



Assam Legislative Assembly Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT

EIGHTH SESSION OF THE ASSAM LEGISLATIVE
ASSEMBLY ASSEMBLED AFTER THE FIRST
GENERAL ELECTION UNDER THE
SOVEREIGN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICAN
CONSTITUTION OF
INDIA

NOVEMBER SESSION

VOLUME II

No.27

The 18th November 1955



सत्यमेव जयते

1956
PRINTED AT THE ASSAM GOVERNMENT PRESS
SHILLONG

Price 10 annas

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

(LONDON)

VOL. II. 1832

1832

The Year 1832

Committee to inquire into the state of the ...

Proceedings of the ...

Journal of the ...

Appendix

VOLUME II

1832

The Year 1832

Printed by ...

1832

Proceedings of the Eighth Session of the Assam Legislative Assembly assembled after the First General Election under the Sovereign Democratic Republican Constitution of India

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber, Shillong, at 1-30 P.M. on Friday, the 18th November, 1955.

P r e s e n t

Shri Kuladhar Chaliha, B.L., Speaker, in the Chair, the nine Ministers, the two Deputy Ministers, the two Parliamentary Secretaries and eighty-three Members.

STARRED QUESTION

Starred Question No.1 standing in the name of Shri Ananda Chandra Bezbarua, was not put and answered as the hon. Questioner was absent.

Committee to consider the draft amendment to the Assam Legislative Assembly Rules

Mr. SPEAKER: I have great pleasure to inform the House that the Government and the Opposition Parties by mutual settlement have made election to the Committee to consider the draft amendment to the Assam Legislative Assembly Rules uncontested by limiting the number of candidates according to the number of Members to be elected. The following hon. Members are therefore declared elected:—

1. Shri M. K. Das,
2. Shri Bimala Kanta Borah,
3. Shri Radhika Ram Das,
4. M. Moinul Haque Choudhury,
5. Shri Lila Kanta Barah, and
6. Shri Dandi Ram Dutta.

Presentation of the Supplementary Statement of expenditure for 1955-56

Shri MOTIRAM BORA (Minister): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to present a Supplementary Statement of expenditure for 1955-56.

Discussion on the Motion to consider the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission

Shri MAHENDRA MOHAN CHAUDHURY: (Kamrup-Barpeta North-East)—Mr. Speaker, Sir, the States Reorganisation Commission was appointed on 29th December 1953, and it completed its labour by 30th September 1955. Since the publication of the Report many people holding different ranks and positions in public life of India have expressed their opinion on the Report. The different political organisations also in their turn have expressed their views about it. For the last two days here also on the floor of this House we had been discussing this Report. Some of my hon. Friends have not refrained from demonstrating bitter anger over the Report and some other Friends have expressed their reticence about it. The task of the Commission in this respect was very onerous and arduous in nature. But it must be admitted on all hands that the Commission has discharged its obligations quite creditably.

The States reorganisation matter is agitating the minds of India since a long time past. During the British regime on more than one occasion reorganisation of States took place. Bengal partition in 1904 was in pursuance of this reorganisation. The creation of new provinces of Orissa and Sind before 1935, was also a part of it. During the period of Independence also we have seen the birth of the State of Andhra. Commissions like Dar, J. V. P., and Wanchoo were appointed from time to time to get this most intricate and delicate problem solved and settled. The integration of the Indian States with the rest of India has made the already complicated problem more complicated and no Commission in the past could decide the issues involved in this matter on an elaborate and All-India basis than this one. This Commission has discussed all relevant matters that veer round this problem. Some of us may not agree with some of the approaches they have made to solve this long lingering problem. Some of us also may not like some of their decisions. Rather it is a fact that no Commission as such

on such a highly controversial matter can please and satisfy all sections of the people of this sub-continent of India. But we must agree that this Commission has shown us a way out of this States reorganisation business staggering before us for a very long time past.

I am not going to say much about the Report from the All-India point of view. The Motion before us provides a very limited scope and has put a definite limit to our discussion and we must rest satisfied with discussions with special reference to Assam. But in doing so we must not miss the stress on national unity and solidarity. India is a solid whole and Assam is only a bit of it. Therefore while discussing about Assam we must not miss the stress on national unity and solidarity as the overriding consideration in determining the constitutional structure of India. Many of our Friends have referred to the linguistic aspect of the question. In 1921 the Indian National Congress recognised the principle of the linguistic provinces in India and recognised its own provincial units largely on that basis. The Nehru Committee Report in 1928 also reiterated the same thing. Language undoubtedly is one of the important considerations but that does not mean that we must be blind to other factors, which are equally important, if not more. In the present set up of things we, therefore, must not confine our thoughts to language alone and must take into consideration the national security and unity of India as the essential objective before us. India is to-day on a different road altogether. It is to-day the pivot of international affairs. Unity of India and the prosperity of the people are the two basic things which must rule and guide our deliberations and actions.

The Indian Constitution has given full freedom to all linguistic groups of India to move freely throughout the territory of India, to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India and to acquire, hold and dispose of property. If language becomes the controlling factor for reorganisation of States, this free movement of the citizens of India most solemnly promised by the Constitution will to a great extent be retarded because in that case the migration of people from over-populated or from the more advanced zones to other parts of India, will receive a set-back. Apart from other considerations if language becomes the sole criterion of States reorganisation and migration from one State to the other or from one linguistic group to the other continues as has been allowed by the Constitution of

India, this State reorganisation affair will be a never ending one and it will have to be re-opened from time to time again and again. This will only mean a constant strife and bitterness between the neighbouring States which none of us surely would like. This will be very highly detrimental to the greater interest of India. Assam is inhabited by different kinds of people having distinct features, one against the other. I whole-heartedly endorse the view both in its letter and spirit expressed by the Chief Minister about the treatment to be meted out to the different linguistic and other minority groups living in different parts of Assam, while initiating the debate. After his unequivocal declaration in this behalf as the head of the State of Assam, there must not be any doubt or suspicion lurking in the minds of anyone that their interest in any way may be jeopardised in case they accept the States Reorganisation Commission's recommendations. The State Government of Assam have been pursuing a very liberal policy in this behalf all along and all impartial observers have now admitted it. The States Reorganisation Commission has discussed this matter at length in the Report and after taking into consideration all points and allegations raised by some of our Friends here, has recommended the *status quo* of Assam and I do not find any reason in the circumstances why any of us should hesitate to accept it.

The economic viability is one of the most important factors that should be considered in drawing the boundaries of a State. The State in a Federal Republic, is much more than an administrative Province. It is the primary federal unit, and it has been rightly recognised that the States shall all be viable. The standard of living and the prosperity of a nation are dependent on available resources. The poor States or regions have to be content with lower volumes of revenue and lesser amount of development. A State worth the name must not depend on external financial resources and help for all the time to come. It is not always possible also to get external financial help for proper development of a State from the Centre always. The States Reorganisation Commission having accepted this simple truth has recommended that Assam's present boundaries should not be disturbed.

I do not like to discuss the different claims made by different parties and groups before the States Reorganisation Commission for vivisection of Assam. The States Reorganisation

Commission has dealt with them one by one and it has in the course of its discussions answered each one of them and it is better we try to forget the bitterness generated by such claims and counter-claims. The claim of West Bengal on Goalpara has been held by the Commission as "unsound". No other stronger term, I believe, can be used by any one to denounce the West Bengal's claim. However, let us take it as a passing phase and let us work for better relationship between the two neighbouring States of Assam and West Bengal so that we may prosper and work for India's unity and solidarity with mutual help and co-operation. It has been really very painful and distressing to witness during the course of the enquiry carried on by the States Reorganisation Commission that a kind of border warfare in certain parts of India in which, to quote the language of the States Reorganisation Commission, "old comrades-in-arms in the battle for freedom have been pitted against one another in an acrimonious controversy, showing little appreciation of the fact that the States are but the limbs of the same body politic." Parochial and communal sentiments were also utilised to rouse the popular frenzy in support of parties' respective claims. Let us bury the memory of these ugly incidents and take the vow of working together for a stronger India.

We hope that the issue of re-distribution of the boundaries of the States of our Country will be solved once for all. National interest requires that this important issue which has been hanging fire for years is decided finally. People also desire that it is not re-opened from time to time, because it is likely to impair, if not undermine, the unity and stability of our Nation. One thing is relevant in this connection about the recommendation by the Commission relating to merger of Tripura with Assam. Also a word is necessary in this connection about Manipur. The States Reorganisation Commission has recommended that Manipur should remain a Centrally administered territory. We welcome this decision. In the memoranda submitted before the Commission by the Government of Assam and the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee it was clearly stated that while welcoming merger of Manipur and Tripura with Assam the popular will in this respect must not be ignored. We reiterate this stand once again. We are against doing anything against the will of the people of Tripura. It is the people of Tripura who should decide which way their betterment and well-being lie.

Now a word to be said about the North-East Frontier Agency. In our memoranda submitted on behalf of the Pradesh Congress Committee and Government of Assam, we pleaded that the North-East Frontier Agency and Assam are brought under the administrative jurisdiction of the Government of Assam. It is somewhat unfortunate that the States Reorganisation Commission did not appreciate our view. What is worse, the States Reorganisation Commission has not even made any indication as to North-East Frontier Agency's integration with Assam as the Constitution of India has provided, in the near future. We do not want to be rash and say that North-East Frontier Agency should be merged with Assam's administrative set up here and now. If the Government of India think for strategic reasons that this area should continue to function under the existing arrangement for some time, we welcome it, but what we need is that a process should be put in motion so that North-East Frontier Agency people and the people of the rest of Assam do not have reason to feel that one is separate from the other. Once this feeling is roused, this will be dangerous for India as a whole. All that I want to say, therefore, is that the areas comprising North-East Frontier Agency and Assam have ultimately to be brought under a single unit for the sake of administrative convenience, security reasons and cohesive considerations in this strategic part of our great India bounded almost on all sides by foreign countries with a slender link of a forty mile corridor with the rest of India. Manipur and Tripura also we feel will have to fall in the same line in the pursuit of India's security and defence ultimately.

The States Reorganisation Commission has drawn the attention of all concerned to Assam's relatively undeveloped communication system both inside the State and with the rest of India and they have recommended better treatment to this flood and other natural calamities ridden State of Assam. We simply hope that this will bear a very good effect in the heart of those who can deliver us good in this respect.

It is interesting to read Part IV of the Commission's Report. The Commission in this part of the report has recommended various safeguards to linguistic and other minorities in the sphere of administration and education, integration of services, financial and other administrative measures in order

to ensure the unity of India. We broadly accept those recommendations, but in certain measures such as the appointment of Public Service Commission or its Chairman by the Central Government, creation of new All India Services and vesting the Governors with certain additional powers, we vehemently disagree. If these recommendations are given credence to, I am sure, it will cut at the very root of democracy and provincial autonomy will be reduced to sham.

With these words, Sir, I generally support the States Reorganisation Commission's recommendations relating to Assam and convey to the three distinguished members of the States Reorganisation Commission our gratefulness, for they had taken very realistic attitude to our stand. The Report may not be a perfect one. Nevertheless it has to be admitted that the Commission has acquitted itself quite creditably. (*Applause*).

MAULAVI TAJUDDIN AHMED (Kamrup-Barpeta-West) : I take my stand to welcome and support the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission in connection with Assam. In this connection, I offer my thanks to the members of the States Reorganisation Commission. I also offer my thanks to the patriots and inhabitants of Assam who tried and could place the facts of Assam's cause before the States Reorganisation Commission in an admirable manner.

We are really happy to see that not an inch of Assam's area is proposed to be curtailed from Assam. Rather it has proposed to add some more areas to Assam. This is really a good suggestion.

Sir, Assam is a State bounded almost on all sides by the international boundaries except a small bottle-neck. For the security and safety of Indian border in this part of the country, the areas of this State of Assam should not be separated and split up, as proposed by some interested and designing people for their own selfish ends. We must see the greater interest of the people and the State. So, this region should be under one single administrative control, *i.e.*, the Government of Assam.

