CHAPTER V
RISE OF COMMUNISTS

The principle of classless and oppression free society where decisions on what to produce and what policies to pursue are made democratically, allowing every member of society to participate in decision making process in the political and economic spheres of life. In this line, communism began to spread in every part of a country. Accordingly, communism began to spread its journey in Tamil Nadu also.

The Communist Party of India (CPI) was founded in Tamil Nadu on 17th October 1920. The founding member of the party was M. N. Roy, Evelina Trench Roy, Abani Mukherji, Rosa Fiting, Mohammad Ali, Mohammad Shafiq, Siddiqui and M.P.B.T. Acharya. The CPI took efforts to build a party organization inside India. Roy made contact with Annushilan and Juganthai groups in Bengal. Small communist groups were formed in Bengal, Bombay, Madras, United provinces and Punjab. On 1st May 1923, the Labour Kisan Party of Hindustan (LKPH) was founded in Madras. It was founded by Singaravelu Chettiar. The LKPH organized the 1st May Day celebration in India and this was also the first time red flag was hoisted in India. On December 25th, 1925 a communist conference adopted the name “Communist party of India”. All the small communist groups were dissolved and merged with the Communist Party of India. The Communist Party of
India is the political party of India for the working class. It is a revolutionary organization by workers, peasants, toiling people and is devoted to the cause of socialism and communism.

Singaravelu Chettiar, respectfully known as ‘Singaravelar’, is one of the pioneers of both the Indian Freedom and the Indian Communist Movement as well. He was a contemporary of Mahatma Gandhi and Lenin. Born on 18.02.1860 in a fisherman’s family, Singaravelar breathed his last on February 11th, 1946. When he passed away, the Congress leader C. Rajagopalachari popularly known as Rajaji paid tribute by saying that “an avowed freedom fighter and an honest leader had passed away”. Singaravelar can be called rightly as a pioneer in all the streams, viz, Indian National Congress Movement. Communist Movement. Self – Respect Movement and Trade Union Movement in pre-Independent India. The British Rulers considered his L.K.P.H. more dangerous than the Indian National Congress.

On completion of his graduation in Law, he visited London in 1902 to establish a trade relationship with a British firm in rice trade. There, he came across several publications on Politics, Philosophy, and Economics. After his return to India, he involved in Indian National Congress. When Gandhiji gave a call for boycott of courts, colleges, schools, government positions in protest against the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre by the British Police,
Singaravelar burnt his professional attire for lawyer in a public meeting. He evinced deep interest in knowing the political changes that were taking place in Soviet Russia after the 1917 Revolution and started to read Marxist literature and speeches of Lenin. Impressed with the ideas of Communism, he began to propagate them among the congressmen expressing his conviction that only Marxism could emancipate the oppressed classes from the exploiters. Unions were formed in the urban centers across India, and strikes were organized. In 1920, the All India Trade Union Congress was founded. One of the Indians impressed with developments in Russia was S. A. Dange in Bombay.

Experience proved that a regular armed struggle took place in the form of guerilla war to establish Base area in one or more areas only when the Revolutionary situation in the country as a whole was increasing. The people were prepared to directly participate in the armed struggle and all its other aspects, when the party was strong enough to lead the armed struggle in the area or areas concerned. The extension of the area and the geographical conditions and a relatively self – sufficient economy sustained armed struggle long enough. The newspaper by name ‘Worker’ in Tamil popularized the Communist manifesto of Marx and Engels. Marx periodical, ‘Non-Cooperator’ was nipped in the bud by the British Rulers then. He also published and circulated his essays on the subjects like “regard in principles workers”, ‘from a workshop’, ‘worker’s stand and the Chennai
Government’, ‘Indian labourers international look’, ‘The international organizations of Amsterdam and Moscowl, ‘Police atrocities in the Perambur Cantonment’, ‘the right to strike and the reply to Gilbert Slader’ and ‘disturbances in the mill zones,’ which enlightened the labour population. C.S.Subramaniyam commented that his communist idealism and working methodologies earned nationwide fame and repute and in the south his works paved way for the communist movement to spread its roots and more particularly in Tamil Nadu. In 1921, his house was raided by the police to trace out the roots of the print and publication of the pamphlet under the title ‘chaval (challenge),’ but returned empty handed without getting any clues or trace.

That pamphlet was circulated in the name of ‘Communist Federal League of India’. The police charged and arrested Neelakanda Pramhachari, a radical militant leader from Erugoor village. He believed that the British Government could be removed only through violent means.

The unique in other respects also, Vanchi is the solitary martyr in the South and his action itself was somewhat different. It was limited to the railway station of Tinnevelly (Tirunelveli) Station in broad daylight. The victim was clearly visible changing from one train to another along with his wife. Mr. Robert William D'escourt Ashe, the victim, was the embodiment of official oppression in the area from as early as 1908. Vanchi was a clerk
in the Forest Department of Travancore. His only associate in the action was Shankar Krishna Iyer, his Brother-in-law.

As the Sedition Committee clearly mentioned, "We do not consider that there was any indigenous revolutionary movement in Madras. But for the influence of Bipin Chandra Pal and the revolutionaries plotting in Paris and Pondicherry, there would have been no trouble in South India". It will be an interesting information to any patriotic Indian to know something about the personal life of Vanchi, who rose from obscurity and passed into immortality as the only martyr from the South of Vindhyas. He was born in a small village, Shenkittai, in 1886. His father was V. Raghupati Aiyer and mother, Rukmini. He started his own life as a clerk and was married to Pannamal who died in 1967. The only surviving member of the obscure village is one R. Gopalakrishna Iyer who lives in Tinnevelly (Tamilnadu). He is now aged about 90 years.

It would be better for quick understanding to start with Bipin Chandra Pal who had a powerful political influence on Vanchi. As early as 1907, Bipin Chandra Pal, called the "Lion of Swaraj" in the South was very famous ajnana of action, a great intellectual, religious, having a lively sense of the people, and their social needs. It has greatly contributed to the uplifting of the oppressed classes in Southern India and its activities have in measure been allied to those of Gandhi. Tiruvarur Viruthachala Kalyanasundara
Mudaliyar, (Thiru Vi Ka) (1883–September 17th - September 19th, 1953), better known by his Tamil initials, Thiru Vi Ka was a Tamil scholar, essayist and activist.

He worked briefly as a teacher, and in 1917 became an editorial assistant on *Desabaktan*, a nationalist Tamil daily. Thiru Vi. Ka. was soon involved in various aspects of the independence movement. During this period, he became a strong campaigner for workers' rights. In 1918, he became active in the trade union movement as an associate of B.P Wadia, and organised the first trade union in the south India in the name ‘Chennai Thozhilallar Sangam’. It was formed in the year 1921 at Chennai. One of the portraits of Lenin, the first Premier of the Soviet Russia, released in India at 1921 was presented to Thiru.Vi.Ka. in his capacity as the President of the ‘Chennai Thozhilallar Sangam’. In a later occasion in his speech, he remarked that from the date that he received the portrait of Lenin he was propagating the ideals of Lenin to the maximum extent that he can and he declared himself as a person who had dreams to see the entire world as a socialistic block. It is a clear indication that the effect that the Russian Revolution had in the minds of Tamil people.

Thiru Vi. Ka. continued to remain active in politics and had taken part in the Indian independence struggle. Singaravelar from Tamil Nadu-Singaravelu Chettiar, respectfully known as ‘Singaravelar’ is one of the pioneers of both the Indian freedom and the Indian Communist movement as
well. He was a contemporary of Mahatma Gandhi and Lenin. Singaravelar can be called rightly as a pioneer in all the streams, viz, Indian National Congress movement, Communist movement, Self-respect Social movement and Trade Union movement in pre-Independent India. His personality had been the cause of concern and his Hindustan Labour Kisan Party was also considered a more dangerous grouping than the Indian National Congress to the British Rulers then.

He evinced deep interest in knowing the political changes that were taking place in Soviet Russia after the 1917 Revolution and started reading Marxist literature, speeches of Lenin. Impressed with ideas of Communism, he propagated them among the Congressmen with his fullest confidence that only the Marxism could emancipate the oppressed classes from the exploiters.

Singaravelar at this time highlighted the labour problems, strikes and about the police atrocities through his essays published in the newspapers like ‘swatharma’ and ‘Hindu’ and also published ‘Hindustan Labour Kisan Gazette’. They were highly spirited and inspiring. His three lectures in the city of Madras (now called Chennai), on Swaraj, Swadeshi, and Boycott, culminated in including the youth to violent anti-government actions. On 10th May he was to have addressed a meeting in Madras, but the organisers learnt about the arrest of Lala Lajpat Rai (of the famous Lal-Bal-Pal) in the North. They whisked him away to Calcutta (Kolkata now) for safety. But on
the Kali Pooja Day (early revolutionaries were devotees of Kali, the goddess of prowess), he completed the stirring speech for the youth of Madras. He enjoined them to appease the great goddess, Kali, with the sacrifice of 108 'white goats' (meaning white men).

A South Indian Chidambaram Pillai accompanied Bipin Pal to Calcutta. He was already initiated into the revolutionary movement by Dr. Taraknath Das when he was hiding as Tarak Bhramachari in Pillai's house before the latter left for Japan, on a voluntary exile. On Pillai returning to Madras, he openly propagated the Cult of the Bombs with the sole purpose of driving the British out. Alarmed at this open call to armed action by the Indian patriots, the Govt. arrested him along with Subramanium Siva on the 12th March, 1911\textsuperscript{13}. A reign of terror was let loose on the people of Tinnevelly. But oppression is never known to have suppressed revolutionary actions. The Collector's Court and Police Barracks were ransacked and set on fire. Only the army could restore order.

