

### 15.1 Historical Background

The 'Classical Tamil homeland (Tamizhagam) included today's Tamil Nadu besides some parts of Kerala, Andhra and Karnataka; **Strabo** (63 BC(BCE) to c. AD(CE)



24), a famous Greek geographer and historian observed the early diplomatic history of ancient Tamil Kingdom of Pandiyas. Naval expeditions of Cheras, Cholas, Pandiyas and Pallavas inform early maritime power and influence of Tamils. Ports in the coast of Tamil Nadu were important centres of trade between India and the Mediterranean, and India and southeast Asia, in the period. 200 BC(BCE) to 300 AD(CE). The ancient ports of *Korkai*, *Poompuhar*, *Vasavasamudram*, *Perimula*, *Arikamedu*, *Alagankulam*, *Mamallapuram* reveal the active trade, commerce and cultural exchanges with the Southeast Asian countries, Sri Lanka, China, Egypt, Greece and Rome. An established tradition of shipbuilding combined with rich maritime heritage of ancient Tamils are definite indicators of the foundations of influential polity, society, culture, trade and commercial ties with the outside world.

**Sangam** literature dated approximately 300 BC(BCE) to 300 AD(CE) is another valuable literary source(s) that reflects society, economy, culture and politics. The classification of Sangam poetry into **akam** (on love) and **puram** (on war, good and



### Learning Objectives

#### The students will be able to

- ❖ Learn about ancient political ideas in Tamil Nadu.
- ❖ State clearly the political ideas of Thiruvalluvar.
- ❖ Understand about Nationalism through Bharathiyar
- ❖ Learn about communist ideas that existed in Tamilnadu through Singaravelar's writings on communism.
- ❖ Learn and understand Dravidian Ideology and its impact on the society, polity and economy in Tamil Nadu through the contributions of E.V.R.Periyar on social justice, equality and liberation from oppression of higher caste.
- ❖ Describe clearly the core meaning of Tamil Movement and Dravidian movement and its political discourse.

evil, community, justice and kingdom) is a revelation of the Tamil polity. The Sangam literary works have been grouped into eight anthologies (*Ettuthogai*): (1) *Natrinai*, (2) *Kurunthogai*, (3) *Aingurunooru*, (4) *Paditruppatru*, (5) *Paripadal*, (6) *Kalitthogai*, (7) *Agananooru*, and (8) *Purananooru*; and there is a ninth group of poems called the *Patthupattu* (Ten Idylls). The early part of the first two books of **Tholkappiyam**, a work on Tamil grammar, belongs to the same period.

The famous post-Sangam literature were known as the pathenen *Kilkkanakku*. Besides the two epics *Silappadikaram* also belong to this period. A little later three more epics were written in addition there were five minor epics. and *Eighteen Minor Works* (*Pathinen kilkkanakku*, which includes the *Thirukkural*) were written during this period. *Prabandha* literature consists of poetry of various forms: *kovai*, in which the verses are arranged according to a particular theme (usually about love), and *kalambakam*, in which the end of one stanza/line formed the beginning of the next (usually about kings and bravery) and *parani*. The best illustrations of this tradition are the *Pantikkovai*, *Nandikkalambakam*, and *Kalingattup-parani*.

The ancient Tamil literature of Sangam age, *Thirukkural*, *Silappadikaram*, *Manimegalai* etc provide deep insights into the nature of polity, society and culture. Tamil language formed the core and essence of Tamil identity, culture, customs and traditions. Despite the diversity of land, geography, rulers and chieftains spread across the Tamil speaking areas the idea of Tamil country and confederation of Tamil speaking areas did exist. This literary finding(s) is also substantiated by a stone inscription of Kalinga King Kharavela (BC(BCE) 165), who

claims to have destroyed a 'Tamil federation' which existed for 113 years. Similarly such a Tamil federation of kings to fight foreign invasion is also mentioned in 'Agananooru', a Sangam literature. Hence the idea and prevalence of Tamil nationalism is not simply a consequence of colonialism. The roots of Tamil nationalism are linked to the historical role and significance of Tamil language and culture in defining politics that could be traced even in the Sangam age.

The concept of State and the idea king coincided with the territorial emphasis of polity as the Greek city-state. The classical Tamil country known as *Tamizhagam* covered areas south of Tirupati hills up to the tip of the Cape Comorin (Kanyakumari). The land was traditionally classified according to its nature into five geographical regions (*tinai*): the mountainous region (*kurinji*), the forest areas (*mullai*), fertile plains (*marudam*), coastal region (*neidhal*) and arid region (*palai*).

Tamil speaking areas were divided between the principalities of the Cholas (its capital at Uraiyur), the Pandyas (Madurai as capital), the Cheras in most of present Kongunadu and Kerala and the Pallavas (Kanchipuram as capital). Tamil country included several kingdoms ruled by kings (*vendhar*), major and minor chieftains (*vel/velir*) who was less powerful than the crowned kings. The Sangam poets sang songs of praise about the *velirs*, especially the Seven Patrons, for their generosity towards the poets. Kapilar and Avvaiyar mention chieftains like, Aay, Pari, Ori, Malayan, Elini, Pegan and Nalli..

The virtues of king did include the ideals of *Just Ruler* with qualities of kindness towards the subjects and bravery in the battlefield

against enemies. The *sabhai* or *mandram* was the highest court of justice presided by the king himself. Every village had its own *mandram* which met at a common public place and was involved in organizing village and community activities. Warriors were respected, and a man who died in battle would have memorial stones erected in his honour and be worshipped in death. Even if a warrior dies in battle field with a wound in his back, it is considered derogatory in 'Sangam' traditions.

Lots of good practices of war find their mention in sangam literature. *Purananooru*, a sangam literature, hails the Pandyan king who announces all the women, children, sick and elderly people, cattles, to move to safety zone before invading a country. The idea of *justice* formed the conscience of State and king. Justice is an essential element in a king's rule. A good king should never sacrifice justice. Just rule and good deeds always will bring everlasting fame to the king. An important political principle that prevailed was that

(Despite the nature of political system being monarchy) the legitimacy of the king rests with the consent of the people and as long as he enjoyed people's support and he would loses legitimacy if he lost their support. Sangam literature (*Pattinappalai*) speaks about different types of taxations like customs duty, income tax, toll tax etc as specific source of revenue to the State. Tamil kings and chieftains ruled the land with simple administrative structure of council of ministers, subordinates and administrative officers. There were officers to deal with foreign trade and customs revenue which was an important part of the budget. Pandya inscriptions mention about officers for pearl fisheries (*kalatika*) and the chief scribes

(*kanatikan*). In flags and coins, the Cholas were represented by the tiger, the Cheras by the bow and arrow the Pandyas by the fish and the Pallavas by the lion.

The institution of 'spy' was considered as a necessary institution and the maintenance of peace and stability in the kingdom depended on the effectiveness of this institution. Though slavery as a form of institution was absent yet capturing of slaves after invasions, and slave trade or exchange for gifts did remain as practice among the rulers to undertake construction and building works.

The practice of caste system or *jati* was unknown among ancient Tamils. The idea and concept of class with differences in status based on professional distinctions did prevail. The caste system was alien and unknown to Sangam society. The division of society based on class has been revealed by the Sangam poets who mention about social categories (*kudi*): *tudiyar*, *panan*, and *kadamban*; or *arasar* (rulers), *vaishyar* (traders), and *velalar* (farmers). Differences in status were accepted as inevitable, yet *varna* in the form of caste or *jati* seems to be little known to Sangam society.

Though social stratification did prevail yet legitimization of *Manusmiriti* or *Aryan-Brahminical* interpretation of caste as divine arrangement was not integral to the cultural universe or worldview of the ancient Tamils. The beginnings and early inroads of the Aryan-Brahminical account of caste could be traced to later period of Sangam era. The ancient religion of Tamils was based on folk traditions. The worship of nature and natural elements were more common. The worship of Murugan Seyon among the tribes of Tamil Nadu and the cult worship of Murugan as the warrior God was based on folk culture. An earthly composition

of God is rooted in the Tamil – Dravidian traditions. It was only after the sixth century AD(CE), inscriptions were written in Tamil as well as Sanskrit. Sanskritisation gradually spread to public space with the evoking of the doctrines of benevolence to Brahmin(s) and their divine blessings to the king .

The seeking of blessings from the *Brahmin* soon became a source of legitimacy for the Tamil king after this period. Along with the Sanskritisation, Vedic rituals, worship and orientation to social (caste) system as advocated in *Manusmiriti* found their passage to transform the professionally stratified class structure of Dravidian society into a hierarchically classified social (caste) system with Vedic divine sanctions.

The State and king were being seen as one and the same. The hereditary principle and evoking of divine rights with earthly symbols were prevalent among the Tamil kings. The idea of territorial State provided inherent reconciliation to the changing dynasties and geographical changes as boundaries of principalities were drawn and redrawn. The governing principles of power and location of monarchy also moved from culture specific to power centric based on authority. Thus in later period, during the Post-Sangam era, the king gradually became the sole source of authority.