Considering all these facts, I should say that the States Reorganisation Commission has rightly rejected all the proposals for the formation of a separate Hill State, Purbachal State and Kamatapur State. The States Reorganisation Commission has very rightly rejected the demand of West Bengal for Goalpara.

One thing is to be noted here that for the all round improvement of the condition of the people of the Hill districts, some of the provisions laid down in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution should be changed or modified to suit the needs of the changing time. But the States Reorganisation Commission has not recommended for anything such. Our State Government has, however, taken already various measures and schemes with a view to achieve this end, and our Chief Minister has given full assurance for the all round development of the Hill areas of the State. So, I think, there should be no doubt or fear in the minds of our brethren in the Hill districts of the State. I therefore appeal to those people in the Hills districts having genuine desire to be of service to their people to give up the idea of a separate Hill State.

Regarding Tripura, the States Reorganisation Commission has suggested for its merger with Assam. This is appreciated and welcomed. In the report of the States Reorganisation Commission it has been clearly stated that such a small State cannot remain as a separate unit. Also the West Bengal Government have not demanded this area. But from the side of the people of Assam, there is no objection to its merger with the State. From the point of geographical position also, there is no difficulty for the merger of the State of Tripura with Assam. It is therefore expected that the people of Tripura will see their way to accept the suggestion of the Commission in good grace.

Regarding Manipur and North-East Frontier Agency, I like to say that both these areas form part and parcel of Assam and they should, therefore, merge with Assam immediately. But unfortunately, the States Reorganisation Commission has not suggested this for which we are all sorry. The States Reorganisation Commission has, however, recommended their merger ultimately with Assam. We will only be too glad to see this wholesome proposal materialising as early as possible.

All sections of the people of this State, I hope and I am sure, will get equal consideration from the authority. All minority communities and linguistic groups, attitude of the Government of Assam being what it is, I am fully confident will get safeguard for practice and profession of their separate languages and culture.

During the visit of the States Reorganisation Commission in Assam, some people of the State met them with different views and memoranda embodying therein different ideas and outlook. Let us now with broad mind and bold heart forgive and forget everything and work in harmony in the best interest of the people and the State of Assam. I consider that we should all feel it to be our sacred duty.

With these few words, I wholeheartedly support and welcome the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission so far as they relate to Assam. (*Applause*).

Shri A. ALLEY (United Khasi and Jaintia Hills-Nongpoh—Reserved for Scheduled Tribes): Mr. Speaker, Sir, ever since the States Reorganisation Commission was constituted much heat and energy have been generated from all manner of people all over India—a fact which proves that we are a living, dynamic people. After all, if we consider the whole of India, what loss do we suffer by increasing or diminishing the number of States or administrative units? If India is not so big in size with so large a population, I would plead for a unitary Government that will make all of us thorough-going Indians in the quickest possible time. Perhaps, Sir, a little joke may be just the onions we need. We have now 27 States of all descriptions. Under the States Reorganisation Commission's recommendations there will be 16 States. I submit, Sir, most respectfully, that if anybody has a grievance against the States Reorganisation Commission's Report, first priority must be given to Governors, Rajpramukhs, Chief Ministers and Chief Commissioners, so many of whom will be unemployed (*laughter*). I forget, Sir, to add to the list of the would-be-unemployed, the Speakers and Chairmen and their Deputies (*laughter*).

Sir, I represent a backward and disease-infected area of the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills autonomous district known

as the Bhoi area. I also come from an area which once was known as the Khasi States. Although I may be a law-graduate with a first class degree, I can hardly be expected, in the circumstances, to suggest any alternative likely to be accepted by more-experienced and better-informed authorities. I have entered the Legislature for the first time because I thought that in free India, this is a big gate to social and economic salvation of our people.

We are gathered together in this Assembly to discuss the report of the States Reorganisation Commission, particularly with reference to Assam. Some were pleased and some were disappointed. But there is no point in being pleased or disappointed. Advocates of every view have the interest of the country, and thought that a better and stronger India could be built upon their views.

We agreed that reorganisation of States would be examined by the three wise men of India. The Commission considered 1,52,250 documents which includes several thousands of telegrams. It interviewed more than 9,000 persons and travelled 38,000 miles before finally redrawing the map of India which will include 16 federated units to be called States enjoying equal Constitutional status and 3 Centrally-administrative areas to be known as "territories." Our Prime Minister in his broadcast after the Report was handed to the Government of India appealed to us to read the Report as a whole. He says—"a Report of this kind cannot possibly satisfy everybody. We have thus to find what is good from the point of view of the country as a whole and has the largest measure of agreement and support." He appealed further that we should approach the question "with dignity and forbearance and in a spirit of dispassionate consideration."

The Report has attempted to base its conclusion against the background of the unity and determination of the Indian people to eradicate artificial barriers and cramping loyalties. They hope that the scheme of reorganisation will be "viewed against this background and that men of good-will will co-operate with those charged with the onerous responsibility of reconciling competitive claims and of balancing regional sentiments with national interest in giving effect to the

decisions which might be taken in an atmosphere of tolerance and understanding". The map of India was redrawn on linguistic basis, as far as possible, mainly for administrative convenience, so that the various linguistic States may properly function through the language of the people of those areas. According to the Dar Commission Report an area is unilingual if the majority of one language spoken in that area is at least 70 per cent. Assam being a multilingual State, the question of reorganisation on linguistic issue does not arise. Let us then consider the recommendations calmly without getting angry or starting recriminations. Because the Prime Minister has been a "little" surprised "at some of the recommendations," we should not imitate him and express our surprises or indulge in unending controversies. Speaking for myself, I propose to respect the recommendations of this august body and request all to accept the recommendations and think of certain changes only in extraordinary circumstances. But that does not mean that I agree to every sentence written by them specially the portions relating to the autonomous districts. It is my belief that the Members of the Commission were not correctly informed when they say that the demand for a Hill State was a result of British and Missionary influence. I shall presently show that the relationship of the tribals with the Assamese people have been cordial until 1950. I must make my position more clear. We have nothing to thank the British, but we certainly have cause to be grateful to the Missionaries. They introduced the first script and literature in Assamese and, but for them, we the hill people (Christians and non-Christians alike) would not have the little education we have had. Even the Devil, Sir, is given his dues. I suppose, Sir, it is natural in the hills people, all the world over, to look upon with distrust on Plainsmen because the Plainsmen drove them to the hills.

It will take sometime to get over this centuries-old prejudice. In his Note of Dissent on Himachal Pradesh, inhabited mostly by hillmen, the Chairman of the Commission observed "the great anxiety of the people of Himachal Pradesh not to be associated with the Punjab is their deep-seated distrust of the men of the Plains". Luckily for us, there are no Missionaries in that State to account for the unwillingness of the hills people to be mixed up in administration with the Plains people.

But in Assam the case is different. Here is the case of curving out not merging in the hills areas. Speaking for my district, I think it is historically true that the hills people and the Assamese people have always been in close economic, social and cultural contacts and had always been living in peaceful co-operation. I will give a few examples to illustrate my meaning.—(1) In 1824, Assam Valley was conquered by the British. In 1829 war between the Khasi Martyr, U Tirot Singh against the British was started. U Tirot Singh approached Assamese Leaders to rise against the British. During the next four years of that war the Khasis and the Assamese worked together. It is recorded that in the massacre at Nongkhlaw in 1829, U Tirot Singh did not allow his men to kill the Assamese employed by the British, and during the economic blockade organised by the British against the Khasis in that war, the Assamese people supplied food to the Khasis and the Garos from Burdua and other places. Thus there was a close friendship between the Khasis and the Assamese. The Khasis and the Assamese used to trust one another. (2) When I was a student in the Cotton College at Gauhati, I never saw or heard of any communal or racial discrimination. We used to go to Sylhet for sports against Sylhet students. Assamese, Bengali and hillmen represented Cotton College. We lived, slept and ate together totally unconscious to what community or religion we belong. This was most surprising to the students and people of Sylhet who could not understand how Hindus, Muslim, Christian, etc., lived together as brothers. (3) Before Independence and the sitting of our Constituent Assembly, neither the hill districts of Assam nor the 25 Khasi States were known much in India. Even the All-India States Peoples Conference was not aware of these 25 Khasi States. It was the luck of the Discoverer of India to discover these hill districts and these small Khasi States. I vividly remember the occasion when our Prime Minister visited Shillong in December 1945. Although then not a Congressman, I was chosen the Secretary of that Reception Committee. Thereafter Rev. Nichols-Roy convinced me of the principles of the Congress and I became General Secretary of the District Congress Committee for a number of years. But I am digressing. What I wanted to say is something about Shillong and the Khasi States. What I want to say is that the General and Women seat from Shillong was captured by the Congress facts which proved that the tribals were not influenced by anti-Indian attitude.

After Independence, the position of the 25 Khasi States became a headache to many. Two courses were opened to them—(i) they could be completely independent or (ii) they could join either India or Pakistan. Unlike other parts of Princely India, we did not allow the rulers alone to decide the issue. Thus when one of the Khasi States was unwilling to have a temporary arrangement to be connected with India, the people did not agree and ultimately that State also agreed to be with India at least for a period of one year. Thereafter the question was what would be the ultimate position of these States—in or out of the Constitution of India. To decide that issue the Governor constituted a Khasi States Durbar in 1949 where all the 25 rulers were *ex-officio* members. I was elected a member to that Durbar from Shillong. The ultimate decision of that Durbar was that the Khasi States should be merged in the State of Assam rather than be Centrally-administered. Although in those days conditions could have been demanded in a Merger Agreement, no condition was asked for, trusting, believing and knowing that we could co-operate with our brethren in the Plains. May I ask again, Sir, where is the evidence or indication that we were anti-Indian or even anti-Assamese ?

(4) During the time I was General Secretary of the District Congress Committee, I found that the majority of Congress members were Christians. That is so even today. It was much easier to make them understand the principle of truth and non-violence.

I suppose I have unnecessarily gone into great lengths to prove an obvious fact.

If U Tirot Singh, an illiterate and half-naked savage (as he was called by the British), could establish close friendship and understanding with Plainsmen, why should not we who have learnt to shun violence and all forms of exploitation and who are pledged to a welfare State refuse to live together and smilingly tolerate each others defects and mistakes ? (*Applause*).

What then has happened between 1950 and 1954 to cut off the age-long happy association ? Have the hillmen been neglected ? Were they ill-treated or looked down ? Have they suffered too much ? Do they expect things to be done more

rapidly? Is there any exploitation? Whatever may be the answers, I can always say that the difference can easily be overcome the moment suspicion and distrust is removed and feeling of equality is established.

I believe that the demand for a Hill State is the result of conviction that the hill people, in spite of difference of language, could manage their affairs better and have more thrills and joy in the Independence of India and thus rapidly develop themselves to rise the level of other people, and in the march of freedom, to go hand in hand with their brethren in the Plains to eradicate disease, poverty and illiteracy. The Government of Assam took a different view and sincerely thought that the over-riding consideration is the development of the areas and affording opportunities for a better and fuller employment to all, particularly the rural areas.

There is yet a third party locally known as the 'Anti-Hill State Wallahs', who, though not agreeing to a separate Hill State, yet pointed out certain grievances of the people.

I wish to conclude my speech with some suggestions in broad outlines of what ought to be done immediately to remove fear, suspicion and distrust in the minds of tribals.

1. To increase parliamentary seats for the Autonomous Districts to 3 irrespective of population.

2. To increase the seats for Autonomous Districts in the Assam Legislative Assembly. The special mathematical devise in Art. 332 (4) of the Constitution is meant to give some weightage to autonomous districts, and for that devise it has been possible to allot one seat to the North Cachar autonomous district with a population of less than 40,000. But the formula did not work well in the bigger district, *e.g.*, United Khasi-Jaintia Hills. The result worked out by the said formula gives 5 seats to this district. One seat (the Shillong seat) is practically a general seat and the reserved seats for the tribals are four. The population outside Shillong is about 3.25 lakhs. Even without any weightage, the district would in any case get four seats with a surplus population of 25 lakhs to spare if we

take 75,000 population for one seat. The total number of reserved seats for all autonomous districts is 17. The influence of so small a number in a large Legislature like Assam will hardly be felt. I, therefore, suggest we take North Cachar Hills as a unit for a seat and provide that every 40,000 of population will return a Member to the Legislature. This will remove the fear that the voice of the tribal Members of Legislative Assembly will not be drowned.

