

Assam
Legislative Assembly
Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT

FIRST SESSION OF THE ASSAM LEGISLATIVE
ASSEMBLY AFTER THE FIRST GENERAL ELECTION
UNDER THE SOVEREIGN DEMO-
CRATIC REPUBLICAN CON-
STITUTION OF INDIA

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No. 3



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**Proceedings of the First 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 10 A.M. on Saturday, the 8th March 1952.

P R E S E N T

The Hon'ble Shri Kuladhar Chaliha, B.L., Speaker, in the Chair, the ten Hon'ble Ministers, two Deputy Ministers and eighty-nine Members.

Point of order

Maulavi MAHAMMAD ROUFIQUE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I raised a point of order that there was actually no Motion before the House.....

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: That is already over.

Maulavi MAHAMMAD ROUFIQUE: In that case, Sir, I want to raise another point of order. The point of order which I am now going to raise does not mean any reflection on His Excellency the Governor of Assam. I think he is one of the finest Governors that ever came to this State. His solicitude for the welfare.....

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: What is the point of order ?

Maulavi MAHAMMAD ROUFIQUE: My point of order is that the whole speech delivered by His Excellency the Governor has now been vitiated and therefore will have to be expunged from the record and consequently.....

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: Under what rule do you want to do so ?

Maulavi MAHAMMAD ROUFIQUE: I am coming to that point, Sir. The House knows, the Budget is a confidential document.....

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: Under what rule.....

Maulavi MAHAMMAD ROUFIQUE: What I want to say is that the Budget is a confidential document and as such no secret about it can be divulged in his speech. I will read out the letter of the Deputy Secretary of the Finance Department of the Government of Assam. In the letter forwarding the copy.....

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: That is not a point of order. I rule it out.

Debate on His Excellency the Governor's Address

Srijut RADHIKA RAM DAS: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to congratulate His Excellency the Governor of Assam for the Address which he has delivered on the floor of this House enunciating all the policies of the Government of Assam to be followed in the next year. I congratulate His Excellency for referring to the food problem of the State and for taking initiative to put into effect various major and minor irrigation schemes whereby the land will be fertilised and thereby more food will be available for this country. Sir, I congratulate His Excellency again for the various problems he had dealt with in his Address touching all the policies of the Government of Assam to be followed next year. Assam is a place where there are various problems to be tackled. I congratulate His Excellency

again for touching the matter about the refugee problem. Sir, in the constituency from which I come there are lots of refugees. I thank His Excellency for tackling the problem by drawing up a scheme which is under the contemplation of the Government for the non-agriculturist refugees and for creating a township near the Pandu area. Sir, I congratulate His Excellency again for dealing with various other problems of this State which, if tackled properly, would usher in a new era of prosperity and happiness to the people of Assam. I hope and trust that the hon. Members of this House will give a united effort in tackling all those problems to bring prosperity and happiness to this remote State of India.

Next, Sir, I oppose the amendment that has been moved by my hon. Friend, Shri Bhattacharyya. If we analyse the amendment we will find that most of the problems referred to in the amendment have been dealt with in the Address of His Excellency.

With regard to the settlement of land with the tillers of the soil, abolition of intermediaries and redistribution of land on economic holding basis, the Government has been trying to follow a land policy whereby the landless people of this State would be given land. In order to give effect to this policy the Government has been throwing open some of the Reserves. If that policy is followed completely, I think all the landless people of Assam will get land in every place. But there is a handicap which has been put by the Zeminders, including certain of my hon. Friends here on the Opposition side.

Now the State Acquisition Zamindari Bill could have been put into action and if the Agrarian Committee's Report that has been given by the Committee headed by Kumarappa had been given effect to, I think the distribution of land on the basis of economic holding to the tillers of the soil will be finalised and the Government will be in a position to deal with this problem within a short time. But, Sir, I am surprised to find that my hon. Friend, Raja Ajit Narayan Deb, and my hon. Friend, Mr. Ranendra Mohon Das, have tactfully avoided these problems although they have supported the amendment with reasons best known to them and to the House.

Another point which my hon. Friend on the opposite side has raised is the abolition of some protective measures which are called repressive measures. I beg to point out why these measures have been taken by Government. Does my hon. Friend mean to say that persons on the Government side are less patriotic than those on the Opposition side? Does my hon. Friend remember the parts that have been played by the Communists in 1942 when the whole country plunged into war for national struggle? Moreover, in recent times, I beg to point out that in my own constituency, while the people were addressing meetings, some Communists shot dead some of the persons. Besides this, I must point out that dacoities, arsons and lootings have been committed in my constituency. Can there be any Government who can ignore such lawlessness? This Government has been compelled to take all these repressive measures for the peace-loving people of the land. So I submit that these measures will be withdrawn by Government if lawlessness is not created in this country.

Sir, I need not mention about the other points which have been fully discussed by His Excellency the Governor on the floor of this House and I express my gratefulness to His Excellency for the Address delivered by him.

With these words I oppose the amendment that has been moved by my hon. Friend, Mr. Bhattacharyya.

The Hon'ble Shri BAIDYANATH MOOKERJEE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I was not at all surprised when I received a copy of the amendment moved by my hon. Friend, Mr. Bhattacharyya, but after I went through the lines of the

amendment I was really surprised, and doubts arose in my mind as to whether the amendment was drafted after or before my hon. Friend had heard His Excellency's speech. I am sure that he did it before and incorporated these points in the amendment to make his party propaganda on the floor of this House. Sir, it will be evident from a careful reading of the speech as well as of the amendment moved that my contention is true. I shall come to the paragraphs of the amendment one by one and I shall show to the House that I am perfectly right in making this remark. But I am thankful to my hon. Friend for one thing that after drafting the amendment he did not use the word "etc." last of all, so as to suit his purpose better. I think, when he acquires a little more experience in this House, in future he will do the same of course not to help the Government or for giving any constructive suggestion, but to criticise the Government for the sake of criticism.

Sir, before I take the amendment para. by para. I would like to say one thing to my hon. Friend that there is a difference between a policy and details of some particular scheme. So far as the policy is concerned, it would be found that His Excellency the Governor touched practically all the points raised in the amendment, details are not there which is not expected in his speech.

Sir, let us take paragraph 1 which runs like this "But this Assembly regrets that the speech of His Excellency does not envisage a policy of the Government whereby even the most primary needs of the people, namely, food, clothing and housing will be fulfilled".

Sir, I shall refer the House to pages 6, 7 and 8 of His Excellency's speech where it will be found that all these points were touched, but as I have already hinted that it cannot be expected that in His Excellency's speech the details of the Budget will be explained. The Budget estimates cannot be incorporated in a speech and in more than one place His Excellency referred my hon. Friends to Finance Minister and said that in the Budget speech he would make all the points clear.

Sir, as regards the second paragraph which deals with land, drainage, embankment, etc., I would refer the hon. Members to page 15 of His Excellency's speech where the abolition of Zamindari has been referred to. Then about more land for cultivators and distribution of land to the landless people, if my hon. Friend kindly looks to page 5 as well as page 9 he will find that all these points have been touched. As regards drainage and embankment, there are references not only in one place but in four places—pages 6, 8, 9 and 15.

Sir, then the third charge is that nothing has been said about loans, seeds, implements, etc. Now, Sir, if we look to page 8 of His Excellency's speech, we shall find that there is a reference of seeds, but of course, there is no reference of implements and loan in particular. But so far as mechanised cultivation is concerned, a reference has been made in the same page.

Now regarding paragraph 4, which runs like this. "The speech does not envisage an improved and equitable land-tenure by abolishing short-term and annual patta-system and converting the same into long-term and periodic one subject to the proviso that agricultural lands will not be transferable to non-agriculturists and that no accumulation of holding by anybody will be permitted beyond a reasonable limit". I fail to understand why my Friend has charged in this way.

Sir, I would ask the hon. Member to think very calmly and quietly, whether imposition of such a condition on the proprietary right of private properties like land, etc. would be justified at all or not., Sir, this does not involve strictly speaking any policy which should be mentioned in His Excellency's

speech. Then, Sir, if we go to the next paragraph that "The agricultural labour should be treated on the same footing as other labour" I think, my Friend will agree that the plantation labour is also agricultural labour, and the reference has been made at page 12 of His Excellency's speech.

The next item, Sir, is "procurement and compulsory levy". Sir, about procurement, it will be found that reference has been made not only in one place but in two places, viz., at pages 6 and 7.

The next item is "the abolition of control". Here, Sir, my Friend is quite correct in saying that no mention has been made that the control system will be abolished. But, Sir, as His Excellency knew his limits that it was not within his jurisdiction to abolish the control system, therefore, he did not make any mention of it. It depends entirely in the hands of the Government of India who are responsible for this control. I shall be failing in my duty if I do not support the Central Government's control policy. Although it is the responsibility of the Government of India I am at one with them that in the present state of affairs, Government control is absolutely necessary. Because from my past experience, I can say that when control of textile commodities was removed a few years back, the dishonest people took advantage of it and in most places it became impossible for the poor people to get even a yard of cloth. Sir, nobody wants this control unless it is absolutely necessary. The control system should be abolished. But the time is not yet ripe. We have not adopted ourselves to the changed condition. It is not the responsibility of the Government alone, but it is the responsibility of the public as well. May I know from my hon. Friends whether they have taken any trouble to teach their fellow brethren as to how they should co-operate with the Government and how they should work to solve the problem? It is a misfortune that even now we think as we used to do in the past as if we are still under the bureaucratic rule, the same old British regime. We must change that attitude, and should feel that we are a free nation, the country is ours and we all should work wholeheartedly to develop it. (*Interruptions.*)

(*After a pause*)

Sir, my Friend (referring to Shri Ranendra Mohon Das) is muttering something. Let him say what he likes to say. Let him or his group interrupt me, I do not mind. They cannot lead me astray.

Shri RANENDRA MOHON DAS: Everybody in this House will agree about abolition of control as I said, Sir, "with the exception of the Supply Minister". Otherwise; his services will go.

The Hon'ble Shri BAIDYANATH MOOKERJEE: My Hon. Friend is quite ignorant of the fact that I do not hold charge only of the Supply Portfolio. There are many other portfolios besides Supply including general "Development".

Shri RANENDRA MOHON DAS: But if control goes, this Congress Government also goes.

(*Interruptions.*)

The Hon'ble Shri BAIDYANATH MOOKERJEE: It seems that my remark and the use of the word "development" has touched the right place. There is another interruption and stupid remark, Sir, may I know, whether such talks are generally allowed in civilised societies? Sir, they remark that "if Supply goes, Government goes". Sir, I wonder, whether they have forgotten that they are sitting in this House. Are they in a tea stall, or in a civilised society?

(*Voices from the Opposition*—The stalls are made by civilised societies.)

I do not mean those stalls but roadside stalls. Now, Sir, if we come to paragraph 8, we shall find practically the same complaint as has been mentioned in paragraph 5, but of course in a different way it has been put.

Then Sir, I come to the next point, *viz.*, paragraph 9, If my hon. Friend cares to look into the pages 6, 8 and 9 he will be able to find the reference, which he conveniently missed. About Primary and Secondary Education, I would request the hon. Member to look at His Excellency's Address at pages 14 and 15. Also I would request my Friend to the reference made by His Excellency regarding the forthcoming Budget Speech of Hon'ble Finance Minister where he will be able to find that huge sums have been provided for Primary and Secondary Education and also for University Education.

(*A voice from the Opposition*—Here is a reference to the Budget Speech)
What does such reference matter ? My Friends are determined not to hear or to understand.

Sir, I can explain things, but I cannot give the power of understanding. Sir, may I recite a Sanskrit Sloka in this connection ?

পরঃ পানং তুজ্ঞানানং দেবনং বিষবর্জনং
উপদেশাহি মূর্খানাং পুকোপায় নশান্তয়ে ।

I am casting pearls in the bush.

Shri GAURI SANKAR BHATTACHARYYA: Sir, will you desist him from giving advice ?

The Hon'ble Shri BAIDYANATH MOOKERJEE: Sir, I have become a red rag to my Friend.

Sir, as regards paragraph 11

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: You have not referred to the Motor Transport, etc.

The Hon'ble Shri BAIDYANATH MOOKERJEE: Yes Sir, I shall refer to it later on.

Sir, about paragraph 12, the charges regarding "Top Heavy Administration, etc., I shall leave this to our Leader to give a reply because it is his Government. I do not like to say anything in this matter (*Interruption*). They will get the right reply, Sir, in time. Please advise them to have patience.

As regards paragraph 13 relating reduction of existing taxes, I am really surprised to notice this. When we want that we should develop our State and make progress in every department, how can we think of reducing the taxes ? (*A voice* :—Government of India are reducing them). Nonsense. Sir, what taxes do the common people pay in this country ? Very little tax we pay in comparison with other civilised and developed countries. The taxation in India is the lowest in the world. We want everything ideal like other advanced countries, but at the same time my hon. Friends advise us to reduce taxes. Wherefrom will the money come ? Sir our Friends in the Opposition benches go to the people and preach violence and advise them not to work. They say to the people that "you have got Swaraj now, the Government in power will feed you, do not cultivate the lands or cultivate just enough for yourself". That is the propaganda they are doing. They want to create confusion and want to create a chaotic condition. Here they want to play to

the gallery and are pleading that taxes should be reduced. But how can we run the administration? Can the hon. Friends of the Opposition run the administration without taxation? Certainly not. (*A voice*:—Hon'ble Minister's time is up). Sir, My Friends are getting impatient (*A voice*:—No, we are enjoying it). My Friend is sitting on a spring it seems otherwise he would not have been constantly on the motion. Is something biting him, Sir?

Then, Sir, as regards civil liberties, it has been rightly said by some of my Friends who spoke before me from this side that this Government was determined not to allow this country to be in a chaotic condition. Civil liberties do exist in the State, they have been provided for by the Constitution itself. Civil liberties are the birth-right of everybody; nobody can take them away, if one behaves properly. But, Sir, if some one behaves improperly and take recourse to subversive activities to break the established Government of the country by threat and violence certainly the Government will take steps to prevent the ruinous activities of those traitors and spies by putting adequate restriction. Sir, my Friend from Karimganj yesterday abused the present Government. Sir, the present Government is only a few days old; most probably he meant the previous Government (*A voice*:—Old wine in new bottle). (*Interruptions*). I do not mind, Sir, these interruptions let them have some indulgence. They are quite new to the House and full of wild thoughts and in armed chair enthusiasm and I think they may kindly be given full opportunity to play their roles. But when they will understand the significance of their irresponsible utterances they will certainly come to their senses and behave properly. I hope those days will not be very far off.

Sir, I was talking about civil liberties when I was interrupted repeatedly. The Government has been blamed for depriving people of their civil liberties; obviously it was made against the outgoing Government, but as the Leader of this Government is the same as the previous one, certainly we all are ready to shoulder the responsibilities consequent on the action of the previous Government as well as of this one. Sir, if there is any ground for accusing the previous Government one can do so on the ground that the Government was very lenient in their treatment with the people who are indulging in anti-State activities. If somebody had said this, I would have joined hands with him. I personally feel that the Government should have been a bit more firm, so that they could deal with the criminal effectively and check all anti-State activities of individuals and of mischievous parties which want to ruin this country. Sir, it was stated yesterday that we were betrayers, that is Congress men are betrayers. May I ask my Friends who have got allegiance to a foreign power.....

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: Mr. Mookerjee is becoming a bit personal. Will you avoid personal references?

The Hon'ble Shri BAIDYANATH MOOKERJEE: Those who get help from outside, those who want to hoist other countries flag in this country..... (Shri Gauri Sankar Bhattacharyya wanted to say something but he was not given way by the Hon'ble Shri Mookerjee.)
Are they not real betrayers? Betrayers are not those who are ready to sacrifice their lives to keep the honour and prestige of their own country, but those who are paid by other Government for anti-State activities here!! (*Interruptions*). I need not say anything more. The wearer knows where the shoe pinches (*Interruptions again*). I am glad that I have hit the target at the first shot successfully. It has already been proved who are the betrayers. I think my hon. Friends understand what I am hinting at.

Sir, my hon. Friend was very much aggressive on the very first day. He should not have done so, he should not have called us white cap tyrants and betrayers. If any body is betraying this country it is those persons who are under the careful guidance and employ of a different Nation (*Interruption.*)

Sir, my hon. Friend from Karimganj attacked my organisation yesterday. Sir, if the Congress organisation had any bad name it was due to the selfish Congress members like my Friend over there, who has come from Karimganj. Sir, just before the elections he took part even in selecting the candidates who should get Congress nomination and after that was over he resigned and with a definite motive. He resigned for a seat (*Voices:—Shame, shame*). He had not got the courage to seek Congress nomination because he knew his worth. Therefore he is criticising the Congress organisation now. Sir, he is a creature of the Congress. The Congress made him Chairman of the Karimganj Local Board and the Municipal Board. He got his prominence through the Congress organisation and now he is condemning the same Congress (*Voices:—Shame, shame; and interruptions from the Opposition*). There are many renegades who are ungrateful. There are many spoilt and illfamed children in this country who forget their origin and rebuke their parents. Here is an example; here is a man whom the Congress gave the opportunity of coming to lime light, but he is now condemning the Congress! Sir, I admit that there may be some persons in the Congress organisation who are blame-worthy. There are black sheep in every walk of society. Sir, I am not condemning any party organisation as a whole either the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, Janasangha or any other party, but there may be some members in those parties also who may be condemned. If my hon. Friend had said that such and such member of the Congress party should be condemned for such and such activities I would have nothing to say. It is really a matter of joy that the Congress organisation is getting rid of the self-seekers like my Friend from Karimganj. But when he says that the organisation which has given independence to this country, Members of which organisation suffered till the last breath and those who are still prepared to suffer to make their country self-sufficient and prosperous and those who want that their country should head the list of civilised countries in the world, that organisation should not be condemned by one who only the other day was a creature of that organisation. I had no intention of touching all these points. But I have been compelled to do so for the sake of fairness. I request all my Friends to remember that an organisation is an organisation and it is not an individual. To condemn an organisation is a thing which could be done only by a few people. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, our Leader, never condemned any organisation (*Voices from the Opposition—Yes he did*). He condemned some of the activities of the organisation. It was very difficult for my Karimganj Friend to understand what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru says. He could explain but he could not give him the power of understanding.

Sri GAURI SANKAR BHATTACHARYYA: On a point of information, Sir. My Hon'ble Friend was speaking of hoisting a foreign flag in this country and taking instructions from a foreign power. Did he mean the flag which was hoisted half-mast on the seventh of February last? Did he mean the Government of Great Britain, America, Colombo Plan or the Prime Ministers' Conferences?

The Hon'ble Shri BAIDYANATH MOOKERJEE: Certainly not, Sir. That is done openly to express sorrows of a friendly nation or country but those who stealthily bring some other country's flag and try to hoist it being paid, I mentioned about them. Everyone knows who are they and what I meant.

Now, Sir, about minority protection—this has been provided in the Constitution, no body can take it away. My Friend was speaking yesterday that minority was not quite happy and was not living in peace. My Friend from Karimganj said that the Muslims were threatened. This is any thing but true. I think it would be unafir on our part to charge the officers who are not here to answer the charges levelled against them.

As regards corruption—My Friend from Karimganj said a very nice sentence that those who are expected to look after corruption have become more corrupt. It reminds me of another sentence—those who are very loud in condemning corruption are worse corrupted. There is a Bengali saying “চোরের বৌর বড়গলা”

Those who always condemn that Government officers are corrupt, are themselves corrupt in a sense because from the very early morning till they go to bed they think of corruption and corruption alone. Who make these officers corrupt ?

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER : Your time is up.

The Hon'ble Shri BAIDYANATH MOOKERJEE : Yes, Sir, I am finishing in one minute.

Then, Sir, as regards communication—I would request my Friend, the Mover of the Motion, to refer to pages 5, 6 and 11. There he will find that mention has been made by His Excellency regarding communication. I shall conclude with this remark to remember the saying that those who live in glass houses should not throw stones at others. Sir, if I have incurred displeasure of any one of my Friends in the opposite, I am sorry for it, but I hope they will take it in right spirit. If they have got any love for truth they will love my saying I am sure.

Shri GHANAKANTA GOGOI : Mr. Speaker, Sir, in support of the amendment of my Friend, hon. Shri, Bhattacharyya, to the Motion on His Excellency's gracious Address, I take leave of the House to say a few words.

