

Proceedings of the Second Session of the Assam Legislative Assembly assembled after the Second 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 7th November, 1957.

PRESENT

Shri Dev Kanta Borooah, B.A., LL.B., Speaker, in the Chair, the eight Ministers, the eight Deputy Ministers and eighty-two Members.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS

(To which answers were laid on the table)

Overseas Scholarships for 1956-57

Shri DHIRSINGH DEURI [Laharighat (Reserved for Scheduled Tribes)] : asked

1. Will the Minister-in-charge of Education be pleased to state—

- (a) The names of the students to whom [Overseas Scholarships were awarded in 1956-57 and the subjects for which such scholarships were awarded ?
- (b) Whether any Plains Tribal students were awarded any such scholarship ?
- (c) If so, what are the names of those students ?

Shri MOTIRAM BORA (Minister, Education) replied :

1. (a)—

Name of Candidates

Subject of award

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|-----|---------------|
| 1. Dr. Jamuneswar Choudhury | ... | Physiology. |
| 2. Dr. Alimuddin Ahmed | ... | Pharmacology. |

Name of Candidates	Subject of award
3. Dr. Jatindra Mohan Deka	... Social and Preventive Medicine.
4. Dr. Sankhadhar Barua ...	... General Medicine.
5. Dr. Dulal Ch. Borkotoky ...	... Do.
6. Dr. Ratneswar Das ..	... Do.
7. Dr. Debabrata Sarma ...	... Tuberculosis.
8. Dr. Chandra Mohan Brahma	... Do.
9. Dr. Anil Kr. Barooah ...	... Obstetrics and Gynecology.
10. Dr. Nirmala Barua ..	... Do.
11. Dr. Padmadhar Bhuyan ...	... Pathology.
12. Dr. Nanigopal Banerjee ...	... Do.
13. Dr. Lakshman Ch. Dutta ..	... Ophthalmology.
14. Dr. Bhabit Dawka ...	... Surgery.
15. Dr. Asit Kumar Deshmukh	... Do.
16. Dr. Bishnuram Das ...	... Ear, Nose and Throat.
17. Sri Hamendra Kr. Gohain	... Pathology.
18. Sri Prasanna Kr. Sharma	... Animal Husbandry.
19. Sri Ram Kumar Das ..	... M.Sc. (Economics).
20. Sri Jogananda Das ...	... Artificial Insemination and Sterility.
21. Sri Bhabendra N. Saikia ...	... Gynaecology.
22. Sri Utpal Miri ...	... Nuclear Physics (Ph. D. Degree).
23. Sri Purna Ch. Baro ...	... Post-Graduate Engineering or Physics.
24. Dr. Nomal Ch. Pegu ...	... Social Science.
25. Sri K. Tongpangnoktang Ao	... Industrial Administration or Social Administration.
26. Sri Radhan Singh Lyngdoh Nongbri	... Medicine.
27. Sri Oriwell Terang ...	... Hydraulic (Water Power Dam Construction) M.S.
	History (Historical Research).
	Social Science.

(b)—Yes.

(c)—1. Sri Utpal Miri.

2. Sri Purna Chandra Baro.

3. Dr. Nomal Chandra Pegu.

4. Dr. Chandra Mohan Brahma.

***Shri DHIRSINGH DEURI [Laharighat (Reserved for Scheduled Tribes)]:** Regarding (b) and (c), Sir, what amount of scholarship was given to each of the tribal students ?

***Shri MOTIRAM BORA (Minister, Education):** I cannot answer the question off-hand, Sir, I want notice of this question.

***Shri TARUNSEN DEKA (Nalbari-West):** May I know, Sir, whether the scholarships were granted on merit or on the recommendation of some body ?

***Shri MOTIRAM BORA:** On merit, Sir.

The Speaker's Ruling *re* : The Chief Minister's statement on the Naga Hills situation

Mr. SPEAKER : I would like to make a small statement. The hon. Members will have known that under the present rules of our Assembly, there is no provision for a Minister to make a statement on anything except his resignation. However, in the Lok Sabha as well as in the House of Commons, a Minister is allowed to make a statement on a matter of Government policy any time, but no discussion takes place on such a statement as the House is not considered to be seized of the question. The House will have remembered that I permitted Shri K. P. Tripathy, Minister for Labour, to make a statement on the question of disturbances in tea gardens in Assam in the last session of the Assembly, and, in accordance with the practice and rules of Lok Sabha, no discussion took place on it. The question of Naga Hills being of special importance to our State as well as to India as a whole, I have permitted the Hon'ble Chief Minister to make a statement on it. Furthermore, in view of the same consideration and in order that the hon. Members of this House may have an opportunity to express their views on the matter, I am permitting a discussion on the statement. However, I should like to make it clear that this is a special case and this departure from the usual practice shall not be treated as a precedent in future. I would only request the hon. Members to take into consideration the delicate situation in the Naga Hills and to be restrained and temperate in giving expression to their views.

The Chief Minister's statement regarding the Naga Hills situation

Shri BISNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): I have also agreed that hon. Members would give their views on this matter and I would be very glad to discuss those views on this very very important matter concerning not only Assam but India as a whole. This being an important matter I seek the permission of the House to give a written speech.

As I am not well I seek the permission of the Chair to read out the statement sitting.

Mr. SPEAKER : Yes, it is permitted.

Shri BISNURAM MEDHI:

MR. SPEAKER AND HON'BLE MEMBERS,

The hon. Members of this House are aware that the Government of India has taken the decision to constitute a separate administrative unit comprising the Naga Hills district of Assam and the Tuensang Frontier Division of the North-East Frontier Agency in compliance with the resolution of the Kohima Convention of all the Naga tribes. I owe it to the House to make a statement of facts on the recent developments in the Naga Hills and also explain the Government's attitude in the matter.

At the outset, I would like to remove the misconception held by various sections of the people which occasionally finds expression in the press or otherwise that as if the Naga problem is due to any policy or any acts of omission or commission on the part of the Assam Government. It is well-known that the root cause of the Naga problem is the uncompromising demand of the Naga National Council for independence and secession from India, basing their propaganda on the stand that the Nagas are not Indians and since the British who conquered them by force have withdrawn, the Nagas should be allowed to be independent. The political problem arising out of this demand has not arisen all of a sudden but has a long history behind it. It may be worthwhile to recall it. As far back as 1929, some representatives of the Nagas submitted a memorandum to the Simon Commission in which they stated that they had no use for any reform which the Simon Commission had come to consider and if they could not continue directly under the British Government, they would like to be given independence. The feeling amongst the leaders of Naga independence movement that they are not Indians was generated and nurtured in educational institutions under the control of

foreigners in the absence of any other agency to provide alternative facilities or bring to bear ideas of Indian nationhood during the period of isolation imposed by the British. The Naga Hills district was administered as an Excluded Area under the Governor acting in his discretion and officered by British Officers. Even after the attainment of independence, the administration as an Excluded Area continued till the Constitution came into force in 1950 although the British officers retired and left. I have mentioned that the demand for independence can be traced back to 1929 when even provincial autonomy brought in under the Government of India Act, 1935, was not thought of, and the area was administered by the Governor. The Nagas remained loyal under the British Government and demonstrated their loyalty during the Japanese invasion of the district, but a political ferment was caused when the transfer of power by the British and political changes in India became imminent. The Naga National Council, an organisation constituted in 1942-43, with social and cultural objectives, drifted into politics and in October 1946, the Council asked the Deputy Commissioner to disallow any member of any political party from entering the Naga Hills without the permission of the Naga National Council. Within the Council, there were two groups. The extremist group led by Shri Phizo demanded complete independence immediately with the transfer of power while the other group was in favour of accepting autonomy within India for a specified period. In February, 1947, the Naga National Council submitted a memorandum to His Majesty's Government in Great Britain claiming that the Nagas were a different people and that they had no connections with the Indians. In March of that year, appeals were sent to Lord Simon and Mr. Churchill. The Naga Hills were visited by the Advisory Sub-Committee of the Constituent Assembly under the chairmanship of the late Loka Priya Bardalai which contacted several leaders without making much headway. Subsequently, late Sir Akbar Hydari, then Governor of Assam, on receipt of a memorandum from the Naga National Council in March, 1947, outlining a proposal for acceptance by the Constituent Assembly, came to an understanding with the moderate group in the Naga National Council, and signed a document which is known as the Nine-Point Agreement. The Naga National Council was not satisfied with the wording of the ninth point and pressed that it should be modified to provide that after ten years, the Nagas would be free to decide their own future. Shri Phizo was not satisfied with the Nine-Point Agreement at all and restarted the agitation for complete independence. On the

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14th of August, 1947, his own village Khonoma declared itself independent of India. The Constituent Assembly took into consideration the proposals contained in the Nine-Point Agreement and incorporated as much as possible of the safeguards demanded, in the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. The Naga National Council insisted on incorporation of the Nine-Point Agreement fully in the Constitution, failing which, they demanded complete independence. The assurance that the substance of the nine points was embodied in the Sixth Schedule did not satisfy the N. N. C. Shri Phizo's agitation and propaganda were renewed with great vigour and captured the imagination of the educated sections and the students. Soon he ousted the moderate leaders from the Naga National Council and got himself elected President. After that, the Naga National Council submitted memorandum after memorandum to the President, Prime Minister and the Governor of Assam and had several interviews also. In January, 1951, Shri Phizo decided to hold a so-called plebiscite to prove that the demand for independence of the Nagas was backed by overwhelming popular support. Intense agitation was started throughout the Naga Hills. I was against allowing Phizo to hold the so-called plebiscite but was advised to the contrary by the then Union Home Minister. In the name of the plebiscite, Phizo got an opportunity to contact all the villagers belonging to different tribes, mislead the people with his false propaganda and take their thumb impressions on a large scale. To a Naga, it amounted to giving a pledge. After that, he started writing to the United Nations and circularised all foreign diplomats in India on the Nagas' demand for independence. Repeated attempts by the local officers, myself, the Governor of Assam and the advice given by the Prime Minister during various interviews produced no change in the Naga National Council's attitude, so far as the demand for independence was concerned. After the promulgation of the Constitution, the Nagas boycotted the elections to the District Council, State Assembly and Parliament to show their non-acceptance of the Constitution.