Two more revolutionaries of Madras, Neelakantha Brahmachari and Shankar Krishna Iyer were preaching the cult of armed revolution from place to place. The youth of the South had a new militant spirit instilled in them. Shankar's brother-in-law, Vanchi, joined them. And by December, 1910, V.V.S. Iyer, arrived from Paris to Pondicherry and immediately started training a few young men there for revolutionary action\textsuperscript{14}. Vanchi took his revolver practice from Iyer. He was on 3 months' leave from the
office from January 1911. He belonged to ‘Bharat Mata Association’, a revolutionary organization. In one of the meetings Vanchi publicly held the Britishers responsible for all the ills in India, plague, famine, poverty and ignorance. This was the background of the daring action of Vanchi on the 17th June 1911. Ashe had been the Collector of Tinnevelly Dist. He had suppressed the disturbance of 1908 with utmost brutality. By his other acts of omissions and commissions, he had already earned the notoriety to head the list of revolutionary revenge in South India. Vanchi Iyer and a few others in Pondicherry, along with the new arrival from Europe, V.V.S. Iyer, planned the riddance of Ashe.

Vanchi returned to Tinnevelly and closely shadowed the target. The original intention was to kill him on 11th June 1911, synchronizing with the Coronation of George the V. But Ashe was nowhere to be seen on that day. He thus escaped death but just by a week. The fateful day arrived on 17th June, 1911. Ashe and his wife were out on official tour and were at Manyanchi station to change for Kodai Kanal. But at Manyanchi one Vanchi arrived. He was accompanied by his brother-in-law, Shankar. It was 11 a.m. The collector and his wife changed over to the other train. Within a few minutes Ashe was attacked by Vanchi. The injured officer was brought back to Tinnevelly for treatment. But the tyrant of the district succumbed to the injuries.

There was commotion, confusion and consternation all over. Vanchi waited for a few minutes to see if his bullet had done the job. People around
tried to over-power him but failed against the fear of the loaded revolver. Vanchi managed to go to the end of the platform just to shoot himself with his own revolver through the throat. The long hand of law was cut short and could not catch the Collector's assassin. He became a martyr, the solitary one in the South. It is pertinent, also inspiring, to quote from Madame Cama in her Vande Mataram of July 1911\textsuperscript{18}. She wrote: "When decorated slaves from Hindustan were parading the streets of London as performers in a Royal Circus (a ref. to King George's Coronation) and demonstrated their subservience to the King of England, two young and brave countrymen of ours proved by daring deed that Hindustan is not slumbering. The shots that Vanchi fired did help arouse a slave nation from the century-old slumbering." Let Independent India remember them with reverence. That is the least we can do. Unfortunately we are not doing it”.

Neelakanda Bramhachari was also charged in the above discussed ‘Ashe’ murder case and convicted for 7 years of jail\textsuperscript{19}. He was released around the period of Russian revolution and the grand success of the people’s revolution opened the hearts and mind of the people all over the World with a new sort of thinking. Neelakanda Pramhachari met a transformation in his mind and he was attracted towards the communist principles. He developed his faith in communism and started to practice and preach the communist principles among the public and turned to be the first man in the country to preach and propagate communism. S.Vijayalakshmi, editor of the newspaper ‘\textit{Puthiya Alai}’ is reported to have published a
column in her paper dated 26\textsuperscript{th} January 1975, stating that Neelakanda Pramhachari prepared and published a pamphlet depicting ‘communist plans’ in consultation with Singaravelar from Madras. Writer and Journalist Sri N.Ramakrishnan pointed out that the pamphlet in English released by Neelakanda Pramhachari in the name of ‘Communist Federal league of India’ was printed at the Mitter and Co, Book Publishing house, Chengalput and published in the year 1922\textsuperscript{20}.

Singaravelar met S. A. Dangay in the Congress Party Congress held at Gaya of Bihar in 1922 December and he happened to work with him to cope with his responsibility of forwarding the resolution to form labour Union. From the podium of the conference, one of the speakers, Singaravelar began his speech addressing the gathering as “Comrades”. The conference was spellbound by the thunderous applause from the audience. This injected new blood to the conference.

M.N. Roy was in full praise and reported his appreciation through his writings in the journal, “The Vanguard of Indian Independence” on the format of speech Singaravelar adopted to address the audience of the Congress focusing their full attention of the entire gathering with a charming single synonym “comrades” as the first occasion in India and evoked thunderous applause of the audience\textsuperscript{21}. Singaravelar powerfully highlighted the plight of the labour community, their suffering from poverty, famine,
severe epidemics, diseases, worries and expectations and reminded the rich and effluent people that they should not forget that the salient features that they are enjoying were the fruits of the hard work of the labour community only.

M.N. Roy goes on adding that “In the backdrop of eminent thinkers of different ideologies participating in the Gaya Congress, the participation of Singaravelar will ever be remembered as a historical event. While even the young bloods and respectable leaders were fearing assault of repression by the government, the 60 year old white bearded man calling himself ‘communist’ boldly without any fear, attracted the applause of the audience” and distributed among the audience the pamphlet he has prepared under the title “New Manifesto for Congressmen”\textsuperscript{22}. While speaking at the conference, it is the first time he openly demanded ‘Total Swaraj’ for India. Later in the Calcutta conference, a huge workers rally pressed for the adoption of the above demand. It was only in the Lucknow conference, the Congress party also adopted this demand.

Continuously seeking clarity in philosophy, science and politics, Singaravelar joined political struggles. He led many working class struggles. For the first time in India he conducted May Day celebrations on 1\textsuperscript{st} may, 1923 in Chennai Marina Beach and it will ever be remembered in the history of India\textsuperscript{23}. Along with it the Labour Kisan Party of Hindustan was also launched as a political party in India. Chettiar made arrangements to
celebrate May Day in two places in Chennai. One meeting was held at the beach opposite to the Madras High Court; the other meeting was held at the Triplicane beach. History recorded this event as the first May Day celebration in India. On that day noon two long processions of labourers were held. One was the procession of the north Chennai labourers parading through many streets and roads ended in the High Court beach and the other thronged by the south Chennai labourers ended with the Triplicane beach. This was also the first time the red flag was used in India. He had the pride of being the first communist in South India. He started Labour Kisan Party in 1923 and brought out a journal, Labour Kisan Gazette.

*The Hindu* newspaper, published from Madras, reported that The Labour Kisan Party was founded by Singaravelu Chettiar on May 1, 1923 in Madras. The Labour Kisan Party introduced May Day celebrations in Chennai. Comrade Singaravelar presided over the meeting. A resolution was passed stating that the government should declare May Day as a holiday. The president of the party explained the non-violent principles of the party. There was a request for financial aid. It was emphasized that workers of the world must unite to achieve independence. In the May Day function at the North Chennai venue Singaravelar, M.P.S.Velayutham and P.Nadesa Mudaliyar, a press worker delivered their speeches. Singaravelar released the program and principles of his Labour Kisan Party in Tamil and explained its salient features in detail. At Thenampettai the venue of the south Chennai May Day function on the president ship of S.Krishnasamy Sharma
Singaravelar, renowned leader of the Congress party Subramaniya Siva, Sankarlal and The Labour Kisan party secretary M.P.S.Velayutham delivered their eloquent speech. Com.Sugumalsen reports that even though A.I.T.U.C., the labour wing of Congress was functioning from 1920, they remained undecided till 1927.

Singaravelar was closely associated with M N Roy and the *Vanguard* journal run by him. M N Roy had put forth his view that it was not good to openly function as a communist party in colonial countries and may function in general name. Hence, Singaravelar gave the party a general name. But the manifesto of his party was more like a communist party manifesto. It states: “Comrades and workers, I want to emphasize one point. You are not aware of your valour and power. If you realize yourself, your ignorance will vanish. You are the owner of the world. There was folklore in the far off Ukraine - Russia - a giant called “Vee”. His eyelids were so long that it touched the land, so that he could not see anything other than his own image. Then the eyelids were slowly moving up and he could see so many things beyond the hills, mountains, sea, ocean, etc. “Through the Russian workers, workers of India, Asia, Europe, America, Australia and others have united themselves in fraternity. They are resolutely working together for the growth of the comradeship. We communists have confidence in the brotherhood of humanity.”

“Indian workers will help to strengthen the unity of Humanity. Hence, we ask the bourgeois to hear our views. Indian workers are more
vigilant now. They too are seeing the things that are happening beyond the hills, seas, oceans, etc. - like their comrades in foreign countries. The working class around the world has real fraternity. You cannot just ignore them. They know their strength now.” He was closely associated with Periyar’s Movement. He had written so many articles in *Kudiyarasu* paper published by Periyar, which were in the nature of social reforms with scientific outlook. Periyar adopted 'Erode programme' which was centered around communist principles. Actually that programme was mainly drafted by Singaravelar along with others. Periyar emphasized mainly on social freedom. Singaravelar differed with Periyar on this issue and raised the question. “Whether self-respect movement or dishonor movement? In spite of this difference Periyar wanted to utilize the eminent knowledge of Singaravelar and allowed him to write articles in *Kudiyarasu* newspaper\(^\text{29}\).

Singaravelar gathered many books on various subjects like politics, philosophy, psychology, physiology, economics, general knowledge, etc. in his private library. Ameer Haider Khan narrated about the library as under:

“Singaravelar’s private library was one of the biggest libraries in south India. Not only that, some portion of the books kept in the Singaravelar’s private library is now available in the Lenin Library, the biggest library in Moscow, under separate section titled as ‘Singaravelar Library’.

