



Caste Annihilation In Practice: Evaluating The Left Alternative Through The Tamil Caste System

‘Naveen K Francis¹, Achumol K.M²

¹Research Scholar, School of Gandhian Thought and Development Studies, M.G. University, Kottayam

²Research Scholar, School of Gandhian Thought and Development Studies, M.G. University, Kottayam

Abstract

The persistence of caste-based inequalities in India continues to challenge projects of social justice, despite constitutional safeguards, affirmative action policies, and decades of political mobilization. This paper examines the question of caste annihilation through an evaluation of Left political alternatives within the context of the Tamil caste system. Tamil Nadu presents a significant case study due to its history of anti-caste movements, Dravidian politics, agrarian transformations, and the sustained presence of Left organizations among workers and marginalized communities. While Marxist and Left traditions have historically emphasized class struggle as the principal axis of social transformation, the enduring salience of caste raises critical questions regarding the effectiveness of class-centered approaches in dismantling caste hierarchies.

At the same time, the Tamil experience suggests that meaningful anti-caste social transformation requires an integrated theoretical framework that recognizes caste as a distinct yet interconnected structure of exploitation and social power. This realization has prompted Left intellectuals in Tamil Nadu to rethink the relationship between caste and class. Against this backdrop, the article argues that the prospects for caste annihilation cannot be located solely in economic redistribution; rather, they emerge from a comprehensive political project that integrates class struggle with direct confrontations against caste-based structures of social, cultural, and political domination. In light of this theoretical perspective, the article examines and analyses the activities and interventions of the Ayithochadana Munnani (Anti-Untouchability Front).

Keywords: Caste Annihilation, Tamil Nadu, Left Politics, Caste and Class Relations, Anti-Caste Movements, Social Justice.

Introduction

Caste has been one of the most influential forms of social stratification in South Asia. It is generally understood as a historically evolved, hierarchical, and socially constructed system whose organization has been linked to occupational specialization, endogamy, ritual status, and hereditary membership. Many scholars locate caste primarily within the historical development of Hindu social institutions while also emphasizing that caste practices have changed across regions, periods, and religious communities. Furthermore, the persistence of caste-based social stratification among the Semitic religions that entered India, as well as within Buddhism and Jainism, which originated on the Indian subcontinent, demonstrates the deep entrenchment of caste in Indian society. While the Vedas, Upanishads, and epics have often been interpreted as providing ideological and religious legitimacy to hierarchical social divisions, the *Manusmriti* played a particularly significant role in systematizing and codifying these social norms. The text articulated and reinforced prevailing social hierarchies, institutionalizing unequal relations among different social groups. In particular, it prescribed a subordinate status for Shudras, Atishudras, and women, thereby contributing to the perpetuation of social exclusion and structural inequality.

In the contemporary political context marked by the growing influence of Hindutva, Left movements continue to position themselves as important actors in the struggle against caste-based oppression and social inequality. The organizations associated with the Sangh Parivar, led by the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS), have often been criticized for their approach to the caste question. On the one hand, they advocate the preservation of traditions associated with Sanatana Dharma, which critics argue have historically been linked to the legitimation of caste hierarchies. On the other hand, they promote the idea of a unified Hindu society that transcends internal social divisions.

Scholars and critics of Hindutva politics have pointed to a tension between these two positions. While the discourse of Hindu unity seeks to incorporate diverse caste groups within a common religious identity, it has been argued that such efforts frequently fail to challenge the structural inequalities and social hierarchies embedded within the caste system. Furthermore, some studies have suggested that marginalized communities, including Dalits and Adivasis, have at times been mobilized within broader Hindutva political projects, particularly in contexts of communal polarization.

The communal violence in Gujarat has often been cited in academic debates as an example of how caste and religious identities can be politically mobilized in complex ways. Analyses of these events indicate that segments of Dalit and Adivasi communities participated in anti-Muslim violence, raising important questions about the relationship between caste marginalization, political mobilization, and communal conflict.

Despite its emphasis on Hindu unity, critics argue that the Sangh Parivar has been reluctant to confront social practices and ideological traditions that sustain caste-based inequalities. From this perspective, the contradiction between advocating religious unity and addressing the demands of Dalit, Adivasi, and Other Backward Class (OBC) communities for social equality remains a significant point of contention in debates surrounding Hindutva politics and caste reform in contemporary India.

