

**COMMUNICATION STRATEGY AND PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES
OF COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN KERALA (1930-1957)**

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for the Degree of*
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in Journalism and Mass Communication

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DECLARATION

I, Priyamol M.S., hereby declare that this thesis entitled **Communication Strategy and Propaganda Techniques of Communist Movement in Kerala (1930-1957)** is a bonafide record of research work done by me and that it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma, associateship, fellowship or other similar title or recognition.

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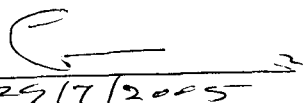
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PREFACE

Latter half of 19th century brought a sea change in communication studies. Communication scientists and researchers had shown more interest in the studies of indigenous mode of communication practice and traditional media. Though Kerala possesses a high percentage of literacy rate and media diffusion, no such study has been carried out so far. This study is an attempt to bring forward such a communication practice, which proved the potential of indigenous mode of communication, and possibilities of integrated role of various communication channels to effect social development.

From its inception, Communism had an enduring influence on the social, cultural and political milieu of Kerala. So it is felt that, an exploration on the communication practice of the Communists would be worthwhile, in bringing out the methods they utilized to popularize such an alien concept like Communism in our society. It will be helpful in evolving a communication strategy for the dissemination of

developmental messages. This idea has motivated me to carry out a study on this regard.

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I dedicate this thesis to the memory of my beloved late mother Mrs. Soudamini, whose blessings I always had all through the course of the work.

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Communist concept of communication has gained prominence in communication studies in the latter half of 20th century. Communication strategy of Communists and the resultant radical restructuring of the society in Soviet Russia and China had turned the attention of sociologists and communication scientists towards their communication practice. Because of the specific nature of communication practice of Communists, several studies had been carried out on this aspect. **Social Change in Soviet Russia** by Alex Inkeles, **Soviet Doctrine on the Role of Propaganda** by Frederic Barghoon, **Communication and Politics in Communist China** by Frederic T.C Yu, **Communication and National Integration in Communist China** by Alan.P.Liu, **Mass Communication in China** by John Howkins etc. are important studies on communication practice in Communist regimes. These studies have explained the specific nature of the communication practice of communists and pointed out how it differs from the western models of communication.

Exhaustive studies on the process and pattern of communication and media use in Communist countries rooted out

the false notion that the highly developed communication is a western phenomenon. From these studies it is evident that Communists have shown more attention in the development of communication than non-communists. (Pye 37, Pool 234) Though Communists placed different controls upon social communication and used it for different political goals, their communication practice has been successful in bringing out social development. (Pye 37, Hedebro 76-78)

Historically, Communists have realized the strength and power of the mass media to mobilize the masses. They recognized the importance of communication and information management, as decisive elements in the acquisition of power. Making this point explicitly clear, Mao-Tse-tung, the Chinese Communist Leader argued,

... to overthrow the existing political system, it is always necessary above all else, to create public opinion and to work on ideological domain. It is thus that the revolutionary class proceed as well as the

counter revolutionary classes. (Marxist Theories of Communication, 481)

Frederic Barghoon in his study **Soviet Doctrine on the Role of Propaganda** observed that,

... Words and pictures had played a more continuous and perhaps a more vital role than bullets or rubles in Moscow's struggle to undermine the social order of capitalism and to reconstruct the society on Marxist-Leninist foundations ... (368)

Barghoon further observed that "... the success and very survival of Communism as a movement depend largely upon the energy and skill of the Communists as communicators." (362)

Maxwell in his book **Political Propaganda in Soviet Russia** noted that,

... To achieve their ends, the Soviet rulers erected an immense network of propaganda that included massive programs of political as well as practical education. Lenin mobilized every available form of

communication (and entertainment) to meet this goal: the press, educational institutions, the arts, and even science all became part of the intensive internal propaganda system designed to play the central role in the creation of a Communist state. Controlled from the top, the arms of the Soviet propaganda machine reached into every aspect of Russian life, down to the local level where clubs and other quasi-social organizations received political education from trained propagandists. The establishment of reading rooms in even the smallest village encouraged guided discussions, while films were accompanied by questions and answers sessions. All of this was under the control and tight supervision of the Agitational Propaganda section of the Central Committee of the Communist party, known as Agit-prop, which was attached to every division of the Communist party down to the smallest local cell. (61-79)

Essentially the same thing can be said about the communications in Communist China. Motivated by the general goals of Communism,"... Chinese Communists have developed an efficient communication system which reach almost every segment of the population and controls virtually all the avenues of Chinese mind." (Yu, 267)

Because China is so underdeveloped, Chinese Communist propaganda has been engaged primarily in the developmental activities. It has emphasized the achievement of mass literacy, the establishment of control over regional propaganda media, the use of such techniques as big character posters, wired radio and small group discussions. (Laswell, 241)

In countries like Soviet Russia, China, Cuba, Tanzania, North Korea, Vietnam etc. Communist propaganda has played a major role in political and economic development and in mass mobilization for these purposes. (Laswell, 257; Hedebrö, 73-78) To do so its organizational mechanism has been structurally integrated with the Communist Party or organization itself. Its strategies and factors have varied according to the stages of political and economic

development. The less developed the society, the more Communist propaganda has concentrated on face to face communication.

Studies on the communication practice in Communist countries have shown that their communication pattern had some distinctive features, which increased mass participation in social and political activities. Even though Communists did not form any theory on communication, they realized the importance of communication and its crucial role in social change. (Hedebro, 74; Pye, 254-58; Inkeles, 280-83) Major Contribution of communists in communication studies springs from their experience in the massive utilization of communication for the molding of their society and to mobilize their people for the purpose of development. (Hedebro, 76; Pye, 254-56; Liu, XIII) Communists considered communication as a major social force to attain their ideological goals and to bring about changes in social structure. With the effective use of this powerful weapon, Communist movement achieved success under various geographical, cultural and socio-economic conditions.

Present study intends to probe on the communication practice of Communists in Kerala and its significance in Communist studies.

From its inception in 1939, Communist Party had played a very important role in the social, political and cultural milieu of Kerala. The growth and development of Communist Party has been phenomenal and significant over the past 68 years and has grown as a major political force in Kerala.

Though Communism came to Kerala as part of an international Communist movement, it has gained power through a democratic electoral process. Unlike the communication practice of Communists in totalitarian societies like Russia and China, Communists in Kerala succeeded in propagating their ideology in a democratic system which already had been enlightened by the radical ideas and activities of social reformers like Swami Vivekananda, Sree Narayana Guru et al. Communists gradually in filtered into the socio-political and intellectual realms of this enlightened society with their well organized propaganda techniques and persuasive political preachings. In 1957 election, Communists came out as the single biggest party in the state by securing 38% of the vote polled. Apart from the tiny Italian principality, San Marino, Kerala emerged as the first case of a

democratically elected Communist government in the world.
(Nossitter, 1; R. Nair, 20)

Whatever be the factors behind this victory, it is obvious that the Communication strategy of the Communists had played a significant role in it. Social reawakening on socialist lines and ideological influence on art and literature during that period also substantiates the impact of Communist propaganda and persuasive mode of communication on the social life of Kerala. (Fic, 94-95; Balakrishnan, 190-91; Offredi, 140-47) Most important of all, communication strategy of Communists had been successful in communicating with different sectors of the society, irrespective of their literacy level or socio-economic status.

In this aspect the communication practice of Communists in Kerala deserve considerable research attention. Ensuing chapters will discuss the specific characteristics and the methods they utilized to overcome the barriers in the communication process like illiteracy, limited media exposure, variations in socio economic status etc. in detail.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Studies on the Communication Practice in Communist Countries

Alex Inkeles's study on **Social Change in Soviet Russia** is an attempt to analyze various factors that contributed to the social changes in Soviet Russia. In this study Inkeles observed that Soviet mass communication system had played a key role in mobilizing public opinion in gargantuan programmes of economic reconstruction and social transformation. By analyzing the Soviet mass communication system, Inkeles stated that Communist Party has developed a complex propaganda apparatus and elaborate communication network to shape the thinking of Soviet people. This highly centralized, carefully controlled and vigorously utilized communication system is motivated for a single purpose - to bring the Soviet people for the needed support of the Communist Party's efforts. By analyzing Soviet mass communication system, the author opined that their mass communication strategy had maximum impact in mobilizing popular support for the policies of Soviet government.

Frederic Barghoon's study on **Soviet Doctrine on the Role of Propaganda**, evaluated the role of propaganda as an instrument of foreign policy of Soviet Union. By analyzing the Soviet interpretations of some international issues like, ban the bomb propaganda, Suez crisis, Algerian conflict, situations in Congo and Angola etc. Barghoon stated that Soviet propaganda played a key role in shaping the attitudes of 'neutral' countries in a pro-Soviet direction. He has also observed that Soviet propaganda has succeeded in intensifying and channeling in directions desirable to the Kremlin attitudes such as fear of war, anti-colonialism, anti-western nationalism etc.

Similar communication studies had also been conducted in China. Frederic T.C. Yu's study on the **Communication and Politics in Communist China** forms an important study on Chinese communication practice. In this study the author gave an elaborate view of the structure and policies of the Chinese communication system. By analyzing the basic characteristics of Chinese communication policy Yu opined that three aspects of Communist ideology i.e. class-consciousness, mass line approach, unity of theory

and practice, form the very basement of Chinese communication system. By examining the structure and functioning of communication system in a typical 'Chinese Commune', Yu argued that Chinese Communists have developed an indigenous but strangely effective communication network. Besides the conventional mass media such as newspaper, radio etc. they have employed many traditional and indigenous communication methods, like street plays, poetry, folk songs, oral propagandists, blackboard newspapers etc. This innovative communication strategy enabled the Communists to bring a large number of people into direct and close contact with the party as well as the Government. Yu further stated that even if the communication system of Communists was not always successful in producing particular thoughts and attitudes desired by the party, it transformed much of the old, traditional China and introduced a new pattern of socialization and political activity that had never existed in the country.

Alan P. Liu also has analyzed the Chinese mass communication system in terms of its role in achieving national

integration. In his study **Communication and National Integration in China** Liu pointed out that the specific characteristics of Chinese communication system is the linkage of mass media and informal communication channels. He further stated that Communists had overcome the barriers of social integration such as, regionalism, lack of common language, low literacy etc. by acting as intermediaries between mass media and interpersonal communications. Liu further analyzed the components of Chinese mass communication system - Mass Campaigns, Television, Radio, Press, Film etc. - in terms of their structure, content and audience response. Liu concluded the study by stating that, the penetrative political communication of Communists has greatly enhanced the substantive integration of the country.

John Howkins's study on **Mass Communication in China** gave a contemporary view of Chinese mass communication system. By analyzing the very structure and functioning of mass communication system in China, Howkins argued that, the main medium of mass communication in China is not broadcasting or newspaper or cinema, but the Chinese Communist Party. Chinese

Communist Party forms a real mass medium in terms of the involvement of its members at all levels. Howkins also traced out two major trends developing in Communist China i.e. increasing professionalism and consciousness of modernization at all levels, especially in the field of mass communication and in party sectors.

Studies on Communist Movement in Kerala

The literature on Communist movement in Kerala is comparatively rich. Communist victory in 1957 election had drawn worldwide attention towards Kerala. The interest shown by international community is clearly evident from their writings on Communist movement in Kerala. **Kerala - The Yenan of India** by Victor. M. Fic and **Communism in Kerala** by T.J. Nossitter are two important works among them. In his work Fic analyzed the class - communal characters of the movement, whereas Nossitter's attempt was to trace its socio-political aspects. Though these two works have given a comprehensive picture of the growth and development of Communism in Kerala, they did not mention anything about the communication aspects.

Communist Party Keralathil (Communist Party in Kerala) by EMS Namboothiripad, **Keralathile Communist Prasthanam - Adyanalukalil (Early Phase of Communist movement in Kerala)** by N.E. Balaram are two authentic works on the history of Communist movement in Kerala. Both these works are found useful to the present study, since they gave a detailed account of their communication system and propaganda activities.

A good number of academic studies also had been carried out on various aspects of Communist movement in Kerala. **History of Communist Movement in Kerala** by E. Balakrishnan, **History of Communist Movement in Travancore** by P.J. Cherian, **Extremist Movement in Kerala** by Dr. K.K. Kusuman etc. form indepth studies on Communist movement. They also gave authentic accounts of the communication practices and propaganda activities of Communist movement in Kerala.

In addition to these works, there are biographies and autobiographies of eminent communist leaders, their reminiscences, which form a great repository of literature regarding Communist movement in Kerala.

By reviewing these works, it is obvious that most of them are confined to the social, political and economic aspects of the Communist movement. As a part of the main topic, only casual references had been given to their communication aspects. An in-depth or serious study on this topic has not been undertaken so far. This study attempts to analyze the communication practice and propaganda activities of Communist movement in Kerala, so as to give a comprehensive picture to their victory in 1957.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- 1) To find out the communication strategy of Communist movement in propaganda and agitation in Kerala.
- 2) To evaluate how far their communication strategy helped in the propagation of Communist ideology.
- 3) To find out the unique features of communication pattern and propaganda techniques of Communist movement in Kerala.
- 4) To identify the measures used by the Communists to overcome the barriers in Communication process.

The mere implementation of western communication models does not serve the purpose of development in a third world country like India. Communication policy for such a country must be necessarily to be local specific and should serve the needs and aspirations of local people. But in India, indigenous communication practices do not get adequate importance in communication studies. Present study aims to bring forward such an indigenous communication experiment that succeeded in bringing out social change. The researcher hopes that this study will develop some tentative answers that might serve as a basis for the formulation of a communication strategy for development programmes.

Though Communism has made far-reaching impact on the social life of Kerala, it is difficult to carry out a detailed examination on the entire aspect. Due to constraints of time the researcher focuses her attention only on the organizational and operational pattern of the communication system of Communists and the specific features of their communication practice and propaganda activities in Kerala.

CHAPTER PLAN

The study has been divided into five chapters. The introductory chapter constitutes the conceptual framework of the study, review of literature and objectives of the study.

Second chapter delineates communication practice and political background of the Communist movement in Kerala up to 1957. It has been divided into three parts. Before assessing the communication practice of Communists some background analysis on the mass communication sphere of Kerala is imperative. First part is an attempt to examine the mass communication scenario of Kerala up to the beginning of communism. This part constitutes a narrative account and analysis of various developments like the educational and literary activities of Christian missionaries, introduction of printing, socio-political reawakening, that contributed to the development of mass communication in Kerala.

Second part deals with the historic review of Communist movement in Kerala, from the beginning to their electoral victory in 1957. The period chosen have represented the peak period of communist activity in Kerala.

Third part examines the communication system and propaganda activities of Communist movement in Kerala, which give a detailed account of their communication system viz. press, publications, art forms, study classes, literary forums, campaigns etc. and the methods they utilized to carry their message to the people.

Third chapter constitutes the definitions of operational terms, basic concepts, methodology etc. and forms the empirical part of the study.

Fourth chapter forms the analytical part of the study, which interprets the communication practice of communists in Kerala on the basis of the information collected through field study and literacy survey.

Fifth chapter discusses the findings and conclusion drawn from the study.

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Chapter II

**BACKGROUND
OF THE STUDY**

I. MASS COMMUNICATION - THE KERALA SCENARIO

History of Kerala unfolds the rich and varied tradition of its communication forms and practices. In early times oral communication was the only mode of communication for the masses. Written communication was confined to the educated elite. (Vilani 131) Mass communication at grass root level took place mainly through the word of mouth. Festivals, trade fairs, *melas*, places of worship were the early forums of communication. On these occasions people came together and renewed their friendships and established new contacts. These public gatherings provided them a platform to share their experiences and opinions (Iyer 124). Such social interactions encouraged the flow of information and reinforced the communication system to a large extent. In the case of the educated class, debates and literary discourses acted as the major forums of communication.

Apart from these indigenous communication forms, there existed a wide variety of folk and traditional art forms. Being a great repository of various folk and traditional performing art forms, Kerala had a long history of social communication. Folk forms like

Njattupattu, Vadakkanpattu, Tekkanpattu, Pulluvanpattu etc. were recited and remembered without any script and communicated orally from generation to generation (Iyer 138). Traditional performing art forms like *Villupattu, Theyyam, Thira, Kummatti, Padayani, KakkariSSI nadakam, Vellari nadakam* etc. functioned as vehicles for the transmission of knowledge, cultural and moral values. Usually these folk arts were "... centered round social customs and values practiced or accepted within the community and serve to heighten the harmony of people..." (Iyer, 131)

Krishna Iyer in his book **Social History of Kerala** stated that, these folk arts "... not only include folk beliefs, folk customs, superstitions, folk songs and games, but also other manifestations which keep up the traditions and culture of bygone ages and ancestors ..." (131) It is obvious that the social communication at grass-root level took place mainly through these folk media. For the rural mass it was a medium for expressing their social, ethical, moral and emotional needs. Apart from mass entertainment these folk media provided a platform for mobilizing public opinion and acted

as the chief instruments of social change. (Varier 313-314; Parambol, 19-20)

Arrival of Christian missionaries in the early half of 16th century paved the way for the development of mass communication in Kerala. Introduction of printing by Christian missionaries, their educational and literary activities nurtured the mass communication sphere of Kerala to a great extent.