The Pallavas maintained that as they were the descendants of Brahma, the kingship was of divine origin and was hereditary. The Pallava period witnessed the penetration of the Aryan culture of North India into the South as well as the assimilation of some of the patterns, ideas and institutions and rejection or modification of certain other aspects. Tamil devotional culture was one of the results of this interaction as revealed by the themes and dedication of deity at temples.

Women were highly respected and performed a variety of jobs and duties including as bodyguards to the kings, yet power and authority rested with men. Women participated in public assemblies but rulers and administrators were mostly men. Women formed significant part of social rituals and functioned as pivots of the family despite the inheritance rights and formal authority remained with men.

In narrating the role and status of women in Tamil society we need to mention about the tradition of *Avvaiyar* (meaning respectable women). More than a name, this was a title, literary canon, given to distinguished women who made contributions to Tamil literature. There were as many as four to six women who held this Tamil literary canon title at different times based on different sources.

Avvaiyars of Sangam age and Cholas age are best known for their extraordinary influence upon literature, culture, moral universe, nature of polity, war, peace and the art of diplomacy. Sangam age Avvaiyar lived during the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD(CE). King Athiyaman Neduman Anchi of the Velir Dynasty was her chief patron and considered as contemporary of literary legends Thiruvalluvar and Kabilar who made notable contribution of verses in *Natrinai*, *Kuruntogai*, *Akananooru* and *Purananooru*. She is also credited as the most gracious and scholarly diplomat who undertook diplomatic missions for King Adhiyaman Neduman Anchi. **Avvaiyar**, a poetess and friend of King Adhiyaman, ruler of Tagadur, is supposed to have helped in avoiding war between two kingdom states.

King Thondaiman, ruler of Kanchipuram, had sent him a note declaring his intention to attack Thagadur

Avvaiyar spoke “*Oh Thondiaman, how different indeed are your clean and shiny weapons from those of Adiyaman, always stained with blood and under repair.*” Thondaiman had far less experience in war and was unlikely to win — she was making this clear under the guise of praise. Another famous **Avvaiyar** was from the Cholas age, around 10<sup>th</sup> Century AD(CE), who wrote moral universe for children and advocated ethical principles for all. Whilst her works *Aathichoodi* and *Konraiventhan* were written for young children, *Mooturai* and *Nalvazhi* were written for older children.

### The definite part of thinkers is as follows:

- ❖ Being the basis for the social changes and subsequent events including the change in the public minds;
- ❖ Having taken political decisions which had an impact on social turning points;
- ❖ Serving as best brains behind the major political decisions which has benefitted the diversified communities;
- ❖ To convert social ideas into common which assisted people’s advancement belonging to various communities

New political ideas are supported by the activities of the political thinkers which kindles interest and rational thinking of the common people. The interaction of those thinkers with the contemporary society makes a new framework for the entire system. New political decisions which intend to create great changes for the emerging generations were undertaken. The day-to-day life of common people may be engulfed with many changes by the political decision of the thinkers. At world level these kind of thinkers made changes in the socio-political systems. Such great thinkers made their extra-ordinary presence throughout the past centuries in India in

general and Tamilnadu in particular.

National political thinkers, Tamil political thinkers, Socialist thinkers, Thinkers of social justice are the different parts of modern categorization. In this part we can discuss about different political thinkers of Tamilnadu who made out-standing contribution for the social changes.

Political ideologies in Tamilnadu is rich with ideas, beliefs, opinions and attitudes towards society, polity and economy. This is evident from the ancient political ideas of Thiruvalluvar, whereas Bharathiyar was a nationalist and Singaravelar a communist. According to Periyar, Dravidian ideology focuses on social equality. The political ideologies in Tamil Nadu are a combination of all three left, Right and centre ideologies.

## 15.2 Ancient Political Ideas

### Thiruvalluvar



In Arathupal of Thirukkural, Valluvar was a great enunciator of morals; In Inbathupal, he has become a poet and in Porutpal, he is known to be a political philosopher. The political philosophy of Thiruvalluvar is applicable across times even today.

## Seven Parts in Porutpal

Porutpal consists of 7 parts, further it has 70 verses / couplets. They are Politics-25, Ministry-10, Defence-2, Wealth-1, Army-2, Friendship-17, and citizens-13 respectively.

"படை குடி கூழ்அமைச்சு நட்பரண் ஆறும்  
உடையான் அரசருள் ஏறு" (குறள்: 381)

*"An army, people, wealth, a minister, friends, fort; six things  
Who owns them all, a lion lives amid the kings" (381)*

Thus, in porutpal, at the first verse itself valluvar differentiated the six categories essential for a state. Thus, different parts of government are ministry, army, wealth, people, friendship and citizens, which determines the rule of a king. Moreover, these components are categorized for king in a separate way, thus contributing a lot of ideas regarding administration of a state and assets for a king.

## Nature of a king – 25 Chapters

In porutpal, Valluvar mentioned about nature of a king in detailed manner in 25 chapters starting from Qualities of ruler (Iraimatchi – chapter 39) to idukkan azhaiyaamai (Unfazed in the face of trouble – chapter 63) in 25 chapters, in the name of "Arasar", "Vender", "Nilan Aandavar" "Mannavar" he has indicated 46 times about the king.

## Ideas on Democracy

Valluvar lived in the period of monarchy. However, his ideas and ideals are also applicable for the present leaders of democracy. He also indicated the nature of state and government in the king's rule. The words of Valluvar regarding government and state is applicable and suitable to all over the period as well as every organization in the world.

## Welfare state and King

To put it in simple words, Valluvar's political system is based on welfare state. For instance, in Iraimatchi (Qualities of a ruler), he says

முறைசெய்து காப்பாற்றும் மன்னவன் மக்கட்கு  
இறையென்று வைக்கப் படும். (குறள்: 388)

*Who guards the realm and justice strict maintains,  
That king as god over subject people reigns. (388)*

If a king delivered justice by doing the duties honestly, he may be regarded as a God. Ideal path and welfare – arrived kings can be respected and kept on par with divine. This kind of view is not only applicable to monarchical period but it also applicable to present democratic period.

## Features of State

The characteristics of a state is to maintain ethics, the eradication of wrong doing activity, mandating impartiality of justice and protection of honour.

அறனிமூக்கா தல்லைவ நீக்கி மறனிமூக்கா  
மானம் உடைய தரசு (குறள்: 384)

*Kingship, in virtue failing not, all vice restrains,  
In courage failing not, it honour's grace maintains.*

*(Kural :384)*

King's path is the peoples' path, king should act as a guide for his subjects, if he does harm or evil activities, it may influence all. It is because of his position as a leader, his discipline and private life will spread to all in the kingdom. Moral and ethical life is quite essential for the ruling kings. Indicating "Respect" in a broad manner relating it with nation, Valluvar gave priority for great honour which may be equated with the courage. He stressed that king must be loyal to the nation, it is the honour of nation.

## Ideal State and Welfare of people

In the monarchical rule, the integrity and ideal governance for all periods were advocated by Valluvar. People of all regions expect rain for their growth; likewise, citizens of a nation expect integrity and ideal rule of the king.

வானோக்கி வாழும் உலகெல்லாம் மன்னவன்  
கோல்நோக்கி வாழும் குடி. (குறள்: 542)

*All earth looks up to heaven where raindrops fall;  
All subjects look to king that ruleth all. (542)*

In this couplet Valluvar indicates “Kol” as ideal rule which not only applies for monarchy but also for democracy.

குடிதழீஇக் கோலோச்சும் மாநில மன்னன்  
அடிதழீஇ நிற்கும் உலகு. (குறள் 544)

*Whose heart embraces subjects all, lord over mighty land  
Who rules, the world his feet embracing stands. (544)*

This means that for a King, who protects his citizens with love and affection, his feet will be embraced by his subjects with love. This is an everlasting phrase propounded by Valluvar related to good governance.

## Against Tyranny

In the chapter “Kodungonmai”, (Cruel Scepter) Valluvar explained it in negative words. The suppressive and exploitative rule of evil king may kindle unknown and indefinite agonies among the people. Those tears are most powerful and may annihilate the entire kingdom.

அல்றற்பட்டு ஆற்றாது அழுதகண் ணீரன்றே  
செல்வத்தைத் தேய்க்கும் படை (குறள் 555)

*His people's tears of sorrow past endurance, are not they  
Sharp instrument to wear the marches wealth away.*

(Kural: 555)

Sad tears of suffering citizens may dethrone and destroy the entire government,

says Thiruvalluvar. Tears were equated with army, thus Valluvar's visualization stands unique among others.

Autocrats and Dictators like Hitler, Mussolini and Czar were the negative players for whom, Thirukkural served as a funeral sound.

## Government's Budget

A king should be an able handed administrator in increasing the income of government. Further he should be an expert in handling the budget.

