

DIALECTICS OF DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF THE LEGACY OF  
AMBEDKAR IN THE STATE OF TAMIL NADU

**Dr. M. Kennedy Stephensen Vaseekaran<sup>1\*</sup>**

*<sup>1</sup>Associate Professor Department of Politics and Public Administration University of Madras Chepauk Chennai - 600005*

**\*Corresponding Author:-**

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**Abstract:-**

*Anyone who have fair knowledge about the politics of Tamil nadu and also the national politics would presumably understand the vision and mission of Dr. Ambedkar. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, whether Dr. Ambedkar's vision has any relevance and in particularly, the question of development from the stand point of liberalist framework, one need to look deep into Ar.Ambedkar's vision for India's development. In nutshell Dr. Ambedkar has not only an eye opener to India but to other nations as well. That makes Dr. Ambedkar universal, which many contest on the grounds of narrow framework of social network theories. However, I would like to dwell upon the issues in development since the independence in India as far as the " dalits" are concerned, particularly, with case study from the state of Tamil nadu.*

## INTRODUCTION:

The state of Tamil Nadu was the first state in India to bring out a Communal Government Order (GO) as early as 1921, by the Justice party government to reserve seats in government employment. The Government of India Act, 1921, has stipulated that the government (elected part of the diarchy system) should represent the population it rules. However, the scheme of things were not fair and the Justice party has appealed to the British regime, demanded reservation of seats in electoral constituencies as well as in the public employment. The Justice party could not be successful in achieving reservation of seats in electoral constituencies, but, it was successful in contesting in elections and formed the government and later bringing out the Communal GO, which provided reservation for the Non-Brahmins and depressed classes as well as other communities. Dr. Ambedkar's vision of India after independence could not be said to be fully accepted or realized even in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The case of Tamil Nadu is taken from the liberal framework to carefully avoid cultural framework (varnasara dharma) to realize freedom from unnecessary burden of addressing questions of "higher castes" Vs. "Lower castes" syndrome. In my talk I would like to dwell upon the subject from the stand point of the Dalits are one such communities among the non-dalits contesting for power, position and other rights.

Dr. BhimRao Ramji Ambedkar, was born on 14<sup>th</sup> April, 1891, and after his schooling and he earned Doctorates (Ph.D) from Columbia University, and London School of Economics respectively. In 1956 Dr. Ambedkar embraced Buddhism and he passed away on 6 December, 1956. In the year 1990, Dr. Ambedkar was posthumously awarded Bharat Ratna Award. Dr. Ambedkar's original name "Ambavadekar" derived from his native village "Ambavade" in Ratnagiri district of Maharashtra. It is his school teacher gave surname "Ambedkar" to Dr. Ambedkar his (teacher's) surname "Ambedkar". Ambedkar publically condemned the classic Hindu Text, "Manusmriti". He also opposed Art. 370 of the Constitution of India. Dr. Ambedkar rejected the Aryan invasion theory. He believed that Aryan home land was India itself. According to Dr. Ambedkar, the Rig Veda says Aryans, "Dasa" and "Dasyas" were competing religious groups, not different people. Dr. Ambedkar, during long career as lawyer, social activist, political leader show us that, in 1935, he was principal of Government Law College, Bombay, and he was also held the position of Chairman, Governing body, Ramjas College, University of Delhi. In 1936, Dr. Ambedkar founded Independent Labour Party, and in 1937 elections to Central Legislative Assembly, the Independent Labour Party contested in 13 reserved constituencies and 4 general constituencies out of which, it secured 11 and 3 seats respectively. In 1936, Dr. Ambedkar published the book "Annihilation of castes" and at the same year, he was also member of Defense Advisory committee and also in the Viceroy's Executive Council as "Minister for Labour". Dr. Ambedkar, was critical of Islamic practice of degrading women in South Asia. He condemned Child marriage and mistreatment of women in Muslim society. Dr. Ambedkar was elected to the Constituent Assembly of Bengal. In 1947, in the interim government headed by Jawaharlal Nehru, he was appointed as Law Minister. On 29<sup>th</sup> August, 1947, he was nominated as the Chairman of the Drafting committee of the Constitution of India. Dr. Ambedkar argued for extensive economic and social rights for women, and won Assembly's support for introducing a system of reservation of jobs in the civil services, schools, and colleges for the members of Scheduled Castes, scheduled Tribes and Other Backward classed a system akin to affirmative action. In 1952, first general elections, he was defeated in Bombay North constituency. Later he was appointed as member of Rajya Sabha. The main planks of Dr. Ambedkar were: He supported the Uniform Civil Code; he advocated that investment in agriculture should increase and it should be declared as the primary industry of India; he opposed income tax for low income groups; the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) was created on the basis of ideas that Dr. Ambedkar presented to the Hilton Young Commission.