Introduction of Printing

Introduction of printing was a momentous event in the history of communication, which made it possible to reproduce information cheaply and disseminate it to a vast audience simultaneously. It was the Portuguese Christian missionaries, who came in the last decades of 16th century introduced printing in Kerala. Though their educational and literary activities were aimed at religious propagation, it also made possible for the majority of people to become literate. They established several schools and free education was given to all irrespective of caste and creed. They also had set up printing presses at various parts of Kerala. (Raghavan, 30-31;

Vilaniyam, 65). Both these attempts enlightened the society in general, and mass education and mass communication in particular. Increased literacy, extension of education and emergence of newspapers have fostered social, political and cultural renaissance in Kerala. This in turn shaped the thought patterns of people with new reformist ideas and opinions.

Era of National Movement

As anywhere else in India, national movement made its repercussions on the socio-political milieu of Kerala as well. The mass communication sphere also underwent subsequent changes. Increased literacy and high percentage of media diffusion made communication process more effective and triggered the rise of public opinion tremendously. People showed keen interest in the ongoing socio-political reformation in the state. All these developments in turn gave vigorous impetus to the mass communication sphere, especially to the print media. More and more newspapers came into existence. *Swarad, Swadesabhimani, Malayala Rajyam, Bhaje Bharatham, Bhaje Keralam, Poura Prabha, Malayali, Deenabandhu, Malayala Manorama, Mathrubhumi,*

Prabhatham, Desabhimani, Janayugam, etc. were important among them. (Raghavan 236-255) When nationalism gathered momentum and grievances of people against alien rulers multiplied, press was in the vanguard of this movement. They fought fearlessly against British imperialism. Though they suffered the wrath of authorities they bravely carried on the fight for freedom and posed serious challenge to the authorities with sharp criticizing articles.

(N. Kumar, 62) Asok Kumar in his study **The Press and Nationalist Movement in Kerala** observed that,

... native newspapers in Kerala were able to provide the much needed political education to the people. They acted as an instrument of political education to the people of Kerala. A large number of people of Kerala came to know about the political events in the country through the political journalism through Kerala. Even the illiterate people of Kerala understood the political ideology and national consciousness through their literate brothers. People of Kerala, even the illiterate, were drawn into the struggle for freedom.

because of the patriotic and inspiring writing in the columns of the nationalist press. The press in Kerala have to be proud of the part they have played in the national movement. (106)

As part of the national movement, social reform movement also intensified during this period. These movements were spearheaded mainly by communally organized social organizations like SNDP (Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam), NSS (Nair Service Society), Nampoothiri Yoga Kshema Sabha, Sadhujana Paripalana Sabha, Kalyanodayanthi Sabha, Vala Samudaya Parishkarana Sabha, Sahodara movement etc. (Cherian 515-16) Besides nationalistic organizations, socio-communal organizations like SNDP, NSS etc. have also played a significant role in the socio-political reawakening in Kerala. Socio-communal organizations too have extensively utilized print media as an effective weapon for social change. Periodicals like *Vivekodayam*, *Mithravadi*, *Kerala Kaumudi*, *Sujana Nandini*, *Sthree*, *Velakkaran* (SNDP), *Nayar*, *Service* (NSS), *Unni Nampoothiri*, *Yogakshemam* (Nampoothiri Yogakshema Sabha), *Sahodaran* (Sahodara movement), *Al Ameen*, *Chandrika*

(Muslim League) have all contributed much to the social reawakening in Kerala.

Nampoothiri Yoga Kshema Sabha went a step further by manipulating a comparatively novel communication practice, the theatre (A. Kumar 30). V.T.Bhattathiripad, M.R.B (M.R.Bhattathiripad) and Premji (M.P.Bhattathiripad) were behind this innovative propaganda strategy. Dramas like *Marakkudaikkullile Mahanarakam* by MRB, *Adukkalayil Ninnu Arangathekku* by VT and *Ruthumathi* by Premji etc. made far reaching repercussions in their community. (B.Nair, 97-112) These dramas were propaganda oriented and have successfully explained the sufferings of the Nampoothiri women in their home and also mobilized public opinion against the age-old customs and conventions existed in Nampoothiri community. The organizers of the theatre movement were of the opinion that the medium of drama will be much more effective in changing the minds of conservative people. (Prasad, 123-126; A. Kumar, 42-43; Kali, 128-140)

The period of the nationalist movement and social reform movements presented the diverse picture of innovative strategies,

models and patterns of communication experimented in Kerala. Though all these movements extensively utilized the facilities of various media, none of them formulated a comprehensive communication strategy to tap the potential of various communication forms and channels available here. It was the Communists, who made the first systematic attempt to exploit all available communication forms and channels for propaganda activities. In manipulating the media Communist have a notable difference with that of other movements. Communists formulated an exhaustive communication strategy appropriate and accessible to various sections of the society. They successfully exploited the complementary role of various communication media, by forming a well-knit communication network of various communication forms like word of mouth, press, publications, theatre and art forms. After Christian missionaries, Communists did much contribution to the development of mass communication in Kerala.

II. COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN KERALA (1930-1957)

Background

Socio political milieu of Kerala witnessed a radical upsurge in early 30s. It was the global revolutionary mass movement of peasants and working classes under the Communist umbrella that sowed the seeds of revolutionary activities in Kerala. The slogans of socialism and revolution had a powerful appeal on educated youths, who were inspired by the radical ideas of social reformists like Swami Vivekananda, Sree Narayana Guru *et al.* The enthralling victory of Russian Communists over capitalism and autocracy has boosted the aspirations of the younger generation. (Cherian, 524-27)

Emergence of Radical Organizations

The beginning of Communism in Kerala can be traced from early 30s, with the emergence of radical organizations. The first political organization, which brought a new, radical and revolutionary element into the political scene of Kerala, was Communist League. It was formed in 1931 in the princely state of

Travancore under the auspices of N.P.Kurukkal and some other radical youths. After the formation of Communist League, more and more radical organizations came into existence. All Travancore Youth League and The Radical Group were important among them. Though they had no formal connection with the Communist Party, their activities have created ample ground for the growth and development of Communist Party in Kerala. (Cherian, 28; Kumar, 164)

Formation of Congress Socialist Party

Compared to other parts of the country, nationalism came very late in Kerala. Though the first meeting of Indian National Congress was held at Calicut in 1903, it was not active in the political scene of Kerala until the 30s. It was the Civil Disobedience Movement that drew Kerala into the vortex of freedom struggle. But the activities of Congress were confined to the educated upper class, especially teachers, advocates, *Nattupramanis* etc. (Cherian, 529; Balakrishnan, 40) Large section of the population was still beyond the pale of their activities. Younger generation who were stimulated by the worldwide developments and ongoing socio-political

reforms, wanted to give a radical direction to the national movement. They were also discontented with the non-violence and non-co-operation methods of the Congress party. The apparent failure of Gandhian political teachings and his withdrawal of Civil Disobedience Movement also disappointed the young generation. (Woodcock, 243; S. Menon, 85-86)

It was during this period that *Mathrubhumi*, the mouthpiece of Congress Party in Kerala, published the Malayalam translation of 'Wither India', by Jawaharlal Nehru, a series of articles with socialist ideas. This in turn stirred the imagination of the young congressmen, who were groping for a new ideology that can give a concrete shape to their aspirations. (Balakrishnan, 69) The younger generation who imbued socialist ideas was organized under the leadership of EMS Nampoothiripad, K. Damodaran, P. Krishna Pillai, K.P. Gopalan, A.K. Gopalan, et.al. These developments brought a sharp polarization in Congress party. Those who went with radical ideas were grouped as leftists and those who stick on to the old policies of Congress party were as rightists. This left-right polarization intensified in mid 30s and later the same led to the

formation of a Congress Socialist group within the Congress. The resolution declaring the formation of Congress Socialist Party (here after C.S.P.) was passed in a meeting held on 12th May 1934 at Calicut town hall. The meeting was presided over by K. Kelappan. C.K.Govindan Nair was elected as the president of the party and P. Krishna Pillai as the secretary. They constituted a committee with the following members: P.Kumaran, K.P.Gopalan and H.Manjunatha Rao. Having its base in Malabar, C.S.P. soon established itself in the princely states of Travancore and Cochin. (Balakrishnan, 69-75) While working within the Congress, C.S.P. established contacts with workers, peasants, students and teachers. This enabled them to extent their activities in each and every sector of the society, thereby laying the organizational foundation of the Communist Party.

Communist Party

At the outset of the Second World War, political scene in Kerala once again witnessed an ideological polarization. It was due to the attitudes of Congressmen and Congress Socialists towards the war. Radical youths in C.S.P were displeased with the attitudes of

both Congress and C.S.P. towards the war. They thought that both parties have failed in developing a correct attitude towards the world war and freedom movement. They were attracted by the Communist policy of intensifying the struggle for freedom through direct action of the people, during the time of war. The Communists mobilized the entire mass against the war and intensified the freedom struggle by strikes of peasants and working class. This policy turned the young turks of C.S.P towards Communism. Their extensive contacts with the central committee members of Communist Party of India (here after C.P.I.) like S.V.Ghate, P.Sundarayya, G.Adhikari, S.Batliwala, P.C.Joshi *et al.* facilitated their transition from Congress Socialists to Communists. (Balakrishnan 245, Balaram 151-52)

During these periods Ghate and Sundarayya have made several visits to Kerala and exerted their influence on personalities and practices of C.S.P. As a result of these developments, the Kerala unit of C.P.I. was established in July 1937 in a secret meeting at Calicut. The meeting was organized under the leadership of S.V. Ghate, EMS Namboothiripad, K.Damodaran, P.Krishnapillai, and

N.C.Sekhar. (Balaram 147, Balakrishnan 149) Though they have established an independent organization, they still remained in the parent organization as Congress Socialists due to the political ban imposed on C.P.I during those period. Since Congress was a legitimated organization, Communists found it safe to conduct training camps and organizational activities in the name of Congress Party. While working within the Congress they carried on the organizational activities in accordance with Communist ideology. (Balakrishnan 151, Balaram 147)

The activities of the Communist group attracted more and more people towards Communism and made them aware of the philosophy and programmes of the Communist Party. It was their activities that played the pivotal role in the mass conversion of Congress Socialists to Communists. The secret conference of C.S.P. held at Pinarayi, a village near Tellicherry taluk in Dec. 1939, formalized the transformation of Kerala C.S.P. into Kerala Communist Party. The meeting was presided over by K.P. Gopalan and about 100 delegates from various parts of Kerala took part in the meeting. It was in this meeting that Krishnapillai disclosed the

existence of the Communist group, which had been working within the Congress since 1937. (Balaram 153, Balakrishnan 207).

The expanded organization formed at Pinarayi in 1939 was also an underground organization. The kind of secret existence and activities, continued until July 1942, till it became a legalized organization.

After the formation of Kerala unit of C.P.I., organizational structure of Communist Party began to expand throughout Kerala. They formed small party units called "cells" at various parts of the state. In Malabar, cells were formed at Chirakkal, Kasaragod and Ponnani. In Cochin State, cells were at Trichur, Amballoor, Kochi, Kodungalloor, Chalakkudy, Tripunithura and Azheekkal. In Travancore state, cells were constituted at Cherthali, Alleppey, Koothattukulam, Punaloor, Vaikom, Kottayam and Trivandrum. (Balaram 157, Balakrishnan 162)

Emergence as an Electoral Force

Elections to the provincial assemblies, held in 1945 was an epoch - making event in the history of Kerala Communist Party. It

was the first time that Communist Party came before the voters in its own name, under its own flag and with its own statement of policy or election manifesto.

In Malabar there were three types of constituencies i.e. general, Muslim reservation and labour constituency. Though Communist Party fielded its candidates in all constituencies, none of the party candidates won the election either in general or in Muslim constituency. One candidate from the two labour constituencies (the Southern Railway constituency) was elected to the Madras Assembly. In Malabar proper, Communist Party contested in five constituencies. Though the Communist Party candidates were defeated in all constituencies, they secured enough votes to retain the security.

The first free election based upon adult franchise was held in 1948 in the princely states of Travancore and Cochin. Out of 120 seats in the Legislative Assembly, Congress secured 111 seats. All candidates of Communist party were defeated, though they had contested in 17 seats.

First General Election 1951-52

The first general elections were held in Dec. 10, 1951 to Jan 5, 1952. Assembly seats were increased to 122 after the merging of two princely states of Travancore and Cochin. Congress contested in all the 122 constituencies but won only in 52 seats. Communist party fielded its candidates in 53 seats and secured 29 seats. The strength of Congress was shot down from 111 seats (in 1948 election) to 52 seats (in 1951-52 elections). On the other hand Communist Party emerged as the second largest party by a sudden spurt from zero point in 1948 elections to 29 seats in 1951-52 elections.

Midterm Poll 1954

In 1954-midterm election, the state of Travancore-Cochin was reorganized and the numbers of assembly seats were reduced to 118. Congress contested in all the 118 constituencies and won only in 45 seats. Communist Party fielded its candidates in 30 constituencies and won 23 seats.

In Malabar, Communist Party emerged as the majority party by securing 50% of the total poll and the strength of Congress was reduced to 31.2%.

Second General Election of 1957

The second general election was conducted just after the formation of united Kerala State. In 1956, Malabar (part of Madras province) and state of Travancore-Cochin merged to form the united Kerala State. Election to the first Legislative Assembly of Kerala State was held on March 1957. Of the 125 Assembly seats, Communist Party contested in 100 seats and won 60 seats. Congress won only 43 seats though they contested in all the 125 constituencies. In the parliament election, out of the 18 Loka Sabha Seats, Communists won nine seats and Congress secured six.

The progress made by Communist Party during this period was phenomenal compared to its own record in the previous elections and with that of the record of other parties. The electoral victory of 1957 would be a sufficient proof for their subsequent success in acquiring mass support. Using imaginative forms of propaganda techniques and communication strategy appropriate and accessible to the masses, Communists made their strong hold in the soil of Kerala.

III. STRATEGY AND PRACTICE OF COMMUNICATION

Right from the beginning Communist party was the most organized one and engaged in a continual process of politicization of their cadres and communicating with the followers. Party cadres and workers are well informed about their party and its ideology and policies. On the other hand local bodies of other parties did not know precisely what the goals of their party were nor its ideals and programmes (Joseph 380). Though an alien concept Communist had succeeded in propagating their ideology among the public in an effective manner. The most outstanding feature of the activities of the communists was their introduction of Communism in the social and intellectual realms. This move helped Communist Party in maintaining a strong hold in the social, cultural and intellectual realms of Kerala. In order to see the whole picture of Communist efforts at persuasion in Kerala, it is necessary to examine the means by which Communism carries its message to the public.

Even in the early stages of its development when its membership and organization were negligible, Communist movement in Kerala maintained an effective and impressive

communication programme. They utilized all media resources like theatre, press, publications, art forms, word of mouth to popularize Communist doctrine in Kerala. A detailed examination of the communication practice of Communists will show how intensively and persistently communist party has designed its communication network to mobilize the public. Major components of their communication system can be categorized as follows:

1. Study classes and Night schools
2. Publishing Programme
3. Cultural Activities
4. Demonstrations

1. STUDY CLASSES AND NIGHT SCHOOLS

Study classes and night schools form a regular communication programme of Communist Party. During the early stages of the movement study classes and night schools have functioned as effective channels of communication and party education. Through these classes the party workers got adequate knowledge about the party's lines and principles. Besides party education general

education was also given to the party workers. Fundamentals of Marxism - Leninism, global revolutionary movements, national and international political situations, regional matters like caste oppression, feudalist exploitation, untouchability, issues related to agricultural and industrial labour and all kinds of social matters were discussed in these classes. Besides this, general education was also given to them so as to enable them to read and write and thereby raise their consciousness. Instructions in English, Hindi, training in public speaking etc. were also part of the classes. (Jayadevdas, 161)

Following statement points to the importance the party given to the education of party cadres.

... it must be remembered that in order that the party may acquire firm base in the working class and peasantry, education of cadres from these classes is a key task. This task in view of the general cultural backwardness of the country, involves not only education in Marxism, but also and as a step towards general education, general raising of their cultural level, including literacy... (Doc. Vol. VII p. 245)

During the periods of insurgence of popular movements in Travancore and Cochin areas, AKG, EMS, A.V. Kunhambu et al. used to visit Alleppey-Cherthala areas and gave workers instructions and classes. The party at the outset has established an education centre at Alleppey on the eastern bank of Kummady bridge. The education activities staged a substantial progress that there were eight study centres in the area on the eve of 1938 general strike. (Jaydevdas, 161)

Study classes and night schools were conducted on all Kerala basis. Party leaders camped at various parts of the state for the purpose. The classes were not only intended to give ideological orientation to the party cadres but also to raise the general educational standards as well as the socio political awareness of the party workers.