In Iramatchi, he said,

இயற்றலும் ஈட்டலும் காத்தலும் காத்த  
வகுத்தலும் வல்ல தரசு. (குறள் 385)

*A king is be who treasure gains, stores up, defends,  
And duly for his kingdom's weal expends. (385)*

At first point, a king should search for the different sources of income. For this, he calls it as “Iyatral”. Then, the second point is that, all such resources should be put together, which is called as “Ettal”. Third, the resources thus collected must be protected with all precautionary measures which is called as “Kaathal”

Fourth one, is most important (i.e) allotting the resources to various sectors for the welfare of the people, this he called it as “Vagutthal”. Thus iyatral, eettal, kaathal and vagutthal are the four ways of utilizing the income to be expertise by the king of nation. It is a primary duty of the king.

These innovative and practical ideas were accepted by political and as well as economic exponents as the basic idea of socialistic society.

## Relevance of Thiruvalluvar

The Educational qualities that are indicated by Valluvar for a king may also apply to the citizens. Thus, he used the words “Idukkan Ariyamai”, “Kalvi” for “Vazhum Uyirku”, “Maandharkku” which is for all the people.

The political ideas advocated by Valluvar in porutpal highly circumvent around morals and noble principles. “People’s-welfare” is the basic foundation of his contribution.

To put it in a different way, Valluvar’s contribution to politics is applicable to the present democratic governance for the welfare of all the people.

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### Thirukkural – A truly secular ethical work

The very first observation about the Kural is the fact that it is a secular book. During the days of Valluvar many religion existed in India. There were Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs, Hindus as well as agnostics and atheists. But secularism as a concept was unknown. Valluvar himself was a believer and he has devoted one chapter to praise of God. He must have observed a particular religion. But in his book he advocates no religion, he does not even refer to any religion.

The ancient Indian law-giver Manu and the ancient Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle maintained with absolute certainty that human beings were not born equal. This popular view is accepted in all civilizations over centuries. Valluvar, the philosopher poet, held a radically different view. He says:

*“All human beings are equal by birth; but differ as regards characteristics because of the different qualities of their actions.” (Kural 972)*

## 15.3 Nationalism

### Subramaniya Bharathiyar (1882 – 1921)

C. Subramaniya Bharathiyar was a poet, freedom fighter and social reformer from Tamil Nadu. He was known as Mahakavi Bharathiyar and the laudatory

epithet Mahakavi means a great poet. He is considered as one of India’s greatest poets. His songs on nationalism and freedom of India helped to rally the masses to support the Indian Independence Movement in Tamil Nadu.



ஜாதி மதங்களைப் பாராம -  
உயர் ஜன்மம்இத் தேசத்தில் எய்தின ராயின்  
வேதிய ராயினும் ஒன்றே -  
அன்றி வேறு குலத்தின ராயினும் ஒன்றே

We shall not look at caste or religion,  
All human beings in this land,  
whether they be those who preach the  
vedas or who belong to other castes are  
one.

-Subramaniya Bharati

### Bharathi: A poet and a Nationalist

“We may have thousand of  
sects; that, however, does not  
justify a foreign invasion.”

Significantly, a new age in Tamil literature began with Subramaniya Bharathi. Most part of his compositions are classifiable as short lyrical outpourings on patriotic, devotional and mystic themes. Bharathi was essentially a lyrical poet. “*Kannan Pattu*” “*Nilavum Vanminum Katrum*” “*Panchali Sabatam*” “*Kuyil Pattu*” are examples of Bharathi’s great poetic output.

Bharathi is considered as a national poet due to his number of poems of the patriotic flavour through which he exhorted the people to join the independence struggle and work vigorously for

the liberation of the country. Instead of merely being proud of his country he also outlined his vision for a free India. He published the sensational “*Sudesa Geethangal*” in 1908.

DO  
YOU  
KNOW?

Bharathiyar's "Panchali Sabatham" (The vow of Draupadi) is an iconic work that pictures India as Draupadi, the British, the Kauravas and the freedom fighters as Pandavas. Through Draupadi's struggle, he euphemised the struggle of mother India under British rule.

### Bharathi as a Journalist

Many years of Bharathi's life were spent in the field of journalism, Bharathi, as a young man began his career as a journalist and as a sub-editor in “*Swadesamitran*” in November 1904. “*India*” saw the light of the day in May, 1906. It declared as its motto the three slogans of the French Revolution, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. It blazed a new trail in Tamil Journalism. In order to proclaim its revolutionary ardour, Bharathi had the weekly printed in red paper. “*India*” was the first paper in Tamil Nadu to publish political cartoons. He also edited and published 'Vijaya', a Tamil daily “*Bala Bharatha*” an English monthly, and 'Suryothayam' a local weekly of Pondicherry.

It is not surprising therefore that soon a warrant was waiting at the door of the “*India*” office for the arrest of the editor of the magazine. It was because of this worsening situation in 1908 that Bharathi decided to go away to Pondicherry, a French territory at that time, and continue to publish the “*India*” magazine. Bharathi resided in Pondicherry for sometime to escape the wrath of the British imperialists.



**DO  
YOU  
KNOW?**

In Madras, in 1908, he organised a mammoth public meeting to celebrate 'Swaraj Day'. His poems 'Vanthe Matharam', 'Enthayum Thayum', 'Jaya Bharath' were printed and distributed free to the Tamil People.



**DO  
YOU  
KNOW?**

Subramaniya Bharathiyar was born on 11th December 1882, in a village called Ettayapuram in Tirunelveli District in Tamil Nadu and his childhood name was Subbiah. His father was Chinnaswamy and his mother was Lakshmi Ammal.

At the age of seven, he started writing poems in Tamil. When he was eleven, he wrote in such a way that even learned men praised him for his great knowledge and skill. In the eleventh year, Subbiah felt that he had to establish his credentials. He threw a challenge to the eminent men in the assembly of scholars that they should have a contest with him in a debate on any subject without any previous notice or preparation. The contest was held at a special sitting of the Ettayapuram Durbar at which the Rajah (the ruler) himself was present. The subject chosen was "Education". Subbiah efficiently won the debate. This was a memorable moment in Subbiah's life. The boy who was till then referred to as "Ettayapuram Subbiah" came henceforth to be known as "Bharathi", and later he was respectfully referred to as "Bharathiar" by nationalists and by millions of Tamil lovers all over the globe.

In June 1897, Bharathi was hardly fifteen when his marriage took place, and his bride was Chellammal. Bharathi left for Benaras which was also known as Kashi and Varanasi. He spent there the next two years with his aunt Kuppammal and her husband Krishna Sivan. Speedily gaining a fair knowledge of Sanskrit, Hindi and English, he duly passed with credit the Entrance Examination of the Allahabad University. The Banaras stay brought about a tremendous change in Bharathi's personality. Outwardly, he sported a moustache and a Sikh turban and acquired a bold swing in his walk.

During his exile, Bharathi had the opportunity to mingle with many leaders of the militant wing of the independence movement such as Aurobindo, Lajpat Rai and V.V.Subramaniam who had also sought asylum in the French ruled Pondicherry. The most profitable years of Bharathi's life were

the ten years he spent in Pondicherry. From Pondicherry, he guided the Tamil youth of Madras to tread in the path of nationalism. This increased the anger of the British towards Bharathi's writings as they felt that it was his writings that induce and influence the patriotic spirit of the Tamil youth. Bharathi



met Mahatma Gandhi in 1919 in Rajaji's home at Madras. Bharathi entered British India near Cuddalore in November 1918 and was promptly arrested. Even in prison, he spent his time in writing poems on freedom, nationalism and country's welfare.

In his early days of youth he had good relations with Nationalist Tamil Leaders like V.O.Chidambaram, Subramanya Siva, Mandayam Thirumalachariar and Srinivasachari. Along with these leaders he used to discuss the problems facing the country due to British rule. Bharathi used to attend the Annual sessions of Indian National Congress and discuss national issues with extremist Indian National Leaders like Bipin Chandra Pal, B.G. Tilak and V.V.Subramaniam. His participation and activities in Benaras Session (1905) and Surat Session (1907) of the Indian National Congress impressed many national leaders about his patriotic fervour. Bharathi had maintained good relations with some of the national leaders and shared his thoughts and views on the nation and offered his suggestions to strengthen the nationalist movement. Undoubtedly, his wise suggestions and steadfast support to the cause of nationalism rejuvenated many national leaders. Thus Bharathi played a pivotal role in the freedom of India.

### **Bharathiyar as a social reformer**

Bharathi was also against caste system. He declared that there were only two castes—men and women and nothing more than that. Above all, he himself had removed his sacred thread. He used to take tea sold in shops run by Muslims. He along with his family members attended church on all festival occasions. He advocated temple entry of Scheduled caste people. For all his reforms, he had to face

opposition from his neighbours. But Bharathi was very clear that unless Indians unite as children of Mother India, they could not achieve freedom. He believed in women's rights, gender equality and women emancipation. He opposed child marriage, dowry system and supported widow remarriage. Bharathi had a pre-mature death hence could not transform his ideas into a movement.