(3) A separate Public Works Department for the autonomous districts. I have tabled a Resolution in this Session to that effect. The Resolution was balloted as No.21. I read out the Resolution :

“In view of the experience gained during the First Five Year Plan period to the effect that the Public Works Department had to surrender the money intended for the expansion and development of communication in the Autonomous Districts, and in view of the fact that communication in the hills are very necessary for other developments, this Assembly is of opinion that a separate Public Works Department be created for the Autonomous Districts.”

The purpose of tabling this Resolution is to get the works in the Autonomous Districts done more rapidly.

(4) A Special Development Board to advise Government on the utilisation of the Grants under Article 275 and other sums allotted from State revenue. This is implied in the States Reorganisation Commission's Report itself under the heading “Commissioner”. I do not think however that Commissioner is really necessary. If a Commissioner is necessary, may I suggest that he should preferably be a tribal with some records of social service and contact with the people ?

(5) To introduce Hindi as a compulsory subject in Middle English and High English Schools.

(6) Notification under Article 342 (1) of the Constitution be revised so that a Scheduled Tribe living in the Hills shall whenever he moves to the Plains be still a Scheduled Tribe and similarly a Scheduled Tribe of the Plains shall still be regarded as a Scheduled Tribe when he lives in the autonomous district.

The Chief Minister in initiating this debate has given a new outlook, a new vision and a new approach. Let me once again plead for willing co-operation. Let us insist less on our rights but more on our duty to develop the resources of our land, and in doing our duty to do something worthy to be remembered and thus make India a country of peace and goodwill towards all men. (*Applause*).

Maulavi SAHADATALI MANDAL—(Goalpara-South Salmara): অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয় ৰাজ্য সীমা নিৰ্দ্ধাৰণ কমিটিৰ প্ৰতিবেদনটি সমৰ্থন কৰি মই দু-আঘাৰ মান কবলৈ ঠিয় দিলো। দেশ খন স্বাধীন হোৱাৰ পিছৰ পৰাই আমি নানা বকমৰ বিপদ, বাধা বিধিনিৰ সন্মুখীন হব লগিৱা হৈছে। ভূমিকম্প, বানপানী ইত্যাদি নানান প্ৰাকৃতিক দুৰ্যোগতো লাগিয়েই আছে। কিন্তু আটাইতকৈ ডাঙৰ সমস্যা হৈছে আমাৰ ভিতৰত নানা বকমৰ মতভেদ বোৰ। ইয়াৰ ফলত দেশ খন উন্নতিৰ পথত আগুৱাই যোৱাত নানা বকমৰ বাধা পাইছে।

মহাশয়, ৰাজ্য সীমা নিৰ্দ্ধাৰণ কমিটি অসম পৰিভ্ৰমণৰ সময়ত আমাৰ কিছুমান মানুহে নিজ নিজ স্বার্থ দিক্ৰিৰ উদ্দেশ্যকৈ জনসাধাৰণক ভুল পথেদি নিয়াৰ চেষ্টা কৰিছিল। তাৰ ভিতৰত গোৱালপাৰা জিলা খন বহু দেশৰ লগত চামিল কৰিবলৈ যি চেষ্টা কৰিছিল সি অতি নাৰাশ্ৰক আছিল। গোৱালপাৰাত বহু ভাষাৰ বেচি প্ৰচলন বুলি যিটো দাবি কৰিছিল তাৰ মূল কাৰণ আন এটাহে। অৰ্থাৎ ভাষাত বঙ্গাল হলেও গোৱালপাৰা বাসীয়ে নিজকে কেতিয়াও বঙ্গালী বুলি নাভাবে। বঙ্গালী ভাষাৰ বহুল প্ৰচাৰ গোৱালপাৰাত হোৱাৰ কাৰণ আছে। আপোনালোকে জানে যে গোৱালপাৰা জিলা খনৰ ৬ ভাগেই জমিদাৰী এলেকাৰ ভিতৰত। কিছু দিন আগতে এই জমিদাৰ সকলেই আছিল সেই এলেকাবোৰৰ বজা। জমিদাৰৰ যি বোৰ কৰ্মচাৰী আছিল তেওঁলোকক প্ৰজা সকলে ভাল ভাল গাখীৰ, যি, মাছ আদি নিদিলে তেওঁলোকক জমিদাৰৰ কৰ্মচাৰী সকলে অত্যাচাৰ পৰ্য্যন্ত কৰিবলৈ দিখা নকৰিছিল। তেতিয়া এটা গাঁৱলীয়া প্ৰবাদ আছিল “যাৰ মাটিত ঘৰ তাৰ প্ৰত্যেক কথাতে ডৰ” মুঠতে জমিদাৰ সকল আছিল অসীম পুতাপী। তেওঁলোক আছিল বঙ্গালী। গতিকে আমাৰ অসমীয়া মানুহ সকলক এক প্ৰকাৰ বঙালী ভাষাৰ প্ৰতি আগ্ৰহ আৰু বঙালী ফেশ্যনৰ প্ৰতি আকৰ্ষিত হবলৈ এক প্ৰকাৰ বাধ্য কৰাইছিল। ইয়াৰ উদাহৰণ স্বৰূপে মই এটা কথা কয়। ধুবুৰীত ১৯২২ত চনত যেতিয়া অসম সাহিত্য সভা পতা হৈছিল আৰু সেই সভাই যেতিয়া জনসাধাৰণ বঙালী প্ৰভাৱৰ পৰা আতৰি থাকিবলৈ অনুৰোধ জনাইছিল, তেতিয়া জমিদাৰ আৰু তেওঁলোকৰ কৰ্মচাৰীসকলে ধুবুৰী টাউনৰ পৰা ছয় মাইল দূৰত গৌৰী-পুৰ নামে ঠাইত বঙলা সাহিত্য সভা পাতি প্ৰতিবাদ কৰে। তেতিয়াৰে পৰা এই কৰ্মচাৰী সকলৰ উদ্ধনীত আৰু তেওঁলোকৰ কৌশলত কেইটামান বঙলা প্ৰাইমাৰী স্কুল পাতিছিল।

মই গোৱালপাৰা জিলাৰ গাঁৱত থকা মানুহ আৰু মোৰ বয়স প্ৰায় ৫০ বছৰ হ'লহি মই নিজে প্ৰাইমাৰী স্কুলৰ পৰা আৰম্ভ কৰি মৌচিক পৰ্য্যন্ত অসমীয়া পঢ়িছো। মোৰ ধৰ্ম্মতে আৰু বহুতো পমুৱা মুছলমানে অসমীয়া পঢ়িছিল। কিন্তু কিছুদিন পিচত

বঙালী কথা কবলৈ বাধ্য হলো কাৰণ বঙালী নকলে জমিদাৰৰ পৰা মাটি পাব নোৱাৰি আৰু নানা বৰকমৰ অত্যাচাৰ উৎপীড়ন ভোগ কৰিব লগাত পৰে। এইবিলাক অত্যাচাৰৰ কাৰণেই গোৱালপাৰাৰ পৰা বহুত মানুহ কামৰূপ জিলালৈ উঠি আহিছিল। এই জমিদাৰৰ কৰ্ম চাৰী সকলৰ ষড়যন্ত্ৰতেই ১৯৩১ চনৰ পিয়লত বঙালী ভাষা ভাষী লোক বেচিকৈ দেখুৱাটো সচাঁ কথা। কিন্তু দেশ বিভাজনৰ পিচত আমাৰ মানুহে এই ভুল বুজিব পাৰিলে আৰু অসমীয়া পঢ়িবলৈ আৰু কবলৈ ধৰিলে আমাৰ বন্ধু শ্ৰীৰবেন্দু মোহন দাস ডাঙৰীয়াই কালি যিটো অভিযোগ কৰিছিল যে গোৱালপাৰাৰ মানুহক অসমীয়া পঢ়িবলৈ বাধ্য কৰা হৈছে, সেইটো একেবাৰে ভিত্তিহীন কথা। (Voice—hear, hear).

মহাশয় যোৱা ১৯৫১ চনৰ পিয়লত মই নিজে Census Supervisor নিযুক্ত হৈছিলো। সকলো ঠাইত মই নিজে দেখিছিলো মানুহ বোৰে আত্মহেৰে অসমীয়া ভাষা ভাষী বুলি কৈছিল আৰু মুক্ত কণ্ঠেৰে অভিমত ব্যক্ত কৰিবলৈ পাই আনন্দিত হৈছিল। কিন্তু ৰাজ্য সীমা নিৰ্দ্ধাৰণ আয়োগ অসম ভ্ৰমণ কৰি যোৱাৰ পিছত গোৱালপাৰাৰ মানুহ বিলাক বৰ আতঙ্কিত হৈ পৰিছিল; আৰু বাতৰি পাবৰ কাৰণে ব্যথ হৈ পৰিছিল। যিদিনা আয়োগৰ সিদ্ধান্ত পাইছে তেতিয়াৰ পৰাহে অলপ শান্তি পাইছে।

মহাশয় দেশবিভাগৰ পিচত, পশ্চিম বঙ্গৰ পৰা দলে দলে ভগনীয়া আহি আমাৰ অসমত আশ্ৰয় লৈ, তেওঁলোকে আমাক তেওঁলোকৰ অধীনলৈ নিব খোজা 'মতলৰ' টো বাতুলতাৰ পৰিচয় হয়নে নহয় তাক আপনালোকে ভাবি চাওক। আমাৰ ভাৰতৰ মানুহ আমেৰিকা অথবা লণ্ডন অথবা জগতৰ আন আন ঠাইত সিচৰতি হৈ আছে। তেওঁলোকে সেইবিলাক দেশত থাকি ইংৰাজী অথবা আমেৰিকাৰ মাত ভাষা শিকা নাইনেকি? নতুবা আমেৰিকা অথবা ইংলণ্ড ভাৰত কৰিব খুজিছেনেকি? সেই কাৰণে মই অনুৰোধ কৰো, যিবিলাকে সীমা নিৰ্দ্ধাৰণ কমিচনৰ ৰিপৰ্টত বিৰোধিতা কৰিছে তেওঁলোকে যেন ভাৰতৰ সংবিধান খন ভালদৰে পঢ়ি শুনি আয়ত্বকৰি—তেওঁলোকৰ দুৰভিগন্ধিশিলাক দূৰ কৰি ভাৰতত অসমৰ মৰ্য্যদা অক্ষুণ্ণ ৰাখে। ইয়াকে কৈ মই ৰাজ্য পুনৰ গঠন আয়োগৰ প্ৰতিবেদন খনত সমৰ্থন জনাই, মোৰ বক্তব্য সামৰণি মাৰিলো।

Shri HEM CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTY (Cachar-Hailakandi-Silchar): Mr. Speaker, Sir, we the representatives of the people of Assam have assembled here for expressing the views of the public whom we represent on the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission regarding the territorial boundaries of our State. It is the unmixed feeling of the people of Cachar that the States Reorganisation Commission have fulfilled their expectation to the greatest extent, firstly by not disturbing the existing boundary of Assam and secondly, by recommending integration of Tripura with Assam.

Sir, while I speak, I speak for the people of my district of Cachar whose views are crystal clear regarding formation of a Purbachal Pradesh. The States Reorganisation Commission has

dealt briefly with the origin of this Purbachal movement which dates back to the year 1948, when the very same self-styled leaders, as members of the then District Congress Committee of Cachar, without the support of the people of Cachar and also behind their back got a resolution adopted by the Congress Working Committee for the formation of a Purbachal Congress Province.

Sir, the very day this news was published in papers, the people of Cachar expressed their great resentment to such a separationist move of the then District Congress, Cachar, which by suppression of facts and mis-representation confused the members of the Congress Working Committee. The people of Cachar in one voice submitted representation to the President of the All-India Congress, Shri Rajendra Prasad, who very kindly re-opened the question of forming a Purbachal Congress Province and asked the then District Congress, Cachar, who were fighting for Purbachal and the Cachar Kalyan Samity, who opposed that move, to appear before the Working Committee at New Delhi for placing all the facts before the Working Committee for their correct appreciation of the issues involved. The Working Committee, after hearing both the parties, rejected the submissions of the then District Congress Committee, Cachar, and upheld the contention of the Cachar Kalyan Samity, an organisation of the people of the district.

