

PERSONAL STATEMENTS.

1. Statement from Sri R. Srinivasavaradhan.

The Statement of R. Srinivasavaradhan formerly of Madurai and now residing at Sivankoil street, Sholavandan, Madurai district:-

Sri. Subramania Siva of Batlagundu who was jailed for participating in the Swadeshi agitation ~~in~~ in the South following the Bengal Partition was released in 1914. He started Tamil journals like "Jnanabhami" Prapancha Mitran and the "Indian Pilgrim and propagated nationalism through their columns. In 1921 he started the Bharata Ashram at Madras an organisation pledged to train youngmen to the service of the Motherland. He gathered around himself a band of youths who were ready to sacrifice their all at the altar of the country.

He moved to the South, visited Kumbakonam during the Mahanavami festival of 1921 and gave a series of stirring lectures to youngmen, including T. Sadasivam (of Kalki) and Thyagaraya Sivan of Madurai joined him at this stage. Moving from place to place singing Bharati's songs the Ashramites reached Karaikal where Sivan addressed gatherings and publicly staged patriotic plays like "Desinghu Raja". Enroute at Tirupattur Sivan by his moving speeches managed to persuade people not to bid at toddy auctions. He later arrived in Madurai where myself and Krishana Kunthu, a pioneer among, Saurashtra Congressmen joined Ashram.

Sivan stayed at Madurai for one ~~xxxxx~~ month and that period the streets of the town echoed to the st

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No 108



page: 2

17.4.42.

Dear Satyamurthi,

Your letter.

I am doing all I can in the way of showing the non-violent approach to the pending menace. But I am helpless if the Congress policy changes from moment to moment.

I do not know how Hindu-Muslim understanding can be brought about. Our meeting can be easily brought about. I have only to walk to his place. Having gone there, what am I to do or say? If I know that I would go. There seems to me to be no meeting ground.

Ba is quite well. Thanks.

Yours sincerely,
Sd./- M.K.GANDHI.

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conference. Abdul Majid Sharar, President of the Khilafat Conference and Haji Mahammad Moulana Saheb of Madura were arrested and sentenced. Siva planned to march on foot with his ashram people to Ahmedabad in 1921 to attend the congress session there. But he was arrested for his speeches delivered at Madura and sentenced to 2½ years imprisonment. The Ashramites under the leadership of T.Sadasivan redoubled their activities during the period. T.N.Nataraja Pillai of Tanjore, Thanga Meeran Sahib of Dindigul, Subramania Nayanar of Sathur and his son Shanmugha Sundara Nayanar and Dr.P.Varadarajulu Naidu were jailed in succession.

Seeing this, myself, Sadasivan Krishna Kunthu, Thyagaraya Sivan and others, nineteen in all, picketted the liquor shop at Ghoripalayam and were sentenced to 15 months imprisonment. Every day we used to be marched on foot from jail with manacles on to the court which was about 4 miles off. We went about with Bharathi's songs on our lips and huge crowds used to follow us. The spectacle spurred many people to activity. A.Vythianatha Iyer, Vakil, came out and took up national work. He was joined by S.D.Krishna Iyengar, Vakil, N.Narayana Iyer (vakil) P.Sunderam Pillai, Chidambara Bharathi, I.D.F. Sundararajan and others. My wife, Padmasani, took charge of the Ashram. She refused to wear jewellery till her husband was released from jail and gave up one meal. She used to spin daily and enrolled more than 500 ladies in the congress. She addressed meetings and made fiery speeches, carried on a campaign of khadi sales from house to house and was mainly responsible for the political awakening among women in Tamilnad.

(1922) All this time, disobeying an order under Section 144 Cr.P.C. C.Rajagopalachariar, Arni Subramania Sastri and E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker were sentenced.

When the Bharatha Ashram members came out of jail they decided in 1923 to start picketting of liquor shops once more in Madura. At a time all the liquor shops in the city were picketted and more than one hundred volunteers courted imprison-

ment on account of this action. It was at this time that General Manchershaw Avari, who was the Chairman of the Nagpur Municipality, started the flag satyagraha there by carrying the National Tricolour into the prohibited Civil lines area. The movement had the support of Seth Jammalal Bajaj. Hundreds of volunteers from Tamilnad also joined the fight and were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. Many were arrested en route to Nagpur. But ultimately the authorities had to yield and the movement ended in the triumph of the satyagraha. The Madura picketting campaign had been suspended under Rajaji's instructions while the Nagpur satyagraha was going on. But this was not resumed after the victorious termination of the flag fight.

At this time there was a lull in the political atmosphere in the country with the exception of the Nagpur flag fight, and the picketting of liquor shops in Madura and when picketting was not renewed after the flag fight the Dasabaktha Samajan under my leadership decided to whip up enthusiasm among the people by a propaganda tour of Tamilnad. The plan was that Samajan members should go on foot from village to village *addressing meetings collect either money or foodstuffs* at each place to feed themselves and rest either in Congress offices or public choultries.

The Samajists started their tour. At Sholavandan and Dindigul they were helped by Chinnaaswamy pillai and Abdal Sattat. At Trichy they went round the Rock Fort singing songs and held a big meeting at the market maidan over which Dr. T.S.S. Rajan presided. From ^{Trichy} there E.V. Ramaswami Naicker took the party to Karur where they stayed for three days and where they met Poet Ramalingam Pillai who composed a song specially in their praise. The next halt for the group was Erode where they stayed for 15 days in E.V. Ramaswami Naicker's house and did propaganda work.

(Next the party went to Salem and took part in the Tamil Nad Provincial Conference held there under the presidentship of George Joseph. The members of the group were the guests of C. Ananta Chariar, Vakil and were also helped by Rajaji,

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Subramania Siva had also attended the conference and later on at his request the party visited Papparapatti, stayed with him for sometime and went on propaganda tours with him in the neighbouring villages. It was at the Bharatashramam near Papparapatti ~~x~~ that Desha bhandu das during his visit to the south laid the foundation for the temple of Bharata Mata, planned by Siva.

(At Dharmapuri we staged the play "Shivaji" written by Siva in which I played the part of Shivaji while Siva himself appeared as Ramadas. As more youngmen began to join the Samajam ~~x~~ ~~dx~~ they were divided into groups. About a dozen people were deputed to go to Madras to help the Congress candidates in the Madras Corporation elections, that were about to take place. This group went to Madras via Tirupathur Vaniyambadi and Ambur and helped in the elections. As my wife, Padmasani, was enciente, myself stayed hebind in Pappara-patti. Siva with Chidambara Bharathi and few others visited Tiruchi, Sairangam, Mannarkudi Tiruvarur, Tanjore and other places addressed meetings and collected funds for the Bharata-shramam and the Bharatamata temple. Coming to realise the effective nature of the propaganda carried on by Siva the Govern-ment tried all sorts of devices to put a stop to it. The Railway Police served an order on Siva prohibiting his travels in trains since he was suffering from a contagious disease! But Siva took that ~~xxx~~ as a god-send. He announded that henceforth he would travel in ~~tx~~ bandy carts and move from village to village. Visiting Kumbakonam, Mayavaram and Shirkali he arrived at Chidambaram with his disciples. The group from Madras also reached Chidambaram. After my wife's delivery we also moved out of Papparapatti and visiting ⁿKunamangalam, Kalambur and Arni arrived at Chidambaram.

We stayed in Chidambaram for about one month. The daily programme of bhajans and meetings went on as usual. Siva decided to stage "Shivaji" there but hearing of this the local authorities served an order under sec. 144 Cr.P.C. banning the play. Questions about this ban were raised on the floor

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of the Legislative Council of Salem, T. Audinarayana Chettiar of Salem, and S. Satyamurthi and eventually the ban was withdrawn.

Our next halt was at Cuddalore where we stayed a few days. From this place Siva with Chidambaram Bharathi paid a visit to Pondicherry and there met R.C.S. Sarma, a communist leader who had taken refuge there. After sometime a printing press was brought over from Germany specially to print communist literature for distribution.

It was decided here ~~to~~ to divide the whole group into two. The Bharat Ashramam people led by Siva left for Madras while those belonging to the Desabaktha Samajam left for Madura under me.

The Samajam was a disciplined body of public workers and so its ~~pr~~ help was requisitioned by organisers of many district political conferences. And they did their work well at the Conferences held at Koilpatti, Uttamapalayam, Rameswaram, Pindigul, Kulitalai, Aykkudi and other places.

In 1924 due to the indefatigable efforts of Chidambaram Bharathi the Bharathi Circulating Library was organised in Madura which served the public usefully for a long time. Under its auspices birth days of national leaders were celebrated. During Navarathiri a festival in honour of Bharathamatha was celebrated. Another institution that was started during this period was the National School in West Chitral street, Madura, in whose inauguration Mr. Kandaswamy Reddiar, the agent of the "Hindu" and "Sivadesamitran" which played an important part and continued its useful service till the attainment of freedom by the country. It was declared open by the Andhra Kesari, T. Prakasam. It now houses the Satyamurthi Memorial Reading Room and the Congress Office.

Nine miles off, Madura at Thoppur there is a plot of land belonging to my wife Padmasani. There I established the Swarajya Ashram and made it a centre for the constructive programme of the congress. Now it has been renamed Bharathi Ashramam.

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and is under the charge of Mr. Subbu of Tirumangalan.

Another achievement to stand to the credit of Madura is the translation into Tamil and publication of the War of Independence by Vinayak Savarkar which was proscribed by the Government. The translation of the book was very ably done by Dr. Mrs. Soundaram Ramachandran who sat at it day and night for three months and finished it. The translation so fully kept up the spirit of the original that nobody will consider it a translation. About one thousand rupees were collected for this purpose and two workers Pichu Sivam and V. Ramanathan went to Karikal where work on the printing of the Book began at a local press. Chidambaram Bharathi also had gone there for the purpose and when forms were ready he took over 30 forms of 240 pages each of 2000 unbound copies to the Madras Congress in 1927. At the Madura delegates camp in the Congress-nagar about half a dozen people sat one night and assembled the forms to make up books. Later they were taken to the city, and brought back after being bound. That very night copies of the book were distributed free to all those who had helped the bold venture with their financial support. Through Mr. Subbiah Naidu about fifty copies were sent to Rangoon.

Only after reading about the atrocities committed by Gen Neill which the Tamil public came to know after reading this book did the idea of the Neill statue Satyagraha of 1927 originate. (In 1930 during the salt Satyagraha days in Madura and other places many people were arrested and sentenced for reading in public passages from this book.)

In February 1927 "General" Awari, the Chairman of the Nagpur Municipality inaugurated the sword satyagraha at Nagpur. This roused the enthusiasm of youngmen in Tamilnad. They called for a meeting at Ramanathapuram which was attended, among others, by myself, my wife Padmasani, Vellore, A. Kuppuswami Mudaliar, N. Annamalai Pillai of Tiruvannamalai, C. S. Swaminathan Chettiar, S. A. Devanayaga Iyah of Panruti, P. Lakshmana Pillai of Virudhunagar, Sesha Iyengar of Rannad, and N. Somayajulu. It was decided to

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start a sword satyagraha in Madura itself. And accordingly on June 16, 1927 on Deshabandu Day, the movement was inaugurated. K.V.Ganapathy of Madras (now Swami Satyanande Saraswathi) and + Mohammed Sali of Ramnad marched out from the National school, Madura, carrying aloft two swords 2½ feet long and went round the streets in procession. Stopping at Street corners they addressed people stressing the inalienable right of the people to bear arms. The local authorities were confused. They did not know what to do Telegrams were despatched to Madras. But ultimately acting on the advice of the then Law Member, Mr. C.P.Ramaswamy Iyer, the Government came out with an announcement conceding the right to bear arms excepting in a few places like Malabar.

In this connection Mr.Kamaraj (now chief Minister of Madras) and K.S. Muthuswamy of Virudhunagar helped us by sending about half a dozen swords specially made at their place.

The idea of the demolition of the Neill statue first entered my mind when I halted at Madras with my family for a couple of days on my way back to Madura from a pilgrimage to Tirupathi. I saw the statue in Mount Road. On my return to Madura, my self, my wife Padmasani and M.Somayajulu decided on a plan of action to focus public attention on the atrocities committed by Neill. The statue was not guarded but if there was public agitation the authorities may keep it guarded. So we decided to send two people who offered themselves as the first satyagrahis to Madras--Subbarayalu of Tirunelveli and Mohammed Salia of Ramnad without any fuss to break the statue. We decided to appoint Somayajulu as the dictator of the movement. But finance proved the biggest hurdle. This was solved by my wife coming forward to pledge her bangles and raising funds to send the two satyagrahis to Madras.

