CHAPTER IV

VISIBLE IMPACT OF PRESS ON KERALA POLITICAL SCENARIO
In the fourth chapter the researcher is making an enquiry into the impact of the press in accelerating the course of Liberation Movement.

What was the liberation struggle. Who organised it? Different persons have answered the question differently. The only factor that is not disputed is that it was a spontaneous uprising of the people who were led to believe by the opposition parties that the continuance of a communist regime in Kerala would eventually turn India communist. The opposition parties and the press succeeded in creating such an impression. The movement was manured and watered by the Press. The Press projected and exaggerated minor incidents and made it sensational. Most of the newspapers were against communism.

To begin things were a little bit smooth in 1957. There was little physical lawlessness in Kerala. But behind this smooth

1. K.C. John, op.cit, p 59
2. Taya Zinkin, a British Journalist who visited Kerala after the swearing in ceremony of communist government observed that there was no policy of violence in Kerala and that the communists were doing wonderful things for the poor. See Discussion in Taya Zinkins 'Reporting India', p. 153, 154.
atmosphere there was an unspoken fear among the people. The fear among opposition parties in Kerala was the product of knowledge of the theoretical tenets of communism and the experience of other countries where the communist party had already come into power.

The real cause of the Liberation struggle was the fear psychosis of the peace-loving public of Kerala. This idea is further established by the testimony of a senior citizen of Kottayam.

It was generally believed that the communist party would not work under a democratic constitution, but would strive to wreck it. This view was fanned by the anti-communist newspapers. One

3 Taya Zinkin who visited Calicut after 6 months of the swearing ceremony says “Yet as I walked the streets of Calicut, talking to odd people, I began to detect a malaise, an unspoken fear, a sort of incubation of tension as elusive as that of a virus disease” (p.150)

4 Jitendra Singh, op.cit. p.57

5 Balakrishnan Nair, Government and Politics of Kerala, Trivandrum, p.233

6 “The major chunk of Hindu population got the freedom to enter temple and worship God only in 1936 by the temple entry proclamation of Sree Chithira Thirunal Balarama Varma, King of Travancore. The materialistic approach of the communists who came to power created a mental agony in the minds of the people who just got permission to worship god. This resulted in an anxiety neurosis in the multitudes of Kerala”. (Based on an interview with senior citizen Mr. N. Gopalakrishna Kurup, (64), Panachaparambil House, Kumananalloor, Kottayam at his residence on 10-10-1999.)
important problem of the period was that whether a party after winning the elections, represents the interests of the rank and file, the interests of those who voted for it, or whether it represents the interests of the whole nation as such even of those who voted against it. In Britain a tradition has grown that, whichever party wins the elections, it does from that movement, represent the interest of the whole nation. But in Indian democracy this principle is generally not observed and the party that voted in favour is looked after by the government.

Thus in Kerala the government represented the interest of the communist party. Some of the features of the administration gave a bad name to the communist party. Cell interference in the local administration, which sometimes extended to trying and punishing offenders in local disputes, corruption at lower levels, where petty party workers took a few rupees to get things done for their clients, co-operative societies which gave liberal loans and became the instrument of syphoning funds to the party coffers etc., were some of the features of the communist regime. Picketing was another feature of the period which made hatred in the minds

7. Jitendra Singh, op.cit., p.56
8. D.R. Manikeyar, op.cit., p.104
of the people. There were picketing for anything and everything for good causes and bad causes\(^9\). There was discontent and disillusionment among the people against the government. The moment disillusionment came to the people they reacted with force. They criticised, complained, protested in legislature and press and from platform. Ashok Mehta was an advocate of the Liberation Struggle\(^10\). The Mehta theory was that once the opposition parties united for a common struggle, they could easily win popular support by fanning the growing discontent against the ministry. There was a feeling of insecurity among the people\(^11\). The Deepika Daily wrote an Editorial ‘warning’ on 3rd May 1959. It warned that if the Government remained against the wishes of the people it would result in the use of force between the people and the Government.\(^2\).

\(^9\) Taya Zinkin in her Book ‘Reporting India’ observes that, “Pickets in Kerala had become as numerous as Pubs in Lancashire.” See Discussions, p.161.

\(^10\) Cherian Philip, op.cit. p. 45.

\(^11\) Taya zinkin, the British Journalist who visited Kerala for the second time after 18 months gives the picture of the state in her book ‘Reporting India’. She says, ‘A year before I had diagnosed a malaise , a suspended revolulion. Now the malaise had developed into imminent crisis” p.159.

\(^2\) Editorial – ‘Warning’ It is the need of the people that this Government should be tamed into accepting democratic
published in the leading newspapers. The Dailies came out with sensitive headings. The leading Malayalam Daily Deepika came out with the heading 'Rule of Law ceased in Kerala' in the beginning of January 1959. The Deepika further wrote that murder, theft and plunder increased 51% in Kerala during communist government. Strange constitutional arguments were being put forward by liberation journals approving of resort to unconstitutional and undemocratic expedients to remove communists from office communist ex-hypothesis are faithless to the constitution and

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>True cognizable crimes</th>
<th>No. of murders</th>
<th>Rioting and unlawful assemblies</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>8.745</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>10.461</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>13.002</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>1,478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>14.741</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>1,893</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Administration Reports

methods. If something has to be bent and it refuses to bent, it may break under the pressure. Hence if the Government is going to remain firm against the wishes of the people surely that will result only in the use of force between the people and the Government. See Deepika 3rd May 1959

13. Deepika Daily, 6, January, 1959
office communist ex.hypothesis are faithless to the constitution and democracy\textsuperscript{15}.

Newspapers began to write editorials that Kerala was in the verge of a danger which would lead to the death knell of Indian democracy\textsuperscript{16}. The communist govt. tried to propagate its own views about the problem of Kerala. The government issued a pamphlet, True Picture of the situation in Kerala\textsuperscript{17}.

By this time the Andhra Rice Deal Enquiry Commission Report was published. The details of the Rice Deal has been described in chapter II. The opposition raised voice for the resignation of the Food Minister. The Malayalam newspapers gave

\textsuperscript{15} Austin, op. cit. p.48

\textsuperscript{16} Kerala Bhoshanam 25, January, 1959. We appeal to Pandit Nehru (Editorial). No living Indian is as dear to the people of Kerala as Pandit Nehru. Kerala is in the throes of a mass upsurge against communist misrule and every eye is turned to our beloved Premier in the hope that he would by his timely intervention and advise save the democratic system of public administration in this little costal strip from the treacherous on slught of the party in power. If the communist in Kerala are helped to survive the present crisis merely for the sake of legal or constitutional niceties, the potential danger there in may toll the death knell of Indian democracy before long. An opportunity lost is lost for ever. We beseech Panditji to step in promptly realising fully the gravity of the situation and save India from totalitarian enslavement.

