CHAPTER V
DISCUSSIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS
PART I

According to the literature of critical criminology and social dialectics, it is generally noted that the phenomenological and ethnographic factors such as class, economy, ethnicity, politics and conflicts are associated with the natural justice of the contemporary world orders. The previous social dialectical based researches have identified certain phenomenological and ethnographical characteristics as the potential predictors of the dialectical. The data for this discussion have directly collected from the struggle fields in Tamil Nadu and the cyberspace through some observation method developed by the researcher of this study.

5.1 Field Analysis

5.1.1 Struggle Fields

The struggles fields of this study have three different natures. Mullai Periyaru water dispute struggle of Tamil people is rooted in the racial contradictions and hostile feelings between the neighbours, Tamils and Malayalees (Keralities). Koodan Kulam anti-nuclear struggle, anti-methane struggle and struggles against the gas pipeline project and the neutrino project are based on the neo-liberal contexts which are proposed as the development and resource management schemes under structural adjustment framework. Students’ uprising against the Eelam Tamils genocide is directly connected with the ethnic sentiments raised in the international geopolitical platforms. However, the all issues are specifically interlinked with the structurization, functions and policy makings of the union government of Indian.
Mullai Periyaru water dispute is a prolonged conflict between Tamils and Malayalees, escalated since the state re-organization on linguistic basis and the conflict has the symmetric characteristic. The long-term conflict has reached a peak between 2011 and 2012, stimulated by the recent decision of the Kerala state government to construct a new dam near the existing dam to produce hydropower by utilizing the water source from Mullai Periyaru waterside area. The recent struggle of Tamils’ aimed to respond the Malayalees’ unfair antagonistic threat and diplomacy and to keep their water resource for agriculture and drinking. Series of protests have taken place in Kambam, Kumuli and Theni from 2011 to 2012. These places have become the great battlefields in the Mullai Periyaru issue.

Koodan Kulam anti-nuclear struggle, anti-methane struggle and struggles against the gas pipeline project and the Neutrino project are asymmetric conflicts between the government and its people as well as the ruling and ruled classes. Koodan Kulam project was started during the last part of the cold war and it collaborated with Russia. It is evident from the history that from the beginning itself, the project faced continuous oppositions from the agrarians and fishermen community especially from Kanya Kumari. The recent struggle catalyzed by the core incidents like the Tsunami attack in coastal regions in 2014, continuous failures to run the reactors and the Fukushima atomic accident in Japan in 2011. Koodan Kulam anti-nuclear struggle is aimed to insist the central and state governments to cancel the project and to keep their livelihood including fishing and from the alleged insecurity and survival threat.

Methane exploration project, gas carrying pipeline project and neutrino research project are started in the neo-liberal era and the struggles against these projects have erupted by series of campaigns by the social activists and it made the
people to scared of these projects during the implementation. anti-methane struggle and struggles against the gas pipeline and the neutrino projects are aimed to insist both the central and the state governments to cancel the projects and to keep their livelihood including agriculture and ground water source and from the alleged insecurity and survival threat. Students’ uprising against the Eelam Tamils genocide is aimed to urge the international society to get justice for the Eelam Tamils and to get a sustained remedy to the Eelam Tamils through the referendum for Free Tamil Eelam.

5.1.2 From the Government side

Relating to the nuclear power, methane exploration, gas carrying pipeline and neutrino research projects, there are no definitive assurances and acceptable explanations from the government side to the securitization of the projects and to ensure the livelihood and safety of the people. Whenever the negotiation with the protestors, the government actors and representatives were alienated from the people and lost their credibility by their contradictory, diversionary, illogical and assertive arguments. In addition, non-democratic approach and lack of accountability were revealed by the state actors during the negotiation and demonstration. During the data collection, the same things were mostly indicated by the respondents of this study.

To demonstrate the functions, safety and wastage managements of the Koodan Kulam nuclear plant for the students and the public, an awareness programme on the Occasion of Nuclear Environment Awareness Campaign and Silver Jubilee Celebration of Manonmaniam Sundaranar University was organized by Manonmaniam Sundaranar University collaborated with the Koodan Kulam nuclear power plant on 17th March 2015. During the conference, the same contradictory, diversionary, illogical and assertive responses were revealed by the officials and the
scientists of Koodan Kulam nuclear power plant. As a participant, the researcher raised questions relating the process, safety and handling of wastages from the nuclear reactors, at that time, the organizers were forcibly stripped the mike from the researcher and they ignored the questions raised by the researcher. It is proved that the authorities tried to cover such facts about the risks and dangers of the project and they aimed only to convince the students and the people to accept the project.

The interim decision of the state government in neutrino, gas pipeline and methane projects are in favour of the protestors. Some respondents pointed out that the Parliamentary election of India in 2014 and the Legislative Assembly election of Tamil Nadu in 2016 led to the favourable decision of the existing A.D.M.K government. It is noted that the government of India operates several resource-based projects in Tamil Nadu other than its neighbouring states. Koodan Kulam nuclear power project is not only implemented for use of Tamil Nadu, it has been initiated to fulfil the power needs of other three neighbouring states of Tamil Nadu like Kerala, Karnataka and Pondicherry. The following table shows that allocation of the power source from the Koodan Kulam nuclear power plant.

Table 5.1: Koodan Kulam nuclear power plant - Power allocation details

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beneficiary States/Union Territory</th>
<th>Power Allocated (MW)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tamil Nadu</td>
<td>925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnataka</td>
<td>442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pondicherry</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unallocated</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The allocation of the generated power source to the neighbouring states have severely criticized by the protestors and activists as the union government of India is trying to develop the neighbouring states of Tamil Nadu by questioning the livelihood and security of the Tamils. These types of criticisms are posted and shared on Facebook by the admins and members of the Mullai Periyaru and the Koodan Kulum pages and closed groups which are created and maintained by the protestors and supporters of the struggle aimed to demonstrate the critical issues of the project among the common people. The Press Information Bureau noted that the demand made by the Kerala government to allocate them 500 MW from the Koodan Kulum Nuclear Power Plant (KKNPP). Reacting to the demand of Kerala, the Tamil Nadu government opposed it and requested the government that the entire power source which is generated from the KKNPP shall be allocated only to Tamil Nadu.

Not only for the needs of Tamil Nadu, in methane exploration, gas pipeline and neutrino observatory projects in Tamil Nadu but also aimed to fulfil the domestic energy needs of entire India. Hence, all these projects are severely criticized by the Netizens in the social networks as the projects are intended to exploit Tamils and their natural resources to develop entire India in terms of developmentism.

Repeated Lathi-charges have been carried out by the state police forces to control the riots in the Mullai Periyaru struggle. In Koodan Kulam protest, the central and state governments followed the repressive counter protest strategies on the protesters whenever the collective activism surged with the high-level contribution of people. In September 2012, a brutal repression launched against the protesters by the state forces during the massive siege around ten thousand people including women and children. It has resulted in a momentary agitation and protest throughout the state
of Tamil Nadu. Since the government abandoned its direct brutal and physical repressions and took subsequent legal repressions by filing a number of criminal cases against the protesters. The repressions have been severely criticized by the Netizens in the social networking sites as an anti-democratic action.

As the successful result of the repressions, the same type of repressive strategies including brutal repression by forces and filing criminal cases have been launched by the government against the protestors of gas pipeline project of Gas (India) Limited (GAIL) at Kongu region and anti-methane protesters at Thanjore delta region. The students uprising was not controlled by these types of repression strategies but it was controlled and diluted by the joint venture of the state actors, political parties and non-political movements diplomatic soft repressive strategies.

5.1.3 Protest Movements

None of a stable movement identified under any individual or any group leadership in Mullai Periyaru struggle field. The spontaneous surges of agrarians and small local activist groups have randomly emerged in the regions depend on the water source from Mullai Periyaru dam. Especially, thousands of people assembled in Theni and Cumuli areas and continuously demonstrated against Kerala’s demand to reduce the water capacity in the dam. People spontaneously assembled in the specific regions to represent their feelings and spawned protests. Continuous campaigns have conducted by some popular political parties and movements and they protested over Tamil Nadu especially in borders between Kerala and Tamil Nadu. In comparison with other struggle fields of this study, in terms of goals of the protest fields, Mullai Periyaru was the only protest field in Tamil Nadu has given the successful result for the protestors.
Similarly, the struggles against gas pipeline project at Kongu region and neutrino project at Theni region are not represented by any specific organized movements. By opposing the gas pipeline project, several existing farmer unions including the communism based unions are collectively led and represented the protests by the farmers and landowners who are affected by the project. Opposing Neutrino project, only the awareness campaigns are conducted by the environmental and social activists to the local people. There is no notable mass people surge is identified in this issue. Medha Patkar, an advisor of National Alliance of People's Movements (NAPM), has delivered awareness lectures on 1st March 2015 around the people of Madurai and Theni regions and it is notable. Moreover, a panic sense created among the people in the nearby areas of the project site due to the noises and vibrations of the crash work of rocks by using the hi-power hydraulic equipment. Communist, Dravidian and Tamil based political parties and movements are expressed their support to the local people and agrarians in both the anti-gas pipeline and anti-neutrino struggle fields and urged the government to rollback the projects.

Koodan Kulam anti-nuclear struggle is led by an organized movement is known as People Movement Against Nuclear Energy (PMANE) consist of five coordinators. Idinthakarai, the nearby coastal village of Koodan Kulam, has become the heart of the anti-nuclear protest. S.P. Udhaya Kumar, former lecturer and school correspondent is identified as the main coordinator of the committee. The committee has the responsibility for decision making, and to determine the kinds of protest, legal predictions and conduct negotiations. Moreover, the committee has represented their demonstration to the international platform by getting support from several environmental movements of Indian and other countries. Many popular activists like
Medha Patkar, Prashant Bhushan and Aravind Kejriwal have visited and delivered speech among the protesters in Idinthakarai.

There are three popular movements are identified against the methane project. In the beginning, the anti-methane struggle is represented by a popular movement called *Peralivukku Ethirana Periyakkam* (Great Movement Against Disaster). It is identified that Mr Lenin is, a social activist, one of the coordinators of this movement and the movement is guided by the famous organic farming scholar M. Nammalvar. *Delta Pulikal* (Delta Tigers), another significant movement has carried out continuous awareness campaign throughout the villages of Delta regions. In most of the demonstrations, Delta Tigers has joined hands with the great movement. Anti-Methane Project Federation is identified as an important movement, coordinated by Prof. Jeyaraman. Since 2015, this movement has emerged as a prime mover, and it is following the collective action method of various small groups, parties and movements based on Dravidian, Communism and Tamil racial ideologies.

More than five student movements identified during the Tamil Nadu students uprising against the Eelam Tamils genocide. In the beginning of the spontaneous uprising, students of various institutions around Tamil Nadu have gathered under a banner ‘Students Against War Crimes and Genocide’. After that, a common student movement is known as ‘Students Federation for Free Tamil Eelam’ is recognized by all the students of Tamil Nadu including the students have belonged to various political parties, non-political movements and independents. Ignoring the importance of other all district students, In Chennai, the students’ federation has split into three groups within three days by the guidance of some political activists. Based on the political disguise, each group has separated under the same banner but under the
different representations like Sibi Lakshman (May 17), Dinesh (CPI(M)) and Loyola students (influenced by Dravidian and communist fundamentalists) respectively. Moreover, the entire uprisings in all over Tamil Nadu have subordinated under the Chennai students and that strategy simply succeeded by the actors of the parties and the movements. However, in few days of the protest, all the three groups have made a unanimous decision to conclude the entire protest.

During the end of the uprising, the students have split and explicitly stood with the identities of their respective parties and movements. Apart from the above-discussed student movements, some other student movements are also identified by the researcher such as Balachandran Student Movement, Tamil Nadu Students Council, Students Struggle Group for Tamil Eelam, Tamil Nadu Students Federation and others. The detailed figure of the significant students’ movements and its backgrounds is given below:

**Figure 5.1: Student movements and its backgrounds**
Some other student wings identified in the struggle are listed below:

- DMK student wing
- CPI student wing
- NTK student wing
- Tamil Nadu Student Front
- Save Tamils
- MKIK (Makkal Kalai Ilakkiya Kalakam) (Naxal based)
- SUMS (Students Uprising Movement for Social Welfare) (Maoist Based)
- Other independent student groups

The researcher has found that except the student movements and Mullai Periyaru issue, for all other oppositions against the resource-based projects have claimed supports from the national and international level movements and individual activists. These oppositions and criticisms have subjected to the neo-imperialist and neo-liberalist strategies. These oppositions have particularly aimed against the corporate business bodies of the government evolved under the capitalist ideologies. A short interpretation of the struggles and its root is given below:
5.1.4 Role of Political Parties

The researcher has found that more than twenty political parties have supported and participated the struggle discussed in this study. Most of the parties are unpopular. This study has focused the operations of certain significant and popular parties presented in the struggle fields. In addition, this study has only considered the parties that have made a significant contribution to the struggles. These certain parties are close and friendly with the mainstream political parties in Tamil Nadu including the Dravidian parties and the National parties. *Marumalarchi Dravida Munnetra Kalakam* (MDMK) is a significant political party inspired by the Dravidian principles. It has supported the protesters in Mullai Periyaru protest field and successful Kerala – Tamil Nadu border siege has primarily called by its General Secretary V. Gopalsamy. Except for the national parties like *Indian National Congress* (INC), *Barathiya Janatha Party* (BJP) and *Communist Party of India* (CPI), all the state parties for their part, contributed statewide struggle, especially in the border siege. Besides Mullai Periyaru struggle field, MDMK’s role is notable in the anti-nuclear, anti-methane, anti-neutrino struggle fields and the students uprising.