On August 11, 1927 at about 9 A.M. Subbarayalu and Salia started from "Tamil Nadu" office armed with axes and hammers and began hacking away at the statue. They succeeded in breaking a portion of the sheath of the sword carried by Neill and hoisted the national flag on it and garlanded the flag.

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By this time hundreds of people had gathered around the place and were gazing with astonishment at the daring deed.

Seeing the Crowd the two satyagrahis made speeches about the atrocities committed by Neill on Indian men, woman and children, A few European passers-by complained to the near by police station whereupon policemen appeared on the scene and arrested the satyagrahis. Immediately four men were deputed to guard the statue. The satyagrahis were produced before the Egmore Magistrate's Court and sentenced to six months R.I.

The leaders in Madras considered the action as that of misguided youths "at first but following Gandhiji's call to the ~~the~~ corporation to take steps to ~~x~~ remove the statue changed their attitude and came forward to help.

The next day after the sentence of the first two satyagrahis N. Somayajulu arrived in Madras with a few volunteers and took charge of the movement. Every day two satyagrahis were jailed. Somayajulu addressed a few meetings as a result of which he was arrested and sentenced. He was succeeded by Swaminatha Mudaliar of Gudiyattam who was in turn sentenced making room for S.A. Devanayaga Iyah of Panruti. About 80 people were jailed in this movement in which all those who took part in the Madura Sword Satyagraha also participated.

② Later I took part in the boycott agitation as also the 1930 and 1932 movements.

Sd/ R. SRINIVASAVARADAN.
8-6-1955.

Furnished by S. Rangarajan.

① The movement was later called off in view of the coming countrywide Simon Boycott agitation.

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2. The STATEMENT of S.Rangarajan, 15, Shivaji Street, T.Nagar,
Madras--17.

While I was a student of the VI Form in the Sethupathy High School, Madura in 1926 I came across two remarkable books which played a decisive part in shaping my future.

The first book was the "Indian war of Independence" by Vinayak Damodar Savarkar which described in vivid language the heroic struggle that was waged in India in 1857 to shake off foreign yoke. In particular I was moved by the photographs published in the volume showing veteran leaders about to be blown off cannons' mouths. I decided then and there not to enter the service of the foreign Government and devote myself to the cause of the country. The other book that caught my youthful imagination was, strangely enough, a Government of India publication, the Rowlatt Committee Report which later the Government withdrew from circulation. As I went through the pages of the book which gave an account of the revolutionary movement in the various provinces of India--Albeit a coloured one--my resolve to work for the freedom of the country was strengthened.

I got into touch with the local congress leaders like Mr.R.Srinivasavardan and helped them start the National Youth League of which I became the first Secretary. When I was studying in the Madura College, Madura, the Simon Commission landed in India and I organised the students of the college as well as the other college and High Schools for the hartal and boycott under the leadership of the late Mr.George Joseph. It was a successful boycott. After this when the Lahore conspiracy case was going in Lahore the accused started hunger-strike. One of them Jatin Das died after hunger-strike of 63 days. Immediately I started in Madura the Jatin Das Memorial Fund mainly from donations from the student population of the city. Later as Secretary of the Fund I invited the late Achary P.C. Ray to open the Jatin Das Memorial Library started by the Fund. The opening ceremony took place in my own house. Later the Library was shifted elsewhere. All these activities drew on the attention of the local police on me and my house was

searched on January 1st 1930, by the D.S.P. and a posse of police officials. They carried a lot of books and letters from my house but all of them were returned to me later on. -

(After taking my B.A. degree I took active part in the local congress organisation and was elected a member of the Town Committee as well as a member of the Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee.)

In 1931 there was an attempted political dacoity in Madura which failed. Two people, P.P. Ramaswamy and Mariappan were arrested and sentenced for this incident. The local police wanted to build a big conspiracy case out of this and hence searched the residences of a number of young congressmen who had definitely left its feelings including myself. They miserably failed to connect us with the incident but from then on we were shadowed vigorously.

(When the Civil Disobedience was resumed in 1932 after the arrest of the Frontier Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru I decided to join the movement) And along with 3 others disobeyed an order banning the holding of meetings at Sivaganga. We were arrested and sentenced to 1 year R.L. in January 1932. At first we were kept in the Madura District Jail and later on transferred to the Central Jail, ~~Tiruch~~ Tiruchi.

There were hundreds of political prisoners in Tiruchi then. There were also three state prisoners detained under Regulation III of 1918 from Bengal--Surendra Mohan Ghose, Jibanlal Chatterjee and Pratul Chandra Ganguli--and Kundanlal Gupta of the Lahore conspiracy case. Later on B.K. Dutt of the Assembly Bomb case and comrade of the late Bhagat Singh was also transferred to Tiruchi. Thanks to the graciousness of the Superintendent Mr.

(~~There were hundreds of political prisoners in Tiruchi then.~~ There were also three state prisoners detained under) Ira Carney, himself an Irishman of Nationalist persuasion, (the lot of the political prisoner here was much better than in those of other jails in the Presidency)

The POLITICALS freely met the State prisoners and discussed with them the political situation in the country.) Messrs Ghose

13 ~~XX~~ 11

and Chatterjee, the latter of youngmen and held steeped in Red literature, took on groups of youngmen and held study classes. Mr. Ghose, a devout follower of Sri Aurobindo dealt with the situation from the philosophic angle while Mr. Chatterjee explained at length the theory of historical materialism and marxism. Books dealing with socialism, communism and the freedom ~~the~~ fight of ~~other~~ other nations were smuggled in and were avidly read by us youngmen. Gradually a small group of people imbued with leftist and communist ideology emerged as a result of these talks and classes.

In the meanwhile one of us S.K. Sundaram of Tirunelveli was transferred to Madras to undergo treatment in the General Hospital. Through him Mr. Ghose got into touch with Subhas Chandra Bose, who was then lodged in the Madras Penitentiary. When S.K. Sundaram returned he brought fraternal greetings from Subhas Babu as also a plan for the formation of a new organisation to fight for freedom, the Sanyawadi Sangha. As the day of my release was drawing near a number of people who had attended the classes of the state prisoners, yard and were in close touch with them met together and formally decided to start the new party. A programme of work and constitution were also drawn up modelled on the secret organisation of the communist party of Russia, And thus the group took on a communist colour. It was decided that after we went out we should gather more recruits for the party. Two people ~~my~~ myself for Tamilnad and N. Pattabhirama Reddy for Andhra--were appointed Inspectors of the party. It was also agreed that those who were outside should meet on May 15, 1933 to take stock of the situation and chalk out a programme.

I was released in December 1932 and could go to Madras, only in the last week of May. Things had moved swiftly by then. At the May 15 meeting it had been decided to collect arms and bring off some action or other.

Afterwards I went back to Madura. On 23rd July 1933 a number of police officials from Madras came to my house searched thoroughly and took me into custody. I was brought to

14

12

Madras and exhaustively questioned. From this I could conclude that a number of the members of the group had also been arrested. There were about twenty people involved in what was later on known as the Madras Conspiracy case, two of whom N. Pattabhirama Reddy and S. Krishnan turned approvers. ~~xx~~ ✓

All of us were put up before a special magistrate at Chintadripet for committal proceedings. Among the accused were myself, Mukundalal Sircar, A labour leader and who was involved in the S.I.R. ~~an~~ conspiracy case, K. Gopala Sastri, K. Arunachalam, G. Loganathan, T. Kannan, Kannaḡiram, T. R. Subramanian, D. Balaram Reddy, G. Balakrishna Reddy, R. Dasaratharama Reddy, G. Kalish Setty, K. Ramananda Choudhry, P. Bali Reddi, B. Bapirasu, C. Jagannathan K. Narayanan Nambiar, and R. Sabapathy.

All of us were committed to the sessions of Madras High Court.

The Sessions trial took place from 8th January 1934 to 24th April 1934 on which date His Lordship Mr. Justice Packher~~am~~ Walsh delivered Judgment acquitting one of us, Sabapathy and sentencing the others to various terms of imprisonment. Mukundalal Sircar was awarded 4 years R.I. while I was sentenced to 3 years R.I. along with a number of people. One group of people got two-years sentence.

The ~~xxxx~~ next day after the Judgment was pronounced we were split up into groups and sent to different Jails of the Presidency. Myself and three others were sent to Bellary Central Jail. I was placed in "B" class then. At Bellary we were denied most of the ~~faacilities~~ facilities provided for the "B" class prisoners and so I had to go on hunger-strike. During this period the Inspector General of Prisons Lieutenant-Colonel Khan visited us and I represented to him our grievances. He promised to transfer us to a jail where "B" class facilities were available and broke my fast after 12 days.

Soon after we were split into groups and I was sent to Vellore Jail along with K. Narayanan Nambiar. We were getting on well there where some of the coconada conspiracy case prisoners were also lodged. Suddenly we were reduced to "C"

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class and from that time our troubles started. A couple of months in "C" class found me lose a lot of weight. Seeing this the Superintendent prescribed wheat diet for me and I was able to keep up weight. The Superintendent was transferred and the coming in of the new man. Major Ramanan spelt trouble. He refused to continue my special diet and I began once again to go down in weight and health. I started hunger-strike once again to focus attention on my condition. The news spread outside and questions were raised on the floor of the Legislative Councils by the late Mrs. Rukmini Lakshmi pathy about my condition. After 12 days' hunger-strike I was persuaded to break it. Major Ramanan was such a stickler for rules that he launched a prosecution against me for refusal to take ~~g~~ food ~~xxx~~ which is an offence under the jail Manual. I was tried inside the Jail itself and sentenced to 3 months R.I. When the Inspector General of Prisons visited the Jail shortly I represented my case and he ordered me to be transferred to Cannanore central jail, where due to the excellent climate I recouped my lost health. I was released on March 1, 1937. In August of the same year I came to Madras and joined the "Sunday Times" weekly, as a sub-editor. I am now a sub-editor in the "Hindu". ✓

Sd./ S. RANGARAJAN.

18-4-55.

~~SECRET~~

THE STATEMENT OF K. BASHYAM ALIAS " ARYA" ARTIST.
RESIDING 110 BRODIES ROAD, MADRAS - 28.

16

As a college student in 1926, 1927 and 1928 I tried to gather young, energetic, political minded students at Tiruchi and form an organisation on the model of the Hindustan Gadr Party. I met and had discussions with the Late Dr.T.S.S.Rajan, Dr. T.V.S.Sastri, George Joseph and Mr.Muthukumaraswami Pillai of Pondicherry and corresponded with leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and a few others to find out avenues ~~of~~ ^{of} contacting any North Indian Revolutionary Organisation. All efforts proved futile. By January 1927 myself and four other youngmen, V.S.Anantaraman, P.P.Ramaswamy R.Kalyanam and N.Krishnamurthi, joined together and planned to give up our studies and start an organisation named "The Gentlemen Farmers' League". When the Simon commission came to Trichy we took a leading part in the boycott movement and successfully effected the closure of ~~all~~ the 3 colleges in the city.

I was fined Rs.five by the principal of the national college for having taken a leading part while other students were fined Rs.two each. All of them paid the fine except myself. Later, the Principal, to keep up his prestige, paid the money himself. A few days later I wrote to the Principal informing him of my decision to discontinue my studies as the System of education and the procuring of degree were not useful upon my prospective of life.

We searched for a good spot to start our Gentlemen Farmers' League. After many wanderings through hill and we finally spotted out a valley by name Panchanthangal Ayyalur Railway Station in the Western Ghats range. ~~Dr.~~ Sastri of Trichy helped us a lot in settling us there. all outward purposes the aim and objects of the League

were to solve the problem of unemployment among educated youngmen but the real purpose was to select energetic youngmen with good physique and courage ready to lead a simple life, ready to sacrifice their all in the cause of the country in the manner we chalked out in secret. We took the oath of dedication with our own ~~hallowed~~ blood and practised shooting. In brief our secret plan was to loot rich people or firms, to place the selected members at various important places of Tamilnad where English officials were posted and to watch all those officials' movements closely for the final plan to shoot all of them simultaneously on a particular day agreed upon before as in the Indian war of Independence of 1857.

