

Assam Legislative Assembly Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT

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

NOVEMBER SESSION

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

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber, Shillong, at 10 A.M., on Thursday, the 17th November, 1955.

P R E S E N T

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

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS

(To which answers were laid on the table)

Putting of soling stones on the Mawngap-Mairang Road

Shri A. ALLEY asked :

4. Will the Minister-in-charge of Public Works Department be pleased to state—

- (a) Whether representations to put soling stones on the Mawngap-Mairang Road were received by him in March, April and May, 1955 ?
- (b) Whether it is a fact that in the said representations the Member and people have stated that they will suffer immense loss if ponies cannot carry the potatoes ?
- (c) Whether Government are aware that five lakh maunds of potatoes are exported to Mawngap and Shillong every year from this area ?
- (d) Whether it is a fact that the Minister assured the people who interviewed him that he would order soling stones to be put during this summer ?

- (e) Whether any sanction has been made for soling stones and metalling ?
- (f) If not, whether Government propose to put the stones during this winter so that the people may not suffer next summer ?

Shri SIDDHINATH SARMA (Minister) replied :

- 4.(a) —Yes, in March and April 1955 only.
- (b)—Yes.
- (c)—Government have no correct information.
- (d)—It is not a fact that any assurance was given for putting soling stones, during this summer. After giving hearing they were told that this would be considered in due course.
- (e)—No.
- (f)—The proposal has been sent to the Subdivisional Development Board. If the board recommends and the State Development Committee accepts it, the work will be included in the Second Five-Year Plan, in which case attempts will be made to put soling stones as early as possible.

Allotment of N. E. S. Blocks to Assam

Shri AARAN SANGMA asked :

5. Will the Chief Minister be pleased to state—
- (a) Out of 116 N. E. S. Blocks sanctioned by the Government of India for 12 States for 1955-56, how many Blocks are allotted to the Government of Assam ?
- (b) Whether any N. E. S. Block has been given to Garo Hills in 1955-56 ?
- (c) If so, how many ?
- (d) If not, why not ?

Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister) replied :

- 5.(a)—Three.
- (b)—No.

(c)—Does not arise.

(d)—The three N. E. S. Blocks allotted in 1955-56 were earmarked by the Government of India for the Naga Hills District.

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

M. MOINUL HAQUE CHOUDHURY (Silchar-Sonai):

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are really pleased to discuss the question of the redistribution of the boundaries of the States in India, which is an old question to which Congress lent its support since the beginning of the twentieth century. Britishers divided India into Provinces according to their political requirements with an eye to divide and rule. After the merger of the States and unification of India and the partition of the country this question became so very pressing that the Government of India could not avoid the same any longer and as such today we have before us the report of the States Reorganisation Commission which is the result of great labour and fortitude, apart from its historic as well as immediate value of suggesting a solution for one of the most intricate problems of the country.

Although Congress was committed to the principle of linguistic States, yet the same as a factor governing solely the distribution of boundaries of States, was considerably deviated upon since after the report of the Dar Commission, which laid stress on geographical compactness, financial and administrative convenience, scope for future development and popular wishes. In 1949, while considering a report of a Sub-committee, the Working Committee of the All-India National Congress decided not to lay so much stress on language alone as had been done hitherto in connection with redistribution.

In consonance to this policy, the term of reference of the Commission included, apart from—

(a) language and culture,

(b) the preservation and strengthening of the unity and security of India, and

(c) financial, administrative and economic considerations, for redistribution of the boundaries of the States.

Commission seems to have considered all these factors at great length. Along with these they also considered the questions of geographical contiguity from the point of view of administrative convenience, apart from the wishes of the people of the area or areas which should be the subject matter of the proposed changes. On these datas, the Commission came to the conclusion that they could not decide any factors only without taking into consideration all the circumstances in each case. But even then the report of the Commission has been put to severe criticism that while on one ground a proposal was accepted, another was rejected although for its acceptance. For example, to quote one amongst others, even after conceding the Assam's present area to be small and also feeling the absolute necessity of a united unit on this North-Eastern Frontier having international boundaries, almost on all sides the immediate integration of North-East Frontier Agency was not allowed almost on no arguments and of Manipur on rather weak arguments. However, in spite of these, I support the report of the Commission so far its recommendations with regard to Assam (*hear, hear*).

Sir, now coming to details, I would like to take up Goalpara first. On alleged historical connection and linguistic affinity Bengal made an unjustified claim over Goalpara. The minorities of Goalpara, *viz.*, the Muslims and Tribals unanimously opposed this move. The rest of the population, except a few who have not got any deep connections with the common people, likewise resisted it. The Commission has rightly found no historical or otherwise justification of this area being integrated to Bengal and we are grateful to the Commission for this. I thought that after this the people who had been seeking its disintegration on being goaded by outsiders would abandon their move but it is a matter of profound regret that they are still pursuing the same.

Sir, almost under a similar context certain fallen politicians, who were rejected long ago by the people and who have no connection with the people of Cachar, have been trying for a Purbachal State with the district of Cachar and

its adjoining areas. Neither the people of the adjoining areas trust them and agree to join with them nor the people of Cachar itself are behind them. Out of the 14 Members of Legislative Assembly and 2 Members of Parliament representing Cachar, 11 Members of Legislative Assembly and both the Members of Parliament are against this Purbachal State. The sole motive behind this move is exploitation of the backward rural people of Cachar by these people who still look outside the Province for guidance. The people of Cachar had the bitter experience of their exploitation and I can swear that they will never tolerate this leadership (*hear, hear*). The sponsors of Purbachal have laid stress on the absence of development project in and alleged partial treatments towards Cachar and in support of their statements they have misquoted out of their context our speeches on the floor of this House. No doubt I asked for more money for Cachar on many an occasions, but I can assure them that I am not the only person to speak like that. Quite natural as it is, many of the Members of Legislative Assembly representing other districts had occasions to speak in the same vein. In Bengal, Northern district representatives, in Uttar Pradesh, Western district Members of Legislative Assembly often complain like that. But can such day to day complaint, attack and counter-attacks in Parliamentary debates be the basis of one's going away from Assam, Bengal, or Uttar Pradesh as the case may be? Who can guarantee that in the proposed Purbachal State, Lushai Hills or Naga Hills would be looked after as Cachar would be? Indigestion on some occasion is the inevitable result of taking food, yet who has heard of humanity deciding to go on fast for avoiding indigestion? However perfect democratic machineries can be, it cannot possibly vanish altogether some cases of dis-satisfaction. That has got to be tolerated till public opinion becomes really educated.

Sir, the sponsors of Purbachal are trying to raise the bogy of language before the public by agitating the people by taking advantage of the occasional foolish one sided mistakes of some of our officers like sending posters and pamphlets and forms in Assamese to Cachar to the disadvantage of the people, or trying to foist wrong national songs or inaccurately worded national songs. But times without number it has been declared to be not in consonance to the policy of the Government of Assam. However I am sure, that after the frank and sincere assurances of our Chief Minister given on the

floor of this House yesterday on this matter scope for misunderstanding will be completely eliminated.

Sir, in the proposed Purbachal State there would be about 12.5 lakhs of Bengalees as against 14 lakhs of non-Bengalees. Likewise they would leave behind in the rest of Assam about 9 lakhs of Bengalees according to census figure. But that is not all—the correctness of these figures are disputed as well. If their statement is correct then about 12 lakhs of Bengalees would be left in Assam. How then the problem of Bengali language is solved both inside Purbachal or outside? In these circumstances the best solution lies not in having a separate State but in having Hindi as our *lingua franca* for transacting Court business and for Primary and Secondary Education. These friends of ours should have co-operated for bringing about a happy union of Assam with all the different areas, viz., North-East Frontier Agency, Manipur and Tripura in the North-East Frontier Region. But I am sorry to say that these friends are doing a distinct disservice to the Bengalee population of Assam by spreading canard against their Assamese brethren and thus trying to create a sense of fear and distrust in the minds of Tripuris, Manipuris and the inhabitants of North-East Frontier Agency and other hill areas. I can assure my brethren residing in these areas that the canard spread by these people are unfounded, and this is being done intentionally (*hear, hear*).

Sir, we are grateful to the Commission that they appreciated that Assam needs more areas particularly for proper and economic developments and also for the unity and security of the north-east region of India, consisting of Assam including North-East Frontier Agency, Tripura and Manipur with international boundaries on all sides. The existence of three or more weak States almost all without any proper access through land (except through a slender uncertain Rail Link) and administrative and economic self-sufficiency is a danger to all and I am sure the Government of India would not agree to create such vulnerable gateways in this important frontier after having had the experience of Kashmir. This aspect of the question is so very important and far reaching that it drowns every other considerations for the separate existence of Tripura and Manipur. Economic stability of a geographical region of which

these areas form part, and a strong secured frontier are the foremost necessities of a people and nothing can over-ride them, not even the so called wishes of the people. After all, as citizens we must help the Central Government in solving the problem of what is known as "C" class States particularly when the responsibility of local day-to-day administration cannot be at all time, duty of a Central Government. What better suggestion can there be than the decision of the Commission to integrate these areas to the adjoining State of Assam? We must pave way, if necessary sacrifice, to help the Central Government to solve this problem.

Sir, now turning to the question of wishes of the people in these two areas, I must tell the House frankly that in this connection what is being sought to be represented is not correct. It is a wrong representation to say that all the Manipuris and Tripuris are against merger. The hill people residing in these areas are in favour of merger. As regards the non-tribals their feelings were roused high by tempting them by certain parochial slogans. It is a known fact that smaller the unit, more convenient it is for undesirable political activities. Some leaders of the political arenas of Manipur and Tripura are afraid of losing their artificial hegemony in these small units in case of their merger with bigger areas. But I hope that will not be a ground for the Central Government for avoiding the responsibility of implementing the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission particularly when it assures national unity, security and economic development of this strategic region about which our Chief Minister laid so much stress yesterday. Now, after being told in unequivocal terms that in case of non-merger Manipur will have no popular Government and it would simply remain as a territory, the so called unity of public opinion against merger is on the verge of being collapsed in Manipur and also in Tripura where the people as well, have understood that their refusal to merge with Assam would tantamount to their being denied a popular Government. Now the right thinking people have revised their opinion in favour of merger. Recently Lawyers of Agartala through their Association passed a resolution welcoming merger with Assam. Likewise the local tribals have done so. If the Government of India clearly signifies its intention of not introducing popular Governments in these areas in case of non-merger, there will be no opposition, we believe, to the merger. I must remind my

friends residing in these areas that what is the use of talking that they were never with any one else before when the same thing could be repeated by many a former Native States, yet they have got to integrate themselves. For their good as well as for the greater good of the country my friends should join Assam and within the framework of the safeguards suggested for preserving their local autonomy and development, language and service they cannot have any apprehension of losing their separate, yet Indian characteristics. I may add here that there is a considerable Manipuri population (about a lakh) in Cachar. Likewise overwhelming majority of the people of Cachar and Tripura belong to same language group and it can never be to their disadvantage to join Assam.

Sir, with reference to the demand for a Hill State it is rather unfortunate that we have not been able to inspire confidence at least amongst a section of the tribal leaders. It is not for me to assess as to with whom fault lies but I for one feel that there is considerable room for closer co-operation. I can tell my hill brethren that I sincerely feel that creation of a Hill State which cannot be viable and which cannot avoid non-hill people in it, for example, Cachar will be in it if they want geographical contiguity with Lushai Hills, will not be to the interest, strength, security and development of India. On the other hand Assam is a State of minorities. If the minorities combine they can turn down any Government. No determined minorities can be crushed by a majority however strong that majority may be. No Government can possibly neglect these minorities in Assam for a long time to its advantage. In this context and within the framework of the safeguards suggested by the Commission I am sure that there will be no occasion for our hill men to complain if we really co-operate with one another. In this background, I request them to give up this demand.

Now that the Commission's proceedings are over, whatever might have been our differences before the Commission, let us unite and work for the unity and good of this region and give up our separatist tendencies for the greater good of our mother land.

With these words, Sir, I support the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission generally so far as they relate to Assam (*Cheers*).

Shri KISTOBIN RYMBAI (Jowai—United Khasi and Jaintia Hills—Reserved for Scheduled Tribes): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I stand to speak a few words to tell the House about the pleasure with which the people of the Jaintia Hills welcomed the report of the States Reorganisation Commission. The States Reorganisation Commission was manned by the three of the great sons of India, men of proved capability and of high integrity. Their report shows how deeply they have studied the problems of the State placed before them by various sections of the people, and also how carefully they have weighed the pros and cons with a view to arrive at a conclusion that would be conducive to the Nation and to the general well-being of the people.

Our friends who are in favour of the formation of Hills State by separating from the rest of Assam have always known that such a State will not be viable unless the Government of India will be prepared to give grants abundantly to help in meeting the cost of administration. The income that will be accrued from the resources of such a State will at most be perhaps only a third of the minimum cost of the expenditure on the administrative machinery, even if that machinery is to go creaking along. If the Government of India will bear such a huge deficit, well and good; if it won't as it can't then what will happen? Shall we then tax the people who are too poor and backward as yet to bear such burden? Shall we also have the men to run that machinery? Our few friends sponsoring the Hill State movement never told the innocent masses about the burden of taxation they will have to bear where the Hill State to be created nor did they honestly enlighten them whether there are men trained and capable to run the show. We have been protesting against the introduction of certain Acts and taxation measures in our Hills on the plea that the people are too backward and poor. Hitherto the Government have kept our people still immune from the operation of many Acts and of various taxation measures as the Government fully realise the under developed condition of the people. And yet our friends who sponsor the Hill State move seem to think that over night we can drive out our poverty and backwardness.

But the solid commonsense of an honest working man tells him that the advent of such a State would bleed him through the nose for the benefit of the few. And so they do not want the Hill State as they are quite content with the present position under which they see the Government is sincerely attempting to better their lot, and as they have never felt and they do not feel that there is ever a real difference between them and the people of the plains with whom, as a matter of fact and of history, they have always lived amicably and have mutual relationship and inter-dependence in trade, commerce, etc. The fear that they genuinely feel is that what will happen to them if their normal age, old relations were to be cut off cruelly by feelings of difference artificially created? From Independence to date, a space of seven or eight years only, they have seen more development works undertaken by the Government for their all-round developments than they have ever seen for generations under the alien rule. Before the report of the States Reorganisation Commission was out, the people of the Jaintia Hills almost to a man who quietly went on with their daily avocations were very anxious that the States Reorganisation Commission might be misled by the very vocal few demanding the separate Hill State for reasons best known to themselves. Now that the result is out they are happy and give thanks to the wisdom of the Government of India having chosen the able triumvirate who so rightly concluded that the demand for the formation of a separate Hill State is neither feasible nor in the interest of the Tribal people themselves, nor is it one desired by the majority of the people.

The Jaintias congratulate the members of the States Reorganisation Commission on their report and I hope the hon. Members of the House will join with me in accepting it in the interest of the State and for strengthening the unity and solidarity of India.

With these remarks, Sir, I resume my seat (*Applause*).

Shri PRATAP CHANDRA SARMA (Nowgong-Raha):
Mr. Speaker, Sir, the States Reorganisation Commission was appointed in December, 1953 and the task before the Commission as set out by Parliament, was to examine objectively and dispassionately the question of reorganisation of the States so

that the welfare of the people of each unit and the nation as a whole is promoted. Government of India did not expect the Commission to go into details but make recommendation in regard to broad principles governing the solution of the problem of re-organisation of our State.

The Commission travelled throughout the length and breadth of India and interviewed people from all walks of life. They allowed private interviews in order to enable people representing different shades of opinion, to express their views freely and frankly—and the documents received by them reached the figure of 1,52,250. Within a short time this Commission completed its difficult task and submitted its report and we are now considering it in our Assembly just to ventilate our reactions to its recommendations.

After going through the Report we find that in making their recommendations the Commission have based their conclusions on four broad principles, *viz.* (1) Unity and security of India, (2) Linguistic and cultural homogeneity. (3) Economic and administrative soundness and (4) Successful working of the National Plan.

Now let us consider these principles and the method of their application. It will be most undesirable to recommend re-organisation of a State on the basis of a single test. In national interest a balanced approach to the whole problem is of utmost importance. Too many small States will certainly increase unproductive expenditure and weaken the security of India. No change should therefore be made otherwise than for clear and compelling reasons. So the Commission have arrived at their conclusions not on the basis of a single data but after considering the totality of the circumstances in each case.

Our Prime Minister while conceding the linguistic principle is strongly of opinion that, 'First things must come first' and according to him, "The first thing is the security and stability of India".

Development of regional languages has developed the sense of being distinct cultural units on linguistic basis. This is a fact which we can ill afford to ignore. But after march of centuries in the political field human experience has developed certain

new principles and now in the matter of re-shaping political geography greater emphasis is given on considerations of economic and administrative soundness and national unity and security.

Further India has embarked upon a great plan for her economic progress and any suggestion which interfere with the successful prosecution of this plan cannot be accepted. Each State must be economically strong enough to bear the burden of its own share of the plan.

I am glad to note that the Commission has taken into consideration all the above datas in making their recommendations regarding Assam and I heartily support them. But I am sorry to note a section of our hill brothers has claimed a separate Hill State. I have considered their claim very dispassionately, but I have found it really difficult to support their claim on any of the four basic principles stated above.

From linguistic and cultural point of view they have failed to make out any case. Each of the hill tribes has its own separate language and culture and according to the last census figures the number of such languages will be more than 60.

When I consider the principle of economic and administrative soundness in the context of their claim I feel most unhappy. Creation of a Hill State will increase the cost of administration and it will be enormously difficult to co-ordinate the policies amongst the hill tribes themselves with different languages and traditions. This Hill State, if created, will not be able to meet the exacting financial demands for maintaining a representative Government and it will also not be possible for this State to implement the development plans.

Furthermore, this will be a State with international boundaries touching its frontiers but without sufficient resources to efficiently run its Government and provide for the security of India. We cannot deny that a border State must be well administered and must be capable of meeting the problems of war and peace. So I think it will not be at all safe to have a weak unit on our border which is strategically most important for the security of India.

Assam is the meeting place of many tribes and races and for centuries we have been living here without different languages and cultures as friends and brothers claiming Assam as our common mother land. Our common history shows that in spite of our differences we did not lose our sense of perspective and patriotism. We knew how to unite and fight for our mother land when her freedom was in danger due to aggression from beyond our borders. Our past history chronicles a brilliant record of our peaceful co-existence by creating unity amidst diversity. We will go against the forces and lessons of history if we now drive a wedge into the heart of our common mother land and split her into two weak and useless parts. In the above circumstances I earnestly appeal to my hill brothers to give up this unhealthy conflict of opinion and join in the great adventure of building up a verile and prosperous Assam.

With these few words, I support the recommendation made in the States Reorganisation Commission's Report with regard to Assam.

Shri AARAN SANGMA (Garo Hills-Dainadubi—Reserved for Scheduled Tribes): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am much pleased to have the privilege to discuss in this august House about the feelings of the people of my Garo Hills district with regard to the report and recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission. People in Garo Hills feel that if a separate Hill State is to be formed the mass people of the district will not be benefited, rather they may be deprived of all the facilities and special privileges which they can enjoy now, being under the provisions of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India. They also feel that if any Hill State is formed, it will bring disaster and ruin to them. People in Garo Hills very much appreciate the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission who with their wide experience and knowledge of facts and situation of the country placed such recommendations before the Government.

The people in Garo Hills have been always in contact with the people of the Plains for their economic needs and existence; and as such, they are living in friendship and harmony with the brothers and sisters of the plains. There is no cause for them to be in disharmony with the people from

the plains. Both are inter-dependent for their own development and existence. The conception of a separate Hill State is opposed to unity and harmony which are so essential for the solidarity of India. Besides this, if a separate Hill State comes into being, then the Garo people who are most backward feel that they will be exploited by the more forward and educated sections of people as they have been oppressed and exploited even now. Moreover, such a Hill State cannot be conceived at all in view of the fact that languages, customs, usages, cultures are different from district to district; and there is the question of distance and road communication from one Autonomous Hill District to another.

Therefore, Sir, such a proposal for a separate Hill State is economically unsound and if, given effect to, would be a political blunder (*Hear, hear*).

So, Sir, in view of the facts stated by me, we should wholeheartedly support the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission's Report and implement the same.

With these few words, Sir, I conclude my speech.

Thank you.