2. PUBLISHING PROGRAMME

Throughout its history, Communist movement has devoted a large part of its resources, human and material to maintain an official party press and publishing programme. Even in early stages

of its development, Communist Party has maintained an impressive array of publications. Even in the periods of disruption, such as years of 1947 - 48 when the party was under political ban, they maintained a steady flow of publication under various titles.

The resolution on party organization adopted in the meeting of central committee of Communist Party of India in March 1953 states that:

... The party committees in general and central committee and provincial committee in particular, have to make it a most important immediate task of theirs to strengthen and improve the quality of *party journals*. Party leaders and leaders of mass struggles must write regularly for the journals, the Central Committee and Provincial Committee must regularly discuss the journal with a view to improve it, a campaign has to be launched in the entire party to increase the circulation of the journals, to suggest improvements, to collect funds. Without this, it will be impossible to stabilize and consolidate the influence of

the party, improve the quality of our agitation, enthuse the sympathizers and supporters of the party, spread to new areas, heighten the political consciousness of the masses and the best of them into the party... (Doc Vol. VII, p. 320 - 321)

Prabhatham

In 1934 radical youths in Congress formed Congress Socialist Party. Within a few months they started a new Malayalam weekly under the name *Prabhatham*, which means the 'The Dawn'. Initially it was a small newspaper owned by K.S. Nair and published from Palghat. Later EMS and Ramachandran Nedungadi purchased it and released it as a weekly from Shornur. It became the official organ of Congress Socialist Party and EMS was its editor. The first issue came out in 1934. When *Prabhatham* published a poem on Bhagath Sing's martyrdom, the government ordered to deposit Rs.2000/- as security. But the management had no money to deposit and therefore the publication had to be discontinued. After three years the license was restored and shifted to Kozhikode in 1938. (EMS 17, N. Kumar 149)

Prabhatham published translated articles from the 'Congress Socialist' official organ of All India Congress Socialist Party. It also gave adequate importance to labour struggles and popular agitations that were making a beginning in Kerala. During 1935 *Prabhatham* published a series of articles, which laid the basis for the subsequent development of the peasant movement in Malabar. It also published articles, write-ups and other materials, which gave a picture of the developing struggle of the working class, peasants and students.

Although published from Malabar part of Kerala *Prabhatham* had wide circulation in Cochin and Travancore areas, not only among trade unions, students and youth movements, but also among the growing political movement. Cochin and Travancore had political problems developing in such a way that they were bound to fuel a powerful political upsurge. *Prabhatham* intensively studied those problems, trying to help the emergence of a vigorous political movement in both states. (EMS - Com. 19)

The paper paid great attention to the popularization of ideas of socialism, explaining how these were being put into practice in

the first land of Socialism. Articles, a regular column of reader's question and editor's answers - all these helped readers to understand what socialism was and how it is worked.

Prabhatham proved to be a potent vehicle of radical nationalism and carried the message of class struggle to the toiling people and wind of socio - cultural modernization to the intelligentsia. Its appearance did not indeed herald the dawn of a new epic, even if its name was acquired by an accident of history. (EMS. Com. 20)

Deshabhimani

August 1942, the month of quit India movement began, brought the Communist Party of India into the open. The party's central office was established in Bombay. A weekly organ of the party 'People's War' began to be published. It was in the wake of these new developments at the centre that the open office of the party in Kerala was established in Calicut. Like people's war in Bombay, the party organ in Malayalam, *Deshabhimani* was published as the official organ of the party. (EMS. Com. 69)

The word *Deshabhimani* means 'Patriot' and the name was symbolic. *Deshabhimani* came out at the very time that anti Communist feelings whipped up by the Party's opponents for its stand on the quit India movement. The Communist Party's stand, evolved in the larger context of the invasion of the Soviet Union by Nazi Germany, was that opposing Britain at that juncture would be tantamount to helping the spread of Fascism. Citing this opposition of the Party Communists were branded as 'anti-nationals'. It was in defiance of this anti-Communist mood of the people that the Communist Party decided to name their official organ *Deshabhimani*. (EMS. Com. 69-70, Frontline. 114)

Like *Prabhatham*, *Deshabhamani* also acted as a potent vehicle for the dissemination of socialist ideas in Kerala, which brought the news of labour strikes and peasant struggles going on in various parts of the world. Though its circulation was very limited and was often interrupted by the intervention of police authorities and bureaucracy, the available copies were widely read and discussed by the party workers.

Other Publications

In 1953 Travancore State Committee of C.P.I. began to publish *Janayugam* daily from Kollam. Initially it had a circulation of 7500 copies and during the midterm election of early 1954 its circulation increased to 11000 copies (C.P.I. Travancore State Committee report to the state conference 1956-p.34). They also started another daily *Navalokam* from Ernakulam during the period 1952-53. *Navajeevan*, another daily from Trissur, under the editorship of Prof. Joseph Mundassery also played an important role in the dissemination of party news in Travancore - Cochin region. (Baskaran.74)

Besides these dailies party also published dozens of weeklies and periodicals. *Munnani* (Trissur), *Theppori* (Thiruvananthapuram), *Janasabdham* (Thiruvananthapuram), *Communist* (Kozhikkode), *Ikya Keralam* (Trissur), *Pravaham* (Iringalakkuda), *Viswakeralam* (Thiruvananthapuram), *Republic* (Trissur), *Navayugam* etc. were important among them (Bhaskaran, 73-75).

Throughout the rest of the decade, party press continued to grow both in size and in significance as a purveyor of party news

and as a shaper of ideas. During the fight for the attainment of party's goals party press played a significant role as propaganda agents.

In addition to official party publications, there are the publications of the Communist influenced mass organizations and front groups. While these publications are not all equally subject to party discipline, they must be counted among the channels through which the party disseminates significant parts of its message to the public. Most of the mass and front organizations maintain regular journals. *Krishikkaran* (Malabar Kisan Sangam), *Trade Union* (Trade Union Workers), *Railway Thozhilali* (Railway Labour Union), *Thozhilali* (Travancore Labour Association), *Vidhyarthi* (Thiruvithamcore - Cochi Vidhyarthi Federation), *Adhyapakan* (Malabar Elementary Teachers Federation), *Party Samghadakan* (Communist Party Malabar Committee) etc. also contributed to the shaping of public opinion on issues related to the community concerned.

Books and Pamphlets were another important source of propaganda. They are somewhat limited in circulation and seldom

have mass readership. The opportunity to develop specific ideas in depth makes the book a particularly potent source of propagandist information. Throughout the history of the movement books and pamphlets have played a pivotal role in the shaping of ideas and attitudes on a large scale.

About the role of pamphlets in party education, party resolution states that:

... Pamphlets not only educate the masses, but also activate the party ranks, sharpen their understanding of party policy and unify them politically, thus play a most important part in the strengthening the organization of the party. They make it possible to swing the entire party into action in a disciplined and organized way on issues confronting the people. It is necessary, therefore, for the party centre as well as party committees to plan out the production and sale of such pamphlets, which must be written in a simple and effective language ...
(Documents Vol. VII, p.321)

During the general election of 1951-52 the party propaganda machinery supervised by the State Committee published 2,14,000 copies of leaflets and booklets, 21128 copies of daily newspaper (per day) and 7000 weeklies. (Balakrishnan, 432)

The State Committee of the party started a publishing house 'Prabhatham Printing and Publishing Company Ltd' in January 1953. In 1953 itself it published Thoppil Bhasi's *You made me a communist* and 35,000 copies of this was sold in 1953, and 50,000 copies in 1954 and 20,000 copies in 1955. Altogether within 2 years it sold more than 2,00,000 copies. Besides this, Prabhatham published 1,30,000 copies of leaflets during 1954 mid term election. (Balakrishnan, 433)

Prabhatham played an important role in introducing foreign publications especially Chinese and Soviet publications in Kerala. Chinese publications like China pictorial, Peoples China, China Reconstructs and Soviet periodicals, like Soviet Union News, News Times, Soviet Literature, Soviet Women and hundreds of Soviet and Chinese books were distributed in Kerala.

3. CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

The best elements of national tradition and cultural heritage of Kerala was its songs and art forms. They served the society as tools for social communication for ages. Apart from mass entertainment they provided a platform for mobilizing public opinion tremendously and acted as chief instruments of social change. Communists have the credit of be first to have initiated systematic attempts, in exploiting and manipulating the socio political potential of various art forms and cultural activities in bringing out social change. They utilized songs, folk and classical art forms, theatre etc. for the propagation of Communism among the public.

Songs

Songs form an important propaganda medium for the dissemination of Communist ideology in village areas. Thousands of songs were composed by the party activists and made it a practice to sing them during *Jathas*, meetings, party conferences etc. These songs were embedded with revolutionary ideas and called for the working class to fight against exploitation. The impact made by

these songs on the public was clearly evident that many of the veteran party workers were still able to recite the lines of these songs fluently. Songs like:

ഏറെനാൾ ജന്മി പിടിച്ചു വാശി
തീരെ നശിച്ചു കൃഷിക്കാർ
മേലാലൊരുമിച്ചു സംഘംചേർന്നു
നമ്മൾ പിടിക്കണം വാൾ...

(For a long time
the feudal land lord took tax
completely destroyed were the farmers
from now on by forming groups
let us catch the sword.....)

were asked the peasants to join *Karshaka Sangam* in order to fight against exploitation and colonial injustice.

Songs depicting the plight of labourers and peasants and asking them to unite and agitate were written. Folk aspects and style of these songs attracted peasants and workers in thousands. In many places they sang these songs during the sessions of paddy sowing and harvesting. Communist Party used these songs to stir up hope

and faith in the classes, who were engaged in the movement for transforming the society. (Kurup, 12)

T.S. Thirumumbu, V.T. Kumar Master, M. Kumar Master, K.P.G., R. Sugathan, P. Bhaskaran, Vayalar, S.K. Das, T.M. Prasad, Ponkunnam Damodaran et al. were the famous revolutionary lyricists of that time.

During the period of IInd world war, Japanese invasion, food crisis etc. songs were effectively utilized for political propaganda. They played a crucial role in politicising and drawing them into the party and its struggles. Many of these songs were banned by the government that as they are found to be "... highly prejudicial and inflammatory, when songs are set to be music and sung freely its effect will be to rouse feelings against the government and present social order." (C.S.F. No. 102/1948, 1923/1944, 8/1947)

Art Forms

Besides songs various types of art forms both folk and classical were extensively utilized to mobilize the public in lines with Communist ideology. In Malabar *Thacholikali*, *Kaikottikkali*, *Kummi*,

Kolkali etc. were widely used in Communist campaigns whereas in Travancore area *Kathaprasangam, Ottanthullal*, etc. were used for the dissemination of socialist ideas among the rural public.

Poorakkali, an important art form of Malabar, was widely used to propagate revolutionary ideas. Under the leadership of Keraleeyan and Koran Master, a political *Poorakkali* troop was formed at Parassinikadavu in Kannur. The troops toured various parts of the state as well as other parts of the country.

Poorakkali was extensively used to create public opinion during Japanese invasion period. Many songs were written to mobilize public opinion against Japanese invaders and for the victory of anti-fascist alliance.

Thacholikkali, another popular folk art form was also used by the Communist to mobilize the public in Malabar. It was widely used in Vadamara, Onchium areas of Kozhikode region. Communists utilized these folk art forms for convincing the rural mass about social, political and economic issues like caste oppression, feudal exploitation, colonial injustice etc.

In Cochin and Travancore area *Ottanthullal*, *Kaikottikali*, *Kathaprasangam* were extensively used for the propagation of Communist ideas. Besides these other art forms like *Kummi*, *Kolkali*, *Vattakkali*, *Thalipeelikkali*, *Ivar Kali*, *Porattu*, *Thiruvathira*, *Padakam* etc. were used widely for propaganda purpose. They successfully utilized the social and political potential of these art forms and transformed them as effective weapons for the dissemination of their ideology.

Theatre

Like songs and art forms theatre also acted as a successful propaganda device to disseminate socialist and revolutionary ideas. Several plays with revolutionary themes were staged at party meetings, peasant conferences etc. Damodaran's *Pattabacki* (Arrears of rent) was pioneering among them. The drama depicted the plight of the peasantry and evils of landlords in a touching manner. It aroused consciousness of the peasants and workers and exhorted them to fight for the cause of social equality. It had been staged in many places. Popularity of this drama paved the way for the emergence of a number of plays with socio-political significance.

In 1937 Communists organised a large campaign against art for art and in favour of art for the people, and the Communist sponsored dramatic clubs performed a number of plays written by progressive writers. Cultural centres and drama clubs were established adjacent to each and every village units of the party. They staged dramas depicting the problems of peasantry and working class. Dramas like *Inquilabinte Makkal*, *Aaradi Mannu*, *Koottukrishi*, *Ithu Boomiyanu*, *Nammalonnu* etc. made far reaching repercussions in the society.

Increasing popularity of dramas with socio-political themes inspired party workers to establish a professional troupe for spreading the gospel of the burgeoning Communist movement. In 1950 Kerala People's Arts Club (KPAC) formed as the cultural wing of Communist Party. They presented a number of popular plays of socio-political significance. All of these were written by Thoppil Bhasi. Among the plays *Ningal Enne Communistakki* (You made me a Communist) became a box office hit. There were 40 bookings for the play at the inaugural day itself. The troupe toured all over India and held performances.

The popularity of the play swept like a storm for months up and down not only in Travancore but also in the whole Kerala. The plays symbolized Kerala's changing political culture. The fact that audience responded so enthusiastically indicated that they sympathised with the ideas of equality and struggle that the play sought to convey. In March 1953 the District Magistrate of Thiruvananthapuram instigated by the Congress Government of Travancore-Cochin state banned the play. A year later the High Court of Travancore-Cochin state ruled that the ban was invalid. Meanwhile the play was widely and illegally performed at hundreds of stages. The efforts to ban the play itself proved the impact it made on the socio-political sphere of Kerala.

This period can be considered as a golden era of Malayalam drama, as a medium achieved heights of popularity.

Cultural activities form an important factor in political activities during that time and had played a pivotal role in the dissemination of Communist ideas. During the period cultural activities has been largely subverted from their status as arts and

converted into instruments of mass communicators designed to mobilize the public in lines with Communist ideology.

4. DEMONSTRATIONS

Demonstrations form another form of propaganda activity, which constitutes *Jathas*, meetings, campaigns, fairs etc. All these performances were intended to create public opinion against the existing social order and to mobilize support from the public.

Jatha

The most important propaganda activity designed by the party to mobilize the public is *Jatha*. (March). *Jathas* were mostly organized to show party's dissatisfaction with government policies or actions. The *jathas* toured all parts of the village/district shouting slogans like *Inquilab sindabad* or long live revolution, down with imperialism etc. Touring of *jathas* helped very much to create public opinion against existing social order and bureaucracy. *Jathas* were also treated as a device to demonstrate the support the party enjoyed, the strength of its backing among the masses.

The year 1935-1936 saw intensive work at village level in the form of propaganda, conducted by small *jathas* (touring squads on feet); village meetings and local conferences. The *jatha* became the most popular method of disseminatory propaganda and mobilizing the peasantry. They also held a series of meetings on topics related to national and international issues with constant theme of peasant problems and how to solve them. (*Mathrubhumi* 18 Oct. 1935)

As *The Hindu* says,

... following in 1936 an intensive propaganda drive was initiated in all taluks from the setting up of *pradesh* (regional) Karshaka Sangams. C.S.P. propaganda jathas toured the taluks for hundreds of meetings covering on an average 10-15 miles a day on foot. In Valluvanad, the Taluk Karshaka Sangam took a decision in February 1936 to set up Sangams at village level. In March a propaganda team toured all parts of the taluk under the leadership of E.P.Gopalan and P.V. Kunhunni Nair. According to C.S.P. General Secretary

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EMS, the response of the peasantry was very encouraging. (The Hindu 23 Aug. 1935)

Campaigns

Campaigns form another important means of propaganda. The campaigns were organized to draw public attention to specific issues like peasant or labour problems, national or international issues etc. and make them aware of its seriousness and far reaching impact on the society. Songs, art performance, cultural activities etc. form part of these campaigns.

During Japanese invasion period, *Jaap Virudha Mela* (Campaign against Japan) was conducted at various parts of the state to create public opinion against Japanese invaders and for the victory of anti-fascist alliance. Grow more food campaign, campaign for responsible government in Travancore etc. were other important campaigns organized by the party.

Fairs

Fairs form another device for propaganda activity. Fairs were mostly organized to rouse party fund or *Deshabhimani* fund.

Whenever the publishing of *Deshabhimani* interrupted, either because of government imposed bans or fines for anti-establishment propaganda, or because of lack of fund, party leaders conduct *Deshabhimani melas* all over the state. Whenever *melas* conducted, people responded enthusiastically to the party's call for help.