With this object in view we collected the necessary weapons and arms and attempted to commit political dacoities in Trichy and Tanjore districts. These attempts failed and we narrowly escaped in certain places. During this period our headquarters was at Panchantangi Valley.

Though we failed in our attempts, we were able to establish contacts with very reliable youngmen numbering about 40 spread throughout the Tamilnad who fully sympathised with our objects and helped us in many ways. In certain places like Mannargudi and Negapatam we started Youth Leagues to filter out youngmen for our purpose.

Somewhat, I felt dissatisfied with the state of affairs and planned an "action" on my own account. Taking my revolver with me I followed the then governor of Madras Marjoribanks who started on a tour of the south. From Madras I followed him to chidambaram where he was scheduled to lay the foundation for a park. I managed to gain admittance to the function and also secured a position of vantage very near him. I was about to take out the weapon

from my belt in order to take aim. But suddenly something in me paralysed all activity and I stood as if petrified into stone. A few seconds later I left the place. But on second thoughts I felt that I was a coward and determined once more to bring off the action. I followed the Governor in the same train to Tanjore. At Tanjore one of our active members, R. Gopalakrishnan (now a doctor) tried to dissuade me from my plans. Moreover many unexpected obstructions came in the way and I had to give up the attempt.

(In May 1931 ^(K. Baskaran) we attempted to attack the messenger of a bank in broad daylight in Madura who was carrying about Rs. twenty thousand to his bank. P. P. Ramaswamy and Mariappan of our group were arrested on the spot where the incident took place. I was arrested the next day. Revolvers and other weapons had already been sent away safely through my comrade Anantharaman. The case went on. The Police smelt a big political conspiracy behind the incident. As a result a number of houses were searched in Madura, Negapatnam, Valady, Mannargudi, Madras, Erode, Trichy, Ayyalur, Panchantangi, Erukkettur, Lalgudi and other places. As nothing incriminating was, however, found, the Police had to give up the idea of involving many others in this case. The case against me for conspiracy was withdrawn and that against the other two went on.) P. P. Ramaswamy was sentenced to 7 years R.I while Mariappan was sentenced to 4 years R.I.

I came to Madras after this and joined as a congress volunteer and picketted foreign cloth shops. For about 4 months I lived in the volunteers' camp and did good work. I was later sent with Dr. N. S. Hardiker (1931) to Bhagalpore for further training. In the congress Exhibition at Hubli declared openly by Jawaharlal Nehru I was given charge of the committee stall by Dr. N. S. Hardiker. As the civil Disobedience movement was resumed in December, 1931, I came back to

Madras at once.

Here I began to experiment on inflammable materials. I was successful in the sense that I was able to set fire to ~~big~~ big piecegoods shops like chellaram's Benares Stores and a few others with time-lag given ^I did it with 3 other reliable comrades. About 4 to five lakhs of rupees worth of piecegoods were burnt to ashes at a time when picketting was found impossible and useless. Leaders like Messrs K. Bashyam, Advocate, later a Minister) and B. Jagannatha Dal, (now a supreme court judge) were in the background and helped and encouraged me.

Later an attempt to set fire to the big godown of the B & C Mills in George Town failed narrowly. The police seized and analysed the medium I had used and found it dangerous. As a sequel, placards were displayed in all Railway and Police Stations promising an award of Rs. 500/- for information regarding the culprit.

Now I joined the new communist Party branch at Madras under the assumed name of Sundaram and became its secretary for the George Town area.)

In consultation with some congress leaders like Messrs Bashyam and Jagannatha Das I planned and hoisted the National Flag at 2. A.M. on Independence Day 1932 at Fort St. George over the top of the wireless pole (about 210 feet high) horribly the toptiest point in the whole of the city. This created a sensation in the city. Even the soldiers and policemen were afraid to climb the pole and somebody was given Rs. 10/- by the police to hoist it.

(In the communist organisation I worked in the inner circle as a technical member. The strength was about forty and we used to meet weekly at the beach. We also conducted

a weekly journal named "Mun-etram" (Progress) in Tamil for the workers as also study circles for them. Our leader was Amir Hyder Khan alias Shankar alias Fernandes who had wandered throughout the world and had undergone the party course in Russia. He was involved in the well-known Meerut conspiracy case but was absconding for a long time. Now he was arrested in 1932 here along with myself, Mr. V.K. Narasimhan (now an Assistant Editor of the Hindu) and another who later turned an approver. Many searches in the workers' area as well as in other places were carried out by the ~~Police~~ Police but to no purpose. About twenty of our members were unnecessarily troubled by the Police who sought to involve them in the conspiracy. The case went on for some months.

While in the Penitentiary as undertrials myself and Amir Hyder Khan went on hunger-strike for very many ill-treatments. On the 6th day of the hunger-strike comrade Khan was being given forcible feeding when I evaded the warder in front of my cell, went to comrade's cell and displaced four warders who tried to bring him under control for forcible feeding. The next day I was also given forcible feeding, but the doctor miserably failed when I continued to vomit the whole thing on his face. Khan also later followed my trick of vomiting out the liquid food. At this juncture Sibhas Bose was transferred to the Penitentiary as a State Prisoner for undergoing treatment. And he made Major contractor, Superintendent of the Jail, to concede many of our demands and asked us to break our fast. We did so and as a result of it we were shifted to the European Yard, where Bose was lodged, from the condemned cells and were allowed, along with all other political prisoners to gather and chit-chat every Sunday at Bose's place.

I was sentenced to 1 year R.I. and placed in "B2" class

while Amir Hyder Khan got 5 years. I was transferred immediately to Bellary.

At Bellary central Jail I was placed deliberately in a solitary cell in the Quarantine without being taken inside the main Jail as I was considered too dangerous to mix with others. Reports from the main jail, were, however, coming to me about the unnecessary and atrocious way of beating and torturing political prisoners by the acting Superintendent Capt. Innes.

About 20 days later I was taken inside the main Jail, with cross-fetters on, to witness the flogging of Mahabir Singh of the Lahore conspiracy case. All the political prisoners numbering many hundreds were also forced to sit and witness this horror, the warders surrounding all of us with fixed bayonets. I returned to my cell and spent a sleepless night deeply thinking as to how to teach a lesson to the Superintendent. I came to a decision the next morning.

Two days after at the Quarantine Inspection Parade when the Superintendent came and occupied the chair I pretended to the warder guarding my cell that I had to answer the calls of nature. I came out, went through the backyard of the barracks with my shoes on, sat at some place, left one shoe on the ground, took the other in my right hand, went straight to the end of the barracks, suddenly turned to the front, reached the place where the superintendent sat busy with his work and hit his head with my raised shoe. He was stunned. I gave him another blow and as planned I ran away protecting my head with my hands from the rain of blows that would follow inevitably. It took about five minutes for all the warders to capture me. I was bound and brought to my cell almost like a dead man, beaten black and blue.

22

A week later I was reduced to "C" class. The doctor, one fine morning, took me inside the main Jail once again. I saw to my surprise that all the political prisoners were assembled once again.- this time to witness my flogging. When I was bound to the triangle frame stripped naked, I raised communist slogans and stood firm. One Mr.V. Virabahn Pillai a political prisoner of Tirunelveli (now an auditor in Ceylone stood up and enquired why I was being flogged. Even before he could finish the sentence his elbow bone was broken by one warder. He was forced to sit down. I was given the maximum of thirty lashes without even being medically examined in contravention of the existing rules. My posterior was blood-red and drops of blood were oozing and falling on the ground while I was carried to my cell when the doctor came with tears in his eyes to dress my wounds. For one week, night and day I was forced to lie on my belly. I was released ten days after as per the decision of the High Court in the appeal filed by me.

After my release, for a few months I was working as an Inspector of the Swadeshi certifying Board. Then I started a small co-operative workers' concern by name Electrical Services Society. During this period of one year too, (I was handling confidential technical code word correspondence for the communist party.) Then I took to the profession of an artist for which I had a natural propensity from my early days. I married one orphan girl in 1936 and even after this my political activities continued.

In the 1942 Movement I took an important part in displaying railway lines and breaking bridges with dynamite and gathering arms and men for the big Jobs to be done. A carriage at Egmore Platform was set fire to and some military officer put out the fire and escaped our dynamite arrangements.

Now I am a well-known artist and sculptor. I am a direct cousin of the late Mr.N.Gopalaswamy Iyyengar (Minister for Defence) and the late Mr.A.Rangaswamy Iyyengar (Ex-Editor of the Hindu).

(Gd. K. Bashyam)

24

Statement of SHRI M. BHAKTAVATSALAM AVL.

(Shri M. Bhaktavatsalam was a student in the Presidency College in 1916. He was attracted to the Politics then. Even though the Presidency College prohibited students being attracted by politics he began to pay more attention to politics. During 1918 there was a Conference at Conjeevaram. The subject was whether to support war or not. Rajaji and others opposed the idea of support. Mrs. Sarejini Naidu neither opposed nor appreciated. "THE HINDU" wrote a strong editorial criticising her policy.)

(During his tenure of office as the Secretary, Tamil Nad Congress Committee, Shri Bhaktavatsalam has worked very hard. Prior to that he was the Secretary of the Mahajana Sabha, he has written a Foreword in the book "Civil Disobedience Disturbances Enquiry Committee" - 1930-32 (The book is available in the Mahajana Sabha Office).)

(He had contact with Rajaji when he made first appearance in Madras in Tamil Nad.)

He had been to jail three times. He was confined in Vellore, Trichinopoly and Madras

According to him the jail life was neither bad nor very good. "It could have been fair." During his jail life he acquainted himself with "Prabhantam", "Valmiki Ramayanam" etc. He had enough opportunity to come into contact with poor. He was once in Amraoti jail as a detainee.)

During 1932 when a procession took place, he accompanied other leaders and he was one among those who were severely beaten.

SRI MUTHURANGA MUDALIYAR AVL.

(In olden days before the Non-Brahmin Movement came in this Province people were generally attracted by the Congress. The Swadeshi movement and the contact of Swami Vivekananda captured people in Madras in those days. People like Sri V. Krishnaswamy Iyer gave their support to the then elected side of Congress. Sri Muthu-

ranga Mudaliyar in those early days was a humble supporter of the Congress and Swadeshi Movement.

2. The Non-Brahmin movement and the resultant Justice Party came in Sri Muthuranga Mudaliar in the band of other Nationalist ~~Bra~~ Brahmins organized a counteract to this organization. In the Gandhian Era Sri Mudaliar took up the lead of the Congress in Chingleput District. During Civil Disobedience and Satyagraha movements more active part has been taken and during Pre-civil disobedience movement, the Congress in Madras was organized under the leadership of Sri Srinivasa Iyengar with worthy lieutenants like Muthuranga Mudaliyar in spite of vituperative campaign of Justice Party and inspite of the determined opposition of the party.

Elections to Legislative and local bodies were organised and Congress swepted the polls, defeating the opponents.

Mr. Mudaliyar was severely beaten on 26th January 1932 along with others.

In 1934, the Congress secured cent percent success in the Central Legislative Elections.

In 1937 Elections Sri Mudaliar and Satyamurthi took leading part.)

26

59/ THE STATEMENT OF MR. P. K. NARAYAN, FORMERLY OF MADURA
AND NOW RESIDING AT 2/119, VELLALA STREET, VEPBERY, MADRAS. 32

I used to attend meetings regularly at Krishna Rao Tank Square Madura otherwise known as Tilak Square in 1921. I was one of those present to receive Gandhiji at the Madura Junction during his tour of the South, in May, 1921. And I was present when he publicly announced his decision at a meeting held in East Veli Street to take to the loath cloth as a symbol of the poorest in the land. 7x

Afterwards I used to attend meetings addressed by Messrs. T. N. Nataraja Pillai of Tanjore and Mayavaram Subramania Iyer. Later on the Bharata Samajam, group headed by the late Subramanya Siva carried on the campaign by taking out processions in the daytime crying slogans and singing the songs by Bharathi and addressing meetings at nights. At the end of the meetings there used to be a Bonfire of foreign cloth. It was in 1922. (The nineteen members of the Samajam later started picketting of liquor shops, one of the items in the congress constructive programme for the first time in Tamilnad. They were arrested en bloc and then trial before the district Magistrate dragged on for days. They were lodged in the District jail from where they were taken every day on foot to the collector's court at Tallakylam a distance of about 5 miles, with handcuffs on to stand their trial. Finally they were sentenced to fifteen months R.I each. Whenever they were being taken to the court, large crowds used to follow them. Mr. Srinivasavaradan of the Samajam sang songs of Bharathi and the others would follow. I was moved by such scenes and decided to join the congress.