\textsuperscript{17} This pamphlet was printed at the Government Press and circulated throughout India. In this pamphlet the government had put all the blames on the opposition parties for attempting to create disorder in the state. But
The Education Bill acted as the starting point of the movement. The Christian managements were the most affected in respect of the Education Bill. So they decided to oppose the Government at any cost. The church hierarchy played a key role in unifying the people against the Government. The Malayalam newspapers gave their columns to publish the views of the church. Biblical references were made in the newspapers to compare the incidents of the period. This inflamed the spirit of the Christians. A conference of the Catholic Bishops of India was held in Bangalore on 4, December, 1958. The Most Rev. James Robert Knox, the Vatican Ambassador in India was present. The conference seriously considered about material and spiritual ways to overthrow the communist government in Kerala. During the deliberations, the conference spent most of the time to discuss reports on the communist danger in India, especially the communist danger in Kerala State. The provisions and effects of the Education Bill has been described in Chapter III.

The Catholic Congress held in Kanyakumari in the same

the opposition had pointed out this as an instance of carrying on propaganda against them at the expense of the government.

The Catholic Congress held in Kanyakumari in the same month, gave a call to defend religion against communism, dedicating their life to the cause of religion\textsuperscript{19}. The Catholics decided to organise and defend themselves.

The call for organising a civilian militia to safeguard public order came from a Roman Catholic Priest, Father Vadakkan in July 1958\textsuperscript{20}

The call of Father Vadakkan received a wide response all over Kerala and soon almost every town and village had its militia called the Shanthi Sena. The Christian community and the Nair community were most active in organising the Shanti Sena. The volunteers organised by the Christian community were called Christophers\textsuperscript{21}.

Fr. Vadakkan was aware that the militia of the communist party would be a large body composed of members of the party, trade unions, etc. and the civilian militia to be meaningful counterforce would have to be an equally large force. He declared on 22 August, 1958 that the militia should have at least \( \frac{1}{2} \) million members in its ranks.

\textsuperscript{19} Austin, op.cit. p.27
\textsuperscript{20} Pic Victor, Kerala yemen of India, op.cit. p.101
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid. p.102
### Table IV - 2

**SHANTI SENA: CATHOLIC & N.S.S.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Catholic</th>
<th>N.S.S.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trivandrum District</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quilon District</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alleppey District</td>
<td>11,000</td>
<td>1,360</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ernakulam District</td>
<td>28,000</td>
<td>540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trichur District</td>
<td>15,000</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannanore District</td>
<td>4,136</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kozhikode District</td>
<td>1,700</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palghat District</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>85,141</strong></td>
<td><strong>15,900</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Memorandum prepared by the Police of the Communist Government, May 1959

Deepika, the Catholic organ certainly indulged in inflammatory editorials, "the Chief Minister may not understand the real strength of the Christophers". ‘Five Good Christians might be more than sufficient face even 5000 communists, since ..... for a true christian, life on this earth is immaterial’.22

Pastoral letters were issued by Bishops to be read in churches during services/prayers. The clergy prayed to God for

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22. Deepika, 18 August 1958. These kinds of reports roused the spirit of the christians.
blessing to face the crisis with courage and self sacrificing zeal. The pastoral letters were respected and obeyed by the christians all over the country. These letters had a profound influence on the Christian population.

In March 1959, a Kerala Catholic Bishop’s Conference was held at Ernakulam. In this conference a programme was charted out to launch a struggle against the Kerala Government. It passed a resolution, “Under these circumstances we call upon our people to take all necessary action uniting with other communities to change the harmful clauses of the Kerala Education Bill”. (Deepika 20 March, 1959).

23. “The move effected by the Kerala Government against the minorities and believers in God is causing great concern. Let us try our best in this grave junction to defend our precious faith, taking refuge in God, the merciful. We will have to suffer difficulties, discomforts and torture. Let us be inspired by the works of the Divine, ‘Blessed are those who are tortured in the cause of justice, for theirs is the Kingdom of God’. And in the end darkness is gathering around us. But we should not be frightened. This is darkness before dawn. Every member of our society is responsible to protect our rights and institutions. O God Almighty. Give everyone of us plenty of blessings to face this crisis with courage and self sacrificing zeal. Pastoral Letter issued by sixteen Catholic Bishops on 7, May, 1959. Quoted from Austin’s Antomy of the Kerala Coup. p. 55.

The Catholic church decided to start committees in all
parishes to take leadership of the fight against the government\textsuperscript{25}. Deepika, a semi official organ of the Catholics quoted the Biblical reference from an earlier pastoral letter directed at Sir C.P.'s plan to take over primary school. "he that hath a purse let him take it and likewise his scrip, and he hath no sword, let him sell his garment and buy one"\textsuperscript{26}.

The Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee, R. Sankar, N.S.S. and Mannam decided to put an end to the communist rule\textsuperscript{27}. The circumstances were favourable for them. In 1959 Indira Priyadarshini became the AICC President. She was personally against the communist government's rule in Kerala. At this time

\begin{enumerate}
\item[25.] There should be committees in all parishes for taking up the leadership of the fight and volunteer corps for action. At least one young man should be encouraged to come forward and enlist himself as volunteer. Statement of Action Committee, Changanacherry Diocese reported in Deepika 24th May 1959
\item[26.] This is quoted from St. Luke's Gospel, Chapter XXII versus 36. Jesus Christ tells his disciples that all previous instructions are cancelled and that, they should safeguard their life by worldly means in view of the crisis of the arrest of Jesus which was coming immediately. By this quoting Christians were informed of a forthcoming grave crisis in the state and that they should be prepared to safeguard their life. Kerala crisis is thus compared to the arrest and crucification of Christ. This incites Christian feelings.
\item[27.] Puthuppally Rakhavan, Viplava Smaranakal, passim
\end{enumerate}
in Kerala, R. Sankar became the KPCC President. Sankar wanted the overthrow of the Communist Government in Kerala. Sankar was ably assisted by P.T. Chacko, the legislature leader of the Congress. Kerala has been one the pioneers in India in the realm of land reforms. The most important legislative reform attempted by the communist ministry was the Agrarian Relations Bill. The Bill was introduced in the Kerala Legislature in December 1957. The Bill was intended to be a measure fixing ceiling for the extent of holdings and regulating and defining the rights and obligations of all categories of tenants, including cultivators on various types of precarious tenures and arrangements. The Bill was referred to a Select Committee. The landed interests were afraid of an erosion of their influence on the state. They were successful in delaying the taking of evidence by the Select Committee. The Bill was finally passed on 10 June 1959.

