

to capture those cooperative societies where the Opposition has its hold. There are so many instances to prove this fact. Where the term of the co-operative society is over they say in the name of law and order elections cannot be held and an administrative body is formed where the Opposition members are not put. I will give an example as to how they want to capture the cooperative societies. To capture the Cannanore Cooperative Spinning Mill the police have arrested its chairman, Shri T. Kunhanandan Nair, an advocate. He was arrested on the day the General Body meeting of the Spinning Mill was going to be held. This is a clear misuse of MISA. This was done with the purpose that the election might go in favour of the ruling party. These things are done to capture the cooperative societies where the Opposition parties are there. There was one Neelakandan, Secretary of the Kalyasseri Morara Service Cooperative Bank who mis-appropriated Rs. 2 lakhs. There was an enquiry which revealed that Mr Neelakandan had misappropriated the amount. A false case was made against the other members of that cooperative society. A false case was foisted on them. They were arrested and now a case is going on. It goes on like this. Whenever a co-operative election is to be held, they either prevent it saying 'You cannot have it because there will be law and order trouble between opposition parties' or they see that the prominent leaders who would get elected are arrested under MISA. A fine example is that of Kunhanandan Nair who was an Advocate and Director of the Cannanore Spinning Mills.

Another thing. Since the formation of the Kerala Dinesh Beedi Co-operative society seven years back, primary Societies and the Director Board had not been formed. The same Direct Board nominated by the Government when it was started is still continuing. All demand for election has not been accepted by the Government. It is

learnt that the Government is thinking of nominating the same Director and reconstituting the Direct Board. Demand for equal representation to all parties in the Direct Board has also been rejected. These are some of the points that I wanted to bring forward while opposing this Bill.

I forgot to mention one thing. Here are two photos taken at Kayur which show that houses are destroyed and crops are also destroyed. Kindly see these photos.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN (Tellicherry): I support this Bill wholeheartedly. I am rather amused to hear the speech made by Shri A. K. Gopalan, leader of the CPI (Marxist). What he has said amounts to this that in Kerala today there is a sort of concentration camp created by the United Front Government and the people are suffering.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN: Not the whole of Kerala, but in Cannanore district.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: I am elected from there. He has come from there I am elected from Cannanore district and it is his native place, about which I will say something presently. I want to make one thing very clear, that I do not want to use any strong words against the respected leader of the Marxist Party, but I may use strong words against the Marxist Party, because what he did not say speaks more eloquently than what he did say in the House. In Kerala today, if you go and ask the people what is their reaction about the present Government and its rule for the last more than five years, I am very sure that even the enemies will admit that this Government had provided political stability. Our State was unfortunate in that it had never had a stable government until 1969. No government had the fortune to remain in power for five years for which they were elected. Today in Kerala

[Shri C. K. Chandrappan]

there is a government which could remain five years and then, because of the present emergency, it could remain longer.

I do not want to indulge in an argument with my friends of the Marxist Party in regard to their approach to the problem of this emergency and in regard to their doubt how long the emergency will continue.

SHRI S. A. SHAMIM (Srinagar): You are not sure yourself.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: I am surer than you are. In Kerala this Government had done certain things about which the Marxist Leader was absolutely silent. We have experience of all kinds of government in Kerala—Congress government, Congress socialist party government, Congress-Muslim League and others government, government of the United Communist Party of which Shri Gopalan was the leader and united front led by Shri Gopalan's party. Today we have the experience of the united front in which Congress, CPI, Muslim League and other parties are there. I am sorry to say that Shri Gopalan's party which was elected with such a massive majority to that House in 1967 failed so miserably in fulfilling the promises made to the people of that state. There was a united front of his party, our party and other left parties and they promised to the people many things in the election manifesto. When he speaks of a democratic constitution, let me ask one thing of him: who spoke in London that we were in power in Kerala to subvert the constitution? It was not a congressman but Mr. B. T. Ranadive, a politbureau member of that party and he said: we are in power in Kerala, not to fulfil the promises made to the people but, to subvert the constitution from within. They can take credit for that. That was not the purpose for which people elected them. The Congress

Party was reduced to a mere 9 member party in the Kerala legislature; there was no opposition. Namboodiripad, the leader of the marxist party in Kerala assembly was in a much enviable position there than Mrs. Indira Gandhi in this Parliament. What happened? Not a single action was taken in favour of the people; they forgot the people who supported them and that is why that united front came to a disgraceful end.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN: There was joint responsibility.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: That was not joint responsibility.