In 1923 Mr. George Joseph after his release from a prison in the North came to Madura, addressed public meetings and recruited volunteers who were prepared to court imprisonment. I joined them. Now followed picketting of liquor shops all

over Tamilnad. I picketted a shop in Madura and was arrested in June 1923. I was asked to furnish security for good behaviour for one year and on my refusal to do so was sentenced to 1 year S.I. I was sent to Trichy central Jail where there were about 200 satyagrahis. After release I came back to Madura and carried on congress activities such as enrolling of members, organising hostals and public meetings.

In 1927 I joined the volunteer corps of the Madras Session of the Indian National Congress. In 1929 I attended the Lahore congress as a delegate from Madura where the congress objective was declared as Purna Swaraj at midnight of December 31.

(In April, 1930 the Salt Satyagraha movement was organised in Tamilnad at Vedaranyam, Volunteer throughout Tamilnad were selected for the campaign and they assembled at the residence of Dr.T.S.S.Rajan at Trichy on the Tamil Year's Day 13th April 1930 at 5 A.M. one hundred volunteers of whom I had the honour to be one, led by Rajaji started their march to Vedaranyam to break the salt law. They went on foot covering village by village through Trichy and Tanjore Districts followed by huge crowds receiving a grand welcome at every place despite the fiat issued by J.A.Thorne, collector, Tanjore, banning even supply of drinking water to the marchers.

We reached Vedaranyam on April, 1930.

Rajaji selected twelve out of the hundred to break the salt law on the early morning of May 1st, at Agasthiampalli under his leadership. I was one of those chosen for this privilege of being the first salt satyagrahis. After we had picked the salt and waited for a while the D.S.P. Mr. Govindan Nair with a contingent of police arrived on the scene, declared

the assembly as unlawful and asked us to disperse. On refusal Rajaji was put under arrest and under his instructions were returned to the camp. Every day batches of volunteers were breaking the salt law sometimes managing to bring back the salt to the camp. All these were kept in the open for drying and one day the Police carried out a raid to confiscate this salt. And there was a regular tussle between the satyagrahis and the police in which the volunteers won. Every evening there used to be a public meeting near the camp when leaders used to address.

On the May 9, the authorities issued an order banning the meetings and later on prohibited the assemblies ^{of} even five people together. The volunteers used to go in ~~trains~~ ^{trains} and explained to people the state of affairs. I was arrested during the period and sentenced to 6 months R.I.

After release I came back to Madura and was once more working in the congress. I was arrested again for taking part in the Gandhiji birthday procession and sentenced to one week's imprisonment. During the period following the Gandhi - Irwin Truce in 1931, there was picketting of foreign cloth shops and toddy shops in which I participated.

(On the return of Gandhi from the second R.T.C. he was arrested as also the members of the working committee and as a result the civil disobedience movement started once more automatically. The movement was in full swing and repression was very severe. Picketting continued and the Police resorted to breaking of heads and limbs. In addition the Reserve Police, fully drunk, marched through the streets in full force beat the people wearing Gandhi caps and terrorised the populace. Even groups of innocent people standing in street corners were not spared. I was arrested one day suddenly in the afternoon and taken to the collector's

office where I was sentenced to 2 years R. and taken the same night to Trichy Central Jail.

There were hundreds of prisoners there from all over Tamilnad. There were also three state Prisoners from Bengal viz Messrs. Surendra Mohan Ghose of Mymen Singh, Jibanlal Chatterjee and Pratul Ganguliz Decca, and Kundanlal Gupta of the Lahore conspiracy case and B.K. Dutt of the Assembly Bomb Case, both Associates of Bhagat Singh. I came into contact with them along with a number of my colleagues. This was really a turning point in our political outlook. Gtts. Ghose and Chatterjee used to hold study circles and classes wherein we discussed the political situation in the country with particular reference to the congress leadership. Marxist literature was also studied and accounts of Revolutions in other countries like Russia and Ireland. I used to read the "Hindu" everyday which the state Prisoners were subscribing for and announce the main news of the day every evening to the C.D. prisoners. We even staged dramas depicting the lives of heroes like Kattabomma, the Poligar of Panchalankurichi, at nights in the cells!

As a result of our contacts with the leaders from the North some of our people began to have serious doubts in the efficacy of non-violence as a weapon in the fight against foreign rule. They decided to form a revolutionary party outside after release from prison on Russian model covering the whole of the Madras Presidency. This ultimately led to the Madras conspiracy case of 1933.

While I was in Trichy Jail Subhas Bose was brought to the Madras Penitentiary. We managed to contact him from prison through one of our friend who was taken from Trichy Jail to the Penitentiary for treatment, Mr Sir. S.K. Sundaram of Tirunelveli, Subhas Babu sent though him a booklet

~~278~~

30

about his proposed new party, the Samayavadi Sangha, and requested our co-operation in propagating it in our province.

I was released from Trichy Jail in October, 1933.

(P.K.Narayan).
9th November, 1954.

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In 1937 Elections Sri Mudaliar and Satyanurthi took leading part.

(The following is the ^{Summary} translation of the Tamil report sent by the
NILGIRI DISTRICT CONGRESS COMMITTEE
about the Freedom Struggle in their district.

---:oOo:---

The following persons took part in the movement and their services

Sri A.M. Saravanan,
Kodappa Mandu,
Ootacamund, NILGIRI DISTRICT.

From 1930 onwards, he is an active member of the Congress.
Engaged himself in Harijan uplift work. Held various posts in the
Congress party in his district. In 1941 he took part in the Anti-
war Satyagraha movement and went to prison. During the August
movement in 1942 he was arrested, and given a sentence of three
and a half years of simple imprisonment. At present he is the
Secretary to the Nilgiri district Congress Committee. He is aged 5

Sri M. Ranga Gowder,
President, Ootay Taluk Congress Committee,
Nanjanad post, (Nilgiris).

An active member of the Congress party from 1937 onwards.
Held membership in the various committees of the Congress
Party in the Nilgiri district. In 1947 he participated in the
Satyagraha Movement in the Native States and courted imprisonment.
He is a member of the Taluk Prohibition Committee from 1953.
Engaged himself in the Harijan and Adivasi (tribal people) uplift
work in his own district.

Sri B. Tatta Gowder
Muthukula, Pallakola post.
Pallakola- Nilgiris.

He is an active Congress worker in the village of Muthukula
from 1939 onwards. He is interested in Khadi and social work.

Sri K. Madan,
Pallakola
Palla Kola post,
Nilgiri District.

From 1939 onwards, he remains as an active Congress Worker in his own village of Pallakola, taking part in the Khadi and Prohibition works.

Sri K.C.Varadarajulu Chettiar
C.M.C.Market,
Ootacamund - Nilgiris.

An active Congress Worker in Ooty from 1922 onwards. During the "Quit India" movement of 1942, he went into underground and worked for the independence of the Country.

Sri C. Linga Gowder,
Ooranalli,
Thangadu Ooranalli Post,
Nilgiris.

Member of the Congress from 1937. In 1942 during the "Quit India" Movement he carried out the constructive programme, from underground. He takes an active part in the Congress activities in his village.

Sri K.J.Karchan,
Palla Kola,
Palla Kola Post, Nilgiris.

From 1939 onwards he is serving the Congress in his own village as an active worker.

Sri Y.K.Siva Gowdar-
President,
Coonoor Taluk Congress Committee,
Yedapalli, Springfield Post,
Nilgiris.

He is an active member of the Congress from 1930. During the Salt Satyagraha movement in 1931, he picketted before the x

35
toddy shops in Coonoor as the captain of the team. In 1940 he was one of those who enrolled themselves for the Anti-War Satyagraha movement. During the "Quit India" Movement on 2nd October 1942 he violated section 144 and hoisted the National flag in defiance of the prohibitory order of the Government for which he was given rigorous imprisonment for one week. He resigned his membership in the district Board in 1939 following the order of the Congress High Command.

Sri S. Kakkannalla Gowder, /
Ooranalli,
Thangadu Ooranalli Post.,
Nilgiris.

An active member of the Congress in his village of Ooranalli from 1937.

Sri A. Ranga Gowder,
Ooranalli,
Thangadu Ooranalli Post,
Nilgiris.

From 1937 onwards he serves the Congress as an active worker.

Sri J. Linga Gowder,
Ooranalli,
Thangadu Ooranalli Post.,
Nilgiris.

An active member of the Congress from 1937 in his own village. In 1942 he participated in the "Quit India" movement.

(Sri S. Chennaiyappan
Store House, P.W.D.C.No.1412.
Ootacamund, Nilgiris.)

He took part in the "Quit India" Movement in 1942. Along with some prominent leaders of his district; he printed objectionable articles leaflets secretly and distributed them among the

36

masses; trying to spread the movement in his area. In the town of Avinasi along with Chidambara devar; he went to shops police stations; courts and other government offices, and persuaded in vain the policemen, vakils the magistrate and other government officers to resign their jobs and take part in the movement. For this seditious action he was arrested along with others, taken to the police station. There he was mercilessly beaten by the police, for his open seditious propaganda in the market places and before government officers. The blows and kicks given to him were so unbearable and heavy; that he became unconscious at the police station itself. He was tried and convicted and given a sentence of imprisonment for 18 months, which he spent with other political convicts in the Alipore Central Jail.) From his boyhood days he was inspired by nationalism and inspite of his poverty, he spent his all in national activities. He lost his aged mother while he was in prison whom he could persuade with great difficulty to allow him to take part in the national struggle, in 1942. His arrest and imprisonment was a great blow and shock ^{to her} and she died without recovering from it. Ever since he enrolled himself as a Congress member, he is taking active interest in the service to villagers and hand-loom weavers.

Where is the date of
Submission of this Report?

37

THE COIMBATORE DISTRICT CONGRESS COMMITTEE.
COIMBATORE.

I. (Mr. Pagadala Narasimhalu Naidu Garu should be given the honour and credit of having^{been} the first and foremost nationalist of this Coimbatore City and the district. He seems to have taken some part along with our Veteran National leaders in organising and conducting the Indian National Congress when it first held its annual sessions at Madras.

There was some political stir in Coimbatore City during the Bengal partition days and a Swadeshi stores was started by the Capital subscribed by a few among the educated section of its citizens of whom the late Mr. C.V. Venkataramana Iyengar deserves mention.)

The Home Rule agitation started by Mrs. Annie Beasant was responsible for awakening the educated public to some extent from deep political slumber. When Mrs. Beasant, Mr. G.S. Arundale and Mr. Wadia were placed under internment in this city, it stirred up the patriotic feelings of the young student community and roused the courage of the elders for a bit of agitation. Mr. N.S. Ramaswami Ayyangar B.A., B.L., a lawyer with ability and enthusiasm came forward to take very active part in politics. During the Khilafat agitation the muslim masses were suddenly roused to a high pitch of fervour and devotion to the national movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and Ali Brothers. Mr. N.S. Ramaswami Ayyangar, Mohamad Sultan Sanib, Mr. Subramania Rande, Mr. Bupatni Palaniappa Naicker and Mr. Mahalinga Iyer were the notable persons of this city taking part and guiding the movement during the years between 1919 and 1922. The Non-co-operation movement gained momentum and strength in the city and district since 1922 and thereafter Coimbatore pl

noteworthy part in the freedom movement. The first batch of patriots who took part in the movement and got arrested and jailed in this district during 1921 were Mr. E.V. Ramaswami Naicker and Mr. K.M. Thanga Perumal Pillai of Erode along with a few volunteers of whom Mr. M.A. Eswaran is one.

During the Nagpur Flag fight in 1923 this district had the privilege to send ^{four} three volunteers over there and they are the following (1) Mr. K.V. Raghavendra Rao (2) Mr. C.P. Viswanathan (3) Mr. K. Subramanian Alias Subri and (4) Mr. M.A. Eswaran.

On the constructive side Tirupur sprang up to prominence by producing hand spun and hand woven Khadi and it has ever since maintained its name and fame as the largest Khadi producing centre in the whole of India.

(The following is the list of names of Veterans Congress workers in the district during 1920 to 30.

Coimbatore City.