The major opposition to the Bill came from the NSS, the Syrian Christians, Planters and Kayal interests. The Nairs were the principal

29. Nossiter, op. cit, p. 149
31. Lieten, op. cit. p. 83
land owning community in the Travancore-Cochin Area and the Bill affected them most. The land holders held the view that the Bill was a direct challenge to the democratic ideals enshrined in the constitution of India. The Nairs who were the main losers due to the Agrarian bill came against the Government. Thus the Agrarian Reforms Bill added fuel to the fire of the dissatisfaction towards the Government. Mannath Padmanabhan was initially tolerating the communist ministry as he felt that it was showing an anti-Christian attitude. But when he found the claims of his own Nair community brushed aside, he came against it.

Mannam said, ‘Communist Rule means rule of all the people by some people for some people’. This was intolerable. It made everybody else a second-class citizen. Something had to be done. So at the age of 82 the Giant of Kerala entered the political arena. Mannath Padmanabhan set out on foot walking throughout the state, visiting villages and making anti-government speeches. The communists could have arrested him for incitement to violence, but they did not dare, they knew that to touch one hair on Mannath’s head would trigger off civil war.

32. Ibid, p. 87.
33. K.C. John, op.cit, p. 45
34. Taya Zinkin, op.cit p. 169
35. Ibid p. 170
Sri Mannam became the Messiah and so his processions were arranged like a tiny pot deity marching into battle field in a chariot, installed on a peacock throne, with ceremonial umbrella over head, a victory horse and elephants and other paraphernalia. Newspapers covered the marching of Mannam in traditional feudalistic style. Mannam quoted puranic incidents and compared the communist rule to that of Hiranyaksha rule and declared that it should end. Mannam inflamed the Nair sentiments. "Indeed communal feeling was so worked up to political ends that at the crest of this wave, Sri Mannam felt obliged to declare at a public meeting at Tiruvalla on 12 April, 1959,

"The Nair is going to take over the administration from the communists. Nair is the simple reply to those who ask to who will rule if the communists go."

36. Austin, op. cit p. 24
37. Desabandu, a Nair newspaper gives the following description. "A cavalry horse led in front of the jatha; on two sides of the horse there marched in military style volunteers with swords unsheathed in their hands. Further there was an escort of Christophers dressed in khaki rider, blue shirt, whip cap as though marching towards a battle field. The battle song played by a band created the impression that preparations for a battle were going on. See Desabandu Daily 15, May, 1959.
39. Austin, op. cit. p.22
Mannath Padmanabhan decided that the land of Kerala would be liberated from the Reds. Referring to the analogy of Ashwamedha Yaga he said, Mannam himself will take his horse to the Secretariat building and have it tied in Chief Minister Namboodiripad’s office room. 

In respect of the Agrarian Reforms Act Mannath Padmanabhan in the course of a speech at Tiruvalla said that, “it is not possible to send back alive whoever comes saying that excess land will be taken away. That is why I am sorry. My wish is that all including these communist ministers should remain alive. Mannam’s campaign against the communists was to the church the fall of manna from heaven.

The Christian managements and Mannam decided not to reopen schools after Mid summer holidays in June. The newspapers of last week of May came with headings, ‘Don’t send your children to schools’. Because Mannath Padmanabhan spoke no English, wore the Nair traditional dress and quoted from the Mahabharatha instead of from Shakespeare, the educated

41. Malayalee Daily 28 April 1959.
42. Desabandu Daily 14 April 1959.
44. Deepika, 28 May 1959.
outside Kerala, including Nehru, did not take him seriously. They were wrong, for it was due to him the schools remained closed\textsuperscript{45}. By the early days of June it was declared that there would be an agitation from 12th June\textsuperscript{46}. Malayalam newspapers began to give great emphasis to the movement which was to be started on 12th June\textsuperscript{47}. It seemed that Kerala was on a war path.

The mass media, which were almost totally in the hands of the opposition parties, spread a highly one sided picture of the events. Petty police actions were frightfully exaggerated as terrible repression, rallies by the communists were blacked out, violence against the Government was played up and even small jatha and public meetings were given the laurel of heroic glittering mass demonstrations\textsuperscript{48}. A samara samithi-war council was also formed to lead the battle\textsuperscript{49}. Each and every day newspapers came out with sensitive headings. Malayala Manorama newspaper came out on 10th June with the heading

\textsuperscript{45} Taya Zinkin, op.cit, p. 170.
\textsuperscript{46} Malayala Manorama, 4 June 1959.
\textsuperscript{47} Deepika came out with the request of Mannam to observe 12th June 1959 as Liberation Day. This was the top heading of the newspaper on 6th June, 1959.
\textsuperscript{48} Lieten, op.cit, p. 123
\textsuperscript{49} Kainikkara Padmanabha Pillai, op.cit, p.179.
“Malabar Special Police searched Latin Catholic church for armaments. But got nothing”\textsuperscript{50}. The Deepika Daily on 11th June came out with heading about the hartal to be observed on 12th June. There were call to close the shops, wear black badges, raise black flags and for silent processions\textsuperscript{51}. All these resembled a state mourning\textsuperscript{51}. The call for the hartal was masterminded by the vested interest groups with the blessing of leading newspapers.

The Liberation Struggle was formally launched with a state wide hartal on 12th June 1959\textsuperscript{52}. The newspapers of Kerala came out with big headings on 12th June for the Hartal\textsuperscript{53}. There was response to the call of hartal. Shops were closed and there were silent processions in the state. The hartal paralysed the

\textsuperscript{50}. Churches are the most sacred place for the Christians and the entry of Police force hurt their feelings. Such a news covered as big heading would create anti-government feeling among the Christians throughout the state. The same paper had another heading on the front page. It was a call to observe 12th June as a Good Friday. Good Friday is the day on which Christ was crucified and Christians observe it as the most sad day in a year. The observance of the hartal on 12th June as a Good Friday give it a religious colour. All these create sentiments among the people.

\textsuperscript{51}. Deepika, 11 June 1959

\textsuperscript{52}. A. Kainikkara Padabha Pillai, op.cit, p. 174.

\textsuperscript{53}. The Malayala Manorama came out with captions on the 1st page, 'Liberation Strike Starts Today, Total Hartal', 'No study for students till the government resigns', etc. The Deepika had the headings, 'Oppressed Kerala starts Dharma
normal life of the people. No hartal since Mahatma Gandhi's death was so successful54. The news of the hartal was covered in the next day's newspapers Malayala Manorama compared the processions of 12th June with India's Freedom Movement55. The Deepika Daily came out with declarations of the Liberation leaders56. These were sensational to the ordinary mass. The news of Hartal was covered by all newspapers. English newspapers gave the news in a moderate style57.

The hartal was followed by mass agitation against the Government.

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55. Malayala Manorama came with the heading 'Roaring Silent Processions'.
56. The front page of Deepika gave captions to the Declarations of Liberation Leaders. Pattam Thanu Pillai declared, 'I have the right to remove this devil government'. Mannam said, 'No government office would be permitted to function'. P.T. Chacko, Congress Leader declared, 'No Agreements with the Communists'. See Deepika 13 July 1959.
57. The Hindu had the heading on the 1st page, 'Hartal in Kerala, Response to opposition parties call'. See Hindu (Madras) 13 June 1959.
"Old men, young school children, society ladies belonging to aristocratic families and fisherwomen, Hindus, Christians and Muslims in one gigantic body swept forward on the vortex of a mass movement, shaking in its course every town and village in Kerala and stopped not till the goal was reached". 