Meetings

Meetings form another effective forum of communication. These were organized to draw public attention to the immediate demands of the party and to mobilize support from them. Meetings were helped very much to create public opinion against the existing social order and to mobilize mass support for party's activities.

***Vayanasalas* (Reading rooms)**

Vayanasalas form another forum of communication for the masses. Mostly the study classes and night schools were centred round the village *Vayanasalas* or reading rooms. During the period 1934-36, a spate of reading rooms were opened by party workers in

every village and taluk centres. The reading rooms played a crucial role in attracting young men to the anti-imperialist revolutionary movement and politically educating them. Meetings of youth league, Karshaka Sangam on Congress Socialist Party were mostly centred around the reading rooms, which became the venue of meetings of workers, peasants and students. In these meetings many illiterate peasants and laborers learned to read and write and also delivered speeches. The network of such reading rooms soon took the shape of a movement and in June 1937 a Malabar Vayanasala Conference was held in Calicut. A committee was formed by the conference with K. Damodaran as convenor and M. Sankaran, M. K. Kelu and K.P.R. Gopalan as members to guide the work of advancing the Vayanasala movement.

Mass/Front Organizations

The most important auxiliaries of Communist Party are the mass/front organizations. It is through them that the Communists endeavored to mobilize the full might of the working class and its allies for the tasks of the revolution.

The role of the mass/front organizations and their relationship to the party were defined by Stalin in 1924. In **Foundation of Leninism** he said:

... The party is not the only organizations of the working classes. The proletariat has also a number of other organizations, without which it cannot properly wage the struggle against the capital: trade unions, cooperative societies, factories and work organizations, parliamentary groups, non-party women's associations, the press, cultural and educational organizations, youth leagues, revolutionary fighting organizations, etc. The overwhelming majority of these organizations are non-party and only a certain part of them adhere directly to the party or represent its offshoots. All these organizations, under certain conditions are absolutely necessary for the working class. (Stalin, p. 115)

These organizations serve two purposes. As propaganda forum they help to create a climate of public opinion favorable to the

party activities and as a source of recruitment they provide a sphere where political activists of all sorts can be observed, influenced and drawn into the party apparatus.

They ostensibly represents and express the views of occupational, cultural or other sectors of the society and used as 'transmission belts' for the implementation of agit-prop propaganda lines. Youth and women's organizations also helped in rousing the interests of many politically indifferent proletarians and in drawing them eventually inside the Communist Party. During the period of political ban these organizations were acted as intermediaries between the party and the public.

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Chapter III

METHODOLOGY

Present study aims at highlighting the communication factors contributed to the evolution of Communist movement in Kerala from the beginnings to their electoral victory in 1957. The basic and prime method adopted for investigation was historical research with documentation of oral history as the main method. The researcher has applied survey method also to elicit opinions and experiences of persons associated with various Communist upheavals like peasant struggles, labour strikes etc. Survey on documented literature regarding Communist movement in Kerala also formed part of the study.

Although Kerala was a wide platform of Communist infiltration, there were specific geographic areas where its activities were intensively carried out. As such certain places were selected for the study namely Punnapra, Valayar (Alappuzha), Anthikkad, Amballur, Pariyaram (Thrissur), Onchium, Koothali, Vadakara (Kozhikode) and Mayyil, Morazha, Mattannur, Karivellur (Kannur). The Opinions and experiences of veteran party workers were recorded electronically and formed part of the study.

Before examining the communication practice of Communist movement in Kerala, it is essential to define some of the key concepts used in this study.

DEFINITIONS OF OPERATIONAL TERMS

Democratization of Communication

Democratization of communication means to democratize or popularize the process of communication by availing popular and indigenous media and thereby ensuring the active participation of individuals in communication process.

Oral History

The process of collecting unrecorded information and experiences from the recent past by interviewing persons who took part in the event.

Propaganda

Communication, verbal or non-verbal, that attempts to influence the motives, beliefs, attitudes or actions of one or more persons.

Sub Propaganda (Facilitative Communication)

Propagation of an unfamiliar doctrine, for which, a considerable period of time is needed to build a frame of mind in the audience towards acceptance of that doctrine. In order to gain the target audience's favour, various stimuli are used to arouse the attention of the audience and related encoders and agents who mediate the communication.

HYPOTHESES

Communication practice of Communists will be analyzed in terms of the following assumptions:

1. Communists succeeded in exploiting and manipulating all available channels of communication in service of their propaganda.
2. Integrated use of various communication forms and channels enabled the Communists to reach each and every sector of the society.
3. Communists utilized performing arts and folk songs as successful communication agents, which provided them a climate for the better receptivity of their radical ideas.

4. They successfully utilized the extensive possibility of interpersonal mode of communication.
5. By adopting all these methods they successfully democratized the process of communication.

The study aims to explore the Communist attempt to utilize various communication channels, to achieve their political objectives and to examine the particular features of their communication pattern and propaganda techniques. Specifically it is addressed to the following questions:

1. How an alien, western concept like Communism implemented in a caste oriented feudal society in Kerala?
2. How they communicated with a cross section of the society ranging from illiterate village mass to the urban elite?
3. How they overcome communication barriers like illiteracy, limited media exposure, variations in socio-economic status etc.?
4. How they successfully communicated with the public even in the periods of political ban?

RESEARCH DESIGN

Area

Four districts of Kerala were selected for the study. Out of the four districts, two, Alappuzha and Trissur belongs to the Travancore-Cochin area and the other two - Kozhikkode and Kannur - from Malabar area. Of these Alappuzha and Kannur can be considered as the cradle of Communist movement in Travancore and Malabar areas respectively, whereas the other two districts have not much affiliation with Communist ideology. The districts selected are of with different geographical, educational, political background, socio-economic and religious status, literacy rate, media exposure etc.

Respondents

Since the study is mainly concerned with the communication practice of Communists, a particular group of people was selected for the study. Criteria for the selection of respondents depended on their age and association with Communist movement.

In order to get adequate information, the study was concentrated in certain places, which are well-known for Communist upheavals in the district. The places selected purposively as they were known for their connection with mass movements like peasant revolts, labour strikes, Communist agitations etc. All veteran party workers were interviewed to get their opinions and experiences regarding Communist movement in the respective areas.

In Alappuzha the study is concentrated mainly in two coastal areas Punnapra and Vayalar. Both places were known for Communist upheaval in 1946. The epic struggle of the workers of Punnapra - Vayalar helped to hasten the end of the autocratic rule of the Dewan and the establishment of responsible government in Travancore.

In Trissur study was concentrated in Anthikkad, Amballoor and Pariyaram regions. These places were well known for Communist agitations in Trissur district. Mass movements like Toddy tappers strike of Anthikkad (1941), Textile workers strike of Amballoor (1946), Peasant struggle in Pariyaram (1947) etc. resulted

in the emergence of Communist party with a strong base in these regions.

In Kozhikkode, Onchium, Koothali and Vadakara areas were selected for the study. Onchium massacre (1948), Koothali strike (1947), Beedi-Cigar workers strike in Vadakara (1945) etc. gave a strong hold for Communist party in Kozhikkode region.

In Kannur the study was concentrated in areas like Karivellur, Mayyil, Morazha and Mattannur. These places are also well known for famous peasant struggles in Kannur region.

DATA COLLECTION

Both primary and secondary data were collected for the study. Since the study is concerned with a historic subject oral history method was opted for the collection of primary data. Oral history forms the sole way of retrieving information about a bygone period. Oral history means the process of collecting opinions and experiences from the recent past by interviewing those who took part in the event. Oral accounts from those who experienced the specific situation provide unsurpassed and irreplaceable evidence

regarding the movement. Thus all veteran party workers of the selected areas were interviewed to collect their experiences and opinions about the growth and development of Communist Party in the respective areas.

Secondary data collected from various sources like:

- Government documents (Administrative reports, Police reports, Judicial reports etc.)
- Newspaper reports.
- Biographies and autobiographies of eminent Communist leaders.
- Books/pamphlets and other publications regarding Communist movement in Kerala.

Sources of the Communist movement in Kerala are comparatively rich. Since its beginning newspapers are rich sources. The *Mathrubhumi* daily from the date onwards offer rich materials in this regard. From 6th Sept. 1942 onwards *Deshabhimani* the party organ is available with few interruptions.

The government records are mainly preserved in State Archives Department, Thiruvananthapuram. Government reports form authentic source of information regarding the communication practice of Communist movement in Kerala. Government orders regarding the prohibition of revolutionary songs, dramas, Communist literature etc. gave ample evidence for the impact of Communist propaganda in the soil of Kerala.

TOOLS OF DATA COLLECTION

Two kinds of tools were used for the collection of data from the respondents of selected areas viz. questionnaire and interviews. schedule.

Questionnaire consisted of multiple choice questions, open ended and close ended questions. The first part of the questionnaire deals with the age, gender, educational and political background of the respondents. Second part contained questions regarding the communication practice of Communists in that particular area.

Secondary data collected mainly through literature survey method.

1. Sociodemographics

From the four districts of Kerala, responses of 388 persons were collected for the study. About three-fourth of the total number (82 per cent) constitute males. The majority 94.3 per cent were Hindus; 21.1 per cent Muslims and 3.6 per cent Christians.

1.1. Break up of respondents on the basis of gender

<i>Gender</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
Male	318	82
Female	70	18
Total	388	100

1.2. Break up of respondents on the basis of religion

<i>Religion</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
Hindu	296	70	366	94.3
Muslim	8	-	8	2.1
Christian	14	-	14	3.6
Total	318	70	388	100

Of the total number 3.1 per cent were illiterates. 34 per cent studied up to primary level. Secondary level category constituted 34

per cent. 25 per cent passed high school level. Out of the total number, only 1.8 per cent had graduate and postgraduate qualifications. Professional or technical degree holders constitute 2.3 per cent.

1.3. Break up of respondents on the basis of educational status

<i>Educational status</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
Illiterate	4	8	12	3.1
Primary	101	35	135	34.8
Secondary	115	19	132	34
High school	97	8	97	25
Degree and above	3	-	3	1.8
Professional and Technical	9	-	9	2.3
Others	-	-	-	-
Total	318	70	388	100

Majority of the respondents (45.5 per cent) belonged to the 65-75 age group. Persons between 76-85 age group constituted 43.5 per cent; 86-95 years category consisted of 10.5 per cent and above 96 years constituted 0.5 per cent.

1.4. Break up of respondents on the basis of age

<i>Age group</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
65 - 75	136	42	177	45.5
76 - 85	148	21	169	43.5
86 - 95	35	6	41	10.5
96 and above	1	1	2	0.5
Total	318	70	388	100

Substantial number of the respondents (18.6 per cent) was farm-labourers. Farmers (17.3 per cent), labourers (16.8 per cent), factory workers (14.5 per cent) form other major occupational groups. Others were: teachers 10.3 per cent, merchants 1.3 per cent, government employees 2.3 per cent, non-governmental employees 2 per cent, full-time party workers 11.3 per cent, social and cultural activists and literary men 2 per cent and others 3.6 per cent.

1.5. Break up of respondents on the basis of occupation

<i>Occupational groups</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
Farmers	67	-	67	17.3
Farm labourers	45	27	72	18.6
Factory workers	51	5	56	14.5
Labourers	41	24	65	16.8
Merchants/Business	5	-	5	1.3
Teachers	35	5	40	10.3
Government employees	9	-	9	2.3
Non-governmental employees	7	1	8	2
Full time party workers	44	-	44	11.3
Social, culture activists and literary men	8	-	8	2
Others	6	8	14	3.6
Total	318	70	388	100

2. Media Habits of the Respondents

2.1.a. Newspaper Reading Habits of the Respondents

<i>Number of Newspapers</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
Nil	-	8	8	2
1	64	56	120	30.9
2	44	-	44	11.3
3 and above	210	6	216	57.8
Total	318	70	388	100

For the respondents newspapers form the major source of information about the latest events n the world. Out of the 388 respondents 57.8 per cent read more than three newspapers regularly. Eleven per cent read two, 30.9 per cent read only one daily and 2 per cent do not have the habit of reading newspapers.

2.1.b. Newspaper Preference of the Respondents

<i>Name of the newspaper</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
<i>Deshabhimani</i>	328	62	380	97.9
<i>Mathrubhoomi</i>	260	6	266	68.5
<i>Malayala Manorama</i>	249	4	253	65.2
<i>Kerala Kaumudi</i>	214	3	217	55.9
<i>Madhyamam</i>	115	-	115	29.6
<i>Indian Express</i>	26	4	30	7.7
<i>Hindu</i>	20	2	22	5.6
<i>Others</i>	32	-	32	8.2

Majority of the respondents (97.9 per cent) have opined that they are regular readers of *Desabhimani* daily. Other widely read newspapers were *Mathrubhumi*, *Malayala Manorama*, *Kerala Kaumudi*, *Madhyamam*, *Indian Express* and *Hindu*. When 68.5 per cent of the respondents reported that they regularly read *Mathrubhumi*, only

65.2 per cent preferred *Malayala Manorama*. *Kerala Kaumudi* seems to be the next most preferred newspaper. Fifty six per cent of the respondents stated that they read *Kerala Kaumudi*. The rating for *Madhyamam* was only 29.6 per cent. The preference of English newspapers by the respondents seems to be very insignificant compared to the Malayalam dailies. Out of the total number 7.7 per cent stated that they read *Indian Express* and only 5.6 per cent of them preferred *Hindu*.

2.2. Periodicals/Book Reading Habits of the Respondents

<i>Reading habit</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
Yes	220	16	236	60.8
No	98	54	152	39.2
Total	318	70	388	100

Out of the total number, more than half of the respondents (60.8 per cent) read books and other publications. Thirty nine per cent do not read any books or publications.

2.3. Categories of periodicals/books preferred by the respondents

<i>Subjects</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
General	134	4	138	35.6
Politics	220	7	227	58.5
Art & Literature	16	-	16	4.1
Entertainment types	5	13	7	1.8
Religious	-	-	-	-
Agriculture	-	-	-	-
Others	-	-	-	-

Majority of the respondents (58.5 per cent) read party publications and books. Most of the party workers are regular readers of party publications like *Chintha*, *Desabhimani*, *Navayugam* etc. They also had their own collections of party publications and books. About thirty six per cent of the respondents reported that they read all types of books and publications. Other than party publications, they usually read *Mathrubhumi*, *Kala Kaumudi*, *Madhyamam*, *India Today* etc. and books on various topics. Four per cent of the respondents like books on art and literature and 1.8 per cent read entertainment types.

2.4. Respondent's preference of radio programmes

<i>Radio Programme</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
News	306	62	368	94.8
General	12	46	58	14.9
Political	-	-	-	-
Entertainment	-	17	17	4.4
Others	-	-	-	-

Majority of the respondents (98.4 per cent) had radio in their home. All of them listen radio news regularly. About four per cent like entertainment programmes and 14.9 per cent listen all types of programmes.

2.5. Channel preference of the respondents

<i>Channel</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
Doordarshan	135	4	176	45.3
Kairali	144	4	148	38
Surya	103	9	112	28.8
Asianet	119	9	128	32
India Vision	-	-	-	-
Jeevan	-	-	-	-
Others	32	-	32	8.2

Out of 388 respondents 84.8 per cent had television, whereas only 39.4 per cent had cable facilities. Majority of the respondents watch *Doordarshan* programmes (45.3 per cent). Among private channels, *Kairali* had more viewership (38 per cent). Thirty two per cent of the respondents watch Asianet programmes. Surya had a little viewership of 28.8 per cent. 8.2 per cent of the respondents watch channels like BBC, CNN, Sports Channels etc.

2.6. Programme preference of the respondents

<i>Type of programmes</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
News	281	62	343	88.4
General	116	58	174	44.8
Politics	104	10	114	29.4
Entertainment	18	52	70	18
Art & Literature	8	-	8	2
Agriculture	-	-	-	-
Religious	-	-	-	-
Others	-	-	-	-

Out of the 388 respondents, 88.4 per cent of them watch news, 44.8 per cent watch general programmes, 29.4 per cent like political programmes and 18 per cent prefer entertainment programmes.

3. Socio-political Exposure

3.1. Political experience of the respondents

<i>Political Experience in Years</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
40 - 50	36	19	55	14.2
51 - 60	157	28	185	47.6
61 - 70	109	19	128	33
71 - 80	16	4	20	5.2
81 and above	-	-	-	-
Total	318	70	388	100

Among the 388 respondents large majority (47.6 per cent) had an experience ranging from 51-60 years as a party worker. 14.2 per cent had 41-50 years, 30 per cent had 61-70 years, 5.2 per cent had more than 71 years.

