DISMISSAL OF THE FIRST COMMUNIST MINISTRY IN KERALA AND EXTRANEOUS AGENCIES

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Abstract - It was during the period of cold war between the United States of America and Soviet Russia the Communists came into power in Kerala in 1957. It made India one of the theatres of cold war. The Communist ministry brought many land marking legislations on land, education and administration and it irked vested interests who, in turn, combined together to oust the ministry through liberation struggle. The liberation struggle was succeeded with the dismissal of the ministry. But in fact the ministry was not dismissed due to the liberation struggle as believed earlier but it was the part of containment of Communism in Asia by the USA. The present study analyses how the American agencies overthrew the democratically elected government in Kerala with the backing of Union Congress ministers and Indian Intelligence Bureau.

Keywords - Bunker, CIA, Communist, Liberation, Embassy, Nehru

With the cessation of Second World War, the Soviet Russia and the United States of America ranged on two opposite sides. The difference among these two countries was based on ideology. While the Soviet Russia stood for Socialism, the USA clamoured for capitalism. This caused the alignment of socialist countries with Soviet Russia and capitalist countries with the United States of America creating a bipolar world. This ideological war between the Soviet Russia and the USA came to known as cold war and these new world order largely determined international politics. The establishment of People's Republic of China by a Communist Government with close political and military ties to the Soviet Union brought cold war into the Asiatic region. Fearing that such a regime would pose danger to its economic and strategic interests in the region, the USA reacted to this apparent threat by introducing a policy of containment of Communism similar to that which had already been existed in Europe. Thus from 1949, East and Southeast Asia became the second most important battleground in the global cold war.

The unprecedented success of the Communists in the election held in 1952 both to the Lok Sabha and the State Legislative Assemblies in India alarmed the American authorities. The Communist Party of India emerged as the largest opposition party in Lok Sabha by winning 3.3 percent of votes and sixteen seats[1]. The position of the Communist Party in the Lok Sabha was further improved by the seats won by its electoral allies. The People's Democratic Front from Hyderabad with seven seats and the independent Communists running on the ticket of the United Front of the Leftists with three seats from Travancore-Cochin. Thus the Communist Party of India controlled twenty six seats in the Lok Sabha opposing the Congress Party which controlled 364 seats[2]. In the elections held to the State Legislative Assemblies across the country in 1952 the Communist Party won 4.38 percent of total votes[3]. The anxiety of the American Government over such growth of Communism in India was expressed by Dean Acheson, the Secretary of the State. He stated before the House of Representative's Foreign Affairs Committee on 20 March 1952 that if this trend should continue they would have a growth of Communist strength in India and a very dangerous situation in Asia[4]. The USA feared that if India was communized, and with it possibly a major part of Asia, the strategic balance of power between the East and the West would register an important shift.

The emergence of Communist Party as a majority party in the elections held to the Kerala State Legislative Assembly in 1957 and the doubling of the popular votes of the Communists from five percent in 1951-52 to ten percent in 1957 elections intensified the fear of the Government of the USA[5]. The US government observed that economic and political instability would make India vulnerable to Communism[6].

It was because of these the Congress Party in Kerala lost in 1957 and the Communists won the election. The Operations Coordinating Board of the United States of America calculated that the Communists were able to form a government after the 1957 elections because the other political parties in the State had been divided and fought amongst themselves; in addition, general apathy towards the election caused a relatively small vote[7]. In a memorandum sent by Hentry Lodge Jr., Representative at the United Nations, to Dwight D. Eisenhower, the President of the United States of America, on 21 February 1958 mentioned that the fundamental cause of the Communist success was because Kerala had the highest literacy of any State in India and that it therefore had a large number of educated people who had no jobs[8]. But a telegram from the Delegation at the SEATO Council Meeting in Manila to the Department of State in Washington on 12 March 1958 stated that the growth of Communism in India was largely due to New Delhi's acceptance of Moscow propaganda, patronage of

Commie front organizations and acceptance of some 270 million dollars of Soviet aid[9].

The first official confirmation of the intervention of the USA in Kerala affairs came from Daniel Patrick Moinihan, US Ambassador to India in the early seventies. Through his work "A Dangerous Place" he mentioned that the USA had twice, but only twice, interfered in Indian politics to the extent of providing money to a political party[10]. He further stated that both times this was done in the face of a prospective Communist victory in a State election, once in Kerala and once in West Bengal where Calcutta was located and both times the money was given to the Congress Party which had asked for it[11]. He added that it was given once to Indira Gandhi herself, who was then a party official.