1. Mr. Subramania Rande
2. " Bupathi Palaniappa Naicker
3. " N.S. Ramaswami Ayyangar
4. " Mohamed Sultan Sahib
5. " V. Mahalingam Iyer
6. " C.P. Subbiah
7. " K. Subramaniam alias subri
8. " C.A. Ayyanuthu
9. " G. Kuppuswami Naidu
10. " C.A. Ayyaswami Gownder
11. " N. Subramania Iyer
12. " C.N. Gopal Ratnam.

Tirupur

1. " K.S. Ramaswami Gownder
2. " K.R. Sswaramurthy Gownder
3. " K.P. Karuppanna Chettiar
4. " K.V. Krishnaswami Iyer
5. " Venkatappa Gownder

Erode

1. " E.V. Ramaswami Naicker
2. " K.M. Thanga Perumal Pillai
3. " M.A. Eswaran

Gobi

1. " K.K. Subbanna Gownder
2. " P.S. Muthuvelappa Gownder
3. " Kijappa Gownder

7/5/42 in whole
Page 6D

Dharapuram.

1. Mr. M.P. Kuppaswami Gownder

Udampalayam.

1. " N. Velappa Naidu
2. / Mrs. Savithri Ammal
3. Mr. Periyanna Gownder.

(The Salt satyagraha movement and subsequent Civil dis-obedience movements roused the country as well as this district to such a great extent as to make it play a valiant part in the freedom struggle. Patriot Kumaran fell a victim to brutal lathi charge at Tirupur in 1932 and two others Mr. B.S. Sunderam and Raman Nair and N. Subramania Iyer who is still alive just escaped death in spite of severe beatings that broke their limbs and confined them to hospital beds for several weeks. During the last Quit-India movement the Textile labour organisation under the leadership of N.G. Ramaswami participated in the movement while a section under Communist leadership was antagonistic to the movement. The total number of political sufferers in this district is about 800 and a separate list of their names is herewith furnished.

The following is a list of prominent persons among them.

Coimbatore.

1. Mr. T.S. Avanashilingan Chettiar
2. " T. Raghavachari
3. " R.A. Shanmuga Devar
4. " Mutukrishnan
5. " C. Subramaniam
6. " V.C. Palaniswami Gownder
7. Mrs. V.C. Palaniswami Gownder
8. Mr. K. Abdul Razzaq
9. Dr. C. Manjappa
10. Mr. Kunaiyan
11. " R. Kappaswami
12. " K.P. Thiruvengadam
13. " K.R. Ramaswami
14. " Chinnadorai
15. " N.G. Ramaswami

40

Pollachi

1. Mr. P.R. Kandaswami Gownder
2. " V.K. Palaniswami Gownder
3. " O.S. Palaniswami Gownder

Gobi

1. " P.S. Nalla Gownder

Sattv

1. " S.A. Narayana Sastry
2. Mrs. S.A. Narayana Sastry

Kengarpalayam
Setty

1. Mr. K.M. Ponnambalam
2. " Natesa Gownder

Bhavani

1. " B.K. Nallaswami
2. " Rangaswami Reddiaz

Dharapuram

1. " D. Vadivelu

Kodumudi

1. " K.M. Magudapathi

Mettupalayam

1. " Abdul Salam Azad)

Palladam

1. " R.M. Kumaraswami
2. " P.K. Ramaswami)

II & III. The Khilafat Sangams which contributed greatly to political awakenings during 1919 to 1926 have left no trace now. The Congress organisation is no doubt flourishing in full swing.

4. No records are available now.
5. No.
6. Please refer to No. 1.
7. The names underlined in the lists are still alive.
8. Nil.
9. The Officials in service directly and the justice party indirectly.
10. Poet Bharathi's patriotic songs in common with other Tamil districts.
11. Coimbatore City and Tirupur Town
12. No.
13. No.
- 14.

Don't type.
ED

(14. The following ladies took part in the movement and went to jail.

1. Mrs. P.D. Asher--Tirupur.
2. Mrs. S.A. Narayana Sastry--Satty
3. Mrs. T. Raghavachari--Coimbatore
4. Mrs. K. Subramaniam--Coimbatore
5. Srimathi Bagirathamma *Raghavathi*
6. Mrs. Rajam Iyer--Pollachi
7. Mrs. B.S. Sundaram--Tirupur
8. Mrs. C.A. Ayyamuthu--Coimbatore
9. Mother of B.S. Sundaram--Tirupur
10. Mrs. Savithri Ammal--Udampet)

Mrs. K.K. Subhanna Gownder and Mrs. V.C. Palaniswami Gownder who took part in Individual Satyagraha were not sentenced to imprisonment though they were kept in remand for a while to be let off afterwards.

15. Yes, to the earnest possible.

Coimbatore

Mr. J. Samuel
" B.S. Sundaram

Erode

" R.C. Krishnan
" K.M. Ramaswami
" M. Subbian
" P.R. Kandaswami

Gobi

" K.P. Chenniappan
" G.S. Lakshmanan
" P.V. Marannan
" K.P.V. Giri
" S.K. Sami Gownder

Palladam

" P.S. Rangaswami
" K.V. Ramaswami

Avinashi

" R. Bettadian
" M.K. Venkataswami
" K. Chidambaram

Udampet.

" T.K. Sritharan Pillai
" S.R. Natarajan
" Mahalingam Pillai

42

SHRI M. BHAKTAVATSALAM AVL.

Shri M. Bhaktavatsalam was a student in the Presidency College in 1916. He was attracted to the Politics then. Even though the Presidency College prohibited students being attracted by politics he began to pay more attention to politics. During 1918 there was a Conference at Conjeevaram. The subject was whether to support war or not. Rajaji and others opposed the idea of support. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu neither opposed nor appreciated. "THE HINDU" wrote a strong editorial criticising her policy.

During his tenure of office as the Secretary, Tamil Nad Congress Committee Shri Bhaktavatsalam has worked very hard. Prior to that he was the Secretary of the Mahajana Sabha, he has written a Foreword in the book "Civil Disobedience Disturbances Enquiry Committee" - 1930-32 (The book is available in the Mahajana Sabha Office).

He had contact with Rajaji when he made first appearance in Madras in Tamil Nad.

He had been to jail three times. He was confined in Vellore, Trichinopoly and Madras

According to him the jail life was neither bad nor very good. "It could have been fair." During his jail life he acquainted himself with "Prabhantam", "Valmiki Ramayanam" etc. He had enough opportunity to come into contact with poor. He was once in Amraoti jail as a detenué.

During 1932 when a procession took place, he accompanied other leaders and he was one among those who were severely beaten.

SRI MUTHURANGA MUDALIYAR AVL.

In olden days before the Non-Brahmin Movement came in this Province people were generally attracted by the Congress. The Swadeshi movement and the contact of Swami Vivekananda captured people in Madras in those days. People like Sri V. Krishnaswamy Iyer gave their support to the then elected side of Congress. Sri Muthuranga

ranga Mudaliyar in those early days was a humble supporter of the Congress and Swadeshi Movement.

2. The Non-Brahmin movement and the resultant Justice Party came in Sri Muthuranga Mudaliar in the band of other Nationalist ~~xxx~~ Brahmins organized a counter/eract to this organization. In the Gandhian Era Sri Mudaliar took up the lead of the Congress in Chingleput District. During Civil Disobedience and Satyagraha movements more active part has been taken and during Pre-civil disobedience movement the Congress in Madras was organized under the leadership of Sri Srinivasa Iyengar with worthy lieutenants like Muthuranga Mudaliyar in spite of vituperative campaign of Justice Party and inspite of the determined opposition of the party.

Elections to Legislative and local bodies were organised and Congress swepted the polls, defeating the opponents.

Mr. Mudaliyar was severely beaten on 26th January 1932 along with others.

In 1934, the Congress secured cent percent success in the Central Legislative Elections.

In 1937 Elections Sri Mudaliar and Satyamurthi took leading part.



The following is the ^{Summary} translation of the Tamil report sent by the
NILGIRI DISTRICT CONGRESS COMMITTEE

about the Freedom Struggle in their district.

--:000:--

The following persons took part in the movement and their service

Sri A.M. Saravanam,
Kodappa Mandu,
Ootacamund, NILGIRI DISTRICT.

From 1930 onwards, he is an active member of the Congress.
Engaged himself in Harijan uplift work. Held various posts in the
Congress party in his district. In 1941 he took part in the Anti-
war Satyagraha movement and went to prison. During the ^{"Quit India"} August
movement in 1942 he was arrested, and given a sentence of three
and a half years of simple imprisonment. At present he is the
Secretary to the Nilgiri district Congress Committee. He is aged 40

Sri M. Ranga Gowder,
President, Ootay Taluk Congress Committee,
Manjanad post, (Nilgiris).

An active member of the Congress party from 1937 ~~ixxx~~ on-
wards. Held membership in the various committees of the Congress
Party in the Nilgiri district. In 1947 he participated in the
Satyagraha Movement in the Native States and courted imprisonment.
He is a member of the Taluk Prohibition Committee from 1953.
Engaged himself in the Harijan and Adivasi (tribal people) uplift
work in his own district.

Sri B. Tatta Gowder
Muthukula, Pallakola post,
Pallakola- Nilgiris.

He is an active Congress worker in the village of Muthukula
from 1939 onwards. He is interested in Khadi and social work.

43 45

Sri K. Madan,
Pallakola
Palla Kola post,
Nilgiri District.

From 1939 onwards, he remains as an active Congress Worker in his own village of Pallakola, taking part in the Khadi and Prohibition works.

Sri K.C.Varadarajulu Chettiar
O.M.C.Market,
Ootacamund - Nilgiris.

An active Congress Worker in Ooty from 1922 onwards. During the "Quit India" movement of 1942, he went into underground and worked for the independence of the Country.

Sri C. Linga Gowder,
Ooranalli,
Thangadu Ooranalli Post,
Nilgiris.

Member of the Congress from 1937. In 1942 during the "Quit India" Movement he carried out the constructive programme, from underground. He takes an active part in the Congress activities in his village.

Sri K.J.Karchan,
Palla Kola,
Palla Kola Post, Nilgiris.

From 1939 onwards he is serving the Congress in his own village as an active worker.

Sri Y.K.Siva Gowdar
President,
Coonoor Taluk Congress Committee,
Yedapalli, Springfield Post,
Nilgiris.

He is an active member of the Congress from 1930. During the Salt Satyagraha movement in 1931, he picketted before the

toddy shops in Coonoor as the captain of the team. In 1940 he was one of those who enrolled themselves for the Anti-War Satyagraha movement. During the "Quit India" Movement on 2nd October 1942 he violated section 144 and hoisted the National flag in defiance of the prohibitory order of the Government for which he was given rigorous imprisonment for one week. He resigned his membership in the district Board in 1939 following the order of the Congress High Command.

Sri S. Kakkamallla Gowder,
Ooranalli,
Thangadu Ooranalli Post.,
Nilgiris.

An active member of the Congress in his village of Ooranalli from 1937.

Sri A. Ranga Gowder,
Ooranalli,
Thangadu Ooranalli Post,
Nilgiris.

From 1937 onwards he serves the Congress as an active worker.

Sri J. Linga Gowder,
Ooranalli,
Thangadu Ooranalli Post.,
Nilgiris.

An active member of the Congress from 1937 in his own village. In 1942 he participated in the "Quit India" movement.

Sri G. Chennalyappan
Store House, P.W.D.C.No.1412.
Ootacamund, Nilgiris.

He took part in the "Quit India" Movement in 1942. Along with some prominent leaders of his district; he printed objectionable articles leaflets secretly and distributed them among the

masses; trying to spread the movement in his area. In the town of Avinasi along with Chidambara devar; he went to shops police stations; courts and other government officer's, and persuaded in vain the policemen, vakils the magistrate and other government officers to resign their jobs and take part in the movement. For this seditious action he was arrested along with others, taken to the police station. There he was mercilessly beaten by the police, for his open seditious propaganda in the market places and before government officers. The blows and kicks given to him were so unbearable and heavy; that he became unconscious at the police station itself. He was tried and convicted and given a sentence of imprisonment for 18 months, which he spent with other political convicts in the Alipore Central Jail. From his boyhood days he was inspired by nationalism and inspite of his poverty he spent his all in national activities. He lost his aged mother while he was in prison whom he could persuade with great difficulty to allow him to take part in the national struggle, in 1941. His arrest and imprisonment was a great blow and shock and she died without recovering from it. Ever since he enrolled himself as a Congress member, he is taking active interest in the service to villagers and hand-loom weavers.