3.2. Respondent's affiliation with other organizations

<i>Unions and organizations</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
Farmers union	119	-	119	30.7
Farm labours union	90	27	117	30.2
Labour unions	150	29	179	46.1
Service unions	37	5	42	10.8
Non-governmental organizations	37	1	38	9.8
Cultural organizations	32	-	32	8.2
Literary forums	12	-	12	3
Social, voluntary and mass organizations	54	8	62	16
Cooperative societies	78	-	78	20.1
Others	-	-	-	-

Besides party membership, most of them were associated with various labour/service unions and social, cultural and voluntary organizations. Majority of them (46.1 per cent) are associated with labour unions, 30.7 per cent had affiliation with farmer's union. Others constituted: 30.2 per cent farm labours unions, 10.8 per cent service unions, 9.8 per cent non-governmental organizations, 20 per cent co-operative societies, 8.2 per cent socio-cultural organizations, 3 per cent literary forums, and 16 per cent voluntary and mass organizations.

4. Strategy and Practice of Communication

Study Classes and Night Schools

Regarding the communication strategy and propaganda techniques of Communist movement, the study disclosed that the study classes and night schools conducted by the party leaders like EMS, AKG, Krishnapillai, KK Warriar, C. Achuthamenon, R. Sugathan, K.C George, et al. had tremendous impact on the party cadres. Classes on various topics like fundamentals of Marxism Leninism, regional matters like Caste oppression, feudalism

exploitation, colonial injustice national and international socio political events etc. helped very much to raise the socio-political awareness of the party workers. Out of the 388 respondents 76 percent opined that study classes were the major source, which gave them more exposure to communism. They also opined that general education, discussions on various socio-political matters, regional national and international affairs made them aware the latest developments of the world.

Publishing Programme

Almost all the respondents recollected that *Prabathan* and *Desabhimani* were widely circulated in their areas as a part of party propaganda during the period 1930-1957. Though their copies were very limited, the available copies were widely circulated and read by the party workers. Because of the ban imposed on the distribution of party publications, these papers were smuggled through fish and vegetable baskets, bundles of betel leaves, grass bundles etc. from place to place. Most of the time they reached two or three days later after their publication. Some of the respondents told that they also got chances to carry party publications secretly from place to place.

4.1. Names of some party newspapers recollected by respondents

Alappuzha	Thrissur	Kozhikode	Kannur
Desabhimani	Desabhimani	Desabhimai	Desabhimani
Prabhatham	Prabhatham	Prabhatham	Prabhatham
Janayugam	Republic		
Navalokam	Navalokam		

Like party newspapers hundreds of party publications and publications of front organizations were circulated in these areas during that period.

4.2. Names of some party publications recollected by respondents

Alappuzha	Thrissur	Kozhikode	Kannur
Janasabdam	Navajeevan	Communist	Communist
Theppori	Navayugam	Krishikkaran	Krishikkaran
Navajeevan	Munnani	Adhyapakan	Adhyapakan
Munnani	Pravaham		Sreeharshan
Thozhilali	Vidyarthi		
New Age	Thozhilali		
Marxist Review	Party		
Trade Union	Samghadakan		
Peoples Democracy	Ikyakeralam		
Viswakeralam			
Party Samghadakan			
Vidyarthi			
Navayugam			
Thozhilali			

Though rigorous restrictions were imposed on the distribution of party literature, thousands of books and pamphlets were circulated in these areas as vehicles of party propaganda. The impact made by them on the public was clearly evident that the respondents were still able to recollect the names of many of the pamphlets and books read by them.

4.3. Names of some pamphlets recollected by the respondents

Alappuzha	Thrissur	Kozhikode	Kannur
Hitlare Tholpicha thozhilali	Engane nalla Communistakam?	Prapancham mayayo atho sathyamo?	Engane nalla Communistakam?
Sir C.P.yude avanazhiyile avasanathe ayudham	Adipuzhakiya Samraajyathwam	Kattumadam Kurumbranad viduka	Nanayaprasnam
Onnekal kodi malayalikal		Koothali estate innallenkil nale chethum	
Yesukristhu moskoyil		Ennalum namukkum yojikkam	
Virudhanmarude veriya premam			

The main themes of the pamphlets were anti-feudal, anti-colonial and exposing the party's slogans of revolution. Besides vernacular pamphlets and books foreign books and their translated versions were also circulated in these areas (see appendix).

Majority of the party workers had their own collections of party publications. They also had the experience of selling party literature during fairs, festivals, meetings etc. It was the party's direction that every party member should carry party books and literature when they go out and they should have a sale target each day.

Written documents also substantiate the extent and diversity of party output on this area (see appendix). The categories, according to subject matters, include India, China and Soviet Union, World affairs, History and Biography, art and literature, Economic and Marxism.

4.4. Names of some books recollected by the respondents

Alappuzha	Thrissur	Kozhikode	Kannur
Manushyan	CPSU(B)yude charithram	CPSU(B)yude charithram	Mooladhanam
Kooliyum Velayum	Mooladhanam	Russiyude charithram	CPSU(B)yude charithram
Mooladhanam	Marxism- Leninism Balapadam	Communist manifesto	Manushyan
Enthu cheyyanam?			Fundamentals of Marxism
Partykkullile Samarangale patti		Manushyan Socialism	Enthu cheyyanam
Kooli, labham, vila		Enthanu Marxism	
Marxism- Leninism- Balapadam		Nanaya prasnam	
Bharanakoodavum viplavavum		Mooladhanam	
CPSU(B)yude charithram			

Songs

Majority of the respondents opined that songs acted as a major factor in drawing the public towards party's programmes and policies. Thousands of songs were written by the party workers and

made it a practice to sing them during party programmes (see appendix)

4.5. Names of some party lyricists recalled by the respondents

Alappuzha	Thrissur	Kozhikode	Kannur
T.M.Prasad	K.P.G.	Avala.T.Kunjiraman	Keraleeyan
S.K.Das	Vallamkulam	M.Kumaran Master	T.S.Thirumumbu
R.Sughathan	R.K.Kurup	V.T.Kumar master	Pariyaram
P.Bhaskaran	M.P.Bhattathiripad	E.Raman Master	Kittettan
Vayalar		V.K.Kumaran	
Kedamanghalam		Vaidyar	
Pappukkutty			
S.K.Pottakkad			
K.P.G.			
Gopalanasan			

Oral sources gave ample evidence to the political use of songs by the Communist party to disseminate their radical ideas. Impact made by these songs on the public was clearly evident that the party workers were still able to recite lines of these songs fluently.

Songs like,

നമ്മൾ കൃഷിക്കാർ കുലിക്കാർ
നമ്മളീ നാട്ടിലെ പാവങ്ങള്
നേരം വെളുത്തിട്ടന്തിയോളവും
ചോർന്നീരാക്കി പണിയെടുത്തു
ജന്മി മുതലാളി മുപ്പൻമാർ
ചുമ്മാതിരുന്നു തിന്നോളുന്നു...

(We are farmers, labourers
we are the poor of this land
from morn to night
we work turning our blood to water
the feudal landlords
simply sit and eat....)

depicted the plight of peasantry and were song by the peasants,
especially women during agricultural operations like paddy sowing,
harvesting etc.

As in words of M.P Narayanan Nambiar, a veteran party worker of Kannur, ...

Songs like,

എന്തേ ചുമ്മാതിരിക്കുന്നെൻ സോദരർ

ലോകശത്രു ഫാസിസത്തെ വെന്നിടാൻ മുതിരാതെ...

(Why are you simply sitting my brothers

without even trying to win over

the world's enemy, fascism.....)

helped very much to evoke antifascist feelings among the rural mass in a effective manner.

Art Forms

The study also revealed that art forms also played pivotal role in politicising the rural people and drawing them in to party and its struggles, Respondents of Kozikkode region have opined that art forms like Poorakkali, Kolkali, Thacholikkali, etc. have been extensively used for political propaganda in Malabar during the period of world war, famine, Japanese invasion etc.

Poorakali, an important art form of Kannur also widely utilized for propaganda purposes. Communist leaders like Keraleeyan, C. Koran master et al. wrote many propaganda oriented Poorakali songs during that period. These songs were embedded with revolutionary ideas and helped to evoke national sentiments among the peasantry. They also formed a Poorakali troupe at Parassinikadavu in Kannur. The troupe toured various parts of the country and disseminated the ideas of communism among the public in an effective manner.

Where as in Travancore and Cochin region, Kathaprasangam, Villupattu, Ottan Thullal, Kaikottikali etc. functioned as effective medium for drawing public support towards party's activities. Kathaprasangam by V. Sambasivan, Kadamangalam Sadanadan et al. have successfully disseminated socialist ideas among the public.

4.6. Names of some art forms used for
political propaganda by the communists

NR 4697

Alappuzha	Thrissur	Kozhikode	Kannur
Kathaprasangam	Kaikottikkali	Vattakkali	Poorakkali
Ottanthullal	Kolkali	Thacholikkali	Kolkali
Rashtriya bhajana	Ottan thullal	Kolkali	Kummi
Villupattu	Thottampattu	Kaikottikkali	Ottanthullal
Padakam	Kathaprasangam	Ottanthullal	
Thiruvathira	Ivarkali		
	Muthappankali		
	Chottukali		

Theatre



Like songs and art forms theatre also played crucial role in mobilizing the illiterate village mass towards communist ideology. Party workers and sympathizers wrote number of revolutionary dramas with socio-political themes and performed through out the length and breadth of the state. In Travancore, dramas written by Toppil Bhasi, Ponkunnam Varkey et al. made far-reaching repercussions in the society. In Malabar dramas of K. Damodaran,

K.T. Muhammed, Cherukad etc. have successfully delineated the evils of existing socio-political situation and called for radical reformations.

While performing such dramas, party workers faced many atrocities from the landlords as well as from the government.

As *Mathrubhumi* report on 9th April 1946 says:

...On April 1946 a peasant activist-cum- communist staged a drama, Ushanirudhan, in Urthur village to high light the oppression by Kalliat landlord. A scene in the drama depicted in humiliation of that particular landlord in the form of a Kurathi pattu. The goondas of the landlord then threw crackers and country bombs to the stage. The performance ended in a mess in which 17 communist sustained to injuries.

In Travancore the drama 'Ningal Enne Communistakki' written by Thoppil Bhasi also banned by the government. Later High Court of Travancore Cochin State lifted the ban and the drama performed in thousands of stages all over the country.

The respondents opined that audience responded so enthusiastically that they sympathized with the revolutionary ideas that the dramas sought to convey.

4.7. Names of some dramas recollected by the respondents

Alappuzha	Thrissur	Kozhikode	Kannur
Ningal enne Communistaki Inquilabinte makkal Kathiru kanakkili Desasevakan Vazhithurakkunnu Mannum Manushyanum Karshakan	Pattabacki Ningal enne Communistaki Aradimannu Rakthasakshi Inquilabinte makkal	JJ nalla manusanakan nokku Aradi mannu Nammalonnu Ithu bhumiyanu Karavatta pasu Bhumikku bharam Kutti thampuratti Karshakante kalappa Munnara sent Kaithokkum pullankuzhalum Arakshithan Rakthasakshi Kafar Munnettam Koottukrishi Magadhayude makan	Pattabacki Rakthapanam Ningalenne Communistaki Yachakan Ammayi Mammukka Koottukrishi Grant varatte Manninte makkal

Reading Rooms

Reading rooms form another forum of communication for the masses. Party workers took initiative in opening reading rooms in every nook and corner of villages for the public. They also acted as a centre for the dissemination of political ideology and also the venue of meeting of workers, peasants and students. According to the respondents the police destroyed many of those reading rooms during the period of political ban on communist party. But those survived the police attack were still functioning effectively.

**4.8. Some of the reading rooms organized by
communist party in the areas selected for study**

Alappuzha	Thrissur	Kozhikode	Kannur
Kommady vayansala	K.G.Kelan smaraka vayanasala,	Avala janakeeyamukku vayanasala	Kandakai S.J.M. vayanasala
Kuthirappanthi vayanasala	Anthikkad	Perambra	Velam bahujana vayanasala
Panamaithanam vayanasala	Manalur	Meppayur	Kayaralam vayanasala
Pazhaveedu vayasala	Karamukku	Kalpathur	Cherupazhassi
Thumboli vayanasala	Palazhi	Chalikkara	Peralasseri AKG vayanasala
Nagamkulangara vayanasala			Anchampeedika
Pazhampallikkara			Karivellur
Perunthuruthu yuvajana vayanasala			
S.L. Puram			
Thozhilali vayanasala, Muhamma			
N.P. Thandar smaraka vayanasala, Cherthala			

Arts Clubs and Cultural Centres

Along with reading rooms and libraries party workers have organized numerous arts clubs and cultural centres in every village to launch a large campaign against 'art for art' and in favour of 'art for the people'. They staged several dramas depicting the problems of the peasantry and working class.

Alleppey Workers Cultural Centre, the cultural wing of Travancore Labour Association staged many dramas depicting the problems of workers. The centre trained workers in various art forms like drama, ottanthullal, kathaprasangam and such art forms were performed in the public meetings of the Communist Party.

Coir factory workers of Muhamma, coir workers of Alappad and Anthikkad, Beedi-Cigar workers of Vadakara region etc. also gave evidence of Party's cultural activities in respective areas.

4.9. Names of some of the cultural centres organized by the Communist Party in the areas selected for the study

Alappuzha	Thrissur	Kozhikode	Kannur
Janadhipadhya Kalavedi	Kerala Kalavedi Thrissur	Kozhikode Nadakasangam	Erinjoli Grameena Kalasamithi
Ikyaposhini Kalanilayam	Alappad Purogamana	Iky Kerala Kalasamithi	Vayalalam Purogamana Nadakasamithi
Yuvajana Samajam Perumthuruth	Kala Sahithya Samithi	Maniyur Yuvajana Kalasamithi	Meloor Purogamana Kalasamithi
Cherthala Nritha Kalasamithi		Puthuppanam Kalasamithi	Dharmadam Samskarikavedi
Aleppey Workers Cultural Centre		Vilyapalli Jaya Kerala Kalasamithi	Mannayad Purogamana Kalasamithi
		Navakerala Samithi Puthiyappa	
		Malabar Kendra Kalasamithi	
		Vijaya Kalavedi	

Agitations

Agitations form another major propaganda technique of the Communist party. In Communist concept agitation is also a type of propaganda, where simple ideas were disseminated to a mass audience. Slogans of agitation are primarily aimed at stimulating the

people to action on immediate demands of the party. As a part of their propaganda activity, Communist Party organized several agitations on issues confronted the working class, at various parts of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar areas. The main purpose of these agitations was to mobilize the working class and to rouse them for action against the existing social order. Agitations gave them a reputation among the public, of being a courageous spokesman and well-wisher of the working class. The impact made by the agitations on the public was clearly evident from the respondent's opinion that, it drew more than half of them towards Communist ideology.

Impact of Various Media on the Respondents

4.10. Medium which attracted the respondents towards Communist ideology

<i>Category</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
Press and periodicals	7	2	9	2.3
Books and pamphlets	19	-	19	4.9
Songs and art forms	71	7	78	12.4
Theatre	7	-	7	1.8
Jatha, meetings, campaigns	82	8	93	24
Agitations	159	53	212	54.6
Total	318	70	388	100

Out of the 388 respondents 54.6 per cent of them have opined that agitations were the major factor, which draw them towards Communist ideology. They also stated that most of them were actively participated in various peasant and labour agitations organized by the party. While 24 per cent were attracted by their demonstrations like public speeches, *jathas*, meetings, campaigns etc., 2.3 per cent were attracted through press and periodicals, 4.9 per cent through books, 12.4 per cent through songs and art forms and 1.8 per cent through theatre.

4.11. Medium which educated the Respondents About Communism

<i>Category</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>%</i>
Study classes and night schools	233	64	295	76
Press and periodicals	22	-	22	5.7
Books and pamphlets	65	6	71	18.3
Songs and art forms	-	-	-	-
Theatre	-	-	-	-
Jatha, meetings, campaigns	-	-	-	-
Agitations	-	-	-	-
Others	-	-	-	-
Total	318	70	388	100

As far as the educational purpose was concerned, study classes and night schools were adjudged by 76 per cent of respondents as the medium, which gave more exposure to Communism. According to 5.7 per cent, press and periodicals were the mass medium, which educated them about Communist ideas. For 18.3 per cent of the respondents books form the major source of information about Communist ideology.

Chapter IV

**ANALYSIS AND
INTERPRETATION**

Propaganda take many forms, it is almost always in some form of activated ideology. Sometimes propaganda is agitative where attempts are made to arouse an audience to certain ends, sometimes it is integrative where attempts are made to render an audience passive, to be accepting the non-challenging. Sometimes it may appear to be informative communication, when ideas are shared, something is explained or instructions take place.

Dissemination of Communist ideology in Kerala comes under the category of sub propaganda or facilitative communication. In his book 'Public Opinion and Propaganda' Doob explains sub propaganda as the dissemination of an unfamiliar doctrine for which a considerable period of time is needed to build a frame of mind in the audience towards the acceptance of that doctrine. In order to gain the target audience's favour various stimuli are used to arouse the attention of the audience and related encoders and agents who mediate communication.