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS (Karimganj—Cachar): He was a supporter of the Muslim League Ministry at that time and now all have turned Congressmen.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr Das, will you please refrain from passing these remarks ?

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS: Other Members did not refrain from passing remarks when I spoke yesterday.

Mr. SPEAKER: Will you obey or will you not ?

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS: I will, but I may point out that other Members are also passing remarks.

Shri HEM CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTY: Thus, Sir, the first battle for usurping power by a small group of people was lost,

Thereafter, Sir, with the appointment of the States Reorganisation Commission, the self-same group tried to capture the imagination of the public by reviving the dead issue of Purbachal Province. But, Sir, this time they did not even venture to put this issue before the public of Cachar. They shifted their head office to Calcutta and therefrom carried on with their propaganda in papers and began to issue Press statements. The three District Congress Committees of Cachar in a joint meeting of their co-ordination Board adopted a resolution for keeping in tact the present boundary of Assam and on various other considerations, namely, administrative, economic, social, strategic and also on compactness suggested the integration of Tripura, Manipur and the North-East Frontier Agency in Assam.

Sir, the people of Cachar are very glad that most of their suggestions have been accepted by the States Reorganisation Commission and Tripura has been recommended to be integrated in Assam and also recommendations have been made for the ultimate integration of Manipur and North-East Frontier Agency in Assam. Sir, what we, the people of Cachar, feel is that steps should be taken for the immediate integration of Manipur and North-East Frontier Agency too in Assam for the unification of the North-East Frontier Region of our Union for giving the said area the soundest footing.

Sir, I am very much shocked to hear my Friend, Shri Ranendra Mohan Das, yesterday while discussing the States Reorganisation Commission's Report and trying in vain to vilify our State administration by reading some grievances which I feel are not within the scope of the States Reorganisation Commission.

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS: On a point of clerification, Sir, because of these grievances, the States Reorganisation Commission was formed.

Shri HEM CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTY: These he read, as he says, from the memorandum submitted by the supporters of the Purbachal movement and the same were given full consideration by the States Reorganisation Commission, for whatever worth these have got.

In this connection, I beg to say, Sir, the unfounded propaganda that Bengali language and culture is going to be suppressed by the Assam Government in Cachar by sending a few pamphlets, summons and Pattas in Assamese language, is so vague and shallow that each and every Bengali laugh at it (Shri Ranendra Mohan Das:—Laugh at it!) (*laughter*). (*A voice*:—He is also laughing:). It is really most unfortunate to think that Bengali language enriched by Vidyasagar, Madhusudan, Rabindra Nath, Saratchandra and many others and which is an ever growing language with hundreds of master minds devoting all their thoughts and ideas and giving expressions to that in Bengali, can be suppressed by a few pamphlets and Pattas written in Assamese. If that be the apprehension of Shri Das, then I must say that the future of Shri Das, who claims to be the saviour of Bengali, is very dark and not of the Bengali language and culture in Cachar.

Sir, the people of Cachar never feel any interference in their culture and language from our State administration and Shri Das has not been able to cite a single instance of such suppression in Cachar barring a few pamphlets in Assamese which were sent to Cachar through mistake, as has been assured by our Chief Minister.

Sir, the futile attempt by Shri Ranendra Mohan Das is nothing but an election stunt for capturing a platform which the Purbachalists have lost miserably in Cachar and not for any practical or reasonable purpose.

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS: It is no doubt a well-drafted speech by some other man.

Mr. SPEAKER: Excuse me, Mr. Das, will you please refrain from passing these remarks?

Shri HEM CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTY: Sir, the sincerity with which the people of Cachar have accepted the States Reorganisation Commission's Report can be best understood and realised by all, from the fact that when our Chief Minister, Shri Medhi, went to Cachar on the 5th of November last and passed through the three subdivisions

of Cachar, namely, Silchar, Hailakandi and Karimganj, the people of Cachar in thousands greeted him most sincerely with the greatest applause. Everywhere in the long route covered by him that day, totalling more than 90 miles, innumerable arches were erected by the people. At all places ladies blew conches and thousands of people, both male and female, including children, gave him high ovation by welcoming him with *chandan tilak*, *dhup dhuna* and garlands and in Shri Ranendra Mohan Das's subdivision Karimganj, processions were also led by well-decorated elephants, welcoming the Chief Minister followed by thousands of people. This tour by the Chief Minister was just after the publication of the States Reorganisation Commission's Report and the manner in which the Chief Minister was received by the people of Cachar is the true symbol of Cachar's appreciation and support of the States Reorganisation Commission's Report. Sir, during this tour people came to show their respect to their leader who so ably piloted the States Reorganisation problem before the States Reorganisation Commission and for his *darsan* only.

Sir, the solution of the divergent and various problems of the various sections and races in Assam does not lie in the separation move but can only be achieved through assimilation of each others healthy aspirations and the States Reorganisation Commission have given their best thought and that aspect of the question while making their recommendations regarding Assam. I request my Friends of the Hills to appreciate that most important aspect of the matter and join with us all in building up our State, an important link of our Indian Union in the Eastern Region. Let us remember the line of Bengali poem—"বিবেধের মারো আছে মিলন মহান" which is self-explanatory.

Sir, I have already taken sometime of this House for explaining the view points of the people of Cachar which district has been made the birth-place of the Purbachal movement by an interested group of so-called leaders, and I felt it my duty to clear up the misgivings, if any, that might be created in the minds of those who are not well conversant with the situation in Cachar.

Sir, as I have already stated, there is no apprehension at all in Cachar about the suppression of Bengali language and culture and my Friend, Shri Ranendra Mohan Das, should not feel and style himself as the solitary soul fighting for the salvation of the Bengalis and their culture in Cachar. I am not speaking here to capture a platform because the verdict of Cachar public is already behind us. I can assure all, specially Shri Ranendra Mohan Das that (Shri Ranendra Mohan Das—Let there be a referendum to settle the issue) I shall be the first man to raise not only my voice but all my energy and strength against any move from any quarter which will tend to jeopardise the interests of the Bengalis of Assam and not only their language and culture, including Tripura when Tripura will be integrated in Assam and very specially that of Cachar wherefrom Shri Ranendra Mohan Das comes. Sir, I shall do that boldly and fearlessly as a servant of the people as we have done in opposing Purbachal and shall not slip out of the field when confronted until the end is achieved if my cause be genuine and true.

Sir, before I take my seat, I cannot but mention one fact about the remark that was made by my Friend, Shri Ranendra Mohan Das, regarding Congress M. L. As. and M. Ps. I know him to be a gentleman and as such, I think, this kind of words ought not to have come out from his mouth that the Congress M. L. As. and M. Ps. are those whose voices are that of gramophone records. This reminds me of the proverb—“Let the dogs bark but the caravan will go”. Because I know Shri Das to be gentleman, I expected otherwise as I feel such remarks were not befitting a gentleman.

With these words, I support the States Reorganisation Commission's recommendation and thank you for giving me a patient hearing (*Applause*).

***Mrs. USHA BARTHAKUR (Nowgong-Samaguri):**
Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am very happy at the sound recommendations by the learned States Reorganisation Commission, in so far as they relate to the State of Assam and I thank the members of the Commission, who are all eminent statesmen of our country, for the very laborious and strenuous task in compiling their valuable Report. Although

the question of re-organisation of the various administrative units of India has had engaged the attention of the Government of India for long before the Independence, never before the appointment of the present Commission was there any attempt made to tackle this complicated problem, affecting the entire country, on an All-India basis. The Commission therefore deserves our deep appreciation for completing this gigantic and yet complex and complicated job in a record time and that too in an able manner.

In so far as our State is concerned, we feel particularly happy as the Commission has upheld the view-points put by the Government of Assam and the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee in their claims before the Commission. We want first of all to retain the present territory of Assam undisturbed, and this the Commission has rightly done. We welcome merger of Tripura and Manipur if the people thereof are willing to do so. The Commission has recommended merger of Tripura with Assam. The Assam Government and the Pradesh Congress have however insisted on the ascertainment of the general feelings of the people of Tripura before the merger is effected. I consider this to be a very correct approach. As regards Manipur, the Commission visualises ultimate merger with Assam in conformity with the object of constituting one integrated homogeneous administrative unit for the entire north-east region of India consisting of Assam including North-East Frontier Agency, Manipur and Tripura, for reasons of better development of this backward and undeveloped area and for national unity, solidarity and security of the country, although the Commission has recommended that Manipur should continue to be a centrally administered territory. Here also the State Government and the Pradesh Congress have rightly viewed the merger of Manipur with Assam and this also should be done with the general will of the people there.

I would humbly suggest that the process of integration of the North-East Frontier Agency, which constitutionally forms a part of Assam, should be accelerated and its administrative set up should be remodelled accordingly.

I hope and trust that our brethren of both Tripura and Manipur who at present seem to be against merger with Assam will see their way to realise the greater cause of the country as a whole and persuade themselves to join with Assam for mutual

well-being and betterment so as to constitute a strong and united North-Eastern Frontier to serve as the bulwark of security of the Indian Republic. The moment they express their will for such a merger we will be only too glad to welcome and accept them as our own kith and kin.

The supporters of Purbachal and Hill State seem to argue that when the Assam Government would accept Tripura and Manipur with the will of the people, why should they object to Hills State and Purbachal, if people needed it? The reasons are obvious. Firstly, conceding to these States will mean vivisection of Assam and will militate against the very idea of composing a united frontier of India which is an accepted good.

Secondly, these States, if formed, will not be economically viable, linguistically homogeneous and geographically compact, and will not solve the very problems that are sought to be made by the protagonists of these States. Assam is an epitome of India and the home of diverse races of hills and plains who have lived together in peace and amity for ages. In the new set-up of things we have to widen our sphere of close relationship throughout the entire north-eastern area within the Indian Republic.

We simply cannot afford to allow disruptive tendencies to grow amongst ourselves which will be detrimental to the best interests of both Hills and Plains and of the country as a whole.

I would, therefore, earnestly request my friends of the hills particularly, to shed their distrust and suspicion if there be any. The Chief Minister in his learned speech initiating this debate has unequivocally reiterated on the floor of this House the Government policy on all controversial issues assuring full safeguards to all minorities to protect their rightful interests. This should now enable even the erstwhile supporters of Hill State and Purbachal to give up their agitation once for all and cooperate with the people of Assam to develop and strengthen the tie of friendship and brotherhood for the betterment and well-being of all.

Before I conclude, I cannot but express my deep regret at the unreasonable claim by West Bengal over Goalpara district

of our State. It is really beyond comprehension that even after the learned Commission has pronounced West Bengal's claim on Assam as not sound, they should be persisting on their demand on Goalpara.

Lastly, I wholeheartedly support the recommendations of the Commission concerning Assam and endorse the statement of the Chief Minister in this regard.

Once again I earnestly appeal to all my brothers and sisters of hills and plains of Assam to sink their passions, forgive and forget the misunderstandings, and to strive wholeheartedly to cement the solid tie of close friendship and goodwill for common benefit and for successfully rebuilding this backward State of ours into a prosperous one.

May united Assam grow and prosper as worthy frontier sentinel of our beloved country.

Sir, with these words I beg to resume my seat. Thank you. Jai Hind. (*Applause*).

Shri A. S. KHONGPHAI (United Khasi and Jaintia Hills—Nongstoin Reserved for Scheduled Tribes): Mr. Speaker, Sir, probably since the Cabinet Mission, there is no other report that had set the country more agitated than the present recommendations or proposals of the States Reorganisation Commission. Shri Bishnuram Medhi, the Chief Minister, moved the other day, "That the House do now proceed to consider the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission generally in so far as they relate to Assam". In speaking of the report, it will be important to note, that it should be considered as a whole and not only to this north-eastern part of India. Everybody should feel that he is an Indian first and Indian last, and must not be agitated on petty matters. We should think of the unity, security and solidarity of India as a whole.

