CHAPTER FIVE

TEACHERS MOVEMENT - 1947 – 1956

India got independence on 15th August 1947. The teachers of Malabar who were active participants in the national movement, rejoiced in it along with other sections of the society. The MATU asked the teachers to hoist the national flag in union office and to involve themselves in the Independence Day celebrations\(^1\).

However the unrest among the teachers went on increasing. So the KPCC president K.Kelappan met the Minister and brought this to the notice of the government. He demanded monthly salary and the promised pay scale to the teachers. The Minister agreed to accept all their demands except those involving financial commitment\(^2\). Now the teachers became restless. They began to think of all possible steps including strike. The Malabar District Teachers Guild reviewed the existing situation of the teachers. It pointed out the miserable conditions of the teachers and how they were disappointed by the popular government. It indicated the active efforts of strike adopted by the teachers and how it was postponed due to public interference. The government policy was criticised and the teachers demand for monthly basic salary, central pay scale, DA, service based weightage and security of employment were viewed as national demands. It was under these circumstances that the Guild called up on the teachers to observe a ‘Teachers day’ on 15th January 1948 and requested the people and mass organisations to render all support to it\(^3\). At the same time Guild president E.Raman Menon stated that the abolition of private management system was the only means to protect the interest of the teachers. But as the government was not ready for it, an assurance of teachers security of employment was suggested by him as the only temporary way out.

The political polarisation of the post independence period was reflected on the teachers movement\(^4\). The communal riots and the Pak invasion of Kashmir

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\(^1\) The Desabhimani, August 14, 1947
\(^2\) The Mathrubhumi, January 6, 1948
\(^3\) Ibid, January 15, 1948
\(^4\) Vallathol Kumara Menon, Adhyapaka Prasthanam Uthara Kerala Keralathil, (Trivandrum, 1976) p. 68
had made the teachers aware of the serious problems confronting the national government. They were convinced that all their problems could not be solved immediately. The teachers were well aware of the limitations of the government. Therefore most of them felt that the government should not be disturbed further with strike and agitations and they were reluctant to place more demands at that moment. P.M. Kunhiraman Nambiar was the leader of this group. At the same time a radical group with in the teachers union argued that it was the best opportunity to fight and obtain their urgent demands. Hence they demanded intense agitations. T.C. Narayanan Nambiar was the spoke man of this view point.

The radical wing under T.C. Narayanan Nambiar decided to convene the 8th anniversary of the union at Tirur. But P.M. Kunhiraman Nambiar, president of the union opposed this move. For the first time the union was on the verge of a split. But T.C. Narayanan Nambiar, the secretary of the union moved ahead with his plan. The annual conference was held at Tirur recreation club on 6th March 1948. Presiding over the meeting S. Natarajan, the president of Madras State Elementary Teachers Federation said “As a result of the promises made by the government, we withdrew our strike last year. But now they expressed their helplessness to fulfil these promise and instead advised us to be aware of our responsibilities. How could we keep up our responsibilities amidst poverty, dilapidated school building and with no food and clothing for our children? The future of the country lies in the teachers. The only solution in front of them is strike. But K.A. Damodara Menon in his inaugural address advised the teachers to give up their decision to strike work. P.M. Kunhiraman Nambiar and some other prominent members of the executive committee refused to attend the meeting. It was informed that, as there was no sufficient time several taluks could not elect their delegates to the conference. So it was requested not to take important decisions and to postpone the conference. But the request was rejected. Now a group of teachers under K.V. Kunhikkannan Nair, the secretary of the Chirakkal Taluk Teachers Union, boycotted the meeting. They assembled together and declared that the decisions of the conference would not be binding on them.

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5 P.R. Nambiar, (ed) Keralathile Adhyapaka Prasthanam (Trivandrum, 1982) p. 123
6 Vallathol Kumara Menon, op.cit, p. 68
7 P.R. Nambiar, op.cit, p. 123
8 The Mathrubhumi, March 11, 1948
9 Ibid, March 14, 1948
10 Vallathol Kumara Menon, op.cit, p. 69
These 69 teachers were reported as nationalist teachers. However, the Tirur conference went on and the following demands were raised. 1. Government take over of schools within five years. 2. Service conditions as that of the government servants. 3. Implementation of the pay commission report. 4. Monthly salary and security of employment. 5. Repeal of the order preventing teachers to become members of political parties. 6. Teachers provident fund. 7. Free and compulsory education. 8. Salary through Head Masters. 9. Duty allowance to their service. 10. Average attendance. 11. Abolition of the practice of salary cut. 12. Mid-Day meals, dress and books to poor students. In case these demands were not admitted by June, they opted to organise a strike which would be decided by the teachers conference to be held at Calicut on 5th June 1948. At the same time teachers were asked to organise protest meetings and jathas on 6th April 1948. More over it was decided to send a brotherly jatha to Travancore to express solidarity with their strike. The conference also demanded the formation of the Kerala state. And to promote the Aikya Kerala Movement, it was decided to form a joint federation of elementary teachers of Travancore, Kochin and Malabar and to link the same with the Madras State Elementary Teachers Federation.

K.V.Kunhikkannan Nair, leader of the 69 teachers who had boycotted the meeting questioned the relevance of the conference. There were congress men, Muslim leaguers and socialists among those who had boycotted. At the same time he pointed out that many of the executive members had refused to attend the meeting. As sufficient time was not given, 70 branches in Chirakkal, Kottayam, Kurumbranad and Eranad could not conduct the election to send their representatives to the conference. Thus out of 500 delegates to be participated, only 200 members were there in the conference. T.C.Narayanan Nambiar and his communist colleagues, in their eagerness to declare a strike manipulated majority and took decision in an autocratic manner. It was certainly an attempt to impose one’s political ideology on the union. But the secretary of the reception committee sharply reacted to these allegations. First of all it was pointed out that no controversial decision was adopted by the conference with majority votes.
the other hand it was left to the teachers conference at Calicut to decide the date of the proposed strike. Secondly instead of hartal it was decided only to organise protest meetings and *jathas* on 6th April 1948. Above all it was the union executive held under P.M.Kunhiraman Namibiar that had decided to hold the conference. Accordingly circulars were issued and statements were published in news papers. And subsequently 233 delegates were elected. Due to all these, it was not possible to postpone the conference. With these arguments all the allegations charged against the conference were refuted\(^\text{15}\).

Under these circumstances efforts were made to organise the protest day celebrations in several taluks. At the same time certain taluks too turned against the decisions of the Tirur conference. The Chirakkal Taluk Teachers Union asked the union leadership to reconsider the conference decision because it could not represent the whole teachers of Malabar\(^\text{16}\). The Ponnani Taluk Teachers Union requested clarification on the conference decision from the District Union\(^\text{17}\). The Eranad Taluk Teachers Union rejected the Tirur decision and decided not to observe the protest day on 6th April\(^\text{18}\). The Kottayam Taluk Teachers Union decided to neglect the union decision completely\(^\text{19}\). The Kurumbranad taluk union adopted the same line and decided not to observe the protest day on 6th April 1948\(^\text{20}\). As an attempt to justify these stand, it was pointed out that while the teachers were getting comparatively better salary, the protest day celebration was quite undesirable. Moreover while the teachers demanded service conditions of the government servants, they were not ready to accept their limitations. Above all it was argued that after the Calcutta conference, the communists were organising strikes where ever possible. Therefore the proposed protest day of 6th April was really a copy of the anti-repression day observed by the communists on 26th January 1948\(^\text{21}\).

Now efforts were made to isolate and expel the radical members of the teachers union. They were accused of involving in political propaganda and also trying to overthrow the government. How ever the teachers demand for the repeal

\(^{15}\) *Ibid*, April 4, 1948

\(^{16}\) *Ibid*, March 24, 1948

\(^{17}\) *Ibid*, April 1, 1948

\(^{18}\) *Ibid*, April 6, 1948

\(^{19}\) *Ibid*, April 7, 1948

\(^{20}\) *Ibid*

\(^{21}\) *Ibid*, April 4, 1948
of the government order against the teachers politics was raised again and again. The Chirakkal Taluk Teachers Union protested against the government order preventing teachers from becoming members of political parties and asked the KPCC to take up the issue\textsuperscript{22}. The Malabar district teachers Guild claiming itself an apolitical organisation expressed loyalty to the Nehru government. And asked teachers not to expose their political view in their schools. But at the same time requested the government to repeal the order preventing teachers from becoming members of political parties and asked SITU and KPCC to take necessary steps in this regard\textsuperscript{23}.

At the same time the teachers of Malabar continued to get a very low salary. Even this meagre amount was not paid properly. Besides, even though the TPF was made compulsory, many teachers could not join the scheme because the managers refused to sign their request\textsuperscript{24}. Actually the manager had to get the prior sanction from the department to dismiss their teachers. But they violated the same and teachers were dismissed in different parts of Malabar\textsuperscript{25}. The Malabar teachers Guild protested against the department officers who were reluctant to take action against the managers for no payment of salary, remittance of PF amount and unnecessary dismissal\textsuperscript{26}.

Meanwhile the allegations levelled against the radical members of the union became very acute. They were accused of propagandising for communists in their schools to mislead the students. In this context, it was reported that a hand written magazine entitled ‘Student’ was published in an elementary school under the guidance of a teacher with the front page picture of a prominent communist leader of Kerala\textsuperscript{27}. Many protested against this trend. The Payyoli village political conference requested the government to expel communist teachers and to cancel their certificates\textsuperscript{28}. The Menaprom village political conference asked the government to expel the communist teachers, to ban the CPI and also to confiscate the Desabhimani press\textsuperscript{29}. The Muttungal village political conference

\textsuperscript{22} Ibid. March 24, 1948
\textsuperscript{23} Ibid. April 22, 1948
\textsuperscript{24} Ibid. May 2, 1948
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid. April 7, 1948
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid. April 22, 1948
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid. April 3, 1948
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid. May 13, 1948
\textsuperscript{29} Ibid. May 18, 1948
demanded the dismissal of communist teachers\textsuperscript{30}. Now the KPCC, as a suggestion to prevent the communist violence in Malabar, asked the government to expel all communist teachers\textsuperscript{31}. The Desaraksha volunteers caught the communist teachers and handed them over to the police\textsuperscript{32}. K. Krishnan Nambiar, the former president of Kottayam Taluk Teachers Union was brutally beaten and hospitalised\textsuperscript{33}. Communist teachers involved in violence were arrested at several places. Kizhakke Ayatathil Choyi Master, a teacher and the branch secretary of the CPI was arrested\textsuperscript{34}. P.C. Raman, another teacher involved in the Chirakkal violence was arrested at Tellicherry\textsuperscript{35}. Several other teachers involved in the Onchiyam violence were also arrested\textsuperscript{36}. Now K.Kelappan adopted a very firm stand against the communist teachers. He viewed them as the real propagators of communist ideology. He found that many of them were involved in Chirakkal violence and that many had went underground. He argued that they were injecting poison in the minds of the students therefore that was more dangerous than the other communists. Hence he wanted them to be expelled from the schools. He found it an appropriate opportunity for the same and the issue was brought to the attention of the managers and the department\textsuperscript{37}. The Kottayam Taluk Teachers Union protested against the attack on their former president. But at the same time requested the authorities to expel communist teachers and asked the union leadership to expel the communist office bearers of the union\textsuperscript{38}.

The Tirur conference had created a lot of confusion among the teachers. The teachers involvement in the Malabar violence made the situation worse. In this backdrop the teachers unions requested for a teachers meeting to reconsider the Tirur decision and also to discuss the involvement of teachers in the Malabar violence. Thus P.M. Kunhiraman Nambiar convened a meeting of the teachers union councillors at Calicut on 22\textsuperscript{nd} May 1948\textsuperscript{39}. This meeting held at Ganapath High School, Calicut decided to reject the Tirur decision and denounced the
violence led by the communists. A committee was constituted to enquire about the involvement of teachers in the violence. Moreover being attached to a party that tried to over throw the government, T.C.Narayanan Nambiar was removed from the editorship of the journal, Adhyapakan. At the same time, the meeting expressed anxiety over the violation of the government communiqué of 5th June 1947 and repeated the major demands of the teachers. The meeting also pointed out that the withdrawal of school recognition and the practice of stopping, grant for management faults was equal to punishing teachers and students and therefore requested to declare them as 'undeserving' It was also requested to take criminal procedures against the managers who refused teaching grant and in such cases the buildings and equipments were to be handed over to the committees.

K.Kelappan continued his attack of the communist teachers. He viewed them as the enemies of the nation and called up on the people to get them removed from the schools. In the Chirakkal taluk congress conference K. Madhava Menon pointed out that besides the workers, some of the teachers were helping the communists. Several memoranda were submitted to the Director to take action against the communist teachers. The communist teachers were arrested in different parts of Malabar. The certificate of P.Vikkiran Nair was suspended by the Divisional Inspector. The Valluvanad Taluk Managers Association decided to dismiss the communist teachers. The Malabar District Teachers Guild regretted the teacher's involvement in communist violence and declared that such people would not have any place in their association. The teachers union also advised the teachers not to involve in communist activities or to make schools an instrument for communist propaganda. An allegation was raised against T.C.Narayanan Nambiar that he was not doing his work properly.

40 Ibid, May 23, 1948. It included governments take over of schools within a definite period, service conditions as that of government teachers, teachers security of employment, abolition of the practice of salary cut and deduction, government responsibility of TPF, right of appeal, compensation against unjust dismissal, early introduction of free and compulsory education, salary through Head Masters, duty allowance to their service, repeal of the government order curtailing the civil rights of the teachers, one teacher for one class, and 200 working days including teachers association meetings.
41 Ibid
42 Ibid, May 25, 1948
43 Ibid, May 29, 1948
44 Ibid, June 3,5,11,16, 1948
46 Ibid, June 1, 1948
47 Ibid, June 23, 1948
Hence he was replaced by a new Joint Secretary⁴⁸. The Kurumbranad Teachers Union protested against the involvement of teachers in the violence of North Malabar. The union accepted the decision of the Kozhikode teachers conference and decided to expel the communist teachers. The teachers and the public were advised to observe the activities of the teachers who were members or supporters of the CPI. Branch unions were directed to collect the details of the communist teachers. The union activists were also advised not to give membership to suspected members or supporters of the communist party⁴⁹. The Chirakkal Taluk Teachers Union also protested against the communist violence in Malabar and congratulated the teacher who tried to end the same. The union accepted the decision of the Kozhikode teachers conference and decided to expel the communist teachers. But at the same time stated that all teachers should not be branded as communists⁵⁰. The Kannadi Paramb Branch Teachers Union listed teachers involved in the Chirakkal violence and demanded action against them. When some members of the Chirakkal taluk union were arrested in connection with Chirakkal violence, the taluk executive committee resigned. The new committee decided to make enquires and to take action against them⁵¹.

As many teachers were found involved in the violent activities in Malabar, the teaching grant was withheld at several places. The Kottayam Taluk Teachers Union demanded immediate action on the ground that the union, the congress committee and the MLA of the area had already demanded action against such teachers⁵². Now it was argued that the teaching grant in North Malabar was delayed because the actions against the communist teachers were yet to be decided. But P.M.Kunhiraman Nambiar pointed out that the teachers got involved in the violent activities as members of the CPI and not as per the direction of the union. Moreover it was reminded that the union had already demanded action against them and had even helped to arrest the communists⁵³. But the department asked the managers to submit a declaration on the political affinity of their teachers and a certificate from the village officers of the area as condition for

⁴⁸ Ibid, May 29, 1948
⁴⁹ Ibid, June 8, 1948
⁵⁰ Ibid, June 16, 1948
⁵¹ Ibid, June 18, 1948
⁵² Ibid, June 20, 1948
⁵³ Ibid, June 26, 1948
releasing the teaching grant\textsuperscript{54}. These measures adopted by the managers and the department created much unrest among the teachers.

Under these circumstances the MATU council was convened at Calicut on 3\textsuperscript{rd} July 1948. This meeting under P.M.Kunhiraman Nambiar viewed the government action affecting the teachers as a whole and protested against the withholding of teaching grant for the alleged involvement of teachers in the communist violence. The meeting admitted the temporary stoppage of grant of teachers who were arrested or went underground for communist propaganda but attacked the government for throwing thousands of teachers in poverty for the action of a very few. The meeting raised no objection to the cancellation of the certificates of those teachers who got involved in communist violence, but pointed out that it was not proper to suspend the certificates of teachers for being members of a party which has not been declared illegal. The meeting also protested against the required certificates proving that the teachers were not communists. It was in this meeting that P.M.Kunhiraman Nambiar resigned his post due to having to bear several other responsibilities. Therefore C.C.Nair was elected the new president of the union. Now the meeting demanded the disbursement of the teaching grant of 1948 at the earliest. It requested the government to neglect the certificates of the village officers but to take actions based on the direction given by the department officers. It also asked the government not to suspend the certificates of teachers with out proper reasons and also to admit their right of appeal\textsuperscript{55}. Based on these facts the MATU decided to submit a memorandum to K.Kelappan highlighting the issues of non payment of teaching grant and suspension of certificates and also to meet the Director to present the case. Above all it was decided to revive Adhyapakan, the journal of the union\textsuperscript{56}.

However communist teachers were arrested at places like Arur\textsuperscript{57}. At Palakkad a teacher was arrested for collecting party fund\textsuperscript{58}. Teachers were dismissed without sufficient reasons. At Pulamanthol, the teachers who failed to get the required certificates from the village officers were dismissed without notice.

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid, July 4, 1948
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid, July 15, 1948
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid, July 9, 1948
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid, September 21, 1948
How ever they continued to attend school and thus got arrested\textsuperscript{59}. The congress party was accused of being responsible for the certificate suspension of the teachers. Alleging communist connection, the teaching grant of Azheekode South Higher Elementary School was suspended. Here it is to be noted that many of the teachers were nationalist and even anti-communists. The Taluk Teachers Union protested against such withholding of grants\textsuperscript{60}.