The Liberation leaders organised satyagraha and mass demonstrations. All over the state hundreds of volunteers picketed Government offices. The communist government believed that the movement against it could be put down by force. The General Secretary of the party M.N. Govindan Nair warned against repeating Hungary and Poland in Kerala. He further ridiculed the Liberation movement in his characteristic way as Pallachenteyum and Pilayachenteyum. On 13th June 1959 Chief Minister EMS Namboodirippad conducted a Press Conference. He declared that the liberation movement was not a popular movement but a communal agitation and that the government would suppress it. 

58 Kainikkara, op cit p.173
59 Sadasivan Nair. Communist party in Kerala, p.286.
60 K.C. John op.cit p.60 This Malayala expression means a movement of parish priests and of Pillas (Nair community)
61 Putthuppally Raghavan. Viplava Smaranakal Passim
According to communist sources, the Liberation struggle committee was composed of landlords, Industrialists, Financiers, Bankers, Planters, Communualists and Catholic church and such other fanatic anti communists and reactionaries\textsuperscript{62}. They viewed the Liberation Struggle as a struggle deliberately fomented, skillfully organised and led by the chosen representatives of vested interests and reactionaries of the state; promptly and ably aided and abetted by their counter parts in other states and also outside India\textsuperscript{63}.

The agitations of the liberation movement later resulted in violent incidents. The state police fired at a crowd at Ankamali on 14th June 1959. 5 persons died and 26 were injured. The press took this as a sensitive issue. They wrote attractive accounts of the police firing. The next day's Deepika, condemned the incident as 'planned homicide'\textsuperscript{64}. The Malayala Manorama wrote that

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{62} R. Rama\textsuperscript{krishnan Nair. Constitutional Experiments in Kerala, Trivandrum, 1964, p. 41.
\item \textsuperscript{63} Ibid, p. 41
\item \textsuperscript{64} The newspaper Deepika came with big heading '5 persons shot dead in Angamali, 'Purposeful Planned homicide'. Another heading was Dead Martyrs. The names and details were given below:
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|l|}
\hline
Name & Age & Occupation \\
\hline
Pyti & 24 & Bullock Cartman \\
Devassv & 36 & Wood cutter \\
Kochu Vareed & 45 & Weaver \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
without giving any notice or information the police lathicharged and shot the people. Dinabandhu another daily wrote that "It was Murder". According to the Press Note issued by the Government an armed crowd came to attack the police station and the police fired in defence. Kainikara Padmanabha Pillai, the author of Red interlude in Kerala strongly criticised the government action. According to him the police tried to disperse a peaceful crowd by lathicharge and found it in vain, therefore resorted to forty rounds of firing.

U.N. Dhebar, AICC representative visited Ankamali and declared that there was no provocation by the people for a police firing. The communist newspapers Janayugam and Deshabhimani tried to defend the government. It said that the crowd attacked the police station and the police found no other

4. Variau 35 - Lorry Cleaner
5. Pyli 30 - Coolie

By giving details of the dead such as name, age and professions the feelings of the people were raised. By the names it was clear that all the five were Catholic Christians and by age all were middle aged and by profession all were workers. All these descriptions provoked the feelings of the ordinary people. See Deepika Daily 15 June 1959.

66. Dinabandhu 16 June 1959
67 Kainikkara padmanabha Pillai, op.cit, p. 186.
way than firing. The Ankamali firing was a significant incident in the liberation movement. The movement intensified and took a violent turn. More and more people came forward to remove the communist government. Those killed in the police firing were glorified as martyrs of freedom. The Malayalam newspapers spared its columns to write the history of the dead persons. The papers were with full of details about the persons arrested and wounded. All these writings instigated the people to rise up against the communist government.

The next day, 15th June, 1959, there was police firing again at Vettukadu near Trivandrum and Pulluvila near Neyyattinkara. Both these places were on the sea shore and were Catholic Christian dominated areas. Five persons were killed in the incident. The leading daily Malayala Manorama reported it as "human hunts". It was reported that some communists were accompanying the police van in a separate car and that it was under their direction that the police opened fire at Pulluvila. This view was expressed by the Deepika Daily the next day itself. It

68. K.C. John, op.cit. p. 61
70. Kainikkara Paamanabha Pillai, op.cit, p. 187.
described the incident as police atrocity towards innocent people at the instruction of comrades. The leading newspapers of Kerala wrote attractive news of the Liberation Movement everyday. On 18th June, 1959 the Deepika reported that in Alleppey persons arrested for picketing were taken to the front of toddy shops instead of jail. The newspapers compared the incidents of Liberation Movement with national and international problems. The Ankamali firing incident was compared to Jallianwala Bagh Massacre. Again Kerala

Deepika had the big heading on the first page, 'Communist Government again shot dead 5 persons. Below that the named of the dead were written.

1. Michael Yacoob 64
2. Yaseppan 40
3. John Purushali 52
4. John Neto 27
5. Mariyan 19

All these persons were catholic Christians. The whole pages of the paper covered the details of the persons arrested throughout the State.

The taking of arrested persons to toddy shops instead of police station and jail is an insult. It brings to light the pathetic condition of the Liberation volunteers who were called 'Dharma Soldiers'. Such sensitive news creates anti government feeling among ordinary people.

Deepika newspaper came out with the heading, 'Jallianwala Bagh massacre repeated in Ankamali'. This was taken from Panampilly Govinda Menon's letter to Governor. Jallianwala Bag incident is an important event in the Freedom Movement of India. Here a local firing incident is compared to a national event. See Deepika Daily 19 June, 1959, p.4
problems were compared to the Government of Juvan Jose Aurvole in Guatemala. The newspapers also took Shakespearean characters to compare them with politicians. The Dinamani daily compared Chief Minister EMS Namboodiripad with Hamlet.

The Liberation Movement spread day by day. The Indian National Congress actually participated in the Liberation struggle after the election of Indira Gandhi as the President of AICC in 1959. Indira Gandhi supported the stand of the Congress in Kerala. Nehru's daughter agitating for a change of government

About the police firings, the Dinamani Daily wrote that they found a Hamlet in the Chief Minister. It also wrote that the word of the Chief Minister to the police that the government would not take action if the police resorted to firing, may be attacking him as a ghost. See Dinamani Daily 20, June, 1959.