As an alien, western, atheist concept, Communism was totally unfamiliar to a caste oriented, feudal society like Kerala. But within a short time it is disseminated throughout the society ranging

from illiterate village mass to the urban elite. Personal contacts, cultural activities like theatre, performance of art forms, revolutionary songs, distribution of party literature etc. helped very much to create a favourable climate for the receptivity of their radical ideas.

As John Martin, Research Administrator in US Information Agency says facilitative communication itself may not be a propaganda. But it is communication that is designed to render a positive attitude towards the propagandist. Pamphlets, books, periodicals, cultural programmes, study classes, films, exhibitions and personal social contacts etc. were extensively used to create a friendly atmosphere towards the propaganda. Oral accounts and written documents regarding Communist movement in Kerala gave ample evidence in this regard. The study exposed the principal forms of propaganda techniques used by Communist Party to disseminate their ideology. Interpersonal communication, propaganda through press and publishing programme, propaganda through cultural activities and demonstrations form the major propaganda forms of Communist Party.

Interpersonal communication through systematic house-to-house canvassing, personal and direct social contacts gave an opportunity for the Communists to make direct personal contacts with the public. The survey further disclosed that meetings, discussions and courses of indoctrination also gave ample room for direct communication and personal contacts for the Communists. On these occasions party policies, strategies as well as local and regional issues were discussed. According to party workers these discussions were frank and open, and that one can express his own opinions and clear his doubts.

Party press and publishing programme also made strong impact on the party cadres that they gave additional information regarding world wide socio-political developments and working class movement. Though the frequency of the newspaper and publications were irregular, the available copies were widely circulated and read by the party workers. The content of the press has been aimed chiefly at 'agitation'. It has been the party's principal carrier for slogans on issues of the day and much of its space is devoted to presenting the party's interpretation of current events-

local, national and international. Primarily it is designed to mobilize the public and party cadres to political action.

On the other hand books and journals are more theoretical in nature. Because of the party principle to keep the price of their publications cheap, they had wide reach among the party cadres. Oral accounts reveals that substantial number of the respondents had their own collections of party publications. In sum, party press and publishing programme played a complementary or reinforcing role in educating the mass about party's lines and principles.

The study also disclosed the effectiveness of cultural activities as a propaganda medium that it provided them a favourable climate for the better receptivity of their radical ideas. In Kerala bulk of the population resided at rural areas. The caste-oriented social structure, high rate of illiteracy, limited access to mass media hindered the free flow of reformist ideas among the public. Communists utilized various art forms, songs, theatre etc. for conveying their revolutionary ideas without harming their cultural heritage. The folk and traditional aspects and simple style of presentation helped very much to cut across the traditional resistance to new ideas and

removed barriers like illiteracy, limited media exposure to mass media, variations in socio-economic status etc. Though only 14.2% of the respondents were attracted towards Communist ideology through cultural activities, majority of the respondents opined that cultural activities played a crucial role in creating a platform for the successful dissemination of complex revolutionary ideas. Prohibition of revolutionary plays and songs substantiate the impact made by them on the public.

Demonstrations form another powerful propaganda technique used by the Communist Party. Out of the 388 respondents 25 per cent of them opined that demonstrations were the prime factor that attracted them towards Communist ideology. According to them demonstrations like *jathas*, meetings, campaigns etc. have helped very much to draw the immediate attention of the public towards various socio-political issues.

Agit-Prop Instrument

In Communist usage the term propaganda has a specialised meaning and is different from agitation. The distinction is in the

broadest terms between the general and the specific. Propaganda means the dissemination of complex ideas to select audiences whereas agitation refers to the dissemination of simple ideas, often in the form of mere slogans, to mass audience.

According to party principle every party worker should be a full time agitator and propagandist. As an agitator he must, through the spoken or written word, through daily contact with masses, stimulate them to action with elementary political slogans related to immediate issues. As a propagandist he must address a reasoned exposition of the party principle to small, sophisticated groups with an aim of a fuller conversion.

The study revealed that the overall communication strategy of the party is also designed in lines with the agit-prop mechanism. Propaganda forms like press, theoretical journals, books, and indoctrination classes were primarily aimed at educating the party cadres and intellectual sympathizers, whereas the other forms - cultural activities, demonstrations, agitations etc. were meant for drawing the masses towards party's activities and agitations. This

mechanism enabled the party to draw people from different walks of life ranging from illiterate village mass to the educated elite.

Propaganda as a Medium of Education

In contrast with the western usage, Communists tended to use the term propaganda in a highly positive sense as more or less equivalent to education. William Griffith in his essay "Communist Propaganda", refers to propaganda and education interchangeably. By analysing the Soviet reform propaganda he says that educating the masses is the same as propaganda, because it resulted in more educated Soviet officials. The same thing can be said about the Communist propaganda in Kerala also. In Kerala most of the party workers belonged to the category of working class with lower socio-economic status and educational level. But the study classes, night schools and other educational programmes organized by the Communist Party helped very much to raise their literacy level and general socio-political awareness. Oral survey figures show that three-fourth of the respondents have only primary and secondary level education. Most of them are farm labourers, labourers and factory workers. Findings on their media exposure and participation

in socio-cultural activities reveal their increased socio-political awareness and educational status. Out of 388 respondents 58 per cent read more than three newspapers regularly. Though they subscribe only one newspaper, they read other newspapers from reading rooms, libraries or party offices. More than half of the respondents subscribe and read books. Most of them had their own collections of party publications. As a result of the party policy to keep the prices of their publications very cheap its publications had a wide reach among the public.

Besides party membership almost all of the party workers were associated with various social, cultural and voluntary organizations. Oral survey shows that three-fourth of the respondents are associated with various labour or service unions. They also have affiliations with cooperative societies, voluntary organisations, social and cultural organizations, literary forums etc. Survey reports reveal that the educational and communication programmes introduced by the Communist Party enriched the general educational standards and socio-political awareness of the working class and brought them to the mainstream of the society.

Propaganda as a Developmental Mechanism

Though Communism came in Kerala as part of an international Communist movement, it has acquired a nationalist and populist character here. To do so, party has developed an elaborate and complex apparatus of propaganda and agitation. Though international Communist propaganda aimed at 'world revolution of socialism', themes of Communist propaganda in Kerala oriented towards national and regional specific issues like problems of working class, eradication of social evils like casteism, feudalism, etc. and supported the national liberation movement also. Party slogans, contents of newspapers and pamphlets, themes of propaganda songs and plays gave ample evidence in this regard. The Communists fought for the immediate political and economic demands of the peasants and prepared them for their emancipation from every form of exploitation.

Communist Party taken up the local problems faced by the village mass as a matter of agitation. They initiated peasant/labour struggles at various parts of the state. The places selected for the study were also well known for their connection with various

Communists upheavals like peasant struggles, labour strikes etc. Peasant struggles of Pariyaram (Trissur), Mayyil, Karivellur (Kannur) and Koothali (Kozhikode) were primarily directed against the exploitation of feudal landlords and to achieve legitimate rights of the peasant community. In Anthikkad (Trissur), Vadakara (Kozhikode) and Alapuzha they mobilized the workers to fight for minimum wages, job security, better working conditions etc. During the periods of famine and wartime inflation party workers organized 'grow more food campaign' and resisted hoarding, black marketing etc. Even while agitating for the redressal of their economic grievances the working class had clear ideological perceptions that their problems could be rectified only through the attainment of proper democratic rights to the people. The organizational leadership and ideological impetus provided by the Communist party was responsible for the politicization of a substantial section of the society which was hitherto either marginalized or excluded from the mainstream of public activities. The rapid politicization of rural masses resulted in the emergence of the Communist Party with a strong social base in rural areas.

Towards the Democratisation of Communication

Communication practice of Communist movement in Kerala presents the essentials of Communist propaganda theory and describes the utilization of the means used to carry party's messages to the public. However firmly controlled by the party, its mass communication system was not limited to flow from top down. It allowed free upward and downward flow of communication. The study disclosed that the Communists succeeded in exploiting and manipulating all available channels of communication in service of their propaganda. The integrated use of various communication channels like interpersonal communication, publishing programme, songs, art forms, theatre etc. helped very much to reach different sectors of the society. In rural areas, party gave more emphasis in the achievement of mass literacy, raising the general socio-political awareness among the individuals etc. and depended mainly on indigenous and popular media like songs, art forms, theatre, and word of mouth to disseminate their ideology. Press and publishing programme oriented mainly towards the elite class. By the effective utilization of all available media in the society they successfully

democratized the process of communication and ensured public participation in the social reformation process.

UNESCO's Report on International Information Order defines democratization of communication as the process whereby: (a) the individual becomes active partner not a mere object of communication, (b) variety of messages exchanged increases and (c) the extent and quality of social representation or participation in communication are augmented. By their educational and communication programmes Communist party enriched the general educational standard and socio-political awareness among the working class and ensured their active participation in the ongoing socio-political reformation in the state.

Chapter V

**CONCLUSION AND
RECOMMENDATIONS**

The growth and development of Communist movement in Kerala has been unique in the sense that they came in power through a democratic electoral process. Unlike other totalitarian societies like Russia or China Communists in Kerala succeeded in propagating their ideology in a democratic system, which already had been enlightened by the radical ideas and activities of various social reform movements and national movement.

Though an alien concept they succeeded in propagating their ideology among the public in an effective manner. They utilized all media resources - theatre, press, publications, art forms and word of mouth - to popularize Communist doctrine in Kerala. They treated communication as a means to shape the thought pattern of the public in accordance with Communist ideology.

From the beginning to their electoral victory in 1957, most of the time the Party was under political ban. Besides this, caste oriented social structure, variations in socio-economic status, high rate of illiteracy, limited access to media etc. hindered the effective dissemination of their ideology among the public. But they utilized imaginative forms of propaganda to reach each and every sector of

the society. The most striking feature of their communication practice is that they successfully utilized the complementary and reinforcing role of various communication channels existing in the society.

From the findings it is clear that, Communists placed great importance on communication. They used communication as an important tool to bring out changes in social structure. The four major elements ~~of~~ communication system of Communists are (i) individual verbal propaganda, (ii) publishing programme (iii) cultural activities and (iv) demonstrations.

The most important feature of their communication practice was the importance given to verbal propaganda and direct communication. Study classes, night schools etc. have functioned as effective forms of direct communication. In these classes policies and ideas of the party was transmitted through the press were discussed. The topics covered touched all kinds of social matters. Systematic house-to-house canvassing by party workers also helped to keep a direct contact with their cadres. According to Party's directions every party member should make day-to-day contacts with other

party members and non-party masses. In Communist concept words in the media alone do not effectively change people. It takes a combination of the media and direct personal contact to move people to action.

Press, forms another important mass medium of Communist party. They maintained an official party press and impressive array of publications along with their political activity. Even during the periods of political ban they maintained a steady flow of publications under various titles. Though their distribution was often interrupted by bureaucratic interventions the available copies were widely circulated and read by the party workers. Throughout the history of the movement, press has played a pivotal role in carrying the message of class struggle to the toiling people and wind of socio-cultural modernisation to the intelligentsia.

Another striking feature of the communication practice of the Communist party was the dissemination of ideology through cultural activities. The best elements of national tradition and cultural heritage of Kerala was its songs and art forms. Communists have the credit of the first to have initiated systematic attempts in

exploiting and manipulating the socio-political potential of various art forms and cultural activities in bringing out social change. They utilized songs, folk and classical art forms, theatre etc. for the propagation of Communism among the public. In sum cultural activities played a crucial role in creating a platform for the successful dissemination of complex revolutionary ideas among the party workers.

Demonstrations like Jathas, meetings, campaigns, etc have also played a crucial role in mobilizing the public towards the party's activities. It also provided them an opportunity to draw public attention towards the immediate demands of the party.

Communication practice of Communists in Kerala presents a striking model for alternative use of communication, which proved the potential of indigenous mode of communication and possibilities of integrated use of various communication channels to effect social development. Besides this, folk, traditional and participatory nature of communication gave a democratic and indigenous touch to their communication activities.

Their experience suggests that democratizing the process of communication by availing popular and indigenous communication media will facilitate the active participation of individuals in the social and political development. For them democratization of communication will lead to increased media exposure and increased literacy rate which in turn enhance social representation and political participation.

A democratic society can be effective, successful and deliver its goods only when it has a well-informed citizenry capable of playing an independent and decisive role by taking right and rational decisions on various aspects. But for hundreds of millions of people democratic communication is scarcely be a reality. Social, cultural and economic discrimination, limited access to media, high rate of illiteracy etc. hampered the democratization of communication and hence social development. In such places messages conveyed through mass media are not entirely relevant to the cultural or social reality of the surrounding masses. Studies have shown that mass media alone could not effect social development in such social situations.

Communication practice of Communists in different parts of the world presents alternative models of communication for development. Studies have shown that communication practice of Communists in countries like Russia, China, Tanzania, Cuba etc. have succeeded in mobilizing the mass for social change. Communists in Kerala succeeded in propagating their ideology in a cast oriented feudal society ranging from illiterate village mass to the urban elite. The great success of their communication practice was the integrated use of various communication channels like interpersonal communication, traditional media, folk media and mass media to effect social development which enabled them to eliminate communication barriers like illiteracy, limited media exposure, and variations in socio-economic status.

But this does not mean that communication experience of Communists is transferable to other countries. It must be realized that social, cultural and economic conditions of different countries are different. So it is not easy to transfer the same communication policy to other countries. But their communication experience

provides us some guidelines for the effective utilization of communication for social development.

Communication experience of Communists suggests that the communication strategy designed should be strictly in accordance with social and cultural background of the people and in their language and dialect. The strategy planners should be aware of various modes and channels of communication existing in the society including interpersonal communication, traditional media and mass media. Ultimately every nation must find its own way and its specific design of communication strategy on the basis of its own economic, social and cultural preconditions.

Recommendations for Further Research

The available studies on Mass Communication indicate that not much work has been done on the impact of communication in the context of underdeveloped and developing societies. Certain areas in development communication are by and large remaining unattended by the communication researchers. The role of indigenous communication practices in development

communication is one among them. In India the process of communication is determined by a number of factors like social, economic and religious status, literacy rate, media exposure etc. The impact of these variables in the development communication process is not yet adequately analyzed. Such areas of communication should be explored further to formulate suitable communication strategies for implementing social development programmes.

In India majority of the people live in rural areas. Most of them belong to the lower stratum of the society. Social and economic backwardness, illiteracy, limited media exposure, etc. hampered the development process. Mass media had little impact on these areas. But traditional and folk media can do wonders in the development process in such places.

There are many examples for the utilization of alternative communication strategies in social development. Communist movement in Kerala indicates such a successful communication experiment, which proved the effectiveness of integrated use of various communication channels to effect social development. Communication activities of KSSP (Kerala Sastra Sahithya Parishad)

can be cited as another example. They utilized traditional, low budget media for the popularization of science and technology among the public. Studies on such indigenous communication experiments will be successful in bringing out the potential and possibilities of indigenous media in development communication studies.

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<u>File No.</u>	<u>Title</u>	<u>Year</u>
528/901	Doubtful literature ' The liberal'	1934
569/1038	N.P. Kurukkals article in Powran and C.N. Madhavan Pillai's article in Powran Re. Sir CPRI Dewan	1934
971/1500	Article on Socialism in Kerala Kaumudi	1937
1425/177	ഗവൺമെന്റു മുതലാളിമാരും സൂക്ഷിക്കണം - Objectionable Pamphlet	1937
1700/119	Letter entitled 'ആസന്ന സമരം'	1939
1770/280	Foreign propaganda persons & organizations connected with the dissemination of in the Indian press	1939

1851/371	A leaflet published by R. Sugathan action in respect of dropped.	1939
1876/399	P. Mahalingam of Kottar-Communist publications. Re.	1939
2347/367	Reports and publications. Booklet - entitled. Thozhilali Gana mithrm -Police report	1940
2349/369	Reports & Publications booklet entitled വിപ്ലവം അഥവാ സഹനം Police Re.	1940
2615/648	General proscription of the leaflet in Hindi entitled 'Communist party ka chatkal Mazdore ke Nam Salam' Report	1940
2741/786	Malayalam booklet രണ്ടുപുസ്തകം by Damodaran to be kept.	1940
2756/1663	Left book club	1940
3283/168	General Report & Publication supplement to the 'Keralam' entitled Lenin's issue	1942

3908/337	Newspapers and periodicals, printing and circulation of certain newspaper information	1943
4597/2825	Reports and Publications - Pamphlet entitled കൊടിക്കീഴിൽ	1944
4714/694	Proscription- Malayalam leaflet entitled കേരളത്തിലെ തൊഴിലാളികളോട്	1944
4788/1923	Reports & publications തൊഴിലാളിഗാനം	1944
4994/2446	Political leaflet - a meeting of All Kerala Soviet Friends Conference to be held at Trichur	1944
5210/4189	Reports on publications - Malayalam pamphlet entitled -മുതലാളിത്തത്തിന്റെ വെല്ലുവിളി - Objectionable	1944
6108/10	Circulation of certain pamphlets	1948
6163/8	Objectionable pamphlets - Malayalam - Indian Communist Party	1948
6166/58	Books & publications - Malayalam booklet ആഹ്വാനം	1948

6169/102	Books & Proscription of Malayalam book captioned വിപ്ലവസംഗീതം	1940
6278/4735	Booklet സമരകാഹളം	1948
6347/11385	തൊഴിലാളി weekly	1949
2714/3362	Publication and books-Action in respect of the booklet രക്തസാക്ഷികളുടെ ആഹ്വാനം	1950

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1953 January, February, March, April, July, August, October,
December

1954 January, February, April, November, December

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1956 June, September, December

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Mathrubhumi Daily

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APPENDICES

Appendix I

COMMUNICATION STRATEGY AND PROPAGANDA TECHNIQUES OF COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN KERALA (1930-1957)

Sir/Madam,

This study intends to explore the communication strategy and propaganda techniques of Communist Movement in Kerala. On the following the pages you will find questions related to it. The responses to this schedule will be analyzed objectively to answer some of the research problems on the communication practice Communist Movement in Kerala. The data collected will be used only for research purposes and the replies will be kept confidential. Therefore co-operation and frank answers will be highly appreciated.