This phase, roughly upto 1951, can be characterised as the first phase in the struggle for Naga independence, during which, no overt or lawless acts were committed. From then onwards the second phase of the struggle, namely, direct action was ushered in. Acts of lawlessness started with assaults on Government servants, assaults and threatening of the Nagas who did not fall in line with the N. N. C. policy of non-co-operation

with the Government, obstruction to Forest staff, student indiscipline and other miscellaneous acts. These steadily mounted, culminating in a riot in Kohima town in 1952. The picture began to emerge that the N. N. C. was aiming to wrest independence by paralysing the administration. The agitation took the form of mass non-payment of house tax, refusal to repair paths and do other customary works of the village, forcing the Gaonburas to resign, boycotting of Government schools and pundits, assaults and threatening of loyal Nagas and Government servants. These were accompanied by an active campaign of sabotage of communications and burning of schools and Government properties. Gangs of armed Nagas occasionally appeared in the Reserved Forests and obstructed Government lessees, Forest Department officials and odd murders and kidnappings were reported.

As I mentioned earlier, the administration of the district continued to be under the Governor until 1951 when the Tribal Department of the State Government was organised. The policy of *laissez faire* in the administration was maintained and no interference was caused even in face of the agitation until acts of lawlessness started taking place. It was also clear that the independence agitation struck at the root of the administrative system by causing defection among Gaonburas and village functionaries. In the face of mounting arson, sabotage, etc., the Government was compelled to take measures to restore law and order. These measures consisted of opening of Armed Police out-posts in the interior, tightening up of the administration of the law and imposing customary collective fines in those villages in Ao area where the entire villagers sided with the law breakers. These measures were by and large successful and order was restored and maintained throughout 1954 and 1955.

In the meantime, however, widespread violence broke out in the areas hitherto known as Naga Tribal Areas but constituted in the Tuensang Frontier Division of the North-East Frontier Agency. In the old days, this area was practically unadministered and parts of it very loosely administered, under the Deputy Commissioner of the Naga Hills until the administration was taken over by the North-East Frontier Agency. As far back as in 1949, when the Indian Constitution was being drafted, three chiefs from this area addressed a communication to the United Nations stating that they were in free Naga land and that India was going

to invade their country. They asked for U. N. O.'s intervention. After the organisation of the administration of North-East Frontier Agency and its gradual extension, there followed a period of peace until lawlessness broke out towards the end of 1954. In September 1954 a so-called Government of Free Naga Land was announced under a mysterious person called Hongking and wide-spread armed hostilities broke out in the area in an attempt to achieve independence. Assam Rifles out-posts were attacked, patrols were ambushed, villages were raided. The Assam Rifles responsible for maintenance of law and order in the area found the situation beyond their control with numerous gangs of hostiles armed with modern weapons committing depredations. The North-East Frontier Agency administration had to seek the help of the regular Army to restore law and order. Accordingly the troops went into action and after a few engagements cleared the concentrations of armed hostiles. A large number of them were reported then to have infiltrated into the adjoining areas of the Naga Hills District. They were to form the nucleus of the armed Naga Home Guards later.

The situation in the middle of 1955 was roughly that in the Naga Hills District, the second phase of the struggle for independence in the shape of civil disobedience, arson, sabotage murder, intimidation of loyal Nagas, etc., had more or less ended in a fiasco. In the Tuensang Frontier Division, a regular armed struggle for the attainment of independence was started, but that was being crushed by combined Assam Rifles and Army operations. Reports from our local officers indicated that there was a good deal of frustration among a number of Naga National Council leaders due to Sri Phizo's failure to bring independence which he had been promising the people. There was concern with the blind alley into which his policy had led the Nagas particularly in the Ao areas where a civil disobedience campaign with arson, sabotage, violent attacks on loyal citizens took place and police action had to be taken for the maintenance of law and order and for the protection of the loyal elements. The long-promised independence was nowhere in sight. Doubts began to arise about Shri Phizo's leadership and one of the most prominent Naga missionaries openly accused the Vice-President of the Naga National Council for bringing untold miseries upon the common people by their misguided policies.

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On the 9th August, 1955, I received a telegram from Shri Phizo which ran as follows:—

“Situation in Nagaland very serious and bound to get worse (.) No use recrimination (.) Request you for interview not for question of independence but for preservation of peace in the country (.) Order of arrest if any must be removed (.) Let us live in peace and accord (.) Please fix time.”

As the telegram made it clear that Phizo did not want to discuss the issue of independence, I decided to grant him an interview and the Deputy Commissioner was instructed to assure Shri Phizo that there was no warrant of arrest against him. Shri Phizo, Shri Jasokie and three others met me. They all reiterated that the Naga National Council and the Nagas in general believed in the doctrine of non-violence. Their formula for restoring peace was to withdraw the Armed Police and Assam Rifles from the Naga Hills. When Shri Phizo's attention was drawn to the violent struggle going on in Tuensang Frontier Division, he stated that he had no connection with what was happening there as the Tuensang area was 'free Nagaland under the so-called Hongking Government'. I pointed it out to Phizo that the State Government are on principle against the policy of posting Armed police in the interior of any hill district or embarking on any policy of repression. This was on the 13th August, 1955. We were compelled to take police action most reluctantly because of mounting lawlessness and violence. Numerous instances of violence and sabotage committed by the followers of the Naga National Council on different occasions were brought to Phizo's notice. I impressed on him that if he and his party were not responsible for the violent acts and wanted to dissociate themselves from them as they had assured me, there should be no difficulty on their part to make a public statement to that effect and appeal to the Nagas to desist from acts of violence and assist the Government in dealing with the culprits and restoring law and order. After some discussions, Phizo and his associates handed over a signed statement which read as follows:—

“The declared policy of the Naga National Council is of non-violence and we, the undersigned, reiterate the same and condemn any violence that has been committed in different parts of the Naga Hills district by some miscreants. We assure the Governments of Assam and India and remind the Nagas that whoever indulges in any act of violence will go against

the best interests of the Naga people and we appeal to people in general for preservation of law and order and to the administration in restoring peace and order"—(13th Aug 1955). Shri Phizo also expressed his intention to go to the area and approach the people and appeal to them to desist from acts of violence with a view to restore normalcy. He impressed upon him and his associates that the worth of the declaration made by them would be judged only by the cessation of violent action of the Nagas in the Naga Hills and the Government's policy would be adjusted accordingly.

"In this connection I want to mention one fact. The written statement that he gave to me was translated in different tribal dialects and distributed throughout the Naga Hills immediately after they left. Some time after Phizo came to me and said "You had no right to distribute the statement in the Naga Hills". I said this was a public statement on his part repudiating violence and naturally it should be distributed throughout the Naga Hills. He, however, did not like this. My suspicion was that he was secretly inciting violence while openly showing himself non-violent and that is why he came and accused me for distributing the translated copies of the statement. I told him "You can only question my action if the translation is inaccurate and if you point out any inaccuracies I shall correct them". Then I gave him the translated copies in different dialects. After going through them and having further discussion with me he had to admit that the translations contained no mis-interpretation and were correctly done. So he had to be satisfied and go back. For some time after this, there was a lull in the activities of the Naga National Council and the number of incidents came down. The Independence Day on the 15th August 1955 was celebrated with dignity and grandeur in different parts of the Naga Hills and a very large number of Nagas enthusiastically joined the celebrations. In the meantime, the Naga National Council was undergoing a serious internal crisis due to frustration among its members with Phizo's policy. The liberal group headed by Shri Jasokie, late Shri Sakhrie and others had been holding a series of secret meetings expressing dissatisfaction with Phizo's leadership in September 1955. They sent representatives to meet me during the first week of October, 1955. Shri Jasokie issued an appeal-cum-informative leaflet for circulation to mobilise Naga public opinion against Shri Phizo's leadership. Phizo tried his best to prevent its circulation without success and was reported to have moved

underground. Although there was no warrant of arrest against him immediately the activities of this liberal group to rally public opinion in support of their view and to throw out Phizo from the leadership began, he went underground.

The Gaonburas, Assistant Gaonburas and elders of the Kohima village resolved in a meeting held on the 23rd December 1955, that instructions should be given to all villagers to surrender all illegal arms and ammunition and to produce absconders wanted by Government for crimes. The Gaonburas and elders of Kohima village held another meeting on the 4th January 1956, and issued a declaration pledging themselves to non-violence and forbidding entertainment of any strangers and following their illegal directions. After this declaration, some village elders and Gaonburas of Khonoma, Mezoma, Jotsoma and Kohima, along with the President of Chekrama group, and representatives of the Southern Angami group assembled in the Kohima village and discussed the above declaration how to keep peace and ease the situation in Kohima area by removing Phizo from N. N. C. leadership. As a result, the Gaonburas and representatives of other villages assured their support to Kohima villagers in their move. On the strength of this assurance, the Kohima villagers held another meeting on the 14th of January 1956 and decided to issue a declaration to the following effect—

- (1) not to follow Phizo,
- (2) to remove him from N. N. C. leadership,
- (3) not to obey his direction or to subscribe to his N. N. C. fund,
- (4) not to give support or help to the hostiles and
- (5) to take action against any person acting to the contrary, etc.

The village elders and about 300 Gaonburas and representatives of Kohima Bara Basti, Khonoma, Phizema, Kigwema and several other villages met in the Tribal Council Hall at Jakhama on 16th January 1955, and unanimously decided not to join hands with the hostiles and to stand by the Kohima

village in its move for throwing out the leadership of Sh. Phizo. They openly came forward with a declaration disowning Phizo's leadership and advocating co-operation with the administration for restoration of law and order.