The relationship between Dr. Ambedkar and Tamil Nadu need to be looked into from the historical records. K.V. Ramakrishna Rao (RamaKrishna Rao, 2001) in his article, "Historical Meeting of Ambedkar, Jinnah, and Periyar E.V.R.", notes that Dr. Ambedkar met Periyar, three times on 04-1940, 7-04-1940, and 8-04-1940 and at Madras on 29-09-1944 and also in Rangoon, on 3-12-1954. He notes that the Non-Brahmin movements started in different parts of India in early 1920s particularly south have created impetus among certain non-brahmin muslim leaders and ideologies to forge an alliance among them. The Justice party initially started for the welfare and in the interests of the non-brahmins, started turning against Hindus, definitely with the ideology of EVR. Incidentally most of the Justice party leaders resented Periyar's anti-Hindu tirade with his open support for Muslim cause. EVR made the demand for Dravida Nadu in his presidential address at the 14<sup>th</sup> Confederation of SILF on December 1938. He met Sir Stafford Cripps and put forward the demand of Dravidanad in 1939. The persons met Cripps included Sir Muthaiah Chettiar, N.S. Samiappa Mudhaliar, and W.P.A. Soundara Nadar. Resolution was passed to that effect in 1940. Periyar E.V.R. has left for Bombay in 1940 following invitation of the non-brahmin citizens of Bombay, namely, Justice T.A. V. Nathan, P. Balasubramanian, Editor, Sunday Observer, C.A. Annadurai, General Secretary, Justice party, T.P.S. Ponnappan, C. Pajatcharam. The Periyar E.V.R. and Dr. Ambedkar, and Jinnah met and discussed many issues including, possibility of creating a non-brahmin opposition group within Congress, urging the Muslims, scheduled castes, and non-brahmins to leave the Congress and join non-brahmin parties, joint action by parties opposed to Congress, anti-Hindi agitation, embarrassing Congress and Congress leaders by all means, Muslims, non-brahmins and depressed classes working together, demand for separate state for Mahars, Muslims and Dravidanadu, representing to British Government accordingly. During the meeting they also agreed that Jinnah and Ambedkar would tour Tamil districts for a month in April or May, 1940. And support for the demand for Dravidanad. (as announced by A. Ponnambalam). In fact Ambedkar, in his book on Pakistan analyzed the possibility of the conversion of all Muslims to Hinduism to solve the Muslim problems. Periyar E.V.R. first met Ambedkar at Bombay on 6-4-1940, 7-4-1940, and in 8-4-1940. They discussed about the creation of separate states for Muslims, Hindus, Depressed classes, and Dravidians. Dr. Ambedkar met Periyar E.V.R. at Madras on 21-09-1944, when he came there officially as a member of Viceroy Council. At the time, there were two groups in Justice party and one was opposed to EVR.

Therefore Dr. Ambedkar's visits to Tamil Nadu were for a short span of time, but the fruits of Dr. Ambedkar's long struggle namely the need for reservation in public employments and in M.P and MLA constituencies were better realized in practice. The first amendment to the Constitution of India and other related amendments given to the effect of the reservation has established a system of reservation for the SCs, STs and the OBCs. The commitments on the part of the political parties in Tamil Nadu DMK and the AIADMK and the leaders of these political parties could be realized in practice the number and range of the welfare programmes implemented for the welfare of the SCs, STs, and OBCs. In the dialectics of the development in Tamil Nadu in the past five decades, we have witnessed the polarization of communities who are backward and oppressed for a long time. The one group enjoy utmost benefits and also utmost oppression in the process is "Dalits". The Constitutional guarantees and the resultant benefits, Judicial processes all have combined and intertwined, to give one result for the dalits in Tamil Nadu that oppression. The other group which involve in various forms and varieties of the oppression starting from symbolical, psychological, social, material and finally massacre are so numerous, I would prefer to call it "non dalits". The Constitution of India prohibits the exposition and expression of the conflicts social or political in the social or public discourses. Many political parties and social groups started with the objective of protecting dalits or non-dalits bearing the name of the caste group, later, when they aspire in to electoral politics changed the nomenclature of the groups to appear to inclusive of the all communities. I would like to dwell upon the subject from the liberal framework rather than cultural framework. The liberal framework allow us to discuss the problems of dalits or dialectics of development in Tamil Nadu more thoroughly than the cultural framework of Varnashna Dharma. The categorization of "upper castes" and lower castes" put any researcher in explaining the actual status of the Dalits and non-dalits difficult, and also the relationship between the dalits and non-dalits vice versa problematic. The position of dalits are well explained in the Constitution and other related legal instruments. The recognition of legal position of dalits by the non-dalits is problematic. The liberal framework entice further discussion and debate instead of locking the arguments with in the dichotomous framework of "upper castes" and lower Castes". Hence I would like to discuss the dialectics of the development, the case of the dalits and non-dalits in the liberal framework.