**DO YOU KNOW?**

His meeting with Sister Nivedita, Swami Vivekananda's disciple, added women's rights to his already wide repertoire of social issues from caste to Independence to spiritualism. He took up the symbolism of Shakthi as the image of modern women; powerful, strong, independent and equal partners to men.

**“World will prosper in knowledge and intellect, if both men and woman are deemed equal.”**

**-Subramaniya Bharathiyar**

### **Bharathiyar – A Visionary**

Bharathi as a poet, journalist, freedom fighter and social reformer had made a great impact not only on the Tamil society but also on the entire human society. He followed what all he preached and it is here that his greatness is manifested. His prophecy during the colonial period about the independence of India came true after two and half decades after his demise. His vision about a glorious India has been taking a shape in the post-Independence era. Bharathi did not live for himself but for the people and nation. That is why he

is respectfully called as Bharathiyar. Even today, after many decades, Subramaniya Bharathiyar stands as an undying symbol of Indian freedom and vibrant Tamil nationalism.

**DO YOU KNOW?**

Bharathiyar passed away on 11th September 1921. It was a travesty that only 14 people attended his funeral, fearing repercussion from the British and caste ostracisation.

### 15.4 Communism

#### Singara Velar (1860-1946)



The emergence of Swadeshi and Home rule movement in India in the initial part of 20th century aroused the thirst for freedom. Reforms were made in Hindu religion in accordance with the existing society. These movements played a key role in creating the feeling of Indianness and Nationalism in the political Scenario.

But these movements are religious in nature. Moreover, those who participated in these movements are from upper social class. Freedom sought by these people are political in nature neglecting the interests and economic upliftment of farmers

and labourers. This affected the majority Indians who are poor and belong to farmers community. Further, caste discrimination existed within Congress Party. Particularly, in Tamilnadu there existed a clear difference between brahmins and non-brahmins.

In this context, Singaravelar played a pivotal role in spreading rational ideas and scientific perception in to politics. He also played a key role in connecting welfare of farmers and workers in to freedom struggle and spreading socialist thinking in to politics.

#### Impact of Singaravelar's Ideas on Congress Party

The British empire which exported the raw materials in the initial stages started industries later in India as the demand increased. This worsened common people's life standards. They are ready to work even for meagre wages. Hence, those who are employed were treated as slaves. Even a minor protests by the employees were suppressed with iron hands. More labour organizations emerged to protect the rights of working class. These organizations were headed by Thiru.V.Kalyanasundaranar and D.Varadharajalu in the Madras presidency. It was Singaravelar who took major efforts in the emergence of labour organizations in Madras presidency.

Singaravelar wanted to sensitize the workers on politics and wanted to engage them in the freedom struggle. But Congress Party did not accept this idea of Singaravelar. Singaravelar criticised it vehemently and send telegraphs to Congress high command, following this, he wrote a letter to Mahatma Gandhi. Further, he also wrote about this issue on the popular dailies Swadesamitran, The Hindu, and magazines like Navasakthi.

He also propagated this among congress workers. In this juncture, he participated in the Congress Committee (1922) meeting as a representative of Tamilnadu, there also he explained the following demands and sought support from Congress members.

- ❖ Indian freedom includes economic freedom of workers and farmers.
- ❖ The welfare of farmers and labourers should also be the motto of Congress party.
- ❖ Farmers and labourers must be included in the Indian national movement.
- ❖ Congress leaders should help to raise masses from different organization.

Consequent of this, in 1922, Indian National Congress, passed a resolution to induct people from various organizations. A six member committee was constituted, in which M. Singaravelar was appointed as a member. In addition to this, he also fought for the protection of labour rights. He emphasized this demand by writing in all popular dailies. As an outcome, labour protective law was passed in 1926, in India. Moreover, he advised for speaking in vernacular languages. Only then, he believed that the ideas will reach all the people. So, that leaders and people can maintain good relations. He is also determined to speak in Tamil, when speaking about the issues of Tamilnadu people. In 1918, a resolution regarding this was passed during Chennai Presidency Association Conference. Singaravelar and Periyar were the dignitaries in this conference.

### **Singaravelar's Impact on Self-Respect and Communist Movements:**

When Periyar resigned from Congress Party citing the existence of Brahmin and Non-Brahmin divide and discrimination

in the party, Singaravelar supported the action of Periyar. After visiting USSR, Periyar was influenced by the Communist ideals. He changed the name of self-respect movement to Self-Respect Social Justice Party. Singaravelar made his contribution in framing the policies and principles of the movement. He also wrote extensively in Periyar's Republic magazine against superstitious beliefs. These writings were simple and can be understood easily.

Singaravelar has a deep faith in the philosophy of Communism. He urged the Congress party to support labour organizations. In the name of Madras Socialists, he telegraphed Congress High Command. In all the Congress Committee meetings he argued as a Communist representative.

In 1923, it was he, who organized the first May Day celebrations in Chennai. In the same day, he announced the formation of labour-farmer political party. The demands of his new political party are

- ❖ Eight hours work
- ❖ Right to form union
- ❖ Right to strike as a last resort to pressure labour demands.
- ❖ Three level committees for reviewing the demands.
- ❖ Minimum wages
- ❖ Shelter with basic amenities
- ❖ Medical and life Insurance
- ❖ Provident fund facility
- ❖ Earned leave
- ❖ Free Medical assistance
- ❖ Maternity leave
- ❖ Put an end to contract basis

## For Farmers

- ❖ Free water for agriculture
- ❖ Abolition of Zamindari system

## For People

- ❖ Voting rights for all
- ❖ Right to contest in elections for poor, labour and farmer communities.

First socialist conference was headed by Singaravelar in 1925, in Kanpur. He spoke about socialism without violence. Also, he resolved for adopting Communism according to Indian circumstances. A socialist should play a role by being in the member of Congress Party, he advised. Eventually, Socialist block was formed inside the Congress Party.

## Life and Services

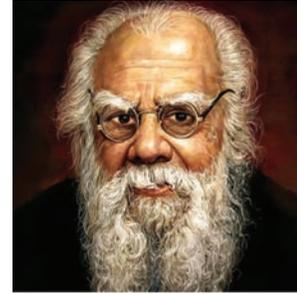
Since his childhood Singaravelar did not believe in the Varna System and superstitious belief. As a result of this, he established Buddhist Association and propagated against Varna System and superstitious beliefs during 1880 itself.

Born in a rich family and well versed with law, he served as a member in Chennai Municipality and also in health sector. Due to the endemic diseases in the down-trodden areas, he gave priority to health and education. He also fought for rights of labourers. Based on this, he played active role in Congress Party. Later, he joined in Periyar's Self – Respect movement.

Though he entered into politics after he crossed the age of 50, he actively propagated and wrote about communist ideas for more than thirty years. He was fondly remembered and called as the first communist of south India.

## 15.5 Dravidian Ideology

### Periyar (1879-1973)



### Introduction

Periyar E.V.Ramasamy is regarded as the best political thinker in Tamilnadu. This is because he is the foremost reformist in our state. Let us see about him in detail in this lesson.

**DO YOU KNOW?**

The original name of Periyar is E.V.Ramasamy. He was born in the year 1879 in an affluent business family in Erode. Even during his youth, Periyar criticized the superstitious beliefs in his family and surroundings. He did not enter politics at the early stages of his career. But still, he occupied posts like chairman of Erode municipality.

Periyar fought against superstitious beliefs, enslavement of women and social backwardness which existed in Tamilnadu from time immemorial based on his wisdom and self-respect throughout his life. It is because of this, he is fondly called as 'Thanthai Periyar'. Various scholars on Social Justice say that the Dravidian ideology enunciated by Periyar on cultural lines shines all around our country.

Periyar was attracted towards Gandhi's entry into politics and hence joined congress and became actively participating in freedom

movement and social reforms. During that period in 1920's Congress was dominated by upper class people. But Periyar took Congress to the down trodden and successfully organized temple entry movements as a true Congress man. Periyar was very much disgruntled by the practice of Varnashrama in Congress party and left it. He joined Justice party and formed the self respect movement later. After this, the contributions and activities of Periyar became inseparable from the politics of India and Tamilnadu in particular.

In the name of nation, if a group of people exploit other groups that is not the real freedom which a nation fought for, said Periyar alias E.V. Ramasamy. Periyar vociferously criticized against Nation, Race and Nationalism at various levels. All Nation, nationality and nationalism are similarly related concepts. All these differentiations indicate the "Self Respect" of the entire population of a country.

If anybody speaks about nationalism in Tamilnadu, I wonder, that will they think about "welfare or botheration about people" questioned Periyar.

### **Nationalism as exploitation**

There are people who may not bother about Indians, Tamilians and the self-respect of the people. They deceive people to believe in nation and nationalism for their own welfare and betterment. If self-respect is submerged in the name of nation and nationalism that will be the crime against India, stated Periyar.