Likewise, *Naam Tamilar Katchi* (NTK) is another significant party inspired by Dravidian and Tamil racist principles, has contributed to Mullai Periyaru, anti-nuclear, anti-methane, anti-neutrino struggle fields and the students uprising. Communist parties have stood in the struggle fields of the working-class nature like peasants’ anti-gas pipeline, anti-methane struggle fields and fishermen’s anti-nuclear struggle field. In contrast, the communist parties and its student movements have also contributed to the students uprising. *Aam Aadmi Party* (AAP), a north Indian political party and trying to develop itself as a national party, has stood with the Koodan
Kulam protesters and it has carried out the legal appeals to the Supreme Court of India in favour of the protesters.

The investigator has found in Tamil Nadu parties like *Pattali Makkal Katchi* (PMK), *Viduthalai Siruthaikal Kataci* (VCK), *Tamilaka Vaalvurimai Katchi* (TVK), and *Tamilaka Makkal Jananayaka Katchi* (TMJK) have contributed to the struggles, especially during the repressive incidents, by blocking roads, contaminating the governments, street-level demonstrations and siege before the offices of the government institutions. During the repression, the mainstream state and central political parties have not actively contributed to the people struggle except the press interviews. As a responsible Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, J. Jayalalitha, the General Secretary of *All India Anna Dravida Munnetra Kalakam*, has stood in favour of the protesters in Mullai Periyaru, anti-neutrino, anti-methane, anti-gas pipeline fields and students uprising.

![Political Parties in the Struggles](image)

**Figure 5.3: Parties related variables**

- **Struggle Fields**
- **Dravidian based parties**
- **National parties**
- **Tamil racist parties**
5.1.5 Role of Non-Political Movements

In this study, more than a hundred movements have found in the struggle fields in Tamil Nadu. Most of the movements are operated regional wise. This study has focused the operations of some significant and popular movements presented in the struggle fields. In addition, this study has only considered the non-political movements that have made a significant contribution to the struggles. It is not exaggerating that the Dravidian based movements have acted as a part of the protesters in all six struggle fields of this study. Their identities have become widespread in the Mullai Periyaru struggle, anti-nuclear and anti-methane struggles and the students’ uprising. In the long history of free Eelam struggle, they are identified as the significant supporters from Tamil Nadu. Communist based movements have actively demonstrated the federation based actions in the anti-gas pipeline, anti-methane and anti-nuclear struggles. In students uprising, communist-based student movements have widely participated in the protests throughout the state. *Global Tamil Organization* is another significant movement has identified in the student uprising and it has mobilized the students by its member Prabakaran.

*May 17movement* is an important movement in struggle fields. Its roles and actions are notable in all the six struggle fields which are discussed in this study. With a group of intellectuals including technological, academic, environmental, legal, economic and political elites, May 17 movement was started during the end of Eelam War IV and it symbolizes itself as the followers of the Dravidian ideology. Since 2009, it has come down in the struggle fields of Tamil Nadu and has got a unique identity through its intelligence operations. From the beginning itself, this movement has been acting along with V. Gopalsamy. Moreover, May 17 movement has created
its own identity with the support of V. Gopalsamy. For the justice of Eelam Tamils, it has represented and submitted many pieces of evidence, fact-based agendas and demands before the UNHRC.

*Poovulagin Nanbargal* is an environmental based voluntary organization consists of some intellectuals like May 17. Its legal approaches for supporting the protestors in anti-nuclear and anti-neutrino observatory struggles are very important. It has been conducting several awareness campaigns and seminars in the anti-nuclear, anti-neutrino observatory, anti-methane and anti-gas pipeline struggle along with coordinators of the struggle committees, members of the political parties and non-political parties and the social activists.

The Christian Missionaries and the NGOs operations and contributions are notable in the anti-nuclear struggle; they have become very popular and influential among the protesters belong to the Christian community. Either directly or indirectly, in all the struggle fields in Tamil Nadu, the NGOs interventions and influences are immense, except in the Mullai Periyaru struggle.

In this study, the investigator has identified that the following are the significant Tamil racist movements *Ulaka Tamilar Periyakkam, Tamilar Kalam, Tamil Thesiya Periyakkam(TTP)* and whose contribution to the struggles have become significant. Apart from these movements, a number of newly emerged Tamil racist movements have also identified in the struggle fields.
5.1.6 Cyber Space

The researcher has found a number of open pages and closed groups in Facebook and Whatsapp created by the members of the committee and the active participants of the struggles. Through the cyberspace, the protesters have frequently updated the facts of the issues, protest events and state’s repressive actions which are not revealed by the mass media. To express the feelings and for effective communication, the cyberspace has evolved as an alternative platform for the protestors. During the student uprising, the social media has played a vital role spreading the student surge throughout Tamil Nadu. By following the pages,
thousands of people have got the information instantly from the struggle fields. The statistical data of the page followers and group members of the protest fields are given below:

**Figure 5.5: Number of members and followers**

**Figure 5.6: Percent of members and followers**
The above pictures have shown that the followers of the Facebook pages of anti-nuclear and anti-methane protest have got large in number than the pages of other struggles. In fact, the Facebook page of Mullai Periyaru protest has got the least number of followers, even though it has got the highest number of group members than the other groups.

In the contemporary history of Tamil Nadu, the students uprising has recorded an important historical event. Because of the advancement of social networks particularly Facebook, the Diaspora Tamils are easily attracted by the historic uprising. The Facebook has paved the way for the Diaspora Tamils to connect the Tamil Nadu students directly and encourage them. All the protest activities of the students have instantly updated on the facebook and the updates are shared by the supporters of the protest around the world. The entire supports and motivations have led the students to conduct statewide mass events like class boycotts, combined sieges, road blockades and mass rallies. Moreover, protest strategies have also decided by the coordinators of the student movements through the facebook pages and secret groups created by the protesters.

During the repressive period, *Koodankulam Seithikal* facebook page has reached the maximum number of followers. Sensational photos and videos are posted and shared on the page by the members of the struggle committee. It has created scandalous feelings and sympathy among the Netizens. It has resulted in statewide oppositions and condemnations against the central and state governments. Similarly, in all the struggle fields, the social networking platforms are used. In fact, due to the internal policy of the mass media and the pressures from the state actors, the mainstream media have unable to reveal all the facts and realities in the struggle.
fields. Hence, the social networking platforms have automatically become an alternative to the mainstream media.

Whatsapp is another cyber platform to create and manage secret groups and spread the messages regarding the struggle events within the groups. Infinite scales of groups are still running in Whatsapp. Generally, these groups are created and managed by the admins belong to the members, participants and supporters of the struggle fields. Through the websites and blogs, the activists have also published the historical, contemporary and technical aspects of articles relating to the issues of the protest. For reference, some websites and blogs are listed below:

- http://www.keetru.com
- https://www.yarl.com
- https://tamil.samayam.com
- http://www.pathivu.com
- http://www.saalaram.com
- https://www.semparuthi.com
- http://moonramkonam.com
- http://nilavaram.com
- http://thamizharsenai.blogspot.in
- http://www.vinavu.com

Most of the political parties and non-political movements in Tamil Nadu are maintaining own websites and blogs to promote their identity and political ideology through the cyber platform. Some web links are given below:

**Table 5.2: Web address of the voluntary organizations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party/Movement</th>
<th>Website/Blogs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| NTK                             | http://tamilnaadu.blogspot.in
|                                 | http://www.naamtamilar.org                        |
| MDMK                            | http://mdmk.org.in                                 |
| TTP (TTPK)                      | http://www.tamizhthesiyam.com                      |
| Tamilar Kalam                   | https://www.thamizharkalam.com                     |
| Dravidar Kalakam                | http://www.dravidarkazhagam.org                    |
| Thainthai Periyar Dravidar Kalakam | http://www.thanthaiperiyardk.org                  |
| May 17                          | https://may17iyakkam.com                           |
| Poovulagin Nanbargal            | http://poovulagu.in                               |
PART II

5.2 Discussions with Literature

Except Mullai Periyaru issue, all conflicts have asymmetric relations. Class (ruling and ruled), environmental, ethnic (Tamils and non-Tamils), social, political types of conflicts have identified in struggles of Tamil Nadu. The conflicts, in this study, have embraced both realistic and non-realistic characteristics.

Hegelian dialectical can be considered as a fundamental rule or basic science of social change as well as social science. Marx’s dialectical materialism can be considered as a product of Hegel’s dialectical or applied science towards the social change. Accordingly, each global dialectics have operated through several sub-dialectics (continental, regional or national level) and these sub dialectics have operated through several stages of sub-dialects (Inter-state or sub-regional). The hierarchy is constructed or expanded according to the needs of the opposite sides.

In this study, all the conflicts in Tamil Nadu have directly connected to the global dialectics which are developed over the centuries. Hence, these conflicts are also considered as sub-dialects. The following figure shows that connection to the present conflicts in Tamil Nadu and the global dialects.
Figure 5.7: Global Dialectical
With respect to the classifications of Adam Jones, the investigator has found that a systematic and structural genocide has been perpetrating against the native Tamils both in Eelam and in Tamil Nadu. The following table exposes the basic elements of the genocide in Eelam and in Tamil Nadu:

**Table 5.3: Basic elements of the genocide in Eelam and in Tamil Nadu**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>In Eelam</th>
<th>In Tamil Nadu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Agents</strong></td>
<td>Sinhalese government with the contribution of several countries including India and China</td>
<td>Non-Tamils (Brahminical, Communist and Dravidian Fundamentalists)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Victims</strong></td>
<td>Native Tamils in Eelam</td>
<td>Native Tamils in Tamil Nadu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Goals</strong></td>
<td>Destruction of Tamils and their culture</td>
<td>Destruction of Tamil Racial Identity and their Unique Culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Scale</strong></td>
<td>Substantial people and whole culture</td>
<td>Racial identity and whole culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Strategies</strong></td>
<td>Destruct the People by war and their culture by repression, political integration and developmentism</td>
<td>Destructing the identity of Tamils by Developing the Fake Dravidianism and its policies, Seizing the ruling power of the state.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intent</strong></td>
<td>Defeating Tamils’ political sovereignty and occupy the land of Tamils.</td>
<td>Defeating Tamils’ political sovereignty and occupy the land of Tamils.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2.1 Geopolitical approach

The geopolitics in South Asia gradually developed through the colonization, ideological conflicts, revolutions, world wars, democratization, decolonization, containment policies, the cold war and the new world order. The conflicts between India Vs China and India Vs Pakistan are the synthesis of the conspiratorial political moves of the imperialist countries. Especially, America is developing and maintaining some diplomatic relations with many South Asian countries including India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. The present ethnic conflicts within India and Sri Lanka have rooted from the integration strategies of India and Sri Lanka during the British Colonial regimes. The ethnic conflicts have caused several wars and war based trades (weapon trade), and complicated consumptions of social, economic and political cultures.
Alternate to communist China, the capitalist powers have voluntarily decolonized the India and created it as a highly populated country as well as the sub-continent of South Asia by integrating several independent kingdoms. For their imperial strategy, the capitalist powers have intended to strengthen their influence over South Asia via India (Sanders, D 1990, Hyam, R 2006 & Porter, B 2012,). In early stages after the independence, in Eelam Tamils issue, Sri Lanka maintained a political dependency with India and several pacts have been made between these two countries. It is notable that the intervention of Indian Peace Keeping Force in Sri Lanka to create peace with Eelam Tamils and Sinhalese government in 1987. Based on the geopolitics, China has voluntarily come forward to provide its support to Sri Lanka to solve the ethnic conflict. Since both the countries are following same religious fundamentalism (Buddhism), they are easily united.

During the Eelam War IV, China provided its support including the arms to conduct the Genocide. Of course, China intended to strengthen the geographical threat to India by cracking the relationship between India and Sri Lanka. In the contemporary geopolitical situation, the new alliance between China and Sri Lanka is remarkable. It is significant that China and India have different political ideologies and the countries have some existing geopolitical conflicts including the border disputes. In the meantime, America has voluntarily provided direct and indirect political and arms support to Sri Lanka. Sri Lanka has easily defeated the LTTE and it has carried out the genocide successfully by getting support from many countries. The Indian Ocean has got the most significant role in some major sea trades and mercantilism over the continental countries. It is one of the causes of the intervention of many countries in the Eelam issue and it has played a vital role in the mass ethnic destruction of Tamils.
PART III

5.3 Dialectical Analysis

According to Hegel, the unity of oppositions is referred to the antithesis. In this study, the entire consequences of the struggles have resulted in a widespread Tamil National political ideology among the Tamils by opposing the Brahminical, Dravidian and Tamil Nadu communist ideologies.

In fact, Tamil Nationalist arguments and proposals have consistently seen in the Tamils’ history. During the Sangam age, the Brahminical ideology developed in the Tamil land. In the beginning of 20\(^{th}\) century, the Dravidian ideology developed in the Tamil land. Therefore, it is necessary to discuss the dialectical history and socio-political transformations of Tamil Nadu.

5.3.1 Previous Dialectics in the land of Tamils

Before the advent of British, the Tamil land was ruled by several foreign rulers by defeating Tamils - Pandya, Chera and Chola empires. Vedic and Brahmins interventions in Tamil land evidenced from the Sangam Age of Tamils history. A famous historian K. Rajayyan in his book Tamil Nadu, A Real History has articulates that the Tamil land was ruled by the Nayaks and Sultans before the commercial entry of Europeans. The Nayaks belonged to Telugu and Sultans belonged to various mother tongues including Urdu. Besides Tamil territories, various independent parts of present India have integrated by the British East India Company to establish their colonial rule by manipulating the territorial rivalries, successive and regional enmity wars among the independent kingdoms. History proves that the pre-colonial India has
never existed like present India. There were several independent Kingdoms separated by its unique culture, language and ethnicity.