The Chirakkal Taluk Teachers Union requested to release the first and second instalment of teaching grant and also to give an opportunity for the teachers who lost their certificates to prove their innocence\textsuperscript{61}. The Eranad Taluk Teachers Union protested against the required certificates and demanded the release of the teaching grant and the early implementation of the G.O. 1154\textsuperscript{62}. The Malabar Teachers Guild congratulated the government policy towards the communists, but requested the government to implement the order 1154 and protested against the denial of teaching grant, the required certificates from the village officers and the certificate suspension without proper enquiry\textsuperscript{63}. Above all the North Malabar Aided Teachers Union submitted a memorandum to the District Education Officer to invite his attention on these issues. But he promised that the teaching grant would be released as soon as the requested certificates were obtained\textsuperscript{64}.

Meanwhile as a response to the department's attitude, the teachers union also began to take certain measures. The Kavalappara teachers union demanded action against the teachers involved in violence\textsuperscript{65}. The Kasaragod Taluk Board Teachers Union suspended the membership of those who got involved in violence\textsuperscript{66}. The MATU executive committee decided that the teachers who lost their certificates were not to sit in the elected post of the union and all those who were declared undeserving by law were not to be made members of the union. Hence taluk unions were directed to submit the list of punished communist teachers. How ever it was decided that the teachers who were punished for

\textsuperscript{59} Ibid. August 3, 1948. Later they were sentenced to imprisonment
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid. October 1, 1948
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid. August 12, 1948
\textsuperscript{62} Ibid. July 17, 1948
\textsuperscript{63} Ibid. July 20, 1948
\textsuperscript{64} Ibid. July 29, 1948
\textsuperscript{65} Ibid. July 13, 1948
\textsuperscript{66} Ibid. July 16, 1948
having connection with the communist party but not for involving in violence were
to be allowed to continue their profession.  

Even at this stage, the Madras government failed to implement the promise
of minimum pay scale and monthly salary given to the teachers in June 1947. So
the union decided to submit a memorandum to the Minister and also to observe ‘A
monthly definite salary day’ on October 23rd, 1948. Teachers were also advised
to organise public meetings and jathas to make the day a great success. The
monthly salary day was observed at various places like Nadapuram, Balusseri,
Villiappally, Pookottour, Kuttikattoor, Ramanattukara and Kuttiadi. The union
leaders also met the Education Minister Avanasalingam Chettiar, submitted a
memorandum and demanded monthly salary, security of employment and the
recognition of the union. But the Minister in turn told them that the teachers of
Malabar were actually giving importance to matters other than education.

But the teachers union continued to highlight their grievances. Strong
protest arose against the denial of teaching grant and the harassment of the
communist teachers in Chirakkal, Kottayam and Kozhikode taluks. The Kozhikode
Taluk Teachers Union decided to collect the details of teachers who were denied
teaching grant and also to submit a memorandum demanding the release of
teaching grant of those who were not actually involved in violent activities. The
Chirakkal Taluk Teachers Union protested against the denial of the third
installment of teaching grant in the pretext of communist connection. The
Kottayam Taluk Teachers Union requested that the innocent teachers who were
branded and harassed as communists were to be given an opportunity to prove
their innocence. It also requested to exempt the political parties with no violent
programme from the order against teachers politics. Moreover the District Union
was advised to convene a meeting of teachers who were denied teaching grant
due to their communist link. The MATU protested against the denial of the third
instalment of the teaching grant and argued that many among them were actually

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67 Ibid., October 5, 1948
68 Ibid
69 Ibid., October 17, 1948
70 Ibid., October 30, 1948
71 Ibid., November 2, 1948
72 Ibid., November 17, 1948
73 Ibid., December 17, 1948
74 Ibid., December 28, 1948
nationalist having no connections with the communists. It also requested the repeal of the order asking teachers to resign from all political parties including the Indian National Congress. Now it was also found necessary to discuss all the major issues like denial of teaching grant, certificate cancellation and also the teachers membership in political parties. Under these circumstances it was decided to convene a special conference on 15th January 1949.

The special conference of the Malabar teachers was held at Calicut on 15th January 1949. K. Kelappan, the president of the KPCC presided over the meeting. In his presidential address, he protested against the denial of teaching grant, demanded an impartial enquiry and requested the release of salary for the work that had already done. P. M. Kunhiraman Nambiar in his speech criticised the injustice involved in the policy of certificate cancellation by highlighting an incident in which the certificate of a women teacher was cancelled because her husband had some communist connection. M. Narayana Kurup, the secretary of the KPCC who spoke on the occasion refuted the allegation that it was the congress that got the certificates of many teachers suspended. However the conference demanded an immediate release of the teaching grant and an impartial enquiry on certificate cancellation and invited the attention of the congress committees of Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Andhra and AICC to take necessary steps on these issues of the teachers of Malabar. With a view to bring the attention of the government it was also decided to observe an ‘Urgent Demands Day’ on 15th February 1949.

The conference also protested against the government order against teachers membership in political parties which was a right admitted even during the colonial period. Therefore it was requested to allow the teachers to join in political parties having no violent programmes. As decided earlier, the teachers who lost their certificates were not given representation in the conference. But a delegate from Ponnani taluk questioned this union stand which was ignored. Thus a separate meeting of those teachers was held at the Guruvayurappan Hall, Calicut. This meeting held under C. C. Nair was attended by about 100 teachers including two women teachers. The meeting passed a resolution asking the District Union to demand an unconditional restoration of certificates.

75 Ibid, December 29, 1948
76 Ibid, January 18, 1949
77 Ibid
A conference of the dismissed teachers was held at Tirur on 13th March 1949. K.V. Narayanan Nambiar presided over this meeting which congratulated the oppressed teachers. It demanded unconditional restoration of certificates and also compensation for the period of suspension. A committee was constituted to meet the Prime Minister as well as the Education Minister. It was also decided to publish a journal called ‘Vidyabhyasa Keralam’ to fight for the rights of teachers.78

Meanwhile certain steps were taken to ameliorate the grievances of the teachers. The Malabar DEO promised to consider their issues of salary arrear and unjust dismissal sympathetically. He told the union leaders of Chirakkal Taluk that their salary bill was already signed and their certificates would be restored after police verification. It was also promised that the school recognition would be withdrawn where the managers refused to remit their share of TPF.79 The casual leave of the teachers was increased from 15 to 20.80 The government also issued an order pertaining to the teachers security of employment. The MATU executive meeting discussed its provisions and pointed out the possibility of misinterpretation and misuse of the same by the managers. Hence the union demanded that the appointment and dismissal of teachers should be placed under the control of the department and the teachers were to be given a right of appeal.81 The government also made provisions to introduce monthly salary to the teachers. However, the Education Minister Avanasalingam Chettiar clearly declared that it was not at all possible for the government to take over all elementary schools in the state.82

The MATU welcomed the decision to introduce monthly salary to the teachers. The union viewed the pay scale and monthly salary as the result of their 14 years of agitation in Malabar. But the government decided either to deduct the M.O charge from the salary of the teachers or to give the amount as quarterly grant. This decision disappointed the teachers.83 The Chirakkal Taluk Teachers Union congratulated the Madras government for implementing the system of monthly salary but requested the government to bear the money order charge.84

78 Ibid, March 22, 1949
79 Ibid, February 18, April 1, 1949
80 Ibid, April 6, 1949
81 Ibid, February 24, 1949
82 Ibid, March 24, 1949
83 Ibid, May 8, 1949
84 Ibid, July 6, 1949
Meanwhile several irregularities were reported in the payment of salary. C.C. Nair met the District Education Officers and the Head Post Master at Calicut and informed the matter. The Ponnani Taluk Teachers Union protested against the irregularities in the distribution of teaching grant and sent telegrams to the Director and the Minister. The MATU asked the government to redress the issue at the earliest.

The teachers union continued to raise their demand for the restoration of certificates. The Malabar District Teachers Guild also requested the restoration of certificates which were dismissed without any reasons. But as it was done after proper enquiry, the Minister refused to have any compromise on this issue. However he agreed to correct the cases of unjust actions, if any. Accordingly the government repealed the certificate suspension of 19 teachers.

The union had already decided not to elect the teachers who lost their certificates to the official post of the union. As elections were conducted more than once in Ponnani, the District Union gave show cause notice to the teachers union. Therefore the executive committee recommended the dismissal of the taluk union. The Union Council dismissed the union and decided to organise a new one.

Meanwhile the weightage given to the 4th and 5th classes of elementary school was suddenly stopped. Though the matter was published only in the gazette of March 1949, it came in to effect in January 1949 itself. It effected many schools that retained teachers based on one class one teacher ratio. Teaching grant of all such schools were stopped. Teachers viewed it an injustice to withhold the salary of the work already done. The Eranad teachers union requested to postpone the same till the end of 1949. The secretary of the Chirakkal Taluk

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85 Ibid, May 8, 1949  
86 Ibid, May 27, 1949  
87 Ibid, May 25, 1949  
88 Ibid, June 2, 1949  
89 Ibid, July 27, 1949  
90 Ibid, July 28, 1949  
91 Ibid, August 25, 1949  
92 Ibid, July 29, 1949  
93 Ibid, August 10, 1949  
94 Ibid, August 31, 1949  
95 Ibid, August 18, 1949  
96 Ibid, January 6, 1950
Teachers Union demanded its postponement to 1950\textsuperscript{97}. The MATU also asked the government to postpone its implementation to June 1950\textsuperscript{98}. Moreover as it was not actually informed in the teachers associations meetings, the lower bodies were directed to send telegrams to the department and the government. The union asked the government to release the withheld salary along with the last instalment of teaching grant. Moreover C.C. Nair was directed to go to Madras to submit a memorandum in this effect\textsuperscript{99}.

It was during the same period that the teaching grant of certain schools in Chirakkal taluk was stopped due to mismanagement\textsuperscript{100}. The MATU demanded urgent action to redress this grievance\textsuperscript{101}. A Bill was introduced in the Madras assembly to take over the schools in case of mismanagement\textsuperscript{102}. The Muslim and Christian members raised their objection. However the bill was passed and it was decided to take over those schools which were closed before the end of an academic year by giving proper compensation\textsuperscript{103}.

The managers continued to dismiss teachers even during this period. Teachers were dismissed after tampering their service registers\textsuperscript{104}. At Thavannur three teachers were dismissed with out notice and new teachers were appointed\textsuperscript{105}. It is to be noted that the Village Congress Committee encouraged them to dismiss teachers who were socialist and communists\textsuperscript{106}. Several teachers were dismissed in different parts of Kottayam taluk and the union decided to make an enquiry on it\textsuperscript{107}. All these were against the provisions of the Madras education rule. According to it the teachers and the managers had to sign a contract. Before its expiry the teachers had no right to relieve and the managers to dismiss them. And all their disputes were to be settled by the education officer\textsuperscript{108}. The 13\textsuperscript{th}
anniversary of the Kurumbranad Taluk Teachers Union passed a protest resolution for not ensuring the teachers security of employment.\(^{109}\)

There were also complaints regarding the misbehavior of the department officers towards the teachers. Kannur South Range Deputy Inspectress insulted the teachers by scolding them in front of the students. It was also alleged that she showed partiality towards some schools.\(^{110}\)

By that time the teachers union demanded the formation of a Kerala state. The Ponnani Teachers Union, demanded a United Democratic Kerala.\(^ {111}\) The Kurumbranad teachers union requested the formation of an Aikya Kerala state based on geography, language and culture and as a first step in this direction requested the formation of the Malabar state.\(^ {112}\) The Malabar District Teachers Guild welcomed the decision of the Aikya Kerala conference and stated that as long as there was Raja Pramukh in Tiru Kochi, Malabar won’t accept the plan.\(^ {113}\) The 13th annual conference of the Kurumbranad Teacher Union held at Balusseri requested the government to form an Aikya Kerala state based on geography, language, culture and administrative convenience.\(^ {114}\)

The 13th annual conference of the Kurumbranad Teachers Union held at Balusseri requested the government to form an Aikya Kerala state based on geography, language, culture and administrative convenience.\(^ {114}\)

The minimum salary promised in the government communiqué of 5th June 1947 had not been enforced effectively. The Kurumbranad Taluk Teachers Union demanded to include provisions for the same in the next budget.\(^ {115}\) The Chirakkal Teachers Union also demanded to implement the same by the next financial year.\(^ {116}\) The MATU sent telegrams in this regard to the Prime Minister, Education Minister and the Minister of Finance.\(^ {117}\) At the same time it was requested that as long as there was fee collection in elementary school, the increased amount of salary to the teachers was to be considered as proper expenditure. But as it was not done so in 1949, the maintenance grant was stopped in those schools. So here the managers asked the teachers to give back the received amount from

\(^{109}\) Ibid, December 28, 1949
\(^{110}\) Ibid, December 17, 1949
\(^{111}\) Ibid, June 2, 1949
\(^{112}\) Ibid, November 30, 1949. By this time the erstwhile princely states of Travancore and Cochin were amalgamated in to Tiru Kochi state.
\(^{113}\) Ibid, November 20, 1949
\(^{114}\) Ibid, December 28, 1949
\(^{115}\) Ibid, March 8, 1950
\(^{116}\) Ibid, April 4, 1950
\(^{117}\) Ibid, March 22, 1950
them. Therefore the government was requested to compensate this loss incurred by the management\textsuperscript{118}.

At the same time controversies over management ownership often led to the closure of school. Thus attempts were made to withdraw the recognition of 9 schools in Chirakkal taluk. As it would effect the education of the students and the occupation of the teachers, the taluk union expressed anxiety and requested necessary amendments in the concerned rules so as to hand over the correspondent right of such schools to the Head Masters\textsuperscript{119}. At the same time in case of withdrawal of recognition due to mismanagement, the government was requested to take over the school building and equipment and hand over the same to the teachers\textsuperscript{120}.

At that time the teachers under government and local boards were getting a monthly salary of Rs 30. Therefore there were also thoughts of increasing the salary of aided elementary teachers\textsuperscript{121}. The Minister revealed the government's intention in the Madras Legislative Assembly\textsuperscript{122}. After the necessary Ministerial deliberations it was declared that actually the higher grade elementary teachers were given Rs 25 by the government. Even though the managers were directed to give an additional amount of Rs. 5 to the teachers, it remained to be implemented. Therefore now the government decided to give an increase of Rs 2 in the salary of the teachers and the managers were asked to pay the balance amount of Rs 3 to them. It was also decided to give 15\% of the total school expenditure as the maintenance grant. At the same time it was stated that measures would be taken to reduce the grant of those managers who refuse to give the stipulated amount to the teachers\textsuperscript{123}.

Meanwhile the 9\textsuperscript{th} annual conference of the MATU was organised in a very grand manner as that of an all India conference at Chovva on 21\textsuperscript{st} May 1950. The conference pointed out how the policies of the teachers union which was able to organise direct agitation under the colonial rule, to redress the grievances of teachers that was completely changed after national independence\textsuperscript{124}.

\textsuperscript{118} Ibid, March 8, April 4, 1950
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid, April 4, 1950
\textsuperscript{120} Ibid, October 15, 1950
\textsuperscript{121} Ibid, January 20, 1950
\textsuperscript{122} Ibid, March 28, 1950
\textsuperscript{123} Ibid, April 21, 1950
\textsuperscript{124} Ibid, May 24, 1950
Meanwhile it was also decided to give representation for teachers in the Legislative Assembly. Out of the 72 seats in the assembly 6 seats were reserved as teacher constituencies. Thus for the first time teachers got representation in the assembly. But only those teachers with at least 3 years service in classes not below first form were allowed to elect their representatives\textsuperscript{125}. Thus voting right was given only to teachers of secondary school and above that level. The elementary school teachers were denied voting rights and therefore they could not contest election in the teacher constituencies. The SITU requested that all trained teachers having minimum three years service were to be given voting right in the teacher constituencies\textsuperscript{126}. Now the MATU discussed the issue and decided to convene a convention of aided, board and municipal elementary teachers on 16\textsuperscript{th} July 1950. C.C. Nair pointed out the importance of the representation of elementary teachers in the Madras Assembly and asked all the teachers to attend the convention to be held in Government Training school, Calicut\textsuperscript{127}. This teachers convention held at Calicut was attended by 103 delegates representing Board/Municipal and Aided school teachers. The convention passed a resolution protesting against the denial of voting rights to the elementary teachers and requested the union president and Central Government to take necessary steps to enable the teachers to participate in the coming elections. The attention of the Madras government, members of parliament and SITU leadership was also invited\textsuperscript{128}.

The teachers continued to be dismissed in different parts of Malabar. As the new rules made it difficult for the managers to use this weapon as before, they began to use certain other tactics. They refused register to the teachers and when questioned they were told that the teachers were absent\textsuperscript{129}. K.V.Kunhikkanan Nair the secretary of the MATU was given dismissal notice\textsuperscript{130}. The MATU expressed anxiety over the dismissal of teachers by violating the government order (G.O. No. 3211) ensuring their security of employment and denounced the indifference of the inspecting officers. The union also decided to institute a ‘Teachers Protection

\textsuperscript{125} Ibid, June 22, 1950. First form of the middle schools and high schools means the 5\textsuperscript{th} standard class of the elementary schools
\textsuperscript{126} Ibid, July 6, 1950
\textsuperscript{127} Ibid, July 13, 1950
\textsuperscript{128} Ibid, July 19, 1950
\textsuperscript{129} Ibid, June 24, 1950
\textsuperscript{130} Ibid, June 28, 1950
Fund’ for the affected teachers\textsuperscript{131}. Meanwhile more teachers were dismissed in different parts of Chirakkal taluk. The inspecting officers also supported the same. The union expressed great anxiety over it and decided to convene a teachers conference at Kannur on 19\textsuperscript{th} August 1950\textsuperscript{132}.