Nationalism is an unreal feeling. Since National feeling is nothing but a conspiracy framed by rich and power-centered, people who deceive the other people by controlling the negative emotions. It is a false assumption, propagated by these upper rich communities in order to curtail the rights of the poor community.

**DO  
YOU  
KNOW?**

### **An iconoclast and rationalist social reformer**

#### **His work and his legacy**

For the average Tamil, Periyar today is an ideology. He stands for a politics that foregrounded social equality, self-respect, and linguistic pride. As a social reformer, he focused on social, cultural and gender inequalities, and his reform agenda questioned matters of faith, gender and tradition. He asked people to be rational in their life choices. He argued that women needed to be independent, not mere child-bearers, and insisted that they be allowed a equal share in employment. The Self Respect Movement he led promoted weddings without rituals, and sanctioned property as well as divorce rights for women. He appealed to people to give up the caste suffix in their names, and do not mention caste. He instituted inter-dining with food cooked by Scheduled caste people in public conferences in the 1930s.

Over the years, Periyar has transcended the political divide as well as the faultlines of religion and caste, and come to be revered as Thanthai Periyar, the father figure of modern Tamil Nadu.

**Courtesy ; Arun Janardhanan, The New Indian Express, 13.3.2018.**

Nationalism has become a buzz word of addictiveness and emotionalist for the people, he exclaimed.

### **Global Nationalism – A Denial**

Periyar in his speech in Sri-Lanka, opposed strongly against Nation and Nationalism when others used ‘Indian Nationalism’ as a weapon, Periyar spoke against these factors. He has also shown about other nations, nationalistic feeling apart from Indian Nationalism.

It is to treat people as scapegoat, Capitalist Class along with other similar people, Patriotic feeling was misused, said Periyar.

For instance, if rich communities in U.K have any clash with USA or vice-versa they may give clarion call as “Oh ! Britons, Patriots, our nation is under threat”. Such kind of false words is only for their economic advancement and not for the poor communities.

Erstwhile, Russia has many races and cultural groups, but there is no discrimination in that nation. He also supported communist revolution. These nations which are free of nationalism, religion and God may not be affected with luxurious life styles, poverty and exploitation by rich community. Those people may not stick upon with national and godly attachments. Equality and egalitarian society is the only priority of that place. There will not be any discrimination like rich-poor, owner-worker, powerful-powerless in that region. Those people of high value and egalitarian-longing are not equal to the nation which gives priority for God and Nationalism.

By showing other nations as evidences, Periyar also criticized Indian nationalistic feelings and patriotism. Because these feelings are exploited as weapons by certain dominant groups.

### **India – A Land of Diversities**

Whether “Nation” as a concept is suitable for India? Periyar raised a pertinent question and answer as well.

“Madras is not a separate nation and cannot function separately,” says some of our friends. Once ‘Madras’ was a nation. Also now, “Dravidam” it is. The culture and other practices are different from Bengal and Mumbai. English language is the main base for the familiarly among these different nations in India. If British Empire and its language is relieved from India, Hindi may become the national language. Instead of calling India as a nation, Dravida Nadu, Andhra, Bengal can be separately called as nations respectively. For instance, Dravidian nation had its culture, language, civilization and rule for thousands of years on accordance with historical facts. Undoubtedly it is known to all the people.

“Dravidian Nationalism” proposed by Periyar was to a large extent against religious dominations.

### **On Language**

Each and everyone have their own rights to protect their languages. These rights can be protected and provided under Dravida, Socialist Republic Rule. No language can be enforced.

Language should not be misused as weapon for separatism. If people are dependent upon Central rule for all kinds of amenities, there is no outcome in it. If languages are officialised at Central level, will the poor people relieve out of hunger?

To put it in clear way, are Tamil labourers exploited only by the Tamil speaking owner class?

## Casteless Society

Periyar's protests and speeches always centre around, "Tamilnadu for Tamils and Dravidian nation for Dravidians." His ideologies include Common plan, common work plan, Islamic conversion, separate Dravidian nation for which he fought against the dominant communities.

His argument was that the dominant communities misused Tamil, Tamil nationalism, Tamil race for sustaining the power in Tamilnadu. It is with the help of Tamil leaders, they injected Tamil nationalism in the minds of the people for holding the power for a long time he said.

### Glossary

**Political Movement :** It is a social group that operates together to obtain a political goal.

**Social Movement :** It is a type of group action. Social movements can be defined as organizational structures and strategies that may empower oppressed populations to mount effective challenges and resist the more powerful and advantaged elites.

**Dravidian Movement :** Dravidian movement developed in Madras Presidency which comprises the four major ethno-linguistic groups in South India.

**Self-Respect Movement :** The Self-Respect Movement is a movement with the aim of achieving a society where backward castes have equal human rights

**Labour Movement :** A movement organized for the betterment of labourers

**Justice Party :** Communal division between Brahmins and non-Brahmins began in the

Consequently, Periyar put an end to the demand of separate Tamilnadu and upheld the ideal of casteless society.

Thus, casteless society has become the top most priority for Periyar. Other ideals like separate Dravidian nation, abounding dominant communities, distortion of capitalist class became secondary priorities for Periyar.

This may be the only ambition and goals for Dravida Kazhagam, claimed Periyar. "The caste feeling, thus divided the Dravidian race and Dravidians became slaves for Aryans" stated Periyar in his writings published in the 1950's in Tamilnadu.

presidency during the late-19th and early-20th century, mainly due to caste prejudices and disproportionate Brahminical representation in government jobs.

**Casteless Society :** Of a society, an egalitarian society without caste structure

**Pure Tamil Movement :** Pure-Tamil Movement, a movement aimed at freeing the Tamil language from alien language words, particularly Sanskrit.

**Home Rule Movement :** Between the years 1916 and 1918, the Indian independence movement was spearheaded by Dr. Besant's home rule league.

**Politics :** The activities associated with the governance of a country or area, especially the debate between parties having power.

**Discrimination :** The unjust or prejudicial treatment of different categories of people, especially on the grounds of race, age, or sex.

**Peace :** It is the concept of harmony and the absence of hostility. In a behavioral sense,

peace is a lack of conflict and freedom from fear of violence between individuals and heterogeneous social groups.

**National Movement:** A national movement is a social and political movement for obtaining and maintaining national

identity and autonomy among a group of people that some of its members consider a nation.

**Welfare state :** a system whereby the state undertakes to protect the health and well-being of its citizens.

## Evaluation



### I Choose the Correct Answer:

1. In Arathupal of Thirukkural, Valluvar says about?

- a) Ideals and morals      b) poet  
c) political philosopher      d) Welfare state

2. How many Parts are in Porutpal?

- (a)5      (b)4      (c)7      (d) 6

3. Bharathiyar was the editor of

- (a) India      (b) Young India  
(c) Kesari      (d) Dravidan

4. Who wrote 'Panchali Sabatham'?

- (a) Bharathiyar      (b) Thiru. V. Ka  
(c) Kambar      (d) Bharathidasan.

5. Who is regarded as the best political thinker in Tamil Nadu?

- (a) J.C.Kumarappa      (b) Periyar  
(c) Thiruvalluvar      (d) Maraimalai Adigal

6. E.V. Ramasamy was born in the year

- (a) 1879      (b) 1877      (c) 1878      (d) 1876

7. Who wrote "The caste feeling, thus divided the Dravidian race and Dravidians became slaves for Aryans"

- (a) C.N. Annadurai      (b)E.V. Periyar  
(c) Singaravelar      (d) Maraimalai Adigal

8. In1923, First Indian 'May Day' meeting was arranged in Chennai by

- (a) Ilangovadigal      (b)E.V.R. Periyar  
(c) Singaravelar      (d) Maraimalai Adigal

9. Periyar passed away in the year

- (a) 1971      (b) 1972      (c) 1973      (d) 1974





10. Bharathiyar was born in  
(a) Ettayapuram (b) Trichy (c) Tirunelveli (d) Chennai
11. Who started the self respect movement in Tamil Nadu?  
(a) Annadurai (b) E.V.R. Periyar  
(c) Maraimalai Adigal (d) Singaravelar
12. Who said that “Tamilnadu for Tamils and Dravida nation for Dravidians.”?  
(a) Ilangovadigal (b) E.V.R. Periyar  
(c) Singaravelar (d) Maraimalai Adigal
13. In which year a labour protective law was passed in British India?  
(a) 1914 (b) 1924 (c) 1926 (d) 1928
14. Why did Periyar leave Indian National Congress?  
a) Ahimsa (b) Varnashrama Dharma  
c) Personal differences (d) None of them
15. Assertion: Bharathiyar went to Pondicherry and hide himself.  
Reason: Bharathiyar was the editor of 'India' a Tamil daily spreading Nationalism.  
Directions: Given below are two statements labelled as Assertion (A) and Reason (R) in the context of the two statements, which of the following is correct?  
(a) Both A and R are true and R is the correct explanation of A.  
(b) Both A and R are true but R is not the correct explanation of A.  
(c) A is true but R is false.  
(d) A is false but R is true.