Shri SASHADHAR GHOSH (Darrang-Panery): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am very happy to support the new State of Assam recommended by the States Reorganisation Commission in its report. Regarding Tripura, if the people desire to merge with Assam, as per States Reorganisation Commission's Report, we welcome them. But I request the Union Government to keep this fact in view that it is an undeveloped State and the resources of the present Government of Assam will not be sufficient to develop Tripura as per its needs. So, the Union Government will have to give sufficient aid for the development of Tripura. Our Government did not demand portions of other States against the wishes of the people. Regarding Goalpara, although it was demanded by West Bengal, the States Reorganisation Commission after going deeply into the existing facts and considering the environment wisely kept it as part of Assam. I would have been more happy if Manipur was merged with Assam. I am confident that a time will come when the people of Manipur will express their desire to merge with Assam (*Hear, hear*).

Lastly, I support the statement made by our beloved Chief Minister yesterday.

With these few words, I support the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission.

Shri SARJU PROSAD SINGH (Sibsagar—Titabar):
Mr. Speaker, Sir, I take my stand in this House to give my views regarding the report of the States Reorganisation Commission. Because there was a statement made by the Prime Minister in Parliament regarding the formation of the Commission, the Commission was appointed. What for? "To promote the welfare of the people living in each constituent units as well as the welfare of the nation as a whole". This was the main object. But there were also other objects. Among the other objects, one was that the political parties were committed about this to their electorates. It is stated at page 17 of the Report: "The linguistic re-distribution of States also figured prominently in the election manifestoes of other political parties"—the Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the Kisan Mazdoor Party. Had it not been so, now what would have happened? I refer to page 24 of the Report.

Page 24, paragraph 90—"It would, perhaps, have been possible to defer the process for some time, but the decision to create the State of Andhra and events leading to it have precipitated matters. Even without this decision, so long as the political parties stand committed to the policy of reorganisation, further deferment of a general reorganisation might lead to more dissatisfaction".

I do not like to go into details of it but the question before the House, as well as before the country is to consider this Report very dispassionately and in a cool atmosphere.

Sir, we cannot forget, as we are not supposed to forget our past, as past and present make the future. I want to take you back to the 17th century. Thanks to Shahjehan's generosity in giving special concession for trading to British traders and to have three villages, Gobindpur, Kalighat and Sutanti, for curing the sore of his daughter. The treachery of Mirjafar with Sirajuddoulla in 1757, the British became *defacto* ruler of Bengal with the help of Zamindars.

DISCUSSION ON THE MOTION TO CONSIDER [17TH NOV.,
THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STATES
REORGANISATION COMMISSION
RELATING TO ASSAM

Such was the case of this State of Assam also. The bunglings of our two leaders, Badan and Buragohain brought Assam under British rule. Personal rivalry, green-eyed jealousy amongst our people and the superiority of British force brought almost all the Indian provinces under British control barring—few Indian Princely States of Rajputana and other places.

We are grateful to those national heroes of 1857 who wanted to drive away the Britishers from India, for their mischievous move—the move for amalgamation of Princely States under the pretext of Doctrine of Lapses.

So the history of Indian provinces is a history of gradual accidents and bunglings of our own people. The object of dividing India into so many administrative centres by the British Government was only to suit their only purpose to plunder the country and to uphold the supreme authority of British power in India.

Today when our country has become free from the clutches of British lion, it becomes the duty of our national Government to undo the wrongs gradually and systematically. With this object in view States Reorganisation Commission was appointed and today we have the opportunity to discuss its Report.

Sir, today, I feel the Report has tired and perplexed many of us. It has moved many elites of the country backwards and a few forward. It is an acid test of Indian nationalism of so called Indian leaders. Today to wrangle over the addition and subtraction of our own country would amount to the manoeuvring of our ignorance of geography and the idea of “a World State” of Jawaharlal’s aspiration.

The appointment of States Reorganisation Commission at the time when every ounce of people’s energy is required for national reconstruction was a premature step.

Having remained under the yoke of British servitude for two centuries, we have not yet regained the spirit of Indian nationalism and whatever we gained during the national struggle have gone to the winds during the last eight years of Congress Raj in Assam as those of our national heroes, the preceptors of nationalism have today become our rulers and talkative politicians.

During the last eight years of their rule they have not taken any such steps to infuse nationalism and oneness of India. Had it been so, Assam today with its vast manpower and untapped natural resources would have done wonders.

Sir, the urgent and important task before the country and our State, in particular, today is to bring about a socio-economic revolution for the betterment of the 36 crores of people. This socio-economic revolution if it is to be in a peaceful and non-violent manner then each and every person of all walks of life living in the State indigenous, non-indigenous, domiciled and non-domiciled, Hills Tribes or Plains Tribes should work together. It is a national question and for its success national strength is required—a spirit of Indian nationalism is required—which is lacking in all barring a few.

Sir, the British Parliament by its Act, the Government of India Act of 1935, granted Provincial Autonomy and thereby sowed the seeds of provincialism which you cannot deny.

Now, when India has attained its political independence as a whole the question of having so many States within a State is unwarranted. What India needs now is to have seven lakhs republics out of her seven lakhs villages. To the people of our seven lakhs villages it matters little whether he is under the geographical jurisdiction of Punjab, U. P., Bengal or Assam. Now he is only concerned with his cloths and food—cloth and food are the pivots around which rotate other necessities of life and these can only be had if India progress.

Sir, in discussing the States Reorganisation Commission's Report and recommendations in so far as our State is concerned, I will confine myself to the recommendation side of the Report and in doing so I would request all to shake off our narrow outlook, individual interest for the interest of larger good, the good of one crore of poor people.

Sir, what is a State? State is a people organised for law and justice. Law is there but it is on the operation table. It is on the death bed. Justice has taken flight. What we have seen today in the country—devotees of God Plutus and Plutus alone.

"Ill fares the land hastening ills a prey
Where wealth accumulates and men decay
Ministers and Members can flourish or may
Fade as breath has made them as breath has made
But a bold peasantry country's pride can
Never be replaced when once destroyed."

Today when the country has not yet recovered from the pangs of the parting gift of British—the Redcliff Award—which is still haunting as nightmare, to talk of addition and subtraction of our own country would amount to our narrow outlook.

So, Sir, there should not be any other question before us but to accept the Report and recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission dispassionately, if necessary, blindly, as suggested by Acharya Kripalani—otherwise for the doings of leaders—people suffer as in Goalpara and other places.

It is bewildering to note that almost all the State leaders are expressing their grievances against the States Reorganisation Commission's Report but a few only are thinking in oneness of India.

The object of States Reorganisation Commission's Report is not to give filip to the fissiparous tendency—if it is so, the same may be placed in cold storage as we have had enough of it.

With these few words, I resume my seat.

Shri NIHANG RANGPHER (Mikir Hills West) : মাননীয় অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, ৰাজ্য পুনৰগঠন আয়োগে অসম সম্পৰ্কে যিখন প্ৰতিবেদন দাখিল কৰিছে তাক মই সমৰ্থন কৰিছো। আয়োগে অসমৰ ভবিষ্যত মঙ্গলৰ অৰ্থে আৰু ভৱতৰ ঐক্যতাৰ কাৰণেহে সকলো ভাবিচিন্তি এই প্ৰতিবেদনখন যুগুত কৰিছে। তেখেত সকলে স্বায়ত্তশাসিত জিলাসমূহৰ সম্পৰ্কে যি মত দিছে সি পাহাৰী জনজাতিসকলৰ স্বাৰ্থৰ পৰিপন্থি হোৱা নাই, তেওঁলোকৰ মঙ্গলৰ বাবেহে এই মত দিছে।

প্ৰতিবেদনত কৈছে যে, আমাৰ পাহাৰৰ জনজাতি ভাইসকলৰ কিছুমানে পাবৰ্বতা ৰাজ্য গঠনৰ বাবে কৰা দাবি সম্পৰ্কে আয়োগে খুব সতৰ্কতাবে আৰু সহানুভূতিৰে পৰীক্ষা কৰি চাইছিল। তেওঁলোকে ভালদৰে চাই চিন্তিহে বিশেষকৈ পাবৰ্বতা লোকসকলৰ মঙ্গলৰ বাবেই পাবৰ্বতা জিলাবোৰৰ শাসনৰ কোনো সাল-সলনি নোহোৱাটোকেই আয়োগে সমৰ্থন কৰিছে। মইয়ো ব্যক্তিগত হিচাবে কব বিচাৰো যে এইটো পাহাৰী ভাইসকলৰ স্বাৰ্থৰ পৰিপন্থি হোৱা নাই। অসমৰ লগত থাকিলে পাবৰ্বতা অঞ্চলৰ উন্নয়নৰ অৰ্থে বেচি সুবিধা পোৱা যাব বুলি মোৰ বিশ্বাস। পাবৰ্বতা ৰাজ্য সম্পৰ্কত যি থিনি কথা মই

কৈছো সি মোৰ ব্যক্তিগত মত নহয়। কাৰবি দৰবাৰ তথা মিকিৰ জনসাধাৰণৰো মত এইটোৱেই। কাৰবি দৰবাৰে বেলেগ পাৰ্বত্য ৰাজ্য গঠনৰ সুবিধা আৰু অসুবিধাবোৰ ভালদৰে ফুঁহিয়াই চাই শেষত সিদ্ধান্তত উপনিত হৈছে যে বেলেগ পাৰ্বত্য ৰাজ্য গঠন পাৰ্বত্য জনজাতিসকলৰ বাবে হিতকাৰক নহব। তদনুযায়ী দৰবাৰৰ তৰফৰ পৰা আয়োগৰ ওচৰলৈ স্মাৰক পত্ৰ দাখিল কৰিছিল।

গতিকে আয়োগে আগবঢ়োৱা পৰামৰ্শ অনুসৰি এই ৰাজ্য উন্নয়নৰ অৰ্থে সহযোগিতাবে কাম কৰিবলৈ এই সদনৰ ভিতৰৰ আৰু বাহিৰৰ মোৰ জনজাতি ভাই সকলক অনুৰোধ কৰিছে।

চৰকাৰৰ ওচৰত মোৰ অনুৰোধ এই যে পাৰ্বত্য অঞ্চলৰ উন্নয়নৰ অৰ্থে এতিয়াতকৈয়ো আৰু বেচি চকু দিব লাগে, আৰু এই অৰ্থে কেন্দ্ৰীয় চৰকাৰৰ পৰা আৰ্থিক সাহায্য পাবৰ কাৰণে অনুৰোধ কৰিব লাগে। এই অঞ্চলৰ পিচপৰা অৱস্থালৈ চাই ই যথেষ্ট হোৱা নাই, আৰু এই পাৰ্বত্য অঞ্চলৰ উন্নয়নৰ কাৰণে দ্রুতগতিৰে কাম কৰি যাব লাগে আৰু তাৰ বাবে উভয় চৰকাৰে চেষ্টা কৰিব লাগে আৰু বেচি আৰ্থিক সাহায্য দিব লাগে। নহলে অহা দহ বছৰৰ ভিতৰত জনজাতি লোকসকলক ভাৰতৰ আন আন নাগৰিকৰ সমান শাৰীলৈ তুলিবলৈ সম্ভৱপৰ হৈ নুঠিব। সেই কাৰণে মই আমাৰ চৰকাৰক অনুৰোধ জনাও যেন সংবিধান অনুযায়ী আজিও পিচপৰি থকা পাৰ্বত্য অঞ্চল সমূহৰ জনজাতি ভাইসকলৰ স্বার্থসংৰক্ষণৰ কাৰণে আৰু বেচি যত্নপৰ হয়। ইয়াকে কৈ মই মোৰ বক্তব্য সামৰণি মাৰিলো।

Shri JOYBHADRA HAGJER (Parliamentary Secretary, North Cachar Hills—Reserved for Scheduled Tribes)
Mr. Speaker, Sir, I propose to be very brief because brevity is said to be the soul of wit.

I or the people of the North Cachar Hills whom I have the honour to represent in this House, have no difficulty or hesitation in accepting the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission in so far as these relate to Assam. As you may be aware, Sir, we demanded, I should rather say suggested that Tripura and Manipur should merge into Assam. In doing so we were guided principally by considerations of solidarity and integration of the areas east of East Pakistan into one administrative unit. We took it for granted that North-East Frontier areas are already part of Assam and that their ultimate integration is only a question of time. Now that the immediate merger of Tripura has been recommended and the ultimate merger of Manipur has been suggested, we feel rather elated in the thought that our suggestions have found favour with the Commission. I can only wish that these recommendations are acted upon without any demur.

Shri RAMPRASAD CHAUBEY (Cachar—Lakhipur) :

श्रद्धेय अध्यक्षजी महोदय! आसाम के बारे में States Reorganisation Commission का Report मैंने जहाँतक देखा उससे मुझे यह स्वीकार करना ही पड़ता है कि Commission ने हमारे पहाड़ी भाइयों तथा पूर्वचल चाहनेवाले भाइयों की सभी यक्तियों पर, शिकायतों पर तथा उनकी असुविधाओं पर विशेष रूपसे ध्यान दिया है और यथासंभव उन्हें दूर करने के लिये उपाय भी सोचा है जिससे भविष्य में ये शिकायतें न रहें।

इन भाइयों की इच्छा के अनुसार पृथक पहाड़ी राज्य तथा पूर्वचल राज्यपर राजी न होनेका एक मात्र कारण उन्होंने यही दर्शाया है कि इस अनेक भाषाभाषी पूर्वसीमान्त राज्य की अधिकांश जनता पृथक राज्य नहीं चाहती है। इसके अलावा इससे प्रशंसनीय, आर्थिक और सामूहिक समृद्धि की दृष्टि से भी विशृंखलता तथा और भी अशांति के सिवाय किसी भी समस्याका समाधान नहीं होगा।

अधिकतु, इस पूर्वसीमान्त राज्यको और भी सुदृढ़ करने की दृष्टि से इसे पूर्णगि रखते हुए, त्रिपुरा और मणिपुर राज्य को भी इसमें शामिल होने का सुझाव पेश किया है।

मेरी समझमें यह सुझाव बड़ा ही युक्तियुक्त और न्यायसंगत है। मैं यह भी समझता हूँ कि गठनतंत्र के अनुसार North-East Frontier Agency का इलाका भी आसाम का ही एक अविच्छेद्य अंग है। शीघ्रातिशीघ्र उसे असम सरकार के शासनाधीन करने का उपाय सोचना हमारा कर्तव्य है। आशा है हमारी सरकार इस ओर कोई ठोस कदम उठावेगी।

अस्तु, कमीशन की Report को समर्थन करते हुए मैं अपने पहाड़ी भाइयों तथा पूर्वचल चाहनेवाले भाइयोंसे विनम्र अनुरोध करता हूँ कि वे कृपया कमीशन के सिद्धान्तों का समर्थन करके इस गुरुत्वपूर्ण प्रान्त को और भी सुदृढ़ बनाने में मदद करें। इसके अलावा कमीशन के सुझावों के अनुसार त्रिपुरा और मणिपुर राज्यों को भी असम में शामिल कराने के लिये कोशिश करें।

आखिर मैं कमीशन की report का हार्दिक स्वागत करता हूँ और आशा करता हूँ आप सभी लोग उसका स्वागत करेंगे।

Shri GOURI SHANKAR ROY (Cachar—Katlichera) :

Mr. Speaker, Sir, while discussing the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission which undertook such a big task of reorganisation of States in our country, I must say first of all that all the three Members of the Commission are of unimpeachable integrity. A report from such distinguished persons who made on the spot enquiry on the various demands and complaints by taking extensive tours throughout the country deserves all respects. By going through the Report, Sir, I have noted with great satisfaction that the Commission has kept in view in its recommendations the unity and security of India along with language, culture, etc., of our Independent India as a broad principle among others and has discharged its duties with credit. In respect of Assam the Commission has given its full consideration in various aspects of the question and has given its findings very clearly. Sir, I shall say only a few words here and there in respect of the recommendation.

Sir, the Commission has rightly recommended that Tripura should immediately be merged with Assam. The State is contiguous to Assam and is connected by air with Silchar and Gauhati. It is also being properly connected by road with Assam. For its financial matters and other economical conditions, etc., it is quite clear that it cannot stand on its own leg. Apart from this it is urgently necessary that this bordering State must come under one administrative control of Assam for the security of India. Our Home Minister of India also has personally visited the place and has gone with an impression of this region in this regard.

Sir, the Commission has recommended the separate existence of Manipur State for the time being. But it has rightly said that Manipur cannot maintain its separate existence for long and that the ultimate solution should be its merger in the adjoining State of Assam. Here I like to say that the appropriate measures should be adopted for its merger with Assam without much delay for the interest of the country as a whole and the people concerned.

Sir, there was a demand for Purbachal State with Cachar and its surrounding areas and I am glad that State Reorganisation Commission has rejected this demand. There

is sufficient reason behind it. On three sides of the proposed Purbachal State there are boundaries of foreign countries and for the security of the Indian border the proposal cannot be supported. Moreover such a State will be financially deficit. Sir, I have come from the Cachar district and I know the mind of the general public. The movement is limited to a small interested group of people and the general public is quite against it. (Hear, hear). The States Reorganisation Commission has given a right recommendation in this matter.

Sir, North-East Frontier Agency is Constitutionally the part of Assam and I shall only say that appropriate measures should be taken for early integration of this frontier area with Assam.

Sir, the States Reorganisation Commission has rightly said that the formation of a Hill State in this region is neither feasible nor in the interests of the Tribal people themselves. I hold the same opinion for obvious reasons. There are different languages spoken by the hill people and different sections have got their own culture separately. Moreover a new State within Assam will create various complications which is not desirable.

Sir, we are citizens of free India. The prosperity and security of India as a whole should be thought of by all of us. Any addition, alteration or change in the formation of new States does not mean that these will go out of India and when it is true we should honour the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission. With these words, Sir, I support the recommendations in respect of Assam and resume my seat.

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS (Karimganj—Cachar): Mr. Speaker, Sir, unlike my other Friends my stand is not to ditto to the Ruling Party. I shall speak about our grievances first and then explain what we are trying to have. Considering our life and death question, Sir, I appeal that I should be given the maximum possible time.

Mr. SPEAKER: Mr. Das, there I cannot agree.

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS: Sir, in considering the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission I must divide it into three parts. First, what are our grievances and why we want to go out of Assam, secondly what is the observation of the States Reorganisation Commission regarding our grievances, and thirdly what are the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission and our reaction ?

First of all, I would like to refer to the yesterday's speech of the Chief Minister. He said, "Barrier that divided Hills and Plains people is disappearing since Independence. Government adopted a very liberal language policy. No attempt is made to impose Assamese as medium of language in any area. Schools from Lower Primary to High School standard are free to choose their own medium of language".

In short, it seems there is no grievance from any quarter and we are living in a Paradise. Yes, Sir, if we take the speech of Mr. Medhi as authentic and true state of affairs in the State, then we are living in a fool's Paradise.

I shall prove by authentic evidences that what a hypocrisy is going on in Assam in the name of liberty, equality and fraternity guaranteed by our Constitution, which has been thrown into the waste-paper basket in the State of Assam. If there is no grievance, then why everybody wants to go out of Assam ? Of course, I do not mean the Assamese people.

To be more precise, the Assamese people of the five plains districts of the Assam Valley speaking Assamese language are only satisfied under the present administration. The non-Assamese people who do not speak Assamese language want to go outside for which each party submitted a separate memorandum to the States Reorganisation Commission. If there is no grievance, then why should there be any agitation for separate State ?

Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): Sir, I think the word "hypocrisy is not Parliamentary."

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS : Now I shall refer to the Memoranda submitted by different sections of people to go out of Assam only to prove that our grievances are deep rooted

and genuine. Sir, what is the stand of the Khasi Hills? I read out extracts from the "Eastern Hills Chronicle", Shillong:—

"..... The Government's persistent policy of Assamisation we have too clearly seen all these seven years. The hostile attitude and crippling policy towards the District Councils and the rapid introduction of the Assamese language in the schools and the administration may be cited as instances in point..... There has been a growing realisation on the part of the Hills people that the ruling group have begun to treat the tribes peoples as hewers of wood and drawers of water".

In the Lushai Hills, what is the reaction? From the Memorandum to States Reorganisation Commission by the Mizo Union (Lushai Hills) it appears:—

"The Assamese are given near about 60 per cent. of the appointments..... the State Government allot 70 per cent. of the total development grant to them.....the Assamese people insist that Assamese should be adopted as the State language of Assam.....Under the existing state of affairs the non-Assamese people could not secure justice, equality and fraternity under the sovereign democratic republic of India. As we are now, it would not be right to call ourselves a free nation....."

Let us see what the Garo people say. They say, "The people speaking the Assamese language are determined to do away with the languages and cultures of those who do not belong to the Assamese-speaking community. If this attitude of the Assamese brethren continues, there will be no other alternative for the hill people but to go out for a separate Part A Hill State, which will enable them to preserve their racial identity, culture and language."