While this revelation was going on Ellsworth Bunker, US Ambassador to India during 1957-61, gave an interview to Centre for Oral History of Columbia University on 18 June 1979. In the interview Bunker affirmed that the US Government gave financial assistance to the Congress Party on the presumption that the Russians were putting money into the Communist Party of India as did elsewhere but he was not sure that whether the assistance had gone through Indira Gandhi[12]. The principle of assistance had the approval of Washington and the Ambassador, Bunker, was given discretionary power as how it might be done and in what amounts. Bunker recollected that S.K. Patil, the Union Minister, was the intermediary in that situation[13].

Bunker testified that the Central Intelligence Agency of the USA very closely worked with the Intelligence Bureau in India. He revealed that the relations between CIA and IB were very good and very close and the former was able to get through the Indian Intelligence people pretty good evidence as to what was going on and in what amounts[14]. He further mentioned that the anti-Communist operations of CIA in India were largely in collaboration with the authorities in India. The tactic was to attract the intervention of the Government of India in Kerala affairs through large scale political propaganda and agitations[15]. Dennis Kux, American Foreign Service Officer in US Embassy in India, through his autobiography "Estranged Democracies, India and the United States 1941-1991" expressed that the lesson the Washington drew from the Communist success in Kerala was that the economy failed to improve rapidly enough to satisfy the expectations of the people[16]. He added that experts in the United States of America feared that if Jawaharlal Nehru's Indian Congress Party failed to achieve adequate economic growth, Communist strength would continue to expand, presenting a real danger[17]. He recalled that prevention of additional Keralas became an important argument for augmenting US assistance to India. The United States Government feared the successful working of the Communist Government in Kerala because it would give the Communists an important foothold to expand in India and would enhance their respectability and prestige as a parliamentary political party which might have a far reaching effect in Asia clearly advantageous to international communism[18]. It forced the Government of the USA to expand anti-communist activities in Kerala. The operations of the Government of the USA in Kerala were on a modest scale consisting of a United States Information Services Library at Trivandrum and two International Cooperation Administration employees engaged in agricultural education and research work[19]. The job of USIS was to avoid the charges in Kerala and elsewhere that US anti-Communist propaganda had been increased to a marked degree and the ICA activities were directed to avoid any situation which would benefit the Communists in Kerala[20]. The USA instructed ICA and USIS to continue its anti-Communist operations in Kerala until it was opposed by the Communist Government in Kerala[21].

On 1 August 1957 the Department of State of the USA sent an instruction to diplomatic missions in Madras, Calcutta, Bombay and New Delhi to obtain as complete information as possible on, and ensure continuing coverage of, events in Kerala, with particular reference to economic, political and administrative programs and tactics of the Communist Government, an assessment of opposition parties and their future capabilities, especially the Congress Party and detailed information on key political figures in the State[22]. The Embassy at New Delhi was made responsible for reporting on the attitude of Central Government and of Congress Party headquarters towards Kerala. The Consulate General at Madras was invested with the primary responsibility of reporting all developments within Kerala. The Consulate General was asked to report on following matters[23].

1. Selective dispatch or telegraphic reporting only on most significant developments.
2. Preparation of a weekly or bi-weekly classified roundup dispatch, including analytical comment on Kerala Government.
3. Continuing contribution to the Embassy on any important developments which should also be covered in greater detail under 2 above.
4. Submission of a bi-weekly, unclassified dispatch reporting appropriate coverage of the press with respect to Kerala.

The Department of State further instructed the diplomatic missions in Madras, Calcutta, Bombay and New Delhi to observe the following measures[24].

1. The visit of American tourists in Kerala was to be demoted
2. On courtesy calls, the US officials visiting or stationed in Kerala were to deal all matters with the civil servants and to keep absolute minimum dealings with the Chief Minister, Communist Ministers or local level Communist officials.

3. The diplomatic missions were to keep technical assistance, economic aid and other associated projects for Kerala under constant review.
4. The US economic aid, development of new projects, technical assistance and other related programmes in neighboring Indian States were to be increased and fully publicized.
5. The ICA and USIS personal in Kerala at present levels were to be maintained, seeking to replace departing personal.
6. The American business men and other private interests planning to invest and expand business operations in Kerala were to be urged to proceed with caution in spite of Communist promises given to them. In the United States, appropriate US officials would take the initiative to ensure that US citizens with business interests in Kerala had the fullest information on conditions in Kerala and on problems faced by foreign business interests operating under Communist regimes in other parts of the world.