Politics of appeasing weaker sections of society by the political parties in the context of the electoral politics is normal and taken as one of the requirements of democratic mass politics.

But critiques of the system claim it to be "populism", Populist politics, Passive revolution etc. the main argument of this paper is to highlight the appeasement politics of the DMK and the AIADMK which are the parties contested and came to hold the mantle of the power over 40 years in the state of Tamil Nadu since 1967. However the other actors like the Indian national Congress, communists, and other smaller parties which now and then put up their candidates in elections and get some marginal wins and functioning as a pressure groups also played a role in the shaping the major political parties' stand on weaker sections of the society. Tamil Nadu since its formation as a separate linguistic state in 1956 from earlier 'Madras province' and 'Madras presidency' and also as 'Madras state', has assumed the role of the custodian of the citizens rights and their livelihood. The Constitution of India has provided for various rights and guarantees to the citizens and all these promises have to be met from basically state governments. Even though the Constitution has vertically divided the powers between the Union and states, in the scheme of things, it is the states which have been given more responsibilities and the Union government as the custodian of rights in emergencies. The emergency powers vested with Union government clearly show us that the Union government is the custodian of the citizens rights in time of crisis and also in times of over doing by the states. In sum, the legal position provided to the Union government bestowed the central government more as the custodian of the states and the states in turn as the custodian of the people. When and where the states fail the Union government has to fulfill the gaps by the means available to it.

But during some 67 years of working of the Constitution of India, there are new breeds of politicians sprang up at the various levels in the country. National, Regional, state, local based political parties, pressure groups and community groups occupy the political space in India. Public policy making at the state level not only have to face regional and state and local level political parties/ groups but also national level political parties and sub national level political parties as well. Appeasing weaker sections for the purposes of electoral victory/ gain, the political parties use various power structures accessible to them. Manipulation and maneuvering of the national, regional and state and local resources for the electoral victory and gains by the political leaders/ members have become syndrome which eventually become sources of corruption / corrupt practices and other issues connected with it. The state of Tamil Nadu since the conduct of the first general elections have proved to be more mature democratic society to maintain a two party system for a very long time\*(idea taken from Ramachandra Ghuha, You Tube) and the parties which enjoyed the patronage of the people in the Tamil Nadu since 1967 are the DMK and the AIADMK. The policies regarding the upliftment and ameliorating the conditions of the weaker sections of the society normally and obviously sprang up from the ruling parties. Mean while, the Government of India on their part have come out with many programmes for the weaker sections to woo the voters. Some of the programmes which are basically programme of the Government of India, been implemented by the states and make rightful claim over the programmes even they go to the extent claiming the innovating the new programmes. Union government, it is being estimated, that about 70 per of the central funds of the central ministries are routed through the state departments. Since fifth five year plan, almost, all the central schemes have strings attached to it, that is, if, at all, the states have to use the funds, they have to invest their matching grants to effectuate the programmes. Many regional and state level political parties demanding "pork Barrel" policies where the states are given the funds in bulk and they spend it according to their priorities. Central government normally do not adhered to this demand and this demand in course of the time become part of the debate on state autonomy. This paper focus on the issue of Dalits upliftment in the state of Tamil Nadu during DMK and the AIADMK. Normally the dalit upliftment is one of the perjured subject and many litigations are pending before various courts of the country. This discussion on the upliftment of the dalits has been

attempted beyond the legal and technicalities of the subject matter and being discussed on the politics of the dalit appeasement in Tamil Nadu and the resultant effects of it over a forty years.