While colonialism, the British government penetrated the democratic form of governance in the Indian states including Tamil Nadu by providing political representational rights under the British Crown. The process of democratization and the political participation of the local people in the Madras Presidency election in 1920 are notable. The significant dialectics in Tamil Nadu socio-political platforms started during that decade and it was initiated by the electoral victory of Justice Party developed by the anti-Brahminical ideology. The presently emerged Tamil nationalist political arguments have begun from the dialectical changes from that period. Justice party came into power by defeating the Brahminical dominant Congress party.

In Tamil Nadu, while the emergence of the Indian freedom movements, several social reformation movements have also emerged by the inspiration and guidance of the foreign social activists and the Christian missionaries. Along with the democratization, the social reformation movements’ operations have indirectly led the Tamils to follow the English customs of culture, economic, science and politics even after the independence.

There were several political and freedom movements emerged to achieve the freedom of India. Based on three major political dimensions, the movements have embraced with the global political allies as follows:

i) Forward Bloc and others - keeping smooth terms with Axis allies.

ii) Congress Party and others - keeping smooth terms with the British allies.
iii) Communist Party and others – Keeping smooth terms with Communist Blocs.

In India, the movements and the parties, inspired by the communist and socialist ideologies, have operated on class basis. The Justice Party and the Self Respect Movement in Tamil Nadu developed themselves by focusing on the caste-based class conflicts developed by the Brahmin’s Varunashrama system. While his leadership, E.V.Ramasamy has proposed an idea to change the Justice party into Dravidian Movement. But it was opposed by a group of members. Hence, the party was split into two. Under the leadership of E.V.Ramasamy Naickar, the Dravidian Movement started on 27th August 1944 and it stood away from electoral politics. It is another significant dialectical change in the socio-political platform of Tamil Nadu. The Dravidian Movement tried to promote the term ‘Dravidar’ as an ethnic identity and they got succeeded in their attempts. Followed by this trend, the Dravidian movement proposed a separate Dravidian Country. Later, the Dravida Munnetra Kalakam (DMK) has emerged as a political party under the leadership of Anna Durai. Until Nehru’s legal restriction in 1963 on the separatist demand, the Dravidian Movement and the DMK continuously proposed a separate ‘Dravida Nadu’.

During the emergence of Dravidian movements, some Tamil racist movements have also emerged. Like Dravidian movements, some Tamil racist movements have alternatively demanded separate Tamil Nadu but their demands have become weak over the time. Since the legal restriction of separatist demand, DMK has given up its separate Dravida Nadu demand and contested in the Tamil Nadu legislative assembly election in 1967. In the election, the DMK has succeeded through the popularity they have gained from the anti-Hindi agitation in 1965. Later, the Anaithinthiya Anna
*Dravida Munnetra Kalakam* has split from the DMK as a political party under the leadership of M.G.Ramachandran. Since 1967, the Dravidian political parties have alternately retained the ruling power of Tamil Nadu until today. Meanwhile, in Tamil Nadu, there were several Tamil racist and separatist movements have emerged including TNLA (a militant movement) during the Dravidian regime and these movements were suppressed by the Dravidian governments. Such movements are listed below:

a) Tamil Communalist Separatist Movements

- Tamil National Retrieval Force
- Tamil Nadu Liberation Army
- Tamil National Movement

b) Other separatist movements (Rohan Gunaratna, 1994)

- Peoples War Group
- Liberation Cuckoos
- Peasants and Peoples Party
- MGR Anna Dravida Munnetra Kalakam of Thirunavakarasu
- Indian Peoples Party
- Center for the Campaign of Tamil Education
- Thaliai Nagar Tamil Society
- Movement of the Educated Front
- Tamil Nadu Peoples Movement
- Thileepan Society
- Peoples Education Center
- Tamil Nadu Socialist Party
- Republic Party of India
- Peoples Democratic Youth Front
- Liberation Organization of the Oppressed People
- World Peoples Progressive Front
- Human Rights Organization
There were several racist and separatist movements existed in Tamil Nadu even before the existence of Dravidian movements. The active Tamil racist movements in the political platform have become subordinated to the Dravidian politics over the time. In the 1980s, Tamil Nadu Liberation Army was the most significant and recent insurgent group that conducted a militant operation for separate Tamil Nadu but it was oppressed by the state forces. Thus all the racial upsurges were diluted and oppressed. The notable Tamil activists and their movements are as follows:

- K.A.P. Viswanatham (Tamilar Kalakam)
- Si. Pa. Aditanar (We Tamils Party)
- Ma.Po. Sivagnanam (Tamil Arasu Kalakam)
- Pulavar. Kaliya Perumal
- Perunchithiranar
- Tamilarasan (TNLA)

At present, due to the senility and illness of the efficient Dravidian leaders from both the ADMK and the DMK parties, Tamil Nadu state politics is moving towards a huge vacuum. The present statewide struggles in Tamil Nadu have become more important. As in 1965s, the struggles in Tamil Nadu may create a platform for a new party to develop itself as a mainstream political party. The researcher has observed that the parties and movements in Tamil Nadu are trying to compete with one another to gain popularity among the people from the struggles. For a new synthesis, the upcoming political vacuum and the consequences of the entire struggles have become as the catalysts.
Figure 5.8: Previous dialectics in the land of Tamils
Figure 5.9: Evolution of Dravidianism - sub dialectics
5.3.2 Developing the New Dialectical

The new dialectical of this study has developed on the basis of Problem – Reaction – Result approach. According to the dialectical cyclic, the elements of the previous synthesizes like Anti-Brahminical ideology, Dravidianism and their principles have become the major part of the thesis of a new dialectical. In this study, the overall outcomes of the struggles, in Tamil Nadu since 2009, have become the antithesis. The existing and newly emerged Dravidian political parties and movements and the existing communism based parties and movements in Tamil Nadu are standing in the row of the thesis. The existing and newly emerged Tamil racist political parties and movements are standing in the row of antithesis. Some Tamil racist parties like NTK, VCK, TVK and PTK follow and respect the Dravidian ideologies and principles. No party has ever been identified as a strong and pure Tamil racist party in Tamil Nadu.

According to the literature review, the following factors have considered as some bases of the thesis of this study:

- Creation of Union India and its multi-ethnic structure (Decolonization)
- Geo-Politics (Fall of the Tigers’ interim governance)
- Failure of the United Nations (Tamil Genocide and denial of justice)
- Structural adjustment policy of India (Neo-imperialism and Neo-liberalism)

Besides these, in this study, in terms of the thesis of the proposed dialectical is evaluated and justified by the following discussions consist of six sub-categories as i) critics on the paradoxical and opportunistic political moves, ii) consequences of the struggles, iii) critics on the existing Dravidian and communist ideology, iv) critics on
the policies of Dravidianism and Communism v) ethnographical critics on the modern Dravidian and Communist actors and vi) anti-Tamil attitude of non-Tamils.

i) Critics on the paradoxical and opportunistic political moves

Since 2011, Tamil Nadu has become totally unrest even before the recovery from the unrests caused by the ethnic destruction in Eelam in 2009. The DMK’s opportunistic political allies and gains in connection with the Eelam Tamils destruction resulted in the 2011 legislative assembly election in Tamil Nadu. The DMK has faced worst failure in that election. Since 2013, in the struggle fields, negative criticisms have risen, as an antithesis, among the Tamil activists and that fuelled the ideological oppositions against the Dravidian and Communist fundamentalists’ diplomatic, opportunistic and gainful operations. In Tamil Nadu, Communist and Dravidian fundamentalists are following some principles like Anti-Brahminism, Dalit empowerment, caste annihilation, feminism, rationalism and acceptance of developmentism and modernism.

Prior to the emergence of the DMDK, the MDMK is the third largest Dravidian party in Tamil Nadu emerged as a political party, since 1993, consists of the members who are left from the DMK. Even though the party’s contributions in all the struggles are significant, the party has met too many criticisms from the protesters and the Tamil activists due to its recent diplomatic operations in all the struggle fields, especially in the Eelam issue.

About V. Gopalsamy, former LTTE’s organizer Kumaran Padmanathan in an interview said, “he (Vaiko) wanted to gain popularity on the basis of LTTE…He wanted the LTTE’s support, since Tamil Nadu people are emotional, and they were behind the LTTE…He (VaiGo) even violated the law and came here and met
Prabhakaran (First post, 2011).” Kumaran Padmanathan has also revealed Vaiko’s opportunistic political moves at the last crucial phase of the Eelam War IV (Puthiya Jananayakam, 2013). In the Lanka Vithithi newspaper, Ravindran Kanagasabapillai, in an article, has also noted Vaiko’s political opportunism (Ravindran Kanagasabapillai, 2009). Umar, a significant intellect, activist and former member of the May 17 movement, accused Vaiko as “a partner of India’s war of perception on Tamils” (Umar, 2015). During the peak of the genocide in Eelam in 2009, a youth and Tamil activist, Muthu Kumaran committed suicide by self-immolation insisting the students to start a protest to stop the crucial war of Sinhalese against the Tamils in Eelam. Director Ram, in his article, *Muthu Kumaran’s Funeral Procession – My Testimony*, has uncovered Vaiko's voluntary actions to defend against the students’ uprising (Ram, 2009).

Earlier, in the anti-nuclear and the anti-methane struggles, V. Gopalsamy has given an immense contribution. Later, he has silently rollback his supports from the fields. The BJP’s stance on the nuclear power project and the methane exploration project are against the protestors in Tamil Nadu. In the meanwhile, V. Gopalsamy has formed an alliance with the BJP in the 2014 Parliament election of India. It caused severe criticism among the protestors against him. However, his legal initiations in the anti-neutrino, the anti-gas pipeline and the issue of lifting the ban on LTTE are commendable.

Some leaders in the communist parties in Tamil Nadu have a stance against the protestor’s demand in the Mullai Periyaru, the anti-nuclear and the Eelam issue. Opposing free Tamil Eelam, for a long time, the Communist parties have supported united Sri Lanka. In 2008, D. Pandian, a leader of Tamil Nadu CPI, has advised the
LTTE as, “first, put the arms down for a ceasefire and come forward to the negotiation”. During the uprising, some independent students from Tamil Nadu have expressed their frustration over the stance of the Communist parties. Paradoxically, the student wings of the communist parties have joined along with the independent students’ slogans of Free Eelam aiming to establish their domination in the struggle. Though Nalla Kannu, a famous freedom fighter and one of the CPI leaders in Tamil Nadu, has opposed the nuclear project, Ramakrishnan, a leader of Tamil Nadu CPI (M) and D. Pandian, a leader of Tamil Nadu CPI have declared their support in the Koodan Kulam nuclear project. It shows the controversy within the Tamil Nadu Communist parties in the issues.

Since the students’ uprising in 2013, the May 17 movement has widely faced severe criticisms among the protesters. Umar, former activist and member of May 17, has uncovered its opportunistic actions in the struggle fields, especially in the Eelam issue, through an article, “Why I am not a May 17 Member?” in his blog. In the article, he has pointed out all the charges against the May 17 movement and its actors with proper documentary and circumstantial evidences. The researcher has identified that the May 17 movement is more active than the other movements in the anti-nuclear, the anti-methane struggles and the students’ uprising. With few intellectuals, this movement has developed and promoted itself through the social networks like Facebook, Twitter and Whatsapp. Before 2013, through the cyberspace, it is the only movement has received all the support from the supporters of the struggles in Tamil Nadu. Moreover, the movement financially fuelled by the Diaspora Tamils. In the beginning of the students uprising, the Loyola college students were mostly influenced by the members of this movement. Subsequent alert among the students has led their independent integration and their spontaneous decision making. When
the student's spontaneity intensified in peak, May 17 has made an alliance with MDMK and CPI (M) and cleverly weakened the uprising by an announcement through a student, Dinesh, belongs to CPI student wing.

With an intention to conclude the uprising, student Dinesh with some student activists has conducted a press meet in Chennai and announced as “Now the federation has decided to finish the series protests and it has decided to conduct one-day stage demonstration in all district capitals on 20.03.2013”. The researcher has found that the arbitrary announcement anonymously made by such students. In fact, the decision actually made by the May 17 movement and its allies the MDMK and the CPI by using the students as a tool to dilute the uprising.

Colluding with May 17 and CPI (M), V. Gopalsamy’s tricky operations successfully defeat the students uprising. According to the observations and sources of this study, it is the second attempt of V. Gopalsamy to control the spontaneous students uprising in Tamil Nadu relating to the Eelam issue, after the first attempt during the self-immolation issue of Muthu Kumaran in 2009.

 ii) Consequences of the Struggles

Since 2009, among the protestors of the Eelam issue, the Mullai Periyaru issue and the students’ uprising, the anti-Malayalees sentiments have extensively appeared. During the Eelam War IV, the Malayalees, M.K Narayanan and Siva Shankar Menon have remained the offices of the National Security Advisor of India and the Foreign Secretary of India respectively. The Tamil activists accused that they have played a vital role in the Eelam Tamils genocide. Umar in his article has noted such incidents relating to proving their role in the last phase of Eelam. Cited from the newspaper, he has indicated the conversations among Britain, American officials and Siva Shankar
Menon. The researcher observed that during the Mullai Periyaru struggle and the students uprising, the said matter has remembered by the protesters. However, these struggles have widely escalated the anti-Malayalees feeling among the majority Tamils and it has resulted in the radical discussion relating to the Malayalees domination in the central administration. It is noteworthy that the Malayalees are usually humiliating the Tamils by their dynastical symbol as Pandis (Pandyas).