SHRI M. K. KRISHNAN (Pou-nari): Who passed the land reform laws? Our Party.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: He was a Minister in that united front.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE (Howrah): The percentage of votes increased though the number of seat got reduced.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: I am coming to all those points. Is it a democratic practice to disturb me like this? I was listening so patiently to Shri Gopalan. What I am saying is that they were deeply involved in corruption cases and they were thrown out of their office, not by any kind of undemocratic agitation but by a vote of no confidence, in the House. As political tactics, they brought forward the land reforms at the nick of the moment, just before they were removed from power and the land reform Bill was passed with our support. Then the outgoing Marxist leader, Namboodiripad, said: the law had been adopted by the legislature; who will implement it if we are not in power? They were removed and it is implemented. It is being implemented in a creditable manner in Kerala today. The loopholes which were there in the

Land Reforms Act have been removed by bringing forward many amendments. Whatever the criticism, I am not saying that the Kerala Government had implemented the Land Reforms a hundred per cent, but I am telling that the Kerala Government is the one Government which will be ahead of any other State Government in the country in implementing the Land Reforms. I do not think so. He while comrade Gopalan will deny it. I don't think so. He cannot. I will remind an unpleasant thing to Mr. Gopalan. The Communist movement in Kerala from its very inception, told the people: "when we come to power—Mr. Gopalan in his native place in Malabar, said—we will nationalise the private forests in Malabar, lakhs of hectares of land. They were sleeping over it. Now this Government nationalised them without paying a single pie as compensation. Is it not a fact?"

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: How many months did it take?

SHRI INDRAJIT GUTA (Alipore): How many years you wasted earlier?

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: I have conceived that we were one month late, but we did it. Nobody will believe it. In Kerala they were in power for more than two years and they had no time to do it. But in nine months we had done it. All that they could not do in 36 months, we had done in 9 months. Are we late? Perhaps Mr Gopalan would find that this period of 9 months is too late. But in nine months we did it.

Now, coming to other points, this United Front Government in Kerala had done many other things about which I think Marxist Party will not have any complaint. It had taken over lands from big landlords without paying any compensation and given them to co-operative societies and landless poor. It had taken the excess land which were cornered by Kannan De-

van Estates. This was a British plantation. It has always been the slogan of the Communist Party that this will not be allowed. But they forgot that we have done it and so many other things have also been done in Kerala. Today, apart from providing political stability to that State, providing a good administration, providing a better future to the people of the State and giving them hope, I think this Government has succeeded. Not fully, may be, but to a great extent. Now, Mr. Gopalan in his discussion brought so many local problems. I also know about it. I do not want to narrate all those things. But one thing. He made a challenge. Without casting any aspersions to comrade Gopalan, I would like to tell him that these kinds of challenges have no meaning. He said: "If you face elections, you will be routed."

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN: I said that Dr. Seyid Muhammad the other day made a challenge saying that if there is an election..... It was in reply to that. He said "you face the election we will win, otherwise we will resign. (Interruptions)

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: Won't get excited. All were out including Mr. Gopalan in 1971. I was elected, fortunately or unfortunately, from the place from which Mr. Gopalan comes.

SHRI SAMAR MUKHERJEE: That is because of your betrayal.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: And Mr. A. K. Gopalan had to change his constituency because there was an alliance at that time. What does it mean? The prestige of that Government is not affected. It means that the people of the State have given their confidence to this Government. Shri Gopalan knows it. It may look very nice here to throw such a challenge, but it may not at all be good in Kerala. Nobody will take it seriously.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN: If they have done so many good things, why should they afraid of elections? I am only saying, "Don't extend it. Let us have elections." If elections are held, we can find out whether, what I say is correct or what my friend says is correct.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: This was the kind of democracy we were experiencing under their rule. Why this isolation? The Marxist Party, with quite a good mass base in Kerala, is completely isolated today from every other section. Why? A former Minister of Kerala is now the Marxist M.P. from Palghat, a district where sand is eroding under their feet and they have no hope about the future. (Interruptions). In Kerala, the Idukki project was inaugurated when they were in power. It is the pride of hydel projects in the country. At that time, one of the Ministers, Mr. Imbichi Bawa, who was formerly a member of this House also, said, "Let Idukki go to the Arabian Sea; we do not care. We will not allow it to work." It was delayed and it was the present government which commissioned the project. Now, let him be reported in Kerala. He is taking so much pride that Idukki generator is not working. (Interruption). I would like to tell him, it is working. Don't worry. It is working and it will continue to work. You cannot stop it! Sir so many such things happened under their rule. There was corruption to the core, irresponsibility towards the people and opportunism—that was their banner. This was how they ruled and that is why they are isolated now.