### **A profile of the Dalits in Tamilnadu**

Out of 721.47 lakhs of the population of Tamil Nadu in 2011 (Census of India, 2011), the Scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribes constitute about 144.38 lakhs and 7.95 lakhs respectively, which is 20.01 per cent and 1.10 per cent respectively. The SC population spread over all districts of Tamil Nadu. The literacy level of SCs and STs in Tamil Nadu remain at 73.26 per cent and 54.34 percent respectively, which is not very far from the state average of 80.09 per cent<sup>2</sup>. The main contention is that whether status of dalits in Tamil Nadu registered a progressive note? Or, remained at the level of 1950s?. The DMK Which came to power in 1967 and the AIADMK which came to power in 1977 ruled the state of Tamil Nadu till to the present. Whether the policies regarding dalits formulated by these two governments made an impact on the lives of the Dalits?. If it is so? On what terms it can be evaluated or estimated? Whether the DMK and the AIADMK have any difference in the approach to the policies regarding the dalits?. If so, on what way they differ and in what way they are common?. If either of them had no difference in their approach to policies regarding dalits, whether each of the party agree to each other on dalit issues? The Dalit MLAs and MPs elected on the DMK and AIADMK party tickets worked as a pressure group with in the party for the Dalits? Or they were satisfied with their emoluments and their office? or the dalit MLAs and MPs also involve fully as an autonomous agency to “act” as other in Politics? If at all, the Dalit MLAs and MPs belonging to the DMK and the AIADMK have acted then, why there is increased violence on Dalits and two tumbler system prevailing in some parts of the Tamil Nadu?. What these dalit MLAs and dalit MPs are doing in the government? They need not resign, but they can at least stop escalation of violence. Had the bureaucracy and the Police force played an active role in dalit issues? Whether dalits have been inducted (recruited) into the bureaucracy and in the police force for the sake of protecting the SCs and STs? or protecting themselves? If they are not protecting the SCs and STs, is it because they isolate themselves from the reality of the situation? or they are prohibited from doing so by the other castes in the process?

The role of the DMK and AIADMK in shaping and manipulating policies regarding dalits in Tamil Nadu is not very clear because of the nature of the dalits policies involved, Because of the fact that the range of programmes the Union government and the Government of Tamil Nadu implementing for the dalits in the state of the Tamil Nadu is surprising. The programmes for the SCs and STs being implemented in the state of Tamil Nadu by both the Union and the states ranging from running primary schools to providing educational scholarships to SC/ST scholars pursuing Ph.D course in India as well as abroad. In addition, financial assistance to the schools and hostels run by the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) issuance of the free house site pattahs, to Adi Dravidar and Tribal families, burial ground and pathways, financial assistance to funeral rites, issuing of community certificates, select village scheme for giving financial assistance where untouchability is not practiced, . Moreover, the SC sub plan is being implemented since 1980-81, which aims at earmarking a specific portion of the state plan outlay in proportion to the population of the SCs in the state (20.01 per cent). There are 20 sectoral departments which are implementing the schemes under SCSP for the development of SCs. For the year 2017-2018, Rs.11,627.43 cr. were allocated out of the total plan outlay of Rs. 54,564.19 Cr. Similarly, the STs welfare programmes ranges from implementing Integrated Tribal Development Programme in 10 areas covering 7 districts. The Government of India allocating funds for the special central assistance to the tribal sub plan, Art. 275.(1), of the Constitution of India and scheme for particularly vulnerable tribal groups. These programmes are composed of various activities such as, supplying mulch animals, provision of foot over bridges, link roads, electrification, check dams, implementation of Scheduled Tribes and other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of forest rights) Act, 2006, comprehensive Tribal development programme, for the improvement of Katch houses road work, improvement of GTR schools, provision of drinking water facilities, establishment of Tribal Research centre and Tribal museum (OOTY), industrial training institutions, and under the Tribal sub plan which is in force since 1976-77, out of the total annual plan outlay and portion equal to that of ST population (1.10 per cent) should be allocated. There are 20 sectoral departments (35 heads) in the Government of Tamil Nadu, a sum of Rs. 607.50 cr has been allocated for 2017-2018. The Tamil Nadu Adi Dravidar Housing and Development Corporation (TAHDCO) was established as a government company under the Companies act, 1956, in 1974 with share capital of Rs.1 cr. with objectives of involving in construction activities, and training skills and competitive examinations for high studies. In sum a total of rs. 3281.35 cr have been allocated for the SC/STs for the year 2017-2018 financial year.