Pollachi

1. Mr. P.R. Kandaswami Gownder
2. " V.K. Palaniswami Gownder
3. " O.S. Palaniswami Gownder

Gobi

1. " P.S. Nalla Gownder

Satty

1. " S.A. Narayana Sastry
2. Mrs. S.A. Narayana Sastry

Kengarpalayam
Setty

1. Mr. K.N. Ponnambalam
2. " Natesa Gownder

Bhavani

1. " B.K. Nallaswami
- " " Rangaswami Reddian

Dharapuram

1. " D. Vadivelu.

Kodumudi

1. " K.M. Magudapathi

Mettupalayam

1. " Abdul Salam Azad

Palladam

1. " R.M. Kumaraswami
2. " P.K. Ramaswami

II & III. The Khilafat Sangams which contributed greatly to political awakenings during 1919 to 1926 have left no trace now. The Congress organisation is no doubt flourishing in full swing.

4. No records are available now.
5. No.
6. Please refer to No. I.
7. The names underlined in the lists are still alive.
8. Nil.
9. The Officials in service directly and the justice party indirectly.
10. Poet Bharathi's patriotic songs in common with other Tamil districts.
11. Coimbatore City and Tirupur Town
12. No.
13. No.
- 14.

14. The following ladies took part in the movement and went to jail.

1. Mrs. P.D. Asher--Tirupur.
2. Mrs. S.A. Narayana Sastry--Satty
3. Mrs. T. Raghavachari--Coimbatore
4. Mrs. K. Subramaniam--Coimbatore
5. Srimathi Basiratai Anna Bhagavathi
6. Mrs. Rajam Iyer--Pollachi
7. Mrs. B.S. Sundaram--Tirupur
8. Mrs. C.A. Ayyamuthu--Coimbatore
9. Mother of B.S. Sundaram--Tirupur
10. Mrs. Savithri Annal--Udampet

Mrs. K.K. Subhanna Gownder and Mrs. V.C. Palaniswami Gownder who took part in Individual Satyagraha were not sentenced to imprisonment though they were kept in remand for a while to be let off afterwards.

15. Yes, to the earnest possible.

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Mr. J. Samuel
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" R.C. Krishnan
" K.M. Ramaswami
" M. Subbiah
" P.R. Kandaswami

Gobi

" K.P. Chenniappan
" G.S. Lakshmanan
" P.V. Marannan
" K.P.V. Giri
" S.K. Sani Gownder

Palladam

" P.S. Rangaswami
" K.V. Ramaswami

Arinagani

" R. Bettaian
" M.K. Venkataswami
" K. Chidambaram

Udampet

" T.K. Sritharan Pillai
" S.R. Natarajan
" Mahalingam Pillai

x 6/8

50

The Statement of Mr.P.S.Krishnaswamy Iyengar, M.L.A.,
Vakil, Manamadurai, Ramanathapuram District.

I was a pleader practising in Sathur, in Ramnad district in 1920 when the non-cooperation movement was started by Mahatma. I was drawn into the movement moved by the sight of Gandhiji during his Journey to Tinnevely district in Tamilnad, after he took the decision at Madura not to wear more than one cloth till India became self-sufficient in the matter of her clothing needs by sufficient production of khadi.

The soil for the movement was congenial in Sathur since there was another staunch congressman Mr.Subramanya Nainar, also a pleader who was one of the leaders of Tamilnad then. As the movement progressed Mr.Nainar was sent to Jail and in his absence I carried on congress work in the district as the District Congress Committee Secretary. In that capacity (I happened to tour the whole of Ramnad district forming congress committees in various places. In this connection I must say that Mr.E.V.Ramaswamy Naicker, who was then an active congressman, was brought over to Ramnad district to preside over a number of conferences in the district.)

Prohibition being one of the main planks of the Congress programme, I had ~~many~~ occasion to picket auction sales of toddy and arracks shops at Sathur and prohibitory orders were served on me, which however I did not disobey. A political conference was once arranged by me at Sathur presided over by the late Mr.T.V.Kalyanasundera Mudaliar. It was attended, among others by the late Mr.V.V.S. Iyer. Production of hand spun yarn and khadi ~~production~~ was given a great impetus during this period and progress in this direction was made easy because of a patriotic professional weaver at Aruppukkotah coming forward to weave all yarn supplied by us. We were, also fortunate in securing a person at Madura who dyed all yarn that we gave ~~to him~~ him for dying. On account of these fortunate circumstances we were producing coloured ^{hand} clothes the like of which was not easily available elsewhere in Tamilnad Mr.K.Santhanam, now Lt.Governor of Vindya Pradesh, admitted

the coloured clothes than as rare commodities and made some purchases for his family too.

Later I attended the Gaya Congress presided over by the late C.R.Des gas a delegate.

Due to changes in the jurisdiction of courts in the district I moved to Manamadurai in 1924 and ever since my congress activities continued from that place.

I arranged a conference in Manamadurai presided over by the late M.S.Satyamuthi^{and} one at Edakkathur, presided over^{by} Mr. B.Dawood Shah and a third at Thirupachetti, presided over by Sardar A.Vederathnam Pillai. I had the unique fortune of very many sincere co-operative congress workers with whose aid these conferences were conducted so economically that we were able to have a small amount which we utilised for the ~~xxx~~ purchase of a site in Manamadurai for the Congress House. Due to the liberal contributions of local patriots a thatched structure was put up on the site at first and very soon after a tiled building was erected instead. I may not be very wrong if I state that it was the first building owned by a congress organisation ~~ex~~ in the district. This has become an object of love for the people of the locality for two reasons. A well sunk in the site gives us good drinking water which is availed of by the people round about. In front of the congress House, after the attainment of freedom by the country, to commemorate the Independence Day a memorial has been constructed with the full size statue of Mahatmaji having by his side a Harijan boy on whose shoulder he is resting his left arm.

I continued my congress activities as president of the local committee. Encouraged by the active cooperation of local congressmen I took an active part in the movement of Harijan uplift. We ran for a number of year schools solely for Harijan boys, one at manamadurai, another at Kattanoor and a third at Alambacherri. The school at Manamadurai was once visited by Rajaji and was much appreciated by him. It was at the time of this visit that Rajaji condescended to open the well inside the congress House for the use of the public. And it is ever

since called Rajaji well.

Along with Harijan uplift work I organised a khadi store in Manamadurai which was catering to the needs of all khadi-wearers.

In 1932 the Civil Disobedience movement was at its zenith and leader after leader were being imprisoned. The congress was declared an unlawful organisation. It was decided to hold the Ramnad District Political conference at Rajapalayam. Since all the front rank leaders of the district were in jail. I had to consent to preside over it. The Conference was held at night in a garden and it was largely attended by delegates from all parts of the district. In spite of the elaborate police arrangements to prevent the conference, the police did not know about it till it was all over. While I was returning to the station from the Conference I was arrested along with a number of others. After about a month from that date I was tried by the S.D.M. Sivakasi and sentenced to 2 years. R.I. The period of my imprisonment was spent in more than one jail, viz., Tiruchi, Madurai, Cuddalore and Vellore as a "b" Class prisoner.

Even after my release from jail I continued to work as a Congressman and intensified my activities in the field of harijan uplift. We have a sincere worker among us by name R.P.Ramaswamy ordinarily known as "Milaganur Swamiam", who undertook Journeys to Ceylon, Burma and F.M.S. and collected fund to the tune of about Rs. five thousands which was utilised for the running of the Harijan schools already mentioned and for the supply of books and other equipment to the poor Harijan of the locality.

During the period of my imprisonment the khadi store I have already mentioned had ceased to function. But I revived it after my release from Jail. We were able to secure some funds to be utilised for the encouragement of village industries and with the help of these funds and the funds of the khadi store we have started the Gramodaya Khadi Sangam, Manamadurai, which is now contributing to the spread of the khadi movement.

as every other Gramodaya Khadi centre is doing. 53

When the last general elections came in 1952 I was put up as a congress candidate for the Manamadurai constituency to the Madras Legislative Assembly and succeeded in the election defeating ~~a~~ communist, socialist and Forward Bloc candidates. I am doing my bit as ~~minister~~ a legislator taking keen interest in the proceedings and serving my constituency to the best of my ability.

M. F. M.
NO 108

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

Sjt. C. RAJAGOPALACHARI, the Acting PRESIDENT, has issued the following statement:

I look upon Dr. Kichlew's nomination of me to succeed him as Ag. President of the Congress as a call to South India to send more of her sons and daughters to the front. I trust the appeal will be responded to in full measure.

The courage, initiative and capacity for suffering displayed by the Congress volunteers in all the provinces in this campaign make it a proud privilege to bear the name of Congress President even for a while. The work I can myself do is little, for the whole burden rests in the nature of things on the workers spread throughout the country.

I want all Indians, whatever may be their work or political persuasion to realise that the prestige of the Congress is the nation's greatest asset which they should guard and strengthen in all their speech and conduct.

Every congressman should say to himself, "I shall act like a soldier worthy of Mahatmaji's command. I must say and do nothing for which he would be sorry".

We are winning, there is no doubt about it. Every test shows it. Foreign domination is hated more widely and more intensely today than before. The boycott feeling is stronger and more wide-spread this year than even last year. The government has less allies today than it had last year. They are mad men who stake anything on the continuance of foreign rule in India. The worst die-hard British bureaucrat knows that his time is over, and that that day when the Indian people will govern the country through their chosen representatives is very near at hand. In the joy of that day, all the terrible suffering we are passing through will seem like a glorious dream. Those who now keep aloof from the suffering will be ashamed of it, and will claim to have helped in a hundred other ways.

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The Government is driven back steadily from ditch to ditch. As the fight is on the moral plane, one does not see the retreat as in a physical battle. They tried imprisonment. They are now loath to imprison. They tried murderous assaults with the lathi. They were ashamed of it. They called in the "light" cane. That too brought more ignominy on the wrongdoer than victory. They terrorised with fines and forfeitures. The people realise that as sure as the sun will rise on new-year day, the first act of the new legislature will be to return all fines paid and restore all properties seized in this campaign. They suspend lawyers, but that fully ensures their future honours. They try propaganda, but it recoils on themselves. They reiterate their pledges of protection to those that stand by them, but the patronage becomes odious and the promise is not believed even by their own civil service.

If Congress had just cause to begin the campaign on account of Britain's patent unwillingness to give us the substance of independence, that justification is now doubly strengthened by the plans proposed by the British Government to establish a form of constitution, that will make India a prey to separatist caste and religious group-politics, and for ever be a house divided and then remain at the mercy of exploiters.

Workers, if you are tired, take it as a sure sign that the other party to the battle must also be tired. This is just the time for redoubled effort leading to victory; for our cause is just and the enemy knows that he is in the wrong.

This is a time when every one that can pull should come forward to lend a hand. Those who have so far kept aloof must search their hearts and revalue things. I appeal to every son and daughter of this ancient land to help the making of a page in its history, for the glory of which no suffering or sacrifice would be too great. The whole of national thought and energy must flow in the programme of Boycott and Civil Resistance.

II. ~~54~~ 56

(C The two-fold programme of Boycott and Civil Disobedience has a two-fold object. The Boycott is directed against the ignorance and selfishness of the British public. Civil Disobedience is directed against the arrogance and political stupidity of the Bureaucracy. By our sacrifices during these six months we must compel the Bureaucracy to make a second confession of failure by seeking a renewal of lawless authority, or openly sue for peace. Their British masters have already begun to distrust them. The final turning-out will then come.

The Boycott is intended to teach Britain the truth that if she wishes to sell her goods to us she should not be fighting with us. That she seeks to carry on a paying business with us at the same time as she is waging war against us is the most vulnerable point in the opposing line, and at this therefore we should drive our attack home. "No trade with you, so long as you do not lay down arms". This is our slogan.) All our energy should be brought into play to carry this message to every home in our land, and every market where British goods are exposed for sale. The propaganda will widen our front, and numbers will prevail. It will fill the jails, and it will give work to the police LATHIS. It will decide the quarrel. Every individual worker should use his ingenuity and his opportunities to the fullest extent and devise plans to suit the local conditions. The programme will itself be civil resistance, and our forces can be strengthened with increased numbers of local workers everywhere. If we show unflagging zeal in this work, the Government will be forced to arrest and imprison or allow the propaganda to gain volume. This programme is intended to supplement picketing programme.

III.

To those who still feel it impossible to join the active campaign as combatants, I say, you hold the key of the situa-

tion in a sense. (I appeal to you to help from your own place. I take the liberty of suggesting to you four articles to govern your conduct.