The main aim of the teachers movement in Malabar for the last 16 years was salary for subsistence and security of employment. The teachers did not stop their agitation because the managers with the support of the inspecting officers continued to dismiss teachers in different parts of Malabar. The teachers insistence on their rights always endangered their security of employment. Therefore they could not demand even the salary sanctioned by the department. The managers and the department officers also followed a policy of hatred towards the union activists. Now the union pointed out the limitations of the government order (3211) of December 1948 on teachers security of employment. Though the Minister promised to make necessary amendments after a years experiment, the government not only refused to rectify the defects but even tried to violate its own provisions. Under these circumstance C.C.Nair, the president of the MATU, asked the government to redress the grievances of the teachers or else it would lead to an uproar in the Malabar education scene\textsuperscript{133}. He requested the support of the people, public leaders and news papers. Even then the teachers were harassed by the manager and some inspecting officers. The Chirakkal Taluk Teachers Union protested against the dismissal of K.V.Kunhikannan Nambiar, the secretary of MATU even by violating the order of the District Education Officer. It expressed its discomfort over the policy of ‘Teachers hatred’ followed by the inspecting officers but congratulated the North Malabar DEO for the strict enforcement of the rules and regulations\textsuperscript{134}. The MATU expressed great anxiety over the efforts made by the managers and inspecting officers to break the security of employment ensured by the new rules\textsuperscript{135}.

Besides the issue of security of employment, the teachers had to face many other grave problems during this period. By that time food condition in Malabar

\textsuperscript{131} Ibid, July 4, 1950  
\textsuperscript{132} Ibid, August 5, 1950  
\textsuperscript{133} Ibid, August 12, 1950  
\textsuperscript{134} Ibid, September 27, 1950  
\textsuperscript{135} Ibid, September 16, 1950
grew worse\textsuperscript{136}. As the ration was reduced it affected the attendance of the students in elementary schools\textsuperscript{137}. The food situation in Chirakkal and Kurumbranad taluk was very bad. Here the ration was stopped and many schools were closed\textsuperscript{138}. Thus generally life became deplorable in Malabar. The teachers were further disturbed by another development. As excess amount was given to the managers as maintenance grant, the government decided to deduct the same from the teaching grant. The Kottayam Taluk Teachers Union protested against it and requested the government to give up this move\textsuperscript{139}. More over many teachers who were branded as communists had lost their certificates in Malabar. Even during this period the teachers union had been demanding the restoration of their certificates\textsuperscript{140}. Consequently many of them got their certificates back. But many others did not get it. Even though their innocence was proved in law courts, the department was not ready to reconsider their case\textsuperscript{141}. Above all the denial of voting rights really disappointed the teachers.

The Kurumbranad teachers union requested the Minister to keep up the promise of an increase in Rs 5 in teachers salary. They also requested for an increase in DA rate of teachers. More over the government was asked to give back the amount deducted from the teaching grant so as to compensate the reductions in the maintenance grant of 1948. The union authorised its president to visit Madras to submit a memorandum to the government to introduce the minimum pay for teachers and to improve their service conditions\textsuperscript{142}. The Eranad teachers union also demanded the promised increase of Rs 5. Besides, as the scarcity of food in Malabar had affected the attendance in schools, it was requested to reduce the average attendance from 20 to 15. Above all it protested against the denial of voting rights and requested to prevent the dismissal of teachers at several places\textsuperscript{143}.

C.C.Nair, the president of the MATU and E.Raman Menon the president of the Malabar district teachers guild, submitted a memorandum to the Minister and

\textsuperscript{136} Ibid, August 14,1950
\textsuperscript{137} Ibid, August 6, 1950
\textsuperscript{138} Ibid, August 21, 1950
\textsuperscript{139} Ibid, August 8, 1950
\textsuperscript{140} Ibid, April 4, May 24, 1950
\textsuperscript{141} Ibid, August 9, 1950
\textsuperscript{142} Ibid, August 31, 1950
\textsuperscript{143} Ibid, September 6, 1950
the Director to bring their attention to the teachers grievances. It highlighted the issues like, teachers security of employment, five rupee increase in salary, reduction of teaching grant for the excess payment of the maintenance grant, the grant reduction at schools where there was fee collection and the suspension of certificates with out proper enquiry\textsuperscript{144}. The Guild president declared that the government would give the two rupee increase in salary to the lower trained and also to the secondary teachers\textsuperscript{145}.

Meanwhile new office bearers were elected to the District Union. C.C.Nair and K.K. Velayudhan Adiyodi were elected president and secretary respectively. The new leadership sought clarification on the decision of the two rupee increase in teachers salary and protested against exemption of lower trained and secondary teachers from its purview. It also demanded central pay scale and DA rate to the teachers, voting right to elementary teachers and one post for the Malabar teachers in the assembly. Above all it welcomed the Tiru Kochi education programme\textsuperscript{146}.

At the same time the teachers were continued to be harassed by the managers and the department. In Kannur, the manager of Machery Mappila School gave dismissal notice to his teachers\textsuperscript{147}. At Ottappalam two teachers were dismissed after being given 5 days notice\textsuperscript{148}. Moreover the government and the department remained indifferent to the teachers who had lost their certificates\textsuperscript{149}. The special conference of the Chirakkal Taluk Teachers Union advised them to approach the court of law and the teachers and students were asked to give all help to them\textsuperscript{150}. The union continued to raise all their basic demands including the introduction of free and compulsory education\textsuperscript{151}. In the Madras Assembly, the Minister K. Madhava Menon declared the governments intention to consider the demands of the teachers\textsuperscript{152}. The government projected their financial problems.
A joint conference of taluk union councillors was held at Calicut on 20th January 1951. C.C.Nair presided over the meeting. Delegates from Chirakkal, Kottayam, Kurumbranad, Kozhikode, Eranad, Valluvanad and Ponnani taluks attended this conference. The conference hoped that a minimum pay of Rs 30, 40 and 50 would be given to the lower, higher and secondary teachers respectively till the Central Pay Commission pay was implemented. It was also decided to send a deputation under the Guild president to meet the Minister and the union was free to take any decision, if these demands were not accepted. Telegrams were sent to Minister and the president of the SITU. A memorandum was prepared to be submitted to the Madras government and decided to send its copies to the members of the legislative assembly, political leaders and news papers. The deputation under the Guild president E.Raman Menon submitted the memorandum to Education Minister.

The managers, however, refused to accept the government direction. The Kurumbranad managers association declared that it was not possible for them to give the additional amount of three rupees instead asked the government to give the full amount to the teachers. At the same time the managers were advised not to apply for the extension of the period of implementation. The association also demanded increase in the maintenance grant and its disbursement along with the teaching grant, repeal of the order for cutting the maintenance grant of the schools where there was fee collection, permission to use the fee amount for school expenditure, remittance of the managers share of the TPF by the government and the right of the managers to dismiss teachers who were detrimental to the interest of the school. At the same time the association demanded the restoration of teaching certificate after proper enquiry and the introduction of free and compulsory education. The All Malabar Aided School Managers Association also protested against the governments decision and advised the managers not to apply for extension of the period. Thus the managers rejected the government direction and refused to give the amount to the teachers. It really strained the relation between the teachers and the management. Even then, in the Madras

153 Ibid, January 22, 1951
154 Ibid, February 7, 1951
155 Ibid, March 17, 1951
156 Ibid, March 8, 1951
157 Ibid, March 9, 1951
assembly the Minister declared that it was not possible for the government to take over the schools\textsuperscript{158}.

However the union continued to highlight their basic demands. The 10\textsuperscript{th} anniversary of the Ponnani Taluk Teachers Union held at Tirur demanded the government take over of elementary education and to make it free and compulsory. It also demanded the restoration of suspended certificates and voting rights for elementary teachers to elect their representative to Madras Legislative Assembly\textsuperscript{159}. The MATU once again highlighted the issue of the suspended teachers. It recalled the certificate suspension during 1948. Out of 350 teachers about 250 teachers got their certificate back. It was pointed out that the suspension was done without sufficient cause. When the younger brother was suspended for being a communist, his elder brothers also lost his certificate. When the communist brother got his certificate back, the innocent elder brother did not get it back. Many of the teachers did not know the charges levelled against them and many others were not at all punished. After 3 years of repeated requests these teachers were advised to go for legal action. One among them had sought the help of Madras High Court. Under these circumstances teachers were advised to give financial help to them\textsuperscript{160}.

A joint meeting of the MATU executive committee and the taluk union leaders was held at Ramanattukara. It decided to send reminders to the president and the Malabar representatives in the parliament regarding the voting rights of elementary school teachers. It also asked the taluk unions to constitute defence committees to help the suspended teachers. At the same time they concluded that the issue of giving membership to the suspended teachers would be decided by the district conference\textsuperscript{161}. The Kurumbranad teachers union decided to inform the District Union that it was not possible to give membership to the suspended teachers and decided not to constitute defence committees in the taluk but to strengthen the District Defence Committee\textsuperscript{162}. According to the taluk union,
membership could not be given to the suspended teachers. The Kottayam taluk union decided to bring it to the attention of the District Union\textsuperscript{163}.

The 10\textsuperscript{th} anniversary of the MATU was held at Ramanattukara on 17\textsuperscript{th} June 1951. The conference demanded central pay scale and till then a minimum pay of Rs 30,40 and 50 to lower, higher and secondary teachers, the central rate DA and the teachers security of employment. The conference also raised the demands such as, monthly salary through Head Masters before the end of the next month, duty allowance for their service, 200 working days including teachers association meetings, one class one teacher ratio, dismissal of teachers only with the consent of the department, repeal of the G.O 1280, the government remittance of the TPF by deducting the same from the school grant and voting rights to the elementary teachers. In this context, the meeting requested SITU to direct the secondary and college teachers not to use their voting right. Above all the government was asked to abolish the private management system, take over all elementary schools and to make elementary education free and compulsory. At the same time to protest against the indifference of the government towards teachers grievances, it was decided to observe a protest day on September 1\textsuperscript{st} 1951 all over Malabar. If it was found necessary the executive committee was authorised to take a strike ballot also\textsuperscript{164}.

Meanwhile measures were adopted by the taluk union to organise the observation of the proposed protest day of 1\textsuperscript{st} September 1951 and requested the government to adopt urgent measures to redress the grievances of the teachers\textsuperscript{165}. The protest day was observed in various places like Taliparamba, Kannadiparamba, Muzhappilangad, Thalasseri, Paral, Nadapuram, Vatakara, Payyoli, Elathur and Chathamangalam. As a part of the celebration, public meetings were held in different parts of Malabar and demanded central pay scale or the promised minimum salary. To highlight the teachers security of employment, it was also requested not to dismiss teachers without the consent of the department\textsuperscript{166}. At the same time the union’s stand on the proposed salary increase was viewed with wonder because the union had itself asked the government not to compel the managers to give the additional amount of three

\textsuperscript{163} \textit{Ibid}, May 13, 1951
\textsuperscript{164} \textit{Ibid}, July 4, 1951
\textsuperscript{165} \textit{Ibid}, July 12, August 10, 1951
\textsuperscript{166} \textit{Ibid}, September 5, 1951
rupees to the teachers. Hence the Minister reminded the teachers that the managers were not running their schools with noble intentions\textsuperscript{167}. The Kottayam Taluk Teachers Union requested the government to continue the old system of giving salary directly to the teachers\textsuperscript{168}.

The government reply to the teachers memorandum was not satisfactory. So the union leaders C.C.Nair, K.K.Velayudhan Adiyodi and K.V.K Nair were authorised to inform the union’s stand to the government. Moreover each school was directed to inform their grievances to the Prime Minister, Education Minister and the Director of Education\textsuperscript{169}. Now the government revealed its stand and clearly pointed out the measures already adopted on the issues such as teachers salary, security of employment and the restoration of certificate. The government also promised to consider all the other demands of the teachers such as grant cut, PF and duty allowance for Head Masters\textsuperscript{170}.

The managers expressed their inability to run the schools and decided to close down their schools on 31\textsuperscript{st} March, 1952. Teachers were to be given dismissal notices. The government showed no inclination to take over the schools. It was under such circumstances that a special conference of the MATU was convened at Calicut.

The special conference was held on 8\textsuperscript{th} March 1952. After a long period of 4 years teachers of different political shades assembled together. Leaders who were scolding each other joined together for the cause of the teachers\textsuperscript{171}. The resolution passed by the conference highlighted the following points. It expressed regret on the government’s refusal to accept the demands raised by the Ramanattukara conference on 17\textsuperscript{th} June 1951. It also protested for not implementing promise made in the government communiqué of 5\textsuperscript{th} June 1947. From 1934 onwards the union had been demanding the abolition of the private management system and the take over of elementary education. But the government remained obstinate and failed to give sufficient salary for the teachers and proper assurance for their security of employment. Now the increase in the living expenses had made their life extremely miserable and they were not in a

\textsuperscript{167} Ibid, September 19, 1951  
\textsuperscript{168} Ibid, September 16, 1951  
\textsuperscript{169} Ibid, October 5, 1951  
\textsuperscript{170} Ibid, October 8, 1951  
\textsuperscript{171} The Desabhimani, March 10, 1952
position to continue their profession. Under these circumstances the conference declared that if their demand for the minimum salary of Rs 50 and definite security of employment was not accepted, the teachers would be compelled to struck work in the near future and the union was authorised to take further steps\textsuperscript{172}.

Meanwhile government adopted certain measures favourable to the teachers. The government had already decided to give free education to the children of government and board servants. The union argued that the government should first have introduced the same for their children\textsuperscript{173}. The North Malabar Congress Convention congratulated the step taken by the government but requested to give the same to the children of aided teachers also\textsuperscript{174}. Consequently the Madras government issued order sanctioning half fee concession in high school to the children of aided school teachers\textsuperscript{175}. Measures were also adopted to withdraw school recognition for the non-remittance of the management share of the TPF\textsuperscript{176}. But at the same time the District Union pointed out the instances of department indifference in ensuring the rights of the teachers\textsuperscript{177}.

As per the decision of the special conference at Calicut, the union submitted a memorandum to the Minister on 9\textsuperscript{th} June 1952. Besides the issue of salary increase it brought his attention on certain other points. Dismissal notices should not be given without prior sanction and teachers could be dismissed only after the final appeal verdict. The cut in the grant for the inefficiency of a teacher is not fair. The government was to deduct and remit the PF amount both from teaching and maintenance grant. Duty allowance should be given to the Head Masters. Above all the government was to prepare a statistics of unemployed trained teachers\textsuperscript{178}. The Minister discussed all these issues with the union leaders for more than two hours. He accepted the demand for teachers security of employment and promised to consider all other demands. How ever he refused to give any promise on teachers demand for salary increase\textsuperscript{179}.

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{172} Ibid, March 12, 1952
\textsuperscript{173} The Mathrubhumi, May 22, 1952
\textsuperscript{174} Ibid, June 5, 1952
\textsuperscript{175} Ibid, July 15, 1952
\textsuperscript{176} Ibid, June 11, 1952
\textsuperscript{177} Ibid, June 30, 1952
\textsuperscript{178} Ibid, June 13, 1952
\textsuperscript{179} Ibid, June 19, 1952
\end{flushleft}
The grievances of the Malabar teachers were raised in the Madras Legislative Assembly. T.C.Narayanan Nambiar who had been elected to the assembly argued that while teachers certificates were cancelled by the early government on the basis of the advice given by village congress presidents, the new Rajaji government refused to give up the grand-in-aid code introduced during the colonial period. Here it was pointed out that the salary of the teachers was less than that of the chaprasis in the secretariat. Now the Minister promised a provident fund insurance scheme for the teachers but declared that it was not possible to increase the salary of the teachers.

The demands of the teachers became a topic of heated discussion in the Madras Legislative Assembly T.C.Narayanan Nambiar argued that the government had violated its promise of 1947. But it was informed that in 1951 itself the government had given two rupees to the teachers as salary increase and the managers were directed to give the balance amount of Rs 3. How ever it was the widespread threat of school closure that compelled the government to repeal that order. But T.C.Narayanan Nambiar told that it was not possible for the teachers to live with a salary of 27 rupees. He criticised the educational policy of the government for stopping compulsory education and thereby violating the 45th article of the constitution. He found the management system an obstacle for the growth of elementary education and demanded to abolish it and to introduce central pay scale to the teachers. Dr. K.B. Menon argued that the congress ministry was retaining the same system introduced by the British. He pointed out that the government was making education a market place by encouraging private management. So he demanded the state take over of education.

An executive meeting of the MATU was held at Calicut Town Hall on 26th July 1952. It congratulated the government for granting fee concession to their children and expressed happiness on its sympathetic attitude on matters like security of employment, one class one teacher ratio, reduction of the working days

180 The Desabhimani, July 6, 1952
181 Ibid, July 11, 1952
182 Ibid
183 Ibid, July 27, 1952
184 Ibid, July 20, 1952
185 The Mathrubhumi, July 19, 1952
186 Ibid
187 The Desabhimani, July 20, 1952
188 The Mathrubhumi, July 29, 1952
and the teachers provident fund. But it protested against the government refusal to increase their salary and so decided to convene a district conference on 30th September to take a final decision189.