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Mass Communication
University of Calicut

1. Name :
2. Age :
3. Gender :
4. Educational Status:
5. Occupation :
6. Place : Village: District:

7. What is your main source of information about the latest events in the world? (Please give your order of preference, if you have more than one source).
- (a) Newspaper
 - (b) Periodicals
 - (c) Radio
 - (d) Television
 - (e) Friends
 - (f) Others sources
8. Do you read newspapers regularly? If so which newspaper you like the most? Why?
9. Do you read any other periodicals/publications/books?
Yes No
If yes, specify them:
10. Do you listen to radio programmes regularly? If yes, which type of programmes you like the most?
11. Do you watch television programmes regularly? If yes, which channel you like the most?
- (a) Asianet
 - (b) Doordarshan
 - (c) Kairali
 - (d) Soorya
 - (e) Others

12. Do you have any affiliation with the Communist Movement? If yes, specify the status?
- (a) Follower
- (b) Activist
13. How long have you been in connection with Communist Movement?
14. Do you have any affiliations with any social service or voluntary organizations? If yes, specify its name, your relationship with the organization etc.
15. Can you recall some of the study classes or night schools, organized by the Communist Party in your village during the past years? Have you attended any of those classes? If yes, what were the subjects discussed in those classes? What were the kind of discussions and demonstrations?
16. Did those classes discuss about the socio-political situations of the state?
17. Did those classes ever discuss on the national and international socio-political issues?

18. To what extent those classes helped to develop socio-political awareness in you?
- (a) To a great extent
- (b) To some extent
- (c) Not at all
19. Can you recall some of the party newspapers circulated in your village during that period? If yes, specify the names?
20. How far those newspapers helped you to understand the socio-political situations in the state as well as in the other parts of the world?
- (a) To a great extent
- (b) To some extent
- (c) Not at all
21. What were the other party publications/periodicals/pamphlets, circulated in your village during those period? Specify the names, nature, content etc.
22. Was there any printing presses or publishing houses functioned in your village under the ownership of Communist Party? If yes, give details.
23. Were there any art performances/street plays/dramas performed in your area to boost up the ideals Communist Party? If yes, give details about the types of performances, their nature, content and their impact on audience?

24. How far those cultural activities helped to shape your thought patterns in a pro-communist direction?
- (a) To a great extent
 - (b) To some extent
 - (c) Not at all
25. Did the communists organize any reading rooms or libraries in your village? If yes, give details.
26. Were there any arts clubs or cultural organizations functioned in your village under the aegis of Communist Party? If yes, give details:
27. Did the communists organize any agitations or strikes in your area? If yes, give details:
28. Do you think that the agitation was effective? Did the Communist succeed in mobilizing people towards the agitation?
29. Which of the following media attracted you towards Communist ideology?
- (a) Newspapers and Periodicals
 - (b) Books, pamphlets and other publications
 - (c) Songs and art performances
 - (d) Theatre
 - (e) Jathas, meetings, campaigns
 - (f) Agitation
 - (g) Other means

30. Which of the following media gave you more exposure to Communist ideology?

- (a) Study classes and night schools
- (b) Newspapers and periodicals
- (c) Books, pamphlets and other publications
- (d) Songs and art performances
- (e) Theatre
- (f) Other means

Appendix II
ORAL HISTORY - DISTRICT WISE DATA

A: Alappuzha, B: Trissur, C: Kozhikode, D: Kannur

1. Break up of the respondents on the basis of age

Age group	A	B	C	D
65-75	34	52	48	38
76-85	57	31	42	39
86-95	9	3	9	13
96 & Above	0	1	1	1
Total	100	97	100	91

2. Break up of the respondents on the basis of gender

Gender	A	B	C	D
Male	85	69	88	76
Female	15	28	12	15
Total	100	97	100	91

3. Break up of the respondents on the basis of religion

Religion	A	B	C	D
Hindu	93	89	94	90
Muslim	1	1	5	1
Christian	6	7	1	-
Total	100	97	100	91

4. Break up of the respondents on the basis of educational status

Educational status	A	B	C	D
Illiterate	1	9	3	-
Primary	39	53	23	22
Secondary	38	24	35	35
High School	20	9	35	33
Degree & Above	1		1	1
Professional/Technical	6	1	3	-
Others	-	-		-
Total	100	97	100	91

5. Break up of the respondents on the basis of occupation

Occupational groups	A	B	C	D
Farmers	-	13	30	23
Farm labours	14	14	28	16
Factory workers	54	1	1	-
Labours	3	48	1	12
Merchants	-	3	-	2
Teachers	2	4	11	23
Govt. Employees	4	0	2	2
Non-Govt Employees	4	3	1	-
Full time party workers	13	8	16	7
Social, cultural activists	2	1	3	2
Others	4	1	7	2
Total	100	97	100	91

6. Media habits of the respondents

A. Newspaper reading habits of the respondents

No. of newspapers	A	B	C	D
Nil	--	8	-	-
1	27	48	24	21
2	7	2	21	14
3	28	18	36	30
4 & Above	38	11	19	26
Total	100	97	100	91

B. Newspaper preference of the respondents

No. of newspapers	A	B	C	D
Desabhimani	100	91	98	91
Mathrubhumi	65	52	81	68
Malayala Manorama	76	49	63	65
Kerala Kaumudi	84	31	48	54
Madhyamam	22	18	44	33
Indian Express	12	5	10	13
Hindu	5	3	8	6
Others	13	5	6	8

C. Periodical/Book reading habits of the respondents

Category	A	B	C	D
Yes	75	42	62	57
No	25	55	38	34
Total	100	97	100	91

D. Subject preference of the respondents

Subject	A	B	C	D
General	55	45	35	36
Politics	76	25	52	48
Art & literature	7	4	4	3
Entertainment	8	14	6	8
Religious	-	-	-	-
Agricultural	-	-	-	-
Others	-	-	-	-

E. Radio programme preference of the respondents

Radio programme	A	B	C	D
News	96	90	95	87
General	58	18	20	12
Politics	-	-	-	-
Entertainment	-	-	-	-
Others	-	-	-	-

F. Channel preference of the respondents

Channel	A	B	C	D
Doordarshan	45	52	32	47
Kairali	41	29	40	38
Soorya	31	29	25	27
Asianet	36	28	33	31
India Vision	-	-	-	-
Jeevan	-	-	-	-
Others	4	2	15	11

G. Categories of programmes preferred by the respondents

Type of Programmes	A	B	C	D
News	93	40	72	88
General	33	48	39	54
Politics	28	14	52	20
Entertainment	20	16	12	8
Art & Literature	7	6	4	3
Agriculture	-	-	3	2
Religion	-	-	-	-
Others	-	-	-	-

7. Political experience of the respondents

Political experience in years	A	B	C	D
40 - 50	7	17	15	16
51 - 60	41	57	55	32
61 - 70	49	21	25	33
71 - 80	3	2	5	10
81 and above	-	-	-	-
Total	100	97	100	91

8. Respondent's affiliation with other organisations

Type of organisations	A	B	C	D
Farmers unions	-	20	50	48
Farm labour unions	22	15	32	17
Labour unions	83	73	10	13
Service unions	6	63	12	18
Non-governmental organisations	19	15	5	11
Co-operative society	10	5	19	34
Cultural organisations	2	2	10	15
Literary forms	2	15	3	5
Voluntary and mass organisations	17	-	13	17
Others	-		-	-

9. Medium which attracted the respondents towards Communist ideology

Medium	A	B	C	D
Press & Periodicals	9	-	-	-
Pamphlets & Books	5	4	8	2
Songs & Art forms	14	-	10	24
Theatre	2	-	5	-
Demonstrations	38	25	20	10
Agitations	48	68	47	55
Others	-	-	-	-

10. Medium which educated the respondents about Communist ideology

Medium	A	B	C	D
Study classes and night classes	78	91	65	64
Press and periodicals	6	-	-	7
Books and pamphlets	16	9	29	20
Songs and art forms	-	-	-	-
Theatre	-	-	-	-
Demonstrations	-	-	-	-
Agitations	-	-	-	-
Others	-	-	-	-

Appendix III (1)

DOCUMENTS REGARDING THE COMMUNICATION PRACTICE OF COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN KERALA (1930-1957)

I. PUBLICATIONS

A. Newspapers

1. Prabhatham - Shornur (Later from Kozhikode) 1934
2. Deshabhimani - Kozhikode 1942
3. Republic - Trissur 1948
4. Navalokam - Ernakulam 1952
5. Janayugam - Kollam 1953

B. Periodicals

1. Janasabdam Thiruvananthapuram
2. Viswakeralam "
3. Theepori "
4. Munnani Thissur
5. Ikyakeralam "
6. Navajeevan "
7. Communist Kozhikode
8. Navayuga Kollam
9. Pravaham Iringalakkuda

C. Pamphlets

1. Keralavum panchavatsara padhathikalum (mal) -
N.E.Balaram
2. French Samrajyathwam India vidanam (mal).
N.E.Balaram
3. Praja Socialist - Ikyam nadinu gunakaramakanamenkil
- (mal), AKG, EMS, Damodaran, Ajayaghosh
4. Badal governmentinu vendiyulla iikyamunnani - (mal)
- N.E. Balan
5. Pranavedanakkare nokki veena vayikkaruthu (mal)
N.E.Balaram
6. Bahujana prasthanam vipuleekarikkanam (mal)
A.K.Ghosh.
7. Janangalkku vendi vittu veezhchayillathe poruthuka
8. League - Congressinu vottilla (Pattukal - mal) -
Cherukad.
9. Cherthala - Kerala - Rayalaseema (Oottanthullal - mal)
Ponkunnam Damodaran.
10. Stalin velicham veesunnu (mal)- Ajayaghosh
11. Samadhanathe vijayippikkauka (mal) - Ramesh chandra

12. Thozhilali vargavum thozhilali partyum (mal) -
13. Arajaka vadamo socialisamo? (mal)
14. Marxisavum deseeya prasnavum (mal)
15. Thirucochi janathipathyathinu vendiyulla samaram
putiya ghattathil (mal) - C. Achuthamenon
16. PSP yude thani niram manasilakkuka
17. PSP bharanam - Thirucochi pradhanamanthrikkku oru
thuranna kathu (mal) - AKG and PT Punnose
18. Ikyamunnaniyude samayuktha governmentilekku
munnottu (mal) - Achuthamenon
19. Ikyam jayikkum, Janangal bharikkum (mal)
20. Communist partyum 'Indiayude videsa nayavum (mal)
EMS
21. Ikyamunnaniyum Ikay janadhipathya governmentum
(mal) -EMS
22. Indian Communist partyude rashtriya prameyam (mal)
23. PSP yude Janavanchana (mal) - Ajayaghosh
24. PSP nadu vaneedum kalam - (mal) Unniraja
25. Marxisathinu mukhavura (mal) - Damodaran

26. Maarxisavum bhauthika vadavum (mal) - "
27. Njanganal prathijna puthukkunnu (mal) - EMS
28. Indian Communist Partyude Madhura rashtriya prameyam (mal)
29. Indian Communist Partiyude videsanayam (mal) - EMS
30. British gayanayum Thiru Cochi theranjeduppum (mal) - Unnikaja
31. Veriya virudha munnaniyude puthiya punyavalan (mal) - K.K.Warrier
32. Communist Partiyude Thiru Cochi State sammelanam
33. Russia oru party mathramo (mal) - EMS
34. Ozhippikkal virudha samarathinu othorumikkuka (mal) - Harkishan Singh Surjeet.
35. Samadhanathinte 5 pramanangal (mal)
36. Thaivan vittozhayuka (mal) - Prakash karat
37. Nehruvinte socialism verumoru thattippu (mal) - Ajayaghosh
38. Indiakkal ottakkettayi aninirakkuka (mal) - Ramesh Chandra

39. Chukappu pada (mal)
40. Janakeeya yudhathiloode poorna swathantheyathilekku (mal) - EMS
41. Indian Swathathrya samarathil muslimgalkkulla sthanam (mal) - Sajjad Sahir
42. Nammude Sampathikabhivrudhi ethu vazhikku (mal) - Ranadive
43. Indo - British koottukettu (mal) - K.P. Gopalan
44. Innathe India (mal) - Pamdutt
45. Panjab - Delhi lahalakalude pinnil (mal) - M.S. Devadas
46. Munnottu Keram (mal) - P.C.Joshi
47. Ikyakeralam janakeeyamakkan (mal) - K.K.varier
48. Kayyur Sakhakkal neenal vazhatte (mal)
49. Kochiyile bhakshyakshamam avasanippikkan (mal) - P. Narayanan Nair
50. Sir C.P.kko parivarthanam (mal) - P.T. Punnuse
51. Swathanthra Indiyile Thiruvithamcorinte bhavi (mal) - K.C.George

52. KPCC padhathiyum Malabarile bhakshya prasnavum
(mal)
53. Thekkan malabarile prasnangalkku utharavadi aaru?
(mal) - V.T.Induchoodan
54. Malabar karshakarkku nere police bheekartha (mal)
55. Party enthu avasyapedunnu? (mal)
56. Congress karodu orapeksha
57. Njan kuttavaliyano? (mal) - A.K.G.
58. Janangalkkethireyulla Congresinte yudham (mal) -
Damodaran
59. Thiruvithamkurile diwan bharanam (mal)
60. Thekkan Malabarile Kalapangalum athil ninnulla
padangalum (mal)
61. Communistukarum Ikyamunnaniyum (mal) - Unniraja
62. Ikyamunnaniyude pathanam (mal) - M.Muhammadali
63. Socialistukalkku oru thuranna kathu (mal) - EMS
64. Swarajyam enthinu (mal) - EMS
65. Kuttikrishna Menon Committee reportile bhinnabhi
praya kurippu (mal)

66. Socialism ennal (mal)
67. Communism neenal vazhka (mal) - EMS
68. Swathanthramaya lokathil Swathanthrayaya India (mal)
- EMS
69. Ikyathinnulla thadassangal (mal) EMS
70. Rajyadrohamo rajyasevanamo? (mal) EMS
71. Kalappakozhuvum arivalum prathirodhathinu (mal)
translation - MK.Gangadharan
72. Bhakshana Swathanthryathinu vendi karshakan - EMS
73. Volunteer (mal) - EMS
74. Deshabhimani (mal) - EMS
75. Malabar kudiyanma niyamavum varanpokunna
thiranjeduppum (mal) - EMS
76. Communistukarude sakunam mudakkan nattukarude
mookku murikkano? (mal) - EMS
77. Vottermarude munnilulla pradhana prasnam (mal) -
EMS
78. Communistukar ethu bhagathu? (mal) - EMS

79. Congressukarude kuttapathrathinu Communistukarude marupadi (mal) - EMS
80. Malabarile karshika kuzhappam thadayan (mal) - EMS
81. Krishikkarude kadamakal (mal) - EMS
82. Kochi Maharajavinte Iky a keralam British Kammattathila-dicha nanayam (mal) - EMS
83. Congress bharanathinkeezhil (mal) - EMS
84. K.S.Pyude drishtiyil August 15 nte artham (mal) - EMS
85. Purogamanathinteyum Sahithyathinteyum alavukolenthu? (mal) - EMS
86. Communist partiyude nerkkulla akramanam janadhi pathyathodulla velluvili (mal) - EMS
87. Communistukar Russian agentmaro? (mal) - EMS
88. State Congressinte karshika prasnam (mal) - EMS
89. Keralathinte karshika prashnam (mal) - EMS
90. Janadipathya socialisavum Janakeeya janadhipathyavum (mal) - EMS
91. Socialistukarude karshika paripadi nadappil vannal koranu kanji kumbil thane (mal) - EMS

92. Marxisavum karshika prashnavum (mal) - EMS
93. Bhakshyam - Indian sambadhadanayude marmam
EMS. Mal - trans Abdul Rehman
94. Namukkorumichu pravarthikkam (mal) - EMS
95. Congress Annum Innum (mal) - EMS
96. Ikyam, Ikyam, Ikyam (mal) - EMS
97. Stalinte onnam charamavarshikam (mal) - EMS
98. Virudha munnaniyum Communistkarum (Mal) - EMS
99. Ikyamunнанikku bhuriksham kittiyal (mal) - EMS
100. Keralathile deseeya prasthanavum Communistkarum
(mal) - EMS
101. Soviet uniy anum Communistkarum (mal) - EMS
102. Keralathile sampathika prasnangal (mal) - EMS
103. Congressinte prakandana pathrika - oru laghu
vimarsam (mal) - EMS
104. 1917 (mal) - EMS
105. Karl Marx (mal) - K. Damodaran
106. Labham ennal enthu? (mal) - K. Damodaran
107. Daridra samghadana (mal) - K. Damodaran

108. Adipuzhakiya Samrajyathwam (mal)
109. Indiyale rashtriya partikal (mal)
110. Karshaka Samarangal (mal)
111. Hitlare tholpicha thozhilali (mal)
112. Sir. C.P.yude avanazhiyile avasanathe ayudham (mal)
113. Communist answer to pandit Nehru (Eng) -
Ajayaghosh.