1. Do not show fear. Cultivate indifference to suffering consequent ~~for~~^b acting in pursuance of the dictates of your conscience.

2. Support the prestige of the Congress. Give harbour, and sympathy to the humblest Congress worker that seeks your help) It would be cowardly and most injurious to freedom of social relationship to refuse it.

(3. Carry on your own propaganda for Swadeshi and for saving the people from the drink and drug evil) Your right to do this service is independant of and is not to be suspended by reason of the political struggle.

(4. Do not purchase a single yard of foreign cloth. No one can force you to buy British goods against your will, even though you are a paid clerk in a government office) Dispense with such articles as you cannot find a substitute for. Wear khadi in preference to all other cloth. In any case avoid cloth of fine texture.

(5. Abstain from all imported luxuries) The Government gets at your money indirectly through duties which the shop-keeper recovers from you in price.

IV.

I deplore the increased activity of the violent revolutionaries. I say this not to ~~deceive~~^{deceive} any one, nor merely to reiterate a creed, but as sincere expression of what even as a practical politician I strongly feel.

I admit that the increased activity of the party of violence is due to the increased provocation of repressive measures. The brutal conduct of policemen and the encouragement of barbarous methods of meeting the congress offensive have added to the anger of those already inclined to the methods of violence. Any other result would be against nature. Government violence may intimidate the masses.

58

The daring individuals who are responsible are only provoked by Government violence to greater anger and greater effort. Repression is a futile remedy against these persons. It serves only to feed the vicious chain of anger and reprisal. This is just what is happening now.

But to see the working of the laws of nature does not mean that one deplores the progress of violence any the less. Not only is it our creed, but our whole strategy is built on non-violence. As practical men, therefore we cannot permit a weakening of that strategy. Our campaign will collapse and all its items be turned into futility if we divorce them from non-violence. If any Congressman approves of acts of violence by word or even thought he is undermining his own and the Congress's strength. It is of vital importance that when our programme is on trial, we should do our most to keep out the virus of doubt in regard to our fixed policy of Non-violence.

/ true copy /

The Acting President of the Indian National Congress Dr. Kichlew has issued the following statement on behalf of the Working Committee:

1. The need was felt at this juncture to appraise the work done by us so far, and if found necessary, to lay down a fresh line of action. In doing this I have been fortunate in being able to take advantage of the presence outside prison of a number of Working Committee members and other prominent Congressmen recently released. I am glad to issue the following statement after consulting these friends.

2. It is within the memory of us all that the present campaign of Civil Disobedience was forced on the Congress by the deliberate action of the Government, planned and executed as of set purpose, during the time the Delhi Pact, entered into by Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Irwin, was in force, when the Congress and its subordinate organisations were, in the face of grave provocations, doing their best to adhere to and carry out the spirit and letter of the said Pact, and when, in pursuance of it, Mahatma Gandhi, as Representative of the Congress, was straining every nerve in London to bring about a satisfactory and honourable settlement of the constitutional problem. It is now a matter of common knowledge that even while the Round Table Conference was going on in London the Government was preparing for an intensive campaign against the Congress in India, had promulgated the Bengal Ordinance, was ready with a number of other Ordinances, which were subsequently promulgated in December 1931 and early in January following, and the Local Governments had even kept the necessary staff ready for opening additional jails. The refusal of the Viceroy to see Mahatma Gandhi, except on conditions which were not only humiliating but calculated to render the meeting itself fruitless, was the last act of a programme carefully arranged so as to close all avenues of cooperation on the part of Mahatma Gandhi.

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60

in spite of his most earnest desire to offer it.

3. It is a matter of great satisfaction that in spite of unprecedented repression carried out in the most ruthless manner under the provisions of most drastic Ordinances which have established the rule of Martial Law in all but the name, and by the use of force by the Police going far beyond even the powers conferred by the Ordinances, the Government has failed to break the Congress organisation which is still able to function and carry out the programme laid down by the Working Committee on the 1st of January 1932. The country deserves to be congratulated on the fact that it has made such a ready response to the call of splendia and the Congress in the most difficult situation and offered such splendid and sustained resistance to ruthless repression, and on the fact that after six months of Ordinance Rule and extra-Ordinance repression the Secretary of State for India has been forced to the necessity of renewing the drastic Ordinances in a consolidated form. The world today knows that civilised government is at an end in India and that the brute force behind the foreign Government has to be in constant display to maintain it and that recourse has to be had to the bullet, the lathi and the cane to enable it to carry on its day to day administration. The policy of non-violence to which the Congress has strictly adhered in spite of the gravest provocation stands thus vindicated. On behalf of the Congress I tender congratulations to the people and all Congress workers in general and the women workers in particular on the manner in which they have bravely and patiently borne all the sufferings inflicted in the course of the relentless campaign of repression that was launched on the 4th of January 1932, and which has still not ended.

4. The Government having found that imprisonment, even according to their own statement, of at least fifty thousand men and women, and the arrest of a hundred thousand according to reports in the public press to be of no avail, have

29

61

not only resorted to sheer beating and breaking of bones hoping thereby to terrorise the people and crush their spirit but have also tried to achieve their object by heavy fines and forfeiture of properties, inflicting terrible sufferings and misery on entire families, and collective fines on towns and villages. † Had India chosen the path of armed revolution vast injury to property would have been inevitable. What therefore we have now to suffer through fines and sequestration of properties in the course of the non-violent campaign against the Government that tries all the means of physical and brutal coercion and intimidation, at its command must be cheerfully borne. What individuals suffer is suffered on behalf of the entire nation and therefore when India governs herself, the National Government will not fail to do its utmost to give relief to all sufferers in this respect, the whole nation sharing the pecuniary losses of the individuals concerned. On behalf of the Congress I warn all concerned that no title conferred by the present Government in respect of forfeited properties will be recognised as against the just and lawful owners thereof.

† But we are glad to note that all the sufferings has strengthened and not weakened the spirit of resistance.

5. It should be realised that the struggle for freedom and all the sacrifices involved therein must be inevitably gone through, and that it is best for India to go through the fire once for all without stopping for slackening the present campaign. While congratulating the people on the splendid manner in which they have fought the battle so far, I hope and trust that they will continue with reinforced strength the non-violent war, which under the blessing of God, can have only one conclusion viz., a complete victory for the cause of Indian freedom and the defeat of Imperialist exploitation.

6. Many good people are talking of peace; but no truce or peace can be contemplated by Congress so long as the

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62

British ruling classes desire to forge a constitution for India which while seeming to establish self-government in India, really seeks to retain ^{an} ~~the~~ British control for Imperialist exploitation. Any provisions for the purpose of continuing foreign domination and exploitation can never be accepted by the Indian National Congress. As long as there is the desire for domination and exploitation in the British mind no peace is at all possible.

7. On the other hand, the time has arrived when it is necessary to take effective steps further to intensify the resistance of the people. After the experience of the last eight months we are convinced that this is best done by an increased attention to and the concentration of our energies on the boycott of foreign cloth and the British goods. We shall thereby strike at the most vulnerable point of British Imperialist exploitation and drive home to the British people the determination of India to achieve Independence.

8. Picketing by itself, we feel, is not enough. On the one hand the Government have evolved their tactics in respect of this, which have to a great extent succeeded, counter-acting its moral effect standing by itself. They are even succeeding in brutalising the people, so that there is not the same moral reactions now as before among customers and dealers to the lathi charges and physical suffering inflicted on the picketers. On the other hand, we have not kept in view, the importance of continuing widespread propaganda among the people and have perhaps yielded without an adequate struggle to orders prohibiting or rendering difficult such propaganda. We should therefore now direct our energies to propaganda to supplement picketing. While, of course, picketing should be kept up despite the Ordinances and the Police Raj, we should organise widespread propaganda in rural as well as urban areas. We shall thereby extend our front and force the Government either

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63

to allow the boycott propaganda to gather immense force or to arrest and imprison or inflict other physical suffering on all the workers engaged on that wide front. I appeal to the people to reinforce the Congress man-power and render every possible assistance necessary to organise a great drive in this direction. The largest number of workers should be employed on this for the next three months and I hope then the struggle will be brought to a successful termination. The time is propitious for this conclusion.

9. The propaganda suggested herein is bound to become a form of Civil Disobedience, with all its moral results and at the same time it will help to carry the message of Boycott throughout the country.

10. I most fervently appeal to all dealers in British goods of any kind and in foreign yarn or cloth in particular to give up such business and serve the country in her hour of trial and suffering by cooperating with the Congress in the boycott of such goods. It is only when it is brought home to the British manufacturers and shippers that India under bondage will not have any thing to do with them, that the British Government, of whatever party it may be composed, will yield us our just and natural right to complete freedom.

11. Advantage is being taken by the Government of the absence of Congressmen behind prison bars to exploit the weakness of the victims of liquor and intoxicating drugs, by taking steps to carry on its liquor and drug trade unhampered by any prohibition or temperance movements, solely with a view to raise revenue for meeting the cost of its extravagant administration. It is hoped that when Congress workers are absent in prison, social workers and others actively interested in the welfare of the people will do their utmost for the boycott of liquor and drugs, if only to maintain the results so far achieved by the efforts of the Congress to save our humble countrymen from the evils of drink and drugs. I appeal to all those engaged in the trade to rea-

64

lise the sinful character of the business and to abstain from it.

12. On behalf of the Congress I wish to urge on all our people the desirability of reducing to a minimum their use of all such commodities and services as bring revenue to the Government. I hope that it will be realised that every rupee unnecessarily paid to the Government helps it to maintain and increase the brute force at its command, and is a virtual cooperation with it as against the nation, and that simple life by itself is an effective ~~x~~ non-payment of taxes.

13. Without in any way taking away from the effects of the general instructions issued by the Working Committee on the 1st January 1932, I desire to emphasise the above points and hope that in places where civil disobedience has taken other forms, such as, the disobedience of forest laws and salt laws and non-payment of taxes like the chowkidari tax or Government revenue or 'rent', it will be continued with renewed vigour.

14. I feel that the Government will be compelled to admit defeat when the people in general will refuse to be terrorised by the Government, but will openly give food, shelter and hospitality to Congress workers. If the Government's attempt to isolate Congress workers from the general public is thus defeated, they will speedily realise the futility of a handful of foreigners trying to fight a whole nation in their own country and will be compelled to surrender.

15. I feel that those who may not undertake risks in other respects and even those who may not see eye to eye with the Congress programme owe it to themselves and to the culture and tradition of the land to offer hospitality, food and shelter ~~x~~ to all Congress workers who seek it, within the capacity of the individual concerned, and to take whatever consequences the Government may impose on them for this; otherwise it would be tantamount to permitting an encroachment upon the sanc-

65

tity of the home and social life, a degradation greater even than political slavery.

16. Finally on behalf of the Congress I trust that Congress workers and the public at large will in spite of every provocation and difficulty continue to observe Non-violence and Truth in all their activities in carrying out the program of the Congress.

17. It is a Privilege for anyone to live in such stirring times and to have an opportunity to participate in a struggle, great in its aims and unique in its methods. The whole world is watching our efforts with sympathy, not only because our cause is undoubtedly just but also because it is a great experiment to fight brute force by non-violence and is pregnant with hope for a world sick of war and exploitation of the weak by the powerful. It seems to be in the ordaining of Providence that to evolve a better day for the world, India should pass through this ordeal. The days of British rule in India are numbered. Our ultimate victory is certain, whether it shall be at once or delayed depends on our readiness to suffer. Firmly believing in the justice of our cause and that India is bound soon to be mistress of her home with full power and opportunity to right all wrongs and to promote the welfare of all her children, let men and women plunge forward to suffer and bring the struggle to a speedy and victorious end.

/ true copy /

~~SECRET~~

66

A PROGRAMME FOR AN INTENSIVE BOYCOTT CAMPAIGN.

TO ALL P.C.Cs..

The latest trade returns show that the British as well as others are trying to dump their goods in this country in spite of the Boycott. In recent months speculating importers have helped to increase the cotton cloth import in the hope that they may succeed in passing it on to consumers. It is necessary to frustrate these attempts.