In His Excellency's Address it is mentioned that the last election was free and fair and my Friends on this side of the House have given the picture differently. I have some idea about what it was like in Upper Assam. I say on the floor of this House that most of the favourites of the party in power, in Government services including members of the police force, all holders of license and permits, and generally all holders of office of profit—actively helped and canvassed for securing Congress votes. Mouzadars, who are supposed to be holders of office of profit, were in the van of Congress canvassers. I do not know whether the holders of office of profit under Government can be members of political parties and take part in politics. If an enquiry is made, we will learn many astounding things. To win the election, Congress people bribed every one either by paying cash, promise of license permits, Government jobs, etc., Poor illiterate people were threatened with dire consequences if they will not vote for Congress—for Congress is Government and Government is Congress. Sir, if I say that the distribution of money and corrugated iron sheets to earthquake damaged schools from the Government Relief Fund immediately before the election is an act of collective bribing, I think I shall not be wrong. It is a fact that Congress won the election in Upper Assam with the tea labourers' votes and it is known to many that some of the Hon'ble Ministers and Congress big guns went to Upper

Assam and persuaded the Indian Tea Association to issue private circular to all the Garden Managers to force the labour people to vote for Congress. There are reports from many quarters that garden managers threatened to stop ration and eject labourers from the lines if they would not vote for Congress. If this is so, then it is a case of aliens interfering with the political affairs of the State, and I may add that this is more than corrupt practice. In my Constituency, I found a Deputy Minister of the Central Government regularly taking with him some Government employees for purpose of canvassing votes. All these and many more such instances amply show that the election is far from being a fair and free one, and there is a demand for the institution of a judicial inquiry from several public meetings at Dibrugarh, for only.....

The Hon'ble Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I know from my hon. Friend whether these allegations of his that the elections had not been fair and that corrupt practices were resorted to by some people, have been brought to the notice of any of the officers of Government or any other authority?

Shri GHANA KANTA GOGOI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I can only say this that these Government servants were very much afraid of the people belonging to the party in power and they can only be relieved from that fear if an enquiry is made into my allegation and all things will then come up in their true light.

Further I have some comments to make on the conduct of the police reinforced by the Assam Police Battalion during the drive against the so-called anti-social elements of Lakhimpur and Sibsagar Districts. During the operation they committed many excesses, mercilessly assaulted and beat old people, women and girls not excluded. It is reported that some of the police people in their zealous search for hidden lethal weapons stripped young women and girls naked. They extorted bribes, forcibly took meals in the kitchens of villagers and even raped women and the wailing of women was a very common thing in the police camps.....

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: Did you say "raped women" ?

Shri GHANA KANTA GOGOI: It is said that this was so, Sir.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: Can you give any instance ?

The Hon'ble Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI: Regarding this allegation is the hon. Member prepared to make this statement outside the House?

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: What is your reply ?

Shri GHANA KANTA GOGOI: Only a judicial enquiry will bring it to light.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: The Leader of the House has enquired whether you will be prepared to make this statement outside the House and take the consequence.

Shri GHANA KANTA GOGOI: I am speaking all this on the floor of this House, Sir. (*Laughter.*) The Ahoms and Kacharies were the worst victims of the police operation though anti-social activities were not the monopoly of these two sections of the people. All-Assam Ahom Association during the course of

negotiations with Congress insisted on the institution of a judicial enquiry into the excesses committed. I don't know what has been done in this behalf. The memory of the police operation is a nightmare to the villagers of Sibsagar and other places in Upper Assam.

On the subject of grant of relief to the earthquake and flood-affected people, again I beg to submit that major portion of relief in shape of food, cloth and corrugated iron sheets got diverted into the black market, the people living in towns and influential villagers having the backing of the political party in power, got the major share of relief materials. A survey of the new houses with corrugated iron sheets roofing in the towns of Upper Assam will prove my case. The worst affected people, *i.e.*, Miris and other people settled on riverine area—people who cannot demand and have no political backing—got very little of the relief. There are thousands of earthquake and flood-affected people who are still homeless and landless, and they are still in dire want.

I would also like to add another word about the plight of the refugees in Upper Assam. So far the refugees of Dibrugarh is concerned, I can say boldly that the authorities are very slow and niggardly in giving relief to these unfortunates. This delay defeats the very purpose of giving them relief.

Again, there is mention of an amendment of the Opium Prohibition Bill and in this connection I beg to say frankly that the people of Upper Assam feel that the opium prohibition is one of the greatest mockery enacted by this Government. Opium eaters are going with their full ration of the prohibited thing, and an active smuggler's business is going on, and it is the common talk that the Excise staff in co-operation with the influential people having political power are making mints of money. If opium cannot be prohibited, why not re-introduce it on a quota and permit basis to the addicts? Let us.....

Shri GIRINDRA NATH GOGOI : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to know whether the hon. Member is allowed to read from his written speech or is he allowed only to make an extempore speech while addressing this House?

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER : The hon. Member is not entitled to read his written speech.

Shri GHANA KANTA GOGOI : All right, Sir. Now I want to add one word on co-operative movement. Co-operative movement is a very healthy thing if we can really co-operate properly, but we find that there are attempts by big influential people..... ;

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER : Will you resume your seat now as your time is up?

Shri GAURISANKAR BHATACHARYYA : Mr. Speaker, Sir, on a point of information. The Hon'ble Leader of the House wanted to know, whether there is any concrete allegation with regard to corrupt practices in the last general election and whether any such instance was brought to the notice of the officers concerned. If I am allowed to cite one concrete instance I may do so.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER : Please write to him.

Shri MAHENDRA HAZARIKA: মাননীয় অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, মাননীয় বাজ্যপাল মহোদয়ে এই পৰিঘদত যি অভিভাষণ দিলে তাত তেখেতে বাজ্যৰ উন্নতিমূলক সকলোখিনি কথাই উল্লেখ কৰিছে। তেখেতৰ অভিভাষণ সঁচাকৈয়ে পুশংসনীয়। যোৱা নিৰ্বাচন সম্পৰ্কে তেখেতে যিখিনি উক্তি দিলে সিও সঁচাকৈয়ে পুশংসনীয়। বিদেশী চৰকাৰৰ দিনত যি মুষ্টিয়ে ভোটাধিকাৰৰ দ্বাৰা নিৰ্বাচন হৈছিল সেই নিৰ্বাচনত উশ্ৰুতাবে পৰিপূৰ্ণ আছিল। কিন্তু স্বাধীন ভাৱতৰ জাতিধৰ্ম নিৰ্বিশেষে লিঙ্গভেদে যি সাৰালক ভোটাধিকাৰৰ ওপৰত যোৱা নিৰ্বাচন যি দৰে শৃঙ্খলাৰে হৈ গল তাৰ বাবে কৰ্মচাৰী আৰু দেশৰাসীক পুশংসা নকৰি নোৱাৰি। বিশেষকৈ চৰকাৰী কৰ্মচাৰী সকলে চৰকাৰী নীতি, আইনৰ মৰ্যাদা ৰক্ষা কৰি নিৰ্বাচন যিভাবে শৃঙ্খলাৰে চলালে, সি অতি পুশংসনীয় কথা। নিৰ্বাচনৰ সময়ত ঠায়ে ঠায়ে আইনৰ উশ্ৰুতাল হোৱাৰ কথা বিৰোধীদলৰ কেইজনমান সদস্যই উল্লেখ কৰা কথা বাস্তব নহয়। এই সম্পৰ্কে মাননীয় বাজ্যপাল ডাঙৰীয়াই যি উল্লেখ কৰিছে তাৰ বাবে তেখেত পুশংসাৰ পাত্ৰ। ১৯৪৭ চনৰ ১৫ আগষ্টত আমাৰ দেশে স্বাধীনতা পোৱাৰ পিছত ব্যক্তি স্বাধীনতাৰ নামত আৰু খাদ্য-বস্ত্ৰৰ অনাটনৰ স্মৰিকা লৈ কিছুমান দলীয় লোকে আমাৰ দেশত উশ্ৰুতালতা সৃষ্টি কৰিছিল। বাজ্যত শৃঙ্খলা ৰক্ষা কৰা কঠিন হৈ পৰিছিল। মাননীয় অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, সঁচাকৈয়ে এই দলীয় লোক সকলে যি ৰকম ভাবে উশ্ৰুতালতা আৰম্ভ কৰিছিল তাক বৰ্ণনা কৰিব নোৱাৰি। বিশেষকৈ কমিউনিষ্ট দলে, চুৰি ডকাইটি, নৰ-নাৰী, অজান শিশু আদিক যি নৃশংস ভাবে হতাকাণ্ড আৰম্ভ কৰিছিল সিও অবৰ্ণণীয়।

Shri GAURISANKAR BHATTACHARYYA: Entirely false.

Shri MAHENDRA HAZARIKA: মাননীয় অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, মই যি কথা কবলৈ গৈছো তাত অকনো অত্যুক্তি নাই। এটাও কথা মিছা নহয়। কমিউনিষ্ট পাৰ্টিয়ে আমাৰ বাজ্যত যি উশ্ৰুতালতা সৃষ্টি কৰিছিল সি আমাৰ মাননীয় সদস্য সকলৰ অবিদিত নহয়।

Shri GAURISANKAR BHATTACHARYYA: On a point of order, Sir, I think, my hon. Friend is out of order when he is accusing a party.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: There is no point of order here.

Shri MAHENDRA HAZARIKA: মাননীয় অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, আমাৰ বিৰোধীদলৰ সভ্য শ্ৰীযুত ভট্টাচাৰ্য ডাঙৰীয়াই কংগ্ৰেছী লোক সকলক বগাটুপী ধাৰী বুলি নানা অৱান্তৰ কথা কৈ নিজকে দেশহিতৈষী বুলি প্ৰমাণ কৰিবলৈ চেষ্টা কৰিছে কিন্তু অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, যি সকলে নৰ-নাৰী, নীৰিহ শিশু হত্যা কৰিছে সেই সকলক দেশৰ Patriot বুলি ধৰাতকৈ আৰু কিবা পৰিহাসৰ বিষয় আছেনে? মাননীয় অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, মাননীয় বাজ্যপাল মহোদয়ে খাদ্যসমস্যাৰ বিষয়ে যি কৈছে সিও অতি পুশংসনীয়। খাদ্য সমস্যাৰ সমাধান কৰিবৰ কাৰণে আমাৰ বৰ্তমান আৰু অতীত চৰকাৰে অ'ৰ বস্ত্ৰ ত'ত যোগান দি যি দৰে কাম কৰিছে সেইটোও অতি পুশংসনীয় কথা। যোৱা মহাযুদ্ধৰ পিছত কেবল আমাৰ দেশতে নহয় আন আন দেশতো খাদ্য সমস্যাই দেখা দিছিল। যিবিলাকক পৃথিবীৰ ভিতৰত শ্ৰেষ্ঠ ৰাষ্ট্ৰ বুলি গণ্য কৰিছিল তেনে ৰাষ্ট্ৰতো লাখ লাখ মানুহ খাদ্যৰ অভাৱত মৃত্যু হৈছিল। কিন্তু ই ৰব স্মৰণ কৰা যে আমাৰ দেশত নানা ৰকমৰ দুৰ্যোগ হোৱা স্বত্ত্বেও তেনে মৃত্যুৰ সংখ্যা দেখা পোৱা নাই।

অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, স্বাধীনতা পোৱাৰ আগতে আমাৰ ৰাষ্ট্ৰখন আছিল বৃটিছ শাসনৰ অধীনত। সেইসময়ত খাদ্যাভাৱ ইমান সৰুটপূৰ্ণ হৈছিল যে, খাদ্যৰ অভাৱত বঙ্গদেশত প্ৰায় ৩০ লাখৰো অধিক মানুহ মৃত্যুৰ কৰালগ্ৰাসত পৰিছিল। এই সংবাদ বেচৰকাৰী বিপোর্টতো দেখা যায়। তেন্তে যি দেশত ৩৫ কোটি লোকৰ অধিবাস, সেই দেশত আজি আমাৰ কোনো মানুহে কবনোৱাৰে যে যদিও আমাৰ খাদ্যৰ অনাটন হৈছে তথাপি আগৰ সেই মৰনোন্মুখী অবস্থাৰ স্মৃতি হৈছে বুলি। অন্যান্য দেশৰ তুলনাত আমাৰ দেশৰ মানুহে খাদ্যৰ অভাৱটো তিমান উপলব্ধি কৰিব পৰা নাই বুলি কলেও বঢ়াই কোৱা নহয়। চৰকাৰৰ পক্ষৰ পৰা এই অভাৱ পূৰণৰ কাৰণে বিভিন্ন দেশৰ পৰা খাদ্য আমদানী কৰি হলেও মানুহক মৃত্যু মুখৰ পৰা ৰক্ষা কৰিছে। বৃটিছৰ দিনৰ দুৰ্ভিক্ষৰ সময়ত বিশেষকৈ গাঁৱৰ মানুহৰ যেতিয়া অভাৱ হয় তেতিয়া বহুকেই যিখিনি খাদ্য সংগ্ৰহ কৰিছিল তাৰে এবেলা তাত খাবলৈকো নুজুৱাত আনু চেকীয়া সিজাই খাবলগীয়া হৈছিল। আনকি আমি নিজ চকুৰে দেখিছো যে বহু মানুহে বিলৰ পৰা শেলেৰু আনি সিজাই খাইও থাকিবলগীয়া হৈছিল।

(Voice—কংগ্ৰেছৰ দিনত কচুপাত সিজাই খাইছিল।) যিহওক আমাৰ চৰকাৰে জনসাধাৰণক মৃত্যুৰ মুখৰ পৰা ৰক্ষা কৰিবলৈ কোনো চেষ্টাৰ ক্ৰটি কৰা নাই। কেবল আমাৰ দেশতেই যে এনেকুৱা অভাৱ হৈছে এনে নহয়, পৃথিৱীৰ বিভিন্ন ৰাষ্ট্ৰত এই অভাৱে দেখা দিছে। ই গত মহাযুদ্ধৰ পৰোক্ষ ফলাফল।

এই খাদ্যাভাৱ মোচনৰ কাৰণে যে আমাৰ চৰকাৰে কেবল সাময়িক যোগানহে দিছে এনে নহয়, ইয়াৰ স্থায়ী সমাধানৰ কাৰণেও সৰহ শস্য উৎপাদনৰ আঁচনি আদি লৈ যথাসাধ্য চেষ্টা কৰিছে। চৰকাৰৰ এই আঁচনি সঁচাকৈয়ে পুসংশনীয়। হয়তো ইয়াৰ সম্পূৰ্ণ ফলাফল আমি এতিয়া নাপাবও পাৰো কিন্তু অদূৰ ভবিষ্যতে যে ইয়াৰ দ্বাৰা আমাৰ খাদ্য সমস্যাব সমাধান হব ই মোৰ দৃঢ়বিশ্বাস।

অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, সৰহ শস্য উৎপাদনৰ আঁচনিৰ জৰিয়তে চৰকাৰে বহুতো পতিত মাটি খেতিয়ক ৰাইজৰ মাজত বিলি কৰাৰ এটি ব্যবস্থা কৰিছে। আৰু তাকে কৰিবলৈ Land Advisory Committee একোটা গঠন কৰিছে। মই নিজেও সেই কমিটিৰ সদস্য। মই নিজেই উপস্থিত আছিলো আৰু মই জানো যে যিবিলাক গাঁৱলীয়া ভূমিহীন খেতিয়কে মাটিৰ কাৰণে আবেদন কৰিছিল প্ৰায়বিলাককে মাটি দিয়া হৈছে। চৰকাৰৰ অবলম্বিত এই পন্থাৰে এহাতে ভূমিহীনে ভূমি পাইছে আৰু আনহাতে সৰহ শস্য উৎপন্ন হোৱাত আমাৰ ৰাজ্যৰ খাদ্য সমস্যাবো সমাধান হব। এনেক্ষেত্ৰত ভূমিহীন কৃষকক ভূমি নিদিয়া বুলি কৰা দোষাৰোপ নিবৰ্থক।

অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, মই আৰু বেচি মময় নষ্ট নকৰো। ৰাজ্যপাল মহোদয়ৰ ভাষণ সম্পৰ্কে সৰহভাগ সদস্যই আলোচনা কৰি গৈছে। মই মাত্ৰ এটি কথা কৈ সামৰণি মাৰিব বিচাৰো। যেইটো হৈছে আমাৰ ৰাজ্যত বৰ্তমান যিবিলাক তফচিল ভুক্ত সম্প্ৰদায়ৰ আৰু জনজাতীৰ ভাইসকল আছে, তেওঁলোকৰ নৈতিক আৰু সামাজিক উন্নতি সাধনৰ কিবা চেষ্টা হৈছেনে নাই তাৰ বিষয়ে ৰাজ্যপাল মহোদয়ৰ ভাষণত কোনো উল্লেখ নকৰাত মই বৰ দুঃখ পাইছো। তথাপি ইয়াত উল্লেখিত নহলেও, চৰকাৰৰ পক্ষৰ পৰা তেওঁলোকৰ হকে যি কাম কৰিছে তাৰ কাৰণে মই কৃতজ্ঞতা জ্ঞাপন কৰিছো আৰু আশাৰো, ভবিষ্যতেও তেওঁলোকে কোনো কথাত বিমুগ্ধ নহব বৰং দুগুণ সহায় সহানুভূতি পাব। মোৰ বিশ্বাস যে চৰকাৰে এই জাতিৰ উন্নতি কৰিবলৈ যথাসাধ্য চেষ্টা কৰিব। অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, সময়ৰ অভাৱত বহুত কথাই বৈ গল, শেহত আমাৰ Chief Whip ডাঙৰীয়াই যি প্ৰস্তাৱ আনিছে তাক মই সৰ্বস্বতঃকৰণেৰে সমৰ্থন কৰিলো।

***Maulavi MUKHTAR ALI:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, at the very outset I like to say that our people, the immigrants, are most loyal. They adopted Assamese language and culture. They will live here and die here and as such they prove most worthy subjects to the State. In this secular State we want only fair fields and equal rights. The base propoganda and plea that they are pro-Pakistani

and disloyal were the instruments for winning election, but our idea in remaining in the opposition is to serve the country better.

Sir, in respect of law and order I beg to say that in some cases the executive has appropriated the judiciary powers at least in my Subdivision. Sir, I do not know whether this is at all desirable.

Sir, as regards control I beg to say that the corruption which has crept in is beyond rectification under the present system. The whole machinery, from top to bottom, shall have to be changed. Under this system the immigrants will always get fine Sarees, fine Dhories and fine textiles if they get at all, but they do not require these textiles. On the other hand Barpeta market is over-flooded with textiles of any requirements and of any demand. I find no shortage of commodities, but there is want of fair distribution.

Sir, we want that in this secular State the distinction between one section and another should be abolished. Sir, we want that annual patta land be converted into long term and periodical with sufficient safeguards so as to give us permanent rights. It sounds bad that our people holding lands for 25 years or so do not get periodical pattas whereas a section of people in adjacent areas get the same. This distinction should go, and the word 'immigrant' should be expunged.

As regards rehabilitation and restoration of property of the displaced persons, Sir, I beg to say that the problem has not been satisfactorily solved. It requires more and immediate attention.

As regards erosion I beg to say, Sir, that a large number of people of Paruar Dhala were very badly affected. I think Government should have taken up measures to come to the aid of those unfortunate victims of erosion, but so far no step has yet been taken by the Government in this respect.

With these few words, Sir, I support the Amendment Motion brought by my hon. Friend Mr. Bhattacharyya.