And the representatives of Cachar who submitted a Memorandum before the States Reorganisation Commission, say, "We know, most people have by the deprivations and hard experience of the last seven years, been driven to the belief that Cachar's future is doomed in Assam. We are sure of one thing. Cachar cannot be worse off in a new State than she is in Assam to-day. The people of the district are not only discontented but practically on the verge of despair."

Sir, this is the state of affairs in Assam to-day. And what is the reaction of the people of Manipur for whom now a proposal has been put forward for their integration with Assam? What they speak? Here they say, "The discriminatory policy and inefficient administration of the Assam State Government have belied the hope that Assam will ever do equitable justice to its component parts. We are afraid, apart from cultural and linguistic handicaps, the progress and improvement so far made under the Centre will receive a set-back if Manipur is merged with Assam." Equally emphatic is the voice of Tripura in their protest against merger of the State with the State of Assam as we have seen from the deliberations of the top ranking 4 men committee that took place at New Delhi in presence of the Presidents of the Assam and West Bengal Congress Committees. What is the outcome of these deliberations? They are also not inclined to join Assam. Why it is so? Is it not due to the fact that some of their own brothers and sisters inhabiting in the State of Assam smarting under certain deep-rooted grievances going all the time unheeded and uncared for? Now let us see what are these grievances. Yesterday the Chief Minister while delivering his speech on the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission stated that his Government has been pursuing a very liberal language policy and that there is no grievance whatsoever on the question of suppression of language, etc. But I am sorry I cannot accept it. Suppression of language and gradual Assamisation is the primary grievance of the non-Assamese speaking people inhabiting in Assam. Almost immediately after Independence, the Chief Minister, the late Shri G. N. Bordoloi, announced in the Assam Assembly that "for the homogeneity of the province, they (*i.e.*, non-Assamese) should adopt the Assamese language." He further added: "It is not the intention of the Government to make Assam a bilingual State" (Assam Assembly Proceedings, 1948, page 511). As early as 26th September 1947 Shri Bordoloi as Chief Minister and Education Minister passed orders on a resolution by the Assam Sahitya Mahasava, which was forwarded to him, as follows:—

"Please send this to I/S (Inspector of Schools) to set in terms of the present policy of the Government, *viz.*, that Assamese is accepted as compulsory Second Language in all schools where it cannot be Assamese completely".

The first victim of this steam-roller policy was the Bengali-speaking district of Goalpara, where the Local Board stopped

grants to the Primary Schools that refused to adopt the Assamese language as medium of instruction. Then came the Garos and the plains tribal.

An M. L. A. from Goalpara, Shri Nazmul Haque, brought a Cut Motion to the Education Budget on this issue and cited instances of this sort of un-Constitutional suppression of the mother-tongue of the children in Primary Schools in favour of Assamese by Government officials like Deputy Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors of Schools. In reply, a prominent member of the Assam Congress Assembly Party, Shri Nilmani Phookan, echoed the Chief Minister.

Mr. SPEAKER : What deduction you want to make by all the quotations?

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS : Suppression of Bengali and gradual Assamisation.

Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): He is not at all delivering a speech, Sir. All along he has been reading from certain books.

Mr. SPEAKER : Wherefrom are you reading, Mr. Das ?

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS : I am only quoting some lines from "Purbachal Reconsidered". I have not got a written speech with me. Therefore I am quoting from the book and other pamphlets.

Mr. SPEAKER : You need not read all that. You can just say such and such things happened.

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS : I am actually doing it. I am not habituated to read a speech. No grant was sanctioned unless Assamese has been taught in the schools. In this connection I would just like to refer to D. P. I.'s' Memo. No. 41766-71-G.D., dated 20th November, 1947 to the A.D.P.I., Assam.

Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister) : It has been proved to the hilt before the States Reorganisation Commission that the so called circular is a myth and fabrication of fertile imagination.

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS: He will say many things which are not true. Sir, I shall show later what the States Reorganisation Commission has stated on this matter.

I like to refer to the copy of letter No. P.S.B./15/48/534-48 from the Secretary, Provincial Primary Education Board, Assam, Shillong, to the Secretary, Dhubri Subdivisional Primary Education Board, sanctioning recurring grant of Rs. 210 per month to the School Board, Dhubri, from 1st February 1949 for seven schools at Rs. 30 per school:

See the Conditions—“The grants are sanctioned on the condition that the medium of instruction must be Assamese.” The idea was only to reduce the number of Bengali school getting grant from Government. And to prove this I would like to quote only two figures. The number of Bengali Lower Primary Schools in Goalpara district in 1947-48 was 250 and the number was reduced to 3 in 1950-51. If this is not suppression of language, then I do not know what it is.

Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): What about Cachar? It seems you have been speaking about a place of which you have no first hand information, a place where you have never been.

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS: So far as Cachar is concerned, Sir, it is admittedly a Bengali speaking district. But there too very often Government notices and notification are sent in Assamese language. We raised this question more than once on the floor of this Assembly on various occasion before this. But whenever it is done, the usual reply was that through only mistake such things happened. In the last Budget Sessions when we raised this question in the shape of a Cut Motion, the Publicity Minister gave a reply stating that that happened due to a mistake. But even after that Tat Silpa pamphlets and all other Government papers like this were sent in Assamese language. I can cite many more such instances. In this way Assamisation is going on in my district in different directions. All the names of the Railway stations in Cachar district have now been written in Assamese language. When we enquire the cause of this, the Railway authority reply that under the instruction of the Assam Government they do so. The other day when I was coming to

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RELATING TO ASSAM

Shillong I have purchased a 3rd class ticket of the Railway from Karimganj to Chargola only to show Mr. Medhi that the names of the stations are written in Assamese like this. Sir, if this is not Assamisation, then I ask, what is it ?

Now, I propose to refer to the Assam Assembly Rules. Now although not formally making Assamese the State language, the present Rules of 1953 have made it so through back door. The Assembly Rules, 1953, Rule 12, page 4 says: "The business of the House shall be transacted in Assamese or in English. Provided that any Member who is unable to express himself in any of the languages aforesaid, the Speaker may permit him to speak in his mother tongue" Thus though Bengali language is spoken by one-third of the people of Assam this right has been taken away and we can speak it only with the permission of the Speaker. Now, Sir, I shall show what is the observation of the States Reorganisation Commission. Paragraph 708 of the Report says "These complaints in so far as there is some *prima facie* justification for them deserve to be carefully examined. It is difficult for us to believe that the arrangements which have been made at present adequately meet the needs of the Bengali-speaking population in this district....." and Paragraph 720 says ".....In spite of a certain tendency towards 'Assamisation', about which the minorities in Assam have complained, the heterogeneous character of Assam has so far been substantially preserved and our proposals merely recognise this fact". But Mr. Medhi says otherwise. We have seen the census also. In census till 1931, the Assamese speaking people were only 1/3rd of the population and in 1951 census how this was manipulated by more than 55 per cent deserves examination. This was also observed by the States Reorganisation Commission—though in a milder form. Sir, it is nothing but a biological miracle that when the Census Experts say that 200 years will take generally for an increase of such a number, that was done in Assam within a span of 20 years only. This is an impossibility. What is the remark of the States Reorganisation Commission on this? Paragraph 679 of the States Reorganisation Commission Report says "Up to 1931, when linguistic tabulation was last undertaken Assamese was not in fact a language spoken by a majority of the inhabitants of the State." Again the Report says in paragraph 719, "The linguistic complexion of the existing State establishes very clearly its composite character in spite of

the very interesting post-1931 spread of the Assamese according to the census figures. It is not surprising that this rapid increase in the past two decades in the number of persons speaking Assamese has been disputed; and the veracity of the 1951 Census figures has been questioned in certain quarters."

Mr. SPEAKER : But they accepted it.

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS : They did not enter into the controversy. The Report runs, "but we would like to draw attention to the fact that inspite of this rapid increase, the Assamese-speaking population in Assam constitutes only 55 per cent. of population of the State". Assam cannot therefore be an unilingual State because they have recommended 70 per cent. of the population should be the minimum requirement for such a State.

Shri MOTIRAM BORA (Minister) : From the trend of the speech it is not clear whether he opposes or supports the States Reorganisation Commission's Report.

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS : I shall come to the conclusion later. Then coming to the Land Settlement Policy. There is also Assamisation in their policy. The linguistic policy of the Assam Government is linked with its land policy. That policy is prefaced with the proposition that there is not enough land in Assam for the indigenous population. The falsity of this proposition has been exposed on many occasions. I can refer to the Reports of Mr. Dorab Gandhi and the Late Industrial Adviser, Mr. K. D. Guha, which say that there is 18 million acres of waste land in Assam. Assamese expansionism has assumed naked proposition in recent times, but the policy has been at work from pre-Partition times and had the blessings of the British Bureaucracy. The Report of the Line System Committee appointed by the Government in 1938 contains interesting materials. The portion I am going to quote from the Line System Committee's Report is the dissentient voices of Maulavi Abdul Matin Choudhury and Maulavi Syed Abdul Rouf who were the members of the Assam Assembly and also of this Committee. It runs as: "The spurious character of opposition to immigrants, on economic grounds, is evident

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from the persistency with which it is urged that the East Bengal Immigrants must 'assimilate' with the Assamese by 'adopting their language and culture'. The word 'assimilation' hardly admits of precise definition. To ask a Bengalee to give up his mother tongue and inherited culture, of which he is as much proud as an Assamese of his own, in exchange for a patch of land to which he is as much entitled as an Assamese—is to ask him barter away his birth right for a mere mess of pottage. This attempt to convert the Bengalee immigrant into an Assamese, under the duress of economic pressure, is foredoomed to failure.....Systematic attempts are being made to impose Assamese as medium of instruction even in primary schools. Boys of tender age, living in compact immigrant areas, segregated from contact with Assamese boys of similar age, never hearing of Assamese spoken either at home or outside, are required to have their lessons in Assamese, when they attend the elementary school." The same policy is being pursued even in recent times, and we have seen that out of 300 Bengali Lower Primary Schools all of them have been converted into Assamese Lower Primary Schools excepting one or two (Shri Nilmani Phookan: Now you convert them into Bengali Schools).

Now I come to the most important subject. This is about Domicile Rule. This is most important because the States Reorganisation Commission has made the most damaging remark so far as the Assam administration is concerned. I will quote from page 230 of the States Reorganisation Commission's Report—under the head Unity of India—Paragraph 849. It runs as "Unfortunately, the manner in which certain administrations have conducted their affairs has itself partly contributed to the growth of this parochial sentiment". This paragraph is particularly meant for Assam. "We have referred earlier to the domicile rules which are in force in certain States, governing eligibility to State services. The desire of the local people for the State services being manned mainly by 'the sons of the soil' is understandable, but only upto a point. When such devices as domicile rules operate to make the public services an exclusive preserve of the majority language group of the State, this is bound to cause discontent among the other groups, apart from impeding the free flow of talent and impairing administrative efficiency."

I will now quote the next paragraph of the States Reorganisation Commission's Report. This is most important as it concerns Assam alone, which runs as: "We were greatly concerned to observe that in one State for instance, domicile rules were applied not only to determine eligibility for appointment to the public services but also to regulate the awards of contracts and rights in respect of fisheries, ferries, toll-bridges, forests and excise shops. The conditions to be satisfied for acquiring a domicile in this State are also generally such as to deserve some notice. These conditions are: (a) ownership of a homestead in the State; (b) residence in such a homestead for ten years; (c) a clear intention to live in the State till death; and (d) renunciation of the old domicile, which is to be established by such circumstantial evidence as whether the applicant has landed property or other interests in his native place, or whether he pays frequent visits to that place."

This paragraph has been quoted by the States Reorganisation Commission from our Memorandum "Purbachal Reconsidered" in toto, which deals with Assam alone. These are our grievances and States Reorganisation Commission had accepted our Statement as true and commented in paragraph 851—

"Such stipulations, in our opinion, are not only inconsistent with the Articles 15, 16 and 19 of the Constitution but go against the very conception of an Indian citizenship. We do not feel called upon to pronounce on the purely legal aspects of these restrictions, but we have no doubt whatsoever that their total effect is the exact opposite of what was intended by the Constitution." This is the most damaging report so far Assam Administration is concerned.

Mr. SPEAKER: Will you conclude your speech now?

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS: I have some more to say, Sir. The Cachar States Reorganisation Committee's facts have nowhere been contradicted by the Commission though its views on the solutions have not been accepted. But nowhere has it been said that there is another view in Cachar against our allied Committee, as has been said in respect of many other organisations elsewhere. The tacit admission is that

the Cachar States Reorganisation Committee represents the views of Cachar. It follows therefore that those including Congress Members of Parliament and Members of Legislative Assembly who met the Commission to say that they were happy under Assam and had nothing to complain, has not been taken as giving correct picture of things.

M. MOINUL HAQUE CHOUDHURY: I must challenge my Friend on this issue. I challenge him on the floor of this House to substantiate his statement. I desire, let him resign his seat or I resign mine and let us face the electorate on this issue in the district of Cachar (Hear, hear). He must also remember that 11 Members of Legislative Assembly out of 14 in the District of Cachar stand by me. Even those who partially supported him temporarily will not, I suppose, support him now (*Applause*).

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS: But it is a fact Mr. Choudhury was a Leaguer who worked for inclusion of Cachar with Pakistan in Bage Commission. Everybody knows under what pressure Mr. Choudhury has made his statement on States Reorganisation Committee.

I refer to paragraph 123 of the Report.

(*A Voice*:—Why don't you accept the challenge?)

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS: Yes, I do.

Shri MOTIRAM BORA (Minister): On a point of order, Sir, should the hon. Member be allowed to vilify others?

Mr. SPEAKER: No.

Shri MOTIRAM BORA (Minister) : Should he be allowed to abuse others by taking advantage of his privileged position in this House ?

Mr. SPEAKER : No.

Shri MOTIRAM BORA (Minister) : He should be restrained.

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS : I am stating facts, I do not like this intentional interference, you may verify it from records.

Mr. SPEAKER : You have already taken 45 minutes. I will give you only two minutes more.

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS : Two minutes won't do, Sir. I want a little more time. I have been frequently disturbed by the Members from the other side and you should take this into consideration.

Mr. SPEAKER : You have used very unparliamentary language and other things and you will necessarily be disturbed.

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS : I have stated only facts. It may be a bit strong but these are facts. It is stated that all Congress Members of Legislative Assembly and Members of Parliament of Cachar District supported the proposal of the Government. On what pressure this is ably explained from the report of the States Reorganisation Commission itself. I refer to paragraph 123 where it is stated "Even where there are substantial minorities having adequate representation in the Cabinet, the representatives of linguistic minority groups find it impossible, owing to party discipline and other factors, to do anything effective to safeguard the interests of minorities." These are the remarks by three stalwarts of India. I do not like to add to it.

(The bell rang almost continuously.)

(I have not given my suggestions as yet.)

Mr. SPEAKER : Will you take your seat ?

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS : Why should I be deprived of giving my suggestions ?

Mr. SPEAKER : No, please take your seat.

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS : In that case, as a protest against not allowing me to speak, I am going out of the House. The cat is out of the bag.

(He then left the Chamber in an angry mood.)

***Shri NILMANI PHOOKAN (Sibsagar-Jorhat North) :**
Mr. Speaker, Sir, after I have heard many Members from different quarters and different communities speaking about this Report I am really surprised that my Friend, Shri Ranendra Mohan Das, had actually been in a fighting mood. He has introduced matters which require seriously to be contradicted. Possibly he has no reason to say anything against the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission and so he raised the bogey of language, which has been the instrument in the hand of men like Shri Ranendra Mohan Das in Assam, who are always accusing the Government, the leaders and the people of Assam of Assamisation of the country. But I should with all seriousness ask him and those who are of his opinion to state how he could be bold enough to say that Goalpara is a Bengali-speaking district and that by manipulation it has been Assamised recently. He ought to remember that in 1826, when his predecessors or his forefathers, the Bengali community, came to Assam along with their British masters, they introduced Bengali even in the Lower Primary Schools of Assam. Does he not remember that in those days there was hardly a single Bengali family in Assam or a single Assamese family went to Bengal for any transaction ? Even then, when the Assamese people were not conversant with the Bengali language at all—rather when the Bengali language was in the making while the Assamese language was fully developed 200 years before that—even at that time due to political reasons and due to the exploitation of the foreign rulers they had been

*Speech not corrected.

successful in introducing Bengali in Assam. If the Assamese children whose forefathers had never been to Bengal could learn Bengali even upto my time, if I myself could pass my vernacular in Bengali, those Bengalis who have been here for three or four generations why their children cannot be taught in Assamese ? Could you imagine ?

Mr. SPEAKER : You are to speak only on the States Reorganisation Commission's Report, and not get diverted to language question and other things.

Shri NILMANI PHOOKAN : Shri Ranendra Mohan Das raised these things.

Mr. SPEAKER : You need not emulate his example.

(*A voice :* Why should you give importance to what he said?)

Shri NILMANI PHOOKAN : All right, Sir. As it is the sense of the House not to give any importance to his words, I abide by it and I brush aside the question of Assamisation. I would only like to say that the Commission's Report is a very wise report and we must accept it. For the security and better administration and for economic reasons this compact State should be formed along with the hills and plains districts. So far as we are concerned, we have no difference between our hills brothers and plains brothers up till now. A few ambitious persons—might be for leadership and power—may raise voices of their own here and there, but that is no reason why the hills and plains should not live in amity and peace. If we go into the history of Assam and the hills people we will find one thing that from time immemorial the Jaintia, Manipuri and Tripura kings were allies of the Ahom and other kings of Assam and all were friendly upto the time of the British. When the British came, they isolated them. From that time a different ideology might have been created in the minds of those who are educated and westernised. But the people of the hills and plains are more akin to each other in tradition, custom and in language even than any other part of India. The hills people have always lived in amity and peace with their Assamese brethren from time immemorial. The only difficulty that has been created is by some of my Bengali Friends here. That is the only rub. Every census may,

change the facts and figures about the race of the people but no census can determine the culture of a people. Goalpara has been overrun by Bengali immigrants and others but that is no reason why Goalpara should be considered a Bengali-speaking district.

They are relying on one line of the Report that in 1931 Census, there were 215 Lower Primary Schools in Bengali and that has been reduced to 3 in the 1951 Census. That is a fact but the reason being that in the Census of 1931 figures have been falsified by some officers of those days and this has been detected. I can show from the Census figures that in Sibsagar in 1931 or 1921 Census Report, under the head 'race' Bengali population was shown as 80,000 or something like that but Bengali under the head 'language' became 70,000 that means our tea garden labourers whom our people call Bengali coolie, are shown as Bengalis and Bengali-speaking people.

Similarly, in Goalpara in 1881 Census, the Assamese were

Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): I think, the hon. Member should not speak on the Census Reports.

Shri NILMANI PHOOKAN: Then, Sir, we accept the Commission's Report as it is and we only hope that this will make better re-approachment of different communities living in this State and so far the language is concerned, I definitely say that there will be no force to learn Assamese language from our side, as it is said that Assamese is likely to be imposed on others. It is not a fact, it is not even in our imagination. If you will allow me I can read out from my speech in this very House and outside. What we suggested is this that let there be schools, where Assamese students may learn some of the Hills languages and Hill people may learn Assamese language. But there is no question of compulsion anywhere but there should not be such feelings and expressions that Assamisation is going on merrily in Assam.

Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): Only Shri Ranendra Mohan Das said something about this.

Shri NILMANI PHOOKAN: I definitely said that I was going to speak tomorrow, but, unfortunately, my name is there in the list to-day.

As regards our Hills people it is already known to us that most of my Hill Friends have already spoken in this House in favour of acceptance of this Report and not only that, they have expressed the view that Hill State in Assam is not feasible and practicable. Therefore, I would request the other hon. Members, who might differ a little from this that in not giving a Hill State there should be no misgivings on them that Assamese language will be imposed on them. It is absolutely false. Let us build up this new State of our on the culture of the people of the Hills and people of the Plains. Let us interchange our ideas, let us learn each others languages and let us respect each other's cultures and on that basis alone we shall be in a position to build up this State which will be an eye-sore to our Friend like, Shri Ranendra Mohan Das.

Sir, regarding North-East Frontier Agency, I want to say that administrative efficiency will not only make gradual merger of that area but with all respect to the authority, I must say that North-East Frontier Agency, should be so administered and with such ideology that it will help gradual merger of it with Assam not only administratively but also nationally. I can tell with confidence that at least in the North-East Frontier Hills, especially, in Naga and North-East Frontier Agency Hills areas, people have been now expressing their ideas through the medium of Assamese and they have got intercourse with Assamese people of the Plains and they have already submitted a Memorandum that unless they are allowed free mixing and communication, they will not be able to meet their relatives in the Plains. They want easy communication and access. Therefore, if North-East Frontier Agency is merged with Assam administrative efficiency will not only be better but the free mixing will, in process of time, leave no difference between Hills people and Plains people. Therefore, my request is that North-East Frontier Agency is to seriously consider to bring the North-East Frontier Agency administration under the Assam Government.