Gandhiji did not recognize that the 1922 Chauri-Chaura incident was a result of the atrocious activities of the government and think that his principle of non-violent protest crossed the limit and thence withdrew his
non-cooperation movement to condemn the violence. Singaravelar strongly opposed Gandhi’s stand, spoke against it and also wrote many articles\(^{30}\). “It is the personal responsibility of those who led struggles to continuously ignite the feelings of the struggling masses. Once it is stopped in the middle, then it will not be possible to create that spirit” - he had stated. After this incident, radical movements started emerging throughout India. Singaravelar also established links with different radical groups. His thinking process was slowly drifting away from the Congress movement.

He was moving towards Communist ideology. He was having a clear cut idea on ‘Swaraj’. He openly declared his position in *Navasakthi* daily through an open letter to Gandhiji pointing out several details about “Swaraj”\(^{31}\). He said that everyone should be given a piece of land and free to cultivate the land on his own for food. Everyone should be given free shelter without paying any rent to any landlord. If this guarantee is not available, then Swaraj is of no use. The real *Swaraj* we want should be created by the people and for the people and nothing less than that. This was the essence of the article written by Singaravelar under the title “*Swaraj for whom*”? Even today to any one happened to go through the article; it appears as a charge sheet against our rulers.

Singaravelar not only preached the working class but also led them in various struggles and suffered tremendous hardships. Because of his participation in the struggles of B & C Mill, Burma Oil Company, Railway
workers, etc., the government named him as a notorious agitator in its secret documents. Even while actively participating in the struggles of working class, he strove to raise the spirit of internationalist understanding among the working class. In 1927 when the American government killed two communists, namely Chacko and Vancity, by putting them in electric chair, he fiercely condemned it by holding public meetings.

Professor Muthugunasekaran’s assessment was that, with the help of Singaravelar, Periyar wanted to spread rationalist movement. At the same time Singaravelar wanted to spread socialist ideas with the support of Periyar. The alignment of both worked well in Tamil Nadu. Singaravelar’s dedicated work attracted Periyar much more than Periyar’s policies that attracted Singaravelar. And this is the reason why the influence of socialist policies was predominant in Periyar’s self respect movement. Communists are generally and naturally atheists. But they do not put it as a precondition to become a member of the communist party. Periyar and Singaravelar passionately opposed religion. They openly declared themselves as atheists. At the all India level both Jawaharlal Nehru and Bhagat Singh pronounced themselves as atheists. Singaravelar was against religion, caste and God. But there was a difference between Periyar and Singaravelar on this line. Singaravelar used to say, “Every religion supports the bourgeoisie. It perpetuates haves and have-nots”, creates difference by birth. All are
brothers, one God for all - these statements are a humbug if we see what is happening around the world - engulfed with war everywhere.”

Singaravelar negated God and religion ideologically as well as scientifically. He stated that in the class struggle God and religious outlooks are helpful only to the exploiting classes. He felt that rationalism should be applied to eradicate poverty, ignorance, disease, hunger, etc. That is the real rationalism; others are imitations. Actively associated with trade union activities, party work, ideological propaganda, etc. Singaravelar also wanted to associate himself with local bodies to work directly with masses. He insisted that Swaraj Party should participate in the local body elections. Even though he was running Labour Kisan Party separately, he was a member of the Congress party also. Those days communists were functioning in such a manner. Singaravelar had written elaborately about Panchayat Raj system in his Labour Kisan Party programme\textsuperscript{34}, way back in 1923. He talked about three layers - Local Panchayat, Town Panchayat and District Panchayat. He stressed the need to concentrate on education and health by these panchayats.

Singaravelar strongly considered that socialist society cannot be achieved till untouchability is abolished. He says, “Fraternity is an empty slogan till casteism exists. A disease cannot be cured by magic, similarly casteism, which is a chronic disease, cannot be cured by fake justice. Those
who wear the sacred thread and do customary practices cannot boast of abandoning caste. This fake justice has been prevailing in India for a long period.”

Deeply felt about casteism, Singaravelar said, “The basis for untouchability is poverty. People have no place, water, house education, sanitation - no support from rich people, no protection from Govt. and without finding solution to the above problems we cannot eradicate casteism.” According to Singaravelar, caste and religion are for the protection of exploitation. “One must understand that the caste, religion, property rights are fortress constructed by the capitalists to safeguard their wealth, hegemony, privileges, etc. and if the gates of these fortress are not opened, we cannot achieve socialism. If the inhuman condition of crores of people is to be improved, then the fortress constructed by the capitalists should be demolished.” But at the same time he firmly believed that without finding economic equality, the roots of casteism cannot be uprooted. As long as upper caste chauvinism is there, the untouchability will continue.

Singaravelar did not see science, philosophy, politics, etc. separately. He intermingled everything because of his Marxist scientific understanding. Hence, all his writings were focused on the welfare of downtrodden people in the society. Such a Marxist approach deviates him from other thinkers like Periyar and he was unique. Singaravelar proved his uniqueness in three
streams of movements i.e., Congress, Self-respect movement and Communist movement\textsuperscript{36}. But his approach was focussed on working class with class outlook and hence he was following communist principles and preaching them till his death. Singaravelar had repeatedly written and spoken on the principles of communism, the life of Karl Marx and his philosophies. He was always admired by the developments of newly formed Soviet Russia which was a beacon light for the society. He explained to the Tamil masses in a simple way about Karl Marx and Lenin. His love towards communism and Lenin was not an emotional one, but with a real sense of understanding.

When he wrote condolence message on Lenin’s death, he stated, “The historical revolution won by Lenin through his politics, ideology and philosophy in his own land may one day vanish because of the vested interest of some section of the people. But it will revive once again and spread throughout the world. Finally it will lead to the betterment of working class throughout the world.”

Singaravelar upheld the banner of Marxism throughout his life knowing well that it is the only path for the salvation of people from exploitation. He repeatedly emphasized that Marxism is the only remedy for all the miseries in the world. Singaravelar wanted to retrieve the society from the evils of caste, religion and superstition with the help of science. The last meeting he attended was the conference of Madras Press Workers
Association. In that meeting, he said “I am 84 years now. I stand here to do my duty to the working class. I do not like anything more than standing one among you.”

Saklatvala was born in a well-known Parsee family in Bombay on March 28, 1874. Since the 1830s the Saklatvala family had been a well-known parsee family in Bombay. He was a person intensely sensitive to human suffering. Thus, in spite of being born with ‘a silver spoon in his mouth’, he moved inevitably towards the Bombay Daily Mail. More letters passed between them were published in 1970. During this last visit, Saklatvala spent three months in India. The United Kingdom, a participant of the World War I from 1914 wanted to expand its rail services in India. It was for the convenience of the mobility of their military, and established service stations at various places for the repair and maintenance of the tail engines and wagons. Their Rail services were owned by private companies. The companies were under the protection and income guaranty of Government and were functioning under the control of Government constituted Railway Board. In 1918, the World War I came to an end. The British Government wanted to regularize the railway service with minimum number of labourers, and decided to reduce the expenditure through retrenchment of workers. In the year 1927, workers from South India Railways and Bengal & Nagpur Railways agitated against the retrenchment orders.
The railway unions of India had been in a state of ferment, due to the tremendous retrenchment proposals put forward by the agents of the railways, which meant that at least 21,000 railway workers would be dismissed. An agitation was set on foot by the leaders of various unions catering to the railway workers for a general strike, to prevent the proposals being put into operation and to register the worker’s opposition to the plans of the British Government and high handed attitude of the management, the North-Western Railway, Bengal-Nagpur Railway, the East Indian Railway and South Indian Railway went on a strike. The strike of the North Indian Railway lasted for a month in Bhopal (Feb 1927). Singaravelar met all the people concerned and gathered support for the strike. On the whole, about 30,000 workers went on a strike in Calcutta and Howrah. Singaravelar and a group of workers from Tamil Nadu took part in the strike. The striking workers consulted Singaravelar for legal advice and for effective backing. Trade Unions of Communist lean and their Leaders felt that to defend the striking Railway Labourers, the entire Indian Workers Proletariat has to be organized and a meeting of the labour union leaders was organized at Karagpur. Singaravelar and V.R. Kalappa attended the meeting as the representatives from Madras and Singaravelar met the Bengal province Trade union secretary Mugunthalal Sarkar. Both became fastened with the bond of strong comradeship and more attached friends. Both Singaravelar and Kalappa joined hands with Mugunthalal and canvassed the workers to take part in the strike.
In 1927, the management at the South Indian Railways decided to shift the workshops in Nagapattinam, Pothanur and Trichy to Ponmalai a place at some distance from Trichy. It also took steps to retrench workers. The railway administration issued a communiqué in April 1928 stating that it is proposed to retrench 3200 labourers and those who opt for voluntary retirement would receive advantageous rate of pensionary benefits and it is also suggested that there would be a trade test to help retrenchment. Workers were not in acceptance of the moratoriums and conditions and all the trade unions existed under diverse names and styles were united as a single central union was formed. A strike committee was elected under the leadership of D.Krishnasamy Pillai and Singaravelar and Mugunthalal Sarkar were also selected as the members of the strike committee.