Shri DALBIR SINGH LOHAR: মাননীয় অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, অসমৰ মাননীয় ৰাজ্যপাল ডাঙৰীয়াৰ ভাষণৰ পুসঙ্গত হোৱা বিতৰ্কত বিৰোধী দলৰ পৰা মাননীয় সদস্য শ্ৰীযুক্ত গৌৰী শঙ্কৰ ভট্টাচাৰ্য্যই তেখেতৰ সংশোধনী প্ৰস্তাৱ দাঙি ধৰোতে কোৱা কেইঘাৰমান কথা শুনি মই আচৰিত হৈছো। প্ৰথমতে তেখেতে তেখেতৰ সংশোধনী প্ৰস্তাৱৰ পুসঙ্গত কোৱা কথাখিনিৰ লগত সংশোধনী প্ৰস্তাৱৰ মূল বিষয়বস্তুৰ অলপো সম্পৰ্ক দেখা নেয়ায়। তেখেতৰ কথাখিনি শুনি মোৰ মনত ধাৰণা হৈছে যে তেখেত সকলে এটা নিৰ্দিষ্ট ধাৰাত বক্তৃতা দিয়াৰ অভ্যাস আছে আৰু অপ্ৰাসঙ্গিক হলেও কেৱল প্ৰচাৰৰ কাৰণেই সেইবিলাকৰ ধাৰণা তুলিবলৈ অলপো সঙ্কোচ নকৰে। তেখেতে কংগ্ৰেছৰ বিৰুদ্ধে বিশ্বাসঘাতকতাৰ অভিযোগ আনিছে। কিন্তু ৰাইজে পাহৰা নাই যে যি দলৰ পৰা তেখেতে এই সদনলৈ আহিছে, সেই দলে ১৯৪২ চনৰ গন বিপ্লৱৰ সময়ত বৃটিছ আৰু আমেৰিকাৰ সাম্ৰাজ্যবাদী যুদ্ধখনকে জনযুদ্ধ আখ্যা দি ভাৰতৰ স্বাধীনতা যুজৰ বিৰোধীতা কৰিছিল। তেখেতে পাহৰিলেও ৰাইজে কেতিয়াও নেপাহৰে, কোনে ১৯৪২ চনৰ গণবিপ্লৱত বিশ্বাসঘাতকতা কৰিছিল। তেওঁলোকে ভাৰতৰ গনযুদ্ধৰ বিৰোধীতা কৰি আমেৰিকা আৰু বৃটিছ সাম্ৰাজ্যবাদী শক্তিক সহায় কৰা নাছিলনে? যুদ্ধোত্তৰ পৃথিৱীৰ সকলো সমস্যাৰ সম্মুখীন হৈ সিদিনাখন মাত্ৰ স্বাধীনতা পোৱা দেশখনে জাতি গঠনৰ কামত হাত দিছে মাথোন। এনে এখন দেশত বিশৃঙ্খলা আৰু উৎপাদনৰ কামত নিৰুৎসাহৰ সৃষ্টি কৰি গঠনমূলক কামত বাধা দিয়াতকৈ এটা জাতিৰ প্ৰতি বিশ্বাসঘাতকতা কৰা আৰু কিবা হব পাৰেনে? জাতিৰ অনু আৰু বস্ত্ৰ সঙ্কটৰ সময়ত সাধাৰণ ৰাইজৰ অভাৱৰ সুযোগ লৈ ৰাজনীতিৰ খেলা খেলাতকৈ দুৰ্নীতি কি হব পাৰে? ভট্টাচাৰ্য্য ডাঙৰীয়াই বগাটুপীৰ স্বেচ্ছাচাৰীতাৰ কথা কৈছে কিন্তু তেখেতে কবলৈ পাহৰিছে যে ৰঙা পতাকাৰ একনায়কত্বৰ বাদে কি বিভীষিকাৰ সৃষ্টি কৰিব পাৰে। বগাটুপীৰ শুভ্ৰ, নিম্নল আদৰ্শত গণতন্ত্ৰৰ সকলো সুবিধা পাইছে কাৰণেই তেখেত সকলে আজি নিঃসঙ্কোচ ভাবে চৰকাৰক আক্ৰমণ কৰিব পাৰিছে।

অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, আজি ভাৰত বৃটিছ কমনওৱেলথৰ লগত থকাৰ কথা কৈ তেখেতে “চাহৰ পিয়লাত ধুমহাৰ” সৃষ্টি কৰিছে মাথোন। ভাৰত বৃটিছ কমনওৱেলথত থকাটো এটা আন্তৰ্জাতিক সম্পৰ্কৰ বাহিৰে আন একো নহয়। ইয়াত কোনো বাধ্যবাধকতা নাই বুলি সকলোৱে জানে। আন্তৰ্জাতিক ক্ষেত্ৰত ভাৰতে যি নিৰপেক্ষ নীতি অনুকৰণ কৰিছে, ই ভাৰতৰ পক্ষে নিশ্চয় গৌৰৱ জনক। গুৰুত্বপূৰ্ণ আন্তৰ্জাতিক প্ৰশ্নৰ সম্পৰ্কত বৃটিছ কিম্বা আমেৰিকা বা ৰুচিয়াৰ পক্ষ নলৈ ভাৰতে সুকীয়া সিদ্ধান্ত কৰাৰ বাহিৰেও সেই সিদ্ধান্তমতে দৃঢ়তাৰে আগবাঢ়ি যোৱা নাইনে? যি সকলে আমেৰিকা বা ৰুচিয়াৰ অধীনলৈ ভাৰতবৰ্ষখন নিবৰ কাৰণে ভাৰতৰ বাহিৰৰ পৰা প্ৰেৰণা আৰু সহায় লয়, তেওঁলোকে আজি ভাৰতৰ নিৰপেক্ষ নীতি বুজিও নুবুজাব ভাঁও ধৰিব পাৰে; কিন্তু তথাপি এই নীতিয়েহে ভাৰতক বিশ্বসভাত মৰ্যাদা দিব পাৰিছে। আজিৰ আন্তৰ্জাতিক পৰিস্থিতিৰ বিপদ সকল অৱস্থাত এই নিৰপেক্ষ নীতিয়েহে যে ভাৰতৰ পুৰুষ স্বৰ্গা বক্ষা কৰিব পাৰিব তাক কোনেও স্বীকাৰ নকৰি নোৱাৰে। অসনীয়াটো এটা ফকৰা আছে যে—

“নাকে বখানে জী, বাপেকে বখানে জী।

পৰে পৰে বখানে জী, সিয়েহে আচলব জী ॥

আজি আমাৰ ভট্টাচাৰ্য্য ডাঙৰীয়াই নিজৰ কাৰ্য্যৰহে গৌৰৱ কৰিছে চৰকাৰৰ নীতি, চৰকাৰৰ কাৰ্য্যৰ প্ৰশংসা কৰিবলৈ টান পাইছে। কিন্তু ভাৰতৰ নীতি আজি ভাৰতৰ বাহিৰৰ সকলো দেশে বখানিছে, আনকি শত্ৰু পক্ষৰ দেশেও বখানিছে তাক কোনেও নুই কৰিব নোৱাৰে।

অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, ভট্টাচাৰ্য্য ডাঙৰীয়াই কংগ্ৰেছ চৰকাৰক দায়ী কৰিছে কোনো কোনো লোকক আটক কৰি বখাৰ বাবে। কিন্তু হিংসা মূলক কামৰ প্ৰতিৰোধাৰ্থে আৰু আইন শৃঙ্খলা বক্ষাৰ্থে যি মানুহৰ ওপৰত শাস্তিমূলক ব্যৱস্থা লব লগীয়া হৈছে, তাক চৰকাৰে যিমান পাৰে যিমান সংযত হৈ কম ক্ষমতা প্ৰয়োগ কৰিহে কৰিছে। এই কথা নিৰপেক্ষ বিচাৰক মাত্ৰেই কব লাগিব। যি অৱস্থাত নিৰপৰাধী মানুহক যিমান নিষ্ঠুৰ ভাবে এজন নহয়—দুজন নহয়, কেইবা জনকো একেলগে গোপনে হত্যা কৰা হৈছে—লুটপাত কৰি বিভীষিকাৰ সৃষ্টি কৰিছে, সেই অৱস্থাত আইনৰ শৃঙ্খলা বক্ষা কৰি দেশত শান্তি স্থাপন কৰিব নোৱাৰিলে বাইজৰ প্ৰতি চৰকাৰৰ কৰ্ত্তব্য পালন কৰা হবনে? দেশত শান্তি আৰু শৃঙ্খলা বক্ষা কৰাটো চৰকাৰৰ প্ৰথম আৰু প্ৰধান কৰ্ত্তব্য নহয় জানো? মোৰ বন্ধু শ্ৰীযুত ভট্টাচাৰ্য্য ডাঙৰীয়াক গৌৰৱাই দিব খোজো ১৯৫০ চনৰ অক্টোবৰ মাহৰ নিষ্ঠুৰ আৰু অমানুষিক নালিয়া পুলৰ হত্যাৰ কাণ্ড; টেঙ্গাখাট মৌজাৰ ধৰীয়া গাঁৱৰ হত্যাৰ কাণ্ড; শিৱসাগৰ মহকুমা আৰু কামৰূপ জিলাৰ হত্যাৰ কাণ্ড বিলাকৰ কথা। তেখেতে অৱশ্যে এই বিলাক পাহৰাটো স্বাভাৱিক। কিন্তু মই বুজিব পৰা নাই যে এই দৰে মানুহক হত্যা কৰি, লুট-পাট কৰি, অৰাজকতাৰ সৃষ্টি কৰি কেনেকৈ ভাত-কাপোৰ আৰু মাটিৰ সমস্যা দূৰ কৰিব পাৰে। দুঃখৰ কথা যে তেনে দুৰাচাৰ লোকৰ শাস্তিৰ ব্যৱস্থা কৰিলেই চৰকাৰে অন্যায কৰা হয়। হিন্দিত এটা কথা আছে যে—

“চান্দ ছিপে ন তাৰোঁকে উজৰ,
সুৰজ ছিপে ন বাদল ছাঁয়ে,
ৰণপৰ কাহা ৰাজপুত ছিপে,
দানী ছিপে কাহা মাজন যায়।
নাৰী কী চঞ্চল নয়ন ছিপে ন,
নীচ ছিপে ন বড়পন পায়,
সিদ্ধকে ভীতৰ পাপ ছিপে ন
দাস ছিপে ন হৰিগুণ গায়।”

অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, আজি যদি অসমৰ কথা বিচাৰ কৰি চাই, তেন্তে স্বীকাৰ কৰিব লাগিব যে এই প্ৰদেশ এটা ভয়াবহ অৱস্থাৰ মাজত পৰি আছে। একালে ভগবানৰ অভিশাপ ভূমিকম্প আৰু বানপানীত জুকলা, আনফালে দেশৰ মেৰুদণ্ড স্বৰূপ কৃষক বনুৱাৰ ওপৰত দেশহিতৈষী আৰু সহানুভূতিৰ মুখাপিকা সকলৰ হত্যাকাণ্ড আৰু লুট-পাতৰ তাণ্ডৱ-নীলাত ৰাইজ আটক। তাৰোপৰি ভূগনীয়ৰ আৰু মাটিহীন লোকৰ সমস্যাটো আছেই। এনে এটা বিপদসঙ্কুল অৱস্থাৰ মাজেদিও বৰ্ত্তমান চৰকাৰে দেশবাসীৰ কল্যাণৰ হকে যিবিবিলাক আঁচনি আৰু অনুস্থান গঢ়িছে তাক মাননীয় ৰাজ্যপাল মহোদয়ে পুছানুপুছ ৰূপে দেখুৱাই দিছে।

কিন্তু যিসকল মাননীয় সদস্যই চৰকাৰৰ আঁচনিক নিন্দা কৰি নিজৰ কাৰ্য্যকলাপৰ গৌৰৱ কৰিবলৈ যায় তেখেত সকলে দেশৰ আৰু দেশবাসীৰ শান্তি আৰু উন্নতিৰ কয়ে যি বিলাক কাম কৰিছে দেশ বাসীৰ সন্মুখত সি গোপনে নাই। দেশৰ প্ৰতি তেখেত সকলৰ মেহ মমতা কিমান যিনি সি ওলাই পৰিছে।

মাননীয় সদস্য দাস আৰু ৰাজা চাহাবে এনে কিছুমান হাঁহি উঠা তৰ্ক কৰিছে যাৰ উত্তৰত অনেক কথাই কব পাৰি। তথাপি মই তেখেত সকলৰ অপিয় কথা কৈ মনত কষ্ট দিব নোখোজো। যোৱা সাধাৰণ নিৰ্ব্বাচনত কোনে কি কৰিলে সেই বিলাক কথা কৈও এই সদনৰ সময় নষ্ট কৰিব নোখোজো। ৰাজা চাহাবক মাত্ৰ মই এইটোকে সোঁৱৰাই দিও যে “হাতীয়ে সদায় পৰৰ গাহে ডাঙৰ দেখে” আৰু এই কথাফাকি তেখেতৰ গাতে খাটে।

অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, আমি আশা কৰিছিলো যে এই সদনলৈ এনে কিছুমান সদস্য আহিব যি সকলে গুৰু ধৰণৰ সমালোচনা কৰিব আৰু আমাৰ দেশ খনক উন্নতিৰ পথত আগুৱাই নিবলৈ কিছুমান আঁচনি আৰু পৰামৰ্শ দি সহায় কৰিব। কিন্তু মই আজি দেখি সটাকৈয়ে আচৰিত হৈছো আৰু দুঃখ পাইছো যে তেওঁলোকে কেৱল ভাত নাই, কাপোৰ নাই ইত্যাদি কথাতেই আবদ্ধ আছে, উচ্চ আদৰ্শ একোয়েই নাই।

Maulana ABDUL JALIL: Mr. Speaker, Sir, His Excellency কি তকৰীৰ ইয়ানে বয়ান কে মতায়ালিক মেৱে ভাই ভট্টাচাৰ্য্য জীনে ইস্ হাউস মে জো তৱমীম ইয়ানে amendment পেশ কী হয় ইয়ে ছৱাছৱ গলত হয় গলতি কো ছাৰিত কৰ্তে হয়ে চন্দ আল ফাজ মৌয় আপ্কী খিদমত মে পেশ কৰনা চাহ তা হঁ।

His Excellency নে আপনী তকৰীৰ আওৱ বিবৃতি নে আসাম সরকার কে সারা plans and programmes আউৱ কাৱৱৰবাইবোঁ কে বাহে মে হাউস কে সামনে তফ্শীলী আউৱ পৱিক্কাৱ বয়ান দিয়া হয়। লেকিন হামাৱে অপজিশন মে জে। হজৱাত বয়ঠে হয়ে হোঁয় ৱেফৰ্মাতে হাঁয় কে His Excellency কি তকৰীৰ আওৱ বয়ান মে কোঈ ঠোঁস বাত ইয়ানে Concrete Issue নাহি। ইয়ে সুনকৱ আফসোস হোৱাহা হয় কে ইয়ে লোগ মোচকে কাম লেতে আওৱ দেমাগ পৱিক্কাৱ কৱকে His Excellency কে লেকচাৱ কো পঢ়তে ভো concrete issue উছি বয়ান মে জৱৱ নজৱ আতা।

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: মৌলানা চাহাব আপু উৰ্দু বোল ৱহে হাঁয় কানুনকে অনুসাৱ আপু উৰ্দু বোল নাহি সেকতে। ইছ তৱেহ বোলিয়ে কে সবলোগ আপকী বাত কো সমবা সেকে।

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI: Even then it will be Hindusthani. Under the rules he must speak either in Assamese, Bengali, English or Hindi. If he makes his speech in any other language "he shall have to make over in advance to the Secretary a copy of the speech written in Assamese, Roman, or Devanagari script which he has delivered together with an English translation thereof". By Hindi it is meant the Hindi of Bihar or Banares and not the language in which he is speaking now.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: Quite right. But we have heard Panditji who speaks high-flown Hindi which is akin to Hindusthani, *i. e.*, Hindi and Urdu mixed. We should therefore be a little tolerant. He is speaking for the first time and let him be allowed to speak in mixed Hindi and Urdu.

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI: He can speak in Bengali. That will be much better.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: I appreciate Mr Goswami's objection, but the Maulana Saheb may not be fluent in Bengali. I therefore, allow him to speak for the first day as an exception.

Maulana ABDUL JALIL: জী হাঁ ময় কুশিস করঙ্গা। ময় আয়গী জবান বোলঙ্গা আপ সব হজরাত সমবা সোঁকে। ময় বাংলা আউর আংরেজী লফজ্ মিলাকর বোলঙ্গা (*A Voice*—লফজ্ কিয়া হায়?) আপ ঘাব্‌রাতে কেঁন?

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI: হাম্ আপ্‌কে লিয়ে ইয়া আপ্‌কে ভাষণ কে লিয়ে নাহি ঘাব্‌রাতে। আপ্‌কী ভাষাকে লিয়ে ঘাব্‌রাতে আপ্‌ হিন্দী বোলিয়ে না।

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: আপ্‌ চলিয়ে উন্‌কী বাত কো ছোড়িয়ে।

Maulana ABDUL JALIL: নাহি ময় উনকি দিল বাহলই করতা হোঁ। আঙ্গা জব বহত লাঠি ওউমে আপ্‌নি লাঠিকো রাক্তা হায় আউর উছকে বাদ জব আপ্‌নি লাঠি কো তালাস করতা হায় হর লাঠি পর উও হাত রাক্তা হায় উসীকো আপ্‌কী লাঠি সমবা কর। আখের মে এক ডি উছকা নাহি হতা হায়। হামারে মুখালিফ বেকোঁমে বয়ঠে হয়ে দোস্তী কি তরমিম অওর এমেগুমেগুকা হাল এয়ছা হায় বেগয়র কিছি খাছ বাত কো পয়েন্ট আউট করকে সংশোধনী প্রস্তাব পেশু করতে বুল্‌কে আঙ্গাকি তরাহ হর বাত পর জাহাঁ। জী চাহে তরমিম আওর এমেগুমেগুন্ট পেশু কি জো কাবিলে তরমিম ইয়ানে সংশোধনকে লায়েক নাহি তো ইয়ে তরমিম বেতরমিম আওর সংশোধন অসংশোধন ছাবিত হয়ে। ইছ তরমিম ইয়ানে ammendment কোলানেকে পহলে উওলোক His Excellency কি তকরীর আওর লেক্‌চার কো গোরছে, আইনা ছাফ্‌ করকে দেখ্‌লিয়ে ছতে তো ইছ তরমিম কী তাযাম বাতে উছনে মৌজুদ দেখায়ি পাতে; ইছ তরমিমকো লানেকি জরুরত নাহি পরতি উনকো চাহিয়ে থাকে His Excellency কি তকরীর কে উন্‌ওয়ান আওর শিরন'মা কো দেখলেতে উছকো আচচী তরাহ পড়লেতে কেউনকে উছমে উও তাযাম বাতে হাঁয় জো এক হুকুমত কি পালিছি ছাফ্‌ জাহিব হজাতি হায় Government কি Procurement policy, food problem, refugee problem, displaced persons, Law and order, আউর Land Settlement র গয়রাহ্‌ জরুরী বাতে উছমে হায়। হাম আপনা আইনা সাফ্‌ করকে খুব গোরছে উসে পড়হে তো ইয়ে হামে ঠুছ আমল বাতাভা হায় সাফ্‌ Programme, Concrete বাতে তফশিলী তৌর পর অহাঁ বয়ান কিয়া গায় হায় মগর গজে আফসোস হায় কে হামারে মুখালিফত করনেবালে দোস্তোনে উনকি তকরীর কো আচচী তরাহ গৌর নাহি কিয়া

আপু His Excellency কি উও তকরীর কে ৯,১৫ সাহফা কো দেখিয়ে উছমে Concrete Issues তরাহ ২ স্বীম জমিদারীকে খাতেমাকা Programme হায়; কই তরমিম আওর amendment কি জরুরত নাহি সিব্বু আমল কি জরুরত হায়। হামারে মখালিফত করনেবালে দোস্তৌকে amendment দেখ কর মুজে এক কি সমা ইয়াদ আগিয়া হায়—এক মুনি থা উসে সব কৈ তছলিম করতা থা।

The Hon'ble Shri BAIDYANATH MOOKERJEE: মুনি নাহি মৌলানা হ বোলিয়ে।

Maulana ABDUL JALIL: মৌলানা বোলনেছে আপ্লোগ নাহি সমরোঙ্গে ইসলিয়ে ময় মুনি কাহতা হুঁ। এক মুনি থা বহু বড়া আচ্ছা আদমী থা, সবলোগ উছকো মানতে থে মগর উছকি বিবি (অর্থাৎ তাঁর স্ত্রী) উছে নাহি মানতি থা—উছাক বিবি একদিন এক ধাষি, মুনিকো আসমানমে উড়তে হয়ে দেখ আয়ি: ইছলিয়ে উসনে আপনে খাবিদ (অর্থাৎ তাঁর স্বামী Husband) সে কাহা কে তুম কেছে দরবেশ হ, একদিন তী আছমান পর উড়তা হয়। নজর নাহি আয়া। আজ ময় এক দরবেশ কো দেখা আছমানমে উড়তা হয়। যা রাহা হায়, স্বামীনে কাহা কে তু জাস্তি নাহি ইয়ে ময় থা; আওরত কাহতি হায় কে ইছলিয়ে টেড়া উড়তা থা সিদ্ধা নাহি যা সেকতা থা: তো হামারে মুখালিফ পাটি কা হাল এয়ছা হায় কে হাম কেতনাহি আচ্ছা কাম কেউ নাকরে মগর উওলোগ উছমে জরুর কুচ না কোচ আইব আওর খারাবি নিকালেঙ্গে আওর উছমে এতেরাজ আওর ছওয়াল পয়দা করেঙ্গে।