The Hindu, Madras reported the opinion of Mrs. Indira Gandhi in its columns. Mrs. Gandhi said that "It was evident that the people of Kerala had certain grievances against the government of the state and these had to be redressed. She demanded that the Kerala Government must rule democratically. See The Hindu, 21 June 1959."
was not a negligible element in the Kerala crisis. Chief Minister E.M.S. Namboodiripad wanted to know whether Congress could support an agitation of communal and vested interests. EMS Namboodiripad therefore invited Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru to visit Kerala and find the truth himself. According to M.N. Govindan Nair, Secretary of the Communist party in Kerala, "inviting the Congress Prime Minister to the state was inviting a Trojan Horse." The invitation proved a fateful blunder.

Both the Communists and the Congress waited for the arrival of the Prime Minister. The Communists hoped justice from Jawaharlal Nehru, the apostle of democracy. The Congress Party wanted either the resignation of the ministry or its dismissal. Nehru landed at Trivandrum on 22nd June, 1959. Thousands of people lined the Prime Minister’s route to Raj Bhavan carrying banners which said "Dismiss Namboodiripad Ministry, "Dismiss Murderous Government" etc. The demonstrators in fact succeeded in convincing Nehru that the agitations had huge mass support. The next days newspapers covered the news of Nehru’s

78. Quoted from Taya Zinkin Reporting India, p. 170.
80. Puthupalli Raghavan, Viplava Smaranakal, passim
81. Jose Chander, op.cit Dynamics of State Politics, p.141.
arrival. The Deepika came out with photos of Ladies standing on the road through which Nehru passed. The Ladies carried the placard “Dismiss the Government”\(^{82}\). The Mathrubhoomi Daily wrote an Editorial “Misfortune of Kerala” on 23rd June 1959\(^{83}\). The Malayala Manorama wrote that

> “the question of outvoting a party like the communists in the legislature is neither practical nor possible. The communists are notorious for their iron party discipline”\(^{84}\).

At the Raj Bhavan, Trivandrum, opponents and supporters of the agitation were given due opportunity to present their views before the Prime Minister. Nehru asked the communist ministers that how could they earn such animosity of the people\(^ {85}\). A Delegation of the CPI State Committee met Nehru. The first question the Prime Minister put to them was, “How did you

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82. Deepika, 24 June, 1959.
83. The Mathrubhoomi was the leading Daily in Kerala in 1959. It wrote that the condition of Kerala was a misfortune. It also wrote that Government can go out even without outvoting in the Legislative Assembly. See Mathrubhoomi Daily, 23 June, 1959.
84. See Malayala Manorama, 24 June, 1959 under the Heading “The Kerala Agitation and Constitution”.
manage to so wonderfully isolate yourself from the people in such a short space of time\textsuperscript{86}.

The Leaders of the liberation struggle met Jawaharlal Nehru and complained of the repressive policies of the communist government of Kerala. Nehru received Mannath Padmanabhan with a copy of the Daily London Times. The paper contained a photo of Mannam addressing a huge crowd. Nehru asked how could Mannam lead the struggle at the age of 82. Mannam's reply was that Dharmaputra was 80 when he led the Mahabharatha War\textsuperscript{87}. Nehru met Congress Leaders, R. Sankar, Panambilly Govinda Menon, Pattam Thanu Pillai etc. The Catholic Bishops met the Prime Minister and explained about the difficulties of the Christians. Nehru gave a patient hearing to all groups and he did not express any opinion. Journalists were not permitted for interviews at the Raj Bhavan.

Nehru started back on the 25th of June. Back at the airport newsmen rallied round Nehru. He did not speak anything. Finally

\textsuperscript{86} Nossiter, Communism in Kerala, p. 146.

\textsuperscript{87} Mannath Padmanabhan, the leader of the Liberation Movement is compared to Dharmaputra (Yudhistira) the eldest member and the leader of the Pandavas. Dharmaputra fought the Mahabharata War for noble cause and won in the end. See Discussions Prasannan G. Mullassery, Bharathakesari Mannath Padmanabhan, p. 154.
at the last minute Tayc~ Zinkin, a British journalist asked Nehru, what
he thought about the situation in Kerala. Nehru hesistated for a
while and then said that he was convinced, that there was a
‘mass upsurge’ against the communist government88.

“If a statesmanship is to pat the cabbage on the
back and tickle the goat at the same time, Nehru
is a statesman of genius”89.

That sealed the fate of the communist ministry. The highest
authority in the country had spoken. There was nothing more left for
EMS Namboodiripad but to wait for the dismissal from New Delhi90.

The visit of Nehru was covered with great importance in
the columns of Malayalam newspapers. After the departure of Nehru
the newspapers gave his commend, ‘a mass upsurge’ in big
headings9. The newspapers wrote that the government should

88. Tayc~ Zinkin, the British journalist visited Kerala twice during
the communist rule. She came first after the beginning of
the ministry and again visited Kerala during Nehru’s trip. See
Discussion Tayc~ Zinkin’s Reporting India, p.177.
89. Ibid, p.177.
90. Prime Minister Nehru commended that it was a ‘mass
upsurge’. No other opinions were necessary for the fate of
the communist government. See K.C. John’s - Kerala The
Melting pot, p.65
91. Deepika, 26 June, 1959
resign and conduct fresh elections. English newspapers also wrote that Election was the only solution. The newspapers wrote the details of the number of persons arrested and that the jails were full. Deepika Daily wrote the heading 'Emergency in Kerala'. The newspapers wrote sensitive headings which raised the feeling of the mass. Pro Congress and communal newspapers exaggerated the extent of support gained by the anti-communist demonstrations and played down the people's support to the government.

The English newspapers also wrote detailed accounts of the happenings of Kerala. Congress president Indira Gandhi said that it was evident that the people of Kerala had certain grievances against the government of the state and these had to be redressed. She demanded that Kerala Government must

92. Malayala Manorama wrote that "clear Solution was new election" (Malayala Manorama 26 June, 1959). Deepika wrote that communist government should resign and conduct elections (Deepika 26 June 1959).
93. Moderate newspaper The Hindu wrote 'Election in Kerala only way out' as heading on 26th and 28th June 1959. See The Hindu (Madras) 26 June 1959 and 28th June 1959.
96. Lieten, opcit, p. 123.
rule democratically. The Indian Express Newspaper wrote an editorial, "The Die is cast" criticising the communist government on 30th June, 1959. It requested the Congress High Command to take effective steps. The Hindustan Times, came out with an editorial, 'Sovereign Remedy' on 1st July 1959. It said that by suggesting fresh election as an effective means of meeting the challenge posed by a widespread and intensive opposition, the Congress Parliamentary Board has offered the Kerala Government good advice. The Hindustan Standard wrote an editorial, 'Prescription for Kerala on 1st July 1959'. The Malayalam