Sir, it reminds me of Rabindranath Tagore ; in one of his poems, he has sung of India as the ocean where humanity in all its diversity has merged and united. No one knows at whose call so many streams of men flowed in resistless tides from places unknown and were lost in one sea: here Aryans and non-Aryans, Dravidians, Chinese, the bands of the Sakas and Hunas

and Pathans and Moguls have become combined in one body : the door to the west has also been opened, and they bring presents from there : they will take, and they will take, they will unite and be united, and they will never go away in this ocean shore of the great humanity of Bharata or India.

Why this Commission had been set up at all, it is not for me to question ; that was a decided question. The members of the Commission have started on April 8th, 1954 on their all-India tour which, according to them, covered virtually the entire country, and visited 104 places which involved travelling over 38,000 miles. The interviews started in New Delhi, from 1st March 1954 and ended about the end of July 1955.

The number of documents received by the Commission reached the figure of 1,52,250 and the well-considered memoranda did not exceed 2,000.

I have just said, why this Commission was appointed at all ? To my mind, it has raked up questions which cannot but hamper our development works to build up this beautiful country of ours. It would, perhaps, be better if the reorganisation of the States be deferred for sometime, for at the time of the last general election, the reorganisation of States was not one of the items in the Election manifesto even of the Congress Party, and some say that the reorganisation of States should be by the sanction of the electorate before deciding to change the map of India, and that any change that may be necessary should be brought about only after full consideration with other democratic parties. But the decision to create the State of Andhra, and the events leading to it have precipitated matters. A little less than two years ago, that is, on the 22nd December 1953, the Prime Minister made a statement in Parliament that a Commission would be appointed to examine objectively and dispassionately the question of the reorganisation of the States of the Indian Union, "so that the welfare of the people of each constituent unit as well as the nation as a whole is promoted". This is an important statement, and before dealing with the recommendations relating to our State, we should look at the recommendations from an all-India basis, and we can do this only by a calm and dispassionate consideration of the Report as a

whole, with the broadest possible outlook ; and if anyone is dissatisfied with its findings, he should agitate in a constitutional way for securing all kinds of reliefs where they are due. I, therefore, appeal to my fellow citizens throughout the country to think for the welfare of the nation as a whole.

(At this stage the Speaker vacated the Chair and the Deputy Speaker occupied it).

The Commission in stressing about the unity and security of India had emphasised on the primacy of the nation, which means the supremacy of the Union and it claims to make no change unless likely to lead to improvement, an essential element for the unity and security of India ; after all, the States are but links of the Union and it is on the Union that hopes for the future are centred.

To my mind, the Commission had used much of the materials from the previous reports of the Committees and Commissions appointed during the British period in India, such as, the Indian Constitutional Reform, the Indian Statutory Commission, the Orissa Committee, the Linguistic Provinces Commission, but the conclusion arrived at were not very satisfactory. Historical facts are important data to reach at the conclusion, for—‘History without political science bears no fruit ; Political science without history has no root’.

Our Constitution recognises three categories of States, *viz.*, nine Part A States, eight Part B States and ten Part C States in the First Schedule to the Constitution of India. Since then Parliament has established a new Part A State, *viz.*, Andhra and merged one Part C State, *viz.*, Bilaspur in Himachal Pradesh.

Under the scheme of reorganisation proposed by the Commission, the Indian Union will consist of 16 States as against the existing 27 and there will be three Centrally administered areas, that is, Delhi, Manipur and the Andamans. The prospective units are :—1. *States*.—Madras, Kerala, Karnataka, Hyderabad, Andhra, Bombay, Vidharbha, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, the Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Assam, Orissa, Jammu and Kashmir. 2. *Territories*.—Delhi, Manipur, the Andamans and Nicobar islands. As regard

Manipur, the Commission says that its ultimate merger in Assam should be kept in view ; Tripura goes to Assam.

The Report and the recommendations cannot please the people in such a vast sub-continent like India, but as I have said before we have to consider the recommendations from the point of view of unity, strength and prosperity of India. It is not possible to please all the parties concerned. In a democracy, it was not possible also to act, unless decisions were taken after full consideration of the various view points on questions to be implemented. I hope, it is a good thing to see that our people taking keen interest in the future of our country, instead of being content with the decision of a few. Even the Prime Minister of India, immediately after the Report was out, said, "I confess that I was a little surprised at some of the recommendations". How then are we to proceed about these recommendations ? Obviously the only right course is for us to function with dignity in a democratic and peaceful way. We cannot decide intricate problem by appeals to passion and in the state of high excitement. Much less can we decide anything by wandering away from democratic and constitutional processes.

Speaking of our State, I have just mentioned that Manipur, though kept as a separate entity under the territories of India, its ultimate merger with our State should be the duty of every citizen of the State. I am glad that the Commission recommended merger of Tripura in Assam, but I am a little disappointed when the Leader of the House, used the words "provided the people of Tripura are generally in favour of such a merger". Are we to think on the desirability of the will of the people of Tripura or are we to accept the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission ? If we still think that the people should be consulted, there will be no end of the matter. For example, if you say that the demand for a Hill State is to be ascertained from the wishes of the people, that will show that we did not accept the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission. It is for the leaders to lead the people. There is no question of ascertaining the will or is there any method of getting to know that will of the people ? I learnt that the Adivasis of Tripura had held a meeting on 22nd October last where they fully supported to the proposals of the States Reorganisation Commission, *i.e.*, merger with Assam.

In my speech a little more than 2 years ago, I wanted that the North-East Frontier Agency should be discussed by this

House, because I think and still maintain that the North-East Frontier Agency is a part and parcel of Assam and in this, I am supported by Paragraph 714 of the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission which said that "Constitutionally, the North-East Frontier Agency is part of Assam....." I was then opposed and even ruled out, that I cannot bring in the North-East Frontier Agency question. I am glad that I can speak on this question again to-day. North-East Frontier Agency is inhabited by the tribal people with a distinctive culture and of the same Mongoloid blood although speaking different dialects. Tripura, Manipur and the North-East Frontier Agency are border areas bordering Burma, Tibet, Bhutan and East Pakistan. So, geographically they are strategic areas and the Commissioners themselves admitted that when border areas are not under the direct control of the Centre, it would be safer to have relative link with large and resourceful States. Such being the case, these border areas should come in the State of Assam, rather than remaining as small and less resilient units. I am dissatisfied with the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission because if North-East Frontier Agency cannot come in Assam, we cannot say that we are satisfied with the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission as it stands.

I have consulted at least some of the leaders of the tribal population of Tripura and Manipur who wish to cast in their lot with the rest of Assam, call it Hill State, separate administration. Sixth Schedule by whatever name you like, but the fact is that birds of the same feather will naturally like to flock together.

I appreciate the statement of the States Reorganisation Commission (paragraph 684) that, "It is of paramount importance to establish a stable administration in the north-east based on the goodwill of the tribal people, and it is clear that such administration will have to be primarily concerned with the well-being of the tribes". The Congress stand on the subject as announced in the Hyderabad Session in January 1953 and re-affirmed at the Kalyani Session in January 1954 is that in considering the reorganisation of States, all relevant factors should be borne in mind, such as the unity of India, national security and defence, cultural and linguistic affinities, administrative convenience, financial considerations and economic progress both of the States and of the nation as a whole.

From the trend of the discussions of the Congress High Power, I can gather that they emphasized the largest possible measure of agreement on the changes proposed. They have attached great importance to agreement amongst the people affected by the changes.

The move for a separate Administration or Hill State is inherent in the heart and soul of every tribal man and woman. They feel that there is some wrong, somewhere. A contented people will not agitate and I hope, the House will agree with me, that there is some wrong, as I have just stated somewhere. It can easily be visualised that the contented people with deep feelings of wider patriotism and cemented together by the pride of being Indians and nothing less, will contribute enthusiastically to the political and cultural progress and the security of India as desired by all lovers of the country. This integration as Indian alone will be a rare asset and hold up to others a unique example of the composite State of Assam evolving unity out of apparent diversity.

The Commission mentioned about the Bordoloi Committee reported in July 1947, and stated that the report was supported by the "tribal representative". Things have changed since then ; but the same policy pursued by the British Government is to be seen to-day, that a tribal, not to speak of a non-tribal, cannot enter some of the tribal areas, without a previous permission of the Government. So, I feel that the Commission was wrong in saying that the "inner line" regulation of the pre-independence period or the demand for a separate Tribal State was a hang-over of this policy.

Taking into account the special requirements, traditions, culture, ways of life and the social and administrative institutions of the tribal people in our State, the architects of our Constitution have framed special provisions for the administration of the Assam tribal areas. These provisions, as is well known, are incorporated in the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India, and are also based on the recommendations of the Advisory Sub-committee for the tribal areas, which was presided over by the late Chief Minister, Shri Gopinath Bardoloi and with which my Friends, Shri Nichols-Roy and Shri Rupnath Brahma toured the tribal areas of Assam

early in 1947, with a view to ascertain the wishes of the tribal people regarding their future form of Government under the new Constitution. And that is why, I say, political science without history has no root. I am anxious more than anybody else in this House to bring about the unity, solidarity and security of India. The tribal people are simple folks, they are called the children of the forest, technically known as the Scheduled Tribes. The Constitution, provided that everything being equal, preference is to be given to the Scheduled Tribes in matters of appointment to various departments of Government and other facilities. I am sorry to say that this is honoured more in breach than in the observance.

(At this stage the Speaker re-entered the Chamber and the Deputy Speaker vacated the Chair).

The Commission's remark that the hill districts will not be able to command even with such aid as may be granted by the Government of India, the resources in money, material or manpower needed to implement the development programme is not correct, because from practical experience, I can say without any fear of contradiction, that the tribal people have proved themselves capable of doing better work when they work with conviction and willingly. In road construction and other development works, the tribal people should be persuaded to work willingly without any cause for suspicion of being exploited ultimately. We do not like to be told that the Government is not able to spend in time the financial aid given by the Government of India, nor to see that Government have not been able to implement the various development programmes. Unless the tribal people feel safe and secured, there will be no welfare State. Pandit H. N. Kunzru, himself a member of the Commission, referring to the tribals, once said that leadership must come from within ; so if the two brothers cannot live peacefully in the same house, they can just live separately in separate houses, with different responsibilities of their own, nevertheless they cannot say that they are not brothers.

I am pained and surprised to hear the other day the heat generated about the language question. One say there is fear of Assamisation, and another said he would help Bengalisation. I would request them and all Members to ponder at the report

of the States Reorganisation Commission that, English though a foreign language, has helped to bring the people of different regions of India, North and South closer to each other. English has provided a common vehicle of understanding. We cannot deny that it will take long time, if not years, to replace English ; it cannot be denied also that English education which has brought contact with Mills, Burke and other English authors who have fired with the idea of fraternity and liberty.

If I am not mistaken, English has been allowed to be taught and used in schools in Bombay by the Anglo-Indian Community which is one of the communities in India, which in a way, recognised English as one of Indian Vernaculars, and it will be disastrous for the country if, on any sentimental grounds, the study of an international language like English is relegated to the background.

Personally, I think the problems are not difficult to solve, it depends upon the human approach to the question and the sincerity on the part of the two brothers. By sincerity, I mean, harmony between profession and practice. It here reminds me of the story of a teacher who used to smoke *hooka* before his pupils, at the same time telling them that smoking is bad. One of the boys, tells him, 'Well Guru ! you have been teaching us day in and day out that smoking is bad, how is it that while teaching the same you showed yourself by example by smoking before us ?' The teacher was blushed, but to save his skin said, 'Do as what I tell you to do, but do not do as I do'.

I love my brothers living in the hills as well as those living in the plains. Geography has made us such that we cannot but be interdependent of each other. I am myself a man of broad international outlook, and I agree with Tennyson's vision of the future when he dreams of the "Parliament of man, the Federation of the world", where the "wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid : and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together ; and a little child shall lead them." This is the policy pursued and followed by our Prime Minister in going even to the remotest corner of the earth in search of peace and that is why India refused to align herself with any power blocks.