The railway workers attached to Nagai, Pothanur and Ponmalai refused to take the test and demanded that it should be outrightly cancelled. The management refused to heed their demands. It sent all the workers out of the workshops and affected a lock-out. News of this event spread all over South India. Singaravelar who returned after the success of North Indian Railway strike took part in this strike too. Singaravelar and others went around and canvassed the workers arousing their emotions flow like a flash flood and convened several meetings in which thousands of workers participated.
On July 6th, a complete “Hartal” was observed at Trichinopoly. All business was suspended. The vegetable and grain markets remained closed in sympathy with the locked-out workers and a procession 3,000 strong marched through the town and Sarkar led the procession and the struggle committee issued a warning to the railway administration stating that the lay-off should be lifted immediately and the proposed trade test should be dropped or else they informed the management that they have no other alternative except to enter on strike from July 14, 1928. The Central Committee of the Union issued a communiqué to the Railway Agent in which it is stated that the minimum demands of the workers would be:

1. All round increases of 25 per cent. in wages.
2. Minimum for gangmen to be Rs. 30/.

Meanwhile several prominent Labour leaders lean issued their dissent and condemnation to the strike action. S.V. Aiyar, editor of the Indian Railway Magazine and president of the M. and S.M. Railway Employees Union stated that “Capital has resources behind it. There is no strike fund and donations from Saklatvala and others from England will not feed 40,000 mans.” Ernest Kirk, General Secretary of the Madras Labour Union condemned the strike action, and said: I am not against a strike, but if initiated and rushed and wire-pulled by adherents of Moscow it is severely handicapped from the outset.
Resolutions of protests were made at the workers’ meetings against Aiyar for “betraying the interests of the workers” and Kirk for “working against the Central Committee.” The management was not also found to be moved with the show of strength through the rally and unwilling to yield in. At a meeting on June 16th, the South Indian Railway workers decided to lay certain proposals before the agent requesting him to postpone the retrenchment proposals, which had been placed before the men. At all the other centers resolutions were passed calling for a general strike all along the line. Meanwhile, arrangements were made to call a conference of the A.I. Railway Federation. By this time preparations were being made to call a general strike for July 20. R.V. Naidu, president of the S.I.R. Employees Association, appealed to the workers not to participate; since “constitutional agitation is our watchword.” But telegrams sent by the president of the Union were held up by the authorities as “being objectionable.” On the 18th, Pillai, President of the S.I.R. Labour Union, wrote the agent asking whether he agreed to accept Labour Commissioners or Arbitrators on the following points:

1. Lock-out wages.
2. Surplus to be absorbed after voluntary resignation.
3. Unskilled wages to be increased.
4. Running staff grievances.

The agent replied on the same day, stating that reductions were inevitable; that the question of pay was not one for arbitration, as the principle of no-work, no pay will be observed, that the unskilled rate of pay
was fair and reasonable. He was prepared for negotiation or arbitration on the other matters, on condition that all agitation for a general strike ceased. The reply was considered unsatisfactory and after another attempt to come to an agreement, it was decided that the strike should be called for the 20th. The Labour weekly, *Thozilalee*, issued a strike supplement printed in red, wall-papers and leaflets were issued by the strike committee, but the labour leader, Ernest Kirk, warned the workers “not to be carried away by Communist ideas being imported into the Union.”

The following day a Strike Committee was elected and it was decided to organize a stay-in strike. So on 19th July, midnight the strike began many workers and leaders were arrested\(^48\). Strike started with high temperament of confrontations and coercions. Practically all unskilled and night staff left duty. All work stopped at the central stations. The authorities replied to the strike by organised terrorism. The few trains that were running were escorted by reserve police with loaded guns. Meetings were dispersed, and at Korandi assemblies of men were prohibited within a radius of five miles. At Egmore forty men were served with notices prohibiting them from attending meetings. Within three days there were sixty-two arrests, and thirty men had been sent to the Shirjaki sub-jail\(^49\).

The tampering of signal installations and breaking of the telegraphic and electric connections was reported in many places. Stone pelting was reported in the Egmore station. Striking workers from Nagai marched to
Tambaram and with their comrades of Tambaram squatted on rail lines to thwart the rail traffic. Government had given orders to police to quell the violence and crack the strike. The police charged the striking workers and arrested 28 of them. At Mayavaram about 5,000 strikers lay on the rails and refused to let the Ceylon boat-train, under strong escort, pass. The police interfered and arrested nine, but the engine fires were put out. Later, about 8 o’clock, the crowd of strikers increased at the station and some stone-throwing began. The police opened fire on the strikers and it is stated that five were killed, several injured and about fifteen arrested. At Tuticorin there was also firing by police and seven were injured, and a shepherd named Kone was bayoneted and died later. Fourteen coolies were arrested. At Villupuram, when a train reached the station, it is stated that some stones were thrown, and the police in reply charged the crowd of strikers with drawn bayonets and fired buckshots. Six were killed and twenty-two wounded.

The strike continued for 10 days. It was a historic strike that shook the whole of Southern India. All the railway employees - of both the highest and lowest cadre, joined the strike. On the morning of the 20th striking employees marched to Chennai. Employees of Pallavaram, Parangimalai, Gindi and Saithapettai had also joined the marching employees and at Mambalam they blocked the Boat Mail from proceeding to Chennai. Police had foiled their attempt and chased the workers away. But the train was
stopped by some of the workers spotted on the rails and the driver and the fire man were dragged out of the train and snubbed. The strike was reported vibrant in other parts of the Madras Presidency. With the company of the local employees the striking workers stalled the Thoothukudi station and the Thoothukudi and Vilupuram stations reported police firing. Tough confrontations were reported from Maniyachi, Mayavaram, Mathurai, Vikravandi, Pandrutti, Nellikuppam and Puthalore, The management was forced to cancel all the trains from 21st July. Condemning brutal police actions, many protest meetings were convened in many places. At Erode, E.V.Ramasamy Naiker presided two of such meetings. By the 25th D.K. Pillai, the president of the Central Committee was arrested and searches were made in the private residences of the Committee members and the Union offices. T.K. Naidu, secretary of the Engineering Workshop Labour Union, and a member of the Strike Committee, was arrested on the 26th, and P. Mudalier and V. Aujar, general secretary and vice-president of the Central Committee, were arrested at Madura.

On the 26th the Strike Committee issued a statement denying charges of sabotage and agreeing to go to arbitration on the four points previously given. Police stepped up its action and started to apprehend strike propagators and on the 27th July arrested all of the struggle committee members. Police had effectively arrested all the central committee members and unleashed terror on the striking workers. V. Aujar, who had been released on bail, stated at a meeting on the same day that the strike was
premature, and Ernest Kirk, in an interview, attacked the Strike Movement saying: - The strike is due to the influence of Communists. The militant Moscow virus has already got into the blood of several leading branch officers and members of the Central Committee. I would get into communication with the agent at once and agree to call off the strike provided he would be willing to resume negotiations. The next day, the 27th, the Union secretary at Tinnevelly, M. Pillai without any instructions from the Central Committee called off the strike. Most of the strikers were unwilling to resume work and the action of Pillai was challenged, but a small number began work.

The same day, Narayanaswami, the secretary of the Podanur Branch, Chari, the manager of Thozilalee office, and Arumugan, a member of the Strike Committee, along with R. Naidu, president of the Madras Branch and six strikers were arrested. At Trichinopoly and Madura the strike was in full swing, but at other places a few started work. On the 30th Krishnamachari, the secretary, and Pillai, treasurer of the S.I.R. Local Labour Union, the only members of the Strike Committee left after the arrests, issued this statement: We have demonstrated to the public our capacity for organisation and concerted action. (but) we find that the public have suffered in this quarrel between Capital and Labour and we are very sorry that we were forced to go on strike much against our wishes relying on the justice of our cause we are determined to continue our fight by peaceful methods and with the sole aim of sparing the public all inconvenience, we have decided to call off the strike from 6 a.m. on the 30th.
Although the strike had been called off a large number were still out on August 1. On the 2nd the agent stated that the whole staff were working. He also stated that the recognition given to the Union was withdrawn; that no strike pay would be paid, adding that he had the full approval of the Government. No points are to be submitted to arbitration, but if there is some outstanding, he will consider submitting them to the Commissioner of Labour. The governing authorities did not intend to run any risk for even when Joshi, Giri and Naidu arrived at Negapatnam, on August 7th they were prohibited from speaking or attending meetings within a radius of five miles.

A commentary on one cause of the collapse of the strike was made by Jhabwalla who stated, at a meeting on July 18th, that the leaders of the strike wired to him concerning concerted action by the G.I.P., the B.B., the C.I. and the S.I.R. workers. He immediately wired back asking them to wait until July 28. It appeared that the telegraphic communications were held up by the authorities. To his surprise the strike was declared on the 20th, and was bound to fail for want of organization and support. A Forward said of this incident that the race of dividend hunters will easily detect in these violent actions the mystic hands of Moscow. But can outside influences work so much havoc upon men’s minds as to make them lay open their hearts to the policemen’s bullets? Since the calling off of the strike about twenty-seven strikers have been sentenced to six months’ imprisonment,
about thirty-six to three months and about forty-three others for periods of
two to four months. It is no exaggeration to say that the South Indian
Railway strike was written in blood. The high handed measures of the
British Government crossed the limits of oppression. The tireless efforts of
the union leaders were wasted. Finally the strike failed. The British
government arrested Singaravelar, Sarkar and innumerable workers and the
labour union offices were raided. Cases were registered against Singaravelar
and Sarkar. Singaravelar was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment at the end
of the trial. He spent the years at prison in Chennai, Trichy and
Coimbatore.\(^8\)

Mass protest rallies were conducted in Chennai and Tiruchy attended
by all labour unions and tens and thousands of workers demanding the
release of the jailed Trade unionists and their leaders. As a result of an
appeal to the High Court, his sentence was reduced to 18 months and he was
released at the end of 1930. The odyssey of the spirituous struggle of the
railway union workers though ended in a failure identified three militant
workers to the communist movement of the Tamilnadu. One of them was
Anthanapettai V. Saminathan, The next comrade was K. Murugesan and the
third one was Nagai K. P. Nadarajan.