### II Match the following:

1. Cholas - Madurai
2. Cheras - Kongunadu
3. Pandyas - Kanchipuram
4. Pallavas - Uraiyur

### III Answer the following questions very shortly

1. What is Thirukkural?
2. How many parts are in Porutpal?
3. Who is the writer of Kuyil Pattu?
4. Explain Bharathiyar's ideas on women empowerment.
5. Discuss Bharathiyar as a Journalist.
6. Describe the views of Periyar on God.
7. Write a short note on Singaravelar's role in Labour Movement.
8. What are Singaravelar's ideas on Politics?
9. Describe Singaravelar's Life and Services to Tamil Society.



#### IV Answer the following questions shortly

1. What is Thiruvalluvar's ideas on Welfare state and King?
2. Explain Valluvar's views on Tyranny
3. Describe Bharathiyar's views on British rule.
4. Explain Bharathiyar's views on Nationalism.
5. Examine the ideas of Singaravelar on Congress Party.
6. List out the demands submitted by Singaravelar in 1922.
7. Enumerate the ideas of Periyar on Dravidanadu
8. Write a note on the Social reforms of Periyar.

#### V Answer the following questions in detail

1. Write a short note on the thiruvalluvar's ideas in the society.
2. Discuss Singaravelar as a labour leader in Tamil Nadu.
3. Elaborate the Socio-Political contributions of Bharathiyar to Tamil Nadu.
4. Explain the life history and contribution of Periyar.
5. Trace the background of Political thought in Tamil Nadu.

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## KEY TERMS



<b>Absolute Monarchy</b>	- முடியாட்சி	<b>Apartheid</b>	- இன ஒதுக்கல் கொள்கை (நிறவெறி)
<b>Activist</b>	- செயற்பாட்டாளர்	<b>Appeal</b>	- முறையீடு
<b>Adherence</b>	- சார்ந்திருத்தல் (அ) பின்பற்றுதல்	<b>Appetite</b>	- உணவு நாட்டம்
<b>Ad-Hoc</b>	- ஒரு குறிப்பிட்ட காரணத்திற்காக மட்டும்	<b>Aristocracy</b>	- பிரபுக்கள் ஆட்சி
<b>Administrative Law</b>	- நிருவாகச் சட்டம்	<b>Astronomy</b>	- வானியல்
<b>Administrative Machinery</b>	- நிர்வாக இயந்திரம்	<b>Asylum</b>	- புகலிடம்
<b>Administrative Policy</b>	- நிர்வாகக் கொள்கை	<b>Authority</b>	- அதிகாரம்
<b>Administrative units</b>	- நிர்வாக அலகுகள்	<b>Behavioral Approach</b>	- நடக்கையியல் அணுகுமுறை
<b>Affirmative Action</b>	- உடன்பாடான செயல்பாடு (நலிந்தோர் நலநோக்கு நடவடிக்கை)	<b>Behaviouralism</b>	- நடத்தையியல்
<b>Age of Enlightenment</b>	- அறிவு மறுமலர்ச்சிக்காலம்	<b>Bill of Rights</b>	- உரிமைகளின் சட்டம்
<b>Alternative vote</b>	- மாற்று வாக்கு	<b>Bourgeoisie</b>	- முதலாளித்துவவாதிகள் / பூர்ஷுவாக்கள்
<b>Amendment</b>	- அரசியலமைப்பு சட்டத் திருத்தம்	<b>Bureaucracy</b>	- அதிகாரவர்க்கம்
<b>Amendment</b>	- சட்டத்திருத்தம்	<b>Cabinet</b>	- அமைச்சர் குழு (அமைச்சரவை)
<b>Amnesty International</b>	- சர்வதேச பொது மன்னிப்பு கழகம்	<b>Capitalism</b>	- முதலாளித்துவம்
<b>Anachronism</b>	- காலத்திற்கு ஒவ்வாமை	<b>Centralisation</b>	- அதிகாரக் குவிப்பு
<b>Anarchism</b>	- அமைப்பெதிர்வாதம் / அரசின்மைவாதம்	<b>Charismatic Leadership</b>	- வசீகரத் தலைமை
<b>Anarchists</b>	- அமைப்பெதிர்வாதிகள் / கலகக்காரர்கள்	<b>Charter of Human Rights</b>	- மனித உரிமைகள் சாசனம் / மனித உரிமைகள் பேரறிக்கை
<b>Antecedents</b>	- முன்னுதாரணங்கள்	<b>Checks and balances</b>	- கட்டுப்பாடுகளும் சமநிலைகளும்
<b>Anthropology</b>	- மானுடவியல்	<b>Child Labour</b>	- குழந்தைத் தொழிலாளர்
<b>Anti-Defection Law</b>	- கட்சித் தாவல் தடைச்சட்டம்	<b>Citizenship</b>	- குடியுரிமை
		<b>City-State</b>	- நகர அரசு
		<b>Civic Participation</b>	- குடிமைப் பங்கேற்பு



<b>Civil Equality</b>	- குடிமைச் சமத்துவம்	<b>Conservatives</b>	- மரபு விரும்பிகள்/ பழமைவாதிகள்
<b>Civil Rights</b>	- குடிமை உரிமைகள்	<b>Constituent Assembly</b>	- அரசமைப்பு நிர்ணய சபை
<b>Civil Society</b>	- குடிமைச் சமூகம்	<b>Constitutional Amendment</b>	- அரசமைப்புச் சட்டதிருத்தம்
<b>Civil War</b>	- உள்நாட்டுப் போர்	<b>Constitutional Law</b>	- அரசமைப்பு சட்டம்
<b>Class Antagonisms</b>	- வர்க்க முரண்பாடுகள் / சாதிய முரண்பாடுகள்	<b>Constitutional Monarchy</b>	- அரசமைப்பு மன்னராட்சி
<b>Class Struggle</b>	- வர்க்கப்போராட்டம்	<b>Constitutional remedies</b>	- அரசமைப்பு தீர்வுகாண் உரிமைகள்
<b>Classless Society</b>	- வர்க்கமற்ற சமூகம்	<b>Contest</b>	- போட்டி
<b>Coalition Ministry</b>	- கூட்டணி அமைச்சரவை	<b>Contractual Rights</b>	- ஒப்பந்த உரிமைகள்
<b>Code of conduct</b>	- நடத்தை விதிமுறைகள்	<b>Cultural and Educational Rights</b>	- பண்பாட்டு மற்றும் கல்வி உரிமைகள்
<b>Cold War</b>	- பனிப்போர்	<b>Cultural Revolution</b>	- பண்பாட்டுப் புரட்சி
<b>Collective Responsibility</b>	- கூட்டுப் பொறுப்புணர்வு	<b>Customs</b>	- பழக்கவழக்கங்கள்
<b>Collegiability</b>	- குழு செயல்பாட்டு தன்மை	<b>Das Capital</b>	- மூலதனம்
<b>Colonialism</b>	- குடியேற்றம்	<b>Decentralization of Powers</b>	- அதிகாரப் பரவலாக்கல்
<b>Committee System</b>	- குழு முறை	<b>Decision Making Policy</b>	- முடிவு எடுத்தல் கொள்கை
<b>Commonwealth Nations</b>	- பொது நலக் கூட்டு நாடுகள்	<b>Declaration of Rights of Man</b>	- மனித உரிமைகள் பறைசாற்றம்
<b>Communal Harmony</b>	- வகுப்பு நல்லிணக்கம் (மத நல்லிணக்கம்)	<b>Decolonization</b>	- குடியேற்ற நீக்கம்
<b>Communist Manifesto</b>	- பொதுவுடமை அறிக்கை	<b>Decree</b>	- ஆணை
<b>Communitarianism</b>	- சமுதாய வாதம்	<b>Deductive Reasoning</b>	- குறைப்பு முறை / பகுத்தறி முறைக் காரணவியல்
<b>Comparative Analysis</b>	- ஒப்பீட்டு பகுப்பாய்வு	<b>Deep Ecology</b>	- ஆழச்சூழலியல்
<b>Comparative Approach</b>	- ஒப்பீட்டு அணுகுமுறை	<b>De-facto sovereignty</b>	- சட்டபூர்வமில்லாத பெயரளவு இறைமை
<b>Comparative Study</b>	- ஒப்பீட்டு ஆய்வு	<b>De-jure sovereignty</b>	- சட்டபூர்வமான இறைமை (சட்டநிலையிலான இறைமை)
<b>Compartmentalism</b>	- பகுதி பகுதியாக பிரித்தல்		
<b>Confederation</b>	- கூட்டிணைவு		
<b>Consenses</b>	- ஒருமித்த கருத்து		