In addition, Tamils have the ongoing conflicts with their other neighbouring state people like Kannadigas and Telugus have rooted in the same water disputes in Cauvery at Karnataka and Palaru at Andhra. Some web articles are articulating that these water disputes are caused due to the diplomacy and treachery of the committee finalized the borders of Tamil Nadu under the linguistic reorganization act. The committee has also formulated with a Malayalee, K.M.Panikkar. The researcher has reviewed that the great boundary agitations in Tamil Nadu in the 1950s have caused by the committee’s decision to annex some majority Tamil populated border areas to all the neighbouring states of Tamil Nadu like Kerala, Karnataka and Andhra.

On May 2009, the Tamils genocide in Eelam and the last phases of the Lok Sabha election in India have happened simultaneously. Congress government’s support to the Sinhalese government in the war has created severe wrath and resentment among the Tamils. Meanwhile, DMK has made an alliance with the Congress Party. Insisting to a ceasefire, the self-immolation of Muthu Kumaran and the sporadic protests in Tamil Nadu have created some pressure on the ruling DMK government. For manipulating the situation, Karunanidhi, the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, has made several opportunistic political operations and dramas to divert and dilute the surges of the Tamil Nadu people. It has raised the criticism on Karunanidhi
as he is not Tamil and he belongs to the Telugu community. It has created widespread arguments against the Telugus and their domination in the socio-political platforms in Tamil Nadu.

However, the present racist thoughts in Tamil Nadu have started since 2009 and it is turned into a mainstream ideology from 2013. It has commonly stimulated by the administrative failures and anti-Tamils welfare policies of the Dravidian rule, the diplomatic operations of the Dravidian and the Communist fundamentalists in the struggles and the non-Tamils domination in the socio-political platforms in Tamil Nadu. V. Gopalsamy's diplomacies in the struggles, as well as the Tamil Nadu politics, have also fuelled the Tamil racist ideology. In addition, from 2014 onwards, the ongoing Cauvery river water dispute issue has again seriously taken up by the Tamil activists to discuss the Kannadigas anti-Tamils attitude.

From 2013 to 2016 Tamil racism is rapidly developed by the Tamil activists and elites by using the political instability in Tamil Nadu, Indian Parliament election in 2014 and the Tamil Nadu legislative election in 2016. Moreover, Tamil racism has been silently evolving as a significant factor to decide the political victories in Tamil Nadu. The entire oppositions (struggles) and its consequences (Tamil Racism) are initially raised against the Dravidian and the Communist politics, parties and its actors. Subsequently, it turned against both the Dravidian and the communist Ideologies.

The rejuvenated Tamil racism has been exploring some hidden factors and truths about the ethnic distortions of Tamils, perpetrated by the non-Tamils and their fake conspiratorial ideas. The newly energized Tamil racists have revealed the diplomacies of non-Tamils through the analytical social and political history of Tamil
Nadu since the pre-colonial era. The social networking sites have become as the main stage to liberally express, explore, share, discuss and develop these types of ideas and histories. Fearing that, the central and the state governments have repeatedly made a threat to the Netizens as the social networks are coming under the surveillance through a technical team of the legal forces. In order to make a threat, a few arrests have made by the police in Tamil Nadu alleged of criticizing the political leaders.

iii) Critics on the existing Ideologies of Dravidianism and Communism

The researcher has examined that, there is no acceptable and definitive source available in the form of literary, inscription and other archaeological materials to describe or prove the veracity of the Dravidian ideology and the Dravidian ethnicity. Since the Sangam age, the Tamil literature or inscriptions have never advocated the Tamil is a Dravidian language. Robert Caldwell, an Englishman, in his book ‘A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages’ has discussed the term Dravidian, based on the pronunciation of Sanskrit people and his own utopian linguistic interpretation. It is noteworthy that there are several Tamil intellectuals have been articulating that the identity or term ‘Dravida’ has been imposed on the Tamils and the Tamil language by the accent of the Sanskrit people. Thus the word ‘Dravida’ was derived from the Sanskrit (Prakrit) language.

The researcher has reviewed that during the colonial rule, Caldwell has come to the Tamil Nadu aiming to spread the Christianity. Leaving all the archaeological and literary sources of Tamil language, he has investigated the dialect of the South Indian languages. In his linguistic text, he does not refer the term ‘Dravidian’ as a racial symbol and he has used the term just as a sign of language family. In addition, Robert Caldwell, in his preface to his book, has referred some Englishmen like
Beschi, C. P. Brown, Ellis, Stevenson, Brian Hodgson, Rask, Prichard Max Muller and Logan, as the pioneers of his research. These writers have also belonged to the literary and linguistic research field.

The researcher is suspecting that Robert Caldwell has made several historical distortions aiming to create a way to his alternate mission, spreading the Christianity. Proving that, Tirunelveli is a famous classical part of Tamil Nadu and it was mentioned in the Sambandar’s Devaram composed in the 7th century. Although contrasting with its historical trails, Robert Caldwell has pronounced the territory as ‘Tinnevelly’. However, Robert Caldwell is the key point to the present ethnic distortions in Tamil Nadu under the idea of Dravidianism developed by the non-Tamils. Apart from these issues, it is noteworthy that Robert Caldwell’s bi-lingual family signs in his writings have expressed the British socio-political strategy, divide and rule policy.

The researcher has observed that because of a compulsion to resist the Sanskrit domination, Iyothi Thass, a Tamil literary intellect, has used the term Dravidian against the Sanskritization. He was the pioneer of the utopian Dravidianism proposed in the social platform as an alternative to the Hindutva crisis. He belongs to the Paraya caste which was classified by the Brahmins’ Varnashrama as downstream Sutras in the society. The Tamil elite like Iyothi Thass, M.S.Pillai, Maraimalai Adigal, Barathidasan and others have used the Dravidianism only to retaliate the Sanskrit domination. By using the term Dravidian, the anti-Brahminical and anti-Sanskrit attempts of the Tamil elites have paved the way for the dialectics in Tamil Nadu emerged during the first half of the twentieth century which is already discussed in this chapter.
In the 1930s, opposing the Brahminical domination, E.V.Ramasamy Naickar, known as the father of the modern Dravidianism, has retained the Dravidian ideology. He is the mastermind of the present Dravidianism and he developed it as an ethnic identity of Tamils as ‘Dravidar’. His Dravidianism has laid the policies of the anti-Brahminism, the caste-annihilation and the feminism. These policies have manipulated the contemporary multi-cultural trends likely to the imposition of western and European cultural influences on the Tamil society. In Tamil Nadu, E.V.R’s modern Dravidianism has emerged as the superior dominant ideology over the century. It is noted that the Dravidianism and the Dravidian parties and movements do not actively exist in other places marked by Caldwell as the Dravidian linguistics territories such as Kerala, Karnataka, Andhra and others.

It is already discussed that the Communist parties and movements in India have started on the basis of class contrasts developed over the colonial regime. Like the modern Dravidianism, in their first phase, Tamil Nadu Communist parties and movements have also followed the policies of anti-Brahminism, caste-annihilation and others (Padmanabhan, V 1987). Through some rationalist and atheist policies of the Dravidian and communist fundamentalists, both the Dravidianism and the Communism have deployed in the row of supporting the modern developmentism.

iv) Critics on the Policies of Dravidianism and Communism

The overall consequences of the struggles have also stimulated some heat arguments on the policies of the like rationalism and atheism, anti-Brahminism, caste annihilation, socialism, feminism, reservations, free education, progressive and developmentism of the Dravidian and Communist movements which are developed during the era of E.V.R’s Self Respect Movement. Since the industrial development
era of Tamil Nadu, the Communist movements have changed its aim into the path of
its default labour-capital relationship, although they are keeping such Dravidian
policies embracing class characteristics. Moreover, the Communist parties often made
alliances with the Dravidian parties during the elections.

The Tamil racists have criticized that the Dravidian and the Communist
rationalism have intended to eradicate the divine policies, rituals and fallacies
presented in Tamil communities. In order to achieve these goals, they have proposed
atheism. It has proved their ground reality and fake rationalism through E.V.R’s
Kudiyarasu (Republican) newspaper published on 02.05.1925. In its masthead, he
prays to the God Almighty to give enough knowledge and power to him and his
followers to all their endeavours. Attempting to prove the Dravidian leaders mock
rationalism of Veeramani, Karunanidhi and others, there are numerous substantive
articles have been posting by Tamil racists in the websites and the social networks.

The Dravidian and Communist fundamentalists’ caste annihilation policy has
received the extended level of criticisms than their other policies. It has been
criticized as the most strategic policy of non-Tamils intended to hide their real ethnic
identity. The diplomacy behind the caste-annihilation policy has paved the way for
the newly emerged Tamil racists to ignore that caste-annihilation policy and propose a
caste-based identification system to identify the Tamils and non-Tamils. Most of the
Tamil activists have stated that in Tamil Nadu, if there is no reluctance situation
occurs to the individuals to explicitly show the caste identity, the non-Tamils will be
easily separated and it will lead to destruct their existing domination in the socio-
political platform in Tamil Nadu. During this study, the researcher has realized the
facts of the Tamil activists’ statements. It is noteworthy that the Dravidian and the
communist movements have not initiated any caste annihilation movements, campaigns or activities in the neighbourhood states like Andhra, Karnataka and Kerala indicated as the Dravidian regions by them. The list of Chief Ministers in Tamil Nadu and the neighbouring states who have expressed their caste identity with their name is given below:

Figure 5.10: Number of Chief Ministers in, Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu Expressing their Caste Identity with their name

Figure 5.11: Percent of Chief Ministers in, Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu Expressing their Caste Identity with their name
The above pictures show that since independence, no Chief Ministers in Tamil Nadu have expressed their caste identity in their names. But most of the Chief Ministers in Andhra, Karnataka and Kerala have expressed their caste identity in their names. It is clearly stated that the Dravidian caste annihilation policy has only developed in Tamil Nadu, not in other neighbouring states. Moreover, these neighbouring states have no political parties as in the name of Dravidian.

Tamil racists have advocated that the internal reservation demands of the Dravidian and the Communist movements are also a strategy to seize the Tamils employment opportunities in the state sectors. To ensure that, a number of Telugu speaking Arunthathiyar (Chakiliyar) candidates have got employment in the state sectors by an internal reservation through a Government Order made in 2009 under Karunanidhi regime. Many of the respondents belong to the Pallar caste have stated that the said internal reservation has been snatch their rights and employment opportunities in various sectors in Tamil Nadu and provides more opportunities to the Telugu community. Most of the Tamil activists have noted that despite the end of the fifty-year Dravidian reign, the Brahmins domination in the administrative and the religious sects are not eliminated and it has proved that the Dravidian and the Communist fundamentalists have been using the anti-Brahminism only to advance their political career in Tamil Nadu.

The policies like feminism and progressivism of the Dravidian and the Communist movements have also criticized by the Tamil activists as the policies aimed to destruct Tamils’ cultural and family values. K. Veeramani, the leader of DK, has announced a Thali Removal Programme on 14th April 2015 stating that Thali is a symbol of female slavery. Questioning the said announcement, the Tamil racists have
criticized that why do not Dravidian Veeramani advice Dravidian Karunanidhi and his family members to remove Thali from their women? A Tamil youth from Neduvasal has described as the Feminism and Progressivism of Dravidian fundamentalists is a kind of war against the Tamils prestigious and ethical tradition. The Tamil racists have concluded that the Dravidian and the Communist fundamentalists’ campaign on developmentism have indented to exploit the resources of Tamils and their wealth. The protesters and Tamil activists have stated that in the name of developmentism, the Dravidian regime has permitted the projects proposed by the corporate bodies of the Indian government to exploit the resources of Tamil Nadu, in spite of the security and the livelihood of the people. In addition, the Dravidian governments have used its forces to repress the people struggling against the projects. It is proved their actual intention on the basis of developmentism.

The researcher has observed that the Indian Communists have developed their communism as a bargaining model with the capitalists and the imperial governments. In most of the cases, the Communist fundamentalists are acting like the corporate mediators. Their unions in all the sectors including the peasants, the industrial workers and the government employees have also operated on the basis of bargaining model, not the revolutionary model. Esteves, Motta and Cox have noted that the communists in India have used the Paramilitary forces to repress the Tribes for opposing the multinational projects proposed in their land. In addition, they have stated that the communists are acting like the agents of multinationals.

Reflecting and keeping the bargaining model, in the past, the Communists' in Tamil Nadu have allied with the Dravidian parties in all the legislative assembly elections by bargaining the number of constituencies to their parties.
v) Ethnographical critics on the Modern Dravidian and the Communist actors

The newly emerged Tamil racist arguments have explored the tricky social and political domination of the non-Tamils in Tamils land by using the idea of Dravidianism and Communism. The recent Tamil racists are emphatically advocating that the modern Dravidian ideology has created by the non-Tamils to enslave Tamils and keep their existence in the Tamil land (The Hindu, 2016). The researcher observed that the Communism in Tamil Nadu is also subject to the same kind of charge. Along with the Dravidian fundamentalists, most of the Communist leaders in Tamil Nadu are belongs to the non-Tamil communities and they are also standing against the present racist surges of Tamils.