E.V. Ramasamy Naicker was of the track that the railway strike was
propagated and instigated by the influential sections of the society and to its
tune advised the workers against their participation. Much against his expectation, a sizable majority of his followers jumped in to the strike and that dragged to toe the line of the striker’s view and eventually turned as a supporter of the strike. He had also taken part in the public meetings and openly supported the strike. His party organs “Kudiyarasu” and “Dravidan” had also supported the strike. He had also jumped the ban orders imposed against the conduct of public meetings in support of the strike and addressed many meetings and for that he and his followers Kannapper, Easwaran, Mariappan and Suppu were jailed. He and his supporters decided not to co-operate the enquiry and contest the case poised against them. But the Government had withdrawn the cases filed against E.V.R. and his followers.

In the history of labour movements, the first labour union was established on 27th April 1918. Indian workers felt the need for labour union when V.O. Chidambaram Pillai was sentenced to 40 years imprisonment for taking part in the freedom struggle. The Chennai workers union was started as a result of this. The president of this union was Singaravelar.

From the time the union was launched, Singaravelar organized several strikes along Mugunthalal Sarkar and Chakkarai Chettiar. The union was established in B & C Mills was banned by the British. Many other unions, were set in Chennai and other places. They are 1) MSM workers union, 2) Electricity workers union, 3) Railway workers union, 4) petroleum
employees union, 5) printing workers union, 6) aluminium workers union, 7) European workers unions, 8) barbers union, 9) scavengers union, 10) fishermen union, 11) railway employees union, 12) Coimbatore weavers union, and 13) Madurai weavers union. All the unions were established during the lifetime of Singaravelar. When the labour demonstration began in south India, it spread like a wildfire to other parts of the country and labour unions were formed in Mumbai, Kolkata, Kanpur, Nagpur, etc. In Tamil Nadu labour unions were set up in Chennai, Madurai, Nagapattinam and Coimbatore as the labour class concentration in these cities. Within a few weeks of the establishment of the Chennai labour union, opposition arose from all quarters. The capitalists who owned the factories, tried to destroy the unity of the workers. Singaravelar addressed the workers of Choolai Cotton Mill in Chennai and strengthened the labour movement. Although the hatred of the capitalists towards the workers increased, the workers became more interested in labour unions as a result of the impetus provided by pioneers of the movement like Singaravelar and Thiru Vi Ka. There were four unions in Chennai then, which were famous for organizing strikes. They were 1) Chennai workers union, 2) Tramway workers union, 3) printing workers union and 4) petroleum workers union.
Labour Strikes:

B & C Workers Strike:

The workers of B & C Mills faced problems from time to time. The British, who owned the mills, paid very low wages but extracted work for more than eight hours a day. The workers were upset and angry. A power crazy British Manager threatened the workers at gun point. The angry workers snatched the revolver and began firing. It was later deposited at a police station by the Union. At that time the police opened fire on a section of the workers, as a result of which two young men died on the spot and many were injured. This incident that lasted only for a few seconds was followed by the strike which was led by the humanitarian, Singaravelar. The strike became intense and the workers did not resume work. The management instigated a caste war to break the strike by filling vacancies with low caste workers. Hence, the strike turned out to be a caste war between two groups. The clashes turned into fights, blasts and stabbings. The British governments took stern steps to control the situation. On 29th August 1921, guns roared in Perambur. Seven people died. Singaravelar participated in the funeral procession. The police threatened to shoot him. He turned up his chest to receive bullets and dared to face the oppressors’ gun shots. The police were shocked when some miscreants started trouble by throwing stones at the people as the procession moved slowly through Chindadripet buildings. There were clashes between the two groups and the
procession was halted. The Deputy Commissioner reached the spot and controlled the mob.

In 1921, two more shooting incidents took place, one on the 19th of September and the other on the 15th of October. Justice Ayling Commission was set up to enquire on the August 24th strike. As it was biased, Singaravelar declared that the labour union would not cooperate with the commission. After six months, the strike came to an end. Although the strike ended in strife, it taught them a lesson. "Even if the objective of the strike is not achieved, strikes encouraged the workers everywhere. It is better to fight bravely rather than not fight at all” said Singaravelar

**Aluminium Factory workers Strike:**

In July 1922, there was a strike in the aluminum factory in Chennai in which Singaravelar participated and paid special attention. He recommended that the congress should take up the cause of the workers in the TN Congress Committee meeting.

**Tramway workers strike:**

In December 1922, Tramway workers made a few demands and went on a strike. Singaravelar played a significant role in it. His ability to reason and explain the activities of the workers attracted the congressmen labour union leaders supporting the congress party who had similar ideas. The Indian communists who were living abroad realized that he was a politician
who understood the role of workers in freedom movement. Singaravelar took part in the Addison Press workers strike as well in the same year and made significant contribution.

**Workers Organization:**

The All India Congress passed a resolution at the Gaya conference about workers organization, at the insistence of Singaravelar. It declared: "It is the opinion of this conference that all Indian Labourers should be united. To safeguard their rights and prevent their exploitation and for equal distribution of wealth among all, the various labour and kisan unions should be unified and for this purpose, a committee of six (including Singaravelar) has been constituted."

**Corporation Cleaners Strike:**

The corporation cleaners planned a strike on the 30\(^{th}\) August 1924. Singaravelar presided over the strike and the meeting\(^{67}\).

**Burma Oil Corporation Strike:**

It was a strike that lasted for nearly 20 days and shook the city. The strike made four demands including a raise in the daily wages of the workers. The British government accepted the 3 demands and said that it would consider a rise in daily wages. The demands were accepted, and the workers resumed work. When the strike was at its height, the British
managers and police warned the workers, saying "oil is easily inflammable; do not be careless; Singaravelar and the workers retorted, the feelings of workers are also volatile". Harihara Dharma Raja (H.D.Raja), a Bombay resident Tamil and militant proponent of communist ideologist and active member of Youths Forum in Bombay paid a visit to Chennai in 1929 when Singaravelar was serving his jail term. H.D Raja’s visit was on an important mission of organizing the youths under a banner and to impart the communist principles in them. He selected the Loyola College and managed to establish a link with some students of progressive disposition and got arranged a with the students who may have a liking and inclination to hear and bear the inclinations that may arise from the point of his lecture. The lecture was attended by students of both undergraduate and postgraduate classes. Kammambody Sathiyanrayana, P.Sundararami Reddy and V.K.Narasimman were the later luminaries who attended the lecture among others. H.D.Raja dwelt at length on the Marxist Ideology with the aid of different literature. P.Sundararama Reddy later shined as a renowned communist leader in the name of P.Sundaraiah accounts the visit of H.D.Raja as that he used to frequent with periodicals and socialist literature to the Loyola College hostel and he records that his friendship circle used to arrange a set of friends and other colleagues as a gang to hear H. D. Raja. P. Sundaraiah admits that the ‘Communist Report’ attracted him that any other principles advocated by the leaders like Swami Vivekananda and
Gandhiji. P. Sundaraiah acknowledges that he and his friends had become the communist sympathizers of the day. He wanted to join the communist movement and wished to induct all his friends in that movement. He also had a liking to spread the ‘Youth League’ which H. D. Raja propagated and recommended all youths to get enrolled as member of the league.

Puchalapalli Sundarayya (1913 – May 19, 1985), later converted his name as P. Sundaraiah, an easy syllable easier to be called and remembered, born in a land lord family at Alaganipadu village in Kouvoor taluk of Nellur District in Andrapradesh to Puchalapalli Venkatarami Reddy and Shasamma couples. He was the sixth born child to his parents and his family was an influential one in the area of having 50 acres of landed property. He was a founding member of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and a leader of the peasant revolt in the former Hyderabad State of India, called the ‘Telengana Rebellion’. He is popularly known as Comrade PS.

The work, “Life of Karl Marx and his Teachings’ was used as the doctrine to train fresh cadres and members. Sundarayya and others secretly assembled the comrades in a house and infused communist principles through more practical means. Communist literature was given for reading and on completion of a paragraph, the substance of the content was revealed to the working class. He used to site the current political developments and issues to explain the contents of the communist literatures. He viewed thus:
Government is the one which controls and pressurizes one class against another. When there is uprising of agricultural laborers and coolies against their land lords, then the police department interferes and exercise control, and makes arrests in support of the land lords. Here Police Department is acting as the aids of the land owners”. Mobilizing young workers and students, he recognized young workers association and used taught them essences of the literatures of Karl Marx and other communist leaders. He observed that there was communal discrimination everywhere and the poor working class people were treated meanly and they were called ‘Paraya’. These poor people were discriminated to live in dirty slums. He used to provide the practical way of teaching the students with living instances to instill in their mind. He quoted the view of Karl Marx that the capitalists used to invest and create workshops and factories and engage workers to run them. The workers find and attain the principled characters of jointly striving for a common purpose, develop disciplined coordination and working towards the creation of a common objective”. While teaching it to the students, Amir Hyder Khan used to lead the students to the factories to make them practically convinced of the living facts. He recorded that often students were taken to the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills and trained them in the art of conversing with the workers in their language. His simplest way of living with minimum convenience and working for many hours with
nearly starved stomach had impressed the cadres and moved the people with whom he had mingled and earned him earnest and trusted followers.

Youth league secretary V. K. Narasimhan wanted Amir Hyder Khan to meet his sister’s husband Dr. K. C. Varathachary who was working as a professor in the department of Philosophy of Madras Christian College and with his consent arranged for a meeting with an invited audience of 30 young cadres. Dr. K. C. Varathachary started to address the meeting on the salient features of philosophical reality and stated that human is a product of wealth, wealth has its own quality of raising him to any level. Amir Hyder Khan registered that the lecture brought in the scenery of the sufferings of the poor slum dwellers in Bombay wherein women workers attended to their work by making their children sleeping with the aid of applying opium. He questions if such is the condition, how could one rise to the level to understand and discuss philosophy. He is of the view that if one is free from the pain of hunger and of the economic slavery, then he could rise up to any level of maturity and understanding. Dr. K. C. Varathachary accepted the comment on Dada’s quiet passing away by the local press which reported that “He lived and died virtually unsung. That did not diminish him. It makes the rest of us look smaller.” One hopes that with the publication of Dada’s memoirs he would be better known and the long conspiracy to deny and defame him will come to an end. For this little known Indian Che
Guevara is yet to take his rightful place in the pantheon of twentieth century revolutionaries.