Regardless of protest, suspension and dismissal of teachers continued all over Malabar. The following table indicates the same.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME OF SCHOOL</th>
<th>NAME OF TEACHER</th>
<th>REASON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peruvayal school</td>
<td>Teacher dismissed</td>
<td>Change of Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meppayil school</td>
<td>Teacher dismissed</td>
<td>To appointment manager’s relative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chedicheri School</td>
<td>R.K.Devaki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karalmanna School</td>
<td>A.Ammaluamma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Varot School</td>
<td>4 Teacher dismissed</td>
<td>Absence of division class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thrikkangot School</td>
<td>Teachers dismissed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chengottur School</td>
<td>Teachers dismissed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thrichambaram School</td>
<td>Teachers dismissed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaypamangalam School</td>
<td>Teachers dismissed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meethana School</td>
<td>Teachers dismissed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vengad School</td>
<td>Teachers dismissed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nattika School</td>
<td>P.A. Mary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ponmundam School</td>
<td>Teachers dismissed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chengottur School</td>
<td>P.Gopalan Nair</td>
<td>For being a communist</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: The Mathrubhumi July 23, July 29, July 31, August 4, September 21, 1952 & The Desabhimani, March 6, March 12, May 3, July 6, July 13, August 14, September 18, 1952

All these developments very clearly showed that the policy adopted by the new government was not at all different from the earlier one. Therefore it was decided to hold a special conference at Calicut to take a final decision190. This special conference of the union was held at Calicut Town Hall on 4th October 1952. 360 delegates as one representing 20 teachers attended the meeting. A grant conference like this had not been organised after the one that was convened on the eve of the proposed strike of 1947191. C.C. Nair presided over the meeting. The conference clearly reflected the eagerness of the teachers to end their grievances they had suffered during the last five years. They must have been

189 The Desabhimani, July 29, 1952
190 The Mathrubhumi, October 4, 1952
191 The Desabhimani, October 8, 1952
influenced by the newspaper reports of the teachers agitation in Uttar Pradesh. The conference decided to take a strike ballot in November to confirm the willingness of the teachers for such an agitation and the taluk unions were asked to make it a success.

The Madras revenue Minister Manikkavelu Naikar also declared in the assembly that due to financial stringency it was not possible to increase the salary of the teachers. Now the teachers clearly realised that their methods of agitation like, request, resolutions, petitions and memorandum won’t help to redress their grievances. So they argued that it was the policy of the government that made the teachers strike inevitable.

The teachers moved ahead with their decision. Several measures were adopted to make their strike ballot a great success. Teacher squads were formed. General instruction, receipt book for union fund and ballot papers were distributed and each teacher was directed to give Rs 2 to the union fund. At certain places schools were categorised in to groups under convenors. As per prior notice distributed among the teachers, the squad activists visited the booths arranged at schools or reading rooms to conduct the ballot. They distributed ballot boxes and papers. The teacher welcomed the squad activists with great enthusiasm. Most of the teacher managers joined them. Along with the union leaders, teachers visited schools for Ballot propaganda. The strike ballot propaganda made the sleepy branch unions more active. The strike ballot was conducted from 9th to 14th of November 1952. The MATU meeting held on November 22, 1952 examined and published the result of the strike ballot. It clearly revealed that majority of the teachers were in favour of a strike. The strike ballot revealed that there was great unrest among the teachers and they were ready for any sacrifice.

192 Ibid, August 31, 1952
193 The Desabhimani, October 8, 1952
194 The Mathrubhumi, November 7, 1952
195 The Desabhimani, November 8, 1952
196 Ibid, November 7,30, 1952
197 Ibid, November 13, 1952
198 Ibid, November 15, 1952
199 Ibid, November 18, 1952
200 Ibid, November 19, 1952
201 Ibid, November 25, 1952. It was found that 13662 teachers participated in the ballot. Out of it 12138 teachers supported the strike and 1387 teachers opposed the same and the remaining 137 was declared invalid.
The restoration of certificate was an important issue raised by the teachers during this period. It was pointed out that many teachers who celebrated August 15 had lost their certificates. By about 600 teachers got their certificates cancelled or dismissed for being members of political parties. It was viewed as an assault against the civil rights and democratic education because even in Britain, the union leaders were allowed to involve in election campaigns. Moreover even though the violence was confined to North Malabar it was argued that the teachers of South Malabar also lost their certificates. These communist teachers were denied salary for the work already done. When a teacher was dismissed, the salary already given to him was deducted by the department from the salary of his brother working in another school. It was viewed as a challenge to the teachers movement and therefore the teachers were asked to resist it. The teachers were suspended on the basis of the reports given by police or local officials or those who wanted to take revenge against the teachers. V. Ramunni, the secretary of the Madras State Teachers Federation submitted a memorandum to the Minister for the restoration of the teachers certificates. He asked the teachers to provide necessary details to mobilise public opinion and to organise agitation of the same. At the same time the managers refused to readmit the teachers who lost their certificates in their schools. Finally due to the teachers agitation and popular demand, the government agreed to restore the certificates. Now V. Ramunni advised the teachers to approach the authorities. They agreed to regularise their service but refused to give the salary during the period of suspension. While the District board and municipal teachers were allowed compensation for the period of suspension, the elementary teachers were denied the same. The taluk union asked the MATU to take legal actions against the government to get the remaining certificates. Now the government agreed to speed up the restoration of the certificates. It was declared that out of 315 suspended

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202 Ibid, December 27, 1952
203 Ibid, March 1, 1952
204 Ibid, October 9, 1952
205 Ibid, March 13, 1952
206 Ibid, June 24, 1952
207 Ibid, July 30, 1952
208 Ibid, October 9, 1952
209 Ibid, October 30, 1952
certificates 221 certificates and out of 18 cancelled certificates 6 certificates had already been restored. Steps were being taken to settle the remaining cases\textsuperscript{210}.

The problem of union recognition also disturbed the teachers during this period. The government order of 1939 on union recognition was declared unconstitutional by the High Court. It was replaced by another one in 1951 which provided for the recognition of the District Union instead of taluk unions\textsuperscript{211}. But as it was questioned in the assembly it was also repealed. As there was no recognition, teachers felt that it was illegal to be the members of the union. But the union leaders pointed out that as the constitution guarantees the right of organisaiton separate recognition was not at all necessary. Above all the possibility of the formation of an elementary teachers federation of Aided Board, Municipal and Panchayath teachers was also cited in this context\textsuperscript{212}.

It was in this backdrop that the 11\textsuperscript{th} anniversary of the MATU was held at the ‘Neelakanda Nagar’ infront of the Sanskrit College Pattambi on 8\textsuperscript{th}, 9\textsuperscript{th} and 10\textsuperscript{th} of January 1953. About 4000 teachers and 375 delegates including former union leaders, teachers who were imprisoned in 1939-40 and those who lost certificates in 1948 attended the conference\textsuperscript{213}. The huge participation of teachers made it one of the greatest teachers conference after 1948\textsuperscript{214}. Teachers jathas from several places like Karivellur and Ponnani organised as a part of the conference reached the place\textsuperscript{215}. K.Kelappan in his presidential address argued that the Madras government had no definite policy in any matter and found no difference between the foreign and the independent government\textsuperscript{216}. He asked the government to accept the teachers demands and advised the union to avoid a strike. At the same time it was pointed out that he could not indicate the nature of the education policy to be adopted by the union\textsuperscript{217}. But P.R. Nambiar emphasised a scientific and popular education and advised the teachers to formulate such a scheme based on basic education deleting the unscientific aspects of the same. He argued that the teachers were actually fighting for the same and their financial

\textsuperscript{210} Ibid, December 4, 1952
\textsuperscript{211} G.O.(Education) Madras, No 416 ,24th February1939 & G.O.(Education) Madras, No 2775, 24th October 1951
\textsuperscript{212} The Desabhimani, December 9, 1952
\textsuperscript{213} Ibid, January 15, 1953
\textsuperscript{214} Vallathol Kumara Menon, op.cit, p. 78
\textsuperscript{215} The Mathrubhumi, January 16, 1953
\textsuperscript{216} Ibid, January 13, 1953
\textsuperscript{217} The Desabhimani, January 16, 1953
demand was to make it successful. He also advocated the formation of an education council represented by teachers, parents and government nominees and to bring all schools under the same management. At the same time he advised the teachers to give up some of their practices so as to reform the tradition of the Malabar Teachers Union. Above all he asked the teachers to mobilise the support of the teachers of Tamil Nadu, Andhra, and Tiru Kochi for their ensuing agitation\textsuperscript{218}.

The resolutions of the conference highlighted the following major demands of the teachers such as basic salary of Rs 50, security of employment, teachers right to participate in politics and election, restoration of certificates compensation for the suspended teachers, fixation of the school working days, duty allowance to Head Masters and above all the government take over of elementary schools\textsuperscript{219}. But the education Minister M.V. Krishna Rao who inaugurated the conference revealed the inability of the government to take over the schools, but promised to give priority to the elementary teachers, if there would be an increase in the salary of teachers\textsuperscript{220}.

Now the teachers were really in an agitative mood. It is to be noted that the 11\textsuperscript{th} conference was held at the time of the teachers agitation in Punjab\textsuperscript{221}. As their demands were rejected 14000 teachers struck work and schools remained closed in Punjab and the leaders were in a hunger strike\textsuperscript{222}. The news paper reports of the same must have influenced the Malabar teachers. So the conference congratulated the Punjab teachers and asked the government to redress their grievances\textsuperscript{223}. Thus they were in an agitative mood. If the demands were not met till 30\textsuperscript{th} April 1953, the conference decided to go for the strike as decided by the union\textsuperscript{224}. Now the taluk unions were advised to organise furca jathas and volunteer corps to mobilise public support. It was also decided to raise a strike fund by collecting 20 percentage of the salary of the teachers and also to publish a journal\textsuperscript{225}.

\textsuperscript{218} Ibid
\textsuperscript{219} The Mathrubhumi, January 12, 1953
\textsuperscript{220} Ibid
\textsuperscript{221} Ibid, January 7, 1953
\textsuperscript{222} The Desabhimani, January 13, 1953
\textsuperscript{223} The Mathrubhumi, January 13, 1953
\textsuperscript{224} The Desabhimani, January 13, 1953
\textsuperscript{225} The Mathrubhumi, January 13, 1953
At this stage the government promised to consider the teachers demands sympathetically. The education Minister indicated the governments desire to give the three rupee salary increase to the teachers, which was actually to be given by the managers so that the teachers would get an amount almost equal to those of board teachers\textsuperscript{226}.

Meanwhile the union executive committee meeting was held at Calicut Town hall on 7\textsuperscript{th} march 1953. It decided to submit a memorandum to the government highlighting minimum salary, security of employment and the restoration of certificates\textsuperscript{227}. Thus C.C.Nair, Vallathol Kumara Menon and K.K. Velayudhan Adiyodi went to Madras and submitted the memorandum and invited the attention of the Prime Minister\textsuperscript{228} on the issue of the appropriation of the teaching grant by the managers and the arbitrary dismissal of teachers in Malabar. But Rajaji threatened the teachers that the proposed strike would not effect the government but only worsen the situation. He promised to consider their grievances without affecting the interest of the managers\textsuperscript{229}. So Rajaji advised the union leaders to examine the possibility of running elementary schools on a co-operative basis. But the leaders immediately pointed out the practical difficulty involved in it\textsuperscript{230}.

The next day they also gave a memorandum to the Education Minister. But they were told that as the proposed formation of the Andhra state had upset the budget allocations it was not possible to increase their salary or even to give the promised three rupees to the teachers. He argued that famine and low salary was not a peculiarity of Malabar, but it was applicable to the whole state. Hence nothing could be done to Malabar alone. So he advised them to give up their strike decision and threatened to close the elementary schools of Malabar\textsuperscript{231}. Now the union leaders clearly realised that the government would not do anything favourable to the teachers and their grievances could be redressed only through a direct agitation\textsuperscript{232}.

\textsuperscript{226} Ibid, February 20, 1953
\textsuperscript{227} The Desabhimani, March 12, 1953
\textsuperscript{228} The Chief Minister was known as Prime Minister in those days
\textsuperscript{229} Vallathol Kumara Menon, op.cit, p. 79
\textsuperscript{230} The Mathrubhumi, March 18, 1953
\textsuperscript{231} The Desabhimani, March 22, 1953
\textsuperscript{232} Ibid
Most of the members of the legislative Assembly irrespective of their region or party affiliation promised their support to the teachers. People of all political shades admitted the reasonable demands of the teachers for minimum salary and security of employment. In the Madras Assembly T.C.Narayanan Nambiar and V.Sankaranarayana Menon vehemently attacked the government policy. Now Rajaji promised to make a direct enquiry on the service conditions and security of employment and also to provide every thing possible to the teachers. At the same time he viewed the proposed strike as a crime against the students\textsuperscript{233}.

The government’s response to the union delegation was severely criticised. The union meetings actively discussed the issue\textsuperscript{234}. It was pointed out that the Malabar teachers demanded nothing special but the salary increase and security of employment for the whole teachers of the state\textsuperscript{235}. The teachers union conferences viewed the government response disappointing and emphasised the urgent need to raise a strike fund\textsuperscript{236}. Teachers propaganda jathas were organised in different parts of Malabar. Two teachers jathas with 15 members each were organised in Chirakkal taluk\textsuperscript{237}. In view of the proposed strike Ponnani taluk union organised their furca jathas\textsuperscript{238}. Two teachers jathas were organised in Valluvanad taluk\textsuperscript{239}. These propaganda jathas of teachers were welcomed by the communist party and peasant organisation at various places and their support to the teachers agitation was promised\textsuperscript{240}.

Now the government changed its stand and agreed to restore the certificates of teachers with out police enquiry\textsuperscript{241}. The government also began to think of the possibility of constituting local committees to run the elementary schools of Malabar\textsuperscript{242}. Moreover an insurance scheme for the elementary teachers was also suggested\textsuperscript{243}. The MATU evaluated the new situation. It viewed the government proposal impractical and as an attempt to torpedo the teachers demand for the government take over of elementary schools. This move

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item\textsuperscript{233} \textit{The Mathrubhumi}, March 24, 1953
\item\textsuperscript{234} Ibid, April 1, 1953
\item\textsuperscript{235} \textit{The Desabhimani}, April 9, 1953
\item\textsuperscript{236} \textit{The Mathrubhumi}, April 10, 1953
\item\textsuperscript{237} \textit{The Desabhimani}, February 6, 1953
\item\textsuperscript{238} \textit{The Mathrubhumi}, March 20, 1953
\item\textsuperscript{239} Ibid, April 10, 1953
\item\textsuperscript{240} \textit{The Desabhimani}, April 10, 1953
\item\textsuperscript{241} Ibid, March 29, 1953
\item\textsuperscript{242} \textit{The Mathrubhumi}, April 4, 1953
\item\textsuperscript{243} \textit{The Desabhimani}, April 5, 1953
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
was also criticised as a helping hand to the crumbling management system. The union also protested against the treacherous policy adopted by the mother organisation. It declared that the teachers of Malabar were never reluctant in fulfilling their duty to the nation. It was this peculiarity that prompted them to withdraw from their strike in 1935, 39 and 1947. At the same time praise and allurement can’t inspire them to turn away from their agitation. As the time limit given to the government would expire on 30th April, it was decided to stick on to the decision of the Pattambi conference. Thus the union decided to convene a meeting of all political leaders and members of legislature and also to revive the journal of the teachers union. Moreover all teachers were asked to be ready for the agitation.

Meanwhile Rajagopalachari government proposed a new plan of education changing the whole system of elementary education in the state of Madras. It suggested half day school education and half day vocational training for the elementary school students. Accordingly circulars were sent to the meetings of the teachers associations. Thus the school time was reduced from 5 hrs to 3 hrs and there after the students were to practice their traditional occupations along with their parents. Thus it was decided to introduce the shift system by the beginning of the next academic year in all elementary schools. The morning shift was from 9 to 12.30 and the evening shift form 1 to 4.30 pm. Actually Rajagopalachari was adopting the outer form of the Basic education by rejecting the very essence of it. He had already indicated this plan in his speech of 19th July 1952. P.R. Nambiar opposed the new scheme saying that it was as attempt to implement the outdated family occupation theory to retain the children of carpenters as carpenters and the children of goldsmiths as goldsmiths. T.C.Narayanan Nambiar criticised the scheme as a measure not at all beneficial to the country and the people. He said “A major section of our students are the children of village peasants. Most of them were actually children of agricultural labourers doing manual work in the lands of janmis. As per the new scheme, the

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244 The Mathrubhumi, April 18 & The Desabhimani, April 25, 1953
245 P.R. Nambiar, op.cit, p. 130
246 The Mathrubhumi, April 29, 1953
247 Ibid, May 1, 1953
248 P.R. Nambiar, op.cit, p. 131
249 Vallathol Kumara Menon, op.cit, p. 80
250 P.R. Nambiar, op.cit, p. 131
students were to practice their traditional occupation in the free time. Therefore in Malabar where the tenancy act was to be implemented soon, the children of peasants and agricultural labourers will have to work in the land of the janmis along with their parents. In effect the new scheme will create a group of students working for the landlords with out wages\textsuperscript{251}. The Madras state elementary education conference was held as a part of the 43\textsuperscript{rd} annual conference of SITU at Mangalore, S.Natarajan, the president of the union viewed the scheme utopian and not practical\textsuperscript{252}. The conference asked the government to accept the demands of the teachers of Malabar. The MATU viewed the scheme unscientific and argued that it was not practical in Malabar and therefore asked the government to stop the implementation of the scheme\textsuperscript{253}.

A meeting of political leaders and members of the legislature was held at Ganapath High School Calicut on 25\textsuperscript{th} may 1953 to decide over the proposed strike. This meeting under C.C.Nair represented by different political parties advised the teachers not to involve in a sudden strike creating a crisis in the field of education\textsuperscript{254}. A 7 member conciliation committee was also constituted to approach the government\textsuperscript{255}. Thereafter a conference of district, taluk and branch union activist held at Ganapath High School Calicut on 30\textsuperscript{th} May 1953 accepted the request made by this meeting and decided to stop their proposed strike. At the same time it accepted the resolution of the union against the new education plan and hence decided to oppose the same\textsuperscript{256}.