However, the present conflicts have provoked the argument Who Are Tamils? Of course, it is too critical to find the answer to the question. Because of the Aryan’s cultural and ritual invasions in Sangam age, subsequent non-Tamils invasions and the following ethnic blends and the historical distortions over twenty centuries have created some complications to identify who are Tamils? However, the Dravidian and the Communist fundamentalists have been using the question as their defensive side to keep their existing status in Tamil Nadu. Answering the question, a group of the Tamil racists have been proposing the caste-based identification method to differentiate the Tamils and the non-Tamils. By referring several historical materials, they have argued that the caste-based identification system is an exact solution to that question.

Based on the historical reviews, the researcher has found that the Sangam literature has articulated that the Tamils land during the Sangam age has consisted of
five ecological divisions like Kurinchi, Mullai, Marudham, Palai and Neithal. Based on the ecological professions and lifestyle, the people of an indigenous group of each land have entitled by several names like Kuravars, Idaiyars, Mallars, Kallars, Parathavas, Parayars, Pillais, Eezhavas, Chanars, Velalars, Kammalars and others (Subramanian, P 2005 & Pillay, KPK 1969). During the middle history of Tamil Nadu, these entitlements have called as castes.

During the Sangam age, Brahmins have started to settle in Tamils land through their cultural and ritual invasions. Thereafter, the Urdu Muslims, the Kannadigas and the Telugus settlements have gradually increased in Tamils land through their invasions (Susan Bayly, 1989). Particularly, in the Nayaks regime, large scales of Telugus have settled in Tamils land. According to the long-term inflow of the non-Tamils in Tamils land, several new castes have emerged especially during the imperial Cholas regime and the Nayaks regime. These new castes have emerged through some new titles awarded during the imperial Cholas regime (Rajayyan, K., 2005). In addition, during the British colonial regime, a large number of Telugus were brought to Tamil Nadu. In due course of time, the settled non-Tamils have mingled with the native Tamils of the land. Even after the independence from the British, for keeping their existence in Tamil Nadu, the non-Tamils have identified themselves as Tamils manipulated by using the following situations and factors:

- Anti-Brahminism
- Anti-Sanskritization
- Linguistic sign of Dravidianism
- Colonial pressure
- Lack of awareness among Tamils
- Lack of writers in Tamils Historiography
- Lack of ethnic feeling among Tamils
Caldwell has noted that the Naiks or Naidoos, Reddies are Telugu tribes. Before the emergence of modern Dravidian movements and parties, the Justice Party has stood against the anti-Brahminism and it has represented the rights of depressed class and untouchables. The researcher has reviewed that the party has also dominated by the non-Tamils like T.M. Nair, Munuswamy Naidu and others. In addition, the party has also funded by some Telugu landlords. Prior to the creation of Dravidian Movement, E.V.R was also a member and then a leader of the Justice party. The following image is consisting of four non-Tamil personalities who have dominated the Tamil Nadu politics during the 1930s.

![Image](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iCdp8_I7Bw8, retrieved on 12.04.13)

**Figure 5.12: non-Tamil personalities who have dominated the Tamil Nadu politics during the 1930s.**

E.V.R in his Republican newspaper on 22.08.1926, has acknowledged himself as he belonged to the Kannadiga Palijavaar community. Like E.V.Ramasamy Naickar, most of the Dravidian political actors and Dravidian leaders are non-Tamils. So far, most of the Chief Ministers in Tamil Nadu have belonged to the non-Tamil communities. Chronologically, the list of Tamil Nadu Chief Ministers is given below:
Table 5.4: Tamil & non-Tamil Chief Ministers list in Tamil Nadu since 1920

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No</th>
<th>Premiers/Chief Ministers</th>
<th>T (Tamil) \ NT(Non-Tamil)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Before Independence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Panaganti Ramarayaningar</td>
<td>NT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>P Subbarayan</td>
<td>NT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Munuswamy Naidu</td>
<td>NT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ramakirshna Ranga Rao</td>
<td>NT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>B.T. Raja</td>
<td>NT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>K Venkata Reddy Naidu</td>
<td>NT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Rajagopalachari</td>
<td>NT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>T Prakasam Pantulu</td>
<td>NT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>OP Ramasamy Reddiar</td>
<td>NT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>PS Kumaraswamy Raja</td>
<td>NT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>K Kamaraj</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>M Bhaktavatsalam</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>CN Annadurai</td>
<td>NT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>M Karunanidhi</td>
<td>NT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>MG Ramachandran</td>
<td>NT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>J Jayalalitha</td>
<td>NT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>O. Panneer Selvam</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chief Ministers in Madras Presidency and then Tamil Nadu

![Bar chart showing the number of Tamil and Non-Tamil Chief Ministers in Tamil Nadu since 1920]

Figure 5.13: Number of Tamil and Non-Tamil Chief Ministers in Tamil Nadu since 1920
The above Table and picture show that the most of the Chief Minister in Tamil Nadu since the 1920s have belonged to the non-Tamil communities.

From 1920 to 1947 in Tamil Nadu, there is only one Premier P. Subbaraayan belonged to Tamil community. Since independent, there are three Chief Ministers Kamaraj, Bhaktavatsalam and Paneer Selvam are belonged to the Tamil communities. Except the Temporary or acting Chief Ministers, there are eight out of nine before the independence and five out of nine after Independence have belonged to the non-Tamil communities. Based on some Bharathidasan writings, some Tamil activists have argued that the Dravidian leader and former Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu, Annadurai has also belonged to the non-Tamil community. The Tamil racists in social media have been alleging that the most of the leaders in the existing Dravidian and the Communist parties and movements in Tamil Nadu have belonged to the non-Tamil communities. The Tamil writers have also pointed out some non-Tamil leaders in the social networks. Some of them are listed below:

i) **Parties**

- V. Gopalsamy – MDMK
- Vijaya Kanth – DMDK
- Thanga Balu – Congress party
- EVKS. Elankovan - Congress party
- Varatha Rajan – CPI (M)
- G. Rama Krishnan – CPI (M)

ii) **Movements**

- K. Veeramani – DK
- Viduthalai Rajendran – TPDK
On 7th April 2015, the Telugu police department has encountered 20 Tamil labours alleged that they are involved in the illegal red sandal cutting work. Reacting to that, the widespread oppositions against the Andhra state government have spontaneously emerged among the Tamils in Tamil Nadu. Subsequently, the oppositions have turned against the Telugu people living in Tamil Nadu. A severe siege has conducted by the Tamils in front of the Telugu Cultural Society at Chennai. In order to reconcile the Tamils, the members of the society have conducted a press meet. In this meet, the members of the society have stated that “V. Gopalsamy also belongs to the Telugu community”. During the legislative assembly election in 2016, the following posture has appeared in Kathi Para areas. In that posture, the Paraiyar’s ‘Puratchi Thamilakam’ movement has said that ‘Vantheri Vijayakanth should leave Tamil Nadu’.

**Figure 5.14: Posture of the Puratchi Thamilakam movement**
Since 2014, widespread criticisms have been emerging against the domination of non-Tamils in the legislative, administrative, legal, cinema, academic and other sectors including the business industries in Tamil Nadu. The term ‘Vantheri’ is often used by the Tamil racists to indicate the non-Tamils settled in Tamil Nadu. Beyond the social networks, the recent Tamil racial uprisings among the Tamils and the anti-Dravidian arguments have been becoming as the significant subjects in the mainstream media.

vi) Anti-Tamil attitude of non-Tamils

Since 2015, the criticisms on the anti-Tamils attitude of non-Tamil actors have been becoming as the vital part of the Tamil racism. And the criticisms are mostly beginning from the founder and the mastermind of the modern Dravidianism, E.V.Ramasamy. E.V.R in his book, ‘Tamilum Tamilarum’ has stated that for 40 years, I have been saying that Tamil is a barbaric language. I have given Tamil to some space to use its opposition in the occasions when Brahminism and Brahmins are trying to make Hindi as a national language and political language. He has also expressed his derogatory criticisms against the Tamil literarians in that book. In order to express his grudge against the Tamil student protesters in the anti-Hindi agitation, in his writing, ‘Kilarchikku Thayaravom’, he has stated that if the police had initially shot four Kalis, the sabotages and loss of life and properties would not have been occurred (Ramasamy, EV, 1965). The word ‘Kalis’ is referred to a kind of criminals like the street vandalists.

E.V.R has proposed some spelling reformations in Tamil language and he has followed the reformed terms in all his newspapers and articles. The Tamil racists are criticizing that attempt of E.V.R as the insidious effort of E.V.R to eradicate Tamil
language. The researcher has also identified that his attempt to eradicate some vowels in Tamil like ஐ, ஔ, is definitely leading to destroying the uniqueness of Tamil language. Moreover, the researcher has considered his attempt as a process of structural destruction of the soul of Tamil language. In order to express their opposition on the E.V.R’s spelling reformation attempt, some Tamil activists have updated the Tamil vowels like ஐ and ஔ as a profile picture of their Facebook accounts. They are also pointed out that if the vowels are eradicated gradually or one by one, the Tamil language will be completely destroyed in due course of time. Some of the E.V.R's proposal on the spelling corrections is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before</th>
<th>After</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ஐ</td>
<td>ஐ்</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ஔ</td>
<td>ஔ்</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ஐ</td>
<td>ஐ்</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ஔ</td>
<td>ஔ்</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ஐ + ஔ = ஐ் | ஐ + ஔ = ஐ் |
| ஐ + ஔ = ஐ் | ஐ + ஔ = ஐ் |
| ஐ + ஔ = ஐ் | ஐ + ஔ = ஐ் |

**Figure 5.15: E.V.R’s Proposed Spelling Reformation in Tamil**

According to the report of the linguistic states reorganization committee, several places populating with more Tamil speaking people were decided to annexe with the neighbouring states of Tamil Nadu like Andhra, Karnataka and Kerala. In order to oppose the decision, a series of great boundary agitations have been taken by the Tamil leaders like Nesamony, M.P. Siva Gnanam and others to keep the Tamils land with Tamil Nadu. The Dravidian Movement’s leader E.V.R has neglected that all significant agitations. The Tamil racists have been criticising that E.V.R has
intentionally ignored the agitations, and the ignorance has proved his betrayals and anti-Tamil attitudes.

The researcher has observed that all the above operations and attitudes of E.V.R have intended to distort the Tamils culture, values, ethnic consciousness and the geographical self-dependency. However, all his operations and agendas have aimed to keep the domination of non-Tamils in Tamil Nadu. Following E.V.R, all the non-Tamil Dravidian political actors and leaders have followed his internal objectives to maintain the existing socio-political order manipulated by the non-Tamils’ domination.

In 2016, Veera Tamilar Munnani, a cultural wing of NTK has released a documentary video in the name of Kandy Nayakar - Hidden History of Tamil Eelam. The summary of the documentary as follows:

“In the midst of the 16th century, a large number of Telugu people were settled in Kandy. In the beginning of the 19th century, Telugu based Nayaks were defeated in Kandy by the Europeans. Since the fall of Nayak’s Kandy Kingdom, they have converted themselves as Buddhists. In the due course of time, they were mingled with the Sinhalese and that conversion resulted in the increase of the Sinhalese population than Tamils in Sri Lanka. The structural genocide against Tamils was carried out by the Sinhalese rulers who belonged to the descendants of Nayaks dynasty.”

Moreover, the documentary has noted that some present Sinhalese surnames like Nayake and Nayaka have belonged to the Telugu Nayaks community. In fact, the historical research has initially conducted by two Tamil activists namely Jawahar and Raja Thangasamy. They have collected and compiled the entire history. Suspiciously,
Jawahar has dead. Later, the compiled history has released in the form of a documentary video by a youth Pari Saalan, member of VTM. The documentary has faced severe opposition from the Telugu people living in Tamil Nadu. It is noted that during Karunanidhi regime, the last Kandyan King Sri Vikrama Raja Singha’s memorial hall has built at Vellore. The Tamil racists have been criticizing the Karunanidhi’s effort to establish the memorial hall for the Nayak king as an ethnic affection. The image of the memorial hall is given below:

Source: http://namathu.blogspot.in/2016/03/blog-post_42.html, retrieved on 11.05.2016

**Figure 5.16: Nayaks King Sri Vikrama Raja Singha’s memorial hall at Vellore**

### 5.3.3 Synthesis of the Dialectical

Rejecting the Dravidianism, the ideology ‘*Unique political power for the Tamils in Tamils land without the non-Tamils domination*’ is the identified synthesis of this study. The newly emerged Tamil racists have called this ideology as
‘Tamil Nationalism’. This study is concluding that the Tamil Nationalism as the “Tamil Racism” against the dominant non-Tamils and their fake Dravidianism. Moreover, it is observed as a kind of “Socio-Political War aiming to Rescue the real Racial Identity of Tamils”. The war has been intensifying through the ideological conflicts between Tamils and non-Tamils and is aiming to recover the socio-political rights of Tamils from the non-Tamils. In the two thousand years history of Tamil Nadu, the present awakening of Tamils against the non-Tamils diplomacy is going to be a turning point. Based on the political process theory of social movement, the present racial upsurges in Tamil Nadu have attempting to establish a pure Tamils’ state government by overthrow the non-Tamils dominated the vulnerable Dravidian government.