S. V. Ghatte, the first secretary of the Communist Party of India was jailed under the charged Meerut Conspiracy Case, ordered to leave Bombay on the completion of his jail term ending with 1934 and came to Chennai in the year 1935. He and P. Sundaraiah decided to make dedicated trade union workers as communist party members. The party discipline was that if anyone had to be inducted in the party as a Party Member he or she has to be recommended by two polite burro members. S. V. Ghatte and P. Sundaraiah happened to be the polite burro members they jointly decided to open a branch of Communist Party in Tamilnadu and it was started in 1936 with P. Ramamoorthy, P. Seenivasa Rao, Jeevanantham, S. K. Iyankar, C. S. Subramaniyam, K. Murukesan, Nagercoil C. P. Ilango, T. R. Subramaniyam, and Thiruthuraipoondi Murugesan and no official secretary was selected. Other than party members the party had also taken G. Parthasarathy and Gopal Kumaramangalam as their close confidents. S.V.Ghatte is the person who had managed party affairs in the Tamilnadu.

In the year 1937 British Government announced elections for the Madras Presidency. Congress party decided to offer the seats that were identified for the workers to the All India Trade Union Congress. On that basis Jeevanantham filed his nomination papers on behalf of the AITUC for
the Coimbatore constituency. The mill owners collectively feared that in the case of Jeeva got elected there might be unrest between the workers and mill owners and pressurized congress to wobble in its earlier stand and put N.G. Ramasamy as their candidate in the fray. Justice party had also fielded their candidate Basudev. The Congress Socialist Party considered that even though Jeeva’s prospects in the election is bright, the split of votes between Congress candidate and Jeeva may give scope to the justice party candidate and the congress socialist party never wanted to expect such a situation and so Jeeva got back his candidature and involved himself along with nationalist leader Sathiamoorthy in the hectic canvassing for the congress. Congress won the election in 159 seats and the justice party routed out with just 17 seats.

In the changed situation Congress socialist party felt and decided to spread its area of action as well as to take the struggle direct to the workers community as a whole and so felt the necessity of a party organ to carry the message more direct. To satisfy the need a weekly in the name and style “Jana Sakthy” was started from 6th November, 1937 and Jeeva bared the mantle of the editorship of the weekly. The Government wanted the weekly to be run within the control of their ambit and started to give hindrances to the press from where the periodical was printed and published. Consequently the P. N. Press management from where the journal was printed declined to print the 4th issue. So the first phase of the Jana Sakthy
ended with its 3rd issue which carried the famous lyric “Puthiathor Ulagam Seivom” penned by the renowned Bharathy Thason75.

At this time H. D. Raja wanted to give away his English monthly periodical “New Age”, which was published from Chennai and found it difficult to continue and hand it over to S. V. Ghatte, who was the helm in the affairs of the Communist Party activity in Tamil Nadu. S. V. Ghatte run the periodical as a Communist origin.

The socialist party of Chennai collected donations and purchased a printing machine and blocks for their own and applied for license in the name of a person “Balan”, a close confident of Seenivasas Rao. Obtaining permit they started a press in the name “Jesu Press” and restarted to publish the Jana Sakthy from 6th April, 193876. It started to highlight the problems encountered by the workers and farmers besides the translated reporting of leaders like P. C. Joshy and G. Athikari those were published in the journal “National Front”.

Toddy Tapers Association was formed with 3000 strong workers under the leadership of P.Ramamoorthy as its president and Natesa Kramony its secretary in the year 1937. The association decided to strike their work in protest against the refusal of their demand to rise their coolly by four anas, accident reliefs and to reduce the number of trees to be tapped from 20 to 15 and the strike was commenced from 27-02-1937. The
pattomdars refused to accede to the demands and the leaders Jeeva, A.S.K., P.Ramamoorthy, P.Seenivasa Rao and K.Murugesan conducted public meetings and canvased for the public support. Confronting so many hurdles posed by both the Pattomdars and Government the struggle extended till 28-04-1937. The labour leaders collected aids and food materials and distributed to the families of the striking workers. The impact of the strike had evoked the working community across Tamil Nadu and in the same year labour unions were mobilized in Madurai, Coimbatore, Thirunelveli, Tiruchi, Thanjavur, Salem, North Arcot and Cudalore. In July 1937 press workers 630 in number had enrolled themselves and started “Madras Press Labour Union”. On behalf of the union and under the leadership of A.S.K., press workers resorted to go on strike in the Good Pastor Press, Diocesan Press, Madras Publishing House, Hoe and Co and in the “Dinamani” press.

Dinamani Proprietor Ramnath Goenga and its Editor Chokkalingam mercilessly and physically walked over the bellies of the squatting labourers in their chapels to the press office. In this struggle 226 workers were arrested and a number of demands were placed. Consequently Madras Press Labour Union recorded an increase in its membership to 2500. The cases registered against the press labourers needed a lawyer for their defence. Advocate M.R.Venkatraman(20-08-1906 – 23-05-1982) born in a royal and influential family, entered his appearance as the defence lawyer and his direct contact with the labourers had given him a real understanding on the life and woes
of the working community. Moved by the pathetic conditions of the labourers, he decided to support the labour community and became a Communist and grow up to the extent of creating political awareness among the press workers, dram labourers and the beedi folding folk.

He had taken the offer of building a disciplined and uniformed volunteer force proposed by A.S.K. and constructed a red cloth brigade and physically trained them to exhibit a military like march past. They have proved their ability and shrewdness in collecting labourers and organizing them for any kind of struggle. It is from here the red brigade was born and prospered.

He was introduced to P. Ramamoorthy, A.S.K., Jeeva, Subramaniya Sharma, C. S. Subramaniyan, K. Murugesan and T. R. Subramaniyan. His contact with Seenivasa Rao attracted him towards Communist Party, and S. V. Ghatte’s political elicitations opened his way into the Communist Party and became a party member in 1939. Amidst police raids and repeated jail terms, he was given the responsibility of building the party in the North Arcot district. In the year 1943 followed by the deputation of Mohan Kumaramangalam to the Central Committee Office, M.R.V. was elected as the State Committee Secretary\(^{78}\). He played his role in a tremendous way in the naval men uprising and the I.N.A. struggles that occurred during 1946-1947. M.R.V. was sent to Thirunelveli as the district convener of the party.
In 1953 he was elected as the Secretary of the State Committee in the state conference held at Valluvakudy of the Thanjavur district. He inducted his elder brother’s son M.P. Seenivasan and his nephew Chandrasekar S/O Sir. C. V. Raman into the party. M.R.V. was elected as the Central Committee member in the Calcutta conference held on 31st October 1964. He had functioned as the State Secretary from 1965 to 1972. For health reasons, he retired from politics and his last moment happened at 03.00a.m on 23rd May, 1982.

The Year 1937 happened to be a period in which Coimbatore mill workers also faced anti-labour repressions in the hands of the mill owners. Stanes Mill administration crossed its bounds and even repressive enough to ignore Government rulings, and it led to the workers resort to strike work. Stanes Mill Workers Association president Vasudev supported the mill administration and advised the workers to return to work. Condemning the attitude of the president of their association, the mill workers organized gate meetings and demanded the removal of Vasudev from his presidential position. In this situation, K. Ramani, born in the month of July 1916, in a village near Edappal in Ponnani taluk of Malabar district in Kerala State, due to diligent circumstances his family, was shifted to Coimbatore and there he commenced his life from that of a mill worker. He vociferously canvassed to form a real trade union. Attracted by the speeches given by Jeeva on socialistic principles in the Lenin birth day and May Day functions
in 1933 and his oration on the subjects of Russian revolution and his statement that the labour force is the only revolutionary power, K. Ramani was attracted towards communism and with his sustained efforts with the coordinated efforts of the likeminded workers on 18 August 1936, they organized a union in the name of “Socialist Cotton Mill Labour Union”.

The above union was renamed as Coimbatore Mill Labour Union and got registered in 1938. K. Ramani took maximum efforts to get the union started in an organised and legally valid manner. He was a man of good habits without any smoking or drinking habits. In this time, labourers of Lakshmi Mills entered in a strike. Encountering heavy odds of threats and physical attacks orchestrated by the mill authorities, the Coimbatore Mill Labour Union decided to continue the strike and resolved to involve the experienced and senior trade union leaders from Chennai for advice and leadership. K. Ramani was the important man to lead a delegation to Chennai for the discussion and to invite the leaders to Coimbatore. P. Seenivasarao, Jeeva and A. S. K. Iyankar came to Coimbatore and lead the strike. After twenty days P. Ramamoorthy led a delegation to meet the labour minister V. V. Giri and with his involvement the mill management relented and yielded to some of the demands including the recognition of the union.
K. Ramani and R. Kisan with other leaders were made members of the Communist Party in 1939. In 1944 Coimbatore met with epidemics of the spread of Calera and Blake and K. Ramani had done a rich contribution in helping the affected public. Nearly at the close of the year 1944 a rowdy element called Ponnan from Rangavilas Mill with some other goondas indulged in attacking and extracting money from the labourers. In the ensued scuffle Ponnan was done to death and four labourers\textsuperscript{81} Ramiyan, Chinniyan, Venkatasalam and Rengannan were charge-sheeted by the police. The court convicted them and awarded hanging. K. Ramani with P. Ramamoorthy and Popathy met them in the jail and out of profound grief and sorrow physically wept over their fate of hanging. The hanging was executed on 8-1-1946 and in accordance to their wish, all the four bodies were buried in one grave.