I hope that my account of events upto this point would convince everyone that the Naga political problem is a highly complicated one and the demand for independence has deep roots. The agitation for the achievement of independence had gone through two phases as I have briefly described. Far from this agitation being due to any policy or acts of omission or commission of the State Government, the situation in the district and the political developments within the Naga National Council itself in the beginning of 1956 reflected the success of the policy of the State Government.

"This will be evident from the fact that in the year 1954, I made a statement in this House. I am reading the relevant extract from that statement:

Our idea is to wait and to see till the Nagas themselves are fed up with the false promises of the Naga National Council and realise the mistake of pursuing a sentimental agitation for Independence and refuse to be misled by the Naga National Council and throw out their leadership. Sooner or later they are likely to be disillusioned about the false promises given from time to time for establishing a sovereign, independent Naga State,

This was the policy consistently followed by the Government in this matter in order to create an alternative leadership to throw out Phizo.

This policy pursued steadfastly in the face of mounting criticism from un-informed quarters and a spate of false propaganda with atrocity stories from the Naga National Council, was based on three simple principles. The first was that no responsible Government could tolerate widespread lawlessness and threats of subversion and the State Government had to take adequate measures, however reluctantly, to suppress lawlessness and afford protection to the loyal elements. Secondly, in spite of difficulties, programmes of development for the welfare of the Naga public in general had to go on simultaneously. Lastly, we never believed that a mere law and order approach and

firm hand policy could bring a solution to the political problem which was essentially a human problem. It had to be approached with a sense of service and sympathy with a view to winning over the hearts of the Nagas and bring about such conditions under which a real solution could be visualised and steps taken to bring it about. Many well-meaning persons of different political persuasions and social ideals have often found fault with the State Government, but nobody could find an answer to the main stumbling block that unless the demand for complete independence was given up by the Nagas themselves, there was no common ground or even the basis of an approach to find a political solution.

In the period I am dealing with, namely January 1956, there was a ray of hope that such a basis would be found, as an alternative leadership which was prepared to give up the demand for independence was coming to the surface in the Naga Hills. Unfortunately, however, the growth of the movement against Shri Phizo and his hostile comrades made them desperate. Later information reveals that from the time he went underground, Shri Phizo was feverishly preparing in secret for a campaign of terror and organised armed violence which may be characterised as the third phase in the struggle for attaining Naga independence. He showed by his action that the declaration made before me in August 1955, was a smoke screen and he was prepared to use any means to attain his goal of independence. The late T. N. Sakhrie was kidnapped and brutally murdered and all the evidence points to this dastardly act being due to Phizo's desperate bid to eliminate the storm gathering round him and re-assert his leadership by terror. The outbreak of widespread armed hostilities in the district following upon the murder of Sakhrie caused a great setback to the healthy movement against Phizo's leadership which was steadily gaining momentum and brought about a vital change in the whole situation. The leaders of the liberal group with their lives in danger, became shaky and the people became thoroughly demoralised by the campaign of kidnapping, murder, arson, loot and other atrocities committed upon them. It is not necessary for me here to deal in detail with the numerous outrages perpetrated by the armed hostiles in the Naga Hills and the Tuensang Frontier Division from the period the armed rebellion broke out upto date, as this is recent history. This third phase of the struggle for independence has brought untold misery to the Naga people in general and completely disrupted normal life. Its

effects extended across the borders of Naga Hills into the plains districts causing deaths and injuries to some and loss of property of hundreds of innocent villagers who became the targets and the victims of the raiders. The situation going entirely beyond control of the Armed Police of the State Government, assistance had to be sought from the regular Army. The Army has been in operation since March/April, 1956. It was impressed upon the army that it has not gone to fight a foreign enemy but to restore order among our own kith and kin whatever might be the attitude of the hostiles. No army has had to operate under such restraints against determined guerilla fighting carried on by the hostiles.

The mounting strength of the army with adequate deployment of troops and its success in breaking up concentrations of hostiles, gradually began to restore the morale and confidence of the people that the armed forces would be able to give them protection. Many Nagas offered themselves to be enlisted as special police for the purpose of defending themselves and their villages against hostile depredations. The village elders and the public in general, fully conscious of the miseries caused to them by the hostile elements by plundering, looting, burning, kidnapping and killing, gradually began to realise the futility of the armed struggle for independence. The village elders began to hold meetings and prepare lists of persons who had joined the hostiles and try to persuade them to surrender, in many cases with arms. They also approached the local authorities for general amnesty to those who would surrender. In pursuance of this request in the last June session of the Assam Assembly, I declared that general amnesty would be given to all offenders who committed offences against the State, if they surrendered with their arms. Even in case of those who committed heinous offences against fellow Nagas, if the accused persons compounded the offences in customary tribal manner and the complainants withdrew their complaints, the Government would take no action. These measures, coupled with the re-grouping of villages to afford protection to the villagers and isolate the hostiles started to produce results. Tribes like Konyaks, Phoms and Changs brought about the surrender of all hostiles in their areas and restored peace. Among various other tribes also, large number of surrenders of hostiles took place. Government had also been distributing relief in cash and kind including medical relief to the victims of hostile activities. Full facilities were also given to Naga leaders prepared to work for peace to persuade the hostiles to give up their activities

and restore law and order. Mention may be made of the peace mission led by Revs. Longri Ao, Kijung Ao and other Naga missionaries.

Public opinion started gradually veering away from the hostiles persisting in their demand for independence and the liberal leaders and elders of different tribes began holding meetings to decide their attitude and devise ways and means to restore normalcy. Out of these different tribal meetings, emerged the decision to hold a district convention representing all the tribes through delegates chosen by each tribe. It was decided to give all facilities to this district convention which was held from the 22nd August to 26th August 1957. The hostile elements were reported to have tried their utmost in the beginning, to prevent the convention being held and they threatened the people with violence. The tribal representatives having requested the local authorities to give them protection, the delegates numbering 1,765 from different parts of the Naga Hills district and the Tuensang Frontier Division had to be escorted in military convoys and given shelter in the Assam Rifles lines in Kohima where the convention was held. Adequate precautions were taken to guard the area against hostile action. In spite of these precautions, there was stray sniping in the evening of 21st and the morning of 22nd August, 1957, which resulted in injuries to two Lotha delegates. Later on, however, the hostile high command was reported to have changed their threatening attitude and no attempt at violent interference with the delegates in the conduct of the meeting was made. The delegates were also not attacked or molested while returning home after the convention.

The Kohima convention held their deliberations from 22nd August to 26th August 1957, and I need not reiterate the resolutions passed by them. (The main contribution of the convention which was representative of all the tribes was that delegates assembled, gave up the demand for independence as an ultimate solution of the Naga problem. The first day's resolution that "the only answer to the Naga question was a satisfactory political settlement", was clarified by an amendment that by political settlement is meant, "a satisfactory political settlement within Indian Union". It is understood that there was an attempt by the supporters and sympathisers of the hostiles to have the question of independence left open and a discussion on this amendment specifying final settlement

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within Indian Union was stormy and the Convention very nearly broke up on this issue. Ultimately, however, the amendment was carried by an overwhelming majority. The next important resolution constituted a demand for the creation of a separate unit of administration with the Naga Hills district and the Tuensang Frontier Division under the Governor of Assam acting as the agent of the President in the Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India. On their part, the convention pledged to try to bring about conditions under which a final settlement can be discussed by appealing to the hostiles to give up violence and end hostilities. A delegation of the convention presented the resolutions before the Governor on the 29th and 30th of August along with the amendments. This delegation also saw the Prime Minister on the 25th and 26th September. It is common knowledge that the Prime Minister announced the Government of India's decision accepting the Kohima convention proposal for constituting the Naga Hills district and Tuensang Frontier Division as one administrative unit within the Indian Union directly under the President of India to be administered by the Governor of Assam on behalf of the President under the Ministry of External Affairs just like before the Independence of India in 1947 when the area was an Excluded Area which was administered through the Governor General. The Prime Minister also announced that the Government would grant amnesty in respect of all offences committed by the Nagas against the State in the past. Following upon this declaration, the Naga undertrial prisoners have been released from jail and warrants of arrests pending against those at large, have been withdrawn. The sentences of convicts have also been remitted and they have been set at liberty. The G. O. C., Assam, has issued a proclamation offering amnesty to all those who surrender with arms in the future. A meeting of the Select Committee of the Naga Peoples' Convention was held at Mokokchung from 23rd October. At this meeting, the nine delegates who went to Delhi, gave a full account of the discussions with the Prime Minister and his acceptance of the Kohima proposals. Resolutions passed by the select committee emphasised that the setting up of a new administrative unit is essentially an interim measure and the constitutional change for the interim measure should be such as would in no way close the door for further political negotiations. The select committee also asked for extension of the original proclamation issued by the G. O. C. which fixed 31st October 1957, as the last date for amnesty. The select committee made an appeal

to all the Nagas to infuse a sense of forgiveness for past offences and to the underground hostiles to stop killing and bloodshed. They also decided to send a deputation consisting of representatives of each tribe to meet the underground leaders for discussions and to explore means to convene a general meeting of the Nagas as early as possible.

