. صرف ڪجهه غيرجانبدار صحافي، دلتن ۽ مظلوم طبقن جي حقن لاءِ آواز اٿارين ٿا. ڪجهه باشعور دلت جهڙوڪ گڏپٽ راءِ پيل، جي رام داس اپوجاءِ رنشل داس ڪولهي، ڪوٽر قائمخاني، جيسي ايف.سي رانوڙ، فيض شيدي، نور جوڻيجو ۽ شيديول ڪاسٽ فيڊريشن آف پاڪستان ۽ دلت ادب نالي فورم پنهنجي وس آهر سنڌي ٻوليءَ ۾ دلت ادب کي فروغ ڏئي رهيا آهن، پر وسيلن جي اٿاڻ سبب سندن ڪوششون محدود آهن. ميڊيا ڪيترن ۾ دلت خال کي اڳيان رکندي، ڪوشش ڪئي ويندي

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ته دلتن جو پنهنجو ايف.ايم ريڊيو چئنل، ٽيليويزن چئنل، روزاني اخبار، ترجمان ۽ ڪتاب شايع ڪندڙ ڇاپخانو پڻ قائم ڪيو وڃي.

43. تعليمي نصاب تي نظرثاني ڪري ان کي اهڙيءَ ريت ترتيب ڏنو وڃي جو ڪنهن به برادري، علائقي يا مذهب جي پوئلڳن جا جذبات مجروح نه ٿين. غيرمسلم فردن ۽ علائقن بابت نصاب ۾ شامل اٿوٽنڊڙ ڳالهون ۽ ڏندڪٿائون ڪڍي سائنسي بنيادن تي نصاب ترتيب ڏنو وڃي. اهڙيون دلت برادريون جيڪي پاڪستان ۾ ٿورائيءَ وارن مذهبن جي پوئلڳي ڪن ٿيون، تن لاءِ سندن مرضيءَ موجب تعليمي ادارن ۾ سندن مذهب، ٻولين، ثقافت ۽ علائقن بابت درس تدريس ڏني وڃي.

44. اهڙيون دلت برادريون جيڪي اسلام کان مختلف مذهب ۽ ثقافت رکن ٿيون، تن کي سندن مذهبي ۽ ثقافتي ڏٺن جهڙوڪ ڏياري، هولي، ايسٽر ۽ ڪرسمس وغيره تي سرڪاري طور موڪلون ڏنيون وڃن.

45. اهڙيون دلت برادريون جيڪي اسلام کان مختلف مذهب ۽ ثقافت رکن ٿيون، تن لاءِ الڳ يا گڏيل مقام (قبرستان) ۽ ٻيون رسمون پوريون ڪرڻ لاءِ زمين ڏني وڃي.

46. دلت ثقافتي ۽ علمي مرڪزن جو قيام. دلت ادب ۽ فلسفي، اخلاقي ۽ اصولوڪي ثقافتي اثاثي، لوڪ ادب ۽ مادري ٻولين جي ترقي ۽ تحفظ کي يقيني بڻايو وڃي.