Therefore, while appreciating the broad principles of the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission, I think it has failed to give due weight and proper consideration to the aims, desires, aspirations and demands of the people of the hills and some parts of our State of Assam. Therefore, while appreciating the broad principles of the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission, I would like to ask the House to think calmly all these points which have been raised by me.

Shri MOTIRAM BORA (Minister): Sir, we do not follow his conclusions.

Mr. SPEAKER: The points raised by him will be considered by the Executive and I hope you will all consider the points raised.

Shri HARRISON MOMIN (Garo Hills-Baghmara-Reserved for Scheduled Tribes): Mr. Speaker, Sir, while appreciating in general principle, the reports and the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission, I am to say that our people are not happy with it, or are rather greatly disappointed at their recommendations. They are sorry not so much because of their refusal to grant their demand but more so because of their inability to appreciate the aspiration of our people. They are more sorry because the actual facts have been suppressed and the most insignificant faults have been magnified to such a great length as to disadvantage their demands. There are contradictories of the actual state of things, as our Friend, Mr. Lalmawia said on the report and it made us to think that the matters have been misrepresented. The faults are with our own people and not with the Commission.

Sir, it is always alleged that the unscrupulous hill people blindly followed the few educated Christian people. This statement may be partly true. But in this respect, I would like to say that out of 360 millions of the people of India what percentage of them know the plans and policies of the great Indian leaders? I believe not even 20 per cent. I do not profess myself to be one of those who know their plans and policies. But I like them, love them and ready to follow them, simply because I have a great confidence on them

So is the case with the people. Out of 2 lakhs of our people, who can say how many of them know the plans and policies of their leaders; none of them may know it but they follow their leaders because they have confidence on them.

Regarding the formation of Hill State, the matter was explained to them in 36 centre meetings of the Garo National Council of the Garo Hills District and the people understood it, liked it and approved it and it is our belief that we have been able to contact with more than half of our people and have been able to convince them and on this authority we can say that the majority of our people are in favour of the Hill State. Mr. A. Sangma claimed that 90 per cent. are against the Hill State. I do not know his method of calculation and how he got this result. This is absurd and cannot be acceptable. As I have said above, the mass people would follow the leaders on whom they can lay their confidence and such confidence depends on their sincerity, uprightness and sympathy, the manner in which they behave and on the way they talk—not on the big words and promises but on good and sincere works.

We respect and regard the members of the Commission as persons with wide experience in all welfare works of the humanity and we lay our confidence in them for our future welfare and development. Though we do not know much of their plans and policies, we believe that they would not lead us to our doom. There is a saying that in quietness and confidence lies our strength. In conclusion, I would therefore like to say that while we continue to fight to achieve our end, we shall, at the same time, watch and wait in quietness and confidence. With these few words, I conclude my speech.

Maulana ABDUL JALIL : (Cachar-Badarpur) মাননীয় অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, আমাদের মাননীয় রনেন্দুদাস মহাশয় গতকল্য বাংলা ভাষার বিপর্যয়ের আশঙ্কা করিয়া তাহার অনুকূলে যথোপযুক্ত যুক্তি দিতে অসমর্থ হইয়াই রাগান্বিত হইয়া সদন গৃহ ত্যাগ করিয়া ছিলেন। তাহার এই অবস্থায় শুধু তিনিই নয় আমিও মর্মান্তিক দুঃখ অনুভব করিয়াছি। (হাঁসি) তাহার মতে আসামে দুই প্রকারের লোক বাস করে—প্রথম হল Assamese এবং দ্বিতীয় হয়েছে Non-Assamese তিনি মনে করেন তিনি Non

Assamese দেৱ প্ৰতিনিধি। সে হিসাবে আমিও বলি যে আমিও non-Assamese দেৱই প্ৰতিনিধি আমি মনে কৰি মাননীয় ৱৰ্ণেন্দু বাবু এক জন প্ৰতিনিধি হিসাবে জ্ঞানী ও বিজ্ঞ লোক আমাৰ মৰ্ণাস্তিক দুঃখ এই যে তিনি এৰকম জ্ঞানী লোক হইয়া নিজেকে যুক্তিৰ ভিতৰ দিয়া পৰিচালিত কৰিতে অসমৰ্থ হওয়াৰ কাৰণ কি ?

আমরা এক জেলাবাসী এবং তিনি যদি non-Assamese এৰ প্ৰতিনিধি হইয়া থাকেন তবে আমিও তাহাৰই মত non-Assamese এৰ প্ৰতিনিধি।

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS : শুধু তাই নয়, আপনি পাকিস্থানের ও প্ৰতিনিধি এবং পঞ্চম বাহিনী।

MR. SPEAKER : Your remark is unparliamentary. Only with a good motive he is expressing an honest opinion, but you should not impute motive thereon.

Maulana ABDUL JALIL : এখন একথা বলিতে আপনাৰ লজ্জা কৰা উচিত। আমি বলি যে আপনাৰাই আপনাদেৱ দ্বিধা ও ঘৃণাৰ দ্বাৰা পাকিস্থানের সৃষ্টি কৰিয়াছেন। তাহাৰ ফলে আপনাৰ জেলা শ্ৰীহট্টকে হাৰাইয়া এখন শান্তিপূৰ্ণ আসামেও দ্বিভাষা নীতি উদ্ধৃত কৰিয়া দ্বিখণ্ডিত কৰিতে মনোনিবেশ কৰিয়াছেন। আমি যাহাই বলি না কেন আপনি লজ্জা পাবেননা।

তবু আমি আপনাকে বলতে চাই যে ভাৰতৰ স্বাধীনতা যুদ্ধে মুসলমানৰাও হিন্দুৰ চেয়ে কম ত্যাগ স্বীকাৰ কৰে নাই। যাহাৰা নিখিল ভাৰত জমিয়ত উলেমাকে জানে তাহাৰা অস্বীকাৰ কৰিতে পাৰেনা। আজ যদি আমাদেৱ পুৰ্ণাৰ মন্ত্ৰী জহৰলালজী সকলেৰই প্ৰতিনিধিত্ব কৰিতে পাৰেন তাহা হইলে আমিও জাতিধৰ্ম্মনিবিশেষে সকলেৰই প্ৰতিনিধিত্ব কৰিতে পাৰি। এইটুকুও যদি আপনাৰ বোধগম্য নহে, তাহা হইলে আমি কি বলব।

অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, ৱৰ্ণেন্দু বাবুৰ কথার অনেক যুক্তি থাকিতে পাৰে ; কিন্তু যদি ঐসব যুক্তিৰ পেছনে গণসমৰ্থন না থাকে তবে ইহা দ্বাৰা কতিপয় লোককে বিভ্রান্ত কৰিয়া লাভ কি ? গণসমৰ্থন যে ন্যায় তাহাৰ সম্পূৰ্ণ প্ৰমাণ পাওয়া গিয়াছে।

প্ৰথম হল তাহাৰ যুক্তি নাথাকাতে তিনি ৱাগ কৰিয়াছেন—তাৰপৰ তিনি মইনুল হক চৌধুৰীৰ ওপৰ ৱাপাইয়া পড়িয়াছেন। অন্যদিকে ইহাই প্ৰমাণ কৰে যে তাহাৰ ঐসব উক্তিৰ কোন প্ৰাণ নাই। তাৰপৰ তিনি ৱাগেৰ বশীভূত হইয়া সদন গৃহ ত্যাগ কৰিয়াছেন।

তাহাৰ দৃঢ় বিশ্বাস যে কতিপয় লোক স্বতন্ত্ৰ প্ৰদেশ গঠনেৰ নামে তাহাৰ পিছনে ছিল, কিন্তু ৱাজ্য পুনৰ গঠন আয়োগেৰ সুপাৰিশ প্ৰকাশ হওয়াৰ পৰে ঐসব লোকও এখন ছাড়িয়া গিয়াছে।

তাহার রাগের আরও কারণ আছে। তাহার মত লোকের অভ্যাস যে দ্বিজাতীয় প্রশ্ন তুলিয়া অশান্তির সৃষ্টি করা। তিনি এখন অবগত হইয়াছেন যে তাহার সমর্থক কাছাড় জেলাতে কেহই নাই। তিনি এখন হইয়াছেন “চাল নাই, তবোয়ার নাই নিধিরাম সন্দার—”(হাঁসি)

আমি কাছাড়ের গ্রাম্য অঞ্চলেও পরিভ্রমণ করিয়া আসিয়াছি। সর্বসাধারণের মনোভাব এবং উজ্জ্বিত আমি বুঝিতে পারিয়াছি যে ত্রিপুরাকে আসামের সঙ্গে সংযোগ করার পরে, পূর্বের আশঙ্কার ভাব দূর হইয়া গিয়াছে। যদি কাছাড়ের উদ্দেশ্য ইহা হয় যে তাহাদের দুর্বলতার জন্য তাহাদের এলাকাকে সমৃদ্ধিশালী করার পথে যদি কেহ সংখ্যা গরিষ্ঠতার বলে বাধা প্রদান করে তাহা হইলে ত্রিপুরার আসামের সঙ্গে অন্তর্ভুক্তি এবং অনতিবিলম্বে মনিপুরেরও অন্তর্ভুক্তির পরে সন্দেহের কি হেতু থাকিতে পারে? অসমীয়া ভ্রাতৃবৃন্দের যদি সেইরূপ কোন মনোভাব ছিল তবে সর্বপ্রথমেই তাহারা ত্রিপুরার অন্তর্ভুক্তির বিরোধীতা করিত। কিন্তু তাহা করে নাই, বরং তাহারা বিপুলভাবে ত্রিপুরাবাসীকে স্বগতঃ অভিনন্দন জানিয়েছে। তাই রণেন্দ্র বাবুর এই প্রতিনিধিত্ব একটা ভ্রান্তি.....তথা আসামের non-Assamese এর তাহার এই প্রতিনিধিত্ব সেই লোকদের ইচ্ছার বিরুদ্ধে। অতএব রণেন্দ্র বাবুর সভাগৃহ ত্যাগের মূল্যও তরুপ.....(Interruptions.)

অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, গতকল্য বলা হইয়াছে যে গোয়ালপাড়া জিলায় বাংলা ভাষা পরিবর্তন করে অসমীয়া ভাষা দেওয়া হইয়াছে, এবং ইহাও পরিষ্কার হইয়াছে যে গোয়ালপাড়ার লোকের ইচ্ছানুসারেই ইহা করা হইয়াছে। ১৯৪৭ সনে যখন দেশ বিভক্ত হইয়াছিল তখন আসাম প্রাদেশিক জমিয়তে উলামা আসামের মুসলমান দিগকে পরামর্শ দিয়াছিল যে, তাহারা সিলেট বা পূর্ববঙ্গ যেখান হইতেই আসুক না কেন আসামে যখন বসবাস করিতে চায়, তখন আসাম বাসীদের সঙ্গে সর্বপুকার মেলাশিলা করা কর্তব্য। ভাষার দিক দিয়া ও অন্যান্য সকল দিক দিয়াই অসমীয়া ভাইদের সঙ্গে সম্প্রতি স্থাপন করিতে ক্রটি যেন না করে।

গোয়ালপাড়া জিলায় মুসলমানেরা ইহাই মানিয়া নিয়াছেন এবং অসমীয়া ভাষাও তাহারা শিক্ষা করিয়াছেন। আমি বলি ইহা সরকারের পক্ষ হইতে দেওয়া হয় নাই।

কাছাড় জেলা সম্পর্কেও আমি বলিতে পারি যে কাছাড়ের নরনারী সকলে আসাম সরকারের প্রতি বিন্দু বিসর্গও অনাস্থা প্রকাশ করিবে না, ও করে নাই।

কাছাড়ের বিভিন্ন সম্প্রদায়ের পক্ষ হইতে আমি বলিয়াছি যে এই রিপোর্টে কাহারও আপত্তি নাই। ইহা একেবারে সত্য কথা।