As I mentioned earlier, the main contribution of the Kohima convention has been the decision of the majority of the Naga tribes represented in the convention to give up the demand for independence as an ultimate solution of the Naga problem. The second important feature is the resolution of the convention that its members would make an earnest effort to end hostilities and heal old feuds. It is also significant that the liberal leaders, the village elders and other responsible elements had the courage in spite of threats of violence to come to these decisions and thereby pave the way for finding a solution of the much vexed Naga Political problem. It will be remembered that, in the beginning of 1956, conditions were developing when an alternative leadership prepared to give up the demand for independence might have arisen, but a serious set-back occurred due to the launching of the full scale armed hostilities by the hostile group under the leadership of Phizo. Since the Kohima convention it is for the first time in the whole history of the independence movement that a situation has arisen when a beginning can be made towards finding a suitable political solution. We feel, that we should take full advantage of the situation created by the Kohima Resolution for a solution of the political problem in the Naga Hills. The people of Assam who have been associated with the people of the Naga Hills for centuries and consider the Nagas as their own kith and kin are more vitally interested than any other people in finding a solution of the vexed Naga problem. The demand for creation of a separate administrative unit for the interim period is indeed a wrench to all of us. But it is necessary to take a realistic view of the situation and not be carried away by sentiment. One of the main aspirations of the Nagas has been for the Naga Hills district to be united with Tuensang Frontier Division and the demand to bring these two areas under one administrative unit is quite natural. The idea has been mooted for sometime and a proposal was submitted to this effect before the State Re-organisation Commission. The Nagas have also been used to direct rule under the Governor and not having accepted the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution, have not acquired experience of the

very large measure of autonomy conferred on the District Council. Therefore, it is also not unnatural that as an interim measure, they would like to be placed under an administrative system to which they were used. My colleagues and I thought it desirable to give full scope to this desire on the part of Nagas for the constitution of one administrative unit bringing the Naga tribes together as an interim measure, so that an atmosphere conducive to the solution of the Naga problem may be created. I want to make it absolutely clear that the State Government or the people of Assam are not interested in extending their domination or imposing their will on any section of the population and consistent with that policy, we could not stand in the way of the interim arrangements sought for by the Nagas. Our only hope is that this will result in a final settlement of the problem of the Naga Hills which will be consistent with the unity and security of India and Assam and the welfare of the people as a whole.

I had a full discussion with the Prime Minister and the Home Minister before the Naga delegation met the Prime Minister on the 25th September, 1957, on the circumstances leading to the adoption of the resolution of the Naga convention. All the pros and cons of the problem were discussed when I was at New Delhi from the 11th to 13th September, on an invitation from the Prime Minister. As desired by him to be present at New Delhi at the time the delegation met the Prime Minister, I left Shillong but unfortunately could not proceed beyond Calcutta due to the sudden aggravation of my ailment. After the Prime Minister's acceptance of the proposals placed before him by the delegation, I made a press statement in Calcutta giving my views in the matter. This is given in Appendix "A". In this, I emphasised the close political, economic, historical and linguistic ties which have subsisted for centuries between the Naga Hills and the adjoining plain areas of the Brahmaputra Valley. I also expressed my anxiety to see that peace and tranquillity prevails in the Naga Hills and friendship and the feeling of unity and brotherhood are restored between the people of the Naga Hills and those of the plains.

I do not, however, wish to paint an unduly rosy picture of the situation in the Naga Hills. The hostile leadership has not yet declared its acceptance of the Kohima Convention resolutions, nor has it openly rejected them. Sporadic activities

in the form of sabotage, sniping, looting, kidnapping and murders are still continuing. The end of the Naga problem is by no means in sight, but as I stated earlier, the opportunity has come to make a beginning towards finding a solution. Regardless of the uncertainty of the hostile attitude, the Select Committee of the Kohima Convention which met at Mokokchung has decided to make earnest efforts to contact the hostiles by sending deputations consisting of representatives of each tribe to bring them round, and it is our effort to help them as best as we can. I wish them all success in their efforts, as a solid basis for a satisfactory solution can be laid only when the pressure of public opinion will tell on the hostile leadership to give up its futile struggle for independence bringing in its wake bloodshed and misery to all concerned.

So far as the new administrative unit is concerned, I have conveyed my ideas to the Prime Minister and Home Minister showing the close political, economic, linguistic and other links of the Naga Hills with the rest of Assam. I do not want to say what suggestions I have made because it is still in negotiation stage. Every district of Assam bordering on the Naga Hills has its Naga bats, Naga hats and Naga khats and Assamese has been for centuries the *lingua franca* of the numerous tribes inhabiting the Naga Hills. Even during the Kohima Convention, the deliberations of the convention were carried on through the medium of Assamese which is understood by almost all the tribes, while one tribe cannot understand the dialect of its neighbouring tribe. In bringing about administrative changes in the area, the approach should be to keep intact as far as practicable, the ties between the Nagas and the Assamese people and base the policy on existing foundations of affinity.

The overwhelming desire of the State Government and the people of Assam has always been to restore peace and tranquillity, bring about the maximum development of the Naga Hills and create such conditions as would enable the people of the Naga Hills to progress and prosper. Consistent with that policy, we do not propose to stand in the way of the interim proposal for establishment of a separate administrative unit with the hope that an atmosphere conducive to the solution of the vexed Naga problem may be ushered in. At the same time, the Delegates have also made it quite clear that the creation of the separate unit is an interim measure. The time has not yet come to speculate on the nature of the final set-up which may emerge. We

are, however, confident that once the initial hurdle is passed and conditions are created in which sober thinking would be possible, the Nagas themselves would not be able to break aside the century-old ties linking them with Assam. When confidence is restored among the Nagas that they can live in peace and friendliness with their nearest neighbours without any fear of domination or interference with their way of life and culture, I am quite confident that the Nagas will be with us again and make their due contribution to the building up of the prosperity of the State. At the present juncture, I seek the co-operation of all elements in the State in helping to create an atmosphere free from controversies and recriminations in which peace and tranquillity in the Naga Hills may be restored and a satisfactory final solution putting an end to the much vexed Naga political problem can emerge.

I would also like to read out the press statement, the first reaction that I had in Calcutta.

APPENDIX "A"

Press Statement of the Chief Minister, dated 26th September, 1957

It is known to all that the people of the Naga Hills District had the closest political, economic, historical and linguistic ties for centuries with the adjoining plains areas of the Brahmaputra Valley, particularly, Sibsagar and Dibrugarh, prior to the entry of British into Naga Hills. Having also lived so cordially and having mutual co-operation for more than 80 years even after the advent of British in the Naga Hills, the Government of Assam and the people of Assam have been anxiously watching the restoration of law and order in the Naga Hills as speedily as possible, as it is essential for progress and development of the Naga Hills.

So far as the Naga Hills District is concerned, Assam has for centuries been used as the *lingua franca* among innumerable tribes inhabiting that region, and they have social and economic contact and trade relations with the plains through innumerable trade routes. I have all along been emphasising that this historical fact has to be carefully borne in mind in formulating our lines of approach of the problem.

the Naga Hills. No State other than Assam has been so directly and vitally affected by the disturbance and discontent in the Naga Hills which has been going on in that part of the country, since before attainment of Independence, and naturally, therefore, the Government of Assam and her people would be very anxious to see that peace and tranquillity prevail there and friendship and feeling of unity and brotherhood are restored between the people of the Naga Hills and those of the plains. Such feeling of unity is essential for the national interest and security of the North Eastern Frontier of India, and will no doubt be the foundation for solution of the final political problem.

It is gratifying to note that the representatives of almost all the important tribes assembled in the Kohima Convention gave a concrete lead to the people of the Naga Hills by abandoning the demand for independence and by adopting a resolution clearly seeking settlement of the political problem of the Naga Hills within the Indian Union.

I am glad that at the time of handing over the copy of the Resolution to the Prime Minister, the leader of the Naga Delegation promised to put an end to violent activities and disturbance committed by the hostile elements as soon as possible and help the Government in restoring law and order, and usher in an atmosphere conducive to the dispassionate consideration of all aspects for a final political settlement of the problem in the best interest of the people of the Naga Hills and the plains. In doing so it is expected that the historical, economic, linguistic and social contacts between the people of the hills and plains will be borne in mind and will form the basis of permanent solution of the Naga political problem, so that it may encourage the brotherly feeling and unity amongst all sections of the people to serve the best national interest.

I hope the Delegation and supporters of the Resolution of the Kohima Convention will now earnestly make an effort to restore law and order and win over the hostile elements also in support of the resolution and its implementation.

I have been lying ill on my way to New Delhi and sorry that I could not be present at the time the delegation met the Prime Minister. Last night I had telephonic communications from the Prime Minister and the Home Minister and learnt about what the Prime Minister stated to the delegation and what reply the delegation gave to the Prime Minister.

This morning I have read the text of the press release and the telegraphic summary from Governor of Assam and have taken this opportunity to release the above statement.

General Discussion on the Chief Minister's Statement regarding Naga Hills

Mr. SPEAKER : So far as the time limit of the speeches is concerned, I would like to allot half an hour to each of the leaders of parties and groups, and 15 minutes to other Hon. Members.

Shri KHOGENDRA NATH BARBARUAH (Amguri): Sir, this is a very important matter, threatening as it does, as the Chief Minister has said, the very existence of the State of Assam. We should, therefore, Sir, be allotted some more time.

Mr. SPEAKER : Well, those Hon. Members whose observations are considered worthwhile to the House, may be given a little more time.