(House: হাঁ! হাঁ!) হামারী আওর উনকা লাগাও এয়ছা হায় যেয়ছা উছ মিয়া-বিবি কা হায়। পরন্তু হাম উনকো মহব্বত আওর প্রেম করতে হায় আওর উনকি তায়িদ চাহতি হায় যেয়ছা কে উও দরবেশ আপনী বিবিকো বা-ওজদ ইনবাতৌ কে উছকে পিয়ার আওর প্রেম করতা থা কিন্তু বিরুদ্ধ পাটি কো হামারা কাম আসল সে কেয়ছাহি খুব কেউংনাহো মগর উনকে বুরা মালুম হগা কেউংকে অপজিশন আঁকমে পরদা চাল দেতা হায়। His Excellency কি তকরীর মে দু পহলু হায় পার সাল কি বাটে ইয়ানে ওজস্তা কার-রওয়ারি য়েং কা বয়ান দুছরা ভবিষ্যৎ কে programme কা বয়ান। দুদৌ পহলৌ কো আলগ আলগ-ছুচে যো উনহে সাফ-সাফ মালুম হতা কে His Excellency কি তকরীর মে সবহী জব্বরী বাটে মৌজুদ হায় মগর উও এয়ছা নাহি করেঙ্গে কেউংকে সরকার কে কামৌমে আইব দেখনা উন কি আদতহৌ হগারী হায়। আংরেজী মে এক কাহাওত হায়:—habit is the second nature উনকি তী আদত ইয়েহী হো গায়ী হায় কে সরকার কে কাররওয়াই য়ৌমে খারাবিয়। অওর-বুরাই হি দেকে আওর এক বাত ময় বোলনা চাহতা হুঁ।

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER মৌলানা চাহাব আপকা সময় ছগিয়া।

Maulana ABDUL JALIL: সিব্বু একমিনিত হামারে মুখালিফোং amendment মে এক বাত পর জোর দিয়া গিয়া হায় fooding clothing and housing মেরে নজদি ক ইয়ে ইছি তরাহ হায় যেয়ছা কে পাবলিক জনছাউমে লোগোং কো কাংগ্রেস কে খেলাফ উবহারণেকে লিয়ে নেহায়ত খুবিকে ছাত ইন্বাতৌ কো বয়ান কিয়া যাতা হায় তো এহাতী আগর বোলা জরুরত হি ছহি ইন্বাতৌ কা জিকির amendment মে কিয়া গায়া অওর এখবারোংমে ছনহেরী হরুফং পর ইছকা লিকহাগিয়া তো লোগ সমরোঙ্গে কে কাংগ্রেসকে মুখা লিকিন ভাত-কাপড়া গয়রাহ কে লিয়ে লকুমত ছে লড়হ রহেহায়। পরন্তু ময় উনকো পুচুনা চাহতা হয়, কে ফিছাদি কেতনে বহ বাচেছাং সবকে বাহার লায়ে জাতে হায়, কেতনে ভোক কি ওজাছে

মরে হয় আওর কেতনে নেঙ্গা হয়। হাঁ য়ে য়ছা হনা চাহিয়ে খা এয়ছা নাহি হোবা ইছকে লিয়ে অক্ ত চাহিয়ে ইছকী কারণ ভী নিজ His Excellency কে লেকচার মে বয়ান কিয়া গিয়া হয় আয়র ইন্ হি ছওয়াল কে হ'ল করণে কে লিয়ে হাম অহাঁ আয়ে হায় আওর এক মাহিনাতক উছপর হাম-সব মিলকর ছেছে আওর ছাটিছহল্ নিকালেছে তাকে হামারে মুলুকমে খানা আওর কাপড়া কা অভাব দূর হোজায়ে আওর ইছ কহত আওর অভাব দূর করণে কে লিয়ে হামারী গবর্ণমেন্ট মে জো স্কীম তৈয়ার কিয়া হয় উছকো আমলী জামাপ্ হনানেকে লিয়ে উত্তলোগ হামারে ছাত তায়ান কেহাত বাড়ায়ে। কাহ্ নেছনোছে তো পেট নাহি ভরতা।

Maulavi SAHADAT ALI MANDAL: হামারা মালুম হয়া কে মৌলানা চাহাব কি জবান কৈ নাহি সমবা রাহা হয়।

Maulana ABDUL JALIL: জো ভী জোকুচ কহে Assembly মে পহ্লে আরকী খিতাব করদা ছাহিয়ে Mr. Speaker? মগর আপ্ কো খিতাব নাহি কিয়া ইছলিয়ে আপকা ছওয়াল কাবিলে জবাব নাহি।

“এক দুছরী বাত ময় আপকে সামনে পেশ করনা চাহতা হোঁ কি মেরে দুস্ত শ্রী দুল্ বাবু (বহ বুজুর্গ জো করিম গঞ্জছে আয়ে হায়) করিম গঞ্জকে মোছল মানুং কি হাম্ দর্দি দেকহাতে হয়ে করমায়া কি উনকো চুনাও কে অকত মে কংগ্রেসওয়ালোনে ধমকী দি খী কি আগর উত্তলোগ ভোট কংগ্রেসকো নহি দেছে তো উনকে ভবিষ্যৎ অওর মন্তুবীল খারাব ছগি, ময় উনকো পুচতাহোঁ কি তেরা ফেব্রুয়ারী সন ১৯৫০ ইং জব ওহাঁকে মছলমান মজলুম আওর উনকে শহরমে মক তুল হোরহে খে অওর আপ্ উছি মিউনিসিপালিটা কে চেয়ারম্যান খে উছওকত উনছনে মোছলমানোং কে লিয়ে কিয়া কিয়া অওর উছদিন আপ যে কাহাঁ। আজ কংগ্রেস পর বদনাম দে রহে হয়।

(English Translation of Urdu Speech delivered by Maulana Abdul Jalil)

Maulana ABDUL JALIL: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the matters brought forward by way of amendment my Friend Mr. Bhattacharyya in this House on the speech of His Excellency is quite baseless. And in order to prove this I want to lay before your honour few words. His Excellency made clear before the House all plans, programmes and activities of the Assam Government in details. But those who took their seat in Opposition benches said that there was no concrete issue in the speech of His Excellency. At this I regret to say that if they had read the speech thoughtfully and with impartial brain they could surely have found concrete issue in the same.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: Moulana Shahib, you are speaking in Urdu. According to rules you cannot speak in Urdu. So speak in a manner that every body can understand you.

Maulana ABDUL JALIL: Yes, Sir, I shall speak in such a language that every one can understand. I shall speak using the Bengali and English words (Lofz)?

(A voice: What is a Lofz?)

Maulana ABDUL JALIL: Why do you be afraid?

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI: We are afraid neither of you nor your speech. We are afraid of your language. Will you please speak in Hindi?

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: Please go on; let them be alone.

Maulana ABDUL JALIL: No, Sir, I am only consoling their mind.

The policy they proposed to adopt in the amendment reminds me the story of "The Blind man and his stick". A blindman put his stick in many other and when he wants to find out his own he lays his hand in each stick. Every time he thinks each stick to be his own. At last none is proved to be his own. Like this, the condition of amendment brought forward by our Friend is such that they brought forward an amendment without pointing out any particular issue which is amendable. Rather like the blindman they come with an amendment wherever they want. So their amendment is not an amendment.

If they had thought over the speech delivered by His Excellency minutely and impartially, every thing intended in the amendment must have been found in it and the necessity for any amendment would not have come in. They ought to have thought and read the speech thoroughly for it contains things that clear the policy of a Government. It has in it the all important policy such as the procurement policy, food problem, displaced person's problem, Law and order, Land Settlement, etc. If we read it thoroughly with clear mind we shall find active policy, clear programmes and all concrete issues in detail in it. But regret to say that our Friends in the Opposition did not think over it and most probably they do not want to think. If we see pages 9 and 15 of the speech we shall find in it concrete issues, different kinds of Scheme and programmes such as abolition of Zamindari. There is no necessity of any amendment but requires only practical works. The amendment of the Opposition reminds me another story: Once there was a saint (Muni). He was respected by every one.

The Hon'ble Shri BAIDYANATH MOOKERJEE: Not Muni, please say Maulana.

Maulana ABDUL JALIL: I am saying so as you will not understand the word Maulana.

He was a good man. Everybody honoured him but his wife. One day she saw a saint flying in the sky. On this she said to her husband, "what kind of saint are you? You are not found any day flying in the sky. To day I saw a saint flying in the sky". The husband said, "you are not aware about that, I was that saint". The wife said, "yes, I saw you flying round about way. You do not know how to fly straight." Like this—position of our Friends in Opposition is such that whatever good we do they will think it bad and unnecessarily try to find out any defect and will put question after question on it.

(Voices: yes, yes.)

The relation between us and the Opposition party is such as was between the saint and his wife. We like them as the saint did his wife and want their co-operation, but they very often do not like to see our policy with sincerity whatever good may be in us, because opposition makes man blind.

The speech of His Excellency is divided into two parts, one part contains activities of the past and the other contains the plans and programmes for the future. If they had thought separately, they would find every important item ready in it. But they will not do as I believe, as their nature is to find out the defect of the Government works. "Habit is the second nature". The Opposition insisted upon the fooding, clothing and housing problems. I think, and of course it is a fact, that that is a kind of propaganda to make the public feel that the Opposition are fighting with the Government inside the House for fooding, clothing and housing of the masses, as well as in the public meetings. Here I want to ask them what per cent. of the masses are found staying in no house and how many people are living without food and cloth ?

Of course, what is to be done is not done fully, of course it will take time, the reason for which was also mentioned clearly in the speech of His Excellency. And we also come here to solve these problems. We are to stay here for about a month to find out the way to overcome all the difficulties of our countrymen. The Government want our full co-operation to overcome these problems.

Making and hearing of speeches will do nothing.

Another thing I want to point out here before the House that my Friend Dulu Babu (meaning Shri Renendra Mohan Das) showing sympathy towards the Muslims of Karimganj said that they were threatened by the Congressmen during the election that if they do not cast their votes for Congress their future will be dark. I am to ask him that when on the 13th February, 1950 Musalmans were oppressed and killed in his own town while he was the Chairman of Municipal Board, what did he do towards the Musalmans and where was he on that day ?]

Shri RADHA CHARAN CHAUDHURY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, we congratulate His Excellency on account of his kind address to the House yesterday, but among other things we regret to find that His Excellency's speech failed to envisage one of the vital issues of the day, that is the improvement and development of primary education of the Province which is the cry of the country as a whole.

His Excellency's speech failed to touch the most important point, *e.g.*, the improvement of the conditions of the ill-paid primary school teachers of the State and not only this, His Excellency's speech did not mention the privileges and respects to be enjoyed by the neglected primary school teachers who are really the guides and torchbearers of the country. We find in our Province the teachers' pay and salary is the worst possible. Even our primary school teachers get less pay than menials and Chaprasis. They get their pay after 3, 4 or 5 months of their work. I find that even shopkeepers do not give them the articles of daily food on credit. Such position they are to face and are facing. This is very sad and a matter for misfortune on the part of our Government. Again I have said that in our Province officers of Government when they go on Government duty or when they are transferred, get travelling allowance, but the poor primary school teachers are deprived of this.

Again as regards the policy of the Government, I see many of our friends have worked in such backward places, as have been very much affected by malaria and sometimes poor teachers died, and yet no arrangement has been made to provide them quinine allowance or other medicines. In our Province officials getting large salaries get free ration, but teachers getting less pay get nothing like free ration. Again I beg to say that not only in respect of economy and welfare of the teachers they do not even get any privilege as in any other free country. Even poor teachers are sometimes threatened by Congress voluteers or

by some officers who are not authorised to do so. I have seen it with my own eyes and I can give instances. Our future generations are totally becoming burden of the soil. There are many children who are suffering for want of proper treatment. There are many children who are blind, deaf and dumb but nothing has been done for their treatment. This is also a very sad thing.

In the case of our primary education, the very principle of introduction of the scheme is also not very sound. I have seen that introduction of primary education is made not on any other principle but on the principle of some self-interested motive. I have seen that compulsion is introduced only in such places where Ministers and other high ranking men reside and the backward areas are neglected. And above all I have seen that Primary Schools are in short of adequate equipments. Our primary school teachers are provided with a stool and not with a chair and due respect is also not properly given to them.

As regards buildings, we have seen that some Lower Primary Schools are worse than ordinary cow-sheds. For the improvement of these buildings nothing has been done by Government. As regards training centres, some training centres have been introduced somewhere, but practically no training centres have been introduced in backward areas for the betterment of tribal communities. As regards Social Education or Mass Literacy Education, this scheme is nothing but a farce. If we analyse and examine the matter properly we will see that 50 per cent of the so-called educated man and women produced by this Department is false. Then as regards control and management of our Primary Schools, we have seen that expert hands are not included in the Primary Education Board. It is true that some Members of Legislative Assembly have been taken as members of this Board, but I think Members of Legislative Assembly are not expert hands and they are not field workers. So I would suggest to this House that some field workers such as Deputy Inspector of Schools or some senior Sub-Inspectors of Schools should be included in the so-called Primary Education Board. Keeping all these points in view I can say that primary education has not been given any value by our Government. But not only in the case of primary education, Sir, the same sort of fate faced in many Middle Vernacular Schools also. There are many Middle Vernacular Schools and Local Board Schools and Aided Schools and different treatment has been given to different schools.

Taking into consideration of all these points of view, I regret to miss the vital and progressive issues in His Excellency's speech. So the House will surely appreciate the hopeful amendment as moved by the hon. Member from Gauhati. I hope this will be supported by the hon. Members of the House. With these words, Sir, I resume my seat.

Mr. MAHAM SINGH. Mr. Speaker, Sir, the speech delivered by His Excellency covers a wide range of subjects, it contains the various problems facing the country and the measures undertaken by the Government to meet them. Sir, it is really a matter of deep regret that one of the most pressing problems of the day, the economic condition of the people living in the borders of Pakistan, has not been adequately taken into consideration by the Government. Ever since the Partition of India the border people, especially of the Hill Areas, are leading a tragic life of extreme poverty and economic insecurity. About five years have elapsed since the Partition of India, but during all these years the Government did not take any effective measures to meet their difficulties. Sir, the main trade of the border people in pre-Partition days was with Sylhet District which now falls within Pakistan. Many of them also got lands in Pakistan. His Excellency in his speech has stated that Pakistan still continues its policy of economic strangulation and harassment of these border people.

From what has happened in previous years it is certain that they cannot any longer depend on the trade with Pakistan, but I fail to understand why the Government did not take any effective steps to ameliorate the miserable condition of these people. The schemes undertaken by the Government in previous years has brought only a very negligible help to the border people. An aerodrome at Shella has been opened, but it can be well imagined how much of the products of the whole of the border area it can carry. It has not been able to serve even three out of the innumerable villages situated throughout the whole length and breadth of the Pakistan border.

The Government should have opened up roads in all the important centres in the border areas so that the people may be able to transport their goods to other markets in the Indian Union and the completion of these roads should have been given priority to all other new roads opened in the State. Due to lack of transport facilities a great quantity of the products from the border areas has been wasted in previous years. The Government has started to construct a road from Mawmluh to Shella but as if everything has turned out to be well again without completing even a fraction of the road the work has now been stopped. His Excellency in his speech did not mention anything about this road and it seems that the Government has given up the project. This road is more urgently required than that of the many other communication project undertaken by the Government. Further, Sir, even in the survey of these roads the Government has always taken the wrong route. The Mawmluh-Shella road could have been completed by now if the road was run through Mawlong village instead of through Phali Bazar. As it is surveyed at present, the road has got to run through deep gorges. It is also most urgently required to construct motorable roads from Pynursla to Umniuh Tmar from Pomshutia to Lyngkhat Bazar and from Mawblang to Bholaganj in order to relieve the people living in the innumerable villages along the border of Pakistan. Even from the point of view of defence these roads are more important than many other Communication projects undertaken by the Government and mentioned by His Excellency in his speech.

Sir, His Excellency has mentioned of gratuitous relief and loans being given to Displaced Persons, of compensation being paid to the Nagas, but not a word has been said of the economic plight of the border people and the measures adopted to relieve them. This is all the more surprising because never before have these people suffered than like in the present year.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER. The House stands adjourned till 1 P. M. today.

Adjournment

The Assembly was then adjourned for lunch till 1 P. M.

After Lunch

Re: formation of United Opposition Bloc with Shri Hareswar Goswami as Leader

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: I would like to inform the hon. Members of this House that I have been informed that an Opposition Group under the style, "United Opposition Group" consisting of Shri Hareswar Goswami as the Leader of the Opposition and Shri A. S. Khongpai as Deputy Leader with 15 other hon. Members has been formed.

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI: I would like to inform the House that another Member has joined the bloc.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: Please inform the Secretary.

Suggestion made by the Leader of the Opposition about the change of programme.

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI: I have to make a submission, Sir, regarding the routine of business. The other day, I made an appeal that the Budget should be presented on the 8th of March, but it appears to me that it will be presented on the scheduled date and at the scheduled time. I would like to state that the general discussion of the Budget should begin from 14th and continue on 15th, and 17th March and the business of 17th March should be shifted to 18th March.

The Hon'ble Shri BISHNU RAM MEDHI: I have no objection to accept his suggestion, Sir, if my hon. Friend on the other side forego one day from the days allotted for voting on demands.

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI: I agree, Sir.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: I think, the House agrees?

(Voices—Yes, Sir.)

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: Changes will be made according to the suggestion.

The Hon'ble Shri BISHNU RAM MEDHI: 13th March will be a holiday as far as the Assembly is concerned. That is the idea I think.

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI: Yes, Sir.

Debate on His Excellency the Governor's Address

Mr. MAHAM SINGH: I was mentioning, Sir, that His Excellency in his speech referred to loans and grants which were given to displaced persons and compensation given to the Nagas to the extent of Rs.30 lakhs, and also of a special grant of Rs.10 lakhs which has been granted by the Government of India for the Scheduled Tribes of the Naga Hills District. But, Sir, not a word has been spoken about the economic life of the border people and the measures envisaged for their relief. This is all the more surprising because never before have these people suffered more than in the present year. There has been a total failure of crops in the Hill section of the border of Pakistan of such a magnitude that no one in the present generation has experienced. The people of this area are gravely faced with starvation, and, I hope, the Government should no longer neglect them. Projects and relief measures should be taken immediately to feed and give work to these people.

Sir, I think the Government has failed to meet some of the most pressing and urgent requirements of the people. I, therefore, support the amendment.

Shri LILA KANTA BORA : Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are highly grateful to His Excellency for his speech which he has delivered to this House. Our State is beset with various kinds of problems and therefore we find that His Excellency's address touched almost all our important points and all the problems of our State. Apart from the border problems, the problems of hills and other problems which have crept into society just after the attainment of independence of this country, have been mentioned by His Excellency. Of these there are also man-made problems and some have been caused by nature. The man-made problems, namely, the communal riots, as well as the terrorist activities of the communists are worth mentioning. Sir, these activities of the terrorist and the communal trouble resumed such a magnitude that the whole State might have collapsed if timely intervention and effective action had not been taken by His Excellency's Government. His Excellency's Government is really to be congratulated for the able manner in which it has been maintained peace and order in the State.

Sir, we find that, along with these problems came the problem of rehabilitation of the refugees. This was really a gigantic task. There was a natural calamity and influx of refugees which necessitated rehabilitation of a large number of earthquake affected people. Sir, these problems are so very great that at the very outset of our independence our Government had to tackle them and they did tackle them efficiently. For their successful effort, our Government should be congratulated because they were strong enough to meet all these problems.