The Department of State of the USA calculated on 25 January 1958 that the future of moderate government in India might depend on economic progress in next few years and, failing such progress, the Communists might be able to follow up electoral victory in Kerala with gains in more populous and strategic provinces in 1962 elections[25]. The Department of State further believed that this might set in motion trend towards political extremism and regional separatism whose end results could be gradual Communist take-over[26]. So the economic empowerment of India was found as a panacea to combat the menace of Communism in India[27]. The USA provided to India loans of 225 million dollars: 150 million from Exim Bank and 75 million from new Development Loan Fund. It also granted additional wheat to meet drought emergency in addition to shipments under current PL 480 agreement. But the President of the USA recognised that these alone would not meet the entire Indian need[28]. So the Government of the USA requested the countries of the free world particularly Germany and Japan to extend the financial help to India to prevent the spread of Communism[29].

On 9 April 1958 Dwight D. Eisenhower, the President of the USA, sent a note to Andrew J. Goodpaster, the Staff Secretary to the President, to handover it to Allen Dulles, Director of CIA. The most important part of this note was dealing with Kerala. The President required the Embassy officials of the Department of State to prepare a plan of action operational in Kerala[30].

A dispatch from the US Embassy in India to the Department of State in Washington on 27 June 1958 stated that it had become clear over the last year that the removal of the Communists from power in Kerala was related to the problem of combating Communism in India as a whole. It further stated that as the Department of State recognized, the key factors in the struggle were the Government of India and the Congress Party[31]. It added that the Government of India was more alert and exploiting more opportunities to discredit the Communists than the Congress Party and it had been evinced in the action of four cabinet ministers-Pandit Pant, the Home Minister; Morarji Desai, the Finance Minister; A.K. Sen; the Law Minister and S.K. Patil, Transport and Communication Minister[32]. These leaders of the Government of India convinced the US Embassy in India that the chief deterrent to Communism in India was satisfactory progress in economic development and failure on this front would overshadow and render useless efforts in all other directions.

The US Embassy in India believed that under prevailing circumstances it was desirable for the US to have more direct access to and contact with developments in Kerala. For this, the Embassy considered the possibility of establishing a consulate-cum-reading room at Cochin. But the Embassy arrived at that their immediate interest could best be served by augmenting the staff of the Madras consulate by one officer with political and economic reporting experiences plus secretary and by providing him with sufficient travel funds to enable him to spend a portion of every month in the various parts of Kerala. The reasons for this recommendation were[33].

1. It could be implemented with minimum delay. Any negotiations with the Government of India over the establishment of a consulate would have to be carefully timed and might be protracted.
2. The establishment of a consulate in a Communist State would arise undue suspicion and especially in Congress-controlled Cochin.
3. The location of consulate in Cochin would not serve the purpose of US Government as Cochin was not an important listening post, politically, and travel to other parts of the State would be necessary.
4. There was no ground to maintain a consulate in the event of the overthrow of the Communist regime in Kerala.
5. The establishment of a US consulate was likely to lead the establishment of Iron Curtain country consulates.
6. The establishment of a consulate under a Communist regime was likely to pose the dilemma of increased trade requests threatening the basic policy of the US in Kerala.

The embassy was also decided to provide Congress officials at national, state and local levels with firsthand experience in the working of the US political system and particularly the political parties. The Embassy further informed the Department of State that it would seize every opportunity to suggest specific measures serving the purpose of denying aid and comfort to the Communists in general and in Kerala in particular. The Embassy took the following steps for this purpose[34]. To discourage economic expansion that was likely to produce benefits to Kerala while the Communists in power.

To discuss with the officials of the Government of India with regard to its attitude towards the reported business offers of the Rumanians and Hungarians in Kerala

To discuss the attitude of the leaders of Government of India towards Communism in the light of continues praising of Communist ministry in Kerala by Srimali, the Education Minister and Dey, the Minister for Community Development.

In a telegram from the US Embassy to the Department of State on 26 August 1958 Ellsworth Bunker, the US Ambassador to India, expressed that their objective was to have a stable, non-communist, economically sound and favouring free world government in India which would give hope for building an Asian bulwark against challenges of international communism, especially Communist Chinese strength and ideology[35].