The boycott is as it always has been, the most powerful weapon at our disposal. At the present stage of our struggle it has unlimited possibilities and we should explore all these. So far picketing of shops has been the predominant method used everywhere for the purpose of boycott. But experience shows that picketing for one reason or another is not in itself enough. In many places picketing has come to be merely a device for compelling Government to arrest a certain number of volunteers. It is obvious that this sort of activity by itself cannot be expected to make sufficient impression. We must, at this stage, further develop our boycott tactics in order to achieve complete success. Besides picketing the shops, we must picket the mind of the individual before he reaches the shops. In other words, we must organise a widespread, vigorous and aggressive propaganda covering urban and rural areas against the purchaser of any British goods or foreign cloth. Foreign cloth means all foreign cloth British or other. Meetings should be organised for this propaganda wherever it is physically possible to do this. Where this is not possible, workers should make it a point to spread the message by conversations, in small groups and house to house visits and such other methods. Other interesting, attractive, and even exciting methods like those given below may be devised. The largest number of available Congress workers should be put on this work of aggressive boycott propaganda. It is hoped that steps will at once be taken by workers in all provinces to organise and push this programme to success.

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In the course of such work Congress will inevitably come in conflict with Government who will now employ the same measures against it as against picketing. By the effectiveness of our work we shall compel the Government either to let the propaganda gather force or to imprison civil resisters in large numbers or inflict other sufferings on them. Thus, besides striking directly at British trade, this programme will afford opportunities for offering Civil Disobedience in fresh fields.

The following methods are suggested:-

1. Meetings or conversations, house to house visits shouting of Boycott slogans.
2. Preparation of Boycott leaflets, booklet, etc., in the local language and their distribution in large numbers;
3. Reading and explaining of Boycott literature to illiterate men and women.
4. Stencils of short Boycott slogans (e.g. Boycott British goods) and simple pictures should be cut in tin or other materials & with these, volunteers to go about stencilling on the walls of buildings including Government buildings (Schools, Law Courts, Post Offices, etc.) on the inside of railway carriages and on roads and streets. A brush and some paint or coal tar will be all that is needed. Attempts should be made to cover every prominently situated building with these stencils. The slogans may be painted even on unclaimed animals found in cities and towns.
5. Little tickets about 1" square to be made of thin paper in the three National colours (i.e. green tickets, white tickets, and orange tickets) with Boycott slogans printed on them such as "Boycott British Petrol", "Boycott British Soap", "Boycott British Machinery" and "Boycott Foreign cloth, and so forth.

68

These tickets may be scattered in large quantities in the bazaars at the busiest times of day from windows, tops of Buses, trams and other conveyances. Also from trains on to railway platforms. This form of propaganda is specially suited to large gatherings such as fairs, festivals and processions. Also football grounds and other places where sports are being held. These little tickets can also be scattered with great effect in Courts, Schools & Colleges.

6. It is desirable to make good use of short simple songs regarding boycott. Experience has shown us that songs of this kind become very popular in villages and rapidly spread amongst the people. The local committee should call in the aid of the poets of their parts of the country and get these songs written. In selecting the poetry, care should be taken that nothing vulgar is chosen.

7. Big festive gatherings may be utilised in various ways for doing boycott propaganda in serious as well as comic but impressive ways.

VANDE MATARAM.

/true copy/

Typed by J. L. T. 69

to say 'yes' or 'no'. Britain and her friends in the country say that she is fighting for Democracy and for Freedom. But we would like to be convinced about it; and if we are to be convinced, we may also fight for freedom & democracy - only if it results in out (sic) getting democracy and freedom, not by vague promises, but by actual conferment of that status on India here and now.

Or India can take the other view, if it so chooses, that on the whole Britain is fighting for Democracy and Freedom and that India ought not to exploit England's difficulties. That is Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan's view; that is not the Congress view, and I believe, that is not your view.

But the present resolution, while blaming England for not helping Czechoslovakia and other countries, yet refuses to help England when she says she is fighting for Democracy. I have penned these lines merely to express my doubts and difficulties in respect of this resolution, and I think the position of the Congress in respect of this matter should be made quite clear and unambiguous, if and when the Working Committee next meets, for defining India's attitude towards war.

I am very glad to learn that you also doubt the wisdom of the non-attendance of the Congress Members in the Simla Session of the Assembly. I am also glad to learn that you maintain that the Parliamentary mentality has come to stay, and that you hold to the other propositions I have referred to in my letter.

What disturbs me, however, is what you say in other sentences - 'but the Working Committee felt that it was better to bow to J.L.'s judgment' -- - 'but perhaps we have arrived at a stage when I am useless as a guide.-- J.L. is unquestionably the man in that case. He must be given all the help possible'. I desire to write fully, freely, and frankly. If in doing so I offend you in any matter^{or}/to any extent, I beg of you to pardon me.

52

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Leadership, such as yours, is unique. God gives a Mahatma to this world only once in a way, and leadership such as yours, is not transferrable or heritable. So far as the Parliamentary programme of the Congress is concerned, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has never felt enthusiastic about it, partly because he has never himself done the work and largely because he lacks the imagination, God has endowed you with, ~~if~~ seeing other people's view as they see it themselves, so long as they are disinterested, patriotic, and self-sacrificing. Therefore, I dread to think of the future if the Working Committee is to follow his judgment in respect of Parliamentary work. Knowing intimately the history of the Congress for the last 25 years, that is from the year 1914 let me tell you, Mahatmaji, that if the Congress had followed Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, we would not have accepted office in the Provinces ~~and~~ with its attendant benefits, which Jawaharlal himself now generously acknowledges, and he would create serious blunders in India's foreign policy. I am saying all this not in any sense of criticising Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, but I rather think that in the interests of the Congress you should know his limitations. Thanks to your generous support and thanks to his own personality, work and sacrifice he has secured for himself a high position in the minds of his countrymen. But I do not think that the stage has arrived when you are useless as a guide. You can no more give up your position of being the principal guide to the Congress and to the Country ~~so~~ long as God spares you for us - and may He spare you for many years more - than the Sun can shake its brilliance or its life-giving warmth. Even if that unfortunate contingency were to arise, I do not think that any single man can take your place, and certainly not Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. On the other hand, I feel and feel very strongly that if the time ever arises when your leadership has to be replaced for the Congress and for the Country, then that leadership

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71

ought to be in Commission, and not in a single man. I certainly think that in that case, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Sirdar Vallabhai Patel, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad and C. Rajagopalachariar and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru will together have to pool their brains, their hearts, and their experiences and give a lead to the Country, and even then, I suggest that, in addition to them, they should take the advice of humble men like me, who profoundly and sincerely believe in the Parliamentary Front, as an essential front in our fight for Purna Swaraj.

To-day, you being the unquestioned leader, men like me get the opportunity, though indirectly, of influencing your judgement and that of the Working Committee by means of personal letters. I do not of course want to flatter you, or say anything which according to my judgement is not wholly true. I must, however, say that, among the undisputed leaders of the Country to-day God has endowed you with a resilient mind, a big heart and a rich imagination, and to-day let me record the great historical fact that, but for those great qualities of yours, the Congress will not be so strong an organisation as it is to-day,

Moreover, the people of the Country will not transfer the almost universal regard and confidence that they have for and in you to anybody else - not even to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Let me also add that, after watching Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at close quarters, though from a respectful distance for many years now, I feel he is a very impetuous (sic) and rash person. He distrusts other people's judgment too much. He is too confident of himself, and he can occasionally be very intolerant. I, therefore, beg of you not to give up in any spirit of despondency, which I see in your letter, the unquestionable right and the duty you have of still giving a lead to the Country and to the Congress. There are grave problems before the Congress, take for example, the question of discipline. I trust I am not exaggerating, but I do say that the Forward

40

72

Bloc and Babu Subash Chander Bose are the natural apotheoses of the Congress Socialist Party and of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Had we taken proper and necessary steps, at the proper and necessary time, and prevented Congress officers or members of Congress Committees from belonging to other Political organizations and had Pandit Jawaharlal always allowed his fine sense of loyalty and discipline to prevail over his heart, these ~~phenom~~ phenomena would not have occurred. Even to-day the Congress is filled with both right and left wings, if I must use that name, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru refuses up-to-date to serve on the Congress Working Committee. This certainly is not helpful and does not show that he is willing to pay the price of the unquestioned leadership of the Congress and the Country, which you seek to confer on him. I would also like to add that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is a confirmed Marxian Socialist. India cannot and will not accept that Socialism, with its main three doctrines, viz., the abolition of all private property, the creation and the perpetuation of class warfare, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. That is another handicap in the way of his single leadership.

Yes, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru must be given all the help possible. But he must also give all the help possible to his fellow workers, to the Congress, and to the Country.

On the question of the Parliamentary Front, I am anxious that you must make it clear in an article in the 'Harijan' that whatever the future programme of the Congress may be - immediate fight or fight later on - the fight must be carried on on the Parliamentary Front also. The Central Legislature should not be boycotted. Provincial Ministries should not, in any case, resign, except on issues which arise in the discharge of their duties, that is to say, their being prevented from discharging their duties by the Governors

~~73~~ 73

exercising their special powers or safeguards or the Central Government not yielding to their demand early next year, for financial help. But even then, they should resign under circumstances which will make the functioning of any other Ministry impossible.

If we have to start civil disobedience, I quite conceive that our men in the Central Assembly may have to court imprisonment or may be confined by Government. Even in that case, I want that those places, as I have written to you already, should be taken by others, wherever necessary and possible. Similarly this constant cry of asking the Congress Ministers to resign is a sign of despair and of impotent rage. Congress Ministries must carry on and resign on issues which come in the course of their normal work. I beg of you to state these, publicly, if they commend themselves unto you, as early as possible.

As regards the fight for Purna Swaraj I have still hopes that you will be approached by the authorities and you will have to declare the attitude of this Country. In spite of loud protestations in the Press and on the platforms by the so-called "revolutionaries", that is to say, people of a "revolutionary mentality", I believe the country will stand by you and help you; if Britain place all her cards on the table and approaches India as a colleague and as a friend, and confers on India the status of a free self-governing dominion in terms of the Statute of Westminster subject to agreed transitional arrangements for a strictly limited transitional period. I believe the Country will also be with you in respect of your attitude towards the Indian States. We have also to tackle the problem of 'Hindu-Muslim Unity'. I repeat joint-electoralates are the only panacea open to us, and we must stake our all on them.

I did hope when I wrote you last that I would have an early opportunity of meeting you to exchange these and other

74
thoughts of mine with you. As I had told Sri Mahadev Desai, when I met him at Simla, I want to spend some time with you, not only for the political discussions that I should like to have with you, but for spiritual communion with you, if I may. But I shall have perhaps to wait for a later and more suitable opportunity.

I am glad to learn that what you have written about the Flag question on the Ripon Buildings. I shall place the same before the Party. I hope you are keeping well. How is Mrs. Gandhi? Sri Lakshmi and my wife send you and Mrs. Gandhi their love. I am still keeping indifferent health, but thanks to the drugs I take, I am keeping, on the whole, fairly well.

With kind regards, I am,

Yours very sincerely,

Sd/-

Srijut Mahatma Gandhi,
Sheagon.

/true copy/

H.F.M
No 108

B

1.9.41.

75

Dear Satyamurti,

I have your two letters with the cuttings which hostile critics had already sent me.

I cannot congratulate you on your performance. To say the least it was indecent waste. You do not show an open mind in your speeches. Your own opinion is made up. You are ill. You need a rest and you allow yourself to make a long speech! Of course you have the right to make any speech you like. But it ill becomes a leader like you to criticise a policy that is being pursued in obedience to a resolution of the Congress. You might have waited for our meeting which you say you want. for you to publish this. I am in your hands. Get well quickly. Nothing would have been lost, no harm would have been done to the Congress or the nation by your silence till we had met.

You can never go back to office with any dignity, certainly not to impede war effort. Whose India will you defend? What you , is not yours. The rulers will never instruct you to fight so as to win independence. Whomsoever they train will surely be used to prevent you from winning independence. All this I say apart from ahimsa.

I adhere to my declaration that it is conceivable that C.D. can go on side by side with Parliamentary activity. But this does not appear to me to be time for that experiment. I am quite clear in my mind that we gain, in terms of freedom, by abstaining from participation in Parliamentary activity.

In one thing I agree with you. I would come to weed the prisons of half-hearted satyagrahis and have only those who believe in satyagrah.

I have written frankly but I have refrained from giving interviews on your speeches. I would gladly await your arrival. But if you must speak again or if you cannot correct yourself some way, it might be as well for you to publish this. I am yours hands. Get well quickly.

/ true copy/

Yours sincerely,
Sd.- M.K.GANDHI



245
18 / 224