আমরা আসামের ভিতরে বাস করিয়া আসামের গরিষ্ঠ সংখ্যক লোকের সহিত কোনও অবস্থাতে ভারতের সম্মিলিত জাতি গঠনে কোন প্রকার ক্ষুণ্ণ হইতে দিব না। যাহাতে কোনও বিশৃঙ্খল নাঘটে সেই প্রকার জনসাধারণকে চালিত করিব এবং নিজ নিজ এলাকার সংখ্যা লঘিষ্ঠ সম্প্রদায়ের ভাষা, কৃষ্টি ও সংস্কৃতি যাহাতে রক্ষা করে আসাম রাজ্যকে শক্তিশালী ও সর্বস্বাঙ্গীণ সুন্দর করিতে, সর্বপুকার ত্যাগ স্বীকার করিতে রাজী ইহাই কাছাড়ের জনসাধারণের ইচ্ছা।

বাংলার প্রত্যেক লোক পাঞ্জাবের প্রত্যেক লোক মর্মে মর্মে উপলব্ধি করিতেছে যে ভারত বিভক্ত হওয়ার কালে সমস্ত ভারতের যে পরিমাণ ক্ষতি হইয়াছিল এই দুইটা প্রদেশের একাই তত ক্ষতি হইয়াছিল বলিলে অত্যাঙ্কি হইবে না। তাহার কারণ কি? কারণ হইতেছে যে দেশ দুইটাকে বিভক্ত করা। কিছু দিন পূর্বে আসামের একটা জেলাকে আসাম হইতে বিভক্ত করার ফলে আসামের কি ক্ষতি হইয়াছে। পূর্বাচল আন্দোলনে সক্রিয় অংশ গ্রহণকারী বন্ধুবর্গের সেই কথাটি ভালরূপে জানা আছে। আমাদের জনপ্রিয় নেতা শ্রীনেহেরু যেমন ভাবে সন্মিলিত জাতি গঠনে ইচ্ছুক সেই একই ভাবে সকল জাতীর নিজস্ব কৃষ্টি সামাজিক বৈশিষ্ট্য বজায় রাখার জন্যও ইচ্ছুক। আসাম একটি সীমান্ত প্রদেশ স্তুরাং আসামের শক্তিই হইতেছে ভারতের শক্তি, এবং আসাম ক্ষুদ্র হইয়া দুর্বল হইলে ভারত দুর্বল হইয়া পড়িবে।

অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয় একটি কথা দেখিয়া বড়ই দুঃখিত হইয়াছি। সেটা এই যে আমাদের কয়েকজন সদস্য আসামকে ভাগ করিতে চেষ্টা করিয়া নানা রকম যুক্তি দেখাইয়া সীমা নির্ধারণ কমিশ্যনের নিকট স্মারক পত্র দাখিল করিয়াছিলেন। কিন্তু আমাদের অনেক ভারতবাসী ইংলণ্ড, আমেরিকা, হেজাজ ইত্যাদি দেশে আছে—তাহারা কি বিদেশে আছে বলিয়াই ভারতীয় নাগরিক নহেন? স্তুরাং আমাদের চিন্তা করিয়া দেখা উচিত আসামকে ভাগ করিয়া শক্তিহীন করার চাইতে সকলে মিলিয়া আসামকে শক্তিশালী করা ভাল হইবে, না ক্ষুদ্র ক্ষুদ্র ভাগ করিয়া দুর্বল হইয়া থাকা ভাল হইবে? এই বিষয়টি আমাদের উপলব্ধি করা উচিত। আমাদের চেষ্টা হওয়া উচিত যে কেমন করিয়া আমাদের আসামকে আমরা শক্তিশালী করিতে পারি। আমরা যেখানেই থাকি না কেন আমরা ভারতেরই একটা অংশ। স্তুরাং আমাদের মনোবৃত্তির গণ্ডি বাড়াইতে হইবে এই কথা আমাদের সর্বদা মনে রাখা উচিত।

অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, আমি ইহাও বলিতে চাই যে ভাষার উপর ভিত্তি করিয়া আমাদের পুদেশটিকে খণ্ড বিখণ্ড করা উচিত হইবে না। কারণ তাতে আমাদের পুদেশের শক্তি বৃদ্ধি হইবে না, বরং হ্রাস পাইবে। সেই জন্য আমি বলতে চাই—সীমা নির্ধারণ কমিটি আসাম সম্পর্কে যে ভাবে নির্ধারণ করিয়াছেন তাহা আসামের আভ্যন্তরীণ সমস্যা গুলি লক্ষ্য করিয়া আসামের পক্ষে খুবই উপযোগী হইয়াছে। এই পুসঙ্গেই আমি বলিতে পারি যে গত কাল আমাদের রণেন্দ্র মোহন দাস মহাশয়—কাছাড়ের জনমত সম্পর্কে যাহা উক্তি দিয়াছিলেন তাহা মোটেই সত্য নয়। কাছাড়ের জনসাধারণ আসামের সঙ্গে সামিল হইয়া থাকিতে চায়। সেই জন্য আমি আবার বলছি যে আমরা সকল সংখ্যা লঘু সম্প্রদায় যেমন পাহাড়ী ভাইরা গারো, মিজো, মিকির, নাগা, লুচাই, খাচীয়া, বাঙালী, পাটনী, নমস্কুদ্র ইত্যাদি মিলিত হয়ে থাকতে হবে; এবং মিলিত হইয়া থাকিলে সংখ্যালঘু সম্প্রদায়ের কৃষ্টি, সংস্কৃতি, সামাজিক বৈশিষ্ট্য ইত্যাদি বজায় থাকিবে। নাহলে ক্ষুদ্র ক্ষুদ্র ভাগ হইয়া পড়িলে আমি জোর দিয়া বলিতে পারি যে সংখ্যা লঘুদের কোন কৃষ্টি, বৈশিষ্ট্য, কখনো স্বতন্ত্র থাকিতে পারে না। তাই অন্য কথা ভাবিবার আগে আমাদের ভাবা উচিত যে পুথমে আমরা সকলে মিলিত হইব, তারপর ন্যায়্য দাবীর বিষয়ে আমরা চিন্তা করিয়া সেই সমস্ত দাবীর ব্যবস্থার পথ ঠিক করিতে পারিব। এইজন্য ত্রিপুরা বাসীর কাছে আমার অনুরোধ যে তাহারা যেন ক্ষুদ্র স্বার্থের দিকে লক্ষ্য না করিয়া বড় স্বার্থের দিকে লক্ষ্য করিবেন—অর্থাৎ আসামের শক্তিকে আরও সম্পূর্ণস্বরূপে নিজের শক্তি বর্দ্ধন করিতে ভুলিবেন না। প্রত্যেক স্বাধীন রাষ্ট্রের মত আমিও এই মতের উপর জোর দিয়া জনসাধারণকে অনুরোধ জানাইতেছি। সংগে ইহা ও বলিতে চাই যে রাষ্ট্রের উন্নতির জন্য স্বাধীন দেশের নাগরিক হিসাবে আমরা

অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয় আমি বিধান সভাৰ সদস্য হিসাবে আসামেৰ জাতিধৰ্ম নিবিবশেষে জন-সাধাৰণেৰ পক্ষ হইতে ৰাজ্য পুনৰ্গঠন কমিশনেৰ ৰিপোৰ্ট সমৰ্থন কৰিতেছি, এবং আসাম প্ৰাদেশিক জমিয়ত উল্লেখ সাধাৰণ সম্পাদক (যে প্ৰতিষ্ঠান আসামেৰ মুসলমানদেৰ একমাত্ৰ মণিয়েল প্ৰতিষ্ঠান) হিসাবে আসামেৰ প্ৰায় ২৫ লক্ষা মুসলমানদেৰ পক্ষ হইতে সমৰ্থন কৰিতেছে।

পৰিশেষে, অসম সৰকাৰেৰ কাৰ্জেৰ উপৰে সম্পূৰ্ণ আস্থা থাকা সত্বে ও এবং মুখ্য-মন্ত্ৰী মহোদয়েৰ বক্তৃতাৰ পৰে আৰ কিছু বলা চলে না। তথাপি আমাৰ বিশেষ অনুৰোধ যেন আসামেৰ কোন সংখ্যা লঘু সম্প্ৰদায় তাহাদেৰ ন্যায্য প্ৰাপ্য প্ৰাওঁয়া যথা সম্ভব সহজ-সাধ্য হয় তাহাৰ ব্যবস্থা কৰিয়া দিতে ক্ৰটি যেন না হয়। এই সব কাৰ্জে এমন নীতি গ্ৰহণ কৰা উচিত, যাহাতে তাহাদেৰ মন জয় কৰা যায় অথচ কৰ্মক্ষেত্ৰে ইহা প্ৰমাণিত হয় এবং পিছনেৰ তিজতা ভুলিয়া গিয়া নতুন জাগৰণেৰ উদভব হয়। তাহলে আশা কৰি নব গঠিত আসামে নতুন এক জাগৰণ ও নতুন এক প্ৰেৰণাৰ ভিতৰ দিয়া গম্ভব্য পথে অগ্ৰসৰ হইবে।

জয়হিন্দু

Shri HEM CHANDRA HAZARIKA (Lakhimpur—North Lakhimpur) : অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, জয় জয়তে মই “ৰাজ্য পূৰ্ণ গঠন কমিচনৰ” সদস্য সকলক সম্বৰ্দ্ধনা জনাও। তেখেত সকলে ভাৰতৰ এমুৰব পৰা আন মুৰলৈকে পৰিব্ৰমণ কৰি, সীমা নিৰ্দ্ধাৰণ সম্পৰ্কীয় সকলো বিষয়কো পাৰদৰ্শিতাবে সমপন্ন কৰি যি নীতিবে নতুন ৰাজ্যৰ সীমা নিৰ্দ্ধাৰণ কৰিব পাৰি তাৰ ইচ্ছিত ভাৰত চৰকাৰক দাখিল কৰিছে। অসমৰ সম্পৰ্কে আয়োগে যি নীতি অবলম্বন কৰি আসাম ৰাজ্যৰ পূৰ্ণগঠনৰ ব্যৱস্থা কৰিছে সি প্ৰকৃততে সন্তোষ জনক হৈছে আৰু অসমৰ প্ৰত্যেক অধিবাসীয়েই এই প্ৰতিবেদন খনত আনন্দ প্ৰকাশ কৰিছে। কাছাৰ জিলাৰ অধিবাসী তৰফৰ পৰা মাননীয় সদস্য শ্ৰীযুত হেমচন্দ্ৰ চক্ৰবৰ্তী দেৱে এই প্ৰতিবেদন সন্তোষ জনক হৈছে বুলি প্ৰকাশ কৰাত তেও লোকলৈ আমাৰ সম্বৰ্দ্ধনা জনাইছোঁ ; আৰু ইয়াৰ লগতে অসমৰ প্ৰত্যেক অধিবাসীবে এই পূনৰ গঠন বিষয়ত সহযোগীতাৰ শলাগ লৈছোঁ।

অসমৰ পাৰ্বত্য জাতি সকলৰ ভিতৰৰ কোনো কোনোৱে বেলেগ হিলষ্টেট গঠন হব লাগে বুলি যি চেষ্টা কৰিছে—তেও লোকে সিদিনা আমাৰ মুখ্য মন্ত্ৰী ডাঙৰীয়াই এই সম্পৰ্কে এই সদনত দিয়া বক্তৃতা নিশ্চয় শুনিছে, আৰু মোৰ বিশ্বাস তেখেতৰ ভাষণৰ পাছত তেওঁলোকৰ সকলো সন্দেহ দূৰ হ'ব। অৱশ্যে এনেভাবে পৃথক পৰ্বৰ্তীয়া ৰাজ্য দাবি কৰা লোকৰ সংখ্যা অতি কম। তেখেত সকলে এতিয়াৰ দৰে অসমৰ অঙ্গ-হিচাপে থাকিলেহে তেখেত সকলৰ স্বাৰ্থ পূৰ্ণ হব আৰু লগতে বৃহত অসমৰ স্বাৰ্থ ভাৰতৰ নীতিৰ লগত খাপ খাব। নহলে—অসমৰ ভিতৰত বহুতো সৰু সৰু ৰাজ্য জন্ম হৈ প্ৰত্যেকেই বহুমুখী সমস্যাৰ সন্মুখীন হব লাগিব আৰু এই সমস্যা সমূহ দূৰ কৰিবলৈ হলে অসমৰ অঙ্গ হিচাপে অসমৰ ভিতৰতে থাকিবই লাগিব, নহলে বহুমুখী সমস্যা সমূহে সৰু সৰু ৰাজ্য সমূহক উন্নয়নৰ পথেদি চলাই লৈ যাওক চাৰি বিপদে আৰু অস্থিবিধাই পৰ্বৰত প্ৰমাণ ৰূপধৰি—গিলিহে পেলাব। সেই কাৰণে মই তেখেত সকলক অনুৰোধ জনাও যেন তেখেত সকলে অসমৰ ভিতৰতে থাকি অসমৰ বৃহত স্বাৰ্থত নিজৰ অংশ গ্ৰহণ কৰক আৰু ‘হিলষ্টেট’ গঠনৰ পৰা বিৰত থাকক। ইতিহাসৰ পৰা চালেও দেখা যায় যে, অসমৰ