Re : Naga Hills Situation

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI (Rampur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are glad that the Chief Minister has been pleased to make this statement on the vital problem of the Nagas. But today we are confronted with a fait accompli. The decision has been taken by the Central Government to constitute a separate unit with the Naga Hills and Tuen-chang area outside the State of Assam. Sir, I would have liked, and it was essential for the Chief Minister, to convene an emergent session of this Assembly before according his approval to this dismemberment of Assam. He had time between the Convention and the decision taken by the Prime Minister. Sir, if I am correct, even in the Constitution of India there is a provision that if any boundary of a State is to be re-demarcated, the opinion of the State is to be taken, and I hold our Chief Minister responsible for giving his assent to this vital matter without consulting this House. To-day, Sir, as I have already stated, it is a fait accompli; the decision has been taken, and I do not know what purpose will be served now by this discussion. Sir, we have been discussing this Naga problem for several years, and when in 1954, if I am correct, certain amount of heat was generated in this House, we were told that we should adopt a policy of wait and see. We restrained ourselves, we waited and saw through this matter. When during the last Budget Session this matter was discussed, we were given a rosy picture of the situation in the Naga land. We were

told the hostiles were being cornered, the moderate elements were coming more and more towards our side and that the situation would be soon normal. Sir, what pains us most to-day is not that the Nagas have decided to go outside the State of Assam, but what is most important as the Chief Minister has himself said—their demand all along for an independent Naga land and to-day they have compromised on that demand, but compromised at the cost of Assam and this has brought out a crucial problem. Why should the Naga people decide to remain within India and why should they decline to remain within Assam? Sir, the Chief Minister has said that this problem does not grow all on a sudden. I agree, since 1929 the demand was going on, but the point here is—the statement made by the Chief Minister is more a chronicle of events than an analysis of the policy, therefore, we find all along Assam Government is responsible for omission and commission. If that be a fact, why should the Naga people who wanted to go out of India decide to remain within India and go out of Assam. Is it not a contradiction of his own statement? Is it not a condemnation of the policy of the Government of Assam that the decision of the Naga people to go out of Assam is the decision of the Central Government? Sir, this is the confirmation of the failure of the hills policy of the State Government. Sir, we were not always told and informed about the situation in the Naga land. Naga land was more or less a sealed book to us. We were not allowed to move in the Naga land, and whatever facts were given those were only given by the Government. Sir, there was all along a dual control over the Naga land. On the one hand there was the machinery of the Central Government. The Chief Minister had admitted that he wanted to adopt a policy regarding the situation in the Naga land but the Central Government intervened and therefore he thought that perhaps it is better to allow the Central Government's policy to prevail over the Assam Government's policy. Not only this, even during the operation time it has been clearly pointed out that there was no policy of Assam Government regarding the Naga land. All along the Naga land was under the policy of the Central Government, there was hesitation regarding the Naga land all along on part of the Assam Government, therefore, we cannot bring about a solution of the Naga land satisfactory to all. Sir, to-day it is said towards the end of the speech of the Chief Minister—that Naga land was before independence an excluded area, the interim arrangement is only to go back to 1947 position.

Sir, this clearly shows the defects and failure of the Government's policy. Sir, I have seen a tendency growing in the party in power. I need not go very far. Even at the time of partition of India, if we look back—what was our policy towards Sylhet? If we were very serious about keeping Sylhet within Assam.....I leave it for the party in power to reply. What about North-East Frontier Agency? We were simply fumbling. To-day Naga land has gone to the excluded areas and nothing has been done and we should only rest content without doing anything. This is the policy of the Government and therefore, the sooner we give up this policy, the better it is.

Sir, we want the Naga land, we want the whole portion because we want an area big enough to develop sufficiently to attract the attention of the people, to help proper planning etc., for the good and interest of the people, it does not matter whether Assam is majority or minority. If we can properly develop all these areas and if every body feels that we are really independent, we are equal partners and if we have properly developed all these areas, then the policy is successful, otherwise not.

Sir, not only that, before the States Re-organisation Commission came to Assam, the Assam Government submitted a memorandum to the States Re-organisation Commission that Naga land should remain within Assam, at that time the situation was as bad as it was when the decision was taken. The States Re-organisation Commission took into consideration all aspects of the matter and decided that Naga land should be within Assam. Sir, to-day we have been placed in such a position as if we have just recovered from headache. I am rather surprised to find to-day what has happened in the meantime that Naga land has been taken away from us—should we not appeal, should we have nothing to clamour that we don't want to stand in the way of the Central Government? Sir, when I say that this decision is wrong—that this decision has been brought up in a very peculiar manner, in a very undemocratic manner—I say so in the closer and larger interest of India, of integrity of India. Sir, the decision has been taken by the Central Government and therefore, we have taken that the chapter of the States Re-organisation Commission is closed, the boundries have been properly demarcated and therefore, to-day there should be no attempt to re-open the whole matter, to bring about the new demarcation of boundries.

Sir, regarding the solution of the Naga land, I think every one had a right to discuss the whole matter and come to a decision. I think we had every right to express our opinions, and therefore, at the outset, as I have stated already, I hold the Government responsible for not calling a meeting of the session of the Assembly to discuss this problem before giving its approval to the matter.

Sir, what strikes me most is this—that in the Naga Convention which was held on the 22nd August, 1957, a member of the Ministry, the Deputy Minister himself, was present in the convention. May I know from Mr. Medhi whether the Deputy Minister in the Convention supported this decision of the Convention or opposed it. If he did support the resolution of the Convention how could he remain a member of the Ministry? Is it not a condemnation of the policy of the Government?

Sir, we have to consider these things in the most democratic way and see whether we have followed the correct policy. So far as the Naga problem is concerned, all along it has found its place in the chapter on law and order or at most on the chapter of Community Development or some economic development. Either we were told there were some miscreants either we were told that some people were hostiles, the law and order situation was bad—we have to control them. We were told we have been spending lakhs of rupees and even crores of rupees. Even after the decision of the Naga Convention we find the eagerness of the Assam Government, in the supplementary budget, to spend more money there. Now after spending lakhs of rupees—crores of rupees—have we been able to change their heart, have we been able to change their minds? If not, what is the reason? We have been all along saying that the Naga problem is not a problem of law and order; it is a political problem. We have to approach the problem in a political manner to see whether a political situation could be brought about. I hold Mr. Medhi responsible for all these things. While Mr. Medhi met Mr. Fizo not as the Chairman of the Naga National Council but as Mr. Fizo to discuss some problems of law and order, he has always hesitated to meet him as the Chairman of Naga National Council. It should not have stood on his prestige to discuss with him because I am confident nobody would have thought Mr. Medhi would have liked to dismember India. Therefore, he could have discussed points of view. But that was not done. All along, it is clear from Mr. Medhi's statement that they were trying to create alternative leadership. Sir, it is one thing to speak

against the policy of somebody and it is another thing to foster a leadership. Sir, what the tribal people hate and disapprove most is the fostering of leadership from outside. I am sure that instead of attempting to foster leadership, if a systematic attempt was made to dispel the misunderstanding in the minds of the Naga people, in spite of the activities of Mr. Fizo, an alternative leadership could have been created itself, and we would not have been bothered to create an alternative leadership. I can tell you, Sir, I met Mr. Zesoki, Mr. Vizol and Mr. Sakhrie in their hide-outs. I do not want to take any pride in that. I met those people, argued with them. I do not want to say that my arguments made them moderate or reasonable but I can say this propaganda had its effect and if in the same manner, Sir, the Congress and Government carried on a systematic propaganda, a leadership would have grown itself.

Secondly, Sir, we should be frank enough. It is true that some Nagas are in the grip of the Naga National Council which may be following a very unreasonable policy, but at the same time we cannot be oblivious of our own omissions. To-day it is not for me to give a catalogue of those things. I wrote a letter to Mr. Medhi just after my visit to the Naga Hills wherein I gave an account of the omissions and commissions and stated to him that those things should not have been done. To-day Mr. Medhi said about the indiscipline of the students. But what happened is that on the 15th of August there was some apprehension that the Naga students would not come to the school and therefore the Deputy Commissioner issued a circular that every one must come to the school; they must come and salute the National Flag. After all an independence day has to be observed, but it should be voluntary and there should not be any compulsion. Even in the plains areas we know on that day many people speak something against the Government and the independence. We are not touchy about that, but we become touchy about the Naga students! Those students who did not come to the school were expelled from the school the next day. That was a strong hold of the Naga National Council. They built a Naga National school just as we built up National schools during our independence movement. They did so in Mokokchung. These were the pin pricks. Regarding Gaonburas, similar things happened. Sir, instead of trying to understand their mind, appealing to their sentiments, we wanted to boss over them. That was a wrong thing. Although in 1929 the Nagas wanted to go out of India, although in 1947 Sir Akbar Hydari our late Governor signed a document

which was denied about which I spoke in 1954, even the Nagas were in an accommodating mood. The whole ten-point programme shows they were in an accommodating mood. Had we taken advantage of that situation then the situation would have been different. But what did we do? We wanted to keep the Nagas in isolation as was done during the British regime and allow some people only to go there and behave in their own way. Therefore the whole situation became very complicated. It is good that Mr. Medhi has realised to-day that the situation has become very complicated. Some time back he considered it only as a problem of law and order. Yet this belated wisdom has come for our guidance in future, and I think that this belated wisdom will be taken advantage of by all not for the solution of the Naga problem but for the solution of other problems which are gradually putting up their heads.

Sir, I will not take much time of the House. I will only say that this interim arrangement, whatever it may be, does not seem to be an interim arrangement. One and all will agree that this separation from Assam is forever. Let us not console ourselves with these sweet words and I would like to say that Shri Medhi is the main person for this liquidation of Assam today. I therefore hold him responsible for this. Sir, I would only hope that after this problem we shall be able to solve other problems in a better way. We only hope that even if the Naga people go from us the old tie of friendship will continue. These Naga people were like our own kith and kin to us, flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone. They have no grudge against the Central Government, but they have a grudge against the Assam Government. They want to go out of Assam, but they do not want to go out of India. So I say that there is something radically wrong with the State of Assam and that has to be remedied. To this decision we cannot be a party, this House cannot be a party. Let it be a decision of the Central Government, we would not put any obstruction. But let it be known that this House cannot be a party to this decision. I would only request that in future if any decision has to be taken this House will be taken into confidence before a unilateral action is taken. What I am sorry for is that Pandit Nehru made the decision and the Naga Convention afterwards issued it in a statement as the possible solution of the Naga problem. What did the Convention do? They only took it in a resolution form. I would like to know whether before making a statement in the Lok Sabha, Shri Medhi was consulted, whether he had any objection

to that. However, an amnesty has been given and it is good that there is a move, a sincere move, to bring about peace where peace is most needed. We do not like that hundreds of young men there be kept in detention. We do not like this in the interest of India. We are glad that an attempt has been made to bring about peace. What is most essential is that all the Nagas including the hostiles have to be content with the decision. Without their consent the whole thing may end as a double-edged sword. I give this warning that if immediately the consent or approval is not obtained this formula will be like a double-edged sword. Therefore we are to see that we get the approval. And in doing so we must not forget that we should try our utmost to keep up our closest ties with the Naga people.