Research Objectives

1. To examine the relationship between caste and class in the Tamil caste system and assess how Left political thought has conceptualized and addressed caste oppression.
2. To evaluate the effectiveness of Left-led anti-caste interventions, particularly the activities of the Ayithochadana Munnani (Anti-Untouchability Front), in challenging caste-based social, cultural, and political domination.

Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative research design based on historical and socio-political analysis. It draws on both primary and secondary sources, including interviews, party documents, resolutions, pamphlets, speeches, movement literature, newspaper archives, books, and journal articles on caste, class, and Left politics in Tamil Nadu. The study employs a case study approach focusing on the interventions and campaigns of the Ayithochadana Munnani (Anti-Untouchability Front) to evaluate the practical dimensions of Left anti-caste politics. Historical analysis traces the evolution of caste relations and anti-caste struggles, while content analysis examines ideological debates over caste and class. The research is informed by Marxist and Ambedkarite theoretical perspectives, treating caste and class as distinct yet interconnected structures of exploitation and power. Through this framework, the study assesses the possibilities and limitations of the Left alternative in advancing caste annihilation.

Marxism and Caste

According to Marxist theory, the political, social, cultural, and caste-related institutions and ideological formations of a society are ultimately shaped by its economic base and relations of production. Since class is an economic category, it is regarded as a fundamental component of the social structure. Caste, on the other hand, is viewed primarily as a social institution that is sustained and reproduced through the underlying economic structure. Within this framework, Communist and Marxist thinkers have sought to explain the caste system in India by examining its relationship with prevailing modes of production and economic relations.

Marxist analyses emphasize the division of labour as one of the defining features of the caste system. This occupational division historically relegated lower castes and untouchable communities to laboring positions, while upper castes, particularly Brahmins and Kshatriyas, occupied positions of authority and control over resources. Consequently, Marxist scholars have often interpreted caste as a specific manifestation of class division. They further argue that such a labor-based social hierarchy was integral to the functioning and reproduction of the feudal economic order in India.

Karl Marx believed that the technological and economic transformations introduced under British colonial rule had the potential to alter the traditional village economy in which caste-based divisions of labor were deeply embedded. However, colonial policies largely preserved existing feudal land relations while promoting only a limited form of capitalist development. As a result, the structural foundations of the caste system remained largely intact, and the conditions necessary for its comprehensive transformation did not emerge.

Marxist critiques also contend that the Indian National Congress, which led the nationalist movement, frequently adopted a conciliatory approach toward feudal interests. This, they argue, constrained the development of a more radical political project capable of fundamentally challenging caste hierarchies. At the same time, Marx recognized that caste was deeply rooted not only in economic relations but also in social, cultural, and ideological structures. Consequently, caste-based conflicts and social transformations could not be expected to change as rapidly as economic relations shaped by class struggle. This insight remains significant for understanding the complex and intertwined relationship between caste and class in Indian society.

Caste System in Tamil Nadu

The social transformation witnessed in Kerala has often been attributed to the combined impact of the social reform and renaissance movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as well as the progressive interventions of the Communist movement. These developments contributed significantly to the weakening of entrenched social hierarchies and the advancement of social justice, enabling Kerala to emerge as a state widely recognized for its achievements in human development and social progress.

In contrast, scholars have pointed to the differing historical trajectory of Tamil Nadu in explaining the continued persistence of caste-based discrimination and practices of untouchability in certain regions of the state. It has been argued that the absence of social reform movements and Left political mobilizations comparable in scope and influence to those experienced in Kerala limited the extent of social transformation. Consequently, despite important anti-caste initiatives and social justice movements in Tamil Nadu, caste identities and hierarchies continue to exert a significant influence on social and political life.

The caste system in Tamil Nadu exhibits certain historical and structural characteristics that distinguish it from caste formations in other regions of India. While the origins of the broader Indian caste system are often traced to the Vedic period, scholars have linked the development of social stratification in Tamil society to processes that evolved during the Sangam period and were subsequently shaped by the expansion of Brahmanical influence. As in other parts of India, Brahmanical institutions played a significant role in the articulation and consolidation of caste hierarchies in Tamil Nadu. However, Brahmins did not attain the same degree of demographic or political dominance in Tamil Nadu as they did in several other regions of the country.