Shri HARESWAR DAS (Deputy Minister) (Goalpara—North Salmara): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I welcome the States Reorganisation Commission's Report with regard to Assam. The Commission kept the present boundary of Assam intact and recommended inclusion of Tripura. I would have been still more glad if the administration of the North-East Frontier

Agency was transferred to the Government of Assam and Manipur was amalgamated with her. It is true that amalgamation of an area with another should be based on the wishes of the people inhabiting both. So far as Assam is concerned she has kept her doors open, it is for her neighbours now to choose.

There was a tremendous agitation for partitioning Assam and evidence was led to that effect before the Commission and the Commission very rightly rejected all these demands; but even after the publication of the report the sponsors of those demands are pursuing them with equal vigour through a section of the Calcutta press. This agitation is three-fold in character. (1) Some of the leaders of the Garo and Khasi and Jaintia Hills want a separate Hill State. The Nagas want complete Independence, the other hill districts like Mizo Hills and United Mikir and North Cachar Hills are in favour of *status quo*. (2) Some of the Bengalee lawyers and businessmen at Silchar want a Purbachal State composed of Cachar, Tripura, Mizo Hills, Naga Hills, Manipur and North-East Frontier Agency, but none of these constituents agree to join such a State. Even the majority people of Cachar do not want it and led evidence before the Commission to that effect. (3) A few Bengalee lawyers and businessmen at Dhubri want transference of Goalpara to West Bengal but the people of Goalpara including the Bengalees vehemently resisted such an attempt (*hear, hear*). All these three demands do not accept the wishes of the people as their basis. Except the few Bengalees at Silchar and Dhubri the bulk of Bengalees in Assam did not support either Purbachal State or transference of Goalpara to West Bengal. As a matter of fact, many leading Bengalees gave evidence before the Commission against these demands. I myself come from Goalpara and I shall deal with Goalpara in detail. I myself gave evidence before the Commission and many leading Bengalees were with me. So I have personal knowledge that the Bengalees at Goalpara do not support this claim of transference of Goalpara to West Bengal. As I said, many leading Bengalees were with me when I gave evidence before the Commission. The Chairman of the Municipal Board was with me, the senior-most lawyer from Goalpara also was with me and many others too. They all support retention of Goalpara in Assam.

In re-distribution of States, language no doubt plays an important part, but the main consideration must be promotion of unity, security and prosperity of India as a whole. To me, it appears, clear that the creation of a Purbachal State or a

Separate Hill State, in this part of the country, will undermine these considerations. The Commission, therefore, very rightly rejected these disruptive demands.

As far as Goalpara is concerned, the demand for its transference seems to be unsound, unreasonable and baseless. According to 1951 Census figures 62 per cent. of its population are Assamese-speaking and 17.45 per cent. are Bengalee-speaking. As from these figures no case can be made out for transference of the district. West Bengal challenges their correctness and takes her stand on 1931 figures. To appreciate the difference between 1931 and 1951 figures, a knowledge of the history of the two languages, Assamese and Bengali, in the district is necessary.

Goalpara and Cooch-Bihar with other contiguous regions once formed one kingdom under the Koch kings. So it is natural to expect racial and cultural affinity among the people living in these areas. Sri Sankar Deb wrote most of his books in Cooch-Bihar in the language of the common folk and this is Assamese. It follows, therefore, that Assamese was then the common language of this kingdom, there being no clear demarcation of district boundaries at that time.

This kingdom was partitioned in 1580 A. D., the territory East of the river Sankosh (*i. e.*, Goalpara and Kamrup) fell to the share of Raghudeb and the territory West of that river (*i. e.*, Cooch-Bihar and contiguous areas) fell to the share of Nar Narayan. This river Sankosh was made then and is still the boundary of Goalpara and Cooch-Bihar. After partition of the country in 1947, a small strip of about 40 miles of land in length connects Assam with the rest of India, and Sankosh runs just along this boundary line, being a part of the Brahmaputra Valley and separated by this boundary line. Goalpara geographically is a part and parcel of Assam.

Even after 1580 A. D. Assamese continued to be the language of the district till 1765, when with the grant of the Dewani the district passed into the hands of the East India Company and the latter tried to administer it, though their main object was collection of revenue. For this purpose they brought English knowing Bengalees from Bengal as officers and

interpreters, they being strangers to the land. Gradually, under the British the Zamindari system grew and the Zamindars, some of whom are themselves Bengalees, also indented men acquainted with the Zamindari procedure, from Bengal. Thus almost all the posts under Government and the Zamindars came to be occupied by Bengalees. Contractors and other business people from Bengal then came and Bengali was made the official language of the district. Of the Assam Valley districts, Goalpara thus came first under the sway of the Bengali language.

After 1826, the rest of Assam passed into the hands of the British and the same process was repeated and Bengali became the language of courts and schools throughout Assam, till 1882, when Assamese was restored to its rightful place. This restoration was effected not suddenly but gradually.

In Goalpara under the British all posts under Government and the Zamindars were occupied by the Bengalees. Lawyers and businessmen were all Bengalees. For any post under Government or the Zamindars one had to learn Bengali. It became a fashion with the local people to show themselves as Bengali speakers. I myself did it. In 1911 census figures, I myself gave my mother tongue as Bengali and allowed to enter all members of my family as Bengali speakers.....(*A voice*—what a pity). That was the fashion of that time. The masses being illiterate did not care how they were entered in the census. Thus the census figures of Bengali speakers up to 1931 did not mean Bengalees alone. It included Bengalees as well as the local people including tribal whose mother tongue was not Bengali.

The period of 20 years from 1931 to 1951 is a period of great advancement. The country attained independence during this period. Spread of education got top priority. Large number of schools were opened throughout the country. Due to education and growth of self-consciousness the tribals and other local people did not enter themselves as Bengali speakers in 1951. There is nothing unusual, therefore, that the percentage of Bengali speakers in the six Assam Valley districts decreased by 25 per cent. in 1951 from that of 1931. This is one of the reasons of decrease in the Bengali speakers figures in the district.

The second reason is the fact of East Bengal Muslims adopting Assamese as their mother tongue.

Formerly, these Muslims used to look to East Bengal as their parent country and desired to convert Goalpara into a part of East Bengal. They, therefore, entered themselves largely as Bengali speakers in 1931. But after Partition, they found that East Bengal became a foreign land. Majority of those of them who went to East Bengal after Partition returned in utter misery. These returning migrants were well received by Government and the local people. These Muslims, therefore, decided to adopt Assamese, the language of the land of their adoption and in 1951 they largely entered themselves as Assamese speakers.

The following figures in 1951 census will illustrate this :—

Areas	Percentage of Muslim population	Percentage of Assamese speakers	Percentage of Bengali speakers
1. Bilashipara-Dhubri Thanas ..	61 per cent	73 per cent	18 per cent
2. South Salmara and Mankachar	87.9 „	84 „	13.7 „
3. Lakhipur, Goalpara and Dudnoi	41.2 „	74 „	10 „
4. Gossaigoan and Golokganj ..	30.6 „	50.1 „	17.1 „

Thus it will be seen that wherever concentration of Muslim population is great, the percentage of Assamese speakers is the highest. The Muslims in a body corroborated this before the Commission.

Now the number of Muslims in Goalpara is over 4,75,000, of whom two-thirds will be East Bengal Muslims. The adoption of Assamese by the majority of them played an important role in reducing the number of Bengali speakers.

The third factor which played a considerable part in reducing the percentage of Bengali speakers in 1951 is departure of many East Bengal Muslims due to Partition and communal

disturbances and death. This will be apparent from the following figures :—

In 1931 census				
Persons born in Bengal and censused in Goalpara	...	...	...	1,70,421
Persons born in Cooch-Bihar and Tripura	...	...	...	1,690
Total	...	...	...	<u>1,72,111</u>
In 1951 census				
Persons born in Pakistan	...	...	...	1,35,626
Persons born in West Bengal	...	...	...	8,930
Persons born in Tripura	...	...	...	441
Total	...	...	...	<u>1,44,997</u>

Of this, 44,967 are displaced persons. If we deduct this number from the 1951 total we get the figure of 1,00,030 persons, censused in Goalpara in place of 1,72,111 persons. The shortage is explained by the fact of departure and death. Be it noted that unlike the two decades, preceding 1931, there was no immigration into the district during these two decades.

With regard to land, there is great scarcity of it in the district. According to 1951 census the total number of cultivators and cultivating labourers without land is 2,22,528. The density of population is already high. 1951 census puts the density of the district after deducting the area under Government reserve forest at 360. If the area under Zamindars' forest is deducted, the density comes upto 441 per square mile. It may be noted that the density of the Madhya Pradesh is 163, Bombay 233, Orissa 244, Punjab 338 and Madras 441 and these States are highly industrialised. So there is no available waste land for settlement with displaced persons.

Then the 1,93,000 Bengali speakers in the district are scattered all over the district. If for their sake the district is to be transferred to West Bengal what will happen to the

nine lakhs and odd thousands of people of the district who do not speak Bengali and who are against such transfer and what will become of the other 15 lakhs Bengalees living in Assam? What will be done with Kamrup, for example, with over 2,25,000 Bengalees and Nowgong with over 2,07,000 Bengalees?

The Commission, therefore, very rightly rejected the demand for the transference of the district of Goalpara to West Bengal.

Transfer of Goalpara, therefore does not solve any problem, but it creates many more. The Commission, therefore, very rightly rejected the demand for transfer of the district to West Bengal. Now an agitation has been started in West Bengal newspapers to declare Assam as a bilingual State. This is like giving pin pricks where sword thrusts failed. This demand is absolutely unnecessary. In 1951 census, 120 languages are recorded as spoken in Assam. Any substantial minority speaking a separate language can claim protection of their language and there are ample provisions in the Constitution for such a purpose.

With these words, Sir, I support the States Reorganisation Commission's recommendations.

Shri GAURISANKAR BHATTACHARYYA (Kamrup-Gauhati): Mr. Speaker, I think, Sir, I shall be failing in my duty if I do not congratulate the Leader of the House for the tone, sobriety, moderation and restraint that he had set in his speech yesterday. I wish we all can maintain that standard to-day also, and I wish that I also can emulate him. It, of course, does not require one to agree with his proposition in every respect for emulating him in this tone.

Now, at the very outset it can be said that we are all glad that the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission have rejected all claims and proposals for disintegration of the State of Assam. We have all felt greatly relieved that not an inch of the territory of the existing State has been taken away by the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission.

We have also noted that the Commission has made it the first principle in their recommendations that we should seek the unity and solidarity of India as our first guiding principle. The Leader of the House also said the same thing yesterday in his speech. Now, it is not only the Commission and the Leader of the House but it is the wish in the heart of hearts

of all good people in the country that the unity and solidarity of our Union should be maintained. But while every one of us swear in the name of unity, yet we find that there are certain germs causing disunity in our Union. Why is it so? Because there are certain factors which generate disunity. We shall be failing in our duty if we do not try to remove them. If we do that, we shall contribute in our own way to the unity of this State and the Union of India. With that end in view I have tried to see the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission and with that end in view I want to make a few observations on some of the salient features so far as they relate to the State of Assam.

1. Sixth Schedule Districts

Let me first of all take the question of the Sixth Schedule Districts. As I have stated before, we are all glad that the Commission has rejected the claim for the creation of a Hill State as unpracticable. But while the Commission has met our wishes in respect of this common objective, we feel that it is unfortunate that the Commission has not advocated any basic review or revision of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution in order to substantially enlarge the regional autonomy of these districts. We feel that unless and until some tangible basic revision of the Sixth Schedule as it stands at present be made, the tribal people are bound to remain discontented. The Commission has stated that the demand for a Hill State is partially political and partially psychological. Whatever that might be, it is no doubt a fact that there is some amount of discontent, some amount of suspicion and some amount of discrepancy in the present Sixth Schedule. Therefore, there is no reason why there should not be some basic review and revision in the Constitution. The Commission itself, it appears, felt this when we see that it has suggested the appointment of a Committee to go into the working of the Sixth Schedule. Now, instead of stopping at that if the Commission would have given some more tangible recommendations, I think, that would have gone a long way to satisfy the genuine grievances of even those who have raised the slogan of a separate Hill State.

Secondly, we have noted that the Commission has rightly and sharply attacked the old imperialist policy of keeping the Hills people in segregation. But we see that the Commission failed

to take note of the fact that the same policy of segregation and restriction on free movement is being pursued even now.

Thirdly, it is also regretted that Commission has failed to suggest a clear solution to the Hill question, i.e., genuine and enlarged regional autonomy, concrete and selfless aid from the more developed areas, equal rights and opportunity for all nationalities and tribal groups and lasting unity of Assam on that basis. To give only one instance, we find that in the Sixth Schedule itself there are great many discrepancies. For example, if a Garo lives on the Garo Hills side of the border then he is taken to belong to the Scheduled Tribe. If again, he lives in the Goalpara district, he is not considered as such. If a Garo or a Mikir inhabits in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills he is not taken to be one belonging to the Scheduled Tribe. This sort of discrepancies are there. So unless and until these discrepancies are removed and the Tribal brethren are enabled to feel as members of the one and the same community, these feelings of segregation, these fissiparous tendencies will be there. Therefore, it is necessary that we calmly and dispassionately study these lacunae and offer concerted and united suggestions to the Government of India so that further efforts may be made to remove the prevailing differences and suspicions.

Adjournment

(The Assembly was then adjourned till 2 P. M. for lunch).

After lunch

2. North-East Frontier Agency

Shri GAURISANKAR BHATTACHARYYA : Mr. Speaker, Sir, next I want to make a few observations with regard to the North-East Frontier Agency areas. The Leader of the House had said yesterday, "I have already emphasised that in the interest of security and unity of India, it is essential that the entire North-Eastern region of India should ultimately be integrated into one administrative unit and that this process of integration should be encouraged and steps should be taken to speed up the process to bring about a feeling of unity among all sections of the people inhabiting this region including the North-East Frontier Division". In other words, "the process of ultimate integration of North-East Frontier Agency should not be lost sight of". This is not a new proposition. This was the stand of the Bordoloi Committee also. But the way in which North-East Frontier Agency has been administered for the last 8 years and the way the present

bureaucratic administration of North-East Frontier Agency has represented the situation of North-East Frontier Agency to the States Reorganisation Commission has belied all our hopes and justified all our fears. The healthy process of gradual integration of the people of North-East Frontier Agency and the rest of Assam which was developing slowly but surely over centuries is sought to be demolished by the present North-East Frontier Agency administration. The Leader of the House had yesterday quoted the opinion of the celebrated German Anthropologist, Christoph Von Furer-Hai-Mendrof to show how the people of the Subansiri Division of the North-East Frontier Agency were being gradually and peacefully assimilated and integrated. But the present North-East Frontier Agency administration has sought to retard this growth and development and it did not place most of these vital facts at the disposal of the States Reorganisation Commission. A feeling is growing that North-East Frontier Agency now means—No entry for the Assamese. If this is allowed to continue for, say, 10 years some people in North-East Frontier Agency itself will not be wanting who would say that they don't want integration in Assam. This is a very dangerous possibility and we should be wide awake for this fact and we should move the Union Government also on this point very strongly. The States Reorganisation Commission, it appears, has failed to appreciate the universal demand in Assam to include North-East Frontier Agency in Assam administration and their own voice in the larger interest of which alone could give the Hillmen there a democratic Assam and North-East Frontier Agency as a whole which the present bureaucratic set up in North-East Frontier Agency completely denies. The States Reorganisation Commission has not suggested ways and means to democratise the administration of North-East Frontier Agency where eight lakh hillmen live. Early integration of North-East Frontier Agency would have given a sense of strength and confidence to other Hills also. I quite appreciate that in the position which is held by the Leader of the House, he is bound to be modest but I would like to stress that what he had said yesterday was only an irreducible minimum. The universal feeling in Assam is that instead of creating conditions for the ultimate merger and integration of North-East Frontier Agency with the rest of Assam newer barriers are being created.

3. Manipur

Now, with regard to Manipur, the States Reorganisation Commission's recommendation denies the six lakhs of people there the fundamental right of citizenship, namely, to have their own elective Legislature and leave them at the mercy of a bureaucracy.

4. Tripura

With regard to Tripura, the States Reorganisation Commission has failed to pay heed to the united demand of the people of Tripura for their own Legislature and a democratic administration and has made a recommendation with which the people of Tripura totally disagree. Strangely enough, from almost similar premises, the States Reorganisation Commission has arrived at two contradictory conclusions with regard to Manipur and Tripura. Moreover, in recommending the merger of Tripura in Assam the Commission has advanced such an argument as is bound to encourage on the one hand fissiparous tendencies and to deepen on the other hand the suspicion of the majority in Assam. Some outside agencies have already raised the slogan that Assam should be declared as a bilingual State and their counterparts in Assam have raised the counter slogan that Assam should be declared as a unilingual State. There is a growing apprehension in some quarters that as a sequel to the merger of Tripura with Assam the old drama of Assam Valley *versus* Surma Valley will be staged again. We should make it clear that we have full support behind the peoples of Manipur and Tripura for responsible Government and democratic set up and that we do not want integration of Manipur and Tripura in Assam unless and until the people thereof freely and voluntarily choose such integration. It is quite clear that the people of Tripura are at present against Tripura's merger in Assam.

5. Cachar

Now with regard to Cachar, it is unfortunate that some amount of heat was generated in this House this morning while my Friend, Sri Ranendra Mohan Das, was speaking. It must, however, be admitted that the Commission while remaining silent over the legitimate demand of recognizing and extending

an autonomous status to Cachar which alone could meet the genuine need of the people of Cachar and strengthen the unity of Assam has made observations purported to be in support of its recommendation for merger of Tripura in Assam which will inevitably strengthen the thesis of the advocates of Purbachal Pradesh.

6. National Minorities

I am not one who thinks that there should be over emphasis on this question, and as a matter of fact, the Commission has rightly observed in Para. 768 of the Report, "Over emphasis on the rights of minorities and too many special safeguards for them would tend to keep the minority consciousness alive and might thereby hamper the growth of a common nation-hood". At the same time the Commission has itself admitted that there really exists a minority question.

Now, while the States Reorganisation Commission has expressed itself in favour of finding a solution for problems of national and linguistic minorities, which, according to the Census figures, comprise 45 per cent of the population of Assam it has not been able to recommend anything concrete and tangible except certain preliminary suggestions in respect of the latter's right of language, domicile representation in the administration, etc. It has also failed to note that in spite of the provisions of the Constitution the rights of the minorities have often been denied, even suppressed and discriminatory measures have been enforced. This shows that mere invoking of certain Constitutional provisions, does not provide any real solution. The States Reorganisation Commission has rather helplessly observed in page 216, Para. 801 of the Report that "no guarantees can secure a minority against every kind of discriminatory policy of a State Government". However, references and recommendations made in the States Reorganisation Commission Report in this respect bring out sharply the nature of these problems in Assam and urgency of their speedy solution; because undemocratic and discriminatory measure tends to goad sections of the minorities to extra-territorial loyalty.

The need of ensuring for the minorities primary education in mother tongue and also higher education wherever prevailing or possible and enforcing their linguistic rights in State and Court affairs is of extreme urgency in Assam.

7. Official Language

✓ Lastly the States Reorganisation Commission's recommendations on the language question fail to provide any concrete answer to the problem of official language for Assam; it has intensified the controversy rather than leading to a satisfactory solution. It, therefore, remains for us to calmly endeavour to find jointly a solution of the language problem acceptable to all.

In conclusion, I beg to appeal that we should consider the Report calmly and dispassionately keeping in view the necessity of unity and solidarity of Assam and India and seek solution of the outstanding problems through discussion, mutual understanding and co-operation and the principle of voluntary agreement.