Shri GAURISANKAR BHATTACHARYA (Gauhati)
Mr. Speaker, Sir, we are grateful to the Leader of the House for giving the statement today because it has given us an opportunity to speak our mind on the problem which is very vital and on which the public opinion is really very tense. But the situation in the country particularly in this State is such and the problem is in such a melting pot that at one time I thought whether it would be advisable on the part of our Government to make any statement on this issue just now, and whether it will not further complicate an already complicated matter and also whether the negotiation which is continuing will not be adversely affected by generation of heat or passion in a public platform like this. But when the Chief Minister has decided to make a statement we cannot naturally remain silent. I shall of course try my utmost to be as dispassionate as possible though at times I must frankly admit on a topic like this I may not be so. If I fail to remain dispassionate I hope, Sir, you will be pleased enough to pull me up and I shall be grateful for this.

At the outset we are very glad to see that a general amnesty has been granted. It was most painful that in this holy land of ours, brothers should be shedding the blood of brothers. I am not going to say who is more responsible or who is less responsible for this, but the fact remains that in the Naga land mother earth was besmeared with the blood of her children. It is good that the general amnesty has been declared and that the blood-shed is going to be stopped. It is also good that the Nagas living in the Tuensang area and also in the Naga Hills if they so desire, can now be grouped together and they can be brought under one administrative unit, because when people of the same kind remain separated under different administrative units they find themselves inconvenienced and that also creates

sentiments which are helpful neither for them nor for their friends. It is also good, as we have heard today from the Chief Minister, that the Government of Assam and particularly our Chief Minister has at least come to a position when he admits that the Naga problem is not a law and order problem, but a political problem. I wish he and his Government had this knowledge and this understanding in 1953. I have got the Assembly proceedings for 1953, 1954 and 1955 before me where the Governor's address mentioned the policy of the Government. In these Assembly proceedings we find the problem of the Naga Hills to be under the heading 'Law and Order'. I wish the Chief Minister referred to this. I wish the Chief Minister who was pleased enough to quote a passage from his speech from the Assembly proceedings of 1954, read the entire proceedings where he decried even the honest efforts of the President of the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee, Shri Chaliha, as not representing his attitude. I am not making a wild allegation. I am stating what appears in black and white in print. If the efforts which were made by the President of the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee and by some members of the Praja Socialist Party and others in the country for a political solution of a political problem would have been understood by Shri Medhi and his Government, I think the situation to-day would have been otherwise. If he could not agree to this and if he would have gracefully vacated his office perhaps the whole position would have been different. To-day it is very clear that so far as the policy of the Medhi Government towards the Naga problem is concerned, it is a total failure, and I hope and believe that Shri Medhi as a democrat will realise that he should resign on this issue and then only will come a better atmosphere in the State. Then only we will see a better solution of the problem of the hills in Assam. I say this not out of any bitterness towards the Chief Minister, but out of my respect for the tenets of democracy. This is what is done in every democratic State in the world. If, as I said, Shri Medhi had gone out two years ago, the Naga land would have stayed back in Assam. That is the position.

Now, Sir, there are certain other things. I see even in today's statement one thing being hammered and hammered by the Chief Minister. He said that the Nagas have got several different dialects and one tribe does not understand another tribe except through the medium of Assamese. Even in talks in the Conference itself the Assamese medium was used. What was the good of repeating these things here? Who does not know this fact? Everybody knows it, Why should it be

repeated here? What is the purpose? Knowingly or unknowingly does not the Chief Minister give further pin-pricks? Though it is a fact, does not this careless remark give pin-pricks to others also? And does not this sort of remark lead some people to believe that there is a Government which is not the Government of Assam but a Government of the Assamese? Are not the Assamese people wrongly understood by others due to wrong presentation of things and facts by people who are on the saddles of power? I think this is an absolutely unnecessary pin-prick even in today's statement. I of course believe that there is no such thing in political history which is "settled" once for all. I do not believe that our brethren in the Naga Hills and the Tuensang area, who have today decided to remain under a separate administrative unit, will for ever remain so if we behave properly. If we know how to behave, tomorrow or day after tomorrow they will themselves put themselves in closer touch with us. But they will not put their heads like a pair of bullocks in yoke. They must feel that they are equal partners with us. Is it not a fact that these people feel that they are oppressed? They do not feel that they are equal partners with us. If that would not have been the feeling then the statement of the Chief Minister would have been meaningless. I am glad that the Chief Minister to-day partially admits that the Naga problem is a political problem, that it is a very complicated problem and the demand for independence has deep roots. Why has it deep roots? Why did they want independence? Does not remaining in India mean also remaining independent? But they thought partly because of their attitude of exclusiveness and partly because of our acts of omission and commission that they are not going to be treated as equal partners and out of that apprehension they felt from the core of their heart that they should have independent existence. But what was the understanding of the Chief Minister at that time? It was the understanding of Shri Medhi—I again refer to the speech, which he himself referred to, delivered in 1954 on the floor of this Assembly,—that this movement of our Naga brethren was the work of some Baptist Christian Missionaries! That was what he said. He ridiculed the Naga Good-will Mission which came to Assam as one who did not represent the will of the Naga people. But to-day he admits that this feeling in the Naga Hills was widespread and very deep. If this understanding had dawned on him in 1954, he would not have made that statement, because that was not the reality. He refused to see the reality and to-day he has presented his report in such a way as though whatever was being done by Government at different stages was correct. If

all that the Government had done in the past were correct, the result would not have been what it has been to-day. I do not want to elaborate that point because my Friend, Mr. Goswami has dealt with it. But I would again repeat and request the Chief Minister kindly to look at page 185 of the Official Proceedings of 1954 and to see what he said there about the Naga delegation—"they are all Christians" and so on and so forth and in that very speech how he treated the whole thing as a make-up of the Baptist Mission.

Now, Sir, I would like also to say a few words about his political phraseology. He has given justification of a political policy of *laissez faire*. We all know as humble students of history, politics and economics that *laissez faire* is essentially an economic theory. But in politics *laissez faire* means simple chaos. If the Government had any responsibility for the Naga land, they could have pursued, only either of two policies, *viz.*, one policy was the policy of blood and iron, intermingled no doubt with bribery and giving of presents. The other policy was the policy of conciliation, understanding and association. Let Mr. Medhi reply himself what policy he had adopted for the last five years. I am not going to say anything. Let him, answer for himself as to what policy he had adopted for the last five years regarding the Naga problem. So, according to him what he had done in the Naga Hills was a *laissez faire* policy—a policy of allowing a kind of chaos. In my opinion that is not the function of a Head of the Executive in a democratic Government.

Then another thing.—Throughout his entire statement on the Naga problem today, the tone is that there are some loyal Nagas and there are some disloyal Nagas and he has analysed how he tried to play the loyalists against the so-called disloyal Nagas. This is known in political parlance as a policy of divide-and-rule. For a colonialist policy it becomes necessary to divide the people and to play one section against another, but not so in a popular democracy. With a view to solve the Naga problem what is necessary is unity of the entire Naga people not excepting even Phizo, and to bring the entire Naga people into the confidence and love of the Government, because it is the unity of the people alone which can deliver the goods in a democratic regime. So I submit that even to-day Mr. Medhi's attitude towards the Naga problem is not one which could really deliver the goods to the country. May be from 1st of December Mr. Medhi will not be directly responsible for the governance of the Naga Land. But there are other parts in our country, *viz.*, the Garo Hills, the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, the Mizo Hills and so on, and if this line of thinking continues then God alone knows what will happen to the future of Assam.

With all respect to his political wisdom, let Mr. Medhi answer for himself whether all his political alliances are that of an imperialist or of a democrat.

Then another thing about which he has also spoken is about the association of the people of the Brahmaputra Valley and also of the Naga people in the past and so on. I am glad that he has not forgotten the word "history". I would like to submit that when history is studied, it should be studied very carefully. When the India History is studied it will be found that the development of India has come in different stages. When we look to the India History we find that there are diversities among the Indians from the ethnological point of view, cultural point of view, racial point of view, linguistic point of view and so on. We know that India is united in diversity. This unity in diversity is not a source of weakness. It is rather a source of strength. Mr Medhi's flower vase will look more beautiful if decorated not only with white roses but, if there be artistic combination of roses, white, red, yellow and so on. So, in a country where people with different ideas, different races and nationalities live, this could be contended if they grow in cordial atmosphere, and unite themselves and gather strength. What is true of India as a whole is also true of Assam, because Assam is the epitome of India. In connection with the solution of the Naga problem what is necessary for Mr. Medhi is humility, and what is lacking in him is exactly that in the matter of appreciating the tribal problem. For example, as a part and parcel of this Naga problem there was noticed an air of superiority. Instead of going to the Naga people as humble workers, and trying to learn and take counsel of the people whose problem we are trying to tackle, our Government to say the least showed an air of superiority and created more troubles and difficulties. This attitude had been shown to the Naga people throughout the last five years. Without self-criticism a nation cannot grow. As human beings we are apt to commit mistakes — 'to err is human'. So it is nothing very big if some body or some Government commits mistake. But what is required of a real democratic Government or a real popular Government is that when mistakes are found, it should have the eyes to see that the mistakes it has committed are removed. It should have the determination to see that no mistake is committed in future. Sir, man may come and man may go, and Mr. Medhi may be here or he may not be here, but the nation will continue and the people will go on forever. Therefore in our approach to the different problems certain mistakes are found, and if those mistakes are not corrected we are bound to rot.