The result ‘Synthesis’ of this study has developed through the three gradual phases. The first phase (2009-2013) has developed from the results of Eelam Issue, Mullai Periyaru, anti-nuclear, anti-neutrino, anti-gas pipeline and anti-Methane struggles. The second phase (2013 – 2014) has started from the students uprising and centred on the Parliament election. Third Phase (2014 – 2016) centred around the Tamil Nadu legislative assembly election and that has marked by the strains, conflicts and struggles for the existence of the ideologies caused by the intensifying Tamil racist thoughts.

a) First Phase

The first phase has developed by the following factors:

- DMK leader Karunanidhi’s desire for power and his betrayals in Eelam issue.
- Dravidian actor’s diplomacy during the last phase of Eelam war IV to control the people surge in Tamil Nadu.
- Repressive reactions of the Dravidian governments against the struggles.
- Their compromises with the central government and its corporate bodies.
- Non-democratic brutal repressions of the Dravidian governments against the protesters.
- The anti-Tamil attitude of Dravidian actors and their lack of interest in the welfare and protection of Tamil Nadu and the Tamils.
- Movements’ diplomacy during the repressions.
- Paradoxical activities, decisions and thoughts of Dravidian and Communist movements aiming to weaken the struggles.
- Identity and advertisement based contributions of the Dravidian and Communist movements in the struggles.
- Fake promises of the governments, parties and movements to the protesters.

All the above factors have led to propagate some negative views among the protesters and the neutralists against the Dravidian governments and movements. Gradually, the negative thoughts have developed through the social networks. The counterproductive operations of the Dravidian fundamentalists have familiarized in all the struggles by the protesters. During the first phase, Eelam issue is one of the prime issues that caused the failure of DMK in the 2011 legislative assembly election of Tamil Nadu. After a very long time, the slogan *Tamils Should Rule Tamil Nadu* has again resurfaced in Tamil Nadu by some newly motivated Tamil racists and movements like *Anaithu Thanmana Thamilaralkalin Koottamaippu, Tamil Thesiya Periyakkam* and others (Pakutharivu, 2011). They have pointed out that in the last 50 years of the Dravidian regime, the non-Tamils have occupied all the sectors of Tamil Nadu like education, literature, enforcement, politics, economics and others.
b) Second Phase

The second phase is considered as the most important in the development of antithesis of the dialectical in this study. In this phase, the antithesis has evolved in a very elegant manner. The evolution has escalated from the diplomatic operations of the MDMK party and the May 17 movement in the historic students uprising against the imperial global society. The researcher has identified that the May 17 movement is a significant movement alienated and set aside from the mainstream struggles by Tamil activists. Besides the May 17 movement, certain Dravidian and Communist movements’ diplomacies have also revealed by the protesters and the Tamil activists in the struggle fields. As a continuation, MDMK has partially separated and set aside from the struggles due to its coalition with the BJP and its subsequent supportive campaigns for the BJP.

During the first phase, aggravated by the Tamils destruction in Eelam, the anti-Indian voices and the sectional thoughts have sporadically surged in Tamil Nadu. It has been popularizing during the second phase. During the students uprising, through their banners, the students have democratically proposed and demanded the separate Tamil Nadu. In their uprising, during the interviews in mainstream media, the students stated that the separate Tamil Nadu is the only solution to achieve free Tamil Eelam and to get justice for the structural genocide.

In fact, the students’ spontaneous uprising has shaken the Tamil Nadu political climate. In addition, the students’ unexpected upheaval in the socio-political platform has been disturbing the other existing parties and movements. Subsequently, a group of students have opposed the voluntary interventions and the diplomatic operations of the Dravidian and the Communist movements. The controversies have resulted in a
severe internal conflict among the students and the other parties and movements. Due to the diplomacies of the parties and the movements, the students have separated into many groups. Particularly, the independent students have stood on one side. On the other hand, the students belonged to the Dravidian and the Communist movements and parties have stood on the opposite side of the independent students. However, the students belonged to the newly emerged Tamil racist movements and parties have maintained a neutral stance. The researcher has identified that the blocs have similarly resembled with the Bi-polarity and the third world nations, appeared after the World War II.

However, the overall outcomes of the first and second phase have reflected in the results of the parliamentary elections in 2014. The anti-mood of the Tamils against the DMK and the Congress Party has resulted in the worst defeat of the parties.

c) Third Phase

In the third phase, the rise of several Tamil racial-based movements and parties has caused severe ideological conflicts and strains. Among the Tamil racist movements, parties and the independent individuals, a variety of discussions have been raising relating to the purity, limitations and policies of Tamil Nationalism. Most of the newly emerged Tamil racist parties have been embracing the ideas of Periyarism (E.V.R) and Dravidianism. Contrasting with them, most of the Tamil racist movements have been rejecting the ideas E.V.R and his Dravidianism. Hence, along with the Hindutva ideology, the discussions among the Tamil racists have centred around the Dravidian ideology and Periyarism. The discussions have been emerging in the social networks and these discussions have also created many internal
conflicts and self-criticisms among the Tamil neutralists and the group of Tamil racist parties and movements.

According to the manifestation of the past six years of the unrests and the socio-political conflicts in Tamil Nadu, Tamil racist and anti-non-Tamils sentiments have been emerging among the Tamil youths. It resulted in the great struggle for existence between the both Tamils and non-Tamils. However, the new racist sentiments have been making a serious threat to the Dravidian fundamentalists, especially to the non-Tamils.

The investigator’s observations from the Dravidian and the Communist fundamentalists speeches, discussions and interviews, it is realized that the non-Tamils in the Dravidian and the Communist movements have some alerts concerning the emerging Tamil racism. On 4\textsuperscript{th} May 2013, a resolution ‘Reject Tamil Nationalism’ has passed in the DK’s youth conference at Rajapalayam (Keetru, 2013). V. Gopalsamy, in a press interview on 9\textsuperscript{th} December 2014, has stated that “some of the national thinkers are talking about Tamil nationalism, thinking that the Dravidian movement can be destroyed. The ADMK and the DMK should work together to prevent this. Do not allow to foothold a common opponent here” (The Hindu, 2014).

Since 2104, the Dravidian fundamentalists under the headship of K. Veeramani have been converting and celebrating the Tamils' Pongal festival as Dravidar Pongal aiming to distort the Tamils culture as a Dravidian culture.

The newly emerged Tamil racist parties have been using the term ‘Tamil Nationalism’ to identify themselves as Tamil Nationalists. Usually, the term ‘Nationalism’ referred to the self-governance of full sovereignty of a nation. Contrasting to the standard definitions, the Tamil racist parties have been describing
the Tamil Nationalism as, “In accordance with the Constitution of India, bringing the state’s political power to the control of Tamils from non-Tamils.” In fact, their emotional and fancy arguments have expressed utopian Tamil Nationalist ideology. Especially, NTK has been penetrating this type of utopian Tamil Nationalism among the newly emerging Tamil youths. Except for certain smaller groups, the Tamil racists have accepting that ideology and giving their support to the party. In 2016 for the first time in Tamil Nadu politics, NTK, a newly emerged Tamil racist party, has contested the state legislative assembly election in all the constituencies. In addition, some small and unpopular Tamil racist political parties have contested in some constituencies as a federation form. Despite these parties failure in the election, the Tamil racist thoughts have been emerged as the key force in determining the success and failure of the election. By rejecting the utopian Tamil Nationalism, some Tamil racist movements like TTP, TTMK, TK and others have been proposing the separate Tamil Nadu intended to achieve the sovereign Tamil country. Some independent Tamil racist groups are supporting them.

From the heat arguments of the Tamil racists in the social networks, the researcher has observed that the non-Tamils have developed the modern Dravidianism through much diplomacy to keep their existence and domination in Tamils land. In view of that, they have ensured their fitness for the survival. Before 1920, the Brahmins dominated in all the sectors in Madras Presidency by developing their academic qualifications and keeping a good relationship with the British government. When the provincial election introduced in Madras Presidency, the Congress party was under the domination of Brahmins. Against the Brahminical domination, the other non-Tamils belonged to the Telugu, Kannadiga and Malayalee communities have started the Justice party and defeated the Brahminical dominated Congress Party
through their anti-Brahminical campaigns by saying that the Brahmins are not Tamils. During this time, the minority non-Tamil Brahmins have stood in the opposite row of the non-Tamils like Telugus, Kannadigas and Malayalees. Hence, the non-Tamils like Telugus, Kannadigas and Malayalees have easily defeated the non-Tamil Brahmins and caught the ruling power of Tamils land. In fact, from the beginning of the 20th century itself, there was a competition among the non-Tamils to seize the ruling power of Tamils land by manipulating the native Tamils. But now, the sons of soil are standing in the opposite row of non-Tamils dominated Dravidianism. Hence, the present struggle for existence of the Dravidian non-Tamils becomes very tough. However, the newly emerged Tamil racism has been growing against all the Dravidian, Brahminical and Communist ideologies.

In 2002, to attain a sovereign Tamil country, LTTE have declared themselves to form an interim Tamil government (ISGA) in Eelam. They have established the interim government in Eelam through their long-term insurgency. At the end of the Second World War, German’s Ethnic Nationalism against the capitalist and communist internationals has defeated by the superpowers. Likewise, the real ‘Tamil Nationalism’ established by the LTTE defeated by the Sinhalese government with the support of the international powers in 2009. The researcher has identified that in order to attain the sovereign Tamil state, the Tamils’ first phase of the armed civil war in Eelam against the Sinhalese government has ended; the second phase has centralized in Tamil Nadu emerging as the Tamil racist politics. It has ensured through the present anti-Indian and anti-Dravidian sentiments, ideological conflicts and the Tamil nationalist sentiments among the youths in Tamil Nadu.
Figure 5.17: Dialectical development of this study
PART IV

5.4.1 Future of the New Dialectical

Hegel’s dialectical describes that every synthesis will become a new thesis. Accordingly, the newly emerged ‘Radical Tamil Racism’ is in the beginning stage of the transformation. The internal conflicts within the identified Tamil racist parties and movements have been emerging as sub-dialects. According to the researcher’s observation, the fulfilment of the present synthesis will be reached soon especially when the irreversible fall of the political power of Dravidian fundamentalism and the emergence of alternative politics of the two Tamil racist parties.

5.4.2 Critics in the New Synthesis

The identified Tamil racist parties and movements have different stances to accept and reject the Periyarism and the political rights of non-Tamils. Most of the newly emerged Tamil racist leaders of some parties and movements have belonged to the Dravidian pavilion and they have learnt politics from the Dravidian schools and from E.V.R’s lesions. Notably, the leaders of the Naam Tamilar Katchi, Pattali Makkal Katchi, and the Tamilaka Valvurimai Katchi parties have grown from the Dravidian pavilion. Contrasting with them, for many years and their beginning of the socio-political journey, some movements have been working on the basis of anti-Dravidian, anti-Periyarist and anti non-Tamils ideology. The Tamil Thesiya Periyakkam, Tamilar Kalam, Tamilar Varalatru Naduvar, Tamilar Munnani, Tamil Thesa Makkal Katchi, Mara Tamilar Senai, Puratchi Tamilakam – Paraiyar Peravai and the Tamil Thesiya Kudiyarasu Iyakkam are the notable movements. In addition, these parties and movements have different views on to define who are Tamils?
5.4.2.1 Analysis of the Tamil Racist Parties and Movements

Since 2009, besides the existing parties and movements, several Tamil racist parties and movements have emerged in Tamil Nadu. For this analysis, this study has focused some significant popular Tamil Based parties like Naam Tamilar Katchi, Pattali Makkal Katchi, Viduthalai Chiruthaikal Katchi and the Tamilaka Valvurimai Katchi and some popular movements like Tamil Thesiya Periyakkam, Tamilar Kalam, Tamil Thesiya Kudiyarasu Iyakkam, Tamilar Munnani, Tamilar Varalatru Naduvam, Tamil Thesa Makkal Katchi, Mara Tamilar Senai and the Puratchi Tamilakam – Paraiyar Peravai.

A) Parties

i) Naam Tamilar Katchi

The NTK is known as a popular Tamil based party emerged functioning since 2009. Since the introduction of electoral representation in British India, Naam Tamilar (We Tamils) party was started alternatively to the Dravidian socio-political ideology. A Tamil racist Si. Pa. Aditanar was the founder of Naam Tamilar party (We Tamils), but it was defeated by the diplomacy of the Non-Tamils and their Dravidianism. Almost after fifty years, Seeman, a cinema director cum activist grew in the Dravidian pavilion, has revived the party as an alternative to the Dravidian political parties in Tamil Nadu. This party was registered as a political party in 2013 after the death of Sivanthi Aditanar, the son of Si.Pa. Aditanar. This party has contested the 2016 legislative assembly election without the collusion of other national, Dravidian and Tamil racist based parties, and it was defeated by the Dravidian parties. Previously, this party supported ADMK in 2011 Tamil Nadu legislative assembly election and in the 2014 Indian Parliament election. The position
of the party’s ideology is like a cat on the wall, because of its main leaders belong to
the Dravidian pavilion and this party also followed such Dravidian diplomacies to
come to the political power and to establish their domination in the socio-political
platform in Tamil Nadu. The NTK has developed its branches across the overseas
countries and admitted NRI members from those countries.