The National Intelligence Estimate on 2 September 1958 observed that the Communist Party would probably benefit most from a decline in Congress Party strength. It was further found that the Communist Party was better organized than any other opposition political parties and its members were more disciplined and attained a degree of respectability recently through the adoption of the policy of constitutional activity culminating significant gains in the elections in 1957[36]. The Estimate further stated that the Communist Party alone would offer a clear cut alternative to the old Congress way of doing things and even if the Second Five Year Plan was successful, the Communist Party would probably attract increasing popular support in West Bengal where poverty and unemployment would remain acute. The Estimate identified that the fertile grounds of Communist Party were the ranks of the educated unemployed and the industrial working force in urban areas. The Estimate concluded that if the Communist Party was to loss control of Kerala after failing to provide good government and economic improvement, its chances of extending its influence elsewhere would probably be reduced and the Communists were unlikely to pose a serious threat to the Congress Party in 1962 national and assembly elections in India[37].

In conversation with C. Douglas Dillon, Deputy Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, Morarji Desai, the Finance Minister of India, on 8 September 1958 said that the Communist threat in India was overemphasized in the USA[38]. Addressing his remarks on the problem in Kerala, Desai stated that the people in Kerala were not basically Communists. According to him, the success of the Communists in Kerala was attributable to two factors: namely that on the whole, the people were better educated and therefore had high expectations which could not be fulfilled; also the Congress Party had become disorganized by internal squabbles and the well organized Communist Party had taken advantage of this. But now Desai was happy over growing disillusionment in Kerala with the Communist Government since many of the intellectuals had found that their individual liberties were being threatened. He expressed the opinion that the Communist Government would be defeated in Kerala in the next elections. He added that the Kerala experience was the most fortunate thing that could have happened to India because it pointed up the Communist threat and other Indian States would not be likely to follow Kerala's example[39].

On 12 May 1959 the US Embassy in India assessed that the Soviet Russia would use trade to assist the economy and the Communist Party in Kerala and Russia would take whatever economic losses to accomplish these ends[40]. The Embassy further observed that economic aid to India must be strengthened to meet the dangers of Soviet economic offensive.

The telegram sent from US Embassy in India to the Department of State on 28 May 1959 showed that Embassy officials and Consulate General of Madras met at New Delhi on 25 May 1959 and discussed the proposed school-closure agitation in Kerala to begin in June 1959 and the consequent request to the President of India to intervene in Kerala when law and order break down. The meeting supposed that the agitation based on communalism would begin with the formulation of a charge-sheet by the opposition parties as a basis demanding the ouster of the Communist Government in Kerala[41]. The meeting further observed that both the Congress High Command and the KPCC seemed to have adopted greater realism and agreed that Communist Party in Kerala was dangerous to India and should be ousted from power in Kerala[42]. The meeting made to clear that All-India Congress Party leadership was more conscious than KPCC to overthrow the Communist Government in Kerala.

The meeting foresaw that the Communist Government would face the most serious challenges during June-July 1959 from agitations which might easily lead to violence that the Communist ministry would unable to control and leave way open to the imposition of President's rule[43].

The meeting required Thomas W. Simons, the Consul General in Madras, to lend US assistance to non-Communist Government in Kerala to be newly formed on the fall of Communist administration. The US assistance to the new government would be supply of food grains via PL 480; increased trade in such products as corn, cashew, pepper in order to strengthen indigenous industries; increased participation of US private investment in medium-size industries such as rayon, paper, rubber manufacture, sugar and tapioca plants; and US financial assistance for impact projects in the area[44]. The meeting concluded that possibilities would be explored with selected Government of India and

diplomatic personnel especially from NATO countries for effective and immediate cooperation with new non-Communist Government of Kerala to resolve some Kerala's basic economic problems.

The Government of the USA offered financial assistance to start the liberation struggle[45]. The assistance was given through the Churches and other organizations in Kerala to remove the Communist ministry through the liberation struggle[46]. Ellsworth Bunker, the US Ambassador to India, reviewed the liberation struggle in Kerala in June 1959. He expressed doubt that this would result in the over throw of the Communist Government in Kerala, feeling that the action was somewhat premature, though it was difficult to foresee how something of this kind, once started, would end up[47]. He observed that the new Congress Party leader, R. Sankar, was more of a practical politician.