I do not think that this question is a party question. I do not accuse the Congress Party as such as being responsible for all that has happened in the Naga Hills. I have said that the President of the Assam Pradesh Congress Committee himself had made certain suggestions with a view to solve the Naga problem from a salutary political point of view. But at that time the Chief Minister told us that he did not represent Congress President here. In connection with the Naga problem, the Chief Minister took a position above his party itself. So I would like to level my criticisms against the Government because it took up the executive responsibility on behalf of the State.

Throughout the entire period of last five years this Naga problem had come before the House for discussion, and Mr. Medhi was always very vehement if we submitted any thing regarding this Naga problem. We regret that we did not retort with greater vehemence when we knew that he was in the wrong. We cannot absolve ourselves from responsibility to that extent. I would appeal to the Congress Party here in this House that though Mr. Medhi was the sponsor of the wrong policy adopted in the Naga Hills, at least they could have pulled him up during the last five years. Mr. Medhi could have been pulled up and the entire House could have considered the problem and see how best the problem could be solved, so that we would not have to come and say here to-day that we are sorry that the flesh of our flesh has been cut away and the blood of our blood has been taken away. But we have not been able to understand and we have not been able to make our brothers understand it. If today we want them back, then we can have them back not by negotiations at higher levels, by secret consultations or by creating certain pressure on the central Government or on the Nagas themselves, not by making disruption among the Naga people, not by giving presents to a few of them and possessions to some others and such other things because that will only mean that we shall be creating a galaxy of flatterers around us which will stand as a screen wall between us and the people and so we shall never be able to see the problem of the people and shall not be able to solve it. I do not want to go into further details at this moment because this problem is a very delicate one and it is in the stage of negotiation and in the melting pot, any statement made here may rather do more than good if it slips away from the correct appreciation and correct perspective. I should only like to request the Chief Minister,

his Cabinet and all hon. Members of this House to consider the point dispassionately. But at the same time from the point of view of brotherly love and brotherly feeling towards the Naga brethren and as an interim policy certain arrangements are to be made, I do not say that we should be dogmatic about it because any settlement made today may be made unsettled tomorrow. Instead of giving advice to others let us try ourselves to behave properly.

With these few words, Sir, I conclude speech.

Capt. WILLIAMSON A. SANGMA [Phulbari (Reserved for Scheduled Tribes)]: Mr. Speaker, Sir, in the first instance I should like to express my greatfulness to the Leader of the House for making a statement on the Naga situation and thus giving us an opportunity to express our feelings in the matter. At the outset, Sir, I cannot but say that this Government is responsible for the mal-administration of the Hills Areas and the geographical as well as administrative disintegration of the Naga Hills and Tuensang area. I am to say that Government has failed to have a correct policy towards this vital problem. So unless and until this Government rectify its mistakes so long committed, it will not be only the Naga areas that will go away from Assam but many more other hill areas also will go away. Therefore, this may be taken as a warning or rather as an advice that should make the State Government come to its senses. We all know that originally the Nagas demanded complete independence outside the Indian Union, but recently they have agreed to be within the Indian Union but not within Assam. Why? I believe that will give an opportunity to the Chief Minister and his Cabinet to realise that there must have been something wrong with the policy of the Government. Why should the Nagas who agreed to be within the Indian Union not agree to be within the State of Assam? This clearly shows that the Nagas have no confidence in the Government of Assam. The Chief Minister, as has been pointed out by my friend Shri Gourisankar Bhattacharyya, is talking about the language. He said that even in the last Kohima convention, the Nagas transacted their business in broken Assamese. I think this Government was of the opinion that since these people cannot express their opinion to each other except in broken Assamese there cannot be any reason for them to ask for separation from Assam. Today here in what language are we talking? We are talking in English. I am speaking in English, the Chief Minister himself gave his statement in English, my two friends

from the Opposition were talking in English. Do you mean to say that since we are all talking in English, we should very much like to be merged with England? This Government, it appears to me, Sir, always belittle the hills problems. Whenever the Hills people come with any grievances or demand or suggestions with regard to various problem pertaining to the different parts of the hill areas, the Government have never been sincere to attend to all these proposals, they have never been sincere in treating them with care, in fact they never cared to solve these problems. On the contrary they have always concealed what is actually happening.

Now, let us trace the activities of the Naga National Council, whether the Naga people right from the very beginning wanted to be away from Assam or not.

Shri BISHWADEV SARMA (Balipara): On a point of information Sir, at what point of time did the Naga demand that they wanted to be away from Assam?

Capt. WILLIAMSON A. SANGMA [Phulbari : (Reserved for Scheduled Tribes)]: I do not want to be interrupted, Sir, I think replies or objections and counter-objections can be made afterwards.

Now, in the year between 1945 and 1946 at a place called Wokha the Naga National Council passed a Resolution for integration of all the areas inhabited by different Nagas to be placed under one administrative set-up in one district and to be within the State of Assam. But the Government did not listen to that. They did not realise the intensity of the demand of the people. At that time these people decided that they would be inside the State of Assam and not outside. They simply wanted, as I have said, that all the areas inhabited by the different Naga tribes should be formed into one district which should be within the State or Provincial Autonomy of Assam. But the Government policy is not to allow these different tribes to live together, Government policy has always been to divide the hills people and rule. Therefore, I feel that it is this Government's policy of divide-and-rule which is responsible for this Geographical as well as administrative disintegration of the Naga land. Government do not want these people of the same stock to be placed under one administrative unit. While saying this, I must be able to give some example with regard to the divide-and-rule policy of this Government. The Hills people living in the plains areas are not

treated by this Government as Scheduled Tribes. They have taken the place of habitation as the criterion for the determination as certain Tribes as Scheduled Tribes or otherwise. Assam Government under the leadership of the present Chief Minister many a time assured us that it is the sacred duty of the Government to help the Hills people, and to do service to the Hill people, and so on and so forth. Of course that sounds very nice. But in the actual working of the Government in running the administration we find that they have always been attempting to divide us. The Hon. Chief Minister himself at the time of inauguration of the Garo Hills District Council had the occasion to say that the Government of India as well as the Congress had realised the necessity of giving the Hills people a separate administrative set-up so that they can develop in their own way and according to their own custom and genius. Like our Naga people we had also occasions to ask that the areas inhabited by Garo people contiguous to Garo Hills now inside Goalpara and Kamrup and such other areas contiguous to Mizoram and Mikir Hills should be brought under one administrative unit under the sixth schedule administration. Mr. Medhi agreed to this proposal before the General Elections of 1952. But later on, for reasons best known to him, refused to do so. Even on this day the Garos of Goalpara and Kamrup districts inhabiting the areas contiguous to Garo Hills are still pressing for inclusion of their areas in the Garo Hills District so that they can be under one administrative set-up. Government has however paid no heed to that. But when certain plains people in the Garo Hills submitted petition to Government to take out some portion of the district, from the Sixth Schedule administration, a commission was immediately set up under the chairmanship of Shri Rup Nath Brahma and Mr. Das, the present Revenue Minister, as a member of that commission, and I was selected by the then Advisory Council to represent the Garos.

Shri BISNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): On a point on information, Sir, may I know when such a Commission was set up? The hon. Member does not seem to be correct.

Capt. WILLIAMSON A. SANGMA [Phulbari : (Reserved for Scheduled Tribes)]: If you go through the correspondence of the Government in 1950 regarding this matter you will be able to find that out.

Shri HARESWAR DAS (Revenue Minister): That commission, if I remember aright, was with regard to

Shillong only and not with regard to other parts of the State.

Capt. WILLIAMSON A. SANGMA [Phulbari : (Reserved for Scheduled Tribes)]: Not with regard to Shillong only. I was a member of the Advisory Sub-committee. This Advisory Sub-committee was asked to select one member to be in the commission, and I was selected to be a member of that Commission. At that time Mr. Rajkhowa was the Deputy Commissioner and he had communicated this to the Government.

Shri HARESWAR DAS (Revenue Minister): I was not a member of that commission. I was a member of a Commission which was to examine the boundary of Shillong. That Commission might be at the time of Late Bardoloi.

Shri RUP NATH BRAHMA (Minister): It is a news to me, I was also not a member of such a Commission.

Capt. WILLIAMSON A. SANGMA: I hold to what I have stated. If my statement is challenged, I can bring that letter about my appointment as a member to that Committee for enquiry into the matter. However, the Commission had no occasion to enquire into the matter as the non-Garos withdrew their demand for exclusion of the plains portions.

But what happened next? When these non-Garos represented that they would have no more objection to be under the Garo Hills district administration, Government asked the Deputy Commissioner to enquire into and verify the identity of the signatories of the representation and if they actually wanted to withdraw their demand for exclusion of the plain portions from the Sixth Schedule Administration. But as stated above, no attention was paid with regard to the demand of the Garos of Goalpara and Kamrup districts for inclusion of their areas in the Garo Hills Autonomous District so that they could be under one administrative set-up.

Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): Is he relevant, Sir?

Mr. SPEAKER: He is speaking about the tribal policy.

Capt. WILLIAMSON A. SANGMA [Phulbari: (Reserved for Scheduled Tribes)] : I am trying to let this hon. House know that this Government is unsympathetic towards the tribal problem and the wrong policy of this present Government is entirely responsible for the disintegration of the State of Assam. How shall I be able to do this without giving some back-round ?