At the same time, the new scheme of education began to be implemented in different parts of Malabar. It was introduced in several schools in Payyoli, Chokli, Tellicherry and Pattambi and the department gave necessary instruction for the same\textsuperscript{257}. But there were strong oppositions to the scheme. The union fought against it and the teachers were advised not to implement it in any of the schools and the people were requested to co-operate with them to defeat the scheme\textsuperscript{258}. People, students and teachers organised protest meetings and

\textsuperscript{251} The Deshabhimani, May 9, 1953
\textsuperscript{252} The Mathrubhumi, May 11, 1953
\textsuperscript{253} The Deshabhimani, May 17, 1953
\textsuperscript{254} Ibid, May 27, 1953
\textsuperscript{255} The Mathrubhumi, May 28, 1953. K.Kelappan, Dr. K.B Menon, M.P. Govinda Menon, A.K.Gopalan, A. Appu, Uppisahib and T.C.Narayanan Nambiar were its members
\textsuperscript{256} Ibid, June 1, 1953 & Vallathol Kumara Menon, op.cit, p. 83
\textsuperscript{257} The Mathrubhumi, June 5,6,11, 1953
\textsuperscript{258} Vallathol Kumara Menon, op.cit, p. 83
collected signatures to prepare mass petitions asking the government to stop the plan\textsuperscript{259}. The teachers association meetings in different parts of Malabar demanded the withdrawal of the scheme\textsuperscript{260}. Parent teachers meetings and its discussions viewed the plan unscientific and impractical\textsuperscript{261}. But the Chirakkal taluk congress conference welcomed the plan. K.Kelappan advised the teachers to test the scheme while admitting that it was not practical in Malabar\textsuperscript{262}. Moreover the Minister of education in his radio talk agreed to rectify the defects in the scheme and advised the teachers not to have any anxiety over their dismissal\textsuperscript{263}. In view of these developments the union meeting held on 13\textsuperscript{th} June 1953 decided to reconsider the union policy towards the scheme\textsuperscript{264}. Now it was felt that the union policy to continue its oppositions would lead to an untimely conflict. The teachers were advised not to continue their policy of non-co-operation to the scheme. As directed by the District Union, the taluk union repealed their old policy that the scheme should not be accepted till the required clarifications were obtained\textsuperscript{265}. However there was protest against this policy shift of the union\textsuperscript{266}. The new scheme was introduced first in rural areas\textsuperscript{267}. Basic schools were exempted from the scheme. The new plan was applicable only to the 1\textsuperscript{st} to 5\textsuperscript{th} standards classes of elementary schools. Earlier schools functioned from 10 am to 4 pm with an interval of one hour. Now shift system was introduced having two school sessions with duration of 3 hours\textsuperscript{268}. However the total working days remained 220 as earlier. The three hour school classes were divided in to 4 periods of 40 minutes with two intervals of 20 minutes. All subjects except craft and drill including languages, Maths, Natural Science, History, Geography, Health Science, Civics, Moral Instruction and Music were taught to the students. For the remaining 3 hours students were directed to acquire practical training. Thus the parents were advised to utilise their children in agriculture or in their traditional occupations or to

\textsuperscript{259} The Desabhimani, June 11, 1953
\textsuperscript{260} Ibid, June 12, 1953
\textsuperscript{261} Ibid, June 13, 1953
\textsuperscript{262} The Mathrubhumi, June 13, 1953
\textsuperscript{263} Ibid, June 20, 1953
\textsuperscript{264} Ibid
\textsuperscript{265} Ibid, June 18, 1953
\textsuperscript{266} Ibid, July 15, 1953
\textsuperscript{267} Ibid, June 30, 1953
\textsuperscript{268} Ibid, November 1, 1953. The first batch of students attended the morning session from 9 am to 12 noon and the second batch came for the evening shift from 1 pm to 4 pm. Earlier there were five or five and a half working days per week. Now Saturdays were made a working day and thus a 6 day week was introduced.
send them to the artisan centres in the village and it would help to eradicate their contempt for manual labour\textsuperscript{269}.

Even though the scheme began to be implemented in Malabar, the teachers and the people had no clear idea about the same\textsuperscript{270}. There was total confusion among the people. However it was expected that the co-operation of the teachers, leadership of the department and the propaganda through teachers association meetings would help to enforce the scheme effectively\textsuperscript{271}.

At the same time protest against the scheme continued in different parts of Malabar. Protest meetings were held at several places and the plan was ridiculed as Saniyan plan\textsuperscript{272}. There were nine schools and nearly 1000 students at Uralungan\textsuperscript{273}. The parents here protested and opposed the scheme. They criticised saying that the plan was implemented with hidden motives. They argued that high schools and colleges were assigned the task of producing scientists and technocrats whereas the poor aided schools students were to remain artisans forever\textsuperscript{274}. It was also pointed out that the students would be exploited by the contractors of the rural areas. But Rajagopalachari declared that the new scheme would actually liberate the students from the school prison\textsuperscript{275}. It was pointed out that the scheme was introduced with out any discussion in the assembly\textsuperscript{276}. The claim of occupational training was meaningless because no arrangements were made for the same\textsuperscript{277}. Above all the student attendance in the evening shift was found very bad\textsuperscript{278}. The union leader met the Director and told him that six hours and six days of teaching would affect the health of the teachers and the decrease in the learning hours would affect the quality of education. Moreover as there were schools in almost all areas of Malabar and as majority of the students were already admitted in schools, the new plan need not be imposed on Malabar\textsuperscript{279}.

\textsuperscript{269} \textit{Ibid}
\textsuperscript{270} \textit{Ibid}, June 20, 1953
\textsuperscript{271} \textit{Ibid}, June 27, 1953
\textsuperscript{272} The Desabhimani, June 20, 1953
\textsuperscript{273} \textit{Ibid}, June 18,28, 1953
\textsuperscript{274} P.R. Nambiar, op.cit, p. 131
\textsuperscript{275} The Desabhimani, June 19, 1953
\textsuperscript{276} The Mathrubhumi, July 8, 1953
\textsuperscript{277} \textit{Ibid}, July 3, 1953
\textsuperscript{278} \textit{Ibid}, July 7, 1953
\textsuperscript{279} \textit{Ibid}, July 20, 1953
But the government and the department were very firm in its stand. The communists were accused of organising people against the scheme, collecting signatures from the people and inspiring teachers to fight against it. An inspector declared that the communist were actually behind the opposition to the scheme. He threatened that those who opposed the plan would be branded as communist and that their certificates would be cancelled. The District Union decision of 13th June became a topic of controversy in their meetings. Here it was argued that though the policy of non-cooperation was repealed, the union had not decided to stop the agitation against the new plan. Therefore it was decided to observe a protest week in the first week of July and the teachers were asked to organise protest meetings, pass resolutions, collect signatures of people and parents and also to sent telegrams and mass petitions to compel the government to withdraw the plan.

Thus there was strong opposition to the new plan. The teachers, education experts, SITU, MATU, most of the district board presidents, congress president of Tamil Nadu former Chief Minister Ramaswami Raddiar, Madras Mayor and many others were against the government stand. The issue was hotly debated in the Madras Legislative Assembly. A member moved a resolution seeking to postpone the implementation of the scheme and to refer it to an expert committee. This amendment was passed with 139 against 137 votes. Now it was decided to appoint an expert committee to examine the impact of the scheme. Thus a four member committee was constituted. The committee was to study the old education system and to propose suggestions of improvement and the ways to attract more students to the school. It was also directed to make an enquiry on the new scheme and to propose suggestions for improvement. The government issued an order preventing the dismissal of teachers without three months notice.

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280 Fortnightly Report, Second Half of June 1953 and First Half of July 1953
281 The Desabhimani, June 18, 1953
282 Ibid, June 25, 1953
283 Ibid, July 5, 1953
284 The Mathrubhumi, July 30, 1953
285 Ibid, August 1, 1953
286 Ibid, August 27, 1953 Prof B.V. Parulekkar, Director, Indian Education Institute, Bombay was made its Chairman. Dr. B.B. Day (Rtd Education Deputy Director Madras) Dr. Najeeb (Vice Chancellor, Jamia Millia University Delhi) and S.Govinda Rajalu (Director of Education Madras) were the other members.
287 Ibid
and prior sanction of the department. Government also granted permission for elementary teachers to participate in elections.

Meanwhile a new leadership was elected to the MATU. The first meeting of the union adopted certain important decisions. It welcomed the assembly decision to stop the scheme and to subject the same for an expert enquiry. At the same time union pointed out that, the promise that teacher would not be dismissed in the wake of the new scheme was being violated by inspecting officers by stopping the division classes. Hence government was requested to take urgent action. It decided to give membership to those teachers whose certificates were suspended without proper enquiry. But teachers engaged in other profession or serving in the official posts of political parties should not be elected to the elected post of the union. It was decided to prepare a report about the experiences of the new scheme and so decided to collect report from all branches about the implementation of the scheme. The union also decided to constitute an expert committee of teachers and educational experts to prepare an education scheme suitable to the peculiarities of Malabar. Government was requested to make rules to deduct the salary arrears from the maintenance grant. When school recognition was repealed, government was requested to give powers to DEO’s to hand over school buildings and equipments to the school committees for the rent or price fixed by the government. Above all the union protested against the government for not allowing the financial demands of the Pattambi conference and to get it accepted by the government, it was decided to observe a ‘Basic Salary Week’ from 4th October to 11th October 1953\(^{288}\).

The MATU asked the teachers to observe the salary week and as a part of it they were advised to wear badges, organise processions and public meetings and also to submit signed petitions to the government. At the same time it requested the people to co-operate with their programme\(^{289}\). Taluk unions formulated programmes to make it a great success. Public meetings and procession were organised at several places. Teachers wearing badges raised the demands of basic salary of Rs 50 and the repeal of the new scheme in their \textit{jathas}\(^{290}\).

\(^{288}\) \textit{The Desabhimani}, September 4, 1953
\(^{289}\) \textit{Ibid}, October 3, 1953
\(^{290}\) \textit{Ibid}, October 7, 11, 13, 20, 1953
Meanwhile the Madras government adopted measures to give salary directly to the teachers. Thus provision was made to give direct salary to the teachers through the treasuries and also to deduct the managers share of the PF from their maintenance grant. At the same time it was decided to implement the scheme first in Malabar. It was the organisational strength of the teachers union that compelled the government to adopt such a decision. The MATU congratulated the government for introducing the scheme of direct payment of salary to the teachers but requested to increase their basic salary to Rs 50. At the same time the managers association argued that the attempt to introduce direct payment of salary to the teachers under the management system would create many confusions and problems. They demanded increase in their maintenance grant and asked the government to repeal the order directing the managers to give the salary of teachers whose grant was not sanctioned by the government. At the same time government had issued order directing not to make any delay in the implementation of the scheme. When it was delayed again C.C. Nair once again highlighted the case in his memorandum to the divisional inspector. Meanwhile the teachers were getting aware of the apartheid in American education and teachers agitation in France. Finally the case was raised in the Madras assembly by T.C.Narayanan Nambiar. Now the Finance Minister declared that all efforts would be taken to implement the plan for the direct payment of salary to the teachers and the officers would not be allowed to destroy the plan.

The Parulekkar committee submitted its report on 27th November 1953. It viewed the elementary education scheme introduced in the Madras state as an initiative for a new venture and also made certain important comments. The new scheme was an effort to introduce universal education with minimum expenditure. It was a practical plan to satisfy the constitutional obligation. Besides bookish knowledge, students were able to acquire practical knowledge of their occupation.

291 G.o. (Education) Madras No. 2295 Dated 28th September 1953
292 The Mathrubhumi, September 30, 1953 & The Desabhimani, November 3, 1953
293 The Desabhimani, October 15, 1953
294 The Mathrubhumi, October 24, 1953
295 Ibid, November 12, 1953
296 The Desabhimani, November 4, 1953
297 Ibid, December 16, 1953
298 Ibid, November 1,10, 1953
299 Ibid, December 25, 1953
and also the sense of dignity of labour. The committee also made certain recommendations such as revision and renewal of methods of education, universal education, increasing the number of schools and students, extension of the scheme to municipalities and sufficient salary to the teachers\textsuperscript{300}.

The teachers opposed the new scheme as well as the Parulekar committee report. As it would reduce the number of teachers leading to dismissal, the teachers meeting at Karivellur asked the government to reject the report\textsuperscript{301}. In various union meetings the government was asked to reject the report\textsuperscript{302}.

Inspite of opposition C.Rajagopalachari determined to implement the new education scheme. There was widespread protest against the scheme in Tamil Nadu. Arrest and police firing took place at several places. Rajagopalachari ministry resigned and it was decided to form a new one under Kamaraja Nadar. The Education Minister C. Subramaniam stated in the Assembly that, Rajagopalachari plan would be replaced and the old scheme reintroduced in June 1954. It was also decided to appoint a committee to make an enquiry on the elementary education of the state. But he emphasised the revision of the teachers salary and the introduction of free and compulsory education and argued that the scheme was actually an initial step to convert all Elementary Schools in the basic scheme\textsuperscript{303}. The opposition wing in the Assembly including the socialist and the communists congratulated the government.

It was then that a long standing demand of the union was met. The government issued necessary orders to distribute the salary of aided teachers through the treasuries near their schools\textsuperscript{304}. Accordingly 19607 aided teachers of 3386 schools began to get their salary directly. But the teachers had to assemble and rush at the treasuries to collect their salary. As there was not sufficient staff in the treasuries, it was found very difficult to disburse the salary. Hence a request was made to appoint more staff in the treasuries\textsuperscript{305}. But it is to be noted that the scheme was actually the result of the teachers agitation in Malabar because in the Madras state, the scheme was introduced only in the district of Malabar\textsuperscript{306}.

\textsuperscript{300} The Mathrubhumi, November 28, 1953 & The Desabhimani, November 28, 1953
\textsuperscript{301} The Desabhimani, January 2, 1954
\textsuperscript{302} Ibid, January 15,22,26, February 6,11, 1954
\textsuperscript{303} The Mathrubhumi, May 19, 1954
\textsuperscript{304} Ibid, January 29, 1954
\textsuperscript{305} Ibid, February 17 , 1954
\textsuperscript{306} Vallathol Kumara Menon, op.cit, p. 88
The Madras government had adopted several measures to ensure the security of employment of teachers. But the managers had their own way to violate it and continued to dismiss the teachers. It was in this backdrop an order was issued by the Director on 17-01-1953 preventing the dismissal of teachers without 3 months notice and the prior consent of the department. It put the manager in great difficulty. But they found a provision in it permitting them to suspend teachers for 3 months in urgent situations. It became a weapon in their hand and they suspended the teachers and refused to reinstate them. The Azheekode school issue was one such development. Here 3 teachers were suspended and later dismissed by the manager. The Chirakkal Taluk Teachers Union expressed anxiety over this issue and requested the interference of the department and the government. The manager who got the support of his association refused to repeal his order. The union also realised that the department was also supporting him. Thus it was decided to observe an ‘Azheekode School Day’ on 6th February 1954. Meanwhile North Malabar DEO gave directions to the manager to reinstate the teachers. Hence the union gave up the decision. At the same time the manager neglected the department order. The attitude of the manager was questioned even in the Madras Assembly. But teachers continued to be dismissed in different parts of Malabar. At Chennamangalam N.K. Narayani was dismissed. The manager of Kuhimangalam Gopal Higher Elementary School gave dismissal notice to four teachers of his school. Two teachers of Madayi South Elementary School were dismissed by the advice of the Deputy Inspector. They were the first victims of the new scheme and Parulekar committee report. Based on the circular of average attendance two teachers of Maniyur North Aided School and one teacher of Thurayur Aided School was given dismissal notice by the manager. The Azheekode issue remained unsettled and teachers of several schools began to get dismissal orders. The MATU meeting held at Calicut expressed anxiety over the dismissal of the teachers in different parts of Malabar. With a view to bring the attention of the government and the public on this issue and also to put an end to

307 The Desabhimani, January 22, 1954
308 Ibid, February 4, 1954
309 The Mathrubhumi, March 27, 1954
310 The Desabhimani, February 6, 1954
311 Ibid, February 27, 1954
312 The Mathrubhumi, March 23, 1954
the education crisis in Malabar, it was decided to observe an ‘Anti-dismissal day’ on 17th July 1954 all over Malabar. The teachers were asked to organise public meetings and processions on that day. As per the call of the District Union the anti dismissal day was successfully celebrated throughout Malabar from Chirakkal taluk to Palakkad. Public meetings were held at several places to express anxiety over the dismissal of teachers and requested the government to take up the issue. Finally the District Board under P.T. Bhaskara Panikker saved these teachers by appointing them in the board service.

The Elementary School teachers began to get their salary directly. But there were several problems in the disbursement of salary. The Treasury officers very often took an unsympathetic attitude towards the teachers. The teachers who came from long distances had to go back disappointed after hours of waiting. Many complaints in the payment of salary in treasuries continued to be raised.

It was at that time the demand for the appointment of an Elementary Education Commission was raised. The All India Primary Teachers Federation submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister requesting to incorporate free and compulsory education as a part of the Second Five Year Plan. Moreover the Central Government invited the attention of the state government on the unsatisfactory salary scale of the elementary teachers. Above all Dr. Amaranath Jha the president of the federation of All India Educational Association criticised the government for its unnecessary interference in the field of education and argued that if the teachers were made unhappy no plan of national development could be successful.