দাতিকামৰীয়া পাবৰতা জাতি বিলাকৰ লগত অসমীয়া মানুহৰ ভাই-ভনীৰ সম্বন্ধ আৰু তেনেস্থলতো—বৃটিচ শাসনৰ মেৰপাকে তেওঁ বিলাকক আমাৰ পৰা আতৰাই ৰাখিবলৈ চেষ্টা কৰিছিল। বৃটিচৰ শাসনৰ পিচত—আমাৰ স্বাধীনতাই—এই ব্যবধান আতৰ কৰি—আমাৰে ভাই-ভনী সকলক আমাৰ লগত মিলা প্ৰীতি ভাবৰ বিনিময় কৰিবলৈ সুবিধা দিয়া একান্ত কৰ্তব্য। এই জাতিবিলাক এতিয়া উঃ পুঃ সীমান্ত এলেকাৰ অন্তৰ্ভুক্ত। অকা, ডফলা, মিৰি, মিচমি আদি স্বৰনগীৰি এলেকাৰ যি বিলাক পাবৰতা জাতি আছে—সেই বিলাকৰ বাসভূমি উত্তৰ লক্ষীমপুৰৰ পৰা মুঠেই ৮।১০ মাইল দূৰৰে পৰা আবস্ত হৈছে। বৃটিচৰ শাসন আৰম্ভ হোৱাৰ পূৰ্বেৰ দবঙ জিলাৰ চয় দুৱাৰ, চাৰি দুৱাৰ, নয় দুৱাৰ লক্ষীমপুৰৰ দৈ মুখ আদি পৰ্বতৰ বাটে দি উত্তৰ পূৰ্ব 'N.E.F.A.' এৰিয়াৰ ভাই-ভনী সকল আমাৰ মাজলৈ সদা সৰ্বদা আহি থাকিছিল কিন্তু বৃটিচ অহাৰ লগে লগেই তেওঁ লোকৰ আহ জাহ আৰু আমাৰ লগৰ মিলাপ্ৰীতিবন্ধ হৈ আহে। আৰু লগে লগে উঃ পুঃ সীমান্ত এলেকাটো N.E.F.A. বুলি আজিও বেলেগ ভাবে ৰাখিছে। তেওঁ লোকক এনেভাবে আতৰাই নাৰাখি অতি সোনকালে অসমৰ অঙ্গীভূত কৰা নিতান্ত দৰ্কাৰ—এই উদ্দেশ্যেৰে আমাৰ চৰকাৰৰ জৰিয়তে আমি ভাৰত চৰকাৰলৈ টানি অনুৰোধ জনাও।

পশ্চিম বঙ্গই অসমৰ বুকৰ পৰা গোৱালপাৰা জিলা কাটি নিয়াৰ যি অমূলক, ভিত্তিহীন চেষ্টা চলাইছিল, ৰাজ্য পুনৰ্গঠণ আয়োগে সেই দাবী প্ৰত্যাখ্যান কৰাটো সমীচিন হৈছে আমি তাৰ বাবে আয়োগক ধন্যবাদ জনাইছো। একে শ্ৰেণীৰে ৰাজ্য ত্ৰিপুৰাক অসমৰ লগত জাপি দিয়াৰ আভাষ দিছে কিন্তু মণিপুৰ এতিয়াও বাহিৰত। এই প্ৰসঙ্গত মই ইয়াকে কব খুজিছো যে, মণিপুৰ ৰাজ্যও যাতে অসমৰ অঙ্গ হিচাবে অতি সোনকালে পৰিগণিত হয়—আৰু কেন্দ্ৰীয় চৰকাৰে যেন ইয়াৰ ব্যৱস্থা কৰে।

সৰ্বশেষত মই পুনৰ ৰাজ্য পুনৰ্গঠণ আয়োগ আৰু ইয়াৰ বিধান সদস্য সকললৈ সম্বন্ধনা জনাই তেওঁলোকৰ প্ৰতিবেদনত আস্থা জনাও। ইয়াকে কৈ মই মোৰ বক্তব্য সামৰিলো।

Pu Ch. SAPRAWNGA (Mizo District—Aijal West—Reserved for Scheduled Tribes) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, to-day we are discussing the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission which is of a very rare kind of subject and which has never been discussed in the past and, probably, it will never be discussed again. (*Hear, hear*). It is such a subject that to-day in this House there is neither Opposition benches nor Government benches and so everybody speaks as he feels; and so when I listened very carefully all the previous speakers, it is very natural that we have received this Report with mixed feelings. As for myself, I am one of those who support the demand for a Hill State and that demand has been turned down by the States Reorganisation Commission, so it is only natural that I feel disappointed, because I have not got what I expected to get. But, however, I have been used to such disappointment in life and I have known that I could not get everything that I wanted to get and so the result of the States Reorganisation Commission, therefore, has not upset me in any way, nor has it disturbed my mind. I can bear the disappointment coolly and calmly.

I have gone through the Report and some of the arguments put forward against the formation of a Hill State are very strong. There are indeed weighty reasons for not recommending the creation of a Hill State. I can understand the arguments such as, that the hills are geographically so far apart to form a State, economically unsound and so on and so forth. There are, it is true, real difficulties no doubt. So if the States Reorganisation Commission turned down the demand for a Hill State on these grounds alone, I could understand to a very great extent. But, Sir, with all my respects to the Commission, I am sorry to have to say that the States Reorganisation Commission appears to have been guided by a wrong conception, which is very very unfortunate. If such a big question as formation of a new State is viewed and examined with a bias mind, the decision is also likely to be wrong.

It is stated here in paragraph 689 of the Report—"The broad effect of throwing the tribal areas open to some, but not to all external influences during the period of the British occupation has been to divide the tribal people themselves and to create, as a result of British and missionray influence, a new class, which has so far remained quite distinct from the general population either in the hills or in the plains. The creation of a new Hill State will, in our opinion, accentuate these distinctions. It will, therefore, prove, in the long run, against the interest of the Scheduled Tribes."

It is obvious that this "new class" means "the Christians." I would like to ask whether the tribal Christians of the hills are distinct in any way from the non-Christian tribals? Our Chief Minister, in spite of his age, has entered deep into different parts of hill areas. He has gone as far as Lungleh which is in the extreme southernmost part of Assam. I would like to ask him if he has ever seen such a "new class" distinct from the others? Where is that distinction which a Hill State might accentuate, and which might prove against the interest of the Scheduled Tribes? So far as I can see there is no distinction of any kind either in this Hill or that Hill among the hill tribes of Assam whether Christians or non-Christians, and this conception is totally wrong and without any foundation. It is, therefore, most unfortunate that the States

Reorganisation Commission has been guided by the "new class" bias, which in fact, is non-existent. I can understand the other arguments, but, Sir, I cannot understand this one and I can never understand it.

Mention has also been made here about missionaries. Regarding this I would like to say a few words here. Whether the problem is in the Naga Hills or in the other Hills, it appears to be almost the fashion of the day to put all blame on the missionaries. I am not going to defend the case of the missionaries here. We all know that some missionaries were good and some were bad. They have done something good and something bad too. But to put all blame on the missionaries is unfair and not only unfair but also it does not lead us anywhere. Whatever was done by the missionaries had been done and we cannot call them back to set it right again. Moreover, to entertain such ideas is dangerous—dangerous in the sense that it makes us feel helpless. It makes us to feel that the missionaries have done all the damage and that we are not responsible and that we cannot do anything about it. That would be a very dangerous attitude. I think we must have the courage to go a little further and have the courage to examine ourselves. I have no doubt that to a great extent, the tribals themselves are to blame. And to a very great extent the non-tribals also are to blame. It is here that we all can do something. Let us examine the past, let us examine the present without fear, and let us try to find out what omission and commission we all have committed which might have been repellent to one another. It is not unlikely that we ourselves have done the damage even more than what all the bad missionaries have done.

Then coming to the next point I find that the different views contained in different memoranda have been reproduced by the States Reorganisation Commission in paragraphs 699 and 700 of its Report.

I feel that this is not at all necessary. I wished that these two paragraphs were altogether omitted. In paragraph 701, it is said that they did not propose to examine the merits of the two contending views. If that was so, why put them down here in the record? After reading this portion, it leaves us to guess as to who have submitted such a memorandum.

In fact, when I read this portion, I found some allegation against the Mizo District Council regarding constitution of the courts. I at once thought that it must have been done by the State Government. I was somewhat furious and I was determined to explain everything on the floor of this House. But meanwhile, I understand from our Chief Minister that it was not from the State Government. I feel therefore that if that is so, I need not make any such attempt. It is quite likely that some other people also have guessed just as I did and in that way suspicion might be created unnecessarily.

As regards the demand for Hill State, this may be the beginning or it may be the end. Whether it is going to be the beginning or going to be the end, I believe, depends largely upon the people of the hills, and largely upon the Assamese people. I appeal to the Assamese people that you being the majority community should boldly accept the challenge of having to take care of so many small and backward communities around you. I appeal to you to accept this challenge and to consider these tribal people as flesh of your flesh and blood of your blood. It is a great duty entrusted on you, and if you fail in his sacred duty, the future of the tribes would be very dim indeed. I would appeal to those who hold the rein of Government. You have the best chance to come in contact with the tribal people and to know their problems. Your treatment of the tribals and your attitude towards them will go a long way in either directions.

I appeal to my tribal friends that they should not be led by sentiment. They should consider these things dispassionately. It is all very natural to want something, but no heat need be generated at any stage. We should carefully examine the possibilities or impossibilities on both sides. We need not take hasty steps. For the protection of our interest, I believe, we can be sure of sympathy from the Government of Assam, from the Government of India, and particularly from our Prime Minister.

With these few words, Sir, I resume my seat.

AGENTS IN INDIA

1. Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta.
 2. Messrs. W. Newman & Co., Calcutta.
 3. Messrs. S. K. Lahiri & Co., Calcutta.
 4. Messrs. R. Cambray & Co., 6 and 8/2, Hastings Street, Calcutta.
 5. Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala Sons and Co., 103, Meadow Street, Fort, Post Box No.187, Bombay.
 6. The Indian School Supply Depot, 309, Bow Bazar Street, Calcutta.
 7. The City Book Company, Post Box No.283, Madras.
 8. The Director, The Book Company, Limited, Book Sellers and Stationers, 4/4A, College Square, Calcutta.
 9. The Manager, The Imperial Publishing Co., 99, Ry. Road, Lahore.
 10. Messrs. Chapala Book Stall, Shillong.
 11. Messrs. Sirbhumi Publishing Co., Calcutta.
 12. The Proprietor, 'Graduates Union,' Gauhati.
 13. Mr. Banwarilal Jain (Book Seller), 1719/2002, Mati Katra, Agra (India).
 14. Messrs. Low Book Society, 65/3, Harrison Road, Calcutta.
 15. The Director, Benares Corporation, University Road, P.O. Lanka.
 16. Messrs. Law Book Society, 4A, Wellington Square, Calcutta.
 17. Messrs. Bodh Raj Marwah, Booksellers, Shop No.63, Pusa Colony Market, Delhi-Karol Bagh, New Delhi.
 18. The Oxford Book and Stationery Co., Scindia House, New Delhi/17, Park Street, Calcutta-16.
-