97 The Hindu, Madras, 21 June 1959
98 Indian Express Daily wrote the editorial 'Die is Cast'. It wrote that it was the time for action and not vacillation. The conscience stricken High Command could do well to take to heart Krishna's advice to Arjuna on the battle field of Kurushetra. A pathetically blind adherence to democratic forms was the undoing of the late lamented Spanish Republic, which in the name of the Liberty permitted the enemies of Liberty to undermine democracy and ultimately to bury it. There is a warning for Kerala. Earlier Malayalam newspapers used to quote puranic verses and compare Kerala problems with international problems. Here we can see that English newspapers also begin to have the same style. See Indian Express 30th June 1959.
99 The Hindustan Times Daily, 1st July 1959.
100 The Hindustan Standard wrote, "It is a legitimate presumption that the Kerala Government now in no way represents the majority opinion of the state. The unspoken conclusion is that if the Kerala Government does not accept the suggestion to hold fresh election the road lies inevitably to
newspaper Express compared the Kerala problem to a sick human body. It wrote that the Doctor (Central Govt.) should attend the case.101

The Liberation volunteers clashed with the police in different parts of the state. The newspapers branded them as brutal lathicharges102. During this time fishermen and police fought each other frequently on the seacoasts.103 On 3rd July 1959 there was again police firing at Cheriyathurai near Trivandrum. Two persons were dead and five were wounded. The two persons who died, Flory and Antony were Catholic. The area was predominantly Catholic and it pricked the feeling of the people on the beach.

The Malayalam newspapers took the firing incident of Cheriyathurai as a sensational issue104. The Cheriyathurai firing was

Intervention by the Centre. See Hindustan Standard 1, July 1959.

101 The Malayalam newspaper Express wrote that Kerala problem was a wound with full of pus in it and that it was time to open it. If it was late other organs of the body would begin to decay and therefore the Doctor (Central Government) should attend immediately. Express Daily 2, July 1959.

102. Malayala Manorama Daily carried the big heading on Ist page 'Brutal Lathicharges' Malayala Manorama 3, July 1959

103. Cherian Philip, opcit, p. 44.

104. The Deeksha Daily came out on 4th July with the big heading, 'Communist Government shot two persons dead'. One pregnant lady Flory and Antony'. It wrote in detail about the incident. It said that Flory was waiting in the house yard for the arrival of her fisherman husband when police resorted to indiscriminate firing at Cheriyathurai. A full page was set apart for covering the news of the firing. Deepika 4th July 1959.
pictured as a police human hunt\textsuperscript{105}. Flory, the dead lady was a fisherman’s wife, mother of four children and pregnant with a fifth. Flory was in her backyard, minding her own business, when a stray bullet turned her into a nationwide martyr\textsuperscript{106}. The Government’s excuse for the shooting was that a patrolling police jeep had been ambushed at a road block and that the police unable to cross a barricade of stones, had to fire in self defence under pelting stones by the villagers\textsuperscript{107}. The English newspaper, The Hindu also came out with the main heading, ‘Fire opened near Trivandrum’\textsuperscript{108}. The newspapers came with sensitive writings about the Firing incident of Cheriyathurai. The police had fired at people at different places. But this was entirely a different case. A pregnant lady was shot dead. The martyrdom of Flory led to the rise of the people’s feelings\textsuperscript{109}. The Deepika Daily came out with the photo of

\textsuperscript{105} The Malayala Manorama wrote that the police was engaged in a human hunt. Half of the Front page was set apart for narrating the police firing at Cheriyathurai. It was full of accounts of police atrocities. See Malayala Manorama 4th July 1959.

\textsuperscript{106} Taya Zinkin, op cit, 154.

\textsuperscript{107} Ibid 184

\textsuperscript{108} Details of the firing at Cheriyathurai was covered by the Hindu newspaper. The opposition charge, ‘Police Action unprovoked’ was also given as a heading. See Hindu Daily [Madras] 4 July, 1959

\textsuperscript{109} K.G. Gopalakrishnan, Vimochana Samram oru patanam, p. 187
the dead body of Flory. The husband and children of Flory were lying on the dead body crying. The Malayala Manorama also published the photos of Flory’s husband on the dead body crying. It also had a photo of police marching with rifles in the beach. The Deepika newspaper published the photo of Malabar Special Police moving in the Beach on 7th July 1959. The photo had a heading ‘Human wolf’. The photos of the Malabar Special Police created terror in the minds of the people living on the sea shore.

110. The Deepika newspaper on 5th July 1959, carried sensitive Headings. Below the dead body it was written, Flory - shot dead by the government of the poor-working class (communist government). Another heading was ‘Wipe your tears and look at this picture and you can see the 3 crores eyes of Kerala people’. Still another heading was “All these headings prick the feelings of the common people.

111. Photo journalism took its origin in Kerala in the 1950’s. The Photo of the dead body of Flory was an eye catching sight. It aroused the feeling of the Christian population. ‘The second photo of the police marching with rifles in the beach created terror in the minds of the people living on the costal areas. It seemed as the people living in the costal areas are going to be hunted.’ See Malayala Manorama 5, July, 1959.

112. In this photo the police who are considered as law keepers and people’s friend is branded as wolf, a dangerous animal. Below the photo there is a warning, ‘Beware of these people’. Here the mass media, the newspapers compares police to animals and pictures as people’s enemy. See Deepika Daily 7 July, 1959.

113. Malabar Armed Police, a special elite corps trained at the time of the Mopla Rebellion to be tough and with a reputation for ruthlessness matched only by that of the French Garde Republicaine.
The death of Flory gave a new vigour to the Liberation Movement. The church became more involved in the movement. Through pastoral letters and pulpit speeches the clergy taught the people to come against the Government.

"The Sunday preaching was that to kill a communist would take the killer to heaven and if he was a minister, canonization was certain."\(^1\)

Passion was whipped up in the name of religion in danger. Songs were composed which became popular throughout the state. The people marched singing these songs and participated in the activities of the Liberation Movement. The newspapers brought poems written by distinguished poets in their columns.\(^2\)

\(^1\) Lieter, opcit, p. 146.
\(^2\) Austin, opcit, p. 55

One of the popular songs was the following

"In the far, far south
On the shore of the waves
You burnt the poor pregnant lady Flory
Oh, Government
We will wreak vengeance for
Every drop of Blood."

This song thrilled the Liberation Volunteers.

\(^3\) The Deepika published a poem, "Martyr Flory" written by famous poet C. Mary Beninjia. These kind of poems pricked the feeling of the common people. See Deepika Daily 26 July, 1959.
As the Liberation movement gained momentum the newspapers began to write against the government. The Hindustan Standard wrote an Editorial that 'the Government should go, perhaps it should have gone much earlier'\textsuperscript{118}.

The Malayala Rajyam wrote that the communists and Malabar Special police were beating the people without any reason. The newspaper warned that it was not a fair play\textsuperscript{119}. Newspapers in other States also wrote against the communist Government in Kerala. Samyukta Karnataka, Kannada Daily wrote that 'Democracy is stifled by the communists'\textsuperscript{120}. The Police interfered in the activities of the journalists\textsuperscript{121}. Newspapers came forward for the Freedom of the

\textsuperscript{118} See Editorial 'Next Step in Kerala', Hindustan Standard 7, July 1959.