Now the government decided to constitute a committee to suggest the changes to be introduced in the field of elementary education and also to suggest the ways to make it universal. Thus a six member committee was constituted with R.M. Alakappa Chettiar as its Chairman. The committee had to suggest the

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313 Ibid, July 1, 1954
314 The Deshabhimani, August 13, 1954
315 P.R. Nambiar, op.cit, p. 234
316 The Mathrubhumi, October 29, 1954
317 Ibid, June 25, 1954
318 Ibid, July 8, 1954
319 Ibid, August 24, 1954
320 The Deshabhimani, October 23, 1954
321 The Mathrubhumi, November 23, 1954
ways to make elementary education universal as envisaged by the constitution, methods to improve elementary education, means to attract students to schools and also the steps to make Elementary Schools as basic schools\textsuperscript{322}. It was criticised in the legislative council that the members of the committee were not competent to make recommendations on educational matters. Malabar having more Elementary Schools in the state was not given representation in the committee\textsuperscript{323}. The MATU protested against the non-representation in the committee and requested to include its nominee in the committee\textsuperscript{324}. The Taluk Unions in Kozhikode, Ponnani and Chirakkal also protested against this decision\textsuperscript{325}.

The Teachers Union was very active during this period. The MATU meeting held at Calicut congratulated the government for the withdrawal of the scheme but asked the government to nominate its representative to the proposed committee. When the government decided to appoint secondary trained teachers as Head Masters of Elementary School having more than 4 teachers, the union asked the government to appoint them only in the new vacancies and also to avoid the possibility of dismissing the existing teachers. The union demanded the redress of their grievances related to the payment of salary and also to give the increased salary to the lower trained teachers also\textsuperscript{326}. Realising the financial situation, the Valluvanad Teachers Union asked the government to advise the managers not to collect fee in Elementary Schools\textsuperscript{327}. The newly elected union council was held at Ganapath High school Calicut. C.C. Nair was elected president of the union. By that time the union had a membership of 11,110 teachers with one rupee membership fee\textsuperscript{328}. The MATU also protested against the common grant cut for the minor faults in the annual examination and also demanded the right of explanation and appeal in such cases\textsuperscript{329}. When there arose a controversy regarding the number of working days in the Elementary Schools, the union resolved it and declared that there would be 220 working days including

\textsuperscript{322} \textit{Ibid}, November 25,26, 1954  M.Arunachalam, K.Arunachalam, Meenakshisundaram Mudaliyar, S.Gopala Krishnan and the Director of Education were the other members of the committee
\textsuperscript{323} \textit{Ibid}, December 4, 1954
\textsuperscript{324} \textit{Ibid}, December 9, 1954
\textsuperscript{325} \textit{Ibid}, November 18, January 15, 1955
\textsuperscript{326} \textit{Ibid}, July 1, 1954
\textsuperscript{327} \textit{The Desabhimani}, August 7, 1954
\textsuperscript{328} \textit{The Mathrubhumi}, October 5, 1954
\textsuperscript{329} \textit{Ibid}, December 9, 1954
the teachers associations meetings. When many of the elementary teachers failed to get the increased salary of 3 rupees the union raised it in the Madras Assembly.

This period witnessed efforts to unify teachers union activities and to bring teachers working under different agencies in a single union. The most prominent among them was the MATU. The District Board Elementary Teachers Union was not so active and could not do their work continuously. But when it got a new leadership in 1953 it became more active. The elementary teachers of Kannur, Tellicherry, Calicut and Palakkad municipalities had their own associations. They came together under P.K. Nambiar and formed the Malabar Municipal Teachers Union. It was more active than the board Teachers Union. Now there arose a desire to form a common association for the elementary teachers of Malabar. Thus some of the branches of Aided Teachers Union proposed a common union. All the union in Malabar had been opposing different management system and different scales of salary in the field of elementary education. The government take over of elementary education was their common demand. It was also found necessary to formulate a common policy of elementary education. Under these circumstances the meeting of the Kurumbranad taluk Board Teachers Union held at Quilandy on 15-11-1953 passed a resolution for the unification of all elementary Teachers Union and invited the attention of all teachers on this matter. At first the Board Elementary Teachers and Aided Elementary Teachers decided to work together in common association. The teacher under the municipalities promised to join them later. Thus a joint meeting of Aided and Board Teachers Union was held at Ganapath High School Calicut on 10th May 1954. The possibilities of the formation of the Malabar Elementary School Teachers Federation were discussed and C.C. Nair was authorised to achieve this objective.

Another desirable change was in the very nature of the Teachers Union. The union which had been criticising government schemes and also raising the economic issues of the teachers began to think about a separate elementary education policy. Vallathol Kumara Menon prepared an elementary education policy.

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331 The Desabhimani, December 14, 1954
332 P.R. Nambiar, op.cit, p. 235
333 The Desabhimani, December 1, 1953
334 Vallathol Kumara Menon, op.cit, p. 96
plan for the union and presented it in the 13th annual conference of the Ponnani Taluk Union held at Valancherry. Many participated in the discussion that followed. Chirakal Taluk Teachers Union also prepared and discussed such a scheme of elementary education.

The Elementary Education Commission was constituted to make proposals to introduce universal education within a period of 10 years as envisaged by the constitution. R.M. Alakappa Chettiar, a mill owner was its Chairman and all of its members were the supporters of the Rajaji plan. The MATU and the SITU were not given representation in the committee. The Chettiar committee as a part of its enquiry and study prepared and distributed a questionnaire that focused on the aim, structure, curriculum, inspection, buildings, managers, teachers and public support. Though not represented in the committee, the MATU decided to respond to the questionnaire. It was decided to submit a uniform reply to the commission. It was also decided to submit a memorandum based on it to the Chettiar Committee during their visit to Malabar. The Malabar Teachers Guild also decided to prepare answers to the questionnaire of the Elementary Education Commission.

During this period the payment of salary once again became a problem for the teachers of Malabar. It was the continuous agitation of the teachers that prompted the government to introduce the direct salary scheme. Thus from January 1954 onwards teachers salary was distributed directly through the treasuries. However, it created several difficulties and problems and thus several complaints were raised. Now the government decided to send their salary as M.O from January 1955. Thus the Director of Education issued the necessary proceedings on 5th February 1955. At the same time it was decided to abolish the additional post in the Treasury. It was misinterpreted and the last instalment of the teaching grant of 1954 was withheld. It created so much difficulties and C.C. Nair asked the government to take urgent steps. Telegrams were sent to the

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335 Ibid. P.K. Korumaster, a renowned education expert, presided over the meeting. Several leaders such as M.P. Govinda Menon, Vidwan C.H. Kumaran, K.Bheeman Nair, C.C.Nair, M.Ramakrishnan, T.Sankaran Nair, K.N.Balan, and G.T.Ookken participated in the discussion. M.P. Govinda Menon alone opposed the scheme. C.C. Nair declared that the District Union was preparing a scheme and refused to comment on the one presented in the conference.

336 The Mathrubhumi, January 31, 1955

337 Ibid, February 12, 1955

338 The Desabhimani, February 13, 1955
government, members of the legislative Assembly and also to the SITU. T.C.Narayanan Nambiar raised the issue in the Madras Assembly and argued that 16000 teachers were put in great difficulty in Malabar. The Minister of Education promised to take necessary steps and directions were given to the treasuries to release the salary of the teachers. But when the government decided to send the teachers salary by M.O, they were directed to remit their share of PF themselves instead of the earlier practice of department deduction. Thus the government decision actually endangered the PF benefit already obtained by the teachers. V.K. Menon argued that as the Post Offices were not ready to accept the PF amount from the teachers separately without the amount to be remitted by the managers, the teachers would be compelled to remit the whole PF amount and those who refused would be dismissed by the managers. Thus he viewed the government direction as an official attempt to appease the managers of Malabar. Hence Taluk Unions were advised to pass resolutions requesting the government to take the full responsibility of the TPF by sending teachers salary after deducting their share and deducting the managers share from their maintenance grant. He also requested the District Union and the Guild to take necessary steps.

The MATU discussed this issue and refused to pass a resolution and instead decided to submit a memorandum to the government.

Certain other measures adopted by the government during this period also affected the teachers. The government decided to stop the salary of the teachers of the schools which were converted as basic schools. It was made on the ground that they had no basic training. Their willingness to undergo basic training was not considered. The Kottayam Taluk Teachers Union protested against it, asked the government to repeal the order and to give the teachers an opportunity for retraining. It was during the same period that the government proposed the gradual replacement of elementary grade teachers with secondary trained teachers in Elementary Schools. It was with this motive that the 3 rupee salary increase was denied to the elementary grade teachers. At the same time the

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339 The Mathrubhumi, February 12, 1955
340 The Deshabhimani, February 15, 1955
341 The Mathrubhumi, February 16, 1955 The Deshabhimani, February 15, 1955
342 The Deshabhimani, February 15, 1955
343 The Mathrubhumi, February 25, 1955
344 Ibid, February 17, 1955
345 Ibid, February 24, 1955
Madras government adopted certain steps favourable to the teachers. Thus it was decided to exempt all poor students irrespective of their caste from school fees. Moreover the Minister of education informed the Assembly that necessary directions were given to send the salary of the teachers by M.O, but expressed the inability of the government to bear the charge for the same.

Meanwhile education and the grievances of the teachers became a widely discussed topic. The All Indian Education Conference held at Patna emphasised free and compulsory education, sufficient salary for the teachers, Civil and political rights of the teachers, their representation in the policy making bodies and also an allocation of 25 percentage of the state budget and 15 percentage of the central budget for education. The All India Primary Teachers Federation requested the president to make an amendment to the constitution to include education in the concurrent list to enable the introduction of free and compulsory education. Under the auspices of the Kozhikode Town Teachers Union, the All India Primary Teachers Day was observed at Ganapath High School Calicut and demanded more budget allocation for education.

The aided primary school teachers were not given pension benefits. But their demand for the same was realised when C.Subramanian, the Minister of education declared in the Assembly that all elementary teachers would be given ¼ of their salary as pension benefit and it would be enforced on April 1st, 1955. Though the compulsory insurance was very helpful to the teachers, many of them refused to utilise this benefit. Hence the government also promised to think of remitting this amount from the PF. Thus the Aided teachers and Board teachers were given the same status of the government teachers at least after their retirement. Thus one demand of the teachers agitation got materialized.

Meanwhile it was decided to organise the 13th annual conference of the MATU at Tellicherry. Active arrangements were made to make it a great success. A huge panthal with a sitting capacity for 8000 teachers was raised. Separate

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346 Ibid, February 27, 1955
348 Ibid, January 1,3, 1955
349 Ibid, January 8, 1955
350 Ibid, January 11, 1955
351 Ibid
352 The Desabhimani, April 12, 1955
accommodation was arranged for women\textsuperscript{353}. In connection with the conference two Mail Trains were permitted to stop at Temple Gate Railway Station\textsuperscript{354}. The school managers were allowed to declare these days as compensatory holidays\textsuperscript{355}. Various competitions for both teachers and students such as short story, poetry and essay writing were also conducted\textsuperscript{356}.

The conference was held at Sreenarayana Nagari near Temple Gate Tellicherry on 8\textsuperscript{th}, 9\textsuperscript{th} and 10\textsuperscript{th} April 1955. It was reported that: “More than 6000 teachers including the union activists of the past and present were found seated on their feet in the beautifully decorated panthal. Prominent personalities of different political shades, political leaders who never come together, many government officials, especially that of the education department and also a large number of workers in Tellicherry attended the meeting. The Education Minister C.Subramanian inaugurated the meeting. T.P. Sreenivasa Varadan, the president of the SITU, the oldest teacher association in India presided over the conference. The Teachers Union leaders like T.C.Narayanan Nambiar who became a communist leader of Malabar and P.M.Kunhiraman Nambiar who rose to the leadership of PSP, C.C. Nair who always stood with teachers movement without being involved in any party politics attended the conference. K.P. Kuttikrishnan Nair the former Minister and V.R. Krishna Iyyar, an independent MLA were also there on the dias”\textsuperscript{357}.

The following were the main demands that were raised in the conference: a salary scale of Rs 80-5-100-7-170 to secondary teachers and Rs 60-4-80-5-130 to the higher trained teachers; avoid the delay in the payment of salary due to the M.O system and the government to bear its charge also; voting right for elementary teachers in teachers constituencies, repeal of the order preventing teachers from politics and election; end the practice of average attendance by adopting one teacher for one class; 3 rupee salary increase to elementary teachers also; department deduction of the PF amount; teachers right to carry over

\textsuperscript{353} \textit{Ibid}, April 8, 1955
\textsuperscript{354} \textit{The Mathrubhumi}, April 3, 1955
\textsuperscript{355} \textit{Ibid}, April 6, 1955
\textsuperscript{356} \textit{The Desabhimani}, April 8, 1955
\textsuperscript{357} \textit{Ibid}, April 12, 1955. The conference clearly proved that the teachers movement in Malabar had attained its phase of youth. It was argued that the teachers could mobile a whole mass of people behind their issues, with their grant organisational tactics. They could integrate their issues with the common national demand and got it accepted by all sections of people
their leave, 200 working days including teachers association meetings; fee concession up to high school classes and mid-day meals and study materials to poor students\textsuperscript{358}.

The Chettiar Committee which was appointed to propose a new education policy visited Malabar during the third week of April\textsuperscript{359}. Teachers association, managers and several prominent personalities met the commission at Palaghat. They emphasised free and compulsory education, the enhancement of the teachers salary and also the government take over of elementary education. The memorandum submitted by E.H. Parameswarn for the District Teachers Guild emphasised teachers security of employment and a salary scale of Rs 75-5-150 plus allowance to secondary trained teachers, Rs 50-2-90 plus allowance to higher trained teachers and Rs 50 plus allowance to lower trained teachers. At the same time it demanded the abolition of private management system and the government take over of elementary education to enforce the 45\textsuperscript{th} article of the constitution. The municipal Teachers Union also demanded the take over of elementary education by the government\textsuperscript{360}. At the same time the managers association argued that direct payment of salary to the teachers actually curtailed their influence and it affected the discipline and maintenance of Elementary Schools\textsuperscript{361}.

The common reply to the questionnaire of Chettiar Commission already prepared by the MATU and DBTU was also submitted. The proposals contained in it were actually helpful to give a national and progressive content for education and also for the democratisation of educational institutions\textsuperscript{362}. T.C.Narayanan Nambiar submitted a memorandum to the Chettiar Committee on 19\textsuperscript{th} April 1955. It rejected the emphasis given by the government to basic education, but admitted its emphasis on patriotism, love for mother tongue and emphasis on manual labour. Above all the memorandum demanded the repeal of the ban against teachers politics\textsuperscript{363}. He also submitted a detailed reply to the questionnaire of the Chettiar Committee which contained the proposals of the CPI of Malabar. It touched all aspects of elementary education - aims and objectives, structure, curriculum,

\textsuperscript{358} The Mathrubhumi, April 14, 1955
\textsuperscript{359} Ibid, April 17, 1955
\textsuperscript{360} Ibid, April 25, 1955
\textsuperscript{361} Ibid
\textsuperscript{362} Vallathol Kumara Menon, op.cit, p. 99
\textsuperscript{363} The Desabhimani, April 22, 1955
management, teachers, building and equipment, inspection, public support and also certain general proposals\textsuperscript{364}.

The Chettiar Committee submitted its report on 2\textsuperscript{nd} October, the Gandhi Jayanthi day\textsuperscript{365}. It made the following recommendations. The state was to take measures to provide free and compulsory education to all children up to the age of 14. As an initial step all villages with a population between 300 and 500 were to be provided with an Elementary School. Gradually primary education was to be converted to the basic scheme. Students were to be admitted in the schools at the age of 5. Free mid-day meals and study material were to be provided. English was to be made compulsory between 5\textsuperscript{th} and 8\textsuperscript{th} standards. The students were allowed to learn cottage industries, but it was not made compulsory. Regional Boards were to be constituted to supervise elementary education in the state. It would function for a period of 3 years. It will have the nominees of the government, District Board and panchayats. It would manage the board and panchayath schools also. In future only these boards and municipalities would have the right to open new Elementary Schools. These boards should not have more than 200 schools under their control. For inspection, the board could appoint Elementary School supervisors. The schools under private individuals should have properly constituted managing committees including a government nominee\textsuperscript{366}. The report recommended to stop fee collection in Elementary Schools, appointment of mistress in lower standards, special schools for the disabled and also to avoid religious instruction during the school hours\textsuperscript{367}. Above all it recommended the appointment of a committee to propose desirable changes in the curriculum and to continue the system of public examination in the 8\textsuperscript{th} standard.\textsuperscript{368} The SITU welcomed the recommendation of the Regional Board to supervise elementary education; but argued that more clear suggestion could have been made to improve the salary and the position of the teachers\textsuperscript{369}. The

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\textsuperscript{364} Ibid, April 25, 1955

\textsuperscript{365} The Mathrubhumi, October 15, 1955

\textsuperscript{366} Ibid, The Desabhimani, October 15,16, 1955

\textsuperscript{367} The Mathrubhumi, October 22, 1955

\textsuperscript{368} The Desabhimani, October 16, 1955. Mathrubhumi on 29\textsuperscript{th} October declared that in effect the Rajaji plan was given up and argued that there was nothing new in the Alakappa Committee report. It further pointed out that the committee failed to make proposal on important matters like sufficient salary to the teachers, attracting efficient teachers to the field of education and the importance of Hindi in elementary schools.