K. Ramani in his party work from 1948 to 1951 had to undergo various prison terms and he was elected as the Joint Secretary of Tamil Nadu Labour Union Movement. In that capacity he had done tremendous service for organizing hotel workers, Electricity Board Labourers, Plantation Workers and Beady workers.

He won assembly election 1967 and four other terms in the communist party of India (Marxist) ticket. In 1950 K. Ramani was sent to Soviet Union on behalf of A.I.T.U.C. and visited Peoples Republic of China in 1955. He also visited Soviet Union in 1981 as his second time. He had a successful term of service of seven and a half year as the state joint secretary.
of AITUC and functioned for a long term as the general secretary of the Coimbatore district cotton mill workers union. From the time of initiation of the Tamil Nadu Cotton Mill Workers Confederation in the year 1982 he was functioning as its president.  

1937 was a period in which so many labour organizations were formed in Madurai. Mahalakshmi Mill Labour Union, Printing Workers Union, Meenakshi Mill Workers Union, Knitting Company Labour Union, Trading Workers Union, Madurai-Ramanathapuram Motor Workers Union and Brass Vessels Labour Union were some of them. Pasumpon Muthuramalinga Thevar was functioning as the president of Meenakshi Mill, Mahalakshmi Mill and Knitting Company Labour Unions. Jeeva was elected as the Vice President of the Mahalakshmi Mill Labour Union. Mahalakshmi Mill Labourers demanded the mill authorities to raise their wages from Rs 6/= to Rs 9/=. The mill administration rejected the demand and that kindled a labour strike in that mill. The Rajaji Government arrested the labour union president Muthuramalinga Thevar and its secretary V.Ramanathan and labour leader Chelliah to end the strike. Jeeva took the leadership and continued the strike. Police action was ordered and the labourers met lathy charge and arrest. Jeeva was also arrested and jailed. Then the ladies of the striking labourers’ families came out and continued the strike. Police also lathy charged the women protesters to chase them away. In that police action Andichiammal and Angachiammal and scores of ladies got wounded. Police
action failed to stop the agitation and the Mill administration entered into
dialogue with the striking labourers and the settlement deed was signed by
Jeeva on behalf of the workers.

The Tamil Nadu state committee of the CPI (M) held its 19th
conference at Madurai, a strong base for trade union and democratic
struggles on January 8th to 10th, 2008. It called upon all the party units to
launch an intensive campaign against price rise from January 29th to
February 4th 2008 and appealed to the people of the state to en masse join
the picketing of central and state government offices on February 5th, 2008.
The state conference commenced on January 8th, 2008 with a rousing
reception to the jathas which carried the conference flag from Nagercoil,
venue of the 18th conference and the torch in memory of the martyrs from
pothumbhu village in Madurai district, G. Veeraian, a veteran leader of the
state party and kisan movement hoisted the flag.

Prakasah Karat, general secretary, inaugurating the conference
declared that the left parties, along with democratic forces, would form a
third front as an alternative to the congress and the communal Bharatiya
Janatha Party. He said, “Though the CPI (M) was supporting the United
Progressive Alliance government at the centre, it assumed the role of the
opposition by pushing real issues of the working class and peasantry to the
fore. It was the CPI (M) that mounted pressure on the government to
formulate the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act, the Right to Information Act, and Schedules Tribes (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill, 2005. Besides, it prevented disinvestment in Navratna companies and further opening up of banking and insurance sectors.”

Adding that Tamil Nadu was one of the important states for the Party, he emphasized, “Left parties should grow independently through mass movements and by taking up people’s issues”. D. Pandian, state secretary of the Communist Party of India greeted the conference. A total of 507 delegates including 80 women delegates and 37 observers representing 90, 291 party members attended the conference from all over the state. A five-member presidium comprising K. Balakrishnan, A. Rengasamy, K. Palnivelu, P. Suguinthy and S. Kannan conducted the conference proceedings. N. Varadarajan, on behalf of the state committee, introduced the political organization report in the delegates’ session. Membership of mass organization had gone up during this period. The membership of all mass organization which stood at 23, 59, 093 in 2004 had gone up to 29, 33, 384 marking a growth of about 25 percent. The whole party store hard to improve the quality of the membership in this period. Political classes on various topics including party organization had been widely held throughout the state. A conscious effort to improve the level of political consciousness had been made and the party made some advance in this direction. Circulation of the party daily, Theekkadhir, and monthly magazine Seminar
and Marxist and People’s Democracy had gone up in this period. A third edition of Theekkathir was launched at Coimbatore apart from Madurai and Chennai editions.

S. Ramachandran Pillai and R. Umanath, members of the Party Polit Bureau addressed the delegates. Eleven senior comrades viz. K. Vaithianathan, N. R. Ramasamy, P. Nagammal, N. Manian, K. S. Karuppusamy, H. M. Athawullah, R. Savithri, S. Swayampakasam, K. N. Gopalakrishnan, P. Ramamurthy and G. Kaliaperumal were felicitated at the conference for their exemplary services rendered to the party. On this occasion, books written by S. Ramachandran Pillai, Polit Bureau member in problems facing the peasants, by K. Varadarajan, Political Bureau member on Caste, Religion and Class in our Society, and by P. Shanmugam, state committee member on Vachathi (where tribals were attacked by Police) were released. Parkash Karat in his concluding address congratulated the state party for having taken up social issues like untouchability and social oppression meted out to the Arundatiiyar community forming the lowest rung of the dalits in the state. He emphasized that the unity exhibits in the conference deliberation and conclusions should be carried forward for building a strong party in the state, capable of rallying the people of Tamil Nadu in meeting the challenges and tasks before the party both at national and state levels.
In 1930 – 1939 labourers in the habitats of Nellikuppam, Ranipettai, Thakkalai and Samalcot got organised under the banner “Parry Company Mill Workers Federation” and highlighted their demand for wage hike. In support of their demand, they had to resort to the direct action and entered on strike. Government mediation and the intervention of the labour minister Giri failed to bring an end to the strike. The strike continued for a period of more than a month and a set of leaders on the leadership of P. Ramamoorthy entered Nellikuppam and canvased the labourers around the area and intensified their pressure on the mill administration to come down to the table for negotiated settlement of the wage hike. The spurt of organizing labourers under various unions continued and in the spell of 1937-1939 trade unions were formed in various places of the Thanjavur district. Weavers in the Mayavaram-Kuttralam area formed Weavers Union and scavenging and sweeping workers of Nagapattinam formed their union and named it as Town clean workers union. Labourers of steel mill organised themselves in a banner of Steel Rolling Mill Labourers Union. Union awareness spread to Kumbakonam, Pattukottai and Thiruthuraipoondi areas and workers of the motor industry formed Motor Workers Union. Workers in the trading sector of the areas Thiruvarur, Thiruthuraipoondi, Mannargudi and Arranthanki organised in the banner trading workers union. Students of Madras Law College, Madras Medical College and the Engineering colleges were also carried away by the awareness of the right of expression and possession and
in 1936 organised an association in the name of Madras Students Organization. They condemned the police action and their attack on the students who had taken a procession in Bengal in the year 1937. As a show of their solidarity with the students community MSO collected students of colleges and schools and conducted a public meeting.

All India Students Federation conducted its 3rd all India conference on three days 1, 2 and 3 of January of 1938 in Chennai. Subhas Chandra Bose was to preside over the conference and as he had been held up in abroad renowned poet Kavikuil Sarojini Devi was invited to preside over the function. She declined the offer and so the old committee members had unilaterally selected Minu Masani to the presidency. Masani and his disciple Bargava tried to resort unfair means to keep away progressive communists from the committee and it lead to pandemonium. Masani announced that he had dissolved the committee and walked out of the congregation with his followers. He had only a limited following and only one fifth of the strength left the venue. The rest of the members co opted Sarvothama Shetty to preside the meeting and the meeting had enacted effective resolutions concerning students and educational reforms.

In 1938 France faced internal disturbances against Gen. Franco who had took over the popular elected government and students’ community across the globe had helped the revolutionary forces against Franco through contribution of financial support and physically entering into the fray to
fight Franco. The students of Annamalai University had collected funds under the leadership of K. Balathandautham and others. The student with whom the collected funds were deposited had fraudulently swindled the money and foisted false complaint with the vice chancellor against K. Balathandautham. He was summoned for an enquiry and when he coming out he happened to sight the student who had defrauded the money and out of the momentous spurge unexpectedly he attacked him. Waiting for a chance to dislodge the students of progressive dispensations out of his university, the Vice-Chancellor swiftly gave notice that he had dismissed K. Balathandautham and suspended another 5 students, K. Subramaniyam, K. Ganesan, R. Sambasivam, M. A. Ayyasami and N. M. Vivekanandhan from the university\textsuperscript{90}. Protesting the decision of the Vice-Chancellor abstained classes came in a procession to the police station where a criminal complaint had been lodged against K. Balathandautham. Police released K. Balathandautham the next day on bail and expecting students’ unrest Vice-Chancellor declared leave to the University, directed hostlers to vacate their rooms and handed over the hostel under the control of the police. All the supply lines such as electricity and water to the hostel were disconnected. K. Balathandautham with some other front line leaders met S. V. Ghatte who was the top ranking communist leader looking over the affairs of the party in Tamil Nadu from Chennai and with his instructions Students continued their stay in Chidambaram and continued their
imitational schedules. Some students submitted petitions requesting the Vice-Chancellor to rescind his notices and open the University and some other 30 students under the stewardship of K. Balathandautham engaged themselves as the coolies in the rail goods shed to earn the money to sustain the students in their struggle.