<b>Deliberative Democracy</b>	தன்விருப்ப மக்களாட்சி - (அவதானமான மக்களாட்சி)	<b>Environmental Sustainability</b>	சுற்றுச்சூழல் - நிலைத்தன்மை
<b>Delegation of Authority</b>	- அதிகார ஒப்படைப்பு	<b>Equality of Opportunity</b>	வாய்ப்புகளில் சமத்துவம் - (சம வாய்ப்புரிமை)
<b>Delimitation Commission</b>	- வரையறை ஆணையம்	<b>Equity</b>	- சமப்பங்கு/சமச்சீராக்கம்
<b>Democratic Elitism</b>	- மக்களாட்சியிலான மேட்டிமைவாதம்	<b>Era</b>	- சகாப்தம்
<b>Despotic Government</b>	- கொடுங்கோன்மை அரசாங்கம்	<b>Eradication</b>	- ஒழிப்பு
<b>Despotism</b>	- கொடுங்கோலாட்சி	<b>Eradication of Poverty</b>	- வறுமை ஒழிப்பு
<b>Developed Countries</b>	- வளர்ந்த நாடுகள்	<b>Eternal Law</b>	- நித்திய சட்டம்/முடிவிலிச் சட்டம்
<b>Dialectical Materialism</b>	- இயக்கவியல் பொருள்முதல்வாதம்	<b>Evolutionary Theory</b>	- பரிணாம வளர்ச்சி கோட்பாடு
<b>Dialectical Method</b>	- இயங்கியல் முறை	<b>Evolutionary Theory of Origin of State</b>	- பரிணாம வளர்ச்சி அரசு தோற்றக் கோட்பாடு
<b>Dictatorship</b>	- சர்வாதிகாரம்	<b>Executive Authority</b>	- செயலாக்க அதிகாரம்
<b>Dictatorship Of The Proletariat</b>	- பாட்டாளிகளின் சர்வாதிகாரம்	<b>External Sovereignty</b>	- வெளிப்புற இறையாண்மை
<b>Diplomacy</b>	- தூதாண்மை	<b>Fabian Socialism</b>	- எச்சரிக்கை மிகு சமதர்மம்
<b>Distributive Justice</b>	- பங்கீட்டு நீதி	<b>Factionalism</b>	- பிரிவினைவாதம்
<b>Divine Origin Theory of State</b>	- தெய்வீக உரிமை அரசு தோற்றக் கோட்பாடு	<b>Feminism</b>	- பெண்ணியம்
<b>Divine Rights Theory</b>	- தெய்வீக உரிமை கோட்பாடு	<b>Feminists</b>	- பெண்ணியவாதிகள்
<b>Domestic Liberty</b>	- உள்நாட்டு சுதந்திரம்	<b>Feudalism</b>	- நிலப்பிரபுத்துவம்
<b>Early Vedic Period</b>	- முற்கால வேதகாலம்	<b>Flexible constitution</b>	- நெகிழும் அரசியலமைப்பு
<b>Eco-Feminism</b>	- சூழலிய பெண்ணியம்	<b>Franchise</b>	- வாக்குரிமை
<b>Ecologist</b>	- சூழலியல் வல்லுநர்	<b>Fraternity</b>	- சகோதரத்துவம்
<b>Economic Democracy</b>	- பொருளாதார மக்களாட்சி	<b>Fundamental Rights</b>	- அடிப்படை உரிமைகள்
<b>Economic Security</b>	- பொருளாதாரப் பாதுகாப்பு	<b>Gender Equality</b>	- பாலினச் சமத்துவம்
<b>Enforcible</b>	- செயலாக்கத் தகுந்த	<b>General Will</b>	- பொது விருப்பம்
		<b>Global Warming</b>	- புவி வெப்பமயமாதல்



<b>Globalization</b>	- உலகமயமாக்கல்	<b>Materialistic</b>	- பொருள் முதல்வாத
<b>Glorious Revolution</b>	- மகத்தான புரட்சி	<b>Individualism</b>	- தனிமனிதத்துவம்
<b>House of Representatives</b>	- பிரதிநிதிகள் சபை	<b>Minority Rule</b>	- சிறுபான்மை ஆட்சி
<b>Human Rights</b>	- மனித உரிமைகள்	<b>Mobocracy</b>	- கும்பலாட்சி
<b>Human Trafficking</b>	- ஆட்கடத்தல்	<b>Moderates</b>	- மிதவாதிகள்
<b>Ideal State</b>	- இலட்சிய அரசு	<b>Monarchy</b>	- முடியாட்சி
<b>Idealistic Theory of Rights</b>	- இலட்சியவாத உரிமைக் கோட்பாடு	<b>Monistic Theory of Sovereignty</b>	- ஒருமைவாத இறைமைக்கோட்பாடு
<b>Identity Politics</b>	- அடையாள அரசியல்	<b>Natural Rights</b>	- இயற்கை உரிமைகள்
<b>Inductive Method</b>	- தொகுத்தறிமுறைக் காரணவியல்	<b>Natural Rights</b>	- இயற்கை உரிமைகள்
<b>Initiative</b>	- மக்கள் கருத்து முன்வடிவு	<b>Naturalised Citizen</b>	- இயற்கையாதலான குடிமகன்
<b>Institutional Approach</b>	- நிறுவன ரீதியிலான அணுகுமுறை	<b>Negative Liberalism</b>	- எதிர்மறை தாராளவாதம்
<b>Instrumental Marxism</b>	- கருவி மார்க்சிசம்	<b>Negative Liberty</b>	- எதிர்மறை சுதந்திரம்
<b>Interest Groups</b>	- தன்னலக்குழுக்கள்	<b>Nominal Sovereignty</b>	- பெயரளவிலான இறையாண்மை
<b>Internal Sovereignty</b>	- உள் இறையாண்மை	<b>Non-Alignment</b>	- கூட்டு சேராமை
<b>International Law</b>	- பன்னாட்டுச் சட்டம்	<b>Normative</b>	- கருத்தறிவு
<b>International Organizations</b>	- பன்னாட்டு அமைப்புக்கள்	<b>Nutritious Meal Scheme</b>	- சத்துணவுத் திட்டம்
<b>International Peace</b>	- பன்னாட்டு அமைதி	<b>Observation</b>	- கூர்நோக்குதல்/உற்று நோக்கல்
<b>International Relations</b>	- பன்னாட்டு உறவுகள்	<b>Observation Method</b>	- கூர்நோக்குதல் முறை
<b>League of Nations</b>	- பன்னாட்டுச் சங்கம்	<b>Office of Profit</b>	- ஆதாயம் தரும் பதவி
<b>Legal Approach</b>	- சட்டபூர்வ அணுகுமுறை	<b>Oligarchy</b>	- சிறுகுழுஆட்சி
<b>Legal Sovereignty</b>	- சட்டபூர்வ இறையாண்மை	<b>Organisation</b>	- அமைப்பு
<b>Liberalism</b>	- தாராளவாதம்	<b>Over Developed State</b>	- மிகு வளர்ச்சி அரசு
<b>Local-self Government</b>	- உள்ளாட்சி சுய அரசாங்கம்	<b>Parliamentary Form of Government</b>	- பாராளுமன்ற முறை அரசாங்கம்
<b>Magna Carta</b>	- மகா சாசனம்	<b>Paternalism</b>	- தந்தை வழி மரபு





<b>Patriarchal Theory of State</b>	- தந்தை வழி அரசு - தோற்றக் கோட்பாடு	<b>Political Ideology</b>	- அரசியல் இலட்சியம்
<b>Patriarchy</b>	- ஆணாதிக்கம்	<b>Political influence</b>	- அரசியல் செல்வாக்கு
<b>Patricians</b>	- உயர்குலத்தோர்	<b>Political Obligation</b>	- அரசியல் கடப்பாடு
<b>Patriotism</b>	- நாட்டுப்பற்று/தேசப்பற்று	<b>Political Parties</b>	- அரசியல் கட்சிகள்
<b>Per-Capita Income</b>	- தனிநபர் வருமானம்	<b>Political Polarization</b>	- அரசியல் துருவமடைதல்
<b>Personal Liberty</b>	- தனி நபர் சுதந்திரம்	<b>Political Power</b>	- அரசியல் வலிமை
<b>Personality</b>	- ஆளுமை	<b>Political Rights</b>	- அரசியல் உரிமைகள்
<b>Personality Cult</b>	- தனிமனித வழிபாடு	<b>Political Science</b>	- அரசியல் அறிவியல்
<b>Petitions</b>	- மனுக்கள்	<b>Political Self-Determination</b>	- அரசியல் சுய நிர்ணயம்
<b>Philosophical Anarchism</b>	- தத்துவ அரசின்மை - வாதம்	<b>Political Sovereignty</b>	- அரசியல் இறையாண்மை
<b>Physical Law</b>	- இயற்பியல் சட்டம்	<b>Political System</b>	- அரசியல் முறைமை
<b>Planning</b>	- திட்டமிடல்	<b>Political Theory</b>	- அரசியல் கோட்பாடு
<b>Plebeians</b>	- சாதாரண குடிமக்கள்	<b>Politician</b>	- அரசியல்வாதி
<b>Plebians</b>	- சாதாரண குடிமக்கள்	<b>Politics</b>	- அரசியல்
<b>Plebiscitary Democracy</b>	- பொது வாக்கெடுப்பிலான - மக்களாட்சி	<b>Polling process</b>	- வாக்களிக்கும் நடைமுறை
<b>Plural Executive</b>	- பன்மைத் தலைமை	<b>Polyarchy</b>	- குழுவாட்சிமுறை
<b>Pluralism</b>	- பன்மைவாதம்	<b>Popular Initiative</b>	- மக்களின் துவக்க முறை
<b>Pluralistic Theory of Sovereignty</b>	- பன்முக இறைமைக் - கோட்பாடு	<b>Popular Referendum</b>	- மக்களின் - கருத்துக்கணிப்பு
<b>Plurality</b>	- பன்மைத்துவம்	<b>Popular Sovereignty</b>	- மக்கள் இறையாண்மை
<b>Policy</b>	- கொள்கை	<b>Popular will</b>	- மக்கள் விருப்பம்
<b>Policy makers</b>	- கொள்கையை - உருவாக்குபவர்கள்	<b>Popularity</b>	- பிரபலம்
<b>Political Asylum</b>	- அரசியல் புகலிடம்	<b>Positive Liberalism</b>	- நேர்மறை தாராளவாதம்
<b>Political Authority</b>	- அரசியல் அதிகாரம்	<b>Positive Liberty</b>	- நேர்மறைச் சுதந்திரம்
<b>Political Democracy</b>	- அரசியல் மக்களாட்சி	<b>Positive Rights</b>	- நேர்மறை உரிமைகள்
<b>Political Economy</b>	- அரசியல் பொருளாதாரம்	<b>Post- Revolutionary Stage</b>	- புரட்சிக்குப் பிந்தைய - நிலை
<b>Political Equality</b>	- அரசியல் சமத்துவம்		