### **Feed Back**

The range of the programmes implemented for the benefit of the SC/STs in the state of Tamil Nadu by both the Union and State of Tamil Nadu since 1980s have shown the commitment on the part of the governments in power during these years. In addition, the SC and STs are also benefited by the various programmes implemented by the governments, such as, universal Public Distribution system, Nutritious Noon Meal scheme for the school children, concession in Rail/Bus tickets for the students etc.,. Despite all these programmes which are implemented over a period of 40 years in the state of Tamil Nadu, the most significant of all is the safety and security of the dalits in certain pockets of Tamil Nadu. The sporadic incidents of violence against dalits in Tamil Nadu nullify the various efforts taken by the governments. The welfare programmes definitely made progress in the lives of the Dalits of the Tamil Nadu and they are exposed to violence which need to be dealt with at the next level in politics, administration and in the wider society. Bahu Virupaksha lists out a series of anti-dalit violence incidents in Tamil Nadu, Mudulukalathur massacre, 1957, Kilvenmani violence, 1967, Melvalavu Massacre, July 25 1997, Gundapatti incident, 1998, Kodyankulam incident of 31 August, 1995, Thinniyam incident of October 25, 2002, and the attack on Dalits in Dharmapuri on 7 November, 2012. The Human

Rights watch, brought out multiple form of violence , Physical, behavioural and psychological violence against dalits in Tamil nadu such as , How local police drawn predominantly from the Thevar community conducted raids on dalit villages in the pretext of searching militant activists. In addition, dalits who have contested political office in village councils and municipalities were threatened with physical abuse and even death ( Melavalavu, Maduari district, TN, in1997)<sup>7</sup>

In the treatment of dalit issues the media too uses a peculiar and particular language to appease wider non-dalit readership. For example, the dalits are frequently referred to as “ most dalits live in extreme poverty” It is also not very rare to note that “ Dalit women face the triple burden of caste, class and gender”. According to Tamil nadu state government official “ the raping of dalit women exposes the hypocrisy of the caste system as “ no one practices untouchability when it comes to sex” The dalits are described as varna – sankara they are “ outside the system”- so inferior to other castes that they are deemed polluting and therefore “untouchable.

Viswanathan in his posting entitled “ Dalits in Dravidian Land” writes , when a first dalit graduate from a village in Maduarai district walked with shoes, caste youths set upon him and beat him to death”. In his postings S. Dorairaj has suggested that “ to uproot caste system , one needs to locate the struggle in no just socio-economic and political domain but also in the psychological cultural and educational domain.

### **Reaction of the some section of Dalits in Tamil nadu.**

Michael Collins notes that how in early 1980s, A. Malaisamy convened the state conference of the Tamil Nadu Bharathiya Dalit Panther ( BDP or Known locally as the Dalit Panther Iyakkam ( DPI) or Dalit Panther Movement. Charged the state government as undermining dalit development.. The Bharathiya Dalit Panther ( BDP) founded in 1977 in Maharashtra and in 1980s expanded beyond maharashtra, including Tamil Nadu under the leadership of A.Malaisamy. One early attempt to organize a conference at Madura in 1983, the police department has took necessary action not to allow participants to the venue of the conference.<sup>15</sup> Malaisamy attempted to leverage his capacity as DPI charman, to pressure state officials to discharge their duties and redress Dalit concerns. The DPI started to function as De facto labour union for the public sector employees, intervened in disputes between dalit employees and managers. Later the DPI started to took up issues concerning the dalits in Madurai district and the neighboring areas. Over the following decade the DPI developed in to a mass movement with hard line approach to caste violence and its capacity to organize mass public protests. Similarly there was another organization emerged called Puthia Thamilagam ( PT) basing in Tirunelveli district. When the DPI and PT were denied MLA tickets by the two prominent parties, the DMK and the AIADMK, the isolation of DPI and PT and the parties taking up dalit issues was felt. In the electoral politics, the dalit based parties could not get ground even in the reserved constituencies. The Polarization of dalits and non- dalits in 1990s was very clear from the observation of a daily. In addition, tellingly chakkiliayar groups ( a dalit caste group) have felt alienated by the rise of the DPI and the PT , who are said to represent the Parayars and Pallars respectively . The egalitarian emphasis of Dravidian rhetoric has not translated in to social practice and the incorporation of dalits in to a system of state patronage does not equate to an extension of democratic participation.<sup>2</sup>rom the perspective of countless dalit . muslim, and most backward caste citizens , it is clear that the DMK and the AIADMK , may also be described in terms of “bounded internal pluralism... and the entry of dalit movements into the parliamentary process , represents a significant opening up of Tamil Nadu politics.<sup>23</sup>After the Tamil Nadu assembly election results , the experts opined that the 2016 election has reestablished the hegemony of Dravidan politics. Both PT and DPI ( VCK) instead of consolidating that dalit vote base, started emulating the Dravidan parties ( leadership and symbolism). The role of the DMK and the AIADMK in shaping and manipulating policies and politics of appeasing the dalits in Tamil nadu still not completed and it still continues with bulk of the support base of these parties still vote for these parties. The role of the national , and other political parties in Tamil Nadu appears to be marginal and the left parties always function among the fringe groups and not as a mass based parties lime Keral or West Bengal.