\textsuperscript{119} Malayala Rajyam Daily 9, July 1959.

\textsuperscript{120} Democracy is stifled by Communists. In Kerala except the communists and then followers, others are not having a sense of security. The police people are not doing their duty. Communist cells are functioning in the place of courts. In this way Democracy is being stifled. See Samyukta Karnataka, 9 July, 1959.

\textsuperscript{121} Malayala Manorama Photographer M.K. John was taken to the police station and his film roll was forcibly taken from camera. This act shows the totalitarian attitude of the communist government. Press photographers have the right to take photographs of important incidents. Malayala Manorama 9, July 1959.
Press. The Malayala Manorama wrote an editorial which upheld the Freedom of the Press\textsuperscript{122}.

Everyday the newspapers came with the details of arrested persons. By July 10th, 63141 persons courted arrest in respect of the Liberation movement in the state\textsuperscript{123}. Hindustan Times wrote that the Kerala Government stood condemned by the broad mass of the people in the state\textsuperscript{124}. The Mathrubhoomi Daily wrote an Editorial, 'Think openly'. The Mathrubhoomi expressed the view that the communist party believed in Dictatorship. It is a part of communist

\textsuperscript{122} "The freedom of press and Kerala Government". (Editorial of Malayala Manorama)

The question uppermost in the minds of all the people was how a communist ministry could rule according to the Democratic Indian Constitution. The rule of the last 27 months in which the authorities behaved like wolves in lamb's skin is a danger to popular democracy. The Press freedom became equal to publishing articles strictly under the supervision of the totalitarianism under the communist system. See Malayala manorama 10 July, 1959.

\textsuperscript{123} Malayala Manorama 11 July, 1959.

\textsuperscript{124} The Hindustan Times wrote about Kerala crisis under the heading 'The Real issue'. It wrote that "anyone who has not closed his mind and his eyes and ears, has enough evidence to convince him that the Kerala Government stands condemned by the broad mass of the people of the state. See Hindustan Times, July, 1959."
ideology and they could do anything only through Dictatorship
and Totalitarianism. The death of the pregnant lady, Flory had a profound
influence in the women population of the State. Ladies came forward
with vigour to the Liberation Movement. Central Travancore
became the burning centre of women activities. 18th July 1959
was observed as women's day with mass picketing in Kottayam.
A large number of Christian ladies came out of their houses to
participate in the Collectorate Picketing at Kottayam. The police
found it very difficult to tackle the picketing by lady volunteers. Nearly
40,000 women courted arrest in Kerala. In the history of India, there
has never been a fight in which such large numbers of women took

125. Mathrubhoomi Editorial Thuvaran Chinthikkam (Think openly)
15 July, 1959
128. Interview with senior citizen Mr. George, Kottayam, living
witness of the incident
This testimony is based on description by Mr. George,
Thirunakkara, Kottayam aged 59. Mr. George who was a
youth during the time of the Liberation Movement usually
used to go out and witness the anti government
processions held in Kottayam town. He says that "the Syrian
Christian Women broke away from their traditional
aristocracy and orthodox convictions and marched to the
collectorate with the spirit of a crusade to participate in
the picketing called by the Liberation leaders". Based on
an interview held with Senior Citizen Mr. George, Cheruvally
Bhavan, Thirunakkara North Kottayam on 10-10-99
an active decisive part and that these women not interested in active politics and living all along in the quiet seclusion of domestic life, should march into the thick of the fight was itself clearly indicative of the extent and depth of the public feeling against the communist government.²⁹

K.M. Munshi was sent by the Congress High Command to Kerala to study and report the situation in the state. K.M. Munshi came to Kerala, travelled throughout the state and wrote notes on the Kerala situation. He submitted it to the Congress High Command. Munshi was totally against communist rule in Kerala.

As days passed various groups supported the Liberation Movement and came against the communist government. 26 out of the 29 Municipalities. 700 out of 895 Village Panchayats passed resolutions demanding the resignation of the communist government.³⁰ The Bar Association of Kerala among the responsible non political bodies, passed a resolution requesting the President of India to terminate the gross misrule of the communist government.³¹

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²⁹ Kainikkara Padmanabha Pillai, op. cit. p.194.
³⁰ D.R. Manekar, op. cit. p.105
³¹ Ibid. p.105
The S.N.D.P. Yogam permitted its members to participate in the agitation in their individual capacity and K.R. Narayan, the General Secretary of the Yogam courted arrest\(^\text{132}\). With the decision of the Muslim League to join picketing, the Muslims as a community came into the struggle\(^\text{35}\).

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru desired to avoid Central Intervention. Nehru said that he would like to avoid the contingency of central intervention in Kerala, but if there is no other way one has to take it\(^\text{134}\). The Liberation Movement was compared to the Freedom Movement by the newspapers. In July newspapers wrote that 'Kerala Freedom Struggle enter the 2nd month'\(^\text{135}\). The Samyukta Karnataka, a Kannada newspaper wrote that the voters of Kerala were betrayed by the communists\(^\text{136}\).

The Hindu newspaper in its editorial 'Kerala' wrote that it was significant that non-communist party or even their individuals

\[^{132}\text{Kainikkara Padmanabha Pillai, op.cit, p.184.}\]
\[^{133}\text{Ibid p.184.}\]
\[^{134}\text{The Hindu, 8 July 1959.}\]
\[^{135}\text{Deepika Daily 14 July, 1959.}\]
\[^{136}\text{The Samyukta Karnataka wrote that during 1956-57 the voters of Kerala might have support the communist. But when the same voters have been betrayed they have the right to demand resignation. Samyukta Karnataka Daily (Kannada) 19 July, 1959.}\]
inside the state have come forward to support the government. The Andhra Patrika, a Telugu Daily wrote that anarchy prevailed in Kerala under the communists. It requested the Government of India to take necessary steps immediately. As days passed, more and more people entered the Liberation movement. In July 1959 the government disclosed that there were 1,01,041 volunteers under the command of the Catholics and the Nair Service Society. By 22 July more than one lakh persons were arrested in connection with the Liberation Movement.

The government found it very difficult to deal with the volunteers. The communist government transferred the Home Department portfolio from V.R. Krishna Iyer to C. Achutha Menon, a strong and tough party leader. Even Achutha Menon found himself in a difficult situation.