The intensity of the strike was heavy to pressurize the Vice-Chancellor to get back the suspension orders and sternly stuck to his point that K. Balathandautham should go. K. Balathandautham came to accept it in the large scale interest and put a full stop to his academic aspirations with that point. This strike stood as an eye opener to the students’ community to build their awareness on the socio-political front and paved way to the strengthening of the AISF in Tamil Nadu. The students strike at the Annamalai University has evoked tremendous response in Chennai, Tiruchi, Madurai and all the other parts of Tamil Nadu also. Got in the hype the American College, Madurai had arisen to the occasion of the Indian independent struggle and yielded to the socio-political awareness wave emanated from the Annamalai University had also gripped the caliper of the Madurai American college students also and Poovannan, N.Sankaraiah, Sivakanga Ramachandran, Rajalingam, Rengasamy and Narayanasamy were said to be the front liners. N.Sankaraiah, Poovannan and Ramachandran propagated an idea of forming a student’s organization in Madurai in a manner as it was functioning at Chennai.
Poovannan and N. Sankaraiah organized a discourse session in the assembly of their college students and formulated a decision to commence the students association and decided to invite Barrister Mohan Kumaramangalam to the inaugural function to declare open the students association. In the discussion Sasivarna Thevar, a contemporary leader had also volunteered his presence and lend his valuable advises. The inaugural ceremony was held in the Victoria Edward Hall and the Madurai Students Organization was formed with N.Sankaraiah as its first secretary. A. K. Gopalan, a renowned leader relentlessly working for the growth of the Socialist Congress Party and attracting students force in the fold along with Subramanya Sharma and K. Muthiyah used to visit Madurai frequently and offered their patronage to the MSO. Local leaders of the Socialist Congress Party A.Chelliah, S. Ramanathan, K. P. Janaki and S. Kurusamy had also given their tenderly consideration to the MSO and such a situation attracted students towards socialistic congress party and gradually began to take part in the party functions. Such a situation had invited support and encouragement to N.Sankaraiah. He organized the Uthamapalayam Students Union and inaugurated its establishment in Uthamapalayam. In the inaugural meeting student leaders Jamaal Moideen, Kulam Moideen, Usan Mir, A.Abdul Vahab and S. P. Mohamed had also taken part to encourage the participants. N. Sankaraiah mobilized students of Dindugal and organized Dindugal Students Federation. In the Inaugural Function leaders like K. D. Arasu and C. P. Rajan had also taken part.
Surendra Mohan Kumaramangalam (November 1st, 1916, May 30th, 1973) was a politician and communist theorist who was a member of the Indian National Congress, and later, the Communist Party of India. He served as a member of Lok Sabha for Puducherry from 1971 to 1972.93

Mohan Kumaramangalam was born in London to P. Subbarayan, then zamindar of Kumaramangalam in Salem district and later, Chief Minister of Madras Presidency and his wife, Radhabai Subbarayan on November 1st, 1916. He was their third and youngest son, P. P. Kumaramangalam and Gopal Kumaramangalam being elder to him. Kumaramangalam was educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge serving as President of the Cambridge Union Society in 1938. It is said that in his period at Cambridge he was deeply influenced by communism.

Kumaramangalam was called to the bar from the Inner Temple. He returned to India in 1939 and participated in the Indian Independence Movement. In 1941, Kumaramangalam was arrested along with P. Ramamorthi, C. S. Subramaniam and R. Umanath for distributing seditious pamphlets in what came to be known as the Madras Conspiracy Case. Kumaramangalam was later released. During the war Kumaramangalam served as the editor of the communist magazine, People's War, which on the conclusion of hostilities he renamed as People's Age.

Post-independence politics in the days following India's independence Madras Presidency was gripped by a peasant rebellion, which compelled the provincial government to launch a crackdown on communists.
Kumaramangalam was arrested along with other communist leaders and released after the rebellion subsided. Kumaramangalam favoured friendly relations with the Soviet Union and established the Indo-Soviet Cultural Society. In the 1960s Kumaramangalam began distancing himself from communism. Following the victory of the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in the 1967 Tamil Nadu Assembly elections, Kumaramangalam resigned from the Communist Party of India and joined the Indian National Congress.

In the party split, Kumaramangalam turned out to be loyal to Indira Gandhi and in the 1971 elections he was elected to the Lok Sabha from Puducherry. He served as the Minister of Steel and Mines from 1971 until his death in 1973. Kumaramangalam was killed in a plane crash on May 30th, 1973 at his age of 56. Mohan Kumaramangalam's brother P. P. Kumaramangalam was a distinguished army officer who served as India's Chief of Army Staff. His sister, Parvathi Krishnan was a politician of the Communist Party of India and served three terms as Member of Parliament from Coimbatore.

At the start of the world war II (03-09-1939) Jayaprakash Narayanan, the top ranking leader of the congress socialist party, was said to have visited Chennai and proposed a plan for the congress socialist party leaders to effectively propagate antiwar sentiment and set up a squad of leaders Jeeva, P. Seenivasan, P. Ramamoorthy, C. P. Elango and Madurai Ramanathan carry on their crusade against the English rule. British
Government was annoyed at the announcement put forth by the congress socialist party and unveiled allot to extricate communists from the congress socialist party and prepared to punish them pointedly. Communists openly put up their point that Britton and France are not fighting fascist Germany and it is a war between imperialist forces and urged India not to support Britton in the war. Congress socialist party leaders opposed this standpoint and the rift between communists and others within the congress socialist widened and party faced a split. Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Orissa and Andra state units of congress socialist party had its majority members was communists and so in the above states congress socialist party was converted into communist party. The congress socialist party office in the Broadway was totally converted as the office of the communist party. The periodical “janasakthi” became the communist party organ.

Communist party had to face the wrath of the English because of their antiwar propaganda. British police arrested P. Ramamoorthy and placed him under house arrest in his house and ordered Jeeva to leave Tamil Nadu and chased him to Bombay. English government promulgated Indian Security Act and taken custody 700 persons of progressive dispensation in India and 480 of them were communists and from them 150 of them were from Tamil Nadu. The Kerala Congress Socialist Party in January 1939 organized a procession nick named hunger brigade under the leadership of A. K. Gopalan from Talachery to Chennai to highlight the plight of the poor people due to unemployment, hunger and starvation and urging the Government immediately to take necessary steps to improve the situation.
The precisionists crossed 400 KM distance by foot, addressed 500 meetings, met above 2lakhs of people and collected nearly Rs 500 of the small donations to the value of 3 to 6 paise\textsuperscript{100}. In 1939 the party asked the Kerala Cadres A.K.Gopalan, Subramaniya Sharma, Ramachandra Nedunkadi and N.C.Sekar enter Tamil Nadu and to help communism to flourish in Tamil Nadu also.

Sundaraiah had gone underground to escape the police dragnet and in his underground life, he ceaselessly worked to build the party. He had formed two secret locations, one in T. Nagar and the other one in Perambur. He had had asked C.S. Subramaniyam to help Ramamorthy, to jump his house arrest and to bring him, who was kept under house arrest in Veppathore and put up him in a house already chosen by Sundaraiah. In the other house at Perambur Sundaraiah provided Mohan Kumaramangalam, C.S.Subramaniyam, Subramaniya Sharma, Keralian and Hanumantha Rao and it was considered the executive business room. The one at T.Nager functioned as the publishing house of the party lets palm and notices. C.I.D. police after giving a long chase unearthed the secret movements and their houses and arrested seven leaders: P.Ramamoorthy, Mohan Kumaramangalam, C.S.Subramaniyam, R.Umanath, Subramaniya Sharma, Hanumantha Rao and Karalean, and booked a conspiracy case against the above persons. Police named it as the Chennai conspiracy case.
ENDNOTES


2. Evelina Trench Roy the wife of M.N.Roy.

3. Ibid.

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8. Vasantha Kumaran, P., Indiya Thozhilallargalin Thanthai Ma.Ve. Singaravelu (Tamil), Chennai, no year, pp. 4-9 and 55.


33. Documents connected with Periyar’s Self Respect Movement, 1930, p.27.

34. Labour Kissan Party Programme, 1923, p.4.


36. Ibid.


38. Ibid.

39. Ameer Hyder Khan, Theninthiaivai Kanden, (Tamil), Chennai, no year, p.10.


42. Labour Union Meeting Records, 1927, p.11.

43. South Indian Railway Records, 1927, p.27.

44. The Hindu, 7 July 1927, p. 4.


46. Railway Workers Pamphlet, 16 June 1928, p. 3.

47. Ibid.

48. Strike Committee Decisions Related Files, 1929, p.11.


51. Ibid.,


55. Ibid.,

56. Police Commissioner Order, Chennai, 2 August 1928.

57. The Hindu, 18 August 1928, p.8.


60. Dravidian, 13 August, 1928, p.5.

61. Personal interview with Navaneetha Krishnan, Tuticorin dated 27th November 2010.


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68. The Hindu, 12 December 1929, p.6.

69. Ibid.

70. Ramakrishnan, N., Tamizhagathil Communist Iyakkathin Thotramum Vazharchium, Madurai, p.145.
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77. Ibid.


81. The Hindu, 27 September, 1944, p.2.


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89. Ibid.

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94. Parameshwar Narain Haksar, Premonitions, Delhi, 1979, p. 188.

95. Madras Conspiracy Case, 1941, p.22.


100. Ibid., pp.184 - 185.