Again, Sir, there was the food problem. The food problem last year rose to such a proportion that many doubted that the history of Bengal famine would be repeated throughout the country. Sir, due to the timely action of our Government there has not been a single case of death from starvation from any part of our State—for which also our Government deserve to be congratulated.

Sir, I am grateful to His Excellency to find that some Rural Development projects are going to be undertaken this year as well. That some Panchayats are going to be established. And it is gratifying to find that Rs.66 lacs is going to be spent during the coming year on the Rural Development Scheme. I am glad to see that the Rural Self-Help Scheme has been undertaken to work. Sir, my experience as Rural Development Officer is that this Scheme is really a useful and important scheme and very popular among the villagers.

Sir, it is very gratifying to know that His Excellency has covered almost all the important aspects of the problems of life of our people. Now some of my hon. Friends in the Opposition have stated that His Excellency's address does not cover some of the problems such as education, sanitation, housing and health of the people. But, Sir, His Excellency has rightly observed that His Excellency's Government have some plans and ideals before them and those plans and ideals were enunciated by the party at the time and on the eve of the election, and that party to which this Government belongs has undertaken to stand by those programmes and to put them into action. Therefore, Sir, we find that His Excellency's address is really a comprehensive one.

One of our Friend in the Opposition has stated that the earthquake is nothing new in Assam. I do admit this and am at one with him, but, Sir, how many earthquakes have we witnessed in our life as the last one? How many earthquakes have caused so much destruction as the last one? I do not know how old my Friend in the Opposition is, but so far I can say from his appearance that he is not much aged. I for myself have seen a number of earthquakes, but, Sir, in my life time I have never witnessed an earthquake as the last one.

Again, Sir, my Friend the hon. Mover of the amendment has said that His Excellency's address has not covered many points like agricultural labour and the employment of the unemployees. But, Sir, I find that His Excellency's address has covered almost all the things and he has not left anything untouched which are the real or burning problems of the time.

With these words I support the mover of the Motion and I thank again His Excellency for his address to this House.

Thanking you, Sir.

Mr. A. ALLEY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am new to this House. As a hillman I rise to gratefully thank His Excellency for all the good things he has said for the hill districts of Assam in his address to this House the day before and also in his recent broadcast.

Sir, if you look at the map of Assam, you will find that the Tribal areas Part A now known as the Autonomous Districts has an area of roughly over 27,000 square miles of land and the Tribal Areas Part B has an area of between 35,000 and 40,000 square miles of land. The plain districts of the Brahmaputra Valley including Cachar has an area of over 26,000 square miles. You will see also that the Assam Valley districts are in between the hills in Parts A and B area. The Hills of Assam also constitute the frontiers of India. To the North, North-East and East lie Tibet, China and Burma. On the foot of the Khasi Hills for about 150 miles and on the foot of the Garo Hills for about 80 miles is the State of Pakistan. All along these borders are limestone and coal deposits and the Khasi Hills District has also the rare mineral known as Salamanite. The Lushai Hills has the distinction of having Burma on its eastern border and Pakistan on its southern and western border. The tribes inhabiting these hills all came to India from the North and the East of Asia. The Garos came from the Central Asia *via* Tibet and Sikkim. They follow the matriarchal system. The Khasis, so tradition has it, belong to the once famous Mon Khmer group of Outer Mongolia. They also follow the matriarchal system. A small detachment of the group came to these hills from the East primarily in search of iron. They settled in these hills and governed themselves without outside interference. The Khasis, so also the other hills tribes were never under any Hindu or Muslim rule. A hundred and fifty years ago the British came to these Hills *via* Ranigodam in Kamrup district and constructed a road to Cherrapoonji *via* Mawphlang. The famous Khasi King, U Tirat Singh, fought the first battle of independence but had to yield to superior British arms. When the British conquered and ruled over these hills, they did not make any roads thinking that they would shut them in as anthropological relics. The results is all the hill areas have become inaccessible. Before the partition of India three-fourths of Khasi and Jaintia Hills had been carrying on trade mostly with the people of Sylhet. When we decided to cede Sylhet to Pakistan our trade with Sylhet stopped on account of the economic strangulation as pointed out by His Excellency. The sufferings of the people become very great and trade cannot be diverted to and through Assam Valley as we have got no other road except the Shillong-Gauhati Road.

I am very grateful to His Excellency for pointing out to this House the difficulties of communications in these hills, after he had spoken about the more important question of "Grow-More-Food". It will be extremely difficult to grow more food unless we open up the country. I represent the people of the Nongpoh Constituency of United Khasi and Jaintia Hills which were never before represented in this legislature. There are vast areas in this constituency which can produce paddy and other foodstuffs. There are also vast areas of unoccupied land full of Sal and other valuable trees and other forest produce

The people inhabiting these areas are also victims of malaria. If roads can be opened to these areas, our district will not only be self-sufficient in food but will also have a surplus to supply to other districts beside controlling malaria. I submit, Sir, that the construction of roads in the hills is a pre-requisite to the "Grow More Food" scheme.

Sir, we have come to this House as representatives of the people who have confidence in us to help them to better their economic conditions. They have entrusted us to find out the way. We can discharge our duties if we all co-operate, no matter to what group or party we may belong. Let us think more of our duties rather than of our rights. In a time of crisis such as this, when the world is progressively poor in the midst of so much scientific discoveries and knowledge, it is pertinent for you and for me to ask if all these calamities are because we have insisted more on rights rather than the performance of duties.

I am also grateful to my hon. Friend, Shri Gaurisankar Bhattacharyya, who has kindly devoted a paragraph in his amendment for the welfare of the hill people. I may however be pardoned by my hon. Friend if I be allowed to point out that all the good things he said about us are embodied in the Sixth Schedule. I confidentially expect his co-operation in the actual workings of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution to which we pledged ourselves to bear true and faithful allegiance the other day.

I am also grateful to the Hon'ble Ministers who have volunteered to shoulder the heavy responsibilities to run the administration of the State. Let us all extend to them our co-operation. In particular I request the Hon'ble Minister to make it possible for the District Councils to function in the way the framers of the Constitution intended. We expect that they will take the elected representatives of the hills people in this House as well as in the District Councils into their confidence in the nomination of members to these District Councils. We assure them of our full support so that they may not be guided only by files and official notes. I will also request them that in the postings of officers in these districts such officers only should be posted who will by themselves tour these hill areas and not to areas where a car can go.

I am also grateful to His Excellency for mentioning in his address the creation of funds for the District Councils by the Government. I would plead for more liberal grants to enable the District Councils to function properly. They have not got even a house or an office to start with. In the creation of funds I would also plead for allotment of funds to each district according to its needs. In my district we will need much more funds. I am told the Government has with them many lakhs of rupees of what used to be known as the Khasi States Deposit Account and also the share from the excise revenue of this district, taxes on profession, sale tax, vehicle tax, etc., etc.

I will also plead for a share from the profits of the State Transport on the Shillong-Gauhati Road and the Shillong-Tamabil Road. These roads are within the district and all the expenditure for the maintenance of these roads are borne by the Government of India as they are National Highways. The Government of Assam get many lakhs of rupees as profits from these roads.

I thank you, Sir.

Dr. HOMESWAR DEB CHOUDHURY: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I endorse fully the Amendment brought by my hon. Friend Mr. Gaurisankar Bhattacharyya and I support the same not only for the points he has mentioned but also for the points which I am now going to raise.

In the speech of his Excellency a vital question has been omitted and that is about the medical-men and public health. It seems, Sir, he has forgotten about the medical-men and public health. There is no indication in his speech where the condition of the medical-men, especially the Assistant Surgeons Grade II, will be improved or not. It is a fact that too many doctors are going away from the service and new doctors in their place are coming in under the Government and Local Boards. Why this happens? It is because their pay scale is very meagre. For this reason alone many doctors placed in the out of the dispensaries have left their jobs.....

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: I think you better speak on these points during budget discussion.

Dr. HOMESWAR DEB CHOUDHURY: My next point is that in His Excellency's speech the question of doctors passed from the National Institutions should have been mentioned. Those National Institutions were started during the national struggles when the students were driven out by the then Governments from their own institutions. There are many doctors passing from those National Institutions, but they are not registered. In his speech

The Hon'ble Srijut BISHNU RAM MEDHI: I think the points raised are not relevant. Sir, I think, these are all irrelevant.

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI: Sir, this will come under the Social Security Scheme.

Dr. HOMESWAR DEB CHOUDHURY: Sir, these doctors should either be given registration or they should be sent away.

Then, Sir, I am coming to the top-heavy administration. In this connection I would like to say that the compounders are the most neglected persons. No steps were taken to increase their pay, and their cases were not at all considered by the Government. They are getting Rs. 40 per month. Their families are starving. Sir, is it possible that the compounders can start with Rs. 40 per month in these hard days?

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: Is it not possible to start without these things?

Dr. HOMESWAR DEB CHOUDHURY: Sir, His Excellency mentioned in his speech about the last General Election, which he stated as a vital one. But he had not mentioned anything about the Cotton College Hostel affairs where 4 young lives are suffering from T. B. to-day.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: Does it come under the subject?

Dr. HOMESWAR DEB CHOUDHURY: Yes Sir, it comes under the Social Security Scheme.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: Or does it come under Housing Scheme?

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI: On a point of order, Sir. In supporting an amendment, it is not necessary to confine to the amendment only.

Maulavi MAHAMMAD ROUFIQUE: Sir, His Excellency's speech covers the whole aspects of the State. Therefore he can speak anything and everything.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: I rule out that view. Yes try to confine to the point.

Dr. HOMESWAR DEB CHOUDHURY: Sir, the Cotton Collge Hostel affairs should have found place in His Excellency's speech. About the Cancer treatment, His Excellency did not make any mention in his speech. What I am going to say is that, Sir, as many as four things have been omitted in the His Excellency speech. From that point of view, I say, Sir, although these are not taken as amendment, the hon. Members will consider these as part of the amendment. With these words, I resume my seat.

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI: Sir, I am a rebel son of the Congress. I left the Congress not in the days of adversity of the Mother Organisation, but in the days of prosperity, and when I left the Organisation, I did not have any quarrel or any hostility towards any Hon'ble Member in the Organisation. I suffered with them all sufferings like the Hon'ble Members belonging to the Congress. But to-day, I find before my eyes, some persons shining behind the Treasury Benches who were not with us in those days.

Sir, the Hon'ble Shri Mookerjee said that the Opposition is a "Jora Tali Party". I am sorry, he said so. Sir, this is a Bengali word which I could not exactly follow. He said, "It is a Jora Tali Party". Yes, it is so. Sir, I expected that at least the Treasury Benches with such a sweeping majority and with no fear of defeat should have welcomed even such a "Jora Tali Party". Sir, I have taken this cue from the Congress. I was in the Congress and was also trained in the School of Congress from my early life. I remained in Congress during the years 1937-41. At that time, the Congress was a "Jora Tali Party" in the Assembly. Now, Sir, I have also that firm conviction that in years to come, our "Jora Tali" Party in the Opposition will come to take their seat.

Sir, for the last few days, we have been discussing the illuminating Address of His Excellency and it is good that we have taken up the discussion seriously. His Excellency's Address is an important one in so far as it elucidates the policy the Government will pursue in years to come. We have heard his comments, also on the important problems that confront us. Sir, in England, as many as 15 days are set aside to discuss the King's speech, so much importance is being attached to his Speech.

Sir, in His Excellency's speech, and also just now the Hon'ble Sri Bora said that the Government's idea was to set up a "Co-operative Welfare State". In the Election that has just over, the Congress, that is party in power, held out to the people that they would set up "a Co-operative Commonwealth". I do not understand the meaning of this term. I have read articles written by no less a person than Sri Shankar Rao Deo. But, I have not been able to get its head or tail. Be that as it may, I believe that this phrase means something like "Ram Rajiya", where the common people will be able to live in peace and prosperity. Sir, the prosperity of a country is measured not by the number of resolutions passed by the party nor by its never-ending solicitude for the common men, far less by our noble intentions and heaps of paper, plans, but by harnessing and utilising the available resources at their disposal for the common good of all. Sir, they must do what they promised to the people. If they do not do so,

it will not be wrong if they dub them as the betrayer of the people's faith and trust. If the Government cannot rule properly, they have no right to say "such and such thing has happened, therefore we have not been able to do so". Sir, a Government forfeits the right to govern when it ascribes all its failure to the frivolities of nature. Sir, "Man's history is a history of man's struggle against Nature". Men has built up the organisation of the State to lead a happy and peaceful life free from the whims of Nature.

It is unfortunate that every time we face a crisis we have to curse Nature for our failure. If something good is done, the credit is taken by my Hon'ble Friend, the Leader of the House, Shri Bishnuram Medhi, that he has done it, but if something goes wrong we curse God. Sir, this is not the way to the greatness of a Nation. We must have the courage to admit our failures and modesty not to be complacent. Judged from every standpoint we have not progressed during the last few years ; rather, our movement has been backward. The poor has become poorer and the rich richer during these days. His Excellency said that our struggle for Independence was not merely for political independence but also for the attainment of economic freedom, for liberating the masses from exploitation and one for providing their cultural growth. Have we been able to advance a step towards that mirage of a millennium ? My answer will be an emphatic "No". Why, Sir ? Why Assam, which is known to be a virgin State full of economic potentialities and possibilities has to face starvation and famine conditions year after year ? Why should her sons and daughters die of poverty and penury and our Government should go from door to door with a begging bowl ? It is because our Government is unwilling to change the structure of our society radically and harness the man-power of our State for creating an egalitarian society. Sir, it is for my inability to see that light in His Excellency's speech that I second the amendment moved by Shri Gauri Sankar Bhattacharyya. To me, His Excellency's speech is the speech of a *status quo*, of doing repairs without altering the structure. It does not envisage any basic change in the policy so long pursued by the Congress, the party in power. Sir, it might be argued that the people have through their votes approved of their policy and so they must pursue it. This brings me to the question of elections. I do not want to minimise the victory of the Congress and have no desire to play with figures, for, Sir, one of my professors said that figures are like prostitutes,—if we can handle them well they are well and good, but if we do otherwise they are dangerous (The Hon'ble Shri Baidyanath Mookerjee: A very experienced professor) ! Yes, Sir, like you ? (*Laughter*).

The gigantic experiment in Democracy was more or less a success, but I know of cases also.....

(A Voice:—Is he reading from a manuscript ?)

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: He is refreshing his memory by referring to notes.

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI: The allegations are that in some places the elections were anything but free and fair. Not only official influence and position were used to get the ruling party back to power, but intimidation, direct or indirect, was used on a particular community to get their votes. I know of many officers who directly or indirectly canvassed for the Congress. I also know of cases where Pandits, school teachers, Gaonburas, etc., got favour when they canvassed for the Congress and incurred displeasure if they canvassed for anybody else. Sir, it will be an interesting thing if a Committee of this House is appointed to find out how much money has been given under different heads to different institutions during the three months of November, December and January and

how much was spent on similar works just before that period. It will also be interesting if this Committee can find out how many tours were undertaken by different Ministers during these three months and how many tours did they undertake just before these three months.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER : Have you got the figures ?

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI : No, Sir. Therefore I want a Committee. Sir, I agree with Raja Ajit Narayan Dev that an impartial Committee should be appointed to enquire into the various mal-practices resorted to by the various parties, individuals and officials during the elections. I do not want any enquiry to punish the wrong-doers, but to find out how much the ingenuity of man could go to thwart a noble purpose as this and to devise ways and means against such practices. Sir, Democracy can work only with such vigilance of the Government and the people and it is for the Government to demonstrate their faith in Democracy by agreeing to such things. Sir, I have come to learn that the wrath of the Gods for their failure to get the support in some places is not yet over. In Dampur, I believe it is in the Hon'ble Leader of the House's Constituency, people are being harassed for no ostensible reasons. One Inspector with 12 armed police are ramshackling the village, arresting people and harassing them. I believe it is not a revenge for their audacity so as not to vote for the Congress. I have heard similar tales,—and most reliable tales—from Howli, Tarabari, Rangiya, etc. Democracy needs also sportsmanship. We must know how to accept our defeat.....

The Hon'ble Shri MAHENDRA MOHON CHAUDHURY : On a point of information, Sir. Who was the Congress candidate for Howli so that Government are harassing people there ?

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI : There was no official candidate, but I do not know whether support was lent to any independent candidate or not.

The Hon'ble Shri SIDDHINATH SARMA : What has happened in Rangiya ?

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI : Such intimidations are still going on.

The Hon'ble Shri SIDDHINATH SARMA : Can you mention any single instance ?

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI : Yes, Sir, I will do it.

The Hon'ble Shri BAIDYANATH MOOKERJEE : I am sorry you are taking him so very seriously. Let him go on.

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI : I believe this is a serious House and we have come here to give serious thoughts to the country's problems. We have not come to play with the lives of people.

The Hon'ble Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI : The hon. Member has referred about Dampur, which is in my constituency. He said that about a dozen armed police went and harassed people there. What was the date of this occurrence ?

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI: 5th of March.

I believe this House is a serious House. We have come here not to play with the lives of the people but to think seriously about them.

(**The Hon'ble Shri BAIDYANATH MOOKERJEE:** Not to make false allegations).

If it is false, it is for the Hon'ble Member to refute it.

The Hon'ble Shri BAIDYANATH MOOKERJEE: That has already been refuted, Sir.

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI: Sir, democracy needs also sportsmanship. We must know how to take our defeat or victory. If such things continue, election will be a sham and people will have to find other means to fulfil their grievances (A voice: what are the other means). Means will crop up as and when the exigency of the situation demands.

Yesterday one of my hon. Friends in the opposite, Mr. Dharani Dhar Basumatari, was waxing eloquent on the tribal victory. Sir, as you know there was no candidate amongst the hill tribes from the hills. Am I to understand that the hill people are not with the Congress? Sir, in the plains these were double-member seats. Not only the tribals voted, other people also voted. Sir, it is good that separation has been ended. I want my Friend not to keep that idea of separation in his mind. He was performing some Chinese acrobatic feats yesterday and appeared like a self styled leader. When my hon. Friend, Mr. Bhattacharyya, was speaking about the Naga people, it was objected that we could not discuss this matter. If we have to study His Excellency's speech we will find that there is not only mention about the tribals but also giving a sum of money to the Naga Hills. I would request not to riggle out of the difficulty by raising constitutional question. Why this Naga People, who are part and parcel of us, are boycotting this Assembly? We should rather go and welcome them here so that we can build a better and prosperous Assam.

I must say here a few words about law and order.

The Hon'ble Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI: As regards the amount of Rs.30,00,000 it is given as compensation for the war damage done by the Allies. The military had to occupy the territory for a long time and the damage was not given to the people. The amount was not distributed as a bribe.

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI: I must here say a few words about law and order. His Excellency has said much about the remarkable achievement of the police in suppressing the terrorist campaign. I have no love for the terrorist and I detest their method of bringing about a social change. Congress and the terrorist are both helping each other in building up a totalitarian state and in many cases they have got great affinity. But, Sir, I would not suffer the innocent people being victimised in the name of anti-terrorist movement. I myself visited many places like Sibsagar, Nazira, Sunari, Nalbari, Belsiri and Tihu where the so called police operations were in action. I still remember how innocent were belaboured, harassed, detained and inhuman tortures were inflicted and all in the name of anti-terrorism. The violence of the terrorists faded into insignificance before the leonine violence of the Government and if peace has been restored it is at the point of bayonet and it will revert to the original position once the bayonet is removed. Similar things

happened in the South Bank of Kamrup when the bye-election was in the offing. The defeat of the socialist candidate in that bye-election was to a great measure due to the so-called police operation which kept behind the prison not less than 800 voters. In one instance a military van was seen carrying posters of the Congress candidate. No wonder people voted for the Congress under duress! Sir, it will be an illumining revolution if the House could know how much money was spent in these operations. How many officers and persons and for how long were employed in connection with these operations, how many persons were arrested and against how many cases have been instituted and convictions effected. I am sure the result will not warrant these huge expenditure. We from the socialist party demanded an enquiry into these police atrocities, but the Government remained adamant. Sir, my purpose in raising this point is to drive home the fact that unless we can give food and bring prosperity to the people, bayonets alone cannot maintain peace and sooner or later people will rise in revolt. This is the basic truth of the condition then prevailing in Kamrup and Sibsagar and other districts. This brings me to the food situation in the country. The food problem of our country cannot be solved unless we tag it with the land problem. We have been spending huge sums of money on the grow more food projects, yet we have not been able to make any head-way. We are in a chronic state of shortage. Grow more food has failed to grip the mind and fire the imagination of the cultivators. Our cultivator mostly is a landless one. What is the use of talking to a cultivator to grow more food when he has not an inch of land to cultivate? We are fed up of reading in the papers that the food problem would be tackled on a war footing, but we do not see any war being waged against cultivable fallow lands. Rather we have seen men and women being huddled to prison for their attempt to cultivate such lands in Jorhat, Sibsagar, Tezpur, Golaghat and Boko. I would have accepted Government's word for word if they had requisitioned tea garden lands—not 1,000 acres in a year but all fallow lands in tea gardens even for a temporary period for 5 years and asked the people to cultivate these lands not with tractors that do not move but with our native but improved implements and subsidies were granted on all such efforts. The whole drive lacked such momentum and vision and become a stereotyped official fanfare. Procurement policy is equally guilty for this food problem. It has only helped some officers to build some big houses and purchase cars at the expense of the people. I entirely agree with what hon. Umaruddin has said in this connection. Unless we have a levy system, our procurement drive is bound to fail. Procurement will fire the enthusiasm of the people if they also get the assurance that a Government that takes from the people will also give equally to the people in times of need. Procurement therefore, Sir, needs comprehensive rationing—both in rural and in urban areas—in deficit areas as its partner so that people may understand the significance of both.