Despite this relative limitation of Brahmin dominance, caste-based practices, including forms of untouchability and social exclusion, became embedded within the social order and were reproduced by dominant non-Brahmin caste groups. The anti-Brahmin movement led by E. V. Ramasamy and the broader Dravidian movement challenged Brahmanical hegemony and sought to promote social justice and non-Brahmin political representation. These movements enabled several intermediate and dominant non-Brahmin caste groups, including the Naicker, Naidu, and Reddy communities, to gain increasing influence within Dravidian political parties and, through them, within the political, economic, and social spheres of Tamil Nadu.

Following independence, other influential caste groups, particularly the Nadar and Thevar communities, further consolidated their political and economic position through their engagement with parties such as the Indian National Congress and the All India Forward Bloc. As a result, intermediate and dominant Shudra caste groups came to exercise considerable influence over the state's social and political structures.

A substantial body of scholarship has argued that, despite the decline of Brahmin dominance, caste hierarchies in Tamil Nadu were not dismantled but rather reconfigured through the rise of dominant non-Brahmin castes. Consequently, Dalit and Adivasi communities have continued to experience various forms of social exclusion, discrimination, and caste-based violence. Numerous studies have documented how dominant caste groups have often exercised social, economic, and political power over marginalized communities, contributing to the persistence of caste inequalities in contemporary Tamil Nadu.

The persistence of caste-based oppression in contemporary Tamil Nadu has been attributed by some scholars to the limitations of the Tamil social reform and renaissance movements in adequately addressing the concerns of marginalized Dalit and Adivasi communities. While these movements played a significant role in challenging Brahmanical dominance and promoting non-Brahmin political representation, critics argue that they were less successful in dismantling the structural inequalities experienced by the most marginalized sections of society.

As has often been observed, the foundations of the caste system remain deeply embedded in rural India. In many villages of Tamil Nadu, settlement patterns continue to reflect caste-based segregation, with dominant caste communities residing in the main village areas and Dalit communities frequently concentrated in separate hamlets or settlements. Such spatial segregation has historically reinforced social exclusion and unequal access to resources and public institutions.

Numerous studies have documented the persistence of discriminatory practices affecting Dalit communities in rural Tamil Nadu, including restrictions on access to public roads, places of worship, barber shops, tea shops, and burial grounds. These forms of exclusion illustrate the continuing influence of caste hierarchies in everyday social life despite constitutional guarantees of equality and legal prohibitions against caste discrimination.

The impact of caste is also evident in local self-government institutions, which constitute the foundation of grassroots democracy in India. Although constitutional provisions reserve certain panchayat positions for the Scheduled Castes, the effective participation of Dalits in local governance has often faced resistance. In some instances, Dalit candidates have encountered obstacles in contesting elections, while those elected have experienced difficulties in exercising authority and participating fully in decision-making processes.

The 1997 Melavalavu massacre remains one of the most significant examples of caste-based violence associated with the political assertion of Dalit communities. In the village of Melavalavu in Madurai district, the post of Panchayat President was reserved for a Scheduled Caste candidate, leading to the election of a Dalit leader, Murugesan. Subsequently, Murugesan and six of his associates were murdered by members of dominant caste groups. Scholars and human rights observers have interpreted this incident as reflecting resistance to the political empowerment of Dalits and as an attempt to discourage marginalized communities from exercising their democratic rights and participating in local governance.

Against this backdrop of persistent caste discrimination, social exclusion, and caste-based violence, an assessment of the role and relevance of Left movements, particularly those led by the Communist Party of India (Marxist), becomes especially significant. Examining the extent to which Left organizations have challenged caste hierarchies, mobilized marginalized communities, and contributed to democratic empowerment is essential for understanding both the possibilities and limitations of class-based political movements in the struggle for caste annihilation in Tamil Nadu.

Caste Annihilation and Left Movements in Tamil Nadu

The 17th Party Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) emphasized the need for sustained mass mobilization to combat caste oppression, communalism, and violence against women, while simultaneously strengthening the influence and organizational presence of Left forces across the country. In line with this political orientation, the Tamil Nadu unit of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) established the Tamil Nadu Untouchability Eradication Front (TNUEF) in 2007 to challenge caste-based discrimination, untouchability, and related forms of social exclusion and violence.