\textsuperscript{369} The Mathrubhumi, November 22, 1955
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Teachers Union in Malabar also opposed the report. It was argued that the members of the committee were not much related to elementary education. Though Alakappa Chettiar, a wealthy mill owner could give financial assistance to several educational institutions, he was not at all competent to be the Chairman of the committee. The representatives of the organised teachers movement were not included in the committee. Hence it failed to suggest proposals capable of making meaningful changes in the field of education or to improve the service conditions of the teachers. Therefore the MATU opposed the report. Adhyapakan in an editorial wrote “Even when a committee was appointed, the Teachers Union in Malabar had pointed out that the committee with certain elites having no connection in the field of elementary education could not do anything effectively in the field of elementary education. It is known to all that a committee with certain members who never got an opportunity to understand the pulse of villages could not plan a scheme imbibing the demands and aspirations of the villagers. Only those who are in touch with elementary education can make desirable proposals for the required changes in this subject. The Madras government closed its eyes on this important point and the result was a report which could not satisfy the educational experts and in effect became a useless one. The committee had no courage or farsightedness to accept a desirable and urgent proposal for the abolition of private management system and the take over of elementary education by the government. Teachers conferences continued to oppose the Alakappa Committee report. At the same time they wished to formulate a new educational system suitable to an independent nation and requested the co-operation of the people to implement the same. Students conferences also demanded a thorough change in the field of elementary education.

The aided teachers were facing many other grievances during this period. They were getting their salary every month as M.O from January 1955. But they got it only after much waiting. The M.O sent by the DEO reached the branch Post Offices only on 30th or later. Due to the shortage of staff it was delayed in the Post Offices at the taluk head quarters. The non availability of sufficient fund created

370 The Deshabhimani, December 13, 1955
371 Ibid, October 16, 1955
372 P.R. Namblar, op.cit, p. 134
373 The Deshabhimani, December 13, 1955
some more delay in the branch Post Offices. Thus most of the teachers had to go and wait at the Post Offices to collect their salary. The teachers had another grievance while the government and municipal teachers were getting HRA, the same was denied to the elementary teachers. The issue was raised in the Madras Assembly. But it was reported that the same had not been sanctioned to them\textsuperscript{374}. The corruption in the education department had also disturbed the teachers. Therefore the union sent petition against the corruption practiced in the office of the Deputy Inspector\textsuperscript{375}. At the same time the government also adopted a hostile attitude towards the teachers. The teachers who participated in the anti-imperialist struggle were victimised. Thus V.P. Narayanan of Athirakam Higher Elementary School, P. Govindan Nair of Narath Higher Elementary School and C.K. Panikker of Parassinikkadav Higher Elementary School were denied their salary\textsuperscript{376}.

When the CPI adopted the BTR thesis in 1948 the government had initiated a witch hunt on the communist. Many of the teachers sympathetic to the communists got their certificates suspended or were dismissed. Many others were imprisoned. Actually it was a period of oppression. However by 1951, these teachers once again became active in the union. But the union leadership was not happy about these developments. They retained their old political animosity towards them. Even after two years of union work, they were not allowed to work sincerely along with their colleagues. It actually infuriated the teachers. They realised that the leadership was more interested in retaining their position than to protect the interest of the teachers. Therefore protest and opposition against the leadership appeared here and there\textsuperscript{377}. This anti communist policy was promptly followed by the Taluk Unions also. It was reflected in an incident during the period\textsuperscript{378}. Vallathol Kumara Menon and K Kunhikrishnan Nambiar, two prominent leaders of the teacher movement were selected to the education committee of the District Board. Now the Ponnani Taluk Teachers Union conference adopted a resolution congratulating the Board president for the same. P.T. Bhaskara Panikker was the president of the District Board at that time. But the resolution was opposed. If it was placed for voting it would have been passed. But to retain

\textsuperscript{374} The Mathrubhumi, August 8, 1955
\textsuperscript{375} The Desabhimani, June 6, 1955
\textsuperscript{376} Ibid, July 23, 1955
\textsuperscript{377} Vallathol Kumara Menon, op.cit, p. 98
\textsuperscript{378} Ibid
unity among the teachers, the resolution was withdrawn. Thus the progressive wing of the teachers tried their best to avoid the schism of 1948. They always emphasised the unity among the teachers. In the annual conference of the Palakkad Taluk Teachers Union T.C.Narayanan Nambar explained the oppression confronted by the teachers movement and viewed all their achievements as the result of their unity and organisational strength.\(^379\)

The government also adopted measures to crush the progressive wing of the teachers movement. The proceedings No. 941(b) dated 31-08-1955 issued by the Director of Education clearly revealed the same. The Deputy Inspector issued circular based on it. The teachers Association meetings got this order from the department threatening that all teachers involved in communist activities would be punished on the basis of article 145 of the MER. At the same time the action against teachers involved in the activities of other political parties was not mentioned.\(^380\)

A poem entitled ‘The Teacher’s Voice’ published in Desabhimani clearly reflected spirit of opposition of the teachers. It reminded the teachers tradition of anti-imperialist struggle and warned the government that if they were united, all their oppressive measures would be destroyed.\(^381\) The Chirakkal Taluk Teachers Union declared that the circular based on new order refused the civil right of the teacher and in view of the old experience it would be more harmful to the teachers. Hence it demanded the repeal of the order and all branches were asked to pass protest resolution and to send the same to the government. As it was a violation of the civil right guaranteed by the constitution, to ensure the legal validity of the order, the District Union was requested to submit a writ file in the Madras High Court.\(^382\) The Taluk Union once again emphasised the teachers right to involve in

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\(^379\) The Desabhimani, December 25, 1955
\(^380\) Ibid, October 10,23, 1955. The article of P.R.Nambiar published in Desabhimani clearly traced the background of the political rights enjoyed by the teachers of Malabar. Even during the colonial period, the teachers were allowed to become members of political parties and also to involve in political activities. But the congress ministry of 1938 prohibited this right. Due to strong opposition, teachers were allowed to become members of political parties. But they expected much after independence. As the teachers movement became more vigorous. Madras government once again prohibited teachers politics and oppressed the teachers. Strong popular agitation compelled the government to withdraw their oppressive measures. The teachers of Malabar played an important role in defeating the education programme proposed by Rajaji. The same person who once eulogised and implemented the plan was the education Minister at that time. P.R argued that he was trying to use the same old weapon against the teachers

\(^381\) Ibid, November 6, 1955. See appendix X

\(^382\) Ibid, November 17, 1955
politics and demanded the repeal of the order that threatened the teachers involved in politics to be punished on the basis of the article 154 of the Madras Education Rule383. The Kozhikode taluk teachers union opposed the order384. The order was really used by the government to threaten the teachers. When it was reported that the Valluvanad Taluk Teachers Conference discussed not only educational matters but political matters also, the government warned the teachers about the order against politics. When questioned in the Assembly the Minister replied that only a warning was given to the teachers and no action was taken against them385.

It was the period of Aikya Kerala movement. The teachers could not neglect the same. In a meeting of Fort Kochi Teachers Union Vallathol Kumara Menon emphasised the special responsibility of the teachers in the formation of an Aikya Kerala State and refuted the baseless anxiety of certain teachers that a united Kerala would be against the interest of the teachers of Malabar and advised the teachers to rise to the occasion386. The Ponnani Taluk Teachers Union welcomed the recommendation of the High Power Committee for the formation of the Kerala state387. In the annual conference of the board Teachers Union T.C.Narayanan Nambiar argued that no government in the Aikya Kerala State can neglect the benefits enjoyed today by the teachers of Malabar388.

The Kozhikode Taluk Teachers Union welcomed the recommendation of the High Power Committee to form Kerala state389. At the same time some of the teachers were also anxious that they might lose their existing privileges. But T.C.Narayanan Nambiar declared that as the teachers movement in Malabar was very powerful, no government could refuse the benefits already enjoyed by them390. The Valluvanad Taluk Teachers Union welcomed the efforts for the linguistic reorganisation of the states and asked the Central Government to incorporate all Malayali majority areas including Gudallur within the proposed state of Kerala391.

383 Ibid, December 11, 1955
384 Ibid, December 13, 1955
385 Ibid, November 22, 1955
386 Ibid, November 22, 1955
387 Ibid, December 13, 1955
388 Ibid, December 30, 1955
389 Ibid, December 13, 1955
390 Ibid, December 30, 1955
391 Ibid, May 12, 1956
Meanwhile it had been decided to convene a joint meeting of the executive members of the MATU and Malabar District Board Elementary Teachers Union at Ganapath High school, Calicut on 15th January 1956 itself to form a common association for the aided teachers of Malabar. P.T. Bhaskara Panikker, the president of the District Board, gave all guidance for the same. Thus the joint meeting of board and aided teachers held at Ganapath High School, Calicut formed the Malabar District Elementary Teachers Federation with C.C. Nair as the president and Kambalat Govindan Nair as its secretary. An executive committee consisting of both board and aided teachers was also constituted. A three member committee was selected to prepare a constitution for the federation. It was decided to incorporate the municipal teachers also with in the union. There were 5 municipalities in Malabar. Among them Kozhikode and Tellicherry had their own union. The federation asked the other municipalities to form their own union and all the municipalities were asked to send three representatives each to the federation. Thus later the Municipal School Teachers Union in Malabar also joined the federation. The MATU decided to publish their journal, Adhyapakan as the journal of the new organisation. Thus the journal of the Aided Teachers Union which was published at Kannur under K.V.Kunhikkannan Nair became the journal of the federation and began to be published at Calicut from December 1956 with P.K. Nambiar as its editor. The federation also decided to work together to make the ‘advance grant day’ of the board teachers and the ‘anti-private management day’ of the aided teachers a great success. Teachers responded to it and made preparations to observe these days effectively. Thus the federation asked the teachers to make the ‘advance grant day’ a great success. Now the general secretary of the MATU called up on the teachers to co-operate with the same and to fulfil their obligation towards a sister organisation. Thus the ‘advance grant day’ was observed all over Malabar. Joint meetings and jathas of Aided and Board teachers were held at several places like, Payyannur, Perambra and Kondotty. On such an occasion T.K.Kakkunni Nambiar, the
secretary of the Ponnani Taluk Teachers Union argued that even though the issues of board and aided teachers were different, their basic issue was one and the same. M.P. Govinda Menon declared that if the teachers were pushed to poverty, then the government would be responsible for it. Teachers meetings in different parts of Malabar passed resolutions and asked the Madras government to sanction the advance grant. As the Minister failed to fulfil his promise of advance grant, the government was requested to sanction the same to ensure the proper payment of salary to the teachers.

The Aided School managers of Malabar continued to harass the teachers. There was unjust dismissal at several places. At certain places the teachers were even physically assaulted.

The teachers who were demanding their security of employment had to face another serious threat to their objective. Three teachers of Azheekode South Higher Elementary School had been suspended without prior consent from the department. Consequently the DEO and the Divisional Inspector issued an order to withdraw the recognition of the school. But the manager Kammaran Gurkkal questioned the validity of the same in the Madras High Court. The High Court in its judgment declared their order invalid. This judgment prompted many managers to dismiss their teachers.

In view of the High Court judgment on the Azheekode school case and the union memorandum pertaining to it, certain amendments were made in the provision 13(2) of the recognition rules so as to protect the interest of the teachers. Accordingly the government issued an order on 24th March 1956 to assure teachers security of employment. It stated clearly that the government was not ready to take over Elementary Schools in any of the district of the Madras state. But certain provision was made to ensure teachers security of employment. It was

400 Ibid, February 15, 1956
401 Ibid, February 17, 1956
402 Ibid, February 16, 1956
403 Ibid, February 15, 1956
404 Ibid, January 17,24,25, February 10,25 1956. E.P. Yesoda of Mathotam school at Kannadi Paramba was given dismissal notice. When the teachers of Ariyattur Devi Vilasam School resisted an attempt of dismissal, the manager closed the school. The manager of Matool South Elementary School tried to dismiss the whole teachers of his school. The teachers dismissal at Valppad invited department intervention. The manager of Kaniyaram Lower Elementary School Wyanad tried to dismiss his teachers
405 The Mathrubhumi, March 4, 1956
stipulated that only the teachers whose certificates were suspended or dismissed by the Director or Divisional Inspector could be dismissed without prior notice. Others could be dismissed based on sufficient reasons with 3 months prior notice or salary. But the teachers should be informed of their faults and be given an opportunity to explain their stand. The teacher could be dismissed only with the prior consent of the department. However, if a DEO demanded the reinstatement of the teacher on the basis of the appeal, it should be enforced with in 10 days even if a final appeal verdict was awaited. Otherwise, the DEO could take action against the management. The managers were also to give salary during the dismissed period\textsuperscript{406}. This order gave partial security of employment to the teachers of Malabar. The managers could not use the rule 14 in the law Court to justify the dismissal of teachers. Several dismissed teachers benefited out of the new orders. In a reply to the petition submitted by the Kottayam Taluk Teachers Union, the DEO declared that all steps would be taken to settle the issues of the teachers who were dismissed against the existing rules\textsuperscript{407}. The new situation strengthened the union. It interfered in several issues of the teachers and protected their interest. Thus O.T. Achutha Menon got his salary for the dismissed period. The fine imposed by DEO on P. Sankaran, the joint secretary of the Ponnani Taluk Teachers Union for criticising the department was cancelled. Though K.M. Balan was the one deserved to get the salary, the Deputy Inspector had given it to some other teachers. But the Deputy Inspector was directed to give the salary to K.M. Balan himself. All these incidents enhanced the prestige of the union and stimulated their faith in organised actions\textsuperscript{408}.

The Madras government published a white paper proposing to provide free and compulsory education by the end of the 3\textsuperscript{rd} five year plan\textsuperscript{409}. It contained a detailed statistics of the existing schools, teachers, students, the educational expenses of the state and the changes to be made in the field of elementary education\textsuperscript{410}. But it failed to make any proposal to increase teachers salary or to assure their security of employment. So there was opposition against it in certain Teachers Union conferences\textsuperscript{411}. Hence the government was asked to seek the

\textsuperscript{406} Ibid, April 20, 1956
\textsuperscript{407} Ibid, May 1, 1956
\textsuperscript{408} Vallathol Kumara Menon, op.cit, p. 104
\textsuperscript{409} The Mathrubhumi, March 27, 1956
\textsuperscript{410} Ibid, March 28, 1956
\textsuperscript{411} The Desabhimani, April 4, 1956
opinion of the Teachers Union before adopting a scheme based on it\textsuperscript{412}. The Taluk Teachers Union discussed the white paper but demanded the take over of elementary education by the government\textsuperscript{413}.

The MATU organised a discussion on the white paper at the Mission School Badagara on 9\textsuperscript{th} May 1956. More then 50 teachers attended it. P.M.Kunhiraman Nambiar, Dr. K.B.Menon, P.R.Nambiar and V.R. Krishnaiyyar had sent their suggestions to the meeting. It adopted the following suggestions. (1). A uniform 11 year school education all over India; 7 year compulsory elementary education and 4 year secondary education. (2). School admission after the age of 5. (3). A basic salary of Rs 50, 60 and 70 to lower trained, higher trained and secondary trained teachers. (4). The prevailing teacher-students ratio until the principle of one teacher for one class was adopted. (5). 200 working days. (6). All school under the same agency and the government take over of elementary education. Till then the department control over the appointment and dismissal of teachers\textsuperscript{414}. However in the meeting it was pointed out that the white paper would not be beneficial because Malabar would soon become a part of the new Kerala state\textsuperscript{415}.

The 14\textsuperscript{th} annual conference of the MATU was held at BEM High School Palghat on 18\textsuperscript{th}, 19\textsuperscript{th} and 20\textsuperscript{th} May 1956\textsuperscript{416}. Delegates were elected as one for 30 members with a delegate fee of 8 anna\textsuperscript{417}. A teachers rally rounded the city with slogan demanding the abolition of the private management system and the government take over of elementary education but it is to be noted that the public took only a spectators role. There was not much people participation in the rally or conference. Prominent leaders like Dr. S.Radakrishnan, V.K.Krishnamenon and A.K.Gopalan sent their messages to wish the conference. The conference exposed the support given by the department to the managers in their policy against the teachers movement.

At the same time the absence of the rapport between the teachers and the public which had existed till 1947 was pointed out. Hence the teachers were not successful in making the people aware that their agitation was for reasonable

\textsuperscript{412} Ibid, April 5, 1956
\textsuperscript{413} Ibid, May 12, 1956
\textsuperscript{414} Ibid, May 15, 1956
\textsuperscript{415} Ibid
\textsuperscript{416} The Mathrubhumi, May 22, 1956
\textsuperscript{417} Ibid, April 28, 1956
demands. C.C. Nair in his presidential address admitted the progress achieved by
the teachers after independence, but argued that they would not get their real
relief until the abolition of the private management system and the government
take over of elementary education\textsuperscript{418}. A symposium ‘An education scheme
suitable to a socialist state’ was organised as part of the conference and chaired
by Prof. Joseph Mundasseri. He emphasised its relevance in the wake of the
formation of Kerala state. The delegate session of the conference proposed a
resolution for an education scheme based on the principles of basic education.
But M. Krishnan Kutty proposed an amendment for ‘an education scheme suitable
for a socialist system’. It led to a heated controversy which reflected the
awareness of the teachers about an Indian path towards socialism. However the
amendment was voted out and thus the conference demanded a national scheme
of education based on the principles of basic education. The conference asked
the government to reinstate the teachers dismissed at Azheekode, Naduvallur,
Ariyallur, Kannur and Nadavayal schools and also to restore the hill tract
allowance given to the Wyanad teachers. At the same time teachers were advised
to open reading rooms in the school area, provide adult education, and form
children literacy clubs and also to support the co-operative societies.

The pension scheme promised by the government had not been
implemented even after a long period. The issue was raised in the Malabar
Assembly\textsuperscript{419}. The Taluk Union conference regretted the government’s stand\textsuperscript{420}. Hence the MATU expressed anxiety over the same and requested the government
to issue necessary orders before the reorganisation of the state\textsuperscript{421}. The union
president was also authorised to submit a memorandum to the Minister to invite
his attention to this issue and also to contact the leaders of board and municipal
Teachers Unions\textsuperscript{422}. The North Malabar Teachers Guild also demanded the
implementation of the pension scheme before the separation of Malabar from the

\textsuperscript{418} The Mathrubhumi May 22, 1956 & The Desabhimani May 24, 1956. P. Vasudeva Menon, in his
inaugural address opposed the dismissal of teachers and demanded the abolition of private
management system. Ullattil Govindan Kutty Nair presided over the cultural session. Here K.
Damodaran highlighted the progress achieved by the teachers movement during the last 25 years.
He admitted their grievance of security of employment, but pointed out the material and cultural
progress obtained by the teachers.