As concluding note that dalits in India are the most massacred communities in the country. In the year 2015, a total of 45,003 cases of atrocities against SCs and a total of 10,914 cases of crimes committed on persons belonging to STs were reported . Among the states, the Andhra tops the list in registering 1031cases in every police district, the state of Tamil Nadu do not come in the toppers list. Similarly, the ST population in Rajasthan faced many such problems such as 1338 cases registered in politic districts. There is also a possibility of antonym “ not reported cases’. However dalits in their social, economic and political discourses are compelled to get “ No Objection Certificates (NOCs) from the non-dalits . In the course of getting NOCs, from the non-dalits, they are massacred or face some problems. In the history. The Constitution of the India prohibits to react, express, organize socially and politically sharpening the “jati” related conflicts. Dalit based political groups , parties, and social activists , have their limitations in the political sphere. The situation of dalits in India in general and the state of Tamil nadu in particular, qualify for a dalit identity. Dalits all along have been non-violent. One example is that B.R. Ambedhkar, when represented dalits’ cause to the British and demanded “separate electorates” for the dalits , Mahatma Gandhi opposed it on the ground that he would not allow the division of Hindu society. Well, Mahatma Gandhi might successfully avoided dalit nation, but could not do so in the case of others. Dalits are caught between the Constitution and the Extra- Constitutional authorities( non-dalits). Some where some place it has to expressed. Dalits have been very successful in many fields , science, technology, administration, film music, lawyers, doctors, professors, etc.,. Nearly 80 per cent of the dalits are working or making a living in private, informal sectors, that is, where the dalits should get NOCs from non-dalits. The sanctions against dalits ranging from spot punishments to massacre. Major communities with population and resources use “physical threat” as the only weapon against dalits. The Constitution of India prohibits expression of dalit problems in the public sphere. The state, government,

political parties, bureaucracy and all non-dalit communities and the various mediums run by the non-dalit communities all join to take an anti-dalit stand in social, economic and political discourses.

As far as the state of Tamil Nadu is concerned, both the DMK and the AIADMK have provided primary education, secondary education, higher education, free housing pattahs, opportunities for jobs, reservation in Public employment, except, safety, security, tranquility and peace to the dalits, which is also one of the significant requirements of normal living. Comparing other states regarding the position of 'dalits' security with Tamil Nadu has no logic and baseless.

Because dalits are not one jati but collection of jatis of different regions. Why a certain jati in Maharashtra is classified as dalit. The question is very much peculiar to that Maharastrian society. Similarly, comparing the plight of dalits in Bihar, Rajasthan, UP against dalits of Tamil Nadu is an attempt to evade the question of dalit security in Tamil Nadu. For example, how come a dalit leader Ms. Mayawathi, Congress leader belonging to dalit community Shri Anjaiyah, and a Dalit leader in Kerala were able to become Chief Ministers of UP, AP and Kerala respectively, and not in Tamil Nadu, where dalit politicians can go very near to important portfolios, except some occasions like, Tmt.Sathyavani Muthu in DMK cabinet, later she resigned because of her differences with the DMK supermo Thiru Karunanithi. Hence comparing the position of security of dalits in Tamil Nadu with other states is baseless lacking any strength. One thing should be said about position of dalits in Tamil Nadu, that as one journalist observed that the egalitarian attitude and outlook of the leaders of the DMK and the AIDMK is not shared by the members of these parties in the rank and file, so also other non-dalit castes in Tamil Nadu.

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