Sir, His Excellency has not touched one vital problem that is growingly enveloping us. I mean the fast deepening depression. We are verily on the yawning abyss of another catastrophe. There has been in recent weeks a steep fall in price of many essential commodities like jute, edible oils, pulses, seeds, etc. Even gold price has registered a sharp fall. I would have welcomed all this if these were not signs of a growing depression—a slump. Deflation is bad if not worse as inflation. But even when these prices have fallen, people have not the wherewithal to purchase the articles. It is indeed a paradoxical situation. But, Sir, we who have got the experience of 1929 crisis should be careful of it and I don't see any realisation of this impending crisis in the address. On the contrary I find the administration is becoming more and more top heavy. Ministers are being increased, redundant posts are being created when unemployment staggers at the face of the common-man and hunge-

and death wait in the ante-chamber. I consider for a poor State like Assam a Cabinet of ten is a criminal luxury and post of a Commissioner is superfluous.

Time is fast approaching when we must tackle the problem of unemployment effectively and we can only do so by starting big and small industries all over the State, by opening up new lines of communication and commerce, by starting new Schools and hospitals. The speech does not envisage all these new ventures. Five years back we were told Government would start in Assam cotton textile, sugar, paper industries. We do not hear of them any more. They vanished into the air as their words vanished into the air. Electricity is a profit making and monopolistic industry in our country. Yet this industry has not yet been nationalised. Government owe it to this House and through this House to the public to reveal its record in the industrial field and I am sure when all will be said and shown it will stand self-condemned. No other State in India has so signally failed in this sphere.

Sir, it is for all this I support the amendment. The problem of our State cannot be solved piecemeal our basic problem is a problem of poverty, problem of unemployment. If we are sincere in the solution of this problem we must look at it from all its aspects and remove all these barrier of anochronism that stand on the way to its solution. His Excellency's speech does not envisage such a solution. The amendments deal with all its aspects. It puts forward a programme of changing the structure of society not for the good of a few but for the common good of the people. It only such a programme that can lead to that Co-operative welfare State where exploitation will end and people will live in peace and prosperity. Thank you Sir.

Shri Sriman PROFULLA GOSWAMI : মাননীয় অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, এই debate ত অংশ গ্রহণ কৰিবৰ মোৰ ইচ্ছা নাছিল, কিন্তু বিৰোধী দলৰ বন্ধু সকলে নিৰ্বাচনৰ কথা কোৱাত আৰু নিৰ্বাচনৰ সময়ত corruption হোৱা বুলি কিছুমান অভিযোগ অনা দেখি মই দুআঘাৰমান কণ্ঠ বুলি ঠিয় দিলো।

ছছিয়েলিষ্ট পাৰ্টিৰ নেতা জয়প্ৰকাশে নিজে স্বীকাৰ কৰিছে যে ভাৰতবৰ্ষত এই নিৰ্বাচন Free and fare হৈছে। আৰু তাৰ বাবে তেখেতে মিঠাৰ স্কুনাৰ সেনক প্ৰসংশা কৰিছে। আজি ইয়াত কথা কবলৈ সুবিধা পাই বিৰোধী দলৰ পৰা কেইজনমানে নিৰ্বাচনত দুৰ্গীতি হোৱা বুলি অভিযোগ আনিছে। আমাৰ মুখ্যমন্ত্ৰী ডাঙৰীয়াই কৈছিল—তেখেত সকলে যিবোৰ অভিযোগ আনিছে সেই অভিযোগ এই পৰিষদৰ বাহিৰত কব পাৰিবনে? বাহিৰত তেখেতসকলে এইদৰে অভিযোগ কৰিবলৈ সাহস নকৰে। যোৱা নিৰ্বাচনত ছছিয়েলিষ্ট পাৰ্টিৰ এজন ডাঙৰ নেতাক পৰাজয় কৰি মোৰ যি অভিজ্ঞতা হল তাৰ পৰাই মই এই পৰিষদত কবলৈ ওলাইছো। যোৱা নিৰ্বাচনত ভোট গ্ৰহণৰ দিন ৫ মাঘৰ আগতে ২ মাঘৰ দিনা নলবাৰীত পতা ৰাজহুৱা সভাত মই প্ৰকাশ্যে challenge কৰি কৈছিলো যে ছছিয়েলিষ্ট পাৰ্টিয়ে যদি মোৰ কোনো প্ৰকাৰ দুৰ্গীতিৰ কথা দেখুৱাব পাৰে তেনেহলে মোক এটাও ভোট নেলাগে। কিন্তু তিনিদিন আগতে এনে challenge কৰা স্বত্বেও কোনো দুৰ্গীতি তেওঁলোকে দেখুৱাব নোৱাৰিলে।

Shri GAURISANKAR BHATTACHARJEE : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think the hon. Member is speaking about the person who is not present here.

(Voice—But it is relevant)

Shri Sriman PROFULLA GOSWAMI : অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, নলবাৰী কলেজৰ প্ৰিন্সিপাল শ্ৰী ত্ৰৈলোক্য গোস্বামী যি জন ছছিয়েলিষ্ট পাৰ্টিৰ প্ৰাৰ্থী হৈ মোৰ লগত প্ৰতিদ্বন্দিতা কৰিছিল আৰু যিবিলাক দুৰ্ণীতিৰ আশ্ৰয় গ্ৰহণ কৰিছিল সেইকথা কবলৈ নিজে লাজ পাইছে। তেখেতে কলেজৰ ছাত্ৰ সকলক কৈছিল যে যোৱে নিৰ্বাচনৰ কাম কৰিব তেওঁলোকে এই দুমাহ পঢ়া-শুনা নকৰিলেও Test ত allow কৰি দিব। আৰু সচাকৈ যোৱা Test Examination ত দেখা যায় যে নিৰ্বাচনত কাম কৰা কাৰণে বহুতো ছাত্ৰ কেবাটাও subject ত ফেল হোৱা স্বত্বেও তেওঁলোকক Test ত allow কৰি দিছে। ৩১৪ টা বিষয়ত ফেল হোৱা লবাকৈ Test ত allow কৰি দিছে। Test পৰীক্ষা নিদিয়া আগতেও কোনো Periodical Examinationত পৰীক্ষা নিদিয়া স্বত্বেও, Socialist party ৰ হৈ নিৰ্বাচনত কাম কৰা বাবে এজন ছাত্ৰক Test ত allow কৰি দিছে। কলেজৰ পৰীক্ষাৰ আৰু Test ত allow কৰা Record চালেই এইবোৰ কথাৰ প্ৰমাণ পাব। অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, এখন কলেজৰ প্ৰিন্সিপাল হৈ তেখেতে কেনেকৈ শিক্ষাবিভাগত এনেকুৱা অন্যাৰ কাম কৰিব পাৰে আৰু শিক্ষা বিভাগত দুৰ্ণীতি আৰু দলগত ৰাজনীতি আনে ?

অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, নিৰ্বাচনত মই জয়ী হোৱাৰ পাছত মোৰ সমষ্টিৰ কেইখন মান ঠাইলৈ যাওতে কিছুমান তিবোতা মানুহে মোক কৈছিল যে “আমাৰ ভয় লাগি আছে যে বঙা টুপী পিন্ধা লোক সকলে আমাক কিবা বিপদত পেলাব নেকি” ? আমি কংগ্ৰেছকেই ভোট দিছো। কিন্তু আমাক এনেকৈ ভয় দেখুৱাইছে। তেখেতসকলে নিৰ্বাচনৰ তিনিদিন আগেয়ে কিছুমান লাল টুপী পিন্ধা ভল্টিয়াৰক পঠিয়াই নিৰিহ ভোটাৰ সকলক ভয় দেখুৱাইছিল যে ছছিয়েলিষ্টৰ গছৰ বাকছত ভোট নিদিলে তেওঁলোকক ধৰি লৈ যাব আৰু ছছিয়েলিষ্টৰ দাবি প্ৰত্যাখান কৰা বাবে তেওঁলোকক উচিত শিক্ষা দিব। নিৰ্বাচনৰ সময়ত ছছিয়েলিষ্ট সকল যিবিলাক দুৰ্ণীতিত সংশ্লিষ্ট আছিল সেইবিলাক মই এই সদনত উল্লেখ নকৰাই ভাল হব। মোটৰ ওপৰত ছছিয়েলিষ্ট সকলে কোনো programme বা কাৰ্য্যপদ্ধতি ৰাইজৰ আগত দাঙি ধৰিব নোৱাৰি বা নানান কৌশল আৰু দুৰ্ণীতিৰ আশ্ৰয় লৈও তেখেত সকলৰ সবহ ভাগ প্ৰাৰ্থী অকৃতকাৰ্য্য হোৱাৰ বাবেই তেখেত সকলে আজি কংগ্ৰেছক বা চৰকাৰক দোষাৰোপ কৰিছে। সাৰ্বজনীন গণ ভোট হলেই ছছিয়েলিষ্ট সকলে কংগ্ৰেছক হেৰুৱাই গৰণ মেণ্ট গঠন কৰিব বুলি কৈছিল কিন্তু ক’তা ৰাইজে তেওঁলোকৰ বিৰুদ্ধে ৰায় দিলে।

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI : Does it prove that there was corruption either on the Socialist or the Congress side and they should be brought out in His Excellency's speech also, Sir ?

Shri Sriman PROFULLA GOSWAMI : ৰাজ্য পাল মহোদয়ৰ ভাষণ সম্পৰ্কে বিৰোধী দলৰ যিসকল বক্তাই নিৰ্বাচনৰ বিষয়ে উনুকিয়াই কংগ্ৰেছক দোষাৰোপ কৰিছে তাৰ মাথোন উত্তৰ দিবলৈহে মই দুমাহ কৈছো। নহলে মই নিৰ্বাচন সন্মুখে নকলোহেতেন। অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, মই নিৰ্বাচনৰ সময়ৰ আৰু এটা উল্লেখযোগ্য ঘটনা কৈ সামৰণি মাৰো। মোৰ নলবাৰী দক্ষিণ সমষ্টিত যেতিয়া তেখেত সকলে দেখিলে যে জয়ৰ আৰু আশা একেবাৰেই নাই, প্ৰায় সকলো মুছলমান ৰাইজেও কংগ্ৰেছকেই ভোট দিব তেতিয়া চাদুল্লা চাহাবক নিয়া হৈছিল তেখেতে মুছলমানৰ নুববী সকলক লগ ধৰিছিল আৰু মুছলমান প্ৰধান ঠাই বিলাকত প্ৰচাৰ কৰা হৈছিল যে, কোনো মুছলমানে কংগ্ৰেছক ভোট দিব নেলাগে। ছছিয়েলিষ্টৰ ভোটৰ গছৰ চিন থকা বাকচটোক মুছলমানৰ বাকচ বুলি সবল মুছলমান গাৱলীয়া ৰাইজ সকলক বুজোৱা হৈছিল। ছছিয়েলিষ্টৰ কাৰ্য্য পদ্ধতিৰ কথা কৈ মুছলমানৰ পৰা ভোট খোজা হোৱা নছিল। সাম্প্ৰদায়িকতাৰ আশ্ৰয় লৈ সবল মুছলমান ৰাইজক ভুলকৈ মুছলমানৰ নামত ভোট খোজা হৈছিল। সচাকৈয়ে নলবাৰীত নিৰ্বাচনৰ দিনা কিছুমান মুছলমান তিবোতাই ভোট দিবলৈ আহি কেইবা ঠাইতো Presiding Officer ক কৈছিল যে “মুছলমানৰ বাকচটো দেখুৱাই

দায়ক"। নন্দাবাৰী টাউনৰ এটা ভোটৰ কেন্দ্ৰত এনেকৈ সোধাত Presiding Officer জন বৰ বিমোহত পৰিছিল আৰু কব লগাত পৰিছিল যে তাত কংগ্ৰেছ, ছিছিয়েলিষ্ট আদিবহে বাকচ আছে হিন্দু বা মুছলমানৰ বাকচ নাই।

ইয়াৰ দ্বাৰা দেখা যায় যে, যিবিলাক কংগ্ৰেছ ভাবাপন্ন মানুহ আছিল তেওঁলোকৰো কিছুমানে আন আন দলৰ প্ৰাৰ্থীকো ভুলকৈ সাম্প্ৰদায়িকতা বা ধৰ্মৰ নামত ভোল গৈ ভোট দিছিল। গতিকে তেখেত সকলে যিবিলাক ভোট পাইছে সেই আটাইবিলাকেই কংগ্ৰেছ বিৰোধী নে? কেতিয়াও নহয়, স্বতন্ত্র প্ৰাৰ্থী সকলৰ যি সকল নিৰ্বাচনত জয় হৈছে সেই আটাইবিলাক প্ৰাৰ্থীয়েই বা তেওঁলোকক দিয়া ভোট বিলাক কংগ্ৰেছ বিৰোধী ভোট নহয়। তেখেত সকলে যে কংগ্ৰেছে পোৱা ভোটৰ সংখ্যাৰ কথা উল্লেখ কৰিছে, মোৰ বোধেৰে তেখেত সকলে যদি ভালকৈ গনণা কৰি চাই তেন্তে তাতো দেখিব যে কংগ্ৰেছে পোৱা ভোটৰ সংখ্যা তেখেত সকলতকৈ বহুত বেচি হব।

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: Your time is up. I call upon Mr. Mahi Kanta Das to speak.

Shri MAHI KANTA DAS: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am thankful for allowing me to speak a few words in reply to the issues raised by the hon. Member of the amendment and other hon. Members of the Opposition who took part in the debate and also about the points that have cropped up in the discussion.

At the very outset, I must express my feelings of pain when I found that the hon. Mover of the amendment started the discussion by expressions which were not happy because we who have come here did not expect that in this August House and within the sacred precincts of this institution, though we belong to different political parties, we would not enjoy an atmosphere of friendship, goodwill and amity in all our activities herein so far as they relate to the lot of the common people. We expected that everyone of us would strain our every nerve and apply our energy for the solution of the burning problems of the day which have faced our country and under the brunt of which our brothers and sisters are suffering. From the very starting day of the Assembly we should have thought of ushering in an era of peace and prosperity into the State, so that a man in the remotest corner of the village can enjoy the fruits of freedom.

Although my Friends in the Opposition belong to different parties, still they should remember that we belong to the same country and we expect whole hearted co-operation from them in the amelioration of the condition of the people. Our first attempt should be to merge our differences. It is for the benefit of the people living in villages for whom we have come here as their representatives. Sir, such words, as Congress Party consists of betrayers and about white cap fobia—should not have taken place. Sir, if my Friends, I may be mistaken, have come here just only for opposition of any attempt on the part of the Government made towards the amelioration of the people outside this House, then what would be the effect? I could not understand the significance when almost every hon. Member of the Opposition was making much of the matters alleged to have happened in the last general election. What is the meaning of this? May I take it that they have put forward all these things because their parties in the last general election failed to achieve their desired results. In my district of Darrang, they are collecting figures of election just to justify that the Congress has not been able to win the hearts of the people because the figures are such and such. They are collecting these figures and publishing the same in bulletins and newspapers in order to tone up the demoralisation. Congress Party has come in good majority and they are going to run the administration—and I do not think such publications and propaganda would pay. This is not

the way how we all could claim to be representatives of our people. I would request my Friends of the Opposition, because they are new and we are also new to this House, to meet together and discuss matters of importance. There are, as far as I can imagine, many problems which we can discuss together and thrash out solutions.

The amendment which has been put forward is a lengthy one covering three pages but I do not find anything in it constructive. It is simply criticising Government. I tried to read between the lines of the amendment which is so exhaustive. I did not find anything with the aid of which we can solve our problems which are ahead of us.

Therefore, Sir, I would request the hon. Members not to utter such undignified words as betrayers and so on. We are a majority party and we have got to devise plans for the betterment of our people. We are pledged to it. But if the Opposition simply non-co-operate with us by their words, action, behaviour and writings—how can they help the electorate? Therefore, I beseech that if they have any intention of doing propaganda for their parties, they should make them outside the House where there is enough scope. This is not criticism towards my hon. Friends opposite. I have much respect for them but I cannot appreciate the way in which some of them started. To discuss such important problems which require immediate solution, let us sit together and discuss even for hours and hours but to call me or anybody dog or cat would not serve the purpose.

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI: Nobody called you dog or cat. *(Laughter).*

Shri MAHI KANTA DAS: I would request the hon. Leader of the Opposition to judge my words by feelings.

Under the circumstances, I could not find that there is anything acceptable in the amendment. His Excellency has stated exhaustively about everything and His Excellency's speech is pregnant with celestial thoughts and we can work out the plans and programmes embodied therein.

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI: I differ from my hon. Friend.

Shri MAHI KANTA DAS: You may differ. His Excellency's speech has revealed all that is necessary.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: To what point you are replying to Mr. Das?

Shri MAHI KANTA DAS: If we can create an atmosphere in this House, an atmosphere of cordiality, then we will consider ourselves being far ahead (loud claps) and many of our problems will be very easy for solution.

As regards election matters, Sir, I want to say that if there were corrupt practices there are law courts and other machinery wherein such things can be brought in for decision. I therefore request my hon. Friends opposite to take things in their true perspective and offer their hearty co-operation in the solution of all the difficult problems. The difficulties are not be trifled away or overlooked. Difficult problems are everywhere, but attempts must be made to solve them. Our dear State of Assam is full of problems which are very much complicated. There is labour problem, there is land problem, there is rehabilitation problem and many other problems. There must be such a mental outlook which would be very congenial and our difficulties will be easy for solution.

As regards the merits of the amendment, Sir, I need not repeat what my hon. Friends supporting the Motion have said. There has already been a discussion on the points raised in the amendment. My Friend the Hon'ble Shri

Mookerjee has dealt with about the amendment elaborately and also about the speech of His Excellency. Therefore it will be quite in the fitness of things if the House will be pleased to accept my Motion brought before the House for the illuminating speech of His Excellency.

With these words, Sir, I conclude.

The Hon'ble Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to speak a few words in reply to what has been said in support of those amendments and also by way of opposing the Motion for conveying congratulations to His Excellency for delivering his speech. Before dealing with the general aspect of the matter I would like to draw the attention of the hon. Members of this House to some points raised by individual hon. Members on this particular subject.

The amendments, it seems to me, were drafted before the address was actually delivered by His Excellency. From the nature of the amendments it appears that they look merely as a paraphrase of the Election Manifesto. At any rate, they were prepared without going through the address itself. All the points that have been raised in the amendments have found place in His Excellency's speech delivered in this House. After hearing the address of His Excellency, the Opposition Parties and other hon. Members have every right to criticise the points therein and to offer their views and suggestions for consideration of the House. But that has not practically been done in this particular case. Instead of offering their views and suggestions they have stated that the speech did not mention certain subjects, although it lays down the policy broadly in all important matters. From the various papers and documents that have been seized from the underground party itself it has been found that their aim and object is to capture power by violence and that the overground party is to carry on parliamentary and other activities so that under their cover the underground activities can be carried on with advantage. There is no need of use of violence for capturing power when the Constitution has given full right to every adult, male and female, to select his own representative for forming Government on their behalf. Any party is free to place their policy and programme before the electorate and obtain their verdict. In case of success in getting the majority, it can form the Government without use of violence. In view of this I pause for a reply if there be any necessity of underground activity for organizing violence for capturing power.