<b>Post-Behavioralism</b>	– பிந்தைய நடத்தையியல் (பின் தோன்றிய நடத்தையியல்)	<b>Progressivism</b>	– முன்னேற்றவாதம்
<b>Post-Colonial Feminism</b>	– பின் காலனிய பெண்ணியம்	<b>Proletariat</b>	– பாட்டாளி வர்க்கம்
<b>Post-Colonial States</b>	– குடியேற்றத்திற்குப் பிந்தைய அரசுகள்	<b>Prominent</b>	– முதன்மையான
<b>Post-Modern Feminism</b>	– பின் நவீனத்துவ பெண்ணியம்	<b>Promulgation</b>	– நடைமுறைப்படுத்துதல்
<b>Post-Modernism</b>	– பின் நவீனத்துவம்	<b>Propaganda</b>	– பரப்புரை
<b>Post-Revolutionary Stage</b>	– புரட்சிக்குப் பிந்தைய நிலை	<b>Proportional</b>	– விகிதாச்சார
<b>Poverty</b>	– வறுமை	<b>Protective Democracy</b>	– பாதுகாப்பிலான மக்களாட்சி
<b>Pre-Revolutionary Stage</b>	– புரட்சிக்கு முந்தைய நிலை	<b>Proxy</b>	– பதிலி/பிரதிநிதி
<b>Preamble</b>	– முகப்புரை/முகவுரை	<b>Psephology</b>	– வாக்களிப்பியல்
<b>Pre-Revolutionary Stage</b>	– புரட்சிக்கு முந்தைய நிலை	<b>Psephology</b>	– தேர்தலியல்
<b>President of India</b>	– இந்திய குடியரசுத் தலைவர்	<b>Psychology</b>	– உளவியல்
<b>Presidential Form of Government</b>	– குடியரசுத்தலைவர் முறை அரசாங்கம்	<b>Public interest</b>	– பொது நலம்
<b>Presidential Form of Government</b>	– குடியரசுத்தலைவர் முறை அரசாங்கம்	<b>Public office</b>	– பொதுப்பதவி
<b>Presidential System</b>	– குடியரசுத்தலைவர் முறை	<b>Public Opinion</b>	– பொதுக் கருத்து
<b>Pressure Groups</b>	– அழுத்தக் குழுக்கள்	<b>Public Sector</b>	– பொதுத்துறை
<b>Preventive Detention</b>	– தடுப்புக் காவல்	<b>Purchasing Power Parity</b>	– வாங்குந்திறன் சமநிலை
<b>Primitive Communism</b>	– ஆரம்பநிலை பொதுவுடைமை	<b>Qualitative Methods</b>	– தரநிலை முறைகள்
<b>Primitive Communism</b>	– ஆரம்பநிலை பொதுவுடைமை	<b>Quantitative Methods</b>	– தகுதிநிலை முறைகள்
<b>Primordial</b>	– ஆதியிலிருந்து	<b>Quasi-Federal State</b>	– அரைகுறை கூட்டாட்சி அரசு
<b>Privileges</b>	– சலுகைகள்	<b>Quasi-Judicial</b>	– நீதிமுறை சார்புடைய
<b>Progress</b>	– முன்னேற்றம்	<b>Quota</b>	– ஒதுக்கீடு
		<b>Racial Discrimination</b>	– இனப் பாகுபாடு
		<b>Radical Democracy</b>	– தீவிர மக்களாட்சி
		<b>Radical Feminism</b>	– தீவிர பெண்ணியம்
		<b>Rajya Sabha</b>	– மாநிலங்களவை



<b>Real Sovereignty</b>	– மெய்யான இறையாண்மை	<b>Returning officer</b>	– தேர்தல் நடத்தும் அதிகாரி
<b>Real Will</b>	– மெய்யான விருப்பம்	<b>Reverse discrimination</b>	– தலைகீழ் பாகுபாடு
<b>Realism</b>	– மெய்மைவாதம்	<b>Revolution</b>	– புரட்சி
<b>Reason</b>	– பகுத்தறிவு	<b>Rhetoric</b>	– சொல்லாட்சி
<b>Recall System</b>	– திரும்ப அழைத்தல் முறை	<b>Right</b>	– உரிமை
<b>Recognition</b>	– ஏற்பு	<b>Right against Exploitation</b>	– சுரண்டலுக்கு எதிரான உரிமை
<b>Referendum</b>	– மக்கள் ஒப்பம்	<b>Right to Equality</b>	– சமத்துவ உரிமை
<b>Reforms</b>	– சீர்திருத்தங்கள்	<b>Right to Freedom</b>	– சுதந்திர உரிமை
<b>Regional</b>	– வட்டார/பிராந்திய	<b>Right to Freedom Of Religion</b>	– மதச்சுதந்திரத்திற்கான உரிமை
<b>Regional Alliances</b>	– வட்டாரக் கூட்டணிகள்	<b>Right to Life</b>	– உயிர்வாழும் உரிமை
<b>Regional Alliances</b>	– வட்டாரக் கூட்டணிகள்	<b>Right to Privacy</b>	– தனியுரிமை
<b>Regulate</b>	– ஒழுங்குபடுத்துதல்	<b>Right to Privacy</b>	– தனியுரிமை / அந்தரங்க உரிமை
<b>Religion</b>	– மதம்	<b>Rightist Ideology</b>	– வலதுசாரி லட்சியவாதம்
<b>Religious Fundamentalist</b>	– மத அடிப்படைவாதி	<b>Rightist Ideology</b>	– வலதுசாரி லட்சியவாதம்
<b>Religious Minorities</b>	– மதச் சிறுபான்மையினர்	<b>Rigid Constitution</b>	– நெகிழா அரசமைப்பு/ இறுக்கமான அரசமைப்பு
<b>Renaissance</b>	– மறுமலர்ச்சி	<b>Rule of Law</b>	– சட்டத்தின் ஆட்சி
<b>Representation</b>	– பிரதிநிதித்துவம்	<b>Ruling Class</b>	– ஆளும் வர்க்கம்
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<b>Representative Democracy</b>	– பிரதிநிதித்துவ மக்களாட்சி	<b>Schedule</b>	– அட்டவணை
<b>Representative Government</b>	– பிரதிநிதித்துவ அரசாங்கம்	<b>Scheduled castes</b>	– பட்டியல் இனத்தவர்
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<b>Social activist</b>	– சமூக செயற்பாட்டாளர்	<b>Spoils System</b>	– அரசியல் சார்ந்த அரசுப் பதவி முறை
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<b>Super Powers</b>	- உயர் அதிகார நாடுகள்	<b>Tribunals</b>	- தீர்ப்பாயங்கள்
<b>Superintendence</b>	- கண்காணிப்பு	<b>Tri-Coloured Flag</b>	- மூவண்ணக் கொடி
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<b>Supervision</b>	- மேற்பார்வை	<b>Tyranny</b>	- கொடுங்கோன்மை
<b>Supervisor</b>	- மேற்பார்வையாளர்	<b>Under Developed Countries</b>	- வளர்ச்சி குன்றிய நாடுகள்
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<b>Votes</b>	- வாக்குகள்	<b>Writ of Quo-Warranto</b>	- உரிமையேது வினா நீதிப்பேராணை
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