In his conversation with Murphy, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Ellsworth Bunker, the US Ambassador to India, on 19 June 1959 stated that he thought the Congress High Command had been correct in following a policy of permitting the Communist government to remain in office to commit mistakes and to demonstrate the people of Kerala that it was unable to fulfill its campaign promises[48]. The Ambassador further said that he believed the current agitation in Kerala for the overthrow of the Communist ministry in Kerala was premature in as much as the Congress Party in Kerala was not yet able to form an alternative government[49]. He added that there was some hope that the new President of the KPCC, R. Sankar, would be able to reorganize and revitalize the Kerala Congress. Bunker felt that Indira Gandhi was a considerable improvement as the President of the Congress Party over his predecessor, U.N. Dhebar.

On 25 June 1959 Allen Dulles, Director of CIA, discussed developments in Kerala during his intelligence briefing at the 411th meeting of the National Security Council. He said[50]

"Agitation against the Communist Government of Kerala State in India has continued to be quite strong. Fortunately for us, the Communist Government in that state had made a number of grave mistakes. They had put 6,300 people in prison and fourteen had been killed. Nehru had gone down to Kerala to look the situation over. He has the theoretical power to take over the State Government but he is obviously loath to do so if he can avoid the step. We do not know precisely what Nehru will do but our guess is that he will do nothing. If this guess is correct, it is very unlikely that local agitation alone will prove sufficient to oust the Communist Government. Meanwhile, these developments have posed a very grave issue for the entire Congress Party in India. The party is split down the middle as to whether to throw out the Kerala Communists or not".

On 9 July 1959 Allen Dulles, Director of CIA, again discussed the Kerala situation during his intelligence briefing at the 412th meeting of the National Security Council. He expressed[51]

"As for the campaign against the Communist Government in Kerala State in India, it is gaining steadily in intensity. Meanwhile Nehru is still trying to decide whether he should throw out the Communist Government and institute presidential government from New Delhi. Nehru obviously does not wish to do this but may ultimately be forced to take the step".

The Intelligence Bureau in India served as the agent of the Central Intelligence Agency and the main source of information on Kerala affairs. The Hindu reported on 18 April 1957 that the Intelligence Bureau had strengthened its service in Kerala once the Communists came to power. B.N. Mullik, then Director of IB, was against the Communist Government in Kerala and played the central role in taking the decision of the dismissal of the ministry. His biography titled "My Years with Nehru 1948-64" is a testimony to it.

The IB had very good organization in Kerala under M. Gopalakrishna Menon and they came to know of every move of the party and the government as soon as it was planned. When Pandit Pant, the Union Home Minister, asked about the intervention of the Centre in Kerala affairs on 5 July 1959, B.N. Mullik answered that it would be better to let the Government of Kerala to collapse by force of events than by any action of the Central Government[52]. Both the Home Minister and the Prime Minister agreed the view tendered by B.N. Mullik.

On 13 July 1959 E.M.S. Namboodiripad, the Chief Minister of Kerala, categorically stated that the Communist Government would not resign and seek fresh election in view of the present agitation[53]. The Communist Party also reiterated the same view[68]. It forced B.N. Mullik to change his stand. By 18 July 1959 he came to the view that time had come for the Central Government to intervene and he expressed it to the Home Minister[54]. But the Home Secretary, B.N. Jha, felt that no Central action should be taken, as the State Government had its majority in the assembly intact and no constitutional crisis had developed.

On 19 July 1959 the Home Minister asked B.N. Mullik to prepare a note giving the entire history of the Kerala struggle and proving the necessity of Central action. B.N. Mullik prepared the note and produced it on the very next day before the Home Minister, Pandit Pant. The Home Minister went through the note very carefully and made several corrections and improvements and then asked B.N. Mullik to take that report to the Prime Minister which he did.

The Prime Minister also went through the note carefully and ultimately made the laconic remark that probably Central action had become necessary[55].

On 20 July 1959 B.N. Mullik reiterated the Home Minister that the Central action in Kerala should not be delayed and certainly this action must be taken before 9 August 1959[56]. The liberators planned a mammoth picketing of State secretariat on this day[57]. Mullik cautioned that the picketing would cause massive bloodshed and disorder in Kerala. However, B.N. Jha, the Home Secretary, still maintained his opposition to Central take-over in Kerala. On 22 July 1959 a charge sheet against the Government of Kerala was prepared by B.N. Mullik and A.K. Sen, the Law Minister, at the instance of Home Minister. Then the Home Minister asked to B.N. Mullik to send the charge-sheet to the Governor of Kerala, so that he could have the facts before him and then come to his own decision whether Central action was necessary[58]. But no move came from the Governor till 26 July 1959.