The researcher has analyzed the activities and agendas of the party for the past
four years, it has followed some unethical behaviours and strategies of the Dravidian
parties. The following critical observations are listed below:

a) Opportunities and advertisement strategies
b) Financial motives
c) Caste annihilation policy and conspiratorial diplomacy with non-Tamils
d) Non-democratic behaviour

a) Opportunities and advertisement strategies

In Eelam issue, the NTK has established as the LTTE’s only hopeful political
party in Tamil Nadu. In some interviews, Seemaan expressed that the LTTE leader
Prabhakaran insisted him to form a political party in Tamil Nadu to strengthen the
Tamils’ political power. In addition, he stated that the party do not hold the
mechanical weapons but hold the intellect weapon to defeat the enemy of Tamils. The
NTK has rapidly developed its popularity through the social networks by utilizing the
Eelam issue and extending their continuous support to all the popular uprisings in
Tamil Nadu since 2009. Like the Dravidian parties, even the NTK has utilized the
recent popular struggle in Tamil Nadu to develop its political career. Beyond the
campaigns through the public meetings and media talks, there are no significant
operations of NTK found in the struggle fields in Tamil Nadu. But it has successfully
claimed the gain of Eelam issue and the other struggle fields in Tamil Nadu by the continuous advertisement strategy through the social networks, and that strategy was copied from the Dravidian movements.

The Dravidian fundamentalists are following some advertisement strategies through the social media and the mainstream media to keep E.V.R as a revolutionary figure in their enormous statements like:

- Without Periyar, Tamils would not have developed from the barbarian culture.
- Without Periyar, Tamils would not have got rationality.
- Without Periyar, Tamils would not have got scientific knowledge.
- Without Periyar, Tamils would have reminded as Sutras under the domination of Brahmins.

Following the same strategy, the NTK members in social media are using used the term ‘Without Seeman’. it is severely criticized by the non-NTK Tamil racists.

In fact, the NTK has initially started an alternative to the Dravidian parties; not proposed and argued about the Tamils and non-Tamils differentiations. Of course, this racist argument was raised by some Tamil racist movements and groups of Tamil activists.

b) Financial motives

Like the May 17 movement, the NTK has utilized the social networks as a media to gain popularity and raise funds, especially from the Diaspora Tamils. Several members of NTK have received money from the Diaspora Tamils with and without the knowledge of the headquarters of the party. Since the students uprising, the Diaspora Eelam Tamils’ attention turned towards the Tamil Nadu politics. They
have voluntarily given money to the Tamil and non-Tamil activists in Tamil Nadu who are supporting and talking about the justice for the Eelam Tamils genocide and free Tamil Eelam. NTK members are connecting themselves to the Diaspora Tamils through the social network and creating a relationship and then they abuse them by demand money in the name of supporting Eelam.

During the 2016 legislative assembly election in Tamil Nadu, the party received a huge amount of funds from its overseas branch members and the Diaspora Tamils. Beyond that, the members of the NTK in each and every constituency have received the uncountable and unpredictable level of the amount from the Diaspora Tamils. After the election result, it has created a severe criticism among the Tamil activists and it has led to influx the number of members from the party. After this criticism, the independent Tamil activists have withdrawn their supports provided to the NTK.

c) Diplomacy to keep the relationship with non-Tamils

After the 2016 election, some Tamil activists have accused that the NTK has nominated a number of non-Tamils as its contestants by hiding their caste identity. Subsequently, NTK has openly declared its caste annihilation policy by its second stage leaders via the social media. In addition, its second stage leaders Packiyarasan and Mani Senthil have openly declared that the party does not need the support of the independent Tamil activists who are supporting the caste expressions. These incidents have led to raising several criticisms against the NTKs and its entire conspiratorial operations and strategies to keep the non-Tamils existence and indirect dominations in the Tamil Nadu politics. In the social networks, some independent Tamil activists have advocated that several district leaders in NTK belong to the non-Tamils
communities. Despite the severe criticisms have been raised, NTK has denied expressing the caste information of its contestants and district wise leader. In its action plan, it has described Tamils as “Who have Tamil as their mother tongue and livelihood language.” In order to divert and dilute the criticisms, the second line leaders have indicated that description to justify the party’s diplomacy.

e) Non-democratic behaviour

As a result of these criticisms made by the independent Tamil activists, NTK’s credibility has gradually begun to dwindle among the Diaspora Tamils and it resulted in the decline of economic assistance from the Diaspora Tamils. Due to the depression, a mission has been made by the NTK members aimed to exterminate the criticizers. According to the mission, a group of NTK members in social media have tried to control the criticizers by using several unwelcome speeches and bad words. Moreover, the mission has led to increasing the negativism among the Tamil activists in social networks. Finally, Packiyarasan and Mani Senthil, the second line leaders of the party have openly declared that, “only the members of NTK has the right to questioned about the operations and policies of the party, other supporters and Tamils activists who were voted the party in 2016 election have not any right to question its policy and operations, and the party is not willing to answer the criticisms and questions raised by the non-party members”. Some significant criticisms and accusations raised by the independent Tamil activists in social networks are given below:

- NTK’s leader Seeman’s wife partially belongs to the non-Tamils category.
- Seeman stated several controversial statements before the media regarding the view of the founder of modern Dravidianism E.V.R and the view about the Tamils and non-Tamils.
- NTK is trying to identify the non-Tamils as Tamils with several strategies.
- In a session of the Permanent People Tribunal at Dublin, Paul Newman, a human rights activist has submitted a report on the human rights violation perpetrated by the military in the Eelam War IV. In this report, he has submitted some allegations against the LTTE. Subsequently, he joined the NTK and became as an international spokesperson of the party. Paul Newman’s submissions against the LTTE and the inclusion of Paul Newman in the NTK have severely criticized by the Tamil activists.

The researcher has identified that the NTK has successfully maintained some diplomacy to keep its existing paradoxical political trend by manipulating the issue of Tamils and non-Tamils. Because of it is the only In fact, due to the inability, the Tamil activists and the newly emerged Tamil racist groups have supported NTK during the 2016 legislative assembly election. Since the election, they are openly criticizing and opposing the NTK. Moreover, some Tamil activists have stated that the NTK is not the actual solution for the present crisis of Tamils and it cannot protect the Tamils and the Tamils’ sovereignty and it is acting as the pure Tamil racist party aiming to claim the support from the Tamil people by utilizing their emotions. According to the observations of the researcher, Seeman’s operations and stances have also viewed with suspicion as he can follow some diplomacy to the caught the political power of the state by manipulating some indirect psychological and legal repressions from the opposite actors presently dominated the socio-political platforms in Tamil Nadu. However, through the observations and analysis of this study, the
NTK is growing as an evolved version of the Dravidian parties and it is travelling on the same track of the Dravidian parties.

ii) Pattali Makkal Katchi

The PMK is a significant party has stood in the row of second-line mainstream parties in Tamil Nadu. It has identified as the party of Vanniyars. PMK has never talked about the Tamil national politics and the emerging Tamil national sentiments. But it has been promoting the cultural values of Tamils through its mass media. In addition, this party has been frequently talking about the corruption free Tamil Nadu and Eelam issues in its media channel ‘Makkal Tholaikkatchi’. In social media, few of the PMK members have expressed that the Vanniyars are the Kshatriyas. The term Kshatriyas is referred to the ruling and military elite ranking next to the Brahmins and it was classified by the Hindu social order, Varnashrama. Thus, they have identified themselves as the supporters of Aryans. Accordingly, they are separating themselves from the newly emerged Tamil racist politics. Two notable militant Tamil racists, Veerappan and Thamilarasan have belonged to the Vanniyar caste. When the Tamil nationalist sentiments surged in Tamil Nadu, some PMK party members are using the militants’ revolutionary symbols to promote their political image.

However, PMK is the most intellectual party and it has taken many legal actions to solve some serious problems of the Tamil society such as Liquor, corruption and etc. Without any coalition, this party has also contested the 2016 election in Tamil Nadu and it got 5.32% votes. Accordingly, this party has become as the 5th big party of the Tamil Nadu. The researcher observed that except the caste labelling and the support of Periyarism, PMK has not faced any other significant criticism from the Tamil activists.
iii) Viduthalai Chiruthaikal Katchi and Tamilaka Valvurimai Katchi

VCK is another second-line mainstream party in Tamil Nadu and it has identified as the party of Parayas. This party is completely following the Dravidian principals and EVRs ideas. It is standing in the row of Dalit empowerment politics. VCK has often allianced with the Dravidian parties in all the elections.

Another Tamil based party TVK is also following the EVR’s principles. But its contributions to the recent struggles in Tamil Nadu are notable. Like NTK, this party has stood with protesters in all the struggles. The Tamil racists are being insisted the VCK and the TVK to come to the path of Tamil national politics.

B) Movements

i) Tamil Thesiya Periyakkam

TTP is a most popular Tamil racist movement in Tamil Nadu has rooted in Tanjore region. Its leader Maniyarasan belongs to the Idaiyars caste. This movement has previously operated in the name of TTPK. For the last 25 years, it has been demanding a separate Tamil Nadu. Since 2009, this party has played a vital role to escalate the Tamil racist argument in Tamil Nadu. This movement is being published several articles regarding the self-sovereignty and political liberation of Tamils.

ii) Tamilar Kalam

Another significant and pure Tamil racist movement is Tamilar Kalam. Its premier organizer Arima Valavan belongs to the Parathava caste. More than twenty years, it has been campaigning against the non-Tamils domination in the socio-political platforms of Tamil Nadu. Moreover, this movement did not make any
compromises with the non-Tamils and the Dravidian fundamentalists. The researcher has identified that this is the prime movement insisting that the Tamils can be identified only by their caste identity. Guna, a famous Tamil racist cum writer belongs to the Paraiyar caste has been fueling some ideologies to this movement.

iii) Tamil Thesa Makkal Katchi

Members of this movement are the followers of Tamilarasan and it is operating as a pure Tamil racist movement headed by Senthamil Kumaran belongs to the Vanniyar Caste. Due to the defeat of Tamilarasan and his militant operations, this movement has been struggling for the independent political sovereignty of Tamils through non-violent approaches.

iv) Tamilar Varalatru Naduvam

Another significant newly emerged Tamil racist movement is TVN. It has identified as a Mallar based movement. It is trying to reveal the real history of Tamils. This movement has been conducting several types of historical research about Pandyas and published some books relating to the history of Tamils. This movement has initially gained popularity through two significant protests against the non-Tamils domination in Tamil Nadu. It is notable that on 14.01.2015, this movement has conducted a siege against the Pongal celebration of the Dravidar Kalakam as in the name of Dravidar Pongal at Periyar Thidal, Chennai. Selva Kumar, leader of this movement has accused that the non-Tamils are trying to distort the identity and the traditional values of Tamils. Another notable event of this movement is the demonstrations against the non-Tamils domination in Tamil film industry. On 11th April 2015, it has conducted a one-day mass demonstration regarding the issue at Chennai.
v) Tamilar Munnani

This Tamil racist movement emerged since the Eelam Tamils genocide issue. Its one of the famous coordinator Saravanan belongs to the Pillai caste. The movement is rooted in Tanjore. This movement has conducted several demonstrations regarding the issues of Tamils.

vi) Mara Tamilar Senai

It is a Maravar caste based movement and its leader Puthu Malar Prabhakaran belongs to the Maravar caste. It is also a pure Tamil racist movement emerged since 2009 and rooted from Ramnad.

vii) Tamil Thesiya Kudiyarasu Iyakkam

This movement has headed by a Tamil activist Tamil Mani belongs to the Kammalar caste. It has been operating as a Tamil racist movement rooted in north Tamil Nadu. It was a part of the Tamil National Federation, formed during the 2016 general election of Tamil Nadu. This federation has contested one constituency during the election.

viii) Puratchi Tamilakam – Paraiyar Peravai

This movement has split from VCK and standing in the opposite row of non-Tamils. Moorthy belongs to the Paraiyars caste is the leader of this movement. It is noted that this movement has been demonstrating against the historical distortion of the history of Ketti Pommu, a Palayakar appointed under the Nayaks regime. Moorthy stated that the Ketti Pommu has belonged to a Telugu community, but the Telugu historians have intentionally identified him as Pandya (Veera Pandya Katta Pomman).
Because of his attempt to reveal the real history of Ketti Pommu, he has faced several oppositions from the Telugu people settled in Madurai region during the Nayaks regime.

Since the 2016 legislative election of Tamil Nadu, Naam Tamilar party has wide range criticisms among the independent Tamil racists regarding the financial disputes, anti-democratic behaviour, autocratic and selfish moves of the second stage leaders, fan attitude of the party members, leaders’ antagonism and the diplomatic relation of the party leaders with the non-Tamils elites. In addition, the Tamil racists have been criticizing that the Naam Tamilar party is creating a way for the non-Tamils to keep their existing status in Tamil Nadu under the shadow of Tamil Nationalism. Moreover, the Tamil activists have been insisting the necessity for a new alternate and pure Tamil-racist political party.

Some Tamil activists have advocated that for the welfare of the Tamils, the PMK, VCK and TVK should become the pure Tamil racist parties. But the PMK members’ self-identification of the Vanniyars as the Kshatriyas and the VCK members’ self-identification of the Parayars as the Dalits (Sutras) have been despairing the demands of the independent Tamil activists. It is notable that the TVK members have indirectly identified themselves as the followers of the Periyarism.

However, the recent racial upsurges in Tamil Nadu socio-political platform have actually fueled by the continuous operations and campaigns of some long-term movements such as TTP, TK and some other movements including the militant movement Tamil National Liberation Army (TNLA). The present mass struggles and the following socio-political conflicts in Tamil Nadu since 2009 are considering as the stimulants or catalysts of the present racial surges and the anti-Dravidian ideology.
According to the observations from the past dialectical history of Tamil Nadu, the non-political movements have played a vital role to make a bridge connection between the political parties and the people. For example, in order to oppose the government and stand with the protesters, the mainstream Dravidian parties have some legal limitations. But the unregistered movements have no limitations. Actually, the movements are gaining people's support for the mainstream parties. Likewise, the researcher has observed that the newly evolved and emerged Tamil racist movements and groups are operating as to fill the gap between the newly emerged Tamil racist parties and the people. Meanwhile, the disappointments on the above mentioned Tamil based parties are stimulating the above mentioned Tamil racist movements to change their path into the vote bank politics.