\textsuperscript{419} The Desabhimani, April 5, 1956

\textsuperscript{420} Ibid, May 9, 1956

\textsuperscript{421} Ibid, July 6, 1956

\textsuperscript{422} The Mathrubhumi, July 5, 1956
Madras state\textsuperscript{423}. The South Karnatic District Teachers Guild decided to observe a ‘Pension day’ on 29\textsuperscript{th} July 1956\textsuperscript{424}. The SITU had submitted a memorandum requesting to incorporate the lower trained teachers also with in the purview of the pension scheme. Thus the government decided to implement the teachers pension scheme w.e.f 1\textsuperscript{st} April 1955. The Minister promised to consider the case of the LT teachers favourably\textsuperscript{425}. However no definite step was adopted to enforce the scheme. Mathrubhumi doubted it as a tactics to postpone its implementation only after the reorganisation of the state and denounced it as a crime and injustice\textsuperscript{426}. Desabhimani also highlighted this issue. It argued that the teachers movement in Malabar was the most organised one and it was when they were on the verge of an agitation for salary increase, that a pension scheme was promised to them. The government refused to implement the same and actually followed a treacherous policy as that of the factory owners\textsuperscript{427}. The Malabar Elementary Teachers Federation decided to submit a memorandum to the government and advised the Board, Aided and Municipal teachers to send telegram to the government\textsuperscript{428}. Consequently once again it was declared that all teachers under management and local boards up the age of 40 would obtain this benefit w.e.f 1\textsuperscript{st} April 1955\textsuperscript{429}. Even at this stage no clear instructions related to the pension scheme was given to the Taluk Office or the office of the Deputy Inspector. Even the concerned application forms were not made available to the teachers. Under these circumstances once again the attention of the new Kerala government was invited on this issue\textsuperscript{430}.

There were a large number of unqualified teachers with long service in the Elementary Schools of Malabar. It was the financial benefits that prompted the managers to appoint them in their schools. They exploited the teachers. The Teachers Union conference held at Ramanattukara demanded permanent exemption for the teachers who were 35 years old and 10 years service. The government refused to admit it but agreed to give yearly exemptions. The direct salary system gave an opportunity for the managers to demand donation of Rs

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{423} Ibid, June 26, 1956
\textsuperscript{424} Ibid, July 12, 1956
\textsuperscript{425} The Desabhimani, July 11, 1956
\textsuperscript{426} The Mathrubhumi, August 12, 1956
\textsuperscript{427} The Desabhimani, August 30, 1956
\textsuperscript{428} Ibid
\textsuperscript{429} Ibid, September 4, 1956 & The Mathrubhumi, September 4, 1956
\textsuperscript{430} The Mathrubhumi, December 18, 1956
\end{footnotesize}
500 for fresh appointment in their schools. So they began to dismiss the unqualified teachers\textsuperscript{431}. The government also decided to stop the practice of giving exemption to these teachers. Thus a large number of teachers got out of service. Now the union demanded permanent exemption to teachers of 40 years and who had 15 years of service. Thus telegrams were sent to the department and to the government\textsuperscript{432}. A memorandum was also submitted. C.C. Nair requested the manager to retain them on compassionate grounds. Now the government agreed to retain those teachers who had a satisfactory service history. However the practice of demanding donations for fresh appointment continued. The unemployment among the trained teachers also contributed to this development. The Kottayam Taluk Teachers Union asked the government to take action against this ugly practice. At the same time teachers were advised not to involve in such practices\textsuperscript{433}.

It was at that time the teachers of Ganapath High School at Kallai and Chalappuram demanded their salary arrear and declared a strike against the management\textsuperscript{434}. The attempt made by P.K.Nambiar failed and hence the teachers refused to withdraw their strike\textsuperscript{435}. The students organised a \textit{jatha} in support of the strike\textsuperscript{436}. The Kozhikode Municipal Council passed a resolution and expressed anxiety over the teachers strike\textsuperscript{437}. The parents of the students submitted a memorandum to the DEO to settle the issue\textsuperscript{438}. Now the government issued an order for giving the salary arrear directly by taking the amount from the grant due to the Malabar education society. The student meeting held at Calicut Town Hall requested to solve the strike at the earliest\textsuperscript{439}.

Teachers Unions adopted their own measures to propagate literacy among the people. To ensure universal education T.C.Narayanan Nambiar advised the teachers to organise a ‘literacy brigade’\textsuperscript{440}. Thus the Valluvanad Taluk Teachers Union decided to organise an education propaganda programme at Attappadi, the

\textsuperscript{431} The Desabhimani, May 5, 1956
\textsuperscript{432} The Mathrubhumi, June 1, 1956
\textsuperscript{433} Ibid, July 20, 1956
\textsuperscript{434} Ibid, July 14,15, 1956
\textsuperscript{435} Ibid, July 16, 1956
\textsuperscript{436} Ibid, July 19, 1956
\textsuperscript{437} Ibid, July 21, 1956
\textsuperscript{438} Ibid, July 21, 1956. Mathrubhumi wrote an editorial to highlight the issue
\textsuperscript{439} Ibid, July 22, 1956
\textsuperscript{440} The Desabhimani, April 13, 1956
tribal region of the taluk. The teachers were asked to join the propaganda squad\textsuperscript{441}. Thus eight teacher volunteers decided to go and stay there to mingle with the Irular and Mutuga tribal groups to impart education to them. With a view to raise a fund for the same it was decided to stage a skit written by Cherukad, ‘\textit{Velicham Varunnu}’ at several places like Pattambi, Ottappalam and Mannarkkad\textsuperscript{442}. Teachers were also asked to donate dress items to make the programme a success. Thus the programme was inaugurated on 2\textsuperscript{nd} October 1956\textsuperscript{443}. The teacher volunteer stayed in the sheds of the forest department. Altogether 29 tribals attended the camp. Soon three more camps were opened\textsuperscript{444}. Free milk and dress were distributed to the tribals in the camp. The programme continued successfully even at the end of the month\textsuperscript{445}.

The Kerala state was formed in 1956. As a part of the state reorganisation, Malabar and Kasargod seceded from the state of Madras and formed a part of the new Kerala state on 1\textsuperscript{st} November 1956. N. Sundararaja Naidu was appointed the Director of Education. The MATU asked him not to curtail the existing benefits of the teachers in the new state of Kerala. The union asked him not to extend the Tiru Kochi shift system to Malabar, but to implement the mid-day meals scheme proposed by the Madras government. As given to the teachers of Malabar, the government was asked to give salary directly to all teachers of the state from 1\textsuperscript{st} November 1956. The union also decided to leave their demand for the government take over of Elementary Schools to the new legislature of Kerala. At the same time the government was asked to prevent the unnecessary punishment of teachers and the malpractices associated with the appointment of teachers. The government was also asked to prepare a seniority list of trained teachers in each range and to appoint them only with the consent of the Deputy Inspectors. As Malabar and Kasargod had their own rules and regulations, problems were expected in this region during the interim period. Hence government was requested to consider this area as a separate region and to appoint a Special Deputy Inspector to deal with their issues\textsuperscript{446}. Now the Director of education declared that the existing educational system of Malabar would continue until the

\textsuperscript{441} Ibid, September 22, 1956
\textsuperscript{442} Ibid, September 26, 1956
\textsuperscript{443} Ibid, October 9, 1956
\textsuperscript{444} Ibid, October 15, 1956
\textsuperscript{445} Ibid, October 28, 1956
\textsuperscript{446} Ibid, October 20, 1956
financial decisions were adopted by the new government of Kerala. The Tiru Kochi aided teachers conference held at Quilon declared that their existing benefit should not be curtailed in the new state of Kerala. And requested the government of Tiru Kochi and Madras to adopt measures to unify the salary scale, allowance and service conditions of teachers in the proposed state of Kerala.

Meanwhile the Madras government had increased the DA of the servants. But it was not applicable to the seceded areas. At the same time the Kerala government refused to allow the salary scale and DA already existing in Tiru Kochi to the teachers of Malabar. The Malabar Elementary Teachers Federation called up on the teachers to protest against this discrimination. Thus ‘DA day’ was observed all over Malabar on 1st December 1956. It was also decided to organise a teachers jatha to Trivandrum to submit a memorandum to the government. This jatha of 40 members under C.C. Nair was formally inaugurated at Kannur on 27th January 1957. C. Ramankutty Nair and Achutan Nambiar acted as the organiser and director of the jatha respectively. The jatha got warm reception in Malabar and Tiru Kochi. On its way procession and public meetings were organised at several places like Tellicherry, Kozhikode, Trichur, Ernakulam and Kottayam. Actually this jatha paved the way for the formation of the Kerala Aided Primary School Teachers Union. The jatha reached Trivandrum on 31st January. After a great procession, the teachers tried to meet the government adviser to submit a memorandum. But K.Ramunni Menon, the adviser of the Kerala state refused to meet the teachers collectively. This arrogance of Malayali bureaucrats was severely criticised. Now a delegation consisting of C.C. Nair, K.V.K. Nair, K.V. Kunhikannan Nair, C.K.Vasudevan Nambuthiri and K.P. Narayanan Nair met the government adviser and submitted the memorandum. They discussed the issue with the state Chief Secretary also. Finally the government agreed to increase the DA of the teachers of Malabar to the rate of the Tiru Kochi teachers.

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447 The Mathrubhumi, October 10, 1956
448 The Desabhimani, September 11, 1956
449 P.R. Nambiar, op.cit, p. 236
450 Vallathol Kumara Menon, op.cit, p. 107
451 The Mathrubhumi, January 25, 1957
452 Vallathol Kumara Menon, op.cit, p. 107
453 The Mathrubhumi, February 2,5, 1957
After the formation of the new state of Kerala, Malabar was divided into Kozhikode, Kannur and Palakkad districts for administrative convenience. The union was also asked to adopt the same line in their organisational matter. However it was objected\textsuperscript{454}. The issue was raised in the annual conference of the union. The 15\textsuperscript{th} annual conference of the union was held at Guruvayur on 17\textsuperscript{th}, 18\textsuperscript{th} and 19\textsuperscript{th} of May 1957\textsuperscript{455}. G.T. Ukkan Master, the president of the Ponnani Taluk Union was the chief organiser of the conference. This conference was significant in many respects\textsuperscript{456}. Firstly it was for the first time that all the resolutions were printed and distributed among the delegates. The conference adopted decisions on organisational matters. After a long discussion and controversy it was decided to retain the Malabar union by incorporating Kasargod and also to form three District Unions as its lower units to function above the Taluk Union. The conference also constituted an adhoc committee of 20 members for the formation of Kerala Aided Elementary Teachers Federation. Above all it was in this conference that Prof. Joseph Mundasseri, the Education Minister promised to unify the salary scale of Malabar and Tiru Kochi Teachers. Here he also pointed out that most of the school buildings of the land were actually raised using a part of the teachers salary, and said that it would not be allowed in future and the managers would certainly be controlled. It infuriated the managers of Kerala. Consequently efforts were made to increase the salary of the teachers of Malabar. Thus for the first time in history, their salary scale was scientifically revised from 7\textsuperscript{th} June 1957. Even though it was lower than the scale enjoyed by the Tiru Kochi teachers, it was better than the one prevailed in Malabar before 1\textsuperscript{st} November 1956. Now there arose the demand for a uniform scale for the whole teachers of Kerala.

The demand for a uniform salary scale for the whole state began to get wide support. The Tiru Kochi teachers conference had asked the government of Madras and Tiru Kochi to adopt measures to unify the salary scale, allowance and other service conditions of teachers in the proposed state of Kerala\textsuperscript{457}. The Tiru Kochi Aided Primary School Teachers Federation asked the government to give the salary scale of Tiru Kochi to all the teachers of the state from November 1\textsuperscript{st}

\textsuperscript{454} The Desabhimani, October 11, 24, 1956
\textsuperscript{455} Vallathol Kumara Menon, op.cit, p. 108
\textsuperscript{456} Ibid
\textsuperscript{457} The Desabhimani, September 11, 1956
1956 along with the weightage allowed to the government scheduled teachers. At the same time it demanded educational concession to the children of the teachers of Tiru Kochi as granted to the Malabar teachers\textsuperscript{458}. The MATU also raised the demand for a common salary scale and made preparation for an agitation\textsuperscript{459}. The meeting held at Kottayam to discuss the formation of a Kerala Aided Teachers Federation repeated the demand\textsuperscript{460}. The issue was very important for the teachers of Malabar. The Malabar Board Teachers Union, and Municipal Teachers Union also raised the demand for a uniform salary scale. Thus a joint meeting of these unions was held at Calicut and sent a deputation to Trivandrum\textsuperscript{461}. However there was no favourable action. Thus a ‘salary-weightage day’ was observed with procession and meetings all over Malabar on 7\textsuperscript{th} December 1957\textsuperscript{462}. When it also proved futile, it was decided to lead a teachers jatha from Kannur to Trivandrum on 5\textsuperscript{th} March 1958. The popular government in Kerala that could realise the injustice involved in this issue agreed to admit their stand. Thus before the commencement of the proposed jatha, the government issued an order and admitted the demand for the common salary and weightage to the teachers of Kerala. Thus, for the first time, it was the communist government of Kerala which granted a scientific salary scale to the primary school teachers of Kerala\textsuperscript{463}.

At the same time, the political rift within the union also became acute during this period\textsuperscript{464}. The union leadership adopted measures to defeat the left wing leaders in the union elections. It was clearly reflected in the Tirur and Ponnani Taluk Union elections. However G.T. Ukkken Master and V.K.Menon, the left wing leader got elected as the union presidents respectively in both these places. In the District Union election of 5\textsuperscript{th} January 1957, efforts were made to expel V.K.Menon from the executive committee. But the strong opposition compelled the leaders to accept him in the union leadership. C.Ramankutty Nair, a left wing leader defeated P. Narayanan Nair and got elected as president of the Valluvanad Taluk Teachers Union. But as he was a person involved in the communist violence of 1948, C.C. Nair and his supporters refused to accept him in the union

\textsuperscript{458} The Mathrubhumi, January 4, 1957
\textsuperscript{459} Vallathol Kumara Menon, op.cit, p. 109
\textsuperscript{460} Ibid, The Mathrubhumi, December 29, 1956
\textsuperscript{461} P.R. Nambiar, op.cit, p. 237
\textsuperscript{462} Ibid
\textsuperscript{463} Vallathol Kumara Menon, op.cit, p. 110
\textsuperscript{464} Ibid, p. 105,106
executive. But they were forced to withdraw their stand. The same attitude was reflected in the defeat of all left wing leaders in the election of the Kerala State Elementary Teachers Federation. The attempt made at the joint meeting of aided and board teachers to remove Kambalath from his position also exposed the rift with in the union.

As soon as the linguistic reorganisation of the state and the formation of Kerala state were generally accepted, efforts were also made to integrate the service conditions of the primary teachers of Tiru Kochi and Malabar. In October 1954 itself the Kochin Aided Primary Teachers Association and Tiruvitamkur Private Primary Teachers Association joined together and formed the Tiru Kochi Aided Primary Teachers Federation. The annual meeting of the Trissur group of CAPTA passed a resolution and asked Tiru Kochi aided teachers to associate with MATU to form a Kerala Aided Primary Teachers Federation. In the annual meeting of the Tiruvitamkur Private Primary School Teachers Association, Panambally highlighted the importance of an all Kerala Teachers Union. In the 15th annual conference of the Valluvanad Teachers Union, MP. Govinda Menon advised the teachers to stay united in the wake of the formation of Kerala state. In view of the formation of the Kerala state, Desabhimani advised the MATU to give leadership to lay the foundation of an All Kerala Teachers Movement. The North Malabar District Teachers Guild also asked the District Guild to contact the Tiru Kochi teachers association to think about the formation of a common association for the state of Kerala. There after C.C. Nair, N.P. Narayanan Nair, P.Ramankutty Nair and Appu Master attended a meeting held at Kottayam to discuss the possibility of an All Kerala Teachers Association. The Guruvayur conference constituted an adhoc committee to proceed the efforts to form an All Kerala Association. It met at Kottayam and discussed the matter with the leaders of all Tiruvithamkur Private Primary Teachers Association. This meeting raised the slogan of common association and a common salary scale for the teachers of the whole state. Thus the Kerala Aided Elementary Teachers Federation was

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465 P.R. Nambiar, op.cit, p. 204
466 The Mathrubhumi, November 24, 1956
467 Ibid, December 29, 1956
468 The Desabhimani, May 12, 1956
469 Ibid, May 28, 1956
470 The Mathrubhumi, June 26, 1956
471 Ibid, December 29, 1956
formed on 8th June 1957. C.C. Nair and K.O. John were elected as its president and secretary respectively. Thus it became the first organisation integrated after the formation of the Kerala state. The first meeting of the federation held at Ernakulam on 23rd July welcomed the proposed education bill of Prof. Joseph Mundasseri. Soon the leaders of the federation which was actually a union of four different associations prepared a common constitution, merged together and formed the Kerala Aided Elementary Teachers Union on January 1st 1958. C.C. Nair the leader of the MATU became the president; D. Vivekanandan, the leader of the Tiruvithamkur Aided Primary Teachers Association its vice president, K.O. John the leader of the Kochin teachers, its secretary and G. Umman the leader of All Tiruvitamkur Private Primary Teachers Association became its treasurer. Thus it became the largest teachers movement in India.

472 Vallathol Kumara Menon, op.cit, p. 110