Therefore on 26 July 1959 the Home Minister asked the Home Secretary, B.N. Jha, who was not in favour of intervention, to ring up the Governor on telephone in the presence of B.N. Mullik, so that Jha should not sound indecisive. Jha telephoned to the Governor in the presence of B.N. Mullik and in the course of which the latter told to the Governor that he should not delay his report based on his own judgment any more. On the same day Jha met the Prime Minister as per the instruction given by the Home Minister, Pandit Pant, and he returned with a sense of satisfaction and said to B.N. Mullik that though they were all 'action-wallas', the Prime Minister had told him that no decision had been taken on any Central action on Kerala[59]. That evening Pandit Pant, the Union Home Minister , asked to B.N. Mullik as to whether he was present during Jah's talks with the Governor and whether the Governor understood the trend properly, and he sounded in the affirmative.

B.N. Mullik met the Prime Minister and the Home Minister next day and produced the evidence that Communist ministry in Kerala itself wanted Central take-over and urged them that there should be no more hesitation in dismissing the government[60]. But E.M.S. Namboodiripad himself rejected it later[61]. The assessment of political trends made by the IB was more acceptable to Nehru than that of the Congress Party because the later was bound to be coloured or biased[62]. The Prime Minister agreed that action had to be taken and B.N. Mullik was asked to talk to the Home Minister about it. On 29 July 1959 B.N. Mullik met the Home Minister and the former was asked by the latter to verify whether the Governor was sending the report. B.N. Mullik checked it and found that the Governor was due to dispatch the report by that afternoon's air service. If so the report would reach New Delhi only on the 30th morning of July 1959. This was not satisfactory to Pandit Pant and he wanted the full verbatim contents of the report that very night of 29 July 1959[63]. So B.N. Mullik asked Ravindran, Officer of IB at Madras, to obtain this report with the consent of the Governor during the halt of the plane at Madras, open it and communicate the contents to B.N. Mullik on telephone and then dispatch it by the same plane[64]. From seven to eight that evening Ravindran dictated the report from Madras on secraphone to B.N. Mullik. In this way the entire report of the Governor, consisting of about thirty pages recommending the supersession of the Government of Kerala, relayed on the telephone. By 10 p.m. B.N. Mullik produced the report before Pandit Pant, the Home Minister.

As soon as the formal report of the Governor arrived on 30 July 1959, orders dismissing the Communist Government in Kerala and taking over it by the Central Government were issued and these orders became effective from 31 July 1959.

CONCLUSION

The Government of the United States of America feared that the successful working of the Communist ministry in Kerala would cause Communist victories in the forthcoming general elections to the Lok Sabha and State legislative assemblies favourable to international Communism. So the USA beefed up its anti-Communist operations in India in general and Kerala in particular. The Central Intelligence Agency was mainly invested with this task. The CIA was largely operated through the Indian Intelligence Bureau and the Congress Party at Centre. The main attention of the CIA was to discredit the Communist Government in Kerala and to publicise that the Communist Government in Kerala failed to provide political stability and economic improvement so as to check the spread of Communism in the region. The USA calculated that the main force behind the growth of Communism in India was its economic backwardness. So the Government of the USA started the process of economic empowerment of India through several methods. During this time the opposition political parties and the community organizations started the liberation struggle to oust the Communist ministry and CIA monetarily helped the struggle. But CIA found that the local agitations alone would not topple the ministry and operations at higher level were necessary. The CIA saw this higher level in Intelligence Bureau and the Congressmen at Centre. Even though Nehru stubbornly opposed the intervention of the Union in Kerala, he became a prey to the larger conspiracy hatched by the IB and Congressmen at Centre.

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[53] The Hindu, 14 July 1959.
[54] The Hindu, 18 July 1959.
[55] B.N. Mullik, My Years with Nehru 1948-1964, op. cit., p352.
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[57] Ibid.
[58] The Hindu, 26 July 1959.
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[60] Ibid., p356
[61] Ibid.
[62] Govinda Pillai (ed.), EMSinte Sampoorna Kritikal (Mal.), Vol. XXII, Trivandrum, 2002, p65.
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[64] Ibid ., p357..

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