Shri MAHENDRA HAZARIKA (Nowgong-Raha—Reserved for Scheduled Castes): মাননীয় অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, ৰাজ্য পুনৰগঠন আয়োগে ভাৰতবৰ্ষৰ ঐক্য সংহতি, আৰ্থিক শাসন আৰু ভৌগলিক অৱস্থা আদিলৈ লক্ষ্য ৰাখি অসম চৰকাৰ আৰু কংগ্ৰেছে অসমৰ সীমা সম্পৰ্কে ব্যক্ত কৰা মনোভাৱ সুচিন্তিত ভাবে বিবেচনা কৰি পশ্চিম বঙ্গ চৰকাৰ আৰু কংগ্ৰেচে উঠোৱা ভিত্তিহীন, যুক্তিহীন আৰু আয়োগক অন্তৰত বেসুৰ লগাৰ দাবি অগ্রাহ্য কৰি অসমৰ সীমা হ্ৰাস নকৰাত আয়োগক আন্তৰিক ধন্যবাদ জ্ঞাপন কৰিছো। অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, ইতিহাসৰ ফালৰ পৰা চাবলৈ গলে অসমৰ সমতল ভূমিখণ্ড বিভিন্ন পৰ্ব্বতীয়া আৰু অপৰ্ব্বতীয়া জাতিসমূহৰ বিভিন্ন বৈশিষ্ট্য, ভাষা, সভ্যতা, সংস্কৃতিৰ, সমাবেশৰ ঠাইত পৰিণত হৈ অসমীয়া জাতি গঢ়ি উঠিছে। অসমৰ পৰ্ব্বতীয়া জাতিসমূহৰ সমতলৰ অসমীয়া জাতিৰ তেজ মঙহৰ সম্বন্ধ আছে। সমতলত বাস কৰা বিভিন্ন পৰ্ব্বতীয়া জাতিসমূহৰ বহুতো বৰ্ণ হিন্দুত চামিল আছে। মাত্ৰ মাজতে ইংৰাজ শাসনে ভৈয়ামক পৰ্ব্বতৰ লগত মিলামিচাৰ পৰা বঞ্চিত কৰাৰ ফলত আমি ভায়ে ভায়ে পৰস্পৰে পৰস্পৰক নুখুজা হলো। আৰু সন্দেহৰ চকুৰে চাবলৈ ধৰিছো। ফলত আজি আমাৰেই কিছুমান সংখ্যা-লঘু ভায়ে আমাৰ পৰা পৃথক হবলৈ বিচাৰিছে।

অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, পৰ্ব্বতীয়া জিলা সমূহত বস-বাস কৰা বিভিন্ন ভাষা-ভাষী ভাই সকল কিছুমানে পৰ্ব্বতীয়া জিলাসমূহক অসম ৰাজ্যৰ পৰা পৃথক কৰাৰ ভাব পোষণ কৰিছে। এই ভাবধাৰা অসমৰ ভৌগলিক ঐক্যতা আৰু সংহতি ৰক্ষাৰ প্ৰতিকূল। আৰু সংবিধানৰ ষষ্ঠ অনুসূচী অনুসাবে পৰ্ব্বতীয়া গোট সমূহে লাভ কৰা সুবিধাৰ পৰা বঞ্চিত হোৱাৰ মনোভাৱ পৰিলক্ষিত। সেই ফালৰ পৰা পৃথক হোৱাৰ ভাব পোষণ কৰা ভাই সকলৰ প্ৰতি মোৰ মিনতি যে তেখেত সকলে যাতে ৰাজ্য পুনৰগঠন আয়োগে যি সুচিন্তিত সিদ্ধান্ত কৰিছে সেই সিদ্ধান্ত মানিলৈ পিচপৰা অসমৰ সৰ্বপ্ৰকাৰে আগুৱাই নিবলৈ যত্নবান হয়।

মহোদয়, উত্তৰ-পূৰ্ব প্ৰশাসনীয় অংশ আৰু নগা পৰ্ব্বতীয়া ভাই সকলৰ প্ৰতিও মোৰ সেই একেই মন্তব্য। এই অঞ্চল সমূহ সম্বন্ধে ৰাজ্য পুনৰগঠন আয়োগে সংবিধানত উল্লেখ কৰা কথাকেই পুনৰুল্লেখ কৰিছে। এই অঞ্চল অতি সোনকালে যাতে অসমৰ লগত চামিল হব পাৰে তাৰ হকে আৱশ্যকীয় আয়োজনৰ ব্যৱস্থা কৰিবলৈ কেন্দ্ৰীয় চৰকাৰক অনুৰোধ জনালো।

অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, আয়োগে ত্ৰিপুৰা ৰাজ্যক অসমৰ লগত চামিল কৰাত সুখী হৈছে। ত্ৰিপুৰা ৰাজ্যৰ আদিবাসী সকলৰ লগত অসমৰ তেজ মণ্ডহৰ সম্বন্ধ। এইটোও ঠিক কথা যে ত্ৰিপুৰাবাসী সকলে যদি অসম ৰাজ্যৰ লগত চামিল হব নোখোজে তেন্তে জোৰ কৰি জাপি দিয়াত অসম ৰাজ্যৰ ক্ষতি হোৱাই সম্ভব। মণিপুৰ সম্বন্ধেও সেই একে কথাই খাটে। অবশ্যে বিভিন্ন বৈদেশীক ৰাজ্য সমূহৰ সীমান্তবৰ্তী হোৱাৰ কাৰণে ভৌগলিক শাসন আৰু আৰ্থিক ফালৰ পৰা ওপৰোক্ত ৰাজ্য সমূহক অসমৰ লগত চামিল কৰিলে দেশ ৰক্ষাৰ ফালৰ পৰা মঙ্গলজনক হব বুলি ভাবো।

মহোদয়, পূৰ্ববাচল বচোতা সকলে কাছাৰ জিলাক অসমৰ লগত চামিল কৰাত এতিয়া বঙালী ভাষা লুপ্ত হব বুলি এটা আসোৱাহ উলিয়াইছে। আমি জনাত কাছাৰৰ আদিম অধিবাসী সকলে এনে ভাব পোষণ নকৰে। ই মাত্ৰ কেইজনমান লোকৰহে মনোভাব। এওঁ লোকে কয় যে অসম চৰকাৰে বিচাৰে বঙ্গভাষা অসমৰ পৰা উঠাবৰ কাৰণে। এনে ভাব পোষণ কৰাটো নিতান্ত অনুচিত। তেখেত সকলেও জানে যে অতিজতে যেতিয়া অসমক ইংৰাজ জাতিয়ে শাসন কৰিবলৈ লৈছিল তেতিয়া তেওঁলোকে বঙালী কৰ্মচাৰী লৈ আহিছিল—এই বঙালী সকলে অসমৰ সুকীয়া ভাষা থকা স্বত্বেও বঙালী ভাষা জাপি দিছিল—তেতিয়া তেখেত সকলে যি মনোবৃত্তি পোষণ কৰিছিল আজি আমাৰ বন্ধু বৰ্ণেন্দ্ৰ দাস ডাঙৰীয়াইয়ো সেই একে মনোভাবকেই ভিত্তি কৰি বঙ্গ ভাষা বিপৰ্য্যয়ৰ উক্তি কৰিছে। কিন্তু কাৰ্য্যক্ষেত্ৰত কি হৈছে তালৈ তেখেতে লক্ষ্য নকৰা নাই। আজি অসম চৰকাৰে কাৰ্য্যত কোনো ভাষাৰ ওপৰত হস্তক্ষেপ কৰা নাই। কাছাৰবতৌ কথাই নাই আনকি অতিজৰে পৰা ব্ৰহ্মপুত্ৰ উপত্যকাত বাস কৰি অহা সংখ্যা লক্ষিষ্টতম বঙালী সকলেও নিজৰ ভাষাতে আজিলৈকে শিক্ষালাভ কৰাৰ সুবিধা পাই আহিছে। আজি কংগ্ৰেছ চৰকাৰৰ দিনত সেই বঙালী স্কুল বিলাকেও যথোপযুক্ত সাহায্য পাই আহিছে এনেস্থলত দাস ডাঙৰীয়াৰ সন্দেহ ভিত্তিহীন।

অসম চৰকাৰে ভাষা বিষয়ে যি উদাৰ নীতি লৈছে আৰু লব তাক আমাৰ মাননীয় মুখ্যমন্ত্ৰী ডাঙৰীয়াই প্ৰথমতেই উত্থাপন কৰিছে। চৰকাৰে যত যি ভাষাত প্ৰাথমিক শিক্ষা দিব লাগে তাত তেনে ব্যৱস্থাই গ্ৰহণ কৰিছে। এনেস্থলত ৰাজ্য পুনৰগঠন আয়োগৰ সুচিন্তিত ব্যৱস্থা সমৰ্থন কৰাত কাৰো ক্ষতি নাই বৰং লাভহে হব।

মহোদয়, মই ইয়াকে কৈ ৰাজ্যপুণৰ গঠন আয়োগৰ সুচিন্তিত সিদ্ধান্ত আন্তৰিকতাৰে সৈতে সমৰ্থন কৰিছো।

Pu LALMAWIA (Mijo District—Lungleh—Reserved for Scheduled Tribes) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, after reading the Report of States Re-organisation Commission I admit that there are many bright spots in the Report, and the factors bearing on reorganisation are dealt with clearly and satisfactorily. The broad principle followed by the States Reorganisation Commission is quite appreciable. But on close examination of the proposals for re-organisation I find that the States Reorganisation Commission went outside the principle as laid down by them. The members of the Commission seems to be led astray by some influential section

of the people so that they overlook the truth and interests of minority communities as can be proved from the proposals made by them for re-organisation of Assam and its neighbouring part C. States.

The States Reorganisation Commission has flatly rejected the demand for the Hills State. Some of the grounds as it appears from their Report are as follows: 1. Creation of "a new class". The States Reorganisation Commission is biased against the new class in the Hills. In paragraph 689 at page 186 of the States Reorganisation Commission's Report it is stated thus:—"The result of the 'inner line' regulation policy, as administered by the British, illustrate the dangers of deliberate and complete segregation. That policy, however, in point of fact was not enforced so much against Europeans and Christians as against the other Indian communities. The broad effect of throwing the tribal areas open to some but not to all external influences during the period of the British occupation has been to divide the tribal people themselves and to create, as a result of British and missionary influences, a new class, which has so far remained quite distinct from the general population either in the hills or in the plains. The creation of a new Hill State will, in our opinion, accentuate these distinctions. It will, therefore, prove, in the long run, against the interests of the scheduled tribes."

The class mentioned here, I presume, means the Christians among the tribal people of Assam. From the States Reorganisation Commission's Report a new class appears to be a class distinct from other tribals. The words 'to divide the tribal people themselves' can mean the division between the Christians and Non-Christian tribals. This new class cannot mean the class who wears European costumes or the progeny of intermarriage for those are very few. Whatever the new class may be, the States Reorganisation Commission has a strong bias against them. It may be a religious bias, a dress bias or a racial bias. We take that the new class mean the Christians and therefore it is a religious bias. I may give some examples. Since independence of India the Christians experience greater difficulties than before. On my way to Shillong I visited Jorhat and I found that at the Aerodrome people were working on Sunday. If the people there work on Sunday without stop it means that all the people living in

the North-East Frontier Agency areas will also work on Sundays without observing Sundays. It is the duty of the Christians to observe Sunday, but now it is no longer possible to do so. So, Sir, it is up to the Government to see that more aircrafts and more food is supplied for the North-East Frontier Agency areas so that the people can observe Sunday without having to do any work on that day. As I said during the last Budget Session of the Assembly, we wanted to have two missionaries from England, but they were not allowed to come. I understand that they were driven away from Barapani also. That is the position of the new class. (A voice from the Treasury Bench: Who were driven away from Barapani?) They were Mr. and Mrs. Mudd of London Baptist Mission.

Mr. SPEAKER: Probably on account of security reasons.

Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): I can assure him that there are only a few missionaries who are suspected and are meddling with the security of the country and so they are not allowed to come to the border areas.

PU LALMAWIA: Before they entered the District how is it possible for the Government to stop them for security reasons?

Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): Because there are previous records about them.

PU LALMAWIA: I am sure the missionaries will not have such bad records.

Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): Can you cite a single instance where missionaries have been stopped from entering any area without previous bad records about them?

PU LALMAWIA: That requires investigation and it is beyond me to say. However, that requires investigation and it is beyond me to say anything more. But we find that the Christians are experiencing more and more trouble. Once in Lungleh one police officer stopped people from killing cows because that animal is considered sacred by the Hindus.

Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): Was that fact brought to the notice of the Government or the Deputy Commissioner ?

PU LALMAWIA: It was reported to the Subdivisional Officer, Lungleh.

Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): As far as I know, no information was given to Government.

PU LALMAWIA: I do not know whether the Subdivisional Officer forwarded the information to Government, but the matter was reported to him.

Shri MOTIRAM BORA (Minister): By whom ?

PU LALMAWIA: By the people concerned.

Shri MOTIRAM BORA (Minister) : Did the hon. Member give any report himself ?

PU LALMAWIA : I know the matter was reported to the Subdivisional Officer. The then Subdivisional Officer was a Lushai.

Mr. SPEAKER : Please come to the main point.

PU LALMAWIA : Sir, my next point is the inability of the hill tribes to command resources in money, etc., even with aid from the Centre. In paragraph 693 at page 187 of the Report it is stated: "It is naturally not possible at this stage to forecast the details of the development plans proposed for the hill areas. For our purposes, however, we take note of the important fact that, individually or together, the hill districts will not be able to command even with such aid as may be granted by the Government of India, the resources in money, material or man-power needed to implement these development programmes." It is, of course, easy for the Commission, who had already been biased against the new class, who generally take lead in the Hill State move to pass derogatory remarks against the hill districts. But the Hill State had never been in existence and who can predict that the Hills State might not do better in regard to their areas than the

Government of Assam have been doing so long? Unless the hill people are given a chance in the Hills State of our own, such a remark has no value and it is premature. The Britishers used to say that Indians would not be able to run their country, they would be quarreling amongst themselves and that they would call back the Britishers to help them. But that never came true. Even the Assam Government for several years since Independence have not been able to spend in time the financial aid given by the Government of India and have not been able to implement the development programmes. Who can definitely say that the hill people may not do better than the Assam Government has done or can do for the hill areas? Who can say that they will not be able to attract manpower better than the Assam Government have been able to do so far? We feel confident that the hills people will prove themselves capable of doing as good or almost as good as the Assam Government have done.

My third point is the cost of administration. In paragraph 694 at page 187 it is stated, "Separation will add to the cost of administration". Separation, no doubt, will add to the cost of administration because, as we all know, the hill districts are all deficit areas. Well even now the hill districts are getting financial help from the State Government as well as from the Centre. Whether we remain in Assam or not, we need financial help and I don't think we will ask for more financial help by reason of our separation. If the Central Government give us the money as they give to the Assam Government at present for the hill districts, we shall be able to run our own administration, as that will be supplemented by our own revenue.

Mr. SPEAKER : What will be the revenue of the Hills State ?

PU LALMAWIA : I cannot give exact figures off hand. But I have got our memorandum in front of me and from there I can give approximate figures.

The Budget estimate of expenditure in 1951-52 was Rs. 2,19,36,000 and the actual expenditure was Rs.1,24,18,000.

Mr. SPEAKER : What is your income, apart from the grant ?

PU LALMAWIA : In 1951-52, the receipts were estimated at Rs.81,64,000.

Mr. SPEAKER : The Chief Minister says that it is only Rs.35 lakhs for the hill districts.

Shri MOTIRAM BORA (Minister) : What are the actual receipts, not estimates ?

Rev. J. J. M. NICHOLS-ROY (Minister) : It will be 60 lakhs.

PU LALMAWIA : In the memorandum, it is stated that the receipts for 1952-53 were Rs. 68,65,000.

I do not pretend to know all these things but with the help of our memorandum I give the figures. I think, it will be fairly correct.

The next point is co-ordination between Hills and Plains. In the States Reorganisation Commission Report it is stated in paragraph 694 of page 187, that "Separation will add to the cost of administration, and the co-ordination of policies and programmes between the State of Assam and the hill areas on the one hand and between the hills district themselves on the other will become more difficult." In regard to this remark, we cannot agree as hills people will not face difficulties if the Hill State is created as everything will depend on the mental attitude which the people of the hills will have towards the people of the plains and *vice-versa*. We hill people feel sure from our side that once we are given Hill State we will be very accommodating towards our neighbours in the plains as we shall feel that we are on the same level with them as independent citizens, which feeling is not with us now as we feel that we are subject to the rule by a higher authority, who consider that we are below par. In our opinion, this pointer of the States Reorganisation Commission is not proper as it is pessimistic of the idea of creation of a Hill State which in their view will accentuate distinction between hills and plains.

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RELATING TO ASSAM

The next point is that States Reorganisation Commission in its Report at page, 188, paragraph 695, stated, "The impression which we have formed as a result of our tour of the area is that a substantial body of public opinion, even in the tribal areas of Assam, has not, by any means, been converted to the view that a new Hill State should be formed." This remark of States Reorganisation Commission gives us hope that if we can mobilise opinion in support of Hill State, then there will be no difficulty in creating the Hill State.

Mr. SPEAKER : I hope you are concluding ?

PU LALMAWIA : Sir, I am not going to take long.

Mr. SPEAKER : I will allow you five minutes more.

PU LALMAWIA : States Reorganisation Commission made some false allegations also. In paragraphs 696 at page 188 of the Report they said as follows :—

"Generally speaking, the United Mikir and North Cachar Hills and the Mizo (Lushai) Hills are not in favour of a separate Hill State and the district council in the Lushai Hills and the Karbia-Durbar (Mikir Hills National Council) are in favour of the *status quo*." So far as Lushai Hills is concerned it is quite wrong because there are two parties in the Lushai Hills, namely, Mizo Union and the United Mizo Freedom Organisation. I belong to the latter party and I am the President also of this party. We submitted a Memorandum for the formation of a Hill State and I think Pu Saprawnga will confirm my statement that Mizo Union also strongly supports the formation of a Hill State. So, there is no party objecting to the creation of the Hill State. In Lushai Hills cent. percent. people support the Hill State move. If there is anybody against, there may be a few individuals here and there, which will not be even one per cent. As I understand, North-Cachar Hills remained neutral in this move. They are not against forming of a Hill State, but if it is granted, they are willing to join it. As it stands now, the leaders are all supporting the Hill State. So the report is wrong. I do not know how they could make such allegations.

Then, regarding United Khasi and Jaintia Hills and the Garo Hills, of course, there are some elements, a small section of the people, opposing the Hill State, but from what I have heard from some of the speakers this morning they have been claiming

90 per cent. as their supporters, the other side also claim 90 per cent. or more. It cannot be proved here but it will be proved in the next general election (*Laughter*). In the Lushai Hills, Garo Hills, Khasi and Jaintia Hills the next general election will prove and I can predict that all the candidates who will be supporters of the Hill State will come out victorious (*Laughter*).

Mr. SPEAKER : Your time is up.

PU LALMAWIA : I may kindly be given 3 minutes more

Mr. SPEAKER : Half a minute is allowed.

PU LALMAWIA : When the case of Manipur and Tripura should be treated on the same level, States Reorganisation Commission made proposals which are different in this case. One thing we cannot understand. In one portion of the Report it stated that a united administrative unit in the border State is essential but Manipur has been made an exception. It is not coming to Assam. The people of Manipur want to have a representative Assembly. Tripura is going to be merged with Assam, why not take Manipur also in Assam? These are the points which I cannot reconcile myself. It seems that the Report is based on broad principles but close scrutiny shows that it is not the thing. The Report requires very very careful consideration by the Government and I wish that this Assembly also will express the same view that I have expressed although some of the previous speakers supported the States Reorganisation Commissions Report but I am sure, they will not support it in *toto*.

Thank you, Sir.

Shri MOHENDRA NATH DEKA (Kamrup-Kamallapur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I take my stand to consider the States Reorganisation Commission's recommendations and report so far they relate to Assam.

Sir, before I proceed to consider the report, I beg to draw the attention of the House to an important portion of the resolution of the Government of India in appointing the States Reorganisation Commission mentioned by it at paragraph 92 of page 25 of the report; this portion runs as follows:—
“The first essential consideration is the preservation and strengthening of the unity and security of India. Financial,

economic and administrative considerations are almost equally important not only from the point of view of each State, but for the whole nation". Such considerations were uppermost in the minds of the most learned and distinguished members of the Commission and we, too should bear in mind such considerations when we proceed to discuss the report with relation to Assam.

We all know that, the North Eastern India comprises three States, Assam, a Part A State and Manipur and Tripura two Part C States. North-East Frontier Agency is constitutionally in Assam. This area is practically separated from the main body of India by a foreign territory of Pakistan. This region is comparatively very big from the point of view of area, but it is comparatively very small from the point of view of population; the area, considerably hilly, is near about one lakh square miles but the population of it is a little over one crore. The communications between this area and the rest of India are still relatively undeveloped. Under this background no better recommendation than what is made by the Commission is expected. I find no difficulty in accepting the recommendations.

The Leader of the House has made an elaborate statement on the report and I feel glad to endorse the views he is pleased to express in his statement.

In this connection, I beg to make a few observations.

The members of States Reorganisation Commission have rightly rejected the claim of West Bengal on Goalpara. It is really unreasonable claim.