Since its inception, TNUEF has emerged as one of the most prominent anti-caste platforms in Tamil Nadu, with activities spanning all 39 districts of the state. The organization elected S. P. Sampath, a member of the CPI(M) Central Committee, as its first President, while S. S. Samuel Raja assumed the position of General Secretary. Through campaigns, public mobilizations, awareness programs, and struggles against caste-based discrimination, TNUEF has sought to address both the social and structural dimensions of caste oppression in Tamil society.

The activities of TNUEF have been supported by several mass organizations affiliated with the Communist Party of India (Marxist), including the Center of Indian Trade Unions (CITU), the All India Kisan Sabha (AIKS), the All India Democratic Women's Association (AIDWA), the Democratic Youth Federation of India (DYFI), and the Students' Federation of India (SFI). In addition, approximately eighteen Dalit organizations have collaborated with TNUEF in its efforts. The participation of these organizations has expanded the Front's activities and strengthened its capacity to mobilize diverse social groups in the struggle against untouchability, caste discrimination, and social inequality in Tamil Nadu.

Tamil Nadu Untouchability Eradication Front

The primary objective of the Tamil Nadu Untouchability Eradication Front (TNUEF) is to eliminate social practices and structures associated with caste-based discrimination, including untouchability, caste prejudice, honour-based violence, and caste-related conflicts. The organization seeks to promote social equality and democratic inclusion by addressing the systemic inequalities that continue to affect marginalized communities in Tamil Nadu.

In addition, TNUEF is committed to advancing the rights and welfare of Dalit and Adivasi communities. Its activities focus on supporting struggles for social justice, securing the effective implementation of constitutional and legal rights, and protecting the gains achieved through earlier movements for equality

and empowerment. Through advocacy, public mobilization, and grassroots interventions, the organization aims to strengthen the social, political, and economic position of historically marginalized communities and contribute to the broader project of social transformation in Tamil Nadu.

Until relatively recent decades, efforts to address caste-based discrimination and advocate for the rights of marginalized communities were largely led by Dalit and Adivasi organizations. Consequently, these struggles were often perceived within the broader public sphere as concerns primarily associated with specific caste groups rather than as issues of wider social justice and democratic equality.

The establishment of the Tamil Nadu Untouchability Eradication Front (TNUEF) marked an important development in this regard. By bringing together a diverse range of social and political organizations, TNUEF broadened participation in campaigns against untouchability, caste discrimination, and caste-based violence beyond Dalit and Adivasi communities. This wider involvement contributed to a shift in public perception, whereby struggles for the rights and dignity of marginalized communities increasingly came to be understood as broader social and democratic concerns rather than as issues affecting only particular caste groups.

As a result, movements against caste oppression began to acquire a more inclusive character, fostering greater solidarity across social groups and reframing the fight against caste discrimination as a collective struggle for social justice, equality, and human rights within Tamil society.

Fight against Caste Walls

One of the most significant milestones in TNUEF's fight against caste-based untouchability was the agitation against caste walls. These caste walls were constructed about twenty years ago by caste Hindus in places like Uthapuram in Madurai district and Periyar Nagar in Coimbatore district, with the purpose of preventing Dalit communities from entering their residential areas. Dalits were not allowed to enter the areas beyond these caste walls. It was in this context that TNUEF brought this issue to public attention and launched powerful protests. In 2008, just a year after TNUEF was formed, around 8,000 activists marched to Uthapuram in protest against the caste walls and demolished them. In addition to this, Dalits were forcibly led into the Muthalamman temple, a temple they had been banned from entering until that time.

The TNUEF agitation was led by Comrade G. Ramakrishnan, who was then the Tamil Nadu Secretary of the CPI(M). Following that, CPI(M) General Secretary Prakash Karat visited Uthapuram and expressed solidarity with the protest against caste walls. However, despite this, the Dalit community of Uthapuram continued to be denied access to public spaces in areas inhabited by caste Hindus. This led to conflicts, and the Dalits were subjected to brutal repression. Furthermore, based on a false complaint that houses of upper-caste people were attacked, the police filed cases against Dalits, and women, children, and the elderly were subjected to severe police brutality. In response to this police violence, TNUEF organized strong protests across Tamil Nadu demanding a judicial inquiry. But when the Tamil Nadu government rejected TNUEF's demand, the Tamil Nadu unit of the All-India Democratic Women's Association approached the Madras High Court and the High Court appointed a commission to investigate the police brutality and directed the Tamil Nadu government to pay Rs. 15 lakh as compensation to the victims. The demolition of the caste wall at Uthapuram did not remain limited to the Madurai district alone but led to the breaking down of caste walls across Tamil Nadu. These events are considered a major victory for both TNUEF and the CPI(M), the organization that led them.