D. Books

Malayalam

1. Sarvadeshiya thozhilali vargha Communist
prasthanangalepatti - Lenin.
2. Pourasthya desathe desiya vimochana prasthanam -
Lenin
3. Samrajyathwam muthalalithathinte ettavum uyarnna
ghattam - Lenin
4. Bharanakoodavum viplavavum - Lenin
5. Idathupaksha bhalarishtatha - Lenin
6. Nattinpurathe pattini pavangalodu - Lenin

7. Soviet Union Communist party (Bolshevik) - Soviet samudhayathinu nethruthwavum margha darshnavum nalkunna sakthi:
8. Sa: Joseph stalinte jeevacharithram
9. Indian Communist Bharanaghadana - 1948 marchile randam Congress Angeegarichu.
10. Marxisathinte thathwasasthravum charithra sasthravum - Stalin
11. Communist party samghadanayude adisthana pramaanangal
12. Innathe India - M.M. Dayakkovu
13. Socialisathilekkulla British margham
14. Chinayile puthiya janathipathyam - Mavo
15. Kalayum sahithyavum - Mavo
16. Anubhavavum arivum - Mavo
17. Janakiya janadhipathya sarvadhpathyam - Mavo
18. Chinamarghathinte paadangal - Mavo
19. Chinese viplavathilninnulla padnaghal - Mavo
20. Chinese viplavathepatti - Stalin

21. Chinayile karshika parishkaram
22. Puthiya Chinayile puthiya samskaram
23. Puthiya Chinayile vyavasayika puroghathi
24. Sarvadesèeyathwavum deseeyavaadavum -
Lyushavochi
25. Partikkullile samarangalepatti
26. Partiyepatti
27. Uyarunna China
28. Socialist partiyude pramanangalum pravruthikalum -
Ajay ghosh
29. Valathupaksha Socialistukar
30. George Dimithrove (Jeeva charithram)
31. Idathupaksha Communism - Oru bhalarishtam - Lenin
32. Enthu cheyyanam - Lenin
33. Valathupaksha Socialistukal - Cubinen
34. Socialisathinte sambhathika prasnangal - Stalin
35. Nammude pradhana prasnangalil chilathu - Ajayghosh
36. Soviet Unionte sarvadeseeya nila - Malankov
37. Marxisavum bhashasasthravum - Stalin

38. Marxism Munnottu - P. Pamidath & P.Yoodin
39. Leninepatti - Stain
40. Party - Malankov
41. Mahanaya samadhana samrakshakan - Jooliya Heran
Neurg
42. Stalin jeevikyunnu - V.Nadarajan
43. Nammude paavana dharmam - Malankovu.
44. Stainte namam anaswaram - Molattovu
45. Mahanaya saadharana manushyan - A.S.Yaakuvlevu
46. Yadharta janadhipathyam - Stalin
47. Kanneeril kuthirna 3 divasangal - Sukhov
48. Socialisavum samathwavum - Stalin
49. Marxisavum kudumbajeevithavum - K.Damodaran.
50. Marxisavum trade unionukalum - A.Lassovski
51. Koolivelayum mudakkumuthalum - Marx
52. Aaradi mannu - Ponkunnam damodaran
53. Indian Communist Partiyude rashtriya prameyam
54. Samghadana prameyam.
55. Thelinja kannu - D.M.Pottakkadu

56. Matham Soviet Russiayilum janakeeya Chinayilum -
AKG
57. Chinese Communist partiyude 30 kollavum
58. Partiyepatti
59. AKG yude dayari
60. Pothuparipadiyum mattu rekhakalum
61. Uyarunna mushtti - D.M.Pottakkadu
62. Communism, Enthu, Enthinu, Engane - K.Damodaran
63. Samoohyarekha - Rahul Sakruthayan
64. Veliyil Enikyu sthalamilla - Ponkunnam Varky
65. May dinathinte charithram
66. Manninte maril - Cherukad
67. Lenin nammude gurunathan - Stalin
68. Yuvajanangale valarthiyedukkunnathinepatti - Lenin
69. Soviet nadu grandhamala
70. Chinese Communist partiyile party jeevithathinte chila
vasangal
71. Communisathinte pathayiloode - Soviet Communist
partiyude 21mathe Congress prameyam

72. Indian Communist partiyude rashtriya prameyam
73. Communist partiyepatti - Pradhana chodyangal
74. 3 Internationalukalude charithram - Balaram
75. Soviet Unionum Communistkarum - EMS
76. Communist vijnapanam - Marx & Egals viva EV
Devadas
77. Kerala charithram - EMS
78. Keralam - Malayalikalude mathrubhumi - EMS
79. Keralathinte deseeya prasnam - EMS
80. Keralathile karshakaprasthanathinte laghu charithram -
EMS
81. Engane nalla Communistakam? - Leushavochu
82. Manushyan - K.Damodaran
83. Kooli - labham - vila
84. Marxism - Leninism Enthu?
85. Marxism - Leninism Balapadam
86. Communist partiyepatti pradhana chodyangal - EMS
87. Soviet Unionum Communistkarum - EMS
88. Communism Enthu, Enthinu, Engine? - EMS

89. Communist vijnapanam - Marx - Engals Trans. EV
Damodaran
90. Veendum Russiayil - Looyi Fisher
91. Indiyude Athmavu - K.Damodaran
92. Party - G.M.Malankovu
93. Engane Padikkanam, Engane nayikkam?.

Books - English

1. Speeches at the sixth session of the UNO General
Assembly in Paris - A.Vyshinsky
2. Freedom of religion in the USSR - GS Pasov
3. Biography of Com. Joseph Stalin
4. Star - E.Kazaherich
5. Wind from the South - Elmargreen
6. Happiness - P.Palenko
7. Guarantee of peace - Vladin Sobko
8. Steel & Slad - V.Popov
9. Road to life - A.S.Maka Renko
10. Fathers & Sons - Ivan Terginev
11. CPCU (B), History
12. Marx Engals - Marxism

13. What is to be done - Lenin
14. Left wing Communism - An infantile disorder - Lenin
15. Public health in Soviet Union
16. Notes of a slakhanovite
17. Notes of a school principal
18. A quarter of a century at the open furnace
19. Top quality team
20. How the workers & peasants of Tsarist Russia lived & fought for their emancipation
21. The great October - socialist revolution
22. The building of socialist society in USSR
23. The CPSU (B) - the leading and guiding force of soviet society
24. The structure of Communist party of the soviet union (Bolshevik)
25. Two tacts of social democracy in the democratic revolution - Lenin
26. The light of nation of self determination - Lenin
27. Letters from a far - Lenin

28. The April thesis - Lenin
29. The collapse of the second international
30. A characterization of economic romanticism - Lenin
31. Socialism and War - Lenin
32. New China
33. The struggle for new China - Sun Yatsen
34. New China's economic achievements 1949 - 1952
35. History of Communist party of the Soviet Union
36. Economic problems of socialisms in the USSR
37. Speech at the 19th party congress
38. The peasants in national economic construction - EMS
39. An organization - EMS
40. The question of an obligatory state language in India -
Dr.Ramvilas Sharma
41. Foundations of Leninism - Concerning questions of
Leninism - Stalin
42. The agrarian question and critics of Marx - Lenin
43. People's democracy, a new form of political
organization of society

44. The Constituent assembly election of dictatorship of the proletariat - Lenin
45. Statement of Berlin Conference of foreign minister of USSR, France, Great Britain & USA - Molotov
46. Civil war in France - Marx
47. The class struggle in France - Marx
48. Can Bolsheviks retain state power? - Lenin
49. Lecture on the 1905 revolution
50. Materialism & empirico criticism - Lenin
51. Critical remarks on the national question Lenin
52. What we saw in Soviet Union
53. Seeing it with our own eyes
54. Soviet Stonia
55. America looks at Soviet life
56. Our Kolkhov
57. Canadian workers looks at Soviet Union
58. Measure for the further expansion of agitation in the USSR
59. Mother and child care in USSR
60. Odessa dockers

61. A trip to Thajkistan
62. Volga - Don canal greatest construction of canal in the world
63. French miners say
64. On peoples democratic dictatorship
65. On practice
66. On Contradiction
67. A single spark can start a prairie fire
68. Mind the living conditions of the masses and attend to the methods of work
69. Problems of Leninism - Stalin
70. Workers of all Country Unite
71. Anti - Dubring - Engels
72. Wage, Labour, Capital - Marx
73. Marxism & Problems of linguistics - J.Stalin
74. Dialects of nature - Engles.

Appendix III (2)

**NAMES OF SOME ART FORMS USED BY PARTY WORKERS
FOR POLITICAL PROPAGANDA IN KERALA**

1. Kummi
2. Kolkali
3. Poorakkali
4. Kaikottikali
5. Thacholikali
6. Ivar kali
7. Vattakkali
8. Thiruvathira
9. Padakam
10. Porattu
11. Ottanthullal
12. Kathaprasnagam
13. Thalipeelikali
14. Villupattu
15. Kathakali
16. Muthappan kali
17. Chottu kali
18. Thottampattu

Appendix III (3)

**NAMES OF SOME DRAMAS PERFORMED BY THE PARTY
WORKERS FOR POLITICAL PROPAGANDA IN KERALA**

1. Pattabacki
2. Rakthapanam
3. Panimudakku
4. Yachakan
5. Ammayi
6. Mammukka
7. Kottukrishi
8. Nammalonnu
9. Ithu bhumiyanu
10. Koottu Krishi
11. Grant Varatte
12. Kamsa Vadham
13. Manninte makkal
14. Karshkan
15. Agathimandiram
16. Nizhalinu pinpe

17. Vazhi thurakunnu
18. Mannum manushyanum
19. Bhavi sobhanamanu
20. Karavatta pasu
21. Kafar
22. Rakthasakshi
23. Pattiniyum parathanthryavum
24. Vazhi vilakku
25. Kathirukanakili
26. Bhumikkivendi
27. Aradi mannu
28. Bhranthan
29. Magadhayude makan
30. Mannum kitti kayanam venam
31. Visarikku kattu venda
32. Manushyan
33. Chalanam.

Appendix III (4)

**SOME OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SONGS WRITTEN BY
PARTY WORKERS AND SYMPATHIZERS FOR POLITICAL
PROPAGANDA IN KERALA**

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|---|----------------|
| 1. | Chenkodi | - | Bodheswaran |
| 2. | Raktha pathaka ganam | - | Thirumumbu |
| 3. | Lal salam | - | " |
| 4. | November | - | " |
| 5. | Abhivadyam | - | " |
| 6. | Ooruka vaal | - | " |
| 7. | Ente yuvathwam | - | " |
| 8. | Iruttile velicham | - | " |
| 9. | Kayyur sakhakkalodu | - | P. Devakiyamma |
| 10. | Varikayayi mardaka | - | S.K. Das |
| 11. | Padahamadichu varunnu | - | " |
| 12. | Varunnu njangal | - | " |
| 13. | Porkalamethuka nattare | - | " |
| 14. | Mathiye mathiye diwan bharanam | - | " |
| 15. | Ahwanam | - | S.K. Pottakkad |

- | | | | |
|-----|---|---|----------------------|
| 16. | Alaphuzhayile thozhilikalodu | | " |
| 17. | Marching song | - | (Author unknown) |
| 18. | Kanuken Karavaal | - | P. Bhaskaran |
| 19. | Arsha sonithabhishiktha punya bharatham | | " |
| 20. | 1857 le rakthasakshikalodu | - | " |
| 21. | Oreyaniyay | - | " |
| 22. | Bharathaminiyum | - | " |
| 23. | Maranamatta rakthasakashi deerar | | " |
| 24. | Ikyaketathilekku | - | " |
| 25. | Sarvarajya party | - | M.P. Bhattathirippad |
| 26. | Adangukillini njangal | - | " |
| 27. | Velvuthaka | - | R.Suguthan |
| 28. | Jathayonnu purappedam | - | " |
| 29. | Thozhilillathavarude pattu | - | " |
| 30. | Desharakshaganam | - | K.P.G. |
| 31. | Kayyur sakhakkal | - | |
| 32. | Adangumo | | |
| 33. | Bhakshana pattu | | |
| 34. | Gramathil | | |

35.	Kollakola	-	Keraleeyan
36.	Vittayakka	-	"
37.	Samghadikkuvin	-	"
38.	Tholum virakum	-	"
39.	Thookkumarachottil ninnoru ganam	-	KPR Gopalan
40.	Poye bhāratha singangal	-	"
41.	Jenmithwam Nasippikkuka	-	V.T. Achuthan Nair
42.	Aattiyodikkuka	-	"
43.	Jay vilikka nam	-	T. M. Prasad
44.	Unaruka nam	-	
45.	Rajan venda	-	
46.	Eriyum chinthankal	-	
47.	Varoo varoo sakhakale	-	
48.	Unaroo vegam sodarare	-	
49.	Sahodarare, Sadheeram	-	Vallamkulam R.K. Kurup
50.	Thokkum jayilum		
51.	Unaroo Ponkinavil	-	
52.	Valerolivar		
53.	Jeevikkanullavakasam		

54. Keralam pavapetta karshkan
55. Ottiya vayur nattellinodu
56. Hridayamille?
57. Nattukar ariyuka
58. Ithu Nyayamo?
59. Uthghadanangal
60. Kallanu pakaram kottakkar
61. Varanam ranankanathil
62. Othucheruvin
63. Raja vazhcha
64. Porvili
65. Porkkalathil
66. Kadinjan valiyatte
67. Vayalar vili
68. Thottukalikkaaruthu
69. Ini adangukilla
70. Samayamay
71. Geethikal padaka nam - Pariyaram kittettan
72. Cheril ponkathir vilayichavare - "

73.	Pakalanthi paniyeduthu	-	"
74.	Keralame Keralame	-	"
75.	Pavangade padayaniyil	-	"
76.	Varikay, varinirannu	-	"
77.	Sodara, kalam marukille	-	"
78.	Varoo varoo nee sahaja	-	"
79.	Karshka sakhave	-	"
80.	Dheerar ningal	-	"
81.	Uyaratte ee kodi	-	"
82.	Koytharival enthidunna	-	"
83.	Njangalude priyapetta sakhavine		
84.	Varumo nee congresse	-	Ponkunnam Damodaran
85.	Mannil ee natta mannil		
86.	Varumo ranabhumiyil		
87.	Aniyaniyay ranabhumiyil		
88.	Janathadhi madhyathil		
89.	Ponnakkum palurakkam		
90.	chalo chalo sakhakkale		
91.	Congressin bharanam		

92. Kuberan vazhumeenattil
93. Vellakkaran sayipp
94. Swathathra bharatha - KPG
95. Unarukha malanade -
96. Othu chernidukha nattukare
97. Sakhakkale munnottu
98. Varikay varikay janathayake
99. Nadumudikkunnoreekali venda
100. Piranna manninnu nee - Gopalsan
101. Unaruvinn sodara -
102. Ezhunnelpin ningal
103. Nammal janichu valarnna nadu- Keraleeyam
104. Jenmithathodu - Kittettan
105. Vayalar - Kedamangalam
106. Mattancheri - P.J.Antony
107. Nale - TVK
108. Keralam unarunnu - P.J Antony
109. Nattukarodu - M.N.Kurup
110. Ramarajyam - Ponkunnam Damodaran

111. Prabhathageetham - P.J Antony
112. Pulari varunnu - S.L. Puram
113. Udaya Kahalam - Ponkunnam Damodaran
114. Njangalkku marikkan vayya - T.V.K.
115. Kathirinte pattukal - Balan

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