The decision of the Commission on the claims of a separate Hill State is really a right one. Their decisions and reasonings have been very clearly and precisely stated in paragraphs 694 and 697 at pages 187 and 188 of the report. My earnest request to my hill brothers and sisters of Khasi and Jaintia Hills and Garo Hills, who are still in pursuit of a Hill State, to accept the report of the States Reorganisation Commission on this point, specially when in these two districts an influential section of opinion views with disfavour the formation of a

separate Hill State and specially when geographical, economical, administrative and strategic considerations are not in favour of such a State.

As regards recommendation of merger of Tripura in Assam the less said the better.

It is clear that Tripura people aspire for a representative Government on the State level and the fulfilment of that aspiration under the Constitution of India is only possible when it merges in Assam, the only adjacent Part A State. Tripura cannot obviously stand by itself and it is desirable to bring the entire border line between India and Pakistan in this region under one single control, namely, the control of Assam Government. Moreover to form a representative Government on the State level, shall create such a situation as to alter the provision of the Indian Constitution.

Under the circumstances, I earnestly hope that the people of Tripura will give dispassionate consideration to the proposal of merger.

The States Reorganisation Commission's recommendation for abolishing Part C States deserves serious consideration of the Government of India. I feel no hesitation to accept this recommendation.

With these words, Sir, I welcome the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission in relation to Assam.

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

Shri DHARANIDHAR BASUMATARI (Kamrup-Rangiya—Reserved for Scheduled Tribes): মাননীয় উপাধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, স্বাধীনতা পোৱাৰ পিচত আমাৰ ৰাষ্ট্ৰখনলৈ কি হিচাবে সংগঠন কৰি—কেনেকৈ সংগঠন কৰিলে শাসনৰ সুবিধা হব,—ভাষা, সংহতি, সংস্কৃতি অক্ষুণ্ণ থাকিব তাৰে ব্যৱস্থা কৰাৰ কথা উঠিল। গতিকে অস্থায়ী সৰু সৰু Part 'A' Part 'B' ও Part 'C' States বিলাকৰ কেনেকৈ একত্ৰিত কৰি কাৰ লগত চামিল কৰিলে শাসনৰ সুবিধা হব পাৰে তাক পৰীক্ষা কৰি এটা প্ৰতিবেদন দাখিল কৰিবৰ কাৰণে আয়োগ নিয়োগ কৰিব লাগে বুলি আমাৰ প্ৰধান মন্ত্ৰী নেহেৰু ডাঙৰীয়ায় ১৯৫৩ চনৰ ডিচেম্বৰ মাহৰ ২২ তাৰিখে লোক সভাত এটা বিবৃতি দিলে। তাৰ পিছত ভাষা, সংস্কৃতি, ভৌগলিক, অৰ্থনৈতিক এই সকলো বিলাক লক্ষ্য ৰাখি সিদ্ধান্ত কৰিবলৈ

এই ৰাজ্য পুনৰগঠনৰ আয়োগ নিয়োগ কৰা হ'ল ১৯৫৩ চনৰ ডিচেম্বৰ মাহৰ ২৯ তাৰিখে। এই আয়োগৰ যি তিনিজন জ্ঞানী বিজ্ঞ লোক নিৰ্বাচিত হৈছে তেখেত সকলক নজনা লোক বিবল। ৰাজনীতিজ্ঞ হিচাবেও তেখেত সকল সুবিখ্যাত।

তেখেত সকলে নানা ঠাইত ঘূৰি সকলো দলৰ মুখীয়াল লোক সকলৰ লগত আলোচনা কৰি এনে এটা সিদ্ধান্তত উপনীত হৈছে। আৰু ইয়াৰ সম্পূৰ্ণ প্ৰতিবেদন এই তিনি গৰাকী নেতাই ১৯৫৪ চনৰ ফেব্ৰুৱাৰী মাহৰ ২৩ তাৰিখে দাখিল কৰিলে।

এনে এটা সূচিস্থিত সিদ্ধান্তত কিছুমান ভিত্তিহীন আঁসোৱাহ উলিয়াই কিছুমান মুখীয়াল লোকে আওনাটে বিশ্লেষণ কৰি নিজৰ প্ৰতিপত্তি বঢ়াবলৈ উঠিবলৈ লাগিছে। কিন্তু যদি ভালকৈ চোৱা হয় তেন্তে এই সিদ্ধান্তৰ বিৰুদ্ধে আমাৰ কবলগা একো নাথাকে। ইয়াৰ উপৰিও আমাৰ মুখ্যমন্ত্ৰী ডাঙৰীয়াই যি নিবৃত্তি দিছে তাতো সকলোৰে বক্ষাকবচ আছে।

আমাৰ কিছুমানে সংখ্যা লঘিষ্ঠতাৰ কথা এটা তুলিছে। এনে এটা ভুল ধাৰণা যে তেখেত সকলে কৰিব, তাক মই ভবা নাছিলো। আমাৰ অসম এখন সৰু ৰাজ্য। ইয়াত সংখ্যা লঘিষ্ট বা সংখ্যা গৰিষ্ট বুলি কোনো কথাই নাই। ইয়াত সকলোৱেই সংখ্যা লঘিষ্ট। কোনো গৰিষ্ট নহয়। গতিকে অসমত সেই প্ৰশ্ন নুঠে, আৰু সেই বিষয়ে ভয়ৰো কোনো কাৰণ নাই। যি ঠাইত সংখ্যা লঘিষ্টই সংখ্যা গৰিষ্ট। লাগে মাথো আমাক ঐক্যতা।

ভৌগলিক সংহতি আৰু অৰ্থনৈতিক ক্ষেত্ৰত ভাষাৰ ভিত্তি নগণ্য। আমাৰ গোৱালপাৰাত যিবিলাক আন্দোলন হৈছিল, সেই বিষয়ে আমাৰ ট্ৰাইবেল সকলৰ তৰফৰ পৰা নয়ো ধুবুৰীলৈ গৈ আয়োগৰ আগত প্ৰতিবেদন দাখিল কৰি সাক্ষ্য দিছিলো—কমতাপুৰ ৰাজ্যগঠনৰ আৰু গোৱালপাৰা জিলাৰ কিছু অংশ পশ্চিম বঙ্গৰ লগত চামিল কৰি দিব লাগে বুলি যি অমূলক দাবী কৰিছিলে তাৰ বিৰুদ্ধে।

সেই এলাকাত আমাৰ ট্ৰাইবেল প্ৰায় ২ লাখৰ বেচি। সেই লোক সকলৰ স্বাৰ্থৰক্ষাৰ কাৰণে আমি এটা কমিটি গঠন কৰি আয়োগৰ ওচৰত প্ৰতিবেদন দাখিল কৰিছিলো। গোৱালপাৰা জিলাৰ কোনো অংশই বঙালীৰ ভিত্তিহীন দাবীত যাব নোৱাৰে বুলি। সেই জিলাৰ ভাষাৰ সম্বন্ধে আমাৰ উপমন্ত্ৰী দাস ডাঙৰীয়াই সকলো কথা কহিয়াই দেখুৱালে। সেই বিষয় পুনৰ উজ্জি নকৰিলেও হ'ব। ৰাজ্য পুনৰ গঠনত ভাষাৰ কথা গোৱালপাৰা জিলাত উঠিবই নোৱাৰে। সংখ্যা লঘিষ্টতা বা গৰিষ্টতা সম্পৰ্কেও ভয়ৰ কোনো কাৰণ নাই।

এনে এখন সৰু ৰাজ্যত আৰু এখন Hill State হোৱা কথাটোও অমূলক। ইয়াৰ উপৰিও এনে এটা কথাত বেচিভাগ পৰ্বৰতীয়া ভাইৰো মত নাই। মই Mikir Hills-ৰ কথাকেই কও তাৰ দুজন মাননীয় সদস্যই ইয়াৰ বিৰোধী। তেখেত সকলে ৰাইজৰ মতামত লৈয়েই ইয়াৰ বিৰোধীতা কৰিছে। তেনে স্থলত আমাৰ লালমঞা ডাঙৰীয়াই Mikir Hill বা ইয়াৰ লগত সামৰা আৰু ওকালতি কৰা দেখি মই আচৰিত হৈছো, এনে কথা বৰ অপ্ৰাসঙ্গীক হৈছে। তেখেতে সেই একে কথাকেই গাৰো পাহাৰৰ ক্ষেত্ৰতো কৈছে—কিন্তু তেখেতে জানে যে গাৰো পাহাৰৰ শতকৰা ৯০ জন লোকে Hill State-ৰ বিৰুদ্ধে। গাৰো পাহাৰৰ মাননীয় সদস্য সকলেও ৰাইজৰ মতামতকেই প্ৰকাশ কৰিছেহি। (Voices—শুনক, শুনক)।

তেখেতে গাঁবোপাহাৰক সামৰাও অগ্ৰাসক্তীক হৈছে। পিচে এইটো কথা ঠিক যে আমাৰ Leader সকলে যিদিনে সুবিধা পায় সেইদিনেই সুবিধা লয়। ইয়াকে কবোতে তেওঁলোকে সব সাধাৰণৰ কি দশা হব তালৈ ব্ৰাংকপ নকৰে।

তাৰ পিচত আমাৰ মাননীয় Rev. Roy এজন বিচক্ষণ ৰাজনীতিজ্ঞ লোক। মই আশা কৰো তেখেতে নিশ্চয় এতিয়া ভালকৈ গমি চাইহে মন্তব্য প্ৰকাশ কৰিব।

ভাষাৰ কথা লৈ ৰণেন্দ্ৰ মোহন দাস ডাঙৰীয়াই তেখেতৰ পূৰ্বাচল ৰাজ্য গঠনৰ সপোনৰ কথা উল্লেখ কৰি কৈছে যে বঙালী ভাষাৰ বন্ধাকবচ হোৱা নাই। তেখেতে এই উক্তি কৰাৰ পূৰ্বে বন্ধপুত্ৰ উপত্যকালৈ চোৱা উচিত। তাত অসমীয়া ভাষা-ভাষীৰ মাজত আজিও বঙালী ভাষা বাৰ্তি আছে। সংখ্যালঘিষ্টক কোনে বন্ধা কৰিব সেইটো ভাবিব লগা কথা। মই হলে সংখ্যালঘিষ্ট কোন গৰিষ্টনো কোন কব নোৱাৰো। বঙালীক কোনে বন্ধা কৰিব তাকে ভাবি ভয় খাইছে। মাননীয় চোৱে ডাঙৰীয়াই তাৰ উত্তৰ ভাল দৰে দিছে। কেনেকৈ সকলো ক্ষুণ্ণতে বঙালী ভাষা দিয়া হৈছে আৰু কেনে ভাবে আজি সকলো বিভাগতে বঙালী ভৰি আছে। ময়ো কও যে আজিলৈকে যেনেকৈ বন্ধাপৰি আহিছে তেনেকৈ বন্ধা পৰি থাকিব

মই আশা কৰো যি সকলে separate Hill State বিচাৰিছে তেখেত সকলে যেন ইয়াৰ গঠনৰ প্ৰসঙ্গত স্পষ্ট ভাবে চিন্তা কৰি চায়। তেওঁলোকৰ লোক সংখ্যা আৰু দেশৰ সম্পদৰ বিষয়। মই মাত্ৰ ইয়াকে কব খুজিছো যে বিৰাট সৰ্ব ভাৰতীয় জনসংখ্যা ৩৫ কোটিৰ তুলনাত ১২। লাখ পাৰ্বত্য অঞ্চলৰ জনসংখ্যা আৰু এতিয়াও Unexplored অৱস্থাত থকা পাৰ্বত্য অঞ্চলৰ প্ৰাকৃতিক সম্পদ ৰাশিয়ে নতুন এখন পাৰ্বত্য ৰাজ্য গঠনত সহায় কৰিব নোৱাৰে। যেহেতু আজি আমাৰেই সকলো বিভাগতে—নিপুণ মানুহৰ সংখ্যা অতি অলপীয়া আৰু তাৰ কাৰণেই আমাৰ সৰ্ব প্ৰকাৰ উন্নয়ন (Development) কাম বিলাকতেই অনাঅসমীয়া মানুহৰ সংখ্যাই বেচি। এই ফালৰ পৰা লক্ষ্য কৰিলে পাৰ্বত্য অঞ্চলৰ তেনেকুৱা মানুহৰ সংখ্যা একেবাৰেই নাই বুলিলেই হয়। তেনেস্থলত বেলেগ পাৰ্বত্য ৰাজ্য গঠনে তেওঁবিলাকৰ কোনো হিত সাধিব নোৱাৰিব। যি অসমীয়াৰ শোষণৰ কথা কৈ ভয় খাইছে সেই শোষণৰপৰা পাৰ্বত্য ৰাজ্য গঠন কৰিলে কেনেকৈ হাত সাৰিব পাবিব সেই কথা ৰোধ কৰো ভাবাই নাই। আজি যদি সঁচাকৈ পাৰ্বত্য ৰাজ্য গঠন হয়, তেন্তে সকলো বিভাগতে আনিব লাগিব অনাঅসমীয়া মানুহ যেনেকৈ এতিয়া নেফাত হৈছে। এই প্ৰসঙ্গতে মই আৰু এটা কথা কও যদি অসমৰ ৰাজধানী চহৰ ছিল আৰু ছিলগুৰ শিক্ষা দীক্ষা বা আন আন বিষয় বিবেচনা কৰিয়েই বেলেগ পাৰ্বত্য ৰাজ্য গঠনৰ সপোন দেখিছে—তেন্তে ই ভুল। কাৰণ ইয়াৰ বাহিৰেও বহুতো পাৰ্বত্য অঞ্চল আছে আৰু তাৰোপৰি সমতল ভূমিৰ টাইবেলো বহুত আছে যিবিলাকৰ অৱস্থা অতি শোক লগা সকলো বিষয়তে।

তেখেত সকলে শোষণ (exploitation) ৰ কথা ভাবিছে। কেনেকৈ এনে ভাৱ পোষণ কৰে বুজি নাপাও। আজি যদি বেলেগ পাৰ্বত্য ৰাজ্য গঠনো হৈ যায়—তেনে হলে পাৰ্বত্য অঞ্চলৰ পৰা বিভিন্ন বিভাগত অংশ গ্ৰহণ কৰিব পৰা কেই জন expert অথবা specialist ওলাব? ফলত আন ঠাইৰ লোকে আহি সেই আসন বিলাক পূৰা কৰিবহি—আৰু তেতিয়াও তেখেত সকলে আজি যি শোষণ শাসনৰ নাম লৈছে—সেই একেই অথবা তাতকৈ বেয়া ধৰণৰ শোষণহে হৈ উঠিব। তেনে অৱস্থাত

তেওলোকৰ কেনেকৈ উন্নতি হ'ব ? বৰং পাৰ্বত্য জাতিৰ পিচপৰা অৱস্থাটোৰ সুবিধা লৈ আনবিলাকে বেছিহে শোষণ কৰিব। সেই কাৰণে এই বেলেগ পাৰ্বত্য ৰাজ্য গঠনৰ পৰিকল্পনাটো গৃহণ যোগ্য নহয় বুলি State Reorganisation Commission এ অগ্রাহ্য কৰাটো প্ৰশংসনীয়। তথাপি—দুই চাৰিজন পাৰ্বত্য অঞ্চলৰ লোকৰ আলম লৈ বাহিৰৰ পৰা নেতৃত্ব কৰিবলৈ ওলোৱাটো বৰ দুখৰ কথা।

তাৰ পিচত North-East Frontier Agency ৰ কথা। এই বৃহৎ পাৰ্বত্য অঞ্চলটো অসমৰ অবিচ্ছেদ্য অঙ্গ আৰু অতীজৰে পৰা এই অঞ্চলটোৰ লোকসকলৰ এ এই অঞ্চলটোক লাহে লাহে অসমৰ অঙ্গীভূত কৰা কথাৰ ইঙ্গিত দিছে যদিও এতিয়াই অসমৰ লগত জাপি দিয়া হলে আমি আৰু সুখী হ'লোহেতেন। এই দৰে বেচি দিন সম্ভাৱনা হৈ আছে আৰু তেনেহলে অসমীয়া মানুহ আৰু North-East Frontier Agency অঞ্চলৰ লোক সকলৰ লগত সন্দেহৰ ভাবটো লাহে লাহে বৃদ্ধিহে পাব বুলি মই ভাবো। সেই কাৰণে এই অঞ্চলটো অতি সোনকালে অসমৰ অঙ্গীভূত কৰাৰ কথা—আমাৰ চৰকাৰৰ জৰিয়তে ভাৰত চৰকাৰলৈ জ্ঞাপন কৰিলো।

তাৰ পিচত States Reorganisation Commission ৰ ৰিপৰ্ট মতে চি (C) শ্ৰেণীৰ ৰাজ্য সমূহ বেতিয়া তুলি দিয়াই হৈছে—মনিপুৰ ৰাজ্য খনো অসমত জাপি দিয়া হলে sation Commission এ লগ লগাই দিছেই। মনিপুৰো অসমৰ অঙ্গ হিচাবে নহলে পিচত আৰু বেচি জটিল হৈ পৰিব। এই বিষয়েও ভাৰত চৰকাৰে চিন্তা কৰি চায় যেন হেতেন যদি পূৰ্বৰ সম্বন্ধ থকা জিলা জলপা গুড়ি আৰু কোচবিহাৰকো যদি অসমৰ লগত জাপি দিয়া হেতেন। তাৰ পিচত আমাৰ মুখ্য মন্ত্ৰীয়ে তেখেতৰ কালিৰ ভাষণত আন আন কথাৰ লগত উল্লেখ কৰি কৈছে—ভাষা কালিৰ পৰাও কোনো 'মাইনৰিটি কমিউনিটিক' ইচ্ছা কৰিলে অসমীয়া ভাষা শিকিব পাৰিব। এই ক্ষেত্ৰত আমি বহুতো ঠাইৰ পাৰ্বত্য জাতিৰ লোক আৰু অনা অসমীয়া মানুহে অসমীয়া ভাষা শিকিবলৈ আবেদন কৰাৰ কথাও জানো। বৃহৎ অসমীয়া জাতি আৰু বৃহৎ অসম দেশখন, ভাৰতৰ যোগ্য দেশ আজিও, অসম দেশখন ভাৰতৰ অন্যান্য দেশৰ তুলনাত সকলো বিষয়তে পিচ পৰা। সকলোৰে অক্লান্ত পৰিশ্ৰম মিলাত্মীতি আৰু জাতিবৰ্ণ নিৰ্বিশেষে ভৈয়ামৰ ভাই-ভনী জাতি আৰু অসম দেশ গঢ়ি উঠক আৰু সৰ্বৰ ভাৰতীয় ক্ষেত্ৰত ই যোগ্য আসন লাভ কৰক এই মোৰ কামনা।

We all the Hills and Plains people should try our best to unite together and form one solid and compact community amongst ourselves.

আমাৰ ভাৰতবৰ্ষ গণতান্ত্ৰিক দেশ। আজি জনতাৰ যুগ আৰু জনতাৰ মতামতৰ ওপৰতে গণতান্ত্ৰিক শাসন সকলো নিৰ্ভৰ কৰে। যত ৩৫ কোটি জনতা আছে তাত অসমৰ এক কোটি জনতাৰ কোনো voice নাই বুলিলেই আমি আজি neglected feel কৰো। গতিকে এনে স্থলত সপোনৰ পাবৰ্ঘ্যতা ৰাজ্যৰ ১২২ লাখ জনতাক লৈ কেনেকৈ কি কৰিব বিচাৰিছে বেভাৰেণ্ড নিকলচ ৰয় চাহাবে সেই কথাহে ভাবিব লগীয়া। তেখেতৰ দৰে অভিজ্ঞ ৰাজনৈতিক নেতাই নুবুজাটো বৰ পৰিতাপৰ কথা। মোৰ বোধে তেখেতে আজি বুজিও নুবুজাবহে ভাও ধৰিছে। তেখেত আজি সকলোৰে প্ৰশংসাৰ পাত্ৰ হব যদি তেখেত পাহাড়ী এলেকালৈ গৈ পাহাড়ী ভাই সকলক বুজালেহেতেন যে আমি সকলোটি মিলি জুলিহে একেলগে থাকি শক্তিশালী ও বৃহৎ অসম দেশ গঠন কৰো বুলি। দুঃখৰ বিষয় তেখেতে সেইটো পাহৰি গৈছে আৰু সুকীয়া মনোভাৱ লোৱাহে দেখা যায়। তেখেত আজি অকল পাহাৰী ভাই সকলৰ নেতা নহয় তেখেত এজন বিজ্ঞ আৰু অতি পুৰণি (oldest politician) ৰাজনীতিজ্ঞ ব্যক্তি বিশেষ। মই তেখেতক আহ্বান কৰিছো তেখেতে সকলো ভাব দলিয়াই পেলাই নতুন অসম গঢ়াত লাগি যাওক এই মোৰ অনুৰোধ। (Hear, Hear).