It is a sad thing today for a reputed leader like Shri A. K. Gopalan to say what he said about a cooperative society. Lakhs of rupees of the members of that cooperative society have been mismanaged and misappropriated by the people who were running it. He said somebody had misappropriated and he mentioned the name.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN: I have got a copy of the report of the enquiry committee which was appointed to go into it. It clearly says that Mr. Neelakantan has done it. Here is the record. I will read it, because things are being misrepresented.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: No. You have made your point and you are only interrupting.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN: I am intervening because certain things have been said which are not true at all.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: You have made the point.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: It is a clear case of corruption by the Marxist Party people. They have forced the officials of the Cooperative to prepare false documents. There is a case going on against them. But, here he is coming as an aggrieved party. I did not expect such type of arguments from a respected member like AKG.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN: I want to say that this was enquired into by the Registrar of Cooperative Societies. I have got a copy with me. I want to lay it on the Table of the House.

SHRI C. K. CHANDRAPPAN: I do not want to infuriate him further. I will leave that subject here.

I am very happy that Kerala there is political stability today. There are many welfare measures which are being taken up by the Government. It is an extremely popular Government. It has implemented land reform and progressive measures like minimum wages of agricultural workers. This Government enjoys the confidence of the people. Because of Emergency, the time has to be extended. I welcome this Bill and I hope that my friends who are so much agitated, will face the electorate

this to be on the record, I want to lay it on the Table.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN: I want this to be on the record, I want to lay it on the Table.

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: There is a specific procedure for laying the paper on the Table. If you are very keen, you can hand over the paper to me or to the Table Office. But that will not be treated as laid until the Speaker has given specific permission to do that.

SHRI A. K. GOPALAN: I hand it over*.

SHRI BEDABRATA BARUA: I thank Mr. Gopalan and Mr. Chandrappan for contributing to this debate and raising several points in regard to the local conditions of Kerala. Although they are strictly not relevant to the matter...

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: They are relevant otherwise I would not have allowed. These are the grounds or which Mr. Gopalan opposed it and these are the grounds on which Mr. Chandrappan supported it.

SHRI BEDABRATA BARUA: I do not want to challenge your authority to admit them. Since you have given the ruling, I will consider them and will try to reply as much as it lies within my power.

First of all, I would like to make it clear and that is why I thought that they were not strictly connected with this matter which is there. This has not been done as Mr. Gopalan, a respected Member, has said to murder democracy or to do any such thing. India has got a democratic Constitution, one of the most democratic constitutions in the world; and it is under the provisions of this Constitution, that this action has been taken. This has been provided in the Articles of the Constitution. Article 172 of the Constitution says that when a procla-

amation of Emergency is in operation, Parliament may extend the life of the State legislature as also that of the House of the People. So, this has been done; and we have come to this august House for the extension of the life of the Kerala Assembly. Although the Constitution provides for extension by one year at a time, we have to take every factor into consideration. Government wanted to be cautious and democratic in its approach; and so, the extension was made only for six months, thinking that there may be elections to Lok Sabha. But since the life of the Lok Sabha has also now been extended, it was felt that the life of the Kerala Assembly should be extended by another six months; as such this further extension by another six months has been made, so that we may be able to study the situation; and have elections to the Kerala Assembly immediately, if the proclamation of emergency were to be withdrawn during this period I would make it very clear that all this has never been done in order to prevent the working of the democratic system. The hon. Members in this House know that this emergency was enforced in order to prevent the breakdown of the system of democracy and also to prevent a chaotic situation taking hold of the country. Tamil Nadu, again, is a matter of a different kind. Tamil Nadu Assembly was dissolved, because of different reasons. It has no relationship with the situation in Kerala. In Tamil Nadu, there were a number of allegations made. In fact, long long ago. Long before the Emergency, a number of allegations had been made against the Government there, including those on political matters like attempts to encourage the secessionist forces and all that. So, after considering it over a very long time and after giving them a long time—in fact the life of the Tamil Nadu Assembly was coming to an end by that time—Government had taken a decision to dissolve the

*The Speaker, subsequently, not having accorded the necessary permission, the document was not treated as laid on the Table.