Arunthathiyars and the 3% Special Reservation within the Scheduled Caste Quota

One of the major agitations taken up by TNUEF (Tamil Nadu Untouchability Eradication Front) and the CPI(M) was the demand to allocate 3% reservation within the Scheduled Caste quota specifically for the Arundhati community. The Arundhatiyars belong to the Dalit section in Tamil Nadu. Even within the Dalit community, they are considered the lowest in its hierarchical pyramidal structure.

Historically, the Arundhati community arrived in Tamil Nadu as sanitation workers for the Nayaka rulers during the Tamil military campaigns. Even after centuries, society still views them as sewage sanitation workers. Even Dravidian governments have attempted to appoint those with higher education to such jobs. Compared to other Dalit communities in Tamil Nadu, the Arundhatiyars face an extremely pitiful and marginalized condition. They are a community that is marginalized even among the already marginalized. The Communist Party came forward in support of their upliftment, raising the demand for a separate internal

reservation for the Arundhatiyars within the Scheduled Caste quota. Under the leadership of TNUEF, large-scale protests were organized across Tamil Nadu with this demand. As a result of these protests, the Tamil Nadu government formed a commission under the leadership of former Madras High Court judge Justice M.S. Janardhanan. Based on the recommendations of this commission's report, Jayalalithaa's government decided to allocate 3% reservation for the Arundhatiyars within the 18% reservation provided to Scheduled Castes. The 3% reservation for Arundhatiyars is considered a landmark achievement in the history of TNUEF's struggles.

Temple Entry Agitations: The Intervention of TNUEF

It is in this country that the Sangh Parivar forces in power use marginalized communities to promote Hindutva, for instance, by asking Dalits to lay the foundation stone for the construction of the Ayodhya Ram Temple, even while many temples that have long denied entry to Dalits and Adivasis still exist. Tamil Nadu, known as the land of Thanthai Periyar, is no exception. It is in this context that the Tamil Nadu Untouchability Eradication Front (TNUEF) began agitations across the state demanding temple entry rights for Dalit and Adivasi communities. These struggles provoked members of the upper castes, leading to violent attacks on the protesters. In many places, both upper caste individuals and the police system, which acts as their enforcers, tried to suppress these struggles with bloodshed. As part of this repression, CPI(M) state leaders such as G. Latha, K. Balakrishnan, and Anandan, who led these protests, were subjected to brutal assaults.

Progressive movements, including communist parties, view the temple entry struggle not merely as an issue of religious belief but as a democratic, fundamental, and civil rights movement for Dalits and Adivasis. However, mainstream media and caste organizations continuously tried to portray these temple entry struggles as movements by non-believers attempting to destroy temples and religious practices.

TNUEF overcame severe resistance and advanced its goals. Despite police violence, harsh oppression by caste Hindus, and false propaganda by mainstream media, the TNUEF achieved significant success in its efforts at various temples such as the Kaliyamman Temple in Tiruvannamalai, The Panthavoor Mariamman Temple in Tirunelveli, The Kalkeri Anjaneyar Temple in Krishnagiri, The Draupathiyamman Temple in Villupuram, The Sivan Temple in Nagercoil, The Mariamman Temple in Tiruchirappalli.

The Panchami Land Movement and the Contribution of TNUEF

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) and other left-wing movements prefer to view the caste issues taking place in Tamil Nadu more as class struggles than merely caste-based agitations. According to progressive movements, most of the conflicts interpreted as caste clashes can be primarily attributed to land and ownership over it, and to labor. The feudal lords, who are Hindu communities with caste-based dominance over land, exploit tenant farmers from Dalit communities. The Left sees land ownership as a major factor in caste structure. They believe that the struggle for land is part of the broader struggle against caste oppression. Dalit and Adivasi communities, who lack land ownership, are forced to remain under the oppression of dominant caste groups who control the land. The Communist movements believe that if land is distributed equally, the class and caste disparities prevailing in society can be eliminated. Hence, they consistently demand that land be provided to landless Dalit communities.