অৱশেষত মই ৰাজ্য পুনৰগঠন আয়োগৰ অনুমোদন সম্পূৰ্ণ ৰূপে সমৰ্থন কৰিছো আৰু বেভাৰেণ্ড ৰয় চাহাবকো অনুৰোধ কৰিছো তেখেতে আমাৰ মুখলৈ চাই যেন এই অনুমোদন সম্পূৰ্ণ ৰূপে সমৰ্থন কৰে।

Shri RAMESH CHANDRA DAS CHAUDHURY—
(Ratabari-Patharkandi, Cachar—Reserved for Scheduled Castes):—মাননীয় অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, আমি States Reorganisation Commission ৰ report সৰ্ব্বদে দুই একটি কথা বলিতেছি। আশীকৰি কোন দোষ ত্ৰুটি হইলে সংশোধন কৰিয়া লইবেন।

আমি ৰাজ্য পুনৰগঠন কমিটিৰ সিদ্ধান্তকে সৰ্ব্বাস্তঃকরণে অনুমোদন কৰি ও তাঁহাৰা যে বহু অযৌক্তিক ভাবি অশুভ কৰ ও হজুগাস্তক দাবীকে মঞ্জুৰ করেন নাই সেজন্য তাঁহাদেৱ দূৰদৰ্শীতাৰ ও নিৰপেক্ষতাৰ যথেষ্ট প্ৰশংসা কৰি এবং ভাৱেতৰ বা বিশেষ কৰে আসাম প্ৰদেশেৰ কথাঞ্চিঃ পুষ্টিসাধন হইল বলিয়া অপাৰ আনন্দ লাভ কৰিলাম।

ৰাজ্যকে বৃহত্তৰ কৰিয়া শক্তিশালী কৰা জাগতিক নিয়ম ও উহা স্বাভাৱিক। পক্ষান্তৰে গৃহ কন্দল কৰিয়া হজুগেৰ বশবৰ্তী হইয়া বিধি নিয়ম পৰিহাৰ্য্য। অযৌক্তিক তৰ্ক-বিতৰ্ক কৰিয়া দেশকে ক্ষুদ্ৰ ক্ষুদ্ৰ অংশে পৰিণত কৰা একমাত্র ধ্বংশেৰ কাৰণ ও ইহা সৰ্ববাদী সন্মত। তাঁহাৰ জাজল্যমান দৃষ্টান্ত, আমাদেৱ সাক্ষাতে ভাসমান ৰহিয়াছে, ভাৰতবৰ্ষকে দুই ৰাষ্ট্ৰে বিভক্ত কৰাতে আমাৰা উভয় ৰাষ্ট্ৰেৰ লোক কম বেশী দুৰ্যোগ ভোগিতেছি ও প্ৰচুৰ ক্ষতি উপলব্ধি কৰিতেছি। এই কথা অস্বীকাৰ কৰা যায় না।

কেহ কেহ দেশকে ঋণ্ড ঋণ্ড কৰিতে চান কেন? তাঁহাৰ হেতু ও কতকগুলি অসুন্দৰ স্বাধিকতা ৰহিয়াছে। তাঁহাৰা দেশেৰ সমষ্টিগত স্বাৰ্থকে দুৰ্বল কৰিয়া স্থানীয় স্বাৰ্থকে প্ৰধান কৰিয়া তোলা বা সৰ্ব্বসম্প্ৰদায়কে সমচক্ষে দৰ্শন না কৰিয়া নিজ নিজ সম্প্ৰদায়কে উন্নত কৰা অৰ্থাৎ এক কথায় বলিতে গেলে ব্যক্তিগত ভাবে জনসাধাৰণেৰ নেতা হওয়াই ইহাৰ ভাস্ত কামনা বলিয়া কল্পনা কৰা যায়। কিন্তু তাঁহাৰা চিন্তা কৰিলেই বুঝিতে পাৰিবেন সৌজন্য ও নীতিসিদ্ধ নিঃস্বার্থ উদারতা ব্যঞ্জক উক্তিৰ বা কাৰ্য্যমূলে জনসাধাৰণেৰ

চিত্তাকর্ষণ করা যায় ও তাহাতেই দেশের নেতা পদবাচ্য হওয়া যায়, আমি মনে করি গভর্ণমেন্টকে নীতি বিগহিত ভাবে অনুযোগ না দিয়া Assam Provincial Congress Committee বা Central Government কিংবা All-India Congress Committee র মারফতে আপত্তি গুলি পেশ করিয়া সংশোধন করা উচিত।

আর একটা কথা। ভাষা নিয়া বহু বাক-বিতণ্ডা চলিতেছে। ভাষার ভিত্তিতে রাজ্য গঠন আসামের উপর মোটেই চিন্তা করা যায় না; কারণ বহু ভাষা ভাষী লোক আসামে আছেন। এমতাবস্থায় অহিংসার নীতিকে কেন্দ্র করিয়া প্রত্যেক ভাষা-ভাষী লোকের অন্তঃকরণে পুৰ্বেণ করিবার জন্য অর্থাৎ বন্ধুভাবাপন্ন হইবার জন্য যতদূর সম্ভব প্রত্যেক ভাষা আয়ত্ত্ব করা উচিত ও ইহা প্রশংসনীয় গুণমধ্যে পরিগণ্য। মানবের মাতৃ ভাষার উন্নতি করার পথে বাধা দেওয়া ভয়ঙ্কর নীতিবিরুদ্ধ ও স্বাধীন দেশের কলঙ্ক রেখা সদৃশ। বিশেষ প্রচলিত ভাষা গুলি দ্বারা রাজ্যের কাগজ-পত্র চালু করা নির্দোষ ও উদারতার পরিচায়ক। তৎসম্বন্ধে আমাদের মুখ্য মন্ত্রী মহোদয় বহুস্থানে তাহার উক্তি বলিয়াছেন “যাহার যাহার মাতৃভাষার উন্নতি করিতে আসাম গভর্ণমেন্টের কোনরূপ আপত্তি নাই।” কার্যতঃ ইহার কিছু ফল দেখিতেও পাইতেছি যাহারা ভারতবর্ষের সমষ্টিগত শক্তিকে বাড়াইয়া উদ্দেশ্যকে কেন্দ্র করিয়া বৃহত্তর আসাম করিতে যোগদান করিতে চান তাহাদিগকে সাদর আহ্বান করিতে আমি অগাধ আনন্দ অনুভব করিতেছি।

উপসংহারে আমি আমাদের আসামের এমন কি সব প্রদেশের Hills Tribe, Plains Tribe এবং Scheduled Caste এর দ্রুত উন্নতির জন্য নূতন ভাবে প্রার্থনা জানাইতেছি। কারণ মহাত্মার উদ্দেশ্য মত দ্রুত উন্নতি হইতেছেনা বলিয়া দেখা যায়। সদনের মহামূল্য সময় অধিক নষ্ট না করিয়া আমার বক্তব্য শেষ করিলাম, জয়হিন্দ।

Shri MAL CHANDRA PEGU (Sibsagar-Golaghat West—Reserved for Scheduled Tribes): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I have taken my stand to speak a few words in support of the report and recommendation of the States Reorganisation Commission in the matter of our State, Assam.

While supporting the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission as to the North-East Frontier Agency that the governance of this area has been entrusted to the President on whose behalf the Governor of Assam acts and that for an efficient and progressive administration a separate cadre for the superior posts recruited on an all-India basis has been already created and for a peculiar situation of the area, the existing arrangements should continue for some time to come, I beg to point out that at least all the portions of the Abor Hill areas should be merged with the State of Assam as soon as possible. The reasons why I urge upon the Government of India that all the

portions of the Abor Hill areas of the North-East Frontier Agency should be merged with the State of Assam are these :—

(1) Firstly, the common ancestor of the Abors and the Michings or Miris living in the plains is same and they belong to the same stock and speak the same dialect. There is no tribe known as Abor. The word Abor, is given by the plains people. The word Abor, means 'unsubmissive', or 'uncontrollable'. The Abor people never identify themselves as Abors but as tani which means man or as Gachi, Galong, Padam, Pachi, Moyong, etc., who are collectively known as Abors by the plains people. So also the word 'Miri' is given by the plains people. The Miris do not identify themselves as Miri, but as Miching or Tani which means man. But at the time when the Miris first came down from the Abor Hills, they identified themselves that they had come down from the place where 'Mieureu' is observed. Mieureu is an annual festival still being observed in the Abor Hills as soon as the spring season comes. The plains people being unable to follow and pronounce the word 'Mieureu' pronounced it as Miri and the people observing this festival were known as Miri people.

(2) Secondly, the customs and manners of the Miris are quite akin to the Abors. They are one and the same persons culturally, socially, linguistically and historically. The Abors call the Miris as 'Aying Birrang' which means plains brothers and the Miris call the Abors as 'Adi Birrang' which means Hills brothers.

The total population of the Abor people so far as I know will be not less than 5 lakhs and that of the Miris is about one and a half lakh.

We feel that by keeping the Abor aloof from us, we have become losers both politically, geographically, socially culturally, economically and historically. We strongly appeal the Government of India that at least all the portions of the Abor Hills should be integrated with the plains portions of the State of Assam as soon as possible.

As to demand for a separate Hill State, I appeal the sponsors of the demand of separate Hill State to give up the idea and join hands with their plains brothers as we the plains tribals are doing for greater cause of our country. (*Hear, hear.*)

The days of isolation have already gone. Days of united fight for preservation of peace and security of the human beings have come.

Shri PRABHAT CHANDRA GOSWAMI (Kamrup—Nalbari-North): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I welcome most heartily the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission as far as Assam is concerned. They have rightly rejected the claim put forward by West Bengal on Goalpara and the creation of a Purbachal and Hills State and they have rightly suggested the ultimate integration of North-East Frontier Agency with the rest of Assam.

In this connection, we feel that Parliament should take immediate steps to expedite this unavoidable and most desirable integration with which the future destiny of the simple minded Assamese people is linked up. It would have been more heartening if they would have recommended immediate merger of Manipur also along with her sister State Tripura both of which from time immemorial have been culturally, ethnologically and for some time, politically inter-linked with Assam. We hope a day will soon come when the people of Manipur themselves will express the necessity of joining hands with their kith and kin here.

The merger of Tripura with Assam as recommended by the States Reorganisation Commission has been a strategical need. Tripura is a small State with an area of 4,032 square miles. It consists mostly of hills and forests with some rich fertile plains, and its frontier with Pakistan runs to about 720 miles. Her means of communication with the rest of India are by air and through a newly constructed road from Assam. The State is governed by a Chief Commissioner with the help of a Council of Advisers since 15th of October 1949.

According to the 1951 Census, it has a total population of 6,39,029 of which 1,92,293 are tribals and 46,371 are Harijans and a total of 2,80,841 persons have migrated from elsewhere into Tripura.

Its tribal population consists of Tripuris, Riangs, Chakmas, Kukis, Mags, etc., who have great ethnological, cultural and social kinship with the people of Mizo, Manipur and other hill tracts. There are also a good number of Manipuris in Tripura.

Most of the tribal population, as the paper report goes, support merger of Tripura with Assam whereas a section of people including the Congressmen of Tripura oppose it. One fact is clear however that this opposition of merger with Assam, as far as I can judge, is not due to the fear that merger may lead them to lose their cultural and linguistic entity, as they see before their eyes that their neighbouring Bengali District, Cachar, is maintaining its separate entity in the matter of language and culture without any interference from the State Government. The cause of this opposition is not however far to seek.

From a report of the Tripura State Congress Committee it appears that since its integration Tripura has been receiving a fairly good amount of Central assistance for its all round development. The following figures will clarify the position. These figures relate upto February 1955.

The number of (1) Primary schools—812. Pre-integration—371. After integration—441. Of these 664 are run by the Government. (2) Middle English Schools—51. Pre-integration—31. After integration—21. Of these 20 are run by the Government. (3) High Schools—26, Pre-integration—9. After integration—17. Of these 12 are run by the Government. (4) Colleges—2. Pre-integration—nil. After integration—2. One is run by the Government. (5) Basic Schools—5. Pre-integration—nil. After integration—5. All are run by the Government. (6) Junior High Schools—4. Pre-integration—nil. After integration—4. All are run by the Government. (7) Social Education Centres—15. Pre-integration—nil. After integration—15. All are run by the Government. Besides these the Government run one Nursery School and one Teacher Training Institute. (8) Hospitals—4. Pre-integration—1. After integration—3. The hospital at Agartala is fully equipped with up-to-date apparatus. (9) Dispensaries—89. Pre-integration—Allopathy 36 *plus* Homeopathy—1. There is also one Ayurvedic dispensary. (10) Post Office—107. Pre-integration—28. After integration—79. (11) Telegraph Office—11. Pre-integration—2. After integration—9. (12) Phone—175. Pre-integration—20 lines. After integration—155 lines. (13) Aerodrome—5. Pre-integration—1. After integration—4. (14) Roads—446 miles, 5 furlongs. Pre-integration—121 miles, 4 furlongs. After integration—325 miles,

1 furlong. (There is no railway or vessel service in the State).
(15) Market—190. Pre-integration—94. After integration—96.
(16) Police Stations—19. Pre-integration—16. After integration—3.

If there be an assurance from the Central Government that for about next twenty years its help to Tripura will remain uninterrupted there will be no opposition to the proposal of merger.

Therefore, I request the Central Government also through the Government of Assam that the Central Government will consider the matter and they would give substantial grant even after merger of the State with the State of Assam and in that case I hope the feeling that the people of Tripura are against merger will vanish and gradually there will be a perpetual unity between Assam and Tripura.

With these few words, Sir, I support generally the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission.

Shri NARNARAYAN GOSWAMI (Kamrup-Patachar-kuchi-Barama) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, at the very outset it will not be out of place to offer our hearty congratulations and thanks to the hon. Members of the States Reorganisation Commission, who have taken so much hard labour and trouble for solving the burning topics of our independent India.

In the democratic set-up we must be prepared to give our views to some extent, and we must also be prepared to accept the views of others according to the time and circumstances.

Our Prime Minister has put the ball of peace in motion in the international sphere and he has suggested to settle all international disputes by amicable settlement for peace in the world. We, the Indians, should show that example in actual practice and any difference of opinion with regard to reorganisation of States in India is expected to be settled by such amicable discussions.

If we fail to solve our problems in this manner, we will be disloyal to our beloved leader, Prime Minister, whose mission is to establish peace in this world through amicable means.

Members of the States Reorganisation Commission are persons of high eminence and they have done their utmost to solve the intricate problems of the States Reorganisation in the Indian Union.

We, the Assamese people, *i.e.*, the people living in the State of Assam permanently and having loyalty to this State, generally welcome the recommendation of the States Reorganisation Commission. Our representation to the States Reorganisation Commission was in the shape of a friendly approach to our neighbours to bring friendly response. The people of Assam are not in the habit of following aggressive policy. We are vociferous, and we are not in the habit of suppressing real facts to achieve some other ends.

The State of Assam which was called previously Pragjyotisha and Kamrup in different times, is a land of assimilation. Here the ruling race accepted the culture of this place in all respects.

Assam is a problem State and she is the sentinel of the north-eastern gate of India. Assam is practically surrounded by international boundary except a narrow passage bordering along and through Cooch-Bihar to the Indian Union. The tranquility and peace of Indian Union rests upon Assam. From the security point of the whole Indian Union it is very important that this strategic border State should be well administered, stable, very resourceful and capable of dealing with the matter of emergent problems arising out of military exigencies.

The administrative set-up in all cases of strategic areas should be determined primarily. For the safety of India, Assam's dire need is to have a single, well-knit and united administration of her territory lying east of Pakistan.

The importance of the strategic State from the point of view of Indian Union was well realised by the Constituent Assembly which made some special provision for some strategic and backward parts of this north-eastern zone under Article 275 and Schedule Six of the Constitution. In this connection I like to suggest to our Prime Minister that to tackle all intricate problems of this north-eastern gate of India, selection of a Central Minister from this State is always preferable.

In the past we have sacrificed many things for the unity of India and we must be prepared to do so in future also. We must consider the States Reorganisation Commission's Report from the point of unity, strength and prosperity of India and we are glad to see that the States Reorganisation Commission has kept in view the unity of India as the over-riding principle in addition to other weighty considerations.

In Assam there is unity in diversity and Assam is the epitome of India. There are about 121 languages and dialects in Assam. We must see that all languages and dialects can prosper and I am glad that our new Gauhati University is going to make provision for their improvement. We must see that the minorities specially in the sense of language, religion, culture and economic status, do not suffer. With this view we must proceed in our future line of action.

With regard to States re-organisation matter our view is quite clear. We do not press any part of Indian Union to come to Assam. Assam is poor and she has to solve her various problems. She is to improve her backward places and she is in favour of retaining her *status quo*. If Manipur and Tripura be willing to be integrated in Assam voluntarily, we should be prepared to welcome them provided the Government of India would make an adequate grant under Article 275 of the Constitution or similar subvention to the Government of Assam to develop backward areas as the financial resources of this State of Assam are not in a position to undertake such responsibilities.

In this connection I am bound to mention about some disruptive elements. In season and out of season those elements have got the habit of creating new stories against Assam and passing aspersions against her. They think that more vociferous a group is the more concession it can bring out. They should know that under Indian Union there is only one citizenship, *i.e.*, the citizenship of Indian Union and there is no different citizenship of the State. Those elements should know that it is not advisable to indulge in such loose talks. To-day in this Assembly, my Friend, Shri Ranendra Mohan Das, has shown such an example. When his argument and reasoning failed, he began to indulge in loose talks by abusing a Friend of this House without any basis, using most unparliamentary language.

Disintegration of any part of Assam would have been very harmful for this State as well as to the rest of India and I am glad that the States Reorganisation Commission has come to the same conclusion.

We should not proceed at snail's speed while the present world affair is moving at the highest speed.

I am glad to find that the States Reorganisation Commission has come to the right conclusion in holding the real fact that N.-E.F.A., is a part of Assam Constitutionally, but I am sorry to find that the States Reorganisation Commission did not find it feasible for early administrative integration of this N.-E. F. A. area in Assam. I hope some immediate measures would be taken for its early administrative integration in Assam for the interest of the State as well as the whole of Indian Union.

Before concluding my speech I cannot but make reference to the different speeches delivered by our *Ex-Governor*, Shri Sri Prakashji from Madras, who has been giving true accounts of Assam regarding the various peculiar and special burning problems which our State has been facing daily. I hope that all well-wishers of Assam will kindly go through those speeches and will try to help our State to solve those problems.

Lastly, let us hope and pray to God that He may help us in solving these problems for unity and safety of India.