5.4.3 Critics in the Emerging Tamil Racist Politics

Some newly emerged Tamil racists groups are advocating as the non-Tamils should be excluded from all the sects of the Tamil Nadu politics and state administration. Some of the activists have stated that although the political rights of Tamils should be recovered from non-Tamils, the settled non-Tamils socio-political rights in Tamil Nadu must be protected. In addition, the present conflicts in Tamil Nadu are not only developed by the Non-Tamils diplomacy. The opportunists, petty selfish bourgeois and procrastinators belonged to the Tamil Communities are also responsible for this situation. Moreover, the recent globalized economic policies and the mercantilism have created a variety of regional, state and local level petty bourgeois or small capitalists in all the globalized societies, especially in the developing nations. To destruct the Tamils’ unique sovereignty and to exploit the natural resources of Tamil soil, these opportunists and the petty bourgeois
belonging to the Tamil communities are also assisting to the non-Tamils and the multi-national corporates.

It is notable that many Diaspora Tamils have got some political and administrative level representations in their respective settled countries across the world. Likewise, the non-Tamils who settled in Tamil Nadu for some hundred years, have the rights to take part in the political and social platform. Based on their demographic representation, their fundamental rights including the political and employment rights should be provided for them.

Some Eelam Tamils have stated that in Eelam, even many Sinhalese have voiced the right to self-determination of Tamils. Likewise in Tamil Nadu, many of the non-Tamils are giving their voice to the political sovereignty and self-determination of Tamils. During the data collection in the struggle fields, the researcher has identified such expressions of non-Tamils. Some independent Tamil activists have advocated that there is no problem when non-Tamils express themselves with their own racial and linguistic identity; the problem is that they are hiding their own ethnic identity and trying to grab the political and social rights and power of Tamils.

The researcher has observed that the most of the newly emerged Tamil racist parties and movements are proposed their racist political idea with the understandings on such contradictions existing in Tamil Nadu. But some movements and some individual Tamil racist groups place their racism ahead without such understandings. However, the researcher has observed that all the newly emerged Tamil racist political parties and movements are advancing their racial politics by avoiding to gain sufficient knowledge of the mainstream international political dialectical.
PART V

5.5 Analysis with Marx’s Class Theory

In his materialistic view, Marx has initially described two classes in his manifesto. Later, he has extended his description with three classes in his third volume of Capital. Based on the labour-capital relations and land ownership, he has advocated three classes such as bourgeois, proletariat and petty bourgeois (transitional class). The researcher has observed that it cannot be considered as the Marx’s materialist idea is the absolute reason for the subsequent success in the establishment of Communist governments. Of course, the Great Russian Communist revolution was not succeeded only by the industrial labour unions; it was succeeded through the immense contribution of peasants.

In fact, Marx’s materialism does not fit all kinds of conflicts. According to the dialectical model of Hegel, his materialist view is also questionable. Hegel has already described the two opposite sides of the each dialectical. It is widely accepted that all conflicts have two major opposing forces and also they have at least one intermediate force. In order to spread their democratic policy, the capitalist powers have used the NGOs to overthrow the existing communist governments in Indonesia, Philippines and some African countries by some mass revolutions. It is already discussed in the second chapter of this work. In this study, the researcher has found two kinds of intermediate forces like as follows:

a) Agents of the ruling class (for the government) (Knowingly or unknowingly)

b) Supporters of the ruled class (for the protesters) (Consciously and honestly)
In this study, the ruling (Global powers and state mechanisms) and ruled classes (Independent struggle movements and common people) are identified as the two major forces, and the political parties, non-political movements and NGOs are considered as the intermediate forces. Apart from the official negotiating forces, these types of voluntary intermediate forces are identified as the main deciding factors to the success and failure of the protests. The relationships between these classes are described in the following figure:

![Diagram](image)

**Figure 5.18: Relations between the ruling class–intermediate forces–ruled class**

### 5.5.1 Agents of the ruling class

The anti-nuclear, anti-methane and students uprising have great mobilizations. But these struggles are ended in failure. The agents are also a significant part of these unsuccessful struggles. The agents have voluntarily supported the protesters, convinced the protesters, established their existence in the struggles and gradually weaken the struggles by their misleading ideas and suggestions, and finally, they have successfully controlled the severity of the struggle, then they have left from the struggle. The researcher is suspecting that it is a pre-planned and pre-structured
operation assigned by the state actors or project authorities. This process is identified as a counter-protest strategy. According to the depth observations of the struggles, the systematic process is given below:

- Release the condemnation notes (Via press meet or others).
- Meet the protesters and give their support.
- Deliver motivational and intellectual lectures among the protesters.
- Contribute the Protest and create a rapport with the protesters.
- Suggest a long-term non-violence protest.
- Suggest a federation form of organizing committee.
- Intervene or influence the organizing committee.
- Penetrate their ideas to dilute the severity of the protest.
  (like divide and rule strategy)
- Mislead the protesters.
- Collapse the protesters moral and make unwanted fear among them.
  (by some precautionary model threats and warnings)
- Weaken the protest and create a situation for successful repression.
- Conduct one-day demonstration against the repression.
- Withdraw their participation.
- Withdraw their attention and focus the next struggle.

This counter-protest strategy starts with the ‘Trust Making’ policy, develops with ‘Decimation of willpower’ and ends with ‘Treachery’.

During the colonial era, several Tamils were exported as slaves and coolies to the coffee, rubber and tea estates and other industries located in the British controlled countries. In order to export the Tamil workers, the Kangais have acted as the agents
of Britishers. The term Kanganis is referred to the recruiting agents. According to the class system, the Kanganis are the transitional class. In this study, the Kanganis considered as the intermediate class. A report stated that the Kanganis belonged to some British friendly castes which are presently referred as the dominant castes in Tamil Nadu. Moreover, the Kanganis have taken the responsibility for the arrangement of coolie workers. Likewise, in the struggles, the agents have taken the responsibility to dilute the severity of the protest.

MKIK in the anti-nuclear protest and the May 17, the Communist parties and MDMK in the students uprising have mostly criticized by some Tamil activists as Kanganis or sleeper agents of the government and its corporate bodies. Since 2014, in social networks, V. Gopalsamy is the most criticized person as a sleeper agent. Regarding the criticisms against V. Gopalsamy, a number of cartoons have been posting on the social networks and the mainstream magazines. The below cartoon has criticized the V. Gopalsamy’s opportunistic double role in the support of the anti-nuclear protest and the parallel alliance with BJP.


Figure 5.19: Cartoon criticizing the MDMK General Secretary V. Gopalsamy’s opportunist politics
Since the student’s uprising, the Tamil activists have been criticizing the May 17 movement as the agent of the Indian Secret Organization. After the release of Umar’s article, the criticism has escalated among the Tamil activists. The researcher has observed that the May 17 movement has contributed many struggles and those struggles are ended in failure. Most importantly, the leaderships of the MDMK and the May 17 movement belong to the non-Tamil communities. It has revealed by the Tamil activists. Moreover, the Tamil activists have been criticizing that the leaders of the MDMK and the May 17 movement are trying to dilute and destruct the spontaneous people surge of Tamils. The researcher has also observed that the MDMK and the May 17 movement have some hidden agendas likely to restrain the emergence of new Tamil leaderships from the mass struggles. It is already discussed that the mainstream Dravidian parties are almost lost their credibility among the Tamils. In order to keep the Dravidian ideology and the Periyarism, the leaderships of the MDMK and the May 17 movement have been using several diplomacies in the struggle fields aiming to destruct the willpower of the Tamils.

5.5.2 Supporters of the ruled class

In most of the struggles, some parties, movements and temporary groups have voluntarily supported the protestors without any intention, gain and opportunism. These supporters have usually avoided the interference in the decisions of the struggle committees. These types of supporters have vastly identified in the Mullai Periyaru struggle. Generally, they have not expressed their identities. Usually, these supporters have been standing in the row of criticizers to criticizing the opportunists in the struggles.
5.5.3 Roll of the Agents in the Defeat of the Struggle

Excluding the Mullai Periyaru issue, by using the intermediate forces, the researcher has observed a strategy to defeat the struggles emerging against the structural adjustment policies. Prior or beginning or the ongoing mass protests, these intermediate forces have been its legal and protest initiatives and successfully got some interim remedies. By the interim remedies, the protests have been postponed and the spontaneous uprisings of the people have been diluted.

This counter-protest strategy is often three phases. In the first phase of the strategy, due to the legal approaches of the voluntary organizations and the interim order of the judiciary, the government is temporarily retreating its decision in favour of the protestors. In the second phase, the protest is postponed due to the interim decisions. In the third phase, the final decision is made by the judiciary in favour of the project. Based on the decision, the government and its corporate companies are attempting to re-implement the project. During this re-attempt, the voluntary organizations are nominally raising their voices. The researcher observed that in all the struggles, the mass upsurge does not happen again against the final decision rather than the first uprising during the beginning of the project. Misleading and postponing are the main keys to this counter-protest strategy. According to the observation of the researcher, the multi-stages of the counter-protest strategy are as follows:
Figure 5.20: Stages of the counter protest strategy

Through all the struggle fields upsurged against the development projects, the researcher has analyzed the counter-protest strategy via the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Struggles</th>
<th>First Phase Stages</th>
<th>Second Phase Stages</th>
<th>Third Phase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1  2  3  4  5  6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8  9  10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-Nuclear</td>
<td>✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔</td>
<td>✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔</td>
<td>✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-Methane</td>
<td>✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔</td>
<td>✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔</td>
<td>✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-gas pipeline</td>
<td>✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔</td>
<td>✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔</td>
<td>✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-Neutrino</td>
<td>✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔</td>
<td>✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔</td>
<td>✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔ ✔</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.21: Analyzation of the counter protest strategy with the struggles
According to the above table, the researcher has found some gradual evolutionary counter protest strategies from the anti-nuclear to the anti-neutrino struggles in Tamil Nadu. Depending upon the results of each subsequent struggle, this study has described the evolutionary strategy by four levels like as follows:

Figure 5.22: Implementation level of the counter protest strategy in the successive struggles

The figure is described that the anti-nuclear and the anti-methane protests have controlled after a mass surge and the following interventions of the voluntary organizations. From the lessons of the protests, the following anti-pipeline protest has controlled after a small level peasant surge and sudden intervention of the voluntary organizations. Finally, the anti-neutrino protest has controlled before the surge by the advanced interventions of the voluntary organizations and its campaigns and legal actions. It is already discussed that the students uprising has also defeated by the intermediate forces. This analysis is proved that in the struggle fields, the voluntary organizations like the political parties, non-political movements and NGOs have acted as the agents of the government or its corporate bodies to control the surge or severity of the surge and make free way to implement the projects.
According to the above analyzations, like Kanganis, the agents are taking full responsibility to control and defeat the protest. In order to keep the existing democratic socio-political order, besides the ruling and ruled class, the agents are becoming as the considerable class. Moreover, in the democratic order, the ruling class is using the agents as an alternative to the legal forces to control the mass struggles intending to avoid some severe brutal repressions, unwanted criticism and aversion among the ruled class. In simple terms, the legally established forces are the official forces of the ruling class to control the oppositions through brutal repressions. But the agents or Kanganis are the unofficial forces of the ruling class to control the oppositions through some soft repressions implemented by the treacherous strategy.

Suitable for the evolution of capitalism and its imperial strategies, the pattern of this agent has gradually evolved in the socio-political platform. Because the capitalism is not only focused the economic supremacy; it is focusing the ruling power of the society. In fact, the economy has only used as a tool of the capitalism.

Moreover, this study has observed that in the context of resistance and counter-resistance of the ruled class and ruling class respectively, the hierarchy of the present socio-political order is completely identical with the estate system of the pre-revolutionary French. From the French Revolution to today, the dominant capitalist class has been keeping its existence throughout the global societies by not only its gradual evolution and also guiding to the evolution of its subsidiary bodies.

The researcher has observed that the evolution of the capitalism has developed through the lessons of the social evolution theories like the social Darwinism. Moreover, the capitalist evolutions have succeeded through some diplomatic
strategies, pre-structured long-term policies, in-depth studies of the evolving society and development of science and technology.

![Diagram of class hierarchies](image)

**Figure 5.23: Comparison of the hierarchies**

### 5.5.4 Diplomacy of the political parties

In this study, the above discussions regarding the class theory are based on the criticisms of the Tamil activists and the analytical consequences of the field study. However, the researcher has directly found some diplomacy of the intermediate forces in the struggle fields. These observed diplomatic moves of the intermediate forces are the main factors of the failure of the struggles. The Tamil activists have accused that the intermediate forces are the agents of the government and its corporate bodies. Besides this criticism, the researcher has observed that the intermediate forces have some opportunistic inner motives. The motives are following:

- To establish their identity
- To establish their domination and influence in the struggle
- To reap the political benefit of the struggle
➢ To prevent the emergence of new political leadership or popular political movement from the struggles

➢ To keep away the other political parties and movements from the struggles

Almost all the movements, parties and other voluntary organizations pointed out in this study have such intentions aiming to develop themselves as a popular movement, party and organization. It is noted that the Justice party has developed its popularity through the anti-Brahminical agitations and the DMK has gained its popularity through the anti-Hindi agitation. Likewise, the movements, parties and other organizations have competed for each other to gain popularity through the struggles. In fact, these opportunistic competitions between have led all the struggles to failure.