The Constitution has guaranteed this right to all. I appeal to all those parties who have an underground wing to give up their underground subversive activities and adopt Constitutional democratic method of winning the verdict of the country. There will be no need of applying the provision of Preventive Detention Act and Maintenance of Public Order Act, as soon as they give up the underground activities for the purpose of capturing power by violence. Our young friends need not be afraid of the Gandhi Cap. This is a symbol of purity and an emblem of non-violence and truth. With the object of diverting their youthful energy to constructive channel, during the last General Election, Government remitted sentence of imprisonment and released many of them.

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI : The Hon'ble the Leader of the House wants to say that he has evidence regarding the persons who has been released.

The Hon'ble Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to say that those persons were released after they were validly nominated to enable them to have all facilities and to contest the election on equal footing with their opponents in the last General Election. In some cases, even part of the imprisonment was remitted. This was done with a view that even those who were carrying on underground activities might change their mental outlook

and give up such violent activities for engaging them in constitutional activities.

Sir, a few of the hon. Members in the Opposition drew the attention of the House that the General Election was not fair and just and that the Government Officers were using their influence in favour of candidates belonging to Congress Party. Some hon. Members in the Opposition were even going to the extent of saying that crimes, *viz*, rapes, etc. were also committed by the Government officials. Sir, my humble submission in this regard is that all these wide and vague allegations were made against the officers generally by my Friends in the Opposition under the privilege of this House. These allegations have no foundation at all. They have been made here after such a long time and for the first time under the protection afforded in the floor of this House. These are vague allegations which cannot be substantiated. One hon. Friend was not even prepared to make the statement outside the House and take the consequence of making such statements.

(A voice : They are eating the privilege of the House.)

Sir, the General Election was conducted under the control and supervision of the Chief Election Commissioner, Government of India. Under him, every Province has got a Chief Electoral Officer of its own. He acts under the direction and control of that Chief Election Commissioner and carries out his directives in connection with all matters relating to election in the respective State. The Representation of People Act has been passed for conduct of election under their control and supervision. Sir, if offence was committed by any of the Presiding Officers, or by the Polling Officer or by any Government servant, it was the duty of those who were making such wild allegations to report the matter to the authority. This can be done in two ways, first petitions may be filed before the Presiding Officer or to the Returning Officer who have full power to enquire into the matter. Such offences have been made cognisable so that anyone can lodge a complaint on the spot or before the Returning Officer.

(A voice : The authority is under the Congress.)

Sir, the Returning Officer in the matter of election is quite independent and is under the control and supervision of Chief Electoral Officer. Sir, all these allegations were not made outside the House, and for the first time they have been made here on the floor of this House. These representations could have been made also to the Chief Electoral Officer who is authorised, under the Act, to start enquiry on all such allegations. Sir, the very fact that not a single instance was either brought to the notice of the authority on the spot, or to the Police, or to the Magistrate or to the Chief Electoral Officer, and the Chief Election Commissioner, who is practically independent of the Government and who has been given by the Constitution the status and dignity of a Judge of the Supreme Court gives a lie to the allegation. The Constitution has given him also absolute freedom and independence in the matter of superintendence, direction and control of elections. This would abundantly show that these were after-thoughts. Sir, I can assure the hon. Members that all such allegations are not true. As a matter of fact, my hon. Friends will be glad to know, that in the month of October, 1951, a strong circular letter was issued to all the Government Officers, including the Returning Officers, not to side with any Party but to do their duty impartially.

I may mention here, Sir, that my hon. Friends will remember that as many as 5,000 polling stations were selected during the General Election and the services of 30,000 Government and other Non-Government Officers were requisitioned to conduct the election. It might be possible that there were allegations against one or two officers. That however would not show that all the rest of the officers had anything to do with such sweeping and vague allegations.

Another point that has been raised is that Congress does represent only a minority of the people. Then who represents the majority? Let us see. The Congress did not contest all the seats. Excepting the Mikir Hills, the other Hill

Districts were allowed to elect their own candidates. The Congress did not contest these and some other seats. This being the first election in the country under the adult franchise, a large number of independent candidates having local influence wanted to take their chances in the election. Those independents had no policy or programme of their own; they did not lay down any policy or programme before the country. All that they wanted was to utilise their local influence for the purpose of getting a seat in the Legislature. I think with the development of different parties, the number of independent candidates will decrease gradually and a time will come when there will not be any independent candidate just as in other democratic countries. Out of 458 candidates you will be surprised to know, Sir, that there were 212 independent candidates and the number of votes polled by them was about 6,73,000. If you deduct this number from the total votes polled, you will find that the Congress got the majority of the votes.

The Socialist Party set up 63 candidates and only 4 were returned. Of course, subsequently one member, who was said to have been receiving the support of that party, joined the Socialist Party. The K. M. P. Party set up 40 candidates, but got only one seat and, if my information is correct, he returned by aligning himself with the Communist Party at Karimganj. The Jan Sangh set up three candidates, but not a single was successful. The Hindu Mahasabha set up only one candidate, but he was defeated. The Communist Party set up 18 candidates, but 13 of them lost their security deposit and only one was returned. What is the number of votes polled by him? There were more than 30,000 votes of which 16,000 were polled and he got about 5,000 (Shri Gauri Sankar Bhattacharyya—And the Congress?). What I want to say is that you do not represent the majority. Sir, 21 Socialist candidates lost their security deposit, so did 28 K. M. P. candidates. Of the independents, 115 lost their security deposits and only 14 got returned. This is the position. In view of this it is clear that the Congress secured the highest percentage of votes.

Sir, I shall now read a portion of the report sent direct to the Chief Election Commissioner by the Chief Electoral Officer of Assam.

“The Government of Assam publicly gave the pledge and a solemn undertaking that the Elections shall be free and fair. I shall briefly touch upon a few of the important and eloquent measures adopted for the purpose. This is in addition to the elaborate precautionary provisions under the Representation of the People Act, 1951.

Shortly after the pledge was given, the Chief Minister of Assam wrote a long and comprehensive Demi-official letter, full of directions, to all District and Subdivisional Officers, on the 1st October, 1951 and in that letter each officer was specifically told that the permanent services are required by law and expected by Government to be scrupulously impartial in their work in connection with Elections and that they were expected to perform their allotted duties with devotion and honesty. These instructions do not contain a trace of ambiguity and were quite clear to those to whom they were addressed. Attention to these directions were once again brought to their notice shortly before the election by a special letter in which they were asked to exercise meticulous care in selection of Presiding and Polling Officers in order to see that no one with any known or suspected sympathy with any political organisation is appointed for the purpose. The fact that there is hardly a single complaint of bias or partiality against any Presiding or Polling Officer of any polling station shows that the selection and appointment of Presiding and Polling officers were made properly and with due care and caution.”

It should be remembered that the number of polling stations was about 5,000 and about 30,000 officers were engaged.

The report goes on: "In spite of this, even if it is ultimately found that about half a dozen of these officers were not quite upto the standard or their conduct was not quite proper, still the impartiality of the governmental machinery will not be liable to be questioned.

The duty and responsibility of conducting the elections smoothly and impartially and with equal fairness for all rested with the Returning Officers. Each of them has been able to give a good account of his achievements, and not a whisper has been heard against any one of them from any source. I know that a section of the public here and there sometimes doubts the honest intentions of the Government and think that pledges given and publicly declared are nullified by subsequent confidential instructions to their officers. For the information of such people, I may mention that no such instructions were issued by the Government on any matter connected with the General Elections and at no time did I come between the Returning Officers and the Election Laws with any such instructions. The discretion of the Returning Officers and their right to exercise their judgment independently always remained unfettered. At this end in our office, equal attention was paid to the demands of all parties and we knew of no difference between a Congressman and a Communist."

I need not go through the other portion of the report. Immediately we filed our nominations, we ceased to issue any instruction in connection with the election. Definite instructions were issued to Hon'ble Ministers that if they go to any party meeting or any election campaign they should not charge travelling allowance. Many of the Ministers did not use the State cars even. I for myself did not use for a single day the State car.

Then as regards distribution of grant, it is quite well known that after the Budget Session these grants are distributed to educational institutions. These grants are distributed by Department between the months of September and December.

Some hon. Members have criticised His Excellency's speech that there is no mention of the fact that the present Government want to implement the provisions of the Constitution. That this is a secular State, Fundamental rights and privileges of the different communities are laid down in the Constitution. Would not hon. Members consider it redundant to repeat these fundamental rights every time on the floor of the House? I leave it to the hon. Members. There are parties who want to change the Constitution and to remodel it. They may not retain these fundamental rights in remodelling this Constitution. We as Congressmen being responsible for framing the Constitution stand by all the provisions laying down the fundamental rights of the secular State.

One of the hon. Members probably coming from the Howli side said that the annual Patta standing in the name of some are not made periodic, and while those in the names of others are made periodic. Since 1946, I was in-charge of the Portfolio of Revenue. I happened to know what policy was being followed by Government since then. Annual Patta conferred the right of renewal of the Patta and the right of inheritance and succession. In view of the area being flooded, the classification varies from year to year, and under the Regulation, annual pattas in such areas are not made periodic. In following these rules naturally no discrimination is made. I am sure the hon. Member will not be able to give a single instance of such alleged discriminatory treatment. My statement

has been amply justified by Md. Umaruddin Sahib. In the time of last communal disorder we issued instruction that in case any unlawful assembly is formed to attack the minority community, the Police will have full authority to use force to the extent of shooting to protect life and properties of the minorities.

I regret that in this election I heard that some interested parties who were canvassing against the Congress carried on propaganda that if they voted for the Congress the area would be included in Pakistan (*Voice*—It is false).

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: I hope the hon. Members will refrain from saying "false" or "lies etc." They may say, "absolutely unfounded."

The Hon'ble Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI: I do not say who was actually responsible, but by some person for the benefit of candidates opposing the Congress candidates this propaganda was carried out. This was to mislead the people. I hope better sense will now prevail after the election. I hope communal feeling that was roused during election will subside now.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: How long will the the Hon'ble Chief Minister take to finish his Speech ?

The Hon'ble Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI: I will take another hour, Sir.

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI: It is better to adjourn now. (*Voice*—Let him finish his speech).

The Hon'ble Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI: I should like to deal with these amendments. One amendment is that:—

'The speech does not envisage that culture, languages and customs of the Hills peoples will not be interfered with that they will be given sufficient scope to develop the same according to their own genius, that the State will safeguard their existing land and water rights, and that they will enjoy preferential treatment in the utilization of the resources existing in the areas to which they belong'.

This, as has been aptly stated by Mr. Alley, finds place in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution where it was provided that these Autonomous District Councils are given full autonomy in these matters. And also in His Excellency's speech this has been clearly stated. I will read that portion at page 10—"My Government are very eager to see that the District Councils begin their functions and have provided for funds being given as grants-in-aid to enable them to start work. These Councils will have large powers of administration and legislation and would be in a position not merely to protect the interests of the tribal communities but also to pave the way to their economic and cultural development in an atmosphere of complete autonomy and without any outside interference". Mark these words "without any outside interference", it is evidently clear that without interference from outside, these autonomous districts must have full autonomy regarding culture, language and their rights over the land and water ways for the purpose of carrying on their agricultural operations as will appear from the Constitution itself. The Constitution lays down under the Sixth Schedules clause 3(1). "The Regional Council for an autonomous region in respect of all areas within such region and the District Council for an autonomous district in respect of all areas within the district except those which are under the authority of Regional Councils if any, within the district shall have power to make laws with respect to—(a) the

allotment, occupation or use, or the setting apart of land, other than any land which is a reserved forest for the purposes of agriculture or grazing or for residential or other non-agricultural purposes or for any other purpose likely to promote the interests of the inhabitants of any village or town: (b) the management of any forest not being a reserved forest; (c) the use of any canal or water-course for the purpose of agriculture; (d) the regulation of the practice of *jhum* or other forms of shifting cultivation; (e) the establishment of village or town committees or councils and their powers; (f) any other matter relating to village or town administration, including village or town police and public health and sanitation; (g) the appointment or succession of Chiefs or Headmen; (h) the inheritance of property; (i) marriage; (j) social customs." You will see, Sir, that the Constitution provides for the District Councils of these autonomous districts to have their own customary laws relating to marriage, inheritance of property, etc., and His Excellency's speech made it clear that these rights should be allowed to them and that the State should help them so that they can develop in their own ways. Sir, this amendment seems meaningless as all these are guaranteed by the Constitution itself.

Now as regards the other amendment that "The speech does not envisage that all minorities will be effectively provided with equal rights and full participation in all spheres of social, economic, cultural and political life and that no discrimination against any minority will be permitted", I should like to draw the attention of the hon. Members to the provision in the Constitution relating to fundamental rights which I will just place before the hon. Members: "There shall be equality of opportunity for all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State. No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be ineligible for, or discriminated against in respect of, any employment or office under the State". Then Article 19 provides: "(1) All citizens shall have the right—(a) to freedom of speech and expression; (b) to assemble peaceably and without arms; (c) to form associations or unions; (d) to move freely throughout the territory of India; (e) to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India; (f) to acquire, hold and dispose of property; and (g) to practice any profession, or carry on any occupation, trade or business". As regards protection of the cultural and educational rights of the minorities, Article 29 provides:—"(1) Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same. (2) No citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them." Article 30:—"(1) All minorities, whether based on religion or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice. (2) The State shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any educational institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language". So, there is hardly any reason why these fundamental rights should be repeated every time on the address of the His Excellency the Governor.

The Hon'ble Shri BAIDYANATH MOOKERJEE: He wants to know also about social rights which is not clear. Will you explain that also?

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: Excuse me Mr. Mookerjee. I see you are addressing directly to the Hon'ble Leader of the House. If you have anything to say, will you say so through me?

The Hon'ble Shri BAIDYANATH MOOKERJEE: No, Sir, I am addressing you. There is mention here of 'social rights, but in the Hon'ble Chief Minister's statement 'social rights' is not mentioned, so I want him to explain that as it is not clear to me also.

The Hon'ble Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI: I would like to draw attention of hon. Members in this connection to the portion in His Excellency's speech regarding autonomous districts. I quite agree that there are difficulties for the border people living in the foot of the hills. My attention has also been drawn to that by one hon. Member on the other side and by Mr. Alley. Government is fully aware of these difficulties, but they cannot be solved by a miracle, by a touchstone; they must be solved gradually. As has been stated here, we are giving first priority to the improvement of communications in the hill areas consistent with the resources of the Province as well as the amount that we can get out from the Government of India, and out of these 39 lakhs of rupees the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District got as many as four roads, viz., (1) Mawphlang-Balaat road, (2) Dawki-Muktapur road, (3) Jowai-Muktapur road (4) Jowai-Badarpur road. That will clearly indicate the anxiety on our part to remove the inconveniences caused due to want of communication and the hardship that has been caused to the border people. We want to find a market for the agricultural produce of Jowai and the Jowai-Badarpur road will meet that purpose. The Mawphlang-Balaat road will remove the hardship of the border people living in the slopes of the Khasi Hills. Year before last we spent a lot of money and prepared a landing ground for the purpose of taking agricultural produce from Shella areas to other parts of Assam and also to Calcutta and special concessions were also given for the purpose of transporting the agricultural produce to Gauhati by our motor service and in some instances private buses were permitted to carry agricultural produce so that the hill men could get proper market for the agricultural produce of these areas. Experiment is also going on by special agricultural officers deputed for this purpose for growing hill paddy at higher altitude. Recently I ordered 100 maunds of China paddy which is grown in higher altitude and cold climate in Kashmir. As a matter of fact production has been greatly increased by introduction of this variety of paddy seed in Kashmir Valley. The economic conditions of the hills people can be improved by introducing this variety of paddy which can be grown in the hills, as well as by encouraging cultivation of other foodgrains. In order to improve their condition we have introduced sericulture among the hills people as sericulture is more successful in the cold climate where the outturn of silk per worm is much higher than in the plains. So naturally farms have been started and private people have been encouraged in the hill areas to take to silk rearing. Bee keeping and other cottage industries have also been introduced in this areas for improving their economic condition. In order to meet the food difficulty we are bringing food from the plains to supplement the paddy that is produced in these areas and to feed these people. In spite of all the difficulties we are trying our utmost as a self-governing State to meet the situation; but as I said before, these problems cannot be solved by a magic. Lot of expenditure has been incurred for the hill roads. Due to labour difficulty all these roads could not be completed in time. We have to import labour from outside in some hills. Even to carry out the repairs local labour is not always available. Naturally we must try to finish one road before taking up another.

I know the difficulties of the Garo Hills. Hon. Members are aware that the Garo Hills was not connected from Goalpara when we assumed office. During the

rains practically the Garo Hills was isolated. So our first duty was to construct a road from Goalpara to the Garo Hills and now I am glad to say that that road has practically been completed and we will have to take up other roads in that district gradually. Similarly, Mokokchung is practically isolated and there is no road connecting Mokokchung Subdivision with the plains. We have started construction of a road and as soon as that road is completed, Mokokchung will be connected by a motor road throughout the year. We have started the improvement of the road from Silchar to Aijal. Hon. Members are aware that Aijal remains isolated for some months during the rainy season. Naturally our duty was to connect Aijal with the plains by a motorable road. There are also other roads to be made. My hon. Friend who comes from Lungleh has to go about 100 miles from Aijal on foot and it takes about 7 days. At our request an expert from the Government of India came and visited the place to find out if any landing ground could be made near Lungleh for transport of goods and passengers by air. But no such place suitable for a landing ground was available. It is gratifying to find that a Committee has been formed with leading hill men and by their labour they have constructed a road towards Lungleh for about 25 miles. I was extremely glad to see such a road being constructed by their own efforts. I immediately ordered that this portion of the road should be taken up at once for maintenance. The difficulty in those areas is that local labour is not available at the time of repair on account of these hill men being engaged in their Jhumming, and labour had to be imported from outside. Maintenance of such road is costly as large number of labourers had to be recruited from outside. The road from Lungleh end is also being improved and efforts are being made to connect Lungleh with Aijal.

We must direct all our energy in productive drive to increase the wealth of the country and in that drive Government is putting all these schemes such as the grow-more-food scheme in the hill areas and other places. I hope the hon. Members who have come from the hills will appreciate the earnest effort on the part of the Government to do their best under most difficult circumstances not only to improve the communication of these areas, but also to supply food and other essential commodities in the border areas. Government have been trying to improve the conditions of these people by opening hospitals, dispensaries and schools in all important places so that they can get proper facilities for education and within ten years of the inauguration of the Constitution they can come up to the level of other advanced people of the State. This is our aim. I hope, all hillmen will give their co-operation in our efforts to ameliorate the condition of the hills people and for improvement of communications and for affording other social services.

How difficult these tasks are can only be imagined. Doctors are unwilling to serve in the Hills. Dr. Choudhury probably does not know that Doctors sometimes refuse to go to serve in the Hills even if special pay is given. I request my hon. Friends to help us by persuading doctors to go to the Hills. These doctors should imbibe the laudable spirit of the missionaries, who have sacrificed their all in the services of the hills people. If we do not try to improve the lot of the hills people, we will be failing in our duty.

Can I expect that the hon. Members in this House as well as people outside will help in creating public opinion impressing on doctors and others the need of their service in these backward areas and thus help our Friends in the hills who are in utmost need of our help ?

The amendment refers to another omission in His Excellency's speech about what is envisaged towards the promotion of compulsory primary education, to make it free and universal and regarding making secondary education cheaper and easily available. It has been decided by the Government that the secondary educational institutions shall be treated in matters of grant in the same footing whether it is Government or Non-Government and immediate measures will be taken to increase the emoluments of teachers of all grades.

It may be remembered by the hon. Members of the House that as early as in 1947, Government introduced the Primary Education Act which clearly envisaged making such education free, compulsory and universal. Implementation of the Act was taken up in 1948 and a plan was prepared under which the whole primary education was taken over by the Government from the hands of the Local Bodies and brought under the control of the Provincial Primary Education Board, constituted under the Act. In 1944-45 Government grant to the Local Bodies for primary education amounted to Rs.12,56,311 only. With the establishment of the Board, over 6,000 primary schools were taken up. Since then the number of schools have progressively increased and at the moment approximately there are 11,000 primary schools throughout the State, and Government are spending nearly Rs.75 lakhs on them. I do not understand what is the meaning in saying that the Governor's speech omitted to say that the policy of this Government is to make primary education compulsory, free and universal when such a policy was inaugurated by the Government in 1948—about 4 years ago—and is being gradually implemented?