Shri DALBIR SINGH LOHAR (Lakhimpur-Digboi):

মাননীয় উপাধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, ৰাজ্য পুনৰ গঠন আয়োগৰ বিপৰ্টিৰ বিষয়ে এই সদনত ময়ো দুৰ্ঘাৰিমান কবলৈ ঠিয় হৈছো। ভাৰতবৰ্ষৰ অৰ্থনৈতিক, ভৌগোলিক, সাংস্কৃতিক আদি অৱস্থাবিলাকৰ তনু তনুকৈ বিচাৰ কৰি আমাৰ আগত এই ৰাজ্যৰ সীমা নিৰ্দ্ধাৰণ আয়োগে যি প্ৰতিবেদন পেচ কৰিছে তাৰ বাবে আমি সকলোৱে সন্তোষ পাইছো আৰু অন্তৰেৰে সৈতে আমি সমৰ্থন কৰিছো। ইয়াৰ বাবে ৰাজ্য পুনৰ গঠনৰ সভ্যসকলক তেওঁলোকৰ বিচক্ষণতাৰ বাবে অভিনন্দন জনাই শলাগ লৈছো। উক্ত বিপৰ্টিৰ সম্বন্ধে আমাৰ মুখ্য মন্ত্ৰী মহোদয়ে কালি যি প্ৰতিবেদন এই সদনত দাঙি ধৰিলে তাৰ পাছত আৰু বিশেষ মোৰ কবলগীয়া একো নাই। মুখ্য মন্ত্ৰী মহোদয়ৰ প্ৰতিবেদন মই সৰ্বদান্তঃকৰণে সমৰ্থন কৰিছো। উক্ত আয়োগে ভাৰতবৰ্ষৰ সকলো ঠাই ঘূৰি ভাৰতবৰ্ষৰ সকলো অৱস্থা ফহিয়াই চাই আৰু সকলো দল উপদলৰ মতামত গভীৰ ভাবে আলোচনা কৰি ৰাজ্য পুনৰ গঠনৰ গুৰুত্বপূৰ্ণ সিদ্ধান্ত বিলাকত উপনীত হৈছে। ভালেমান সদস্যই এই প্ৰসঙ্গত আলোচনা কৰোঁতে কোনো কোনোৱে অসন্তোষ প্ৰকাশ কৰিছে। এজন সদস্যই কাছাড়া জিলাক অসমৰ পৰা পৃথক কৰিবৰ বাবে যিখিনি সমালোচনা কৰিলে তাৰ বাবে দুঃখ পাইছো। মহাভাৰতৰ যুগলৈ চালে আমি দেখিবলৈ পাব যে মাত্ৰ পাঁচখন গাঁৱৰ কাৰণে কুকক্ষেত্ৰ বনত পৰিণত হৈছিল।

তেনেকৈ সাবিত্ৰী সত্যবানৰ কথালৈ যদি চাওঁ তেতিয়া দেখিবলৈ পাওঁ যে যেতিয়া সত্যবানক সাপে খুটি প্ৰাণ নাশ কৰিছিল তেতিয়া সাবিত্ৰীয়ে কঠোৰ ব্ৰত পালন কৰিছে এণ পুত্ৰৰ বৰ খুজি সত্যবানৰ জীৱন ফিৰাই পাইছিল। কিন্তু সুখৰ বিষয় যে আমি কোনো সংগ্ৰাম বা ব্ৰত নকৰি ত্ৰিপুৰাৰ দৰে হাজাৰ হাজাৰ ভাতৃবৃন্দৰ সৈতে এখন প্ৰদেশ পাইছো ইয়াত কৈ আৰু আনন্দৰ বিষয় কি হব পাৰে? উক্ত ভাতৃবৃন্দসকলক আমি নিৰ্ভয় দি আলিঙ্গন জনাইছো যাতে ভাতৃত্বভাৱেৰে মিলিজুলি এই প্ৰদেশৰ স্বাৰ্থ বজাই ৰাখি দেশখন শক্তিশালী কৰিবৰ বাবে অগ্ৰসৰ হব পাৰে।

মণিপুৰৰ বিষয়ে মই ইয়াকে কওঁ যে অতীতৰ পৰা মণিপুৰৰ লগত আমাৰ যি সম্বন্ধ তাক ইতিহাসে প্ৰমাণ কৰিব। কাজেই মণিপুৰক অসমৰ বুকৰ পৰা আতৰাই বখাত আমি বৰ দুখ পাইছো। আশা কৰো অতি সোনকালেই এই বিষয়ে চিন্তা কৰি মণিপুৰক অসমৰ বুকত ঢামিল কৰি দিব।

তাৰ পিচত উত্তৰ পূব গীমাত অঞ্চলৰ কথা কওঁ। এই সম্বন্ধে আমাৰ মুখ্যমন্ত্ৰী মাননীয় মেধী ডাঙৰীয়াই তেখেতৰ কালিৰ ভাষণত আন আন কথাৰ লগত কৈছে। মই ইয়াকে কব খুজিছো যে—উত্তৰ পূব গীমাত অঞ্চলৰ বিভিন্ন জাতি ভাই সকলৰ লগত ভৈয়ামত বসবাস কৰা, মিৰি (মিচিং) খাম্টি, চিংফৌ আদি সকলৰ লগত কোনো পাৰ্থক্য নাই। ভৈয়ামৰ মিচিং আৰু পৰ্বতৰ আৰু ভাই-ভনী সকলৰ একে ভাষা একে আচাৰ ব্যৱহাৰ। সেই দৰে ভৈয়ামত বাস কৰা মিচিং, চিংফৌ আৰু পৰ্বতত বাস কৰা মিচিং চিংফৌ ভাই-ভনী সকলৰ একে মাত আৰু একে আচাৰ ব্যৱহাৰ। ভৈয়ামত বসবাস কৰা মিৰি, মিচিং, চিংফৌ, খাম্টি ভাই-ভনী সকল অসমীয়াৰ লগত মিল। প্ৰীতিৰে বাস কৰি আছে। তেনেস্থলত (N. E. F. A.) অসমৰ পৰা পৃথক কৰি ৰখাৰ কোনো কাৰণ দেখা নেযায়। এই অঞ্চলটো অসমৰ অবিচ্ছিন্ন অঙ্গ। গতিকে মই আজি এই সদনৰ জৰীয়ে কেন্দ্ৰীয় চৰকাৰক অনুৰোধ জনাওঁ যেন অনতি পলমে (N. E. F. A.) অঞ্চলটো অসমৰ লগত জাপি দিয়ে নহলে বাহিৰৰ বিষাক্ত বায়ুয়ে ক্ৰমাগ্ৰয়ে উক্ত অঞ্চল সমূহটো বিজ বিয়পাই উক্ত অঞ্চলৰ ভাই-ভনী সকলৰ মন বেয়া কৰিব পাৰে।

উপাধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, বিৰোধী দলৰ পৰা মোৰ বন্ধু শ্ৰীযুত বনেন্দ্ৰ মোহন দাস ডাঙৰীয়া তেৱেই মাত্ৰ অনাসমীয়াৰ প্ৰতিনিধিত্ব কৰা দাবীটো আমি মানি লব নোৱাৰিলো তেখেতৰ দৰে অনাসমীয়াৰ প্ৰতিনিধিত্ব কৰা অনেক সদস্যই এই সদনত আছে তেখেতে কৈছে S. R. C. ৰ এই প্ৰতিবেদনত কেৱল ব্ৰহ্মপুত্ৰ উপত্যকাৰ অসমীয়া ভাষা-ভাষী মানুহ কেইজনেই সন্তোষ পাইছে আৰু অনাসমীয়া কোনোৱেই সুখী হোৱা নাই। ইয়াৰ উত্তৰত মই তেখেতক কব খুজিছো—তেৱেই নেকি কেৱল অনাসমীয়াৰ প্ৰতিনিধি? যদি সেয়ে হয়—তেনেহলে কাঁচাৰ জিলাৰ মিঃ চৌবে, মিঃ বয়, দৰং জিলাৰ মিঃ ঘোষ আদি নেতাসকলে কি প্ৰতিনিধিত্ব কৰিছে? অৱশ্যে তেখেতে অনাসমীয়াৰ অৰ্থ কি কৰিছে মই কব নোৱাৰো। আমি ভাবো যে, অসমত যি বসবাস কৰি অসমৰ জলবায়ু আৰু উৎপন্ন শস্য খাই লালিত পালিত হৈ অসমৰ স্বাৰ্থৰ লগত জৰীত হৈ আছে তেওঁলোক সকলোৱেই অসমীয়া। সেই হিচাবে আমি অসমীয়া বুলিয়েই ভাবো। যদি মোৰ বন্ধু শ্ৰীযুত বনেন্দ্ৰ মোহন দাসে ভাবে যে, অসমৰ গঠৈ, শইকীয়া, বৰুৱা, শৰ্মা, মেধী, বড়া, ফুকণ আদিয়ে অসমীয়া আৰু চৌবে, বয়, লোহাব, ঘোষ আদি অনা অসমীয়া তেন্তে আমিও অনাসমীয়াৰ শাৰীতে পৰো। তেনেহলে অনাসমীয়াৰ প্ৰতিনিধি হিচাবে মোৰ বন্ধু চৌবে, বয়, ঘোষ আদিয়ে এই প্ৰতিবেদন সম্বন্ধে সন্তোষ প্ৰকাশ কৰি স্বৰ্ভাস্ত্ৰকৰণে সমৰ্থন কৰি কৈ গৈছে। তেনেস্থলত শ্ৰীযুত দাস ডাঙৰীয়াই অনাসমীয়াসকল এই প্ৰতিবেদনত সন্তুষ্ট নহয় বুলি কেনেকৈ কব পাৰে? সেই

কাৰণে মই কওঁ—শ্ৰীযুত বনেন্দ্ৰ মোহন দাসৰ উপৰিও অনাঅসমীয়াক প্ৰতিনিধিত্ব কৰা লোক আছে আৰু তেওঁলোক S. R. C. ৰ প্ৰতিবেদনত সম্পূৰ্ণ সন্মত। তাৰোপৰি, সমতলভূমি খণ্ডত—বনুৱা শ্ৰেণীৰ সম্প্ৰদায়টো আছেই। এই বনুৱা সম্প্ৰদায়ৰ প্ৰতিনিধি হিচাবে আৰু গোৰ্খা বিলাকৰ মাত্ৰ একেজন সদস্য হিচাবে মই জোৰ দি কব খোজো যে—এওঁবিলাক এই প্ৰতিবেদনত সম্পূৰ্ণ সন্মত আৰু এওঁবিলাক সন্মতই আছে। (*Voice—hear, hear*) তাৰ কাৰণ হল এই দুই সম্প্ৰদায়ৰ লোকসকলৰ মাজত মিলা-প্ৰীতি আৰু একতা আছে। এই প্ৰদেশৰ লোকসকলৰ লগত চাহবাগানৰ বনুৱা আৰু নেপালী ভাই সকলো মিলি-জুলি ভাওনা, নাম-কীৰ্ত্তন আদি কৰি ভাতৃত্বাৱেৰে মিলি-জুলি আছে। আন দলৰ নিচিনা খোচা বিদ্ধা প্ৰকৃতি নাই। খোচা বিদ্ধা প্ৰকৃতিটোৱেই মানবৰ অতি নীচ প্ৰকৃতিবুলি আখ্যা দিব পাৰি। কাজে কাজেই এই প্ৰকৃতিৰ পৰা আতৰত থাকি, অসমীয়া সমাজত সোমাই নিজকে অসমীয়া বুলি পৰিচয় দি আমি নিজৰ কৰ্ত্তব্য কৰি আগবাঢ়ি গৈছো। বনুৱা সম্প্ৰদায়ে নিজৰ জীৱন নিব্বাহ ক্ষেত্ৰত পৰিশ্ৰমৰ মৰ্যাদা অতুত ৰাখিছে আৰু গোৰ্খা সম্প্ৰদায়ে সেই ক্ষেত্ৰত স্বাধীন ভাবে ম'হ-গৰু পালি ঘী, মাখন, গাখীৰ আদি উৎপন্ন কৰি জনতাক যোগান ধৰি দেশৰ সম্পদ বৃদ্ধি কৰিছে। পৰিশ্ৰম কৰি জীৱিকা আজৰ্জণ কৰি নিজৰ নিজৰ কৰ্ত্তব্যত অংশ গ্ৰহণ কৰি গৈছে। অসমীয়াত এটা কথা আছে—“বাঘ চাব নালাগে বিৰালিকে চাবা” তাৰ মানে মেকুৰী আৰু বাঘ একে জাতীয়। দুয়ো চিকাৰ কৰি আহাৰ সংগ্ৰহ কৰে। এলাহ সিহঁতৰ জীৱনৰ সম্বল নহয়। মই এই কথাৰ অবতারণা কৰি ইয়াকে কব খুজিছো যে, শ্ৰীযুত বনেন্দ্ৰ মোহন দাস ডাঙৰীয়াই (যি এতিয়া সদনত নাই) যিটো অনাঅসমীয়া শ্ৰেণী, S. R. C. প্ৰতিবেদনত সন্মত হোৱা নাই বা হব পৰা নাই বুলি আখ্যা দিছে—সেই শ্ৰেণীৰ লোক সকলৰ প্ৰকৃতিৰ লগত তেখেতৰ বা তেখেতৰলগৰ কেইজনমান লোকৰ মন খাপ নাখাব পাৰে সেই বুলি সকলোৰে নহয়, অসমৰ—প্ৰণীত—ইতিহাস প্ৰসিদ্ধ লাচিত ফুকনৰ কৰ্ত্তব্য পৰায়ণতা আজিও বিদ্যমান আৰু ইয়াৰ বুকত জন্ম লভি, ইয়াৰ জলবায়ু সেবি যিবিলাক ডাঙৰ হৈছে—তেওঁলোক লাচিত বৰফুকনৰ কৰ্ত্তব্য পৰায়ণতাৰে অনুপ্ৰাণীত। দেশৰ সেৱাই তেওঁবিলাকৰ মুখ্য কৰ্ত্তব্য আৰু সিয়েই তেওঁবিলাকৰ মূল মন্ত্ৰ। অনাঅসমীয়া সকল যে কিমান সুখত আছে তাকে এবাৰ মই এই সদনত প্ৰমাণ কৰিব নিচাৰিছো। যি লাচিত বৰফুকনে দেশ ৰক্ষাৰ বাবে নিজৰ মোমায়েকক কাটি দেশ ৰক্ষা কৰি গল সেই লাচিতৰ সন্তান আমাৰ বন্ধু শ্ৰীযুত গিৰীন্দুনাথ গগৈ ডাঙৰীয়াৰ চেহেৰা চাওঁক। আৰু অনাঅসমীয়া মোৰ বন্ধু শ্ৰীযুত চৌবে ডাঙৰীয়াৰ চেহেৰালৈ চাওঁক। যি মটক মৰাণে এই দেশত ৰাজত্ব কৰি খ্যাতি ৰাখি গল যি সকলৰ জহত আজি অনাঅসমীয়া সকল টিখিল ঘিলাই ফুৰিছে তাৰেই সন্তান মোৰ বন্ধু শ্ৰীযুত ইন্দ্ৰেশ্বৰ খাউণ্ড ডাঙৰীয়াৰ চেহেৰালৈ চাওঁক আৰু মোৰ বন্ধু শ্ৰীশংকৰ ঘোষৰ চেহেৰালৈ চাওঁক। কথাতে কয় যে মুখেই মনৰ দাপোন (*face is the index of mind*) কাজেই এই প্ৰদেশত অনাঅসমীয়া সকল কিমান সন্মত আছে ইয়েই প্ৰমাণ কৰি দিছে।

এই বিলাক বিবেচনা কৰি শ্ৰীযুত দাস ডাঙৰীয়াই আখ্যাদিয়া শ্ৰেণীটো একেবাৰেই নগন্য বুলি কব লাগিব আৰু তেওঁলোকৰ ভাব-প্ৰবণতাৰ মূল্য যে কিমান হীন মাননীয় সদস্য সকলে নিশ্চয় অনুভব কৰিব পাৰিছে। তাৰ পিচত, শ্ৰীযুত বনেন্দ্ৰ মোহন দাস ডাঙৰীয়া কাছাৰৰ মানুহ—তেখেতে কাছাৰৰ পৰা পৰ্বত-ভৈয়ামৰ ওপৰদি জাপ দি গোৱালপাৰা জিলাৰ ওপৰত পৰিছেগৈ। তেখেত সকল তেখেতৰ দলটোকে লৈ নিজৰ ঠাইত আবদ্ধ থকা হলেহে ভালহলহেঁতেন। কাৰণ অন্যান্য জিলাৰ পৰা বিভিন্ন প্ৰতিনিধি সকলে নিজৰ নিজৰ বক্তব্য এই সদনত প্ৰকাশ কৰিছেই আৰু সকলোৱেই ৰাজ্য পুণৰ গঠন আয়োগৰ প্ৰতিবেদনত সন্তোষ প্ৰকাশ কৰিছে। সেই কাৰণে মই শ্ৰীযুত বনেন্দ্ৰ মোহন দাস ডাঙৰীয়াৰ উক্তিটোৰ বিৰোধীতা কৰি ৰাজ্য পুনৰ গঠন

কমিচনৰ সুচিন্তিত আৰু কাৰ্য্যকৰী প্ৰতিবেদনত আস্থা জ্ঞাপন কৰি পুনৰ উক্ত কমিটিৰ সভা সকলক অভিনন্দন জনাই ৰাজ্য পূৰ্ব গঠন আয়োগৰ প্ৰতিবেদন খন সৰ্বসন্মতিকৰণে সমৰ্থন কৰিছে।

Shri CHANOO KHERIA :—(Sibsagar-Golaghat-West)

মাননীয় উপাধ্যক্ষ মহোদয় ৰাজ্য পূৰ্ব গঠন আয়োগৰ প্ৰতিবেদন খনিৰ আলোচনা প্ৰসঙ্গত এই সদনৰ প্ৰায় বিলাক সদস্যই অংশ গ্ৰহণ কৰি বিশদ ভাবে বিশ্লেষণ কৰি সমৰ্থন কৰি গৈছে। মই আৰু বিশেষ বহলাই নকও মাত্ৰ সম্পূৰ্ণ সমৰ্থন কৰি কেইটা মান কথাহে কম।

ইংৰাজ বিলাকৰ শাসনৰ আগ ছোৱাত ভাৰতত বহুতো সৰু ডাঙৰ ৰাজ্য আছিল আৰু তাত ৰাজ্যৰ আয়তন অনুযায়ী সৰু ডাঙৰ শাসক আছিল। সেই সময়ত, শাসক সকলে ৰাজ্যৰ সীমাৰ কথা সিমান নাভাবিছিল। ৰাজ্য শাসন কৰি কৰ কাটল উঠাই সম্পত্তিৰ অধিকাৰী হৈ লাস বিলাসত দিন কটাই দিব পৰাটোৱেই আছিল সেই সময়ৰ শাসকৰ মূল উদ্দেশ্য। সেই কাৰণে বেলেগ বেলেগ ৰাজ্যৰ বেলেগ বেলেগ স্থায়ী সীমা নিৰ্দ্ধাৰণ কৰাৰ কথা হয়তো মনলৈ নাহিছিল। ঠিক এই সময়তেই ভাৰতলৈ বিদেশী ইংৰাজ বিলাক বেপাৰ কৰিবলৈ আহে আৰু লাহে লাহে তেওঁ লোকেই আমাৰ শাসক বিলাকৰ পৰা ৰাজ্যৰ শাসন ভাৰ নিজৰ হাতলৈ নি শাসন কাৰ্য্য চলাবলৈ আৰম্ভ কৰে আৰু তাৰ দ্বাৰাই ইংৰাজ বিলাকে নিজৰ দেশ বিলাত খন চতুৰী কৰে। আমাক শাসন কৰি, আমাৰ পৰা ৰাজহ গোটাি তেওঁলোকে ভোগ কৰাই আছিল তেওঁলোকৰ কামনা। সেই কাৰণে তেওঁলোকেও হাতত দণ্ডলৈ আমাক শাসন কৰাৰ বাহিৰে আমাৰ কোনো ফালে উন্নতি কামনা নকৰিছিল। তাৰ ফলত আমি কি ৰাজনৈতিক কি অৰ্থনৈতিক, কি সামাজিক সকলো ক্ষেত্ৰতে দিনক দিনে আমি অলাগতিয়া হৈ হীন হৈ যাব ধৰিলে। আমাৰ দুখৰ সীমা নাইকিয়া হল। অৱস্থা শোচনীয় হৈ উঠিল। ইয়াকে উপলব্ধি কৰি ভাৰতীয় নেতৃ স্থানীয় নেতাসকলে ইংৰাজ শাসনৰ বিৰুদ্ধে তুমুল সংগ্ৰামৰ আৱশ্যকতা বোধ কৰিলে তাৰেই ফল স্বৰূপে দীৰ্ঘদিন সংগ্ৰামৰ পিচত আমি ১৯৪৭ চনত স্বাধীনতা অৰ্জ্জন কৰো আৰু এতিয়া আমাৰ সৰ্বস্বত্বীয় উন্নতিৰ হকে বিভিন্ন ৰাজ্যৰ সীমা নিৰ্দ্ধাৰণৰ আৱশ্যকতা আহি পৰে। এই কাৰণেই বিভিন্ন ৰাজ্য বিলাকৰ জনপ্ৰিয় চৰকাৰ সমূহে ৰাজ্যৰ অৰ্থ নৈতিক, সামাজিক উন্নতিৰ হকে কেন্দ্ৰীয় চৰকাৰে কৰি দিব খোজা ৰাজ্যৰ সীমা নিৰ্দ্ধাৰণ নীদ্ধান্তত মতামত প্ৰকাশ কৰিবলৈ সংবিধান সভাৰ আলোচনা সমালোচনাৰ সুবিধা দিছে। এই প্ৰতিবেদনখন বচনা কৰিবলৈ ভাৰতৰ তিনিজন বিজ্ঞ আৰু বিখ্যাত ব্যক্তিকে এই আয়োগ গঠিত হৈছে। তেওঁলোকে ভাৰতৰ সকলো ৰাজ্য ভ্ৰমণ কৰিছিল আৰু প্ৰত্যেক ৰাজ্যতে তাৰ বিভিন্ন অনুস্থান, প্ৰসিদ্ধ ব্যক্তি আৰু বুৰঞ্জী মূলক ঠাই সমূহ ভ্ৰমণ কৰি তথ্যপাতি ভালকৈ পৰীক্ষা কৰি চাইহে স্থিৰ কৰিছে কোন কেনেকৈ আৰু কাৰ লগত থাকিব লাগে।

Adjournment

The Assembly was then Adjourned till 1-30 P. M., on Friday, the 18th November, 1955.

Shillong
The 8th June, 1956. }

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

AGENTS IN INDIA

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