In 1892, the British rulers granted land to Dalit and Adivasi communities to improve their social and economic conditions. This land was known as Panchami land. However, today, many of these Panchami lands are in the hands of private individuals and corporate entities. Demanding the return of Panchami land to Dalits and Adivasis, a conference was organized under the leadership of the Tamil Nadu Untouchability Eradication Front (TNUEF) in Chengalpattu, Kanchipuram district, and it was decided to launch strong protest movements.

Based on this, on March 25, 2017, in the village of Pennagaram in Dharmapuri district, 345 Dalit families gathered under the leadership of TNUEF and began a protest demanding access to the land they were entitled to. As a result of this agitation, revenue officials visited the site and identified about 8 acres of Panchami land. Following this, a committee consisting of revenue authorities and members of the TNUEF was formed, and it was decided that land titles (pattas) would be distributed to the rightful Dalit families within a month.

Addressing Honour Killings: TNUEF's Interventions and Advocacy

Honor killings, one of the most heinous crimes in society, are widespread in Tamil Nadu. Ours is a society structured around caste, class, and gender-based stratification. Each group of people holds tightly to its own customs and rituals, proudly showcasing them and considering any deviation an insult. Honor killings are fundamentally rooted in the desire to prevent situations that may bring 'dishonor' to the family or the caste community represented by them, due to the rigid caste system.

In most honor killings, it is Dalit youth, both men and women, who lose their lives. Organizations like the TNUEF, which take this issue seriously, have made strong efforts through legal channels to ensure justice for the victims and punishment for the culprits. In addition to legal actions, TNUEF has also organized protests as part of their resistance against honor killings. One such protest was a 360-kilometer long foot march from Salem to Chennai, led by then TNUEF General Secretary Samuel Raj. The objective of the march was to pass a law against honor killings in the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly and to create strong public awareness on the issue. However, the police stopped the march in Chennai and arrested several activists, including CPI(M) State Secretary G. Ramakrishnan. Even though the protest did not achieve its primary objective, it succeeded in mobilizing broad support. Organizations such as Viduthalai Chiruthaigal Katchi (VCK), Bahujan Samaj Party, Adi Tamilar Katchi, Dravidar Viduthalai Kazhagam, and Mannurimai Kootamaippu participated alongside TNUEF. This participation demonstrated the emergence of strong public sentiment against honor killings. Additionally, it was a model of progress that various organizations inspired by different ideological lines began to unite under a common cause.

Fight against the Two-Tumbler System in the Tea Shop

Another major protest led by TNUEF was against the practice of untouchability seen in Tamil village tea shops, called the 'Two Tumbler System'. In most tea shops, two types of glasses were used: steel or glass tumblers for caste Hindus, and aluminum or coconut shell tumblers for members of lower castes. Furthermore, people from oppressed castes were not even allowed to sit and drink tea in these shops. The Communist movements led protests against this social evil and succeeded in significantly reducing this discriminatory practice from Tamil Nadu.

People belonging to Dalit communities were not allowed to wear their mundu folded up in public places or to tie towels on their heads. Restrictions on using public spaces, prohibitions against contesting elections in reserved wards, and controls over conducting funerals in public cremation grounds, these are all manifestations of the caste discrimination and caste supremacy still present in society. To eradicate these, not only protest movements but also legal struggles are being carried out in Tamil Nadu under the leadership of left-wing movements.

Conclusion

It is deeply ironic that Dalit and Adivasi communities have to face caste discrimination in the Dravidian land of Periyar, who diminished Brahminical casteism. Periyar, who opposed casteism, superstition, and religious orthodoxy from head to toe, laid the foundations of rationalism in Tamil soil. Yet, the mainstream Dravidian parties like the DMK and AIADMK, which claim to follow his path, maintain a silence as good as murder when it comes to caste atrocities committed against oppressed communities. It is in this context that the relevance of a left alternative becomes clear. While the major Dravidian parties fail to oppose this social evil and instead remain focused solely on winning votes and clinging to parliamentary power, it is left-wing movements led by the CPI(M) and TNUEF that are fighting for the upliftment and rights of Dalit and Adivasi communities. Even if such social interventions have not yet managed to create significant electoral waves in Tamil politics, party leaderships believe that their ideological roots will continue to take hold in Tamil soil.

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