138. The Andhra Patrika wrote under the headings, 'A Anarchy prevails in Kerala under Communists'. 'The affairs in Kerala have become worse if the present government is still allowed to stay in the office the situation might become too bad, if set it right. So the Union Government should take necessary action without any further delay. Andhra Patrika, 22 July, 1959.
139. C.N. Somarajjan, pressure group politics p.214 (Annexure VIII to Kerala Government Reply to KPCC memorandum - Dept of the Public Relations, Trivandrum, 1959 pp. XV-VXI)
140. Malayala Manorama came with the heading 'Total arrests 100181'. See Malayala Manorama, 22 July, 1959.
"The church bells would begin ringing and then we would know there was trouble coming. The people would gather and march out in great procession, men, women and children. I would stand in my office in secretariate, see the crowds of the children 8-10 years old surrounding on every side. What could one do against children. I used to feel completely helpless." 

The newspapers continued to cover the news of the liberation Movement in attractive headings. On 27th July, 1959 there was again police firing in Changanacherry. 3 students were injured.

The Indian Express wrote an editorial 'No time to Lose' on 28 July 1959. It wrote that Mr. Namboodiripad and his commissars have demonstrated not only to Kerala but also to India what it means to live under the tyrant heel of a totalitarian regime. The Government allotted Rs.3000/- to the families of the deceased at Ankamali, Pulluvila, Kochuveli and Cheriyathurai police firing.

143. Indian Express (Madurai) 28 July, 1959.
families of the martyrs refused to accept this amount. The Kannada newspaper Samyukta Karnataka wrote that it was better for the Kerala government to agree for election.

The anti-government movement had gained momentum and its leaders openly preached direct action against the government. The agitation took a violent turn as its leaders decided to march 50,000 persons towards the Secretariat and paralyse its working on 9th August 1959. It was feared that the threat by the opposition parties to storm the State Secretariat in Trivandrum on 9th August 1959 could result in a total breakdown of administration, law and order.

Political leaders and journalists from various parts of India and from outside arrived in Kerala to have a look at the mass

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144. The newspaper Thozhilali wrote a news under heading 'This money for what'. The allotment of Rs. 3000/- to the families of the deceased was considered as an insult. The families of martyrs therefore refused to accept the amount. This news touched the minds of the common people. See Thozhilali newspaper, 27 July, 1959.
145. Samyukta Karnataka (Kannada) 30 July, 1959.
146. Sadasivan Nair, Communist Party in Kerala, p. 287.
Foreign journalists were very much concerned about the agitation as they wanted to see whether an elected communist government would be a success.

The Central Government asked a report of the State's situation from the Governor Ramakrishna Rao. Rao obliged by reporting that the administration had broken down and the Communist Ministry was unable to maintain law and order. The Union Cabinet met to decide the fate of Kerala Government. Morarji Desai opposed the dismissal of the Communist Government in the Union Cabinet. The Union Cabinet under Prime Minister Nehru decided to dismiss the Kerala Ministry and impose Presidential Rule. The Central Government as per Article 356 of the Constitution dismissed the Government of Kerala on 31st July 1959. The Indian President took over the administration of the State. The first democratically elected communist ministry was thus dismissed.

49. K.C. John, Senior Journalist and former correspondent, Times of India expressed the view that Morarji Desai was the only cabinet minister who opposed the dismissal of the Kerala Government. Interview with K.C. John at his residence Kalpakul Manganam, Kottayam on 31-12-98.
50. Article 356 of the Constitution provides for the imposition of President's Rule when the constitutional machinery of a state breaks down. The President acts on the advice given by the council of ministers under Article 74 of the Constitution.
From Flory’s murder to President’s rule had taken 3 weeks, during which the people of Kerala became more united in the desire to oust the Government than the people of India had even been in their desire to get rid of the British.151

At the end of the 50 days of the Liberation Struggle, during which the police fired in six places, killed 15 people, lathicharged 248 times, injuring 1605 persons and arrested 1,49,341 including 40,000 women, (which gave the average of 2058 arrests per day) the objective was accomplished.152 During the last week of July newspapers predicted the dismissal of the Kerala government.153 All the newspapers came with headings about the Presidential Rule on 31st July 1959. The Indian President’s Declaration which dismissed the Communist ministry was issued in Delhi on 31st July 1959.

The declaration was warmly received by the Liberation Movement leaders. On 31st evening the Church Bells rang for special prayer. There was distribution of sweets and payesam.

151 Taya Zinkin, op. cit. p.186
152 D.R. Mankekar, op cit. p.82
Fireworks were displayed to celebrate the dismissal\textsuperscript{154}. The month of August took its birth with the news of the dismissal of the communist ministry. Most of the newspapers hailed the President’s action. Malayalam newspapers gave big heading in their columns. English newspapers, Kannada and Telugu newspapers also wrote about the dismissal.

The \textit{Hindu} wrote the moderate heading \textit{Communist Rule Ends in Kerala}\textsuperscript{155}. The \textit{Deepika} Daily came out with the heading ‘\textit{Communist Ministry dismissed - Kerala administration taken over by Indian President}’\textsuperscript{156}. Malayala Manorama gave a n attracting caption as heading, ‘848 Days Communist Administration came to an end yesterday evening’\textsuperscript{157}. The Kannada daily upheld the dismissal by writing the news under the heading, ‘the President’s action bold and timely’\textsuperscript{158}. The Telugu newspaper \textit{Andhra Prabha}

\textsuperscript{154} Puthuppally Raghavan, op cit, p. 196.
\textsuperscript{155} The Hindu, 1st August, 1959.
\textsuperscript{156} Deepika, 1st August 1959.
\textsuperscript{157} Malayala Manorama, August, 1959.
\textsuperscript{158} The Kannada Daily wrote that “since the communist ministry misused its position and lost the confidence of the people, the ministry was dismissed and presedential rule proclaimed. This incident is the first of its kind in free India. There is no doubt that future historians will acclaim this act of the President as a bold and timely step taken to protect democracy”. Samyukta Karnataka, 1st August, 1959.
wrote that other states should learn the lesson from Kerala and act in accordance with the wishes of the people\textsuperscript{159}.

In Kerala today the Liberation Movement is recollected as an epic and exhilarating event, a splendid holiday in an unsatisfactory world to be remembered as some men remember wars\textsuperscript{160}.

All the above cited instances make a clear picture of the journalistic approaches to the first communist ministry of Kerala. Without any hesitation the researcher can say that the Kerala bound newspapers in general and Malayalam newspapers in particular dwindled according to the tune of the interest groups. From the very birth of the first communist ministry to its dooms day, various caste equations of Kerala played the game of making and breaking of a government through the mouth piece of newspapers. Thereafter in the succeeding years of the Liberation Movement, till this day, this particular way of functioning of Kerala newspapers continued without any cardinal charges.

\textsuperscript{159} Andhra Prabha (Telugu) 2 August, 1959.

\textsuperscript{160} George Wood Cock, op cit, p. 272.
Anyhow the depth and extent of the power of printed pages in a literate society, particularly in the Malayalam speaking region can be measured within the short time span of 28 months of Kerala experience. Kerala operated as a paradigm to the increasing influence of printed text on the very socio-political scenario. The boundless impact of press on society.