The area where primary education has been made compulsory has now come up to about 3,877 square miles covering 11 towns and 3,369 villages and 2,51,000 children are studying in these compulsory areas.

Insinuation has been made by some hon. Members on the opposite without caring to know actual facts that the backward and tribal areas are always neglected in the matter of primary education. It may be mentioned that primary education was completely in the hands of the Missionaries in the Hills, but it has now been taken over by Government and the entire expenditure is met from their resources. I may inform them that in extending the area of compulsion, Government always give preference to backward and tribal areas. Besides, in most compulsory areas the number of primary schools have increased to such an extent that only approximately 10 per cent. of the school-going children between the ages of 6 and 11 have not been able to attend schools due to absence of a school within a distance of one mile from their homes.

In addition almost all primary schools in areas inhabited by *ex-tea* garden labourers, backward people, scheduled castes and tribal people have been taken up by Government.

Although there is provision in the Act for levying education cess, yet no education cess has been levied in any area up till now. Government may have to levy this cess in order that Government may extend the areas of compulsion throughout the State in stages. Government have made a fair progress in this direction and are affording facility to almost all children of school-going age for reading in primary schools opened for the purpose.

The facts I have stated will clearly indicate the earnestness on the part of the Government to make primary education free, compulsory and universal throughout the State as early as possible. In the Constitution itself, I think, there is provision for making primary education free and compulsory within ten years from the commencement of the Constitution.

Regarding secondary education also I would like to supply some figures which will convince the House of our earnestness for its expansion.

“The question of secondary education and how it should be conducted is receiving the active consideration both of the State and the Union Government. As this question affects all States of the Union, the Union Government is setting up a Commission to go into all aspects of this question. The findings of the Commission and its recommendations will doubtless have great bearing on the whole question of secondary education. As far as this State is concerned it has greatly helped the expansion of secondary education and has spent increasing sums of money which the following figures will show :—

1948—1,009 secondary schools.

Now the number has increased to 1,300.

The total expenditure on secondary education in 1948—Rs.28,99,165.

The total expenditure on secondary education in 1951-52—Rs.44,50,908.

The total grants to the aided secondary schools in 1948—Rs.15,43,321.

In the year 1951-52 this grant has been raised to about 24 lakhs.”

In an endeavour to reduce the disparity, grants to aided high schools which used to vary between Rs.50 to Rs.400 have now been raised to a minimum of Rs.520 and in some cases it goes up to Rs.1,125 on the basis of sections maintained in the schools. This increase in grant automatically goes to relieve the hard-pressed teachers and they are now enjoying a higher scale of pay.

In the case of the primary school teachers a time scale of pay from Rs.30 to 40 has been sanctioned as opposed to Rs.12 which they were getting about 5 or 6 years ago. Besides this, a higher scale of pay from Rs.35 to 45 has been given to a Guru trained primary school teacher and from Rs.40 to Rs.50 to normal passed teachers. Several years back, I do not exactly remember the time, these teachers used to get only Rs.6.

The Government is making every effort to ameliorate the lot of the primary school teachers, as appears from the figures I have just now supplied.

My hon. Friend says that the burden of taxes should be lessened. My idea is that to improve the economic condition of the people and to increase the paying capacity of the people it is necessary to afford facilities and opportunities to them for more production which only can increase the wealth of the country and improve the economic condition of the people to enable them to pay more taxes for expenditure on welfare measures.

In the case of the primary school teachers the over all increase has been approximately Rs.2½ lakhs by the introduction of the time scale of pay and other concessions.

It has been stated in the debate that seed and agricultural loans are not given adequately. The hon. Members have got the Budget with them. They will know from it what money has been allotted in the shape of agricultural loan and seed loan and loan for house building. The Agricultural loan in the year 1948-49 was about 10 lakhs. In the year 1949-50, it was about 21 lakhs. Then in the year 1951-52, it came up to about 17½ lakhs. These agricultural loans were given for the purpose of purchasing cattle, improved seeds and such other purposes to help the agriculturists to grow more food. Sir, our whole difficulty is that, we have been faced with great many problems

created by Nature's vagaries. I am not going to say that we are not trying to tackle those problems. We have not been able to produce results as we expected. The effect of Earthquake, as it appears, has tilted up the bed of the rivers and in some places upto 9 feet. The natural consequence of this has been that with the slightest rainfall the river water overflows the banks and *bunds* and inundates the vast areas causing damages to crops in an extensive areas almost throughout the whole Valley. It must be appreciated how difficult it is to train a big river like the Brahmaputra.

Sir, the question of Hydro-Electric project we had in our minds, but subsequently it had to be abandoned as Earthquake shock is felt even now indicating that the ground has not yet been stabilised. Unless and until the ground is stabilised, the project of the Hydro-Electric scheme for controlling the river as flood protection measure cannot be undertaken. Naturally as an alternative short term measures, construction of embankment to prevent flood water inundating crop areas had to be undertaken. Sir, even for such construction, we had to depend on labour from outside the State. Labour was not available from outside in sufficient number as other States, like, Bihar, C.P. etc., wherefrom formerly we used to get labour we e also undertaking such projects and their labourers were locally engaged in those works. As a result, Sir, even some of our short-term measures remain incomplete. These are some of the difficulties why Government have not been able to tackle the flood problem as quickly as they want.

Government have to launch the Grow More Food drive more vigorously, particularly in such places where the crops cannot be damaged by flood water. To remove the difficulties of communication and water scarcity, simultaneous programme for construction of road and small irrigation channel is being undertaken. Our first priority is given to the grow more food drive and every bit of our energy and effort is directed towards the success of this drive so as to make ourselves self-sufficient in respect of food.

Even in this sphere also, we have to face some handicaps. We have few tractors at our disposal. These tractors are placed in areas under the charge of one officer. The number of tractors are inadequate to meet the demands of all. There is growing need of technical personnel for running the tractors and for repairing them. Parts of tractors for replacing worn out and damaged parts are not also easily available. As a matter of fact, we have been utilising a limited number of tractors wherever it is possible. The jungle lands are being cleared, arrangement for water is made under small irrigation scheme and cultivators are offered settlement of land by way of encouragement to grow more food. I hope my hon. Friends in the Opposition will help us in this effort of growing more food crop and give a filip to grow more food drive in all possible areas along the foot of the hills by helping and rousing latent energy of the cultivators. If on the other hand, the party in the Opposition goes and induces them not to work, the progress of grow more food campaign is retarded and there is very little possibility of our achieving the desired object as quickly as possible.

Now, Sir, we shall all have to concentrate our energies for the success of grow more food drive. The small irrigation scheme is essential for growing more food crop. As a matter of fact, a good deal depends on the success of this scheme for which Government have given first priority. The cultivators should also be encouraged in the use and preparation of manure, such as "compost making" and in the art of improving the fertility of the soil. Sir, with this end in view, I appeal to all our Friends to visit their respective constituencies immediately after the Budget Session is over to help in starting the grow more food drive in order to make our Country self-sufficient in food.

I may remind the Hon. Members that the permanently settled Zamindari system is in force in some areas of Goalpara District and Karimganj Subdivision of the District of Cachar. The rest of this State are all temporarily settled areas. In the permanently settled areas, generally there are large number of intermediaries between the State and the tiller of the soil. The object of the Zamindari Acquisition Act is to acquire the right of Zamindars and these intermediaries so that the tiller of the soil may have permanent and heritable right under the Government. The Acquisition of Zamindari Act was passed finally in the last budget Session, but unfortunately the validity of this Act has been questioned by some Zamindars and the matter is now pending before the High Court. As soon as the decision is made, Government will take steps for its implimentation for liquidation of Zamindari and interemdiaries with the object of accelarating the much needed agrarian reform.

Sir, our aim has always been towards distribution of land to the landless persons, and persons with uneconomic holdings and to those persons who have been affected by floods and Earthquake, whose land has been rendered unfit for cultivation. In the Budget Speech, I think the detail will be given by my Colleague, the Finance Minister. I shall only place few facts mentioned in His Excellency's Address. Sir, efforts have been made to establish ideal villages by opening up land lying along the foot of the hills and allotting them to deserving persons. Arrangement for drinking water, medical treatment and for ploughing up the land by tractors have been made to encourage people to settle in those areas for cultivation. Sir, we expect that everyone in this House will help and try to help in our effort and induce our people and give up lethargy, and shift themselves to new areas and engage themselves in increasing the wealth of the State by producing more food.

Sir, as regards settlement and distribution of land, I would like to say that as early as in 1948-49, I think, Government passed a piece of legislation, *viz.*, "The Requisition and Acquisition Act", by which the surplus land of tea gardens were requisitioned in order to distribute such land to deserving landless cultivators. I need hardly say that since 1946 the Government have been following a policy of settling cultivable waste lands only with landless person or persons with uneconomic holdings and those who have lost their land either due to erosion or due to acquisition of their holdings for public purposes, or those who have been affected by floods. No new settlement is made with a family who have got 20 bighas in case of a family of 5 members or less and 30 bighas in case of a family of more than 5 members. Similarly settlement has been made jointly to persons who form themselves into co-operative societies. In this way, Sir, we settled about 1½ lakh bighas of land with 1,800 families in the year 1950, a complete figure for 1951 is not yet available up-to-date. Government have distributed 10,000 bighas of land in Lakhimpur Subdivision. Besides this, 84,000 bighas of land at Tangani and 34,00 bighas at Garumora in the Dibrugarh Subdivision have been opened for rehabilitation of flood affected people.

It may be remembered in this connection, that we passed another Act, *viz.*, "The Adhiar Protection Act". Its object is to serve the interest of the actual tiller of the soil. My Communist Friends were carrying on "Andolon" or agitation at that time demanding that no more than one-third produce to be given to landlords, *i. e.*, "Tevega Andolon", which they started in the District of Cachar. But our "Adhiar Protection Act" gave the Adhiars actually more than what they demanded by the Tevega Andolon.

Whenever there is a demand the Act is extended.

Shri GAURISANKAR BHATTACHARYYA : So agitation is necessary.

The Hon'ble Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI : In some places the rent in kind is not even one-fourth of the produce. In those places it is not necessary to extend the operation of the Act. The rent cannot be enhanced and the tenants are protected against ejection if they deposit the required amount of crop or the price of it at controlled rate. So, Sir, it is not a fact that Government are oblivious to the condition of the Raiyats. We are trying our utmost to ameliorate their condition by all possible means *e. g.*, by giving them security of tenure, and steps are being taken for abolition of the Zemindari system, and by providing land by requisition and acquisition of tea garden lands, etc. We have requisitioned more than one lakh bighas of tea garden lands in the meantime and the process is still going on. But, Sir, it must be admitted that some time is necessary for ascertaining the actual quantity of land required by the tea gardens for their development. The Tea Industry is a very valuable industry, which earns for us Dollar. We cannot kill this industry. Their exact requirements can only be ascertained after a full enquiry. Sir, there are some areas in the tea gardens which are full of thick jungle and our cultivators are unable to clear them up for cultivation. For those areas the Tea Industry have inaugurated a scheme for reclamation of Government land for the purpose of growing more food. They have arranged to purchase tractors and powerful Bull-dozers. They have taken up this campaign for the purpose of supplying the needs of their labour population who are settled on the gardens. Hon. Members will therefore see that we are doing whatever is possible for growing more food.

Sir, I feel that I need not go into the details of the amendment because the Mover himself did not make any elaborate statement on all the items. He probably thought that he would get ample scope to discuss these matters during Budget discussion and the discussions on Cut Motions. With these general remarks I would, therefore, leave out the details for the present.

Sir, I would like to speak a few words about civil liberties. I will read from a document which will clearly indicate how an organised plan was drawn up at Naliapool for the purpose of creating some impression on the minds of the people. I am reading a portion of the document. "In pursuance of this, the Assam Provincial Committee of the Communist Party decided to have a limited show-down with the Government under the cover of an I. P. T. A. Conference which was organised to be held at Naliapool Railway Colony at Dibrugarh from 15th to 17th July 1949". I may remind the hon. Members that a general railway strike was threatened to take place on the 9th July, 1951. I then issued a statement that at the time of food crisis through which the country was passing, a railway strike would mean famine and death to a large number of our people, as it would dislocate the programme of bringing the necessary food and other essential commodities into the State from outside. The Government of India also issued an Ordinance declaring the proposed strike illegal; and the general strike did not materialise. The Communist Party simultaneously threatened strike, planned to create an armed revolution throughout the country. In spite of frantic preparations made by the C. P. I. to make the railway strike a success and use it as the spring board for bringing about a country-wide armed insurrection, the railway strike ended in a fiasco. The Communist Party then changed their *modus operandi*. With the failure of the strike, the Assam Party Leadership, however, had to stage something to save its face before the Party members and to restore their drooping morale. The report goes on—"In pursuance of this

the Assam Provincial Committee of the Communist Party decided to have a limited show-down with the Government under the cover of an I. P. T. A. Conference which was organised to be held at Naliapool Railway Colony at Dibrugarh from July 15th to 17th 1949".

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI : What is the document from which the Hon'ble Chief Minister is reading ?

The Hon'ble Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI : I will say later on.

The fact that the happenings at Naliapool starting from the initial resistance and attacks made on the authorities and culminating in the gruesome murder of a Police Sub-Inspector did not occur on the spur of the moment but were largely premeditated and pre-planned is abundantly clear from the last urgent Circular on this I. P. T. A. Conference issued by the Assam P. C. to all the District Committees dated June 29th, 1949.

The following paragraph taken from that circular is significant :—

"The Conference will be held in the Railway Colony at Dibrugarh. You will of course realise the significance of such a decision. This Conference will almost amount to a challenge to the Government. We must, therefore, prepare ourselves accordingly. If section 144 is promulgated or the Conference is declared illegal, we will defy the ban. You must prepare your respective unit on this basis. While electing delegates see that people with such a mood come to Dibrugarh". Then, Sir, what happened ? I will narrate the exact happening.

Shri GAURI SANKAR BHATTACHARYYA : Is the hon. Leader of the House reading from some C. I. D. Report ?

The Hon'ble Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI : From your own document.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER : It was the Peace Committee which issued this Circular.

The Hon'ble Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI : I am now giving you the history of the Naliapool case.

The second joint session of the Assam Branch of the Communist sponsored I. P. T. A. (Indian Peoples' Theatre Association) and the conference was held at Naliapool Railway Colony at Dibrugarh Town from 15th to 17th July, 1949. In this connection arrangements for theatrical performances were also made there. On the night of 16th July 1949 some members of the public wanted to enter the venue of the conference to attend the theatrical performances, but were resisted and assaulted by the Communist volunteers. Thereupon these aggrieved persons lodged a case at Dibrugarh Police Station *vide* case No.57(7)-49 under section 147/325 Indian Penal Code against the Communist volunteers. In the morning of 17th July 1949, Sub-Inspector Govinda Das of Dibrugarh Police Station with a few constables of the unarmed branch went to investigate into the case. On arrival of police at the spot the Communist volunteers including Railway employees became furious and surrounded the police party and attacked them with lathis, brickbats, acid bulbs and daos etc. Sub-Inspector Govinda Das was overpowered by the Communist volunteers and mercilessly assaulted. They poured acid into his mouth and nostrils which caused his instantaneous death. The dead body was kept concealed in a pit. Other members of his party were also severely injured by the assailants. Immediately on receipt of this information the Deputy Commissioner and the Superintendent of Police, Lakhimpur hastened

to the spot with reinforcement, but they were also strongly resisted by the Communist numbering about 600 to 700 persons. They barricaded the road leading to the Railway Colony at several points and commenced throwing brickbats, acid bulbs, spears, iron-rods, broken bottles etc., towards the police and Magistrate from all sides and also from the roofs of the roadside houses. The police had to open fire in self-defence and also for bringing the situation under control. A large number of Communists including Railway employees were arrested and cases registered at Dibrugarh Police Station which ended in conviction by a Special Judge on 13th November 1950. Of them two were sentenced to transportation for life.

Shri GAURISANKAR BHATTACHARYYA: Is this from the Communist Party's Circular ?

The Hon'ble Shri BISHNU RAM MEDHI: This is a part of the judgement.

Shri GAURISANKAR BHATTACHARYYA: Is it a fact that the conviction has been set aside by the High Court ?

Maulavi Md. UMARUDDIN: Then it was useless to read this report.

The Hon'ble Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI: Besides that, I will just give other cases in 1952 in the district of Darrang where these crimes are going on for the purpose of collecting money. In Panery there was dacoity. One absconder Thanu Kachari committed dacoity with murder. In Goalpara also near Bijni, Ratanmoni Basumatari was killed while returning home. Out of innumerable such cases I may quote, one in Kamrup, a school teacher who was presiding at a public meeting was shot dead. The suspect is still underground. These people are committing burglaries and dacoities and murders and they are going on inciting the people to do so. The present Government have no intention of detaining a person for a moment—not even a day than is necessary for preservation of law and order. We have been examining individual cases. Although in different States Communist organisation has been declared illegal, we have not declared them so. It is on specific charges that they are detained. We have got materials and if these materials come before the open Court there will be insecurity of life of those witnesses who will give evidence. Government place all these materials before three persons—one is a High Court Judge and the other two persons having qualifications of a High Court Judge. Advice of these three persons are accepted by Government. Even in the latest manifesto that has been issued by the Communist party, they have an underground way to carry on their underground activities.

Shri GAURISANKAR BHATTACHARYYA: It is not a fact. Here is the Communist manifesto.

The Hon'ble Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI: They have got two plans—one overground activity and the other underground activity.

Shri GAURISANKAR BHATTACHARYYA: At least we are not aware of such underground manifesto.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: There are two policies—avowed policy and underlying policy.

124 ANNOUNCEMENT MADE BY THE HON'BLE [8TH MAR. 1952.]
SPEAKER REGARDING DATE, TIME AND
PLACE FOR HOLDING ELECTIONS TO
VARIOUS BOARDS AND COMMITTEES

The Hon'ble Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI: The Government have given widest latitude to all peaceful and democratic propoganda in favour of any policy or doctrine, but they cannot and will not permit any group whatever its political complexion, to preach, incite and organise acts of sabotage and violence. The Communist Party of India which never tires of criticising the Government for alleged suppression of democratic rights and civil liberties have made it clear through oral and written propoganda as well as by their open activities that in their view such rights and liberties not only include the freedom to murder, maim, pillage and sabotage and also exclude the right of the State and the public to prevent and oppose such activities. This is a position that no Government whatever party in power may be, can accept without forfeiting their right to exist and which the public can ignore only on their peril. The Government are therefore determine to combat lawlessness with all the resources at their disposal and are confident that in this task they will continue to receive the wholehearted and active support of all sections of the population including those who have come over ground and also other parties.

Sir, I do not like to take any further time of the hon. Members of this House. So with these words, I resume my seat. (*Laud applause and cheers.*)

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: Now, I should like to put the amendment. I think I may be spared from reading it. I hope every hon. Member has received a copy of the amendment.

(The amendment was then put and negatived.)

I will now put the main Motion.

The question is:

"That the Members of the Assam Legislative Assembly assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to His Excellency the Governor for the address which he has been pleased to deliver to the House".

The Motion was adopted.

Revision of date for holding election to the Assam Advisory Board for Development

There is one little announcement which I think you will have the kindness to hear. The Secretary has issued a notice to-day indicating the days that are fixed for holding elections to various Boards and Committees. As it has since been decided that there will be no sitting of the Assembly on the 13th March, voting for the Assam Advisory Board for Development (Industrial and Co-operative Sections) will take place on the 18th March between 1 P.M. and 3 P.M. in Committee Room No.1 along with election for the Tezpur-Balipara Local Advisory Committee.

The House stands adjourned till 10 A.M., on Monday, the 10th March 1952 and the Budget will be taken up at 10 A.M. on that day and not at 1 P.M. as was previously indicated.

Adjournment

The Assembly was then adjourned till 10 A.M., on Monday, the 10th March, 1952.

SHILLONG:

The 17th May, 1952.

A.G.P. (L.A.) No.10/52-110-21-5-1952.

R. N. BARUA,
Secretary, Legislative Assembly, Assam.

R.N.