Sir, as we understand to-day, this Government have agreed to allow these Naga friends to remain within the Indian Union, and to have a separate administrative unit as an interim measure. In course of the statement, the Chief Minister stated "We feel that in future the Nagas may have an opportunity to think that they should be with us." But why could this Government not agree to give a trial to the 9 Point Agreement of the Nagas ? I know that the Nagas right from the beginning were opposed to the Sixth Schedule as it is and they wanted more administrative powers and they also wanted that after the expiry of 10 years, the Nagas should have the liberty to speak about the future administrative set-up for the Naga area to which the Government could not agree. But to-day the Chief Minister has stated that the interim arrangement for the administration of Naga area direct by the External Affairs Ministry has been approved by his Government. We also learn that as regards the political set-up nothing has been decided as yet. It has been further stated by the Chief Minister that recently Mokokchung Convention decided to work out the type of administration for Naga areas. Therefore we are yet to know as to what political set-up the Nagas are going to demand. Without knowing this also, this Government have agreed to give them a trial of the interim administrative arrangement. This being so the Government should have been as well agreeable at the beginning to allow the Nagas to have the self-Government of the Naga areas according to the 9 Point Agreement. If that were agreed upon, I am sure the present situation in the Naga Hills would not have at all arisen. Government cannot but agree that thousands of our Nagas brethren have been killed in their attempt to resist an administrative set-up which they did not like. But still then we could not keep this Naga area within Assam.

We spent crores of rupees for development of that area and to kill our own brothers and sisters but we could not make them agreeable to be within Assam. What made this people to resort to violence, to take up arms—is it not their political demand ? Was there any sincere attempt on the part of the Government to give them an acceptable solution ? If to-day the Naga

people have agreed to be within Indian Union—they would have agreed ten years earlier to remain within Assam if there was any correct approach and if any alternative acceptable political solution was offered to them. Is it not the arms? Is it not the bullets which made the Naga people to-day to agree to come within Indian Union? Yes, Sir, it is the arms and bullets which made these people to decide otherwise. We should however remember that these arms and bullets have not been able to win the hearts of the Nagas. Even to-day this Government has failed to attract the hostiles to come out, the Assam Government wanted to force the will of the people by arms and bullets. Sir, to-day I am not surprised that the Government of India have agreed to accept the decision of the Kohima Convention when the Assam Government have failed to solve their problem by peaceful methods. So I appeal to those who are running the State, I mean the authority of the State to have a correct approach not only to this problem but to the other problems which will be coming from the other areas also. As a matter of fact the hills people of other Hills had the occasion to express through their representation before the State Re-organisation Commission when it came to Assam that they were not happy to remain within Assam. But this Government said in their memorandum that the demand for a separate Hills State was confined only to a certain number, etc., de-tribalised arbanised, christia-nised and a few English speaking christian leaders and the mass people had nothing to do with this demand. In this way the Chief Minister concealed the fact.

Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): Did I say like this?

Capt. WILLIAMSON A. SANGMA : All these things were stated in the memorandum submitted to the States Re-organisation Commission. It has also been stated in the said memorandum that the move for a separate Hills State is virtually confined to Capt. Williamson A. Sangma, the Chief Executive Member of Garo Hills District Council as far as Garo Hills is concerned and the public at large is ignorant of the demand. In this way this Government's policy has been always to belittle the problems of the Hills people and to conceal the actual fact. If this same policy is still being adopted by the Government, if they still try to conceal all the facts and if there is no sincere attempt on the part of the Government to try to understand the problems, sentiments and feelings of the hills people and try to sit together, put their heads together in a friendly way to find out ways and means to solve all the

problems, I say there will be further disintegration of the hills areas. Time will come when there will be no alternative but to agree to the disintegration of the hills areas ; so, Sir, I would make an appeal to all the hon. Members of this August House to be alive to the situation. It is no use now speaking more about the problem of the Naga land, it is going away from Assam. As stated earlier, it is not the language which can bring them back. It is not the contiguity of the area which can bring them back, but it is the contiguity of hearts which can bring the Naga people back to Assam. Sir, it is the contiguity of heart, the feeling of sincere brotherhood which will prevent any more disintegration of Assam. Sir, these are the things which have got to be taken into serious consideration. Sir, detailed statements and speeches have already been given by my fellow brothers and members of this House, I do not therefore want to repeat those things. But finally I simply say that the wrong policy of the present Government towards the hills people and incorrect approach to the Hills problems, divide and rule policy, concealment of fact, other disregard of the feelings and sentiments of the hills people and dictation of their will on the hills people are responsible for the disintegration of Naga areas and for the dissatisfaction of the hills people. So, if we sincerely want that the remaining parts of Assam should continue to be together under one administration, a change in the policy of the Government towards hills people should be effected. I don't know whether that could be done by the change of leadership, I am not here to suggest. But my suggestion is that if we want to live like brothers and sisters among the hills and the plains people, let us try to have the contiguity of hearts, let us respect each other's feelings and let us not try to dictate our will to others. Let us try to understand the problems of each other, but let us not try to divide each other, let us not try to be against each other. As stated earlier, the present Government is trying to send agents to our areas to create mis-understandings and ill-feelings amongst our people and to divide them, this is most unwelcome.

Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): Did I understand that for the different feelings of the hills people Government is to be made responsible ?

Shri CHATRASING TERON (Minister, Excise): Because some hills people took different views against the creation of a separate Hills State—Is that responsible for the disintegration of the Naga land ? Can the Government be made responsible for it ? Is Government trying to create division among the people ?

Mr. SPEAKER : The Hon'ble Minister for Excise may have a chance to speak.

Capt. WILLIAMSON A. SANGMA [Phulbari : (Reserved for Scheduled Tribes)] : As for example, the Government of Assam wanted to purchase few of the Hills people, by offering them job, by offering them land, by offering them loans and by this and that thing and tried to make them say before the authority that they do not want this..... (at this stage the Minister-in-charge of Excise wanted to speak but the Speaker intervened and said "The hon. Member will get a chance to speak afterwards").

The Government wanted to show that those people who have got some favour from the Government as I have stated above were the spokesmen of the hills people. Those representatives who got elected during the last general election were not considered by them as the representatives of the hills people and they are in this way trying to divide the hills people. You may call them agents or not, but the fact remains that Government is trying to divide and rule by purchasing (*interruptions*) some hills people in the way I have mentioned above. You may call it Bakshish (*a voice* from Congress Bench 'loan is not a Bakshish'). It is a favour. Sir, one thing is definite. The Assam Government policy towards the hills is a total failure. (*interruptions*). So if you want to appreciate the feelings of the hills people, let us not interrupt but try to appreciate the intensity of the feelings of the hills people. Government should not consider that we are criticising the Government for the sake of criticism. (*a voice*—what is the concrete suggestion ?) There should not be any interference. There should not be the divide and rule policy, there should not be any imposition and the problems of the hills areas should not be ignored or belittled. Government should try to understand the problems and try to solve them. In fact, Sir, I suggested to the Chief Minister that we should sit in a Round Table Conference and discuss these matters. I told the Chief Minister so during his last visit to Tura. But the difficulty is that the Minister wants to meet us individually and not in a group. We tried to meet in a Round Table Conference and thereby try to understand each other's feeling. But that has not been done. We were not given any opportunity.

So with these observations, Sir, I must emphasise again that the Assam Government's policy, I do not say the Assamese Government policy—is responsible for the disintegration of the Naga Hills and if this policy is pursued, a time will come when further disintegration of the Hills areas will take place.

Shri KHOGENDRA NATH BARBARUA (Amguri)

মাননীয় অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, আজিৰ এই সদনত, অসমৰ মুখ্য মন্ত্ৰীয়ে যিটো statement দাঙিধৰি অসমৰ অঙ্গচেহুদৰ বাস্তৱ দিলে তাক আমি শুনিবলৈ প্ৰস্তুত নাছিলো আৰু কোনো সদস্যই এনে এটি অমার্জনীয় ঘোষণা শুনিবলৈ বাধ্য নকৰে। যিটো statement আজি হঠাতে তেখেতে দাঙি ধৰিছে সেই statement তৈয়াৰ কৰিবলৈ তেখেতক কমেও এমাহৰ কম লগা নাই আৰু তেখেতৰ দ্বাৰা উপস্থাপিত কৰা এই ঘোষণা আজি আমাৰ কাৰণে বজ্ৰপাততকৈও মাৰত্মক হৈ পৰিছে। বজ্ৰপাত কিয়? ই ঐতিহাসিক অথবা 'হাইদুজেন বোমাককৈও অধিক মাৰত্মক—কাৰণ, এইবিলাক বোমাই মানুহক চকুৰ পচাবতে শেষ কৰি দিয়ে—কিন্তু তেখেতৰ অসমৰ অঙ্গচেহুদৰ ঘোষণাই আমাক তিলতিলকৈ পুৰিহে মাৰিব আৰু ইয়াৰ জীৱিত অৱস্থাত অসমৰ অঙ্গচেহু দেখিব লগীয়া হ'ল। (সদনত সদস্যৰ হাঁহিব বোল) দুখৰ কথা যে আপোনালোকে অসমৰ এটা অঙ্গচেহু কৰিবলৈ পাই হাঁহিব খলকনি তুলিছে—লজ্জা লগা নাই। (আমি এটম আৰু হাইদুজেন বোমাৰ কথা ত হে হাঁহিছো—voices) মোৰ বোধেৰে সদস্য সকল—যি সকলে হাঁহিছে তেওঁলোকে হাঁহি সমস্যাৰ গুৰুত্ব লঘু কৰিবলৈ প্ৰয়াস নকৰি তাৰ উপলব্ধিৰ চেষ্টা হে কৰিব লাগিছিল।

অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, এই প্ৰসঙ্গত মই যোৱা বাজেট অধিবেশনত চৰকাৰলৈ তিনিটা পৰামৰ্শ দাঙি ধৰিছিলো।

প্ৰথমটো—নগাসমস্যাৰ সমাধানৰ পথত ততালিকে 'চিজ ফায়াৰ' (cease fire) হ'ব লাগে।

দ্বিতীয়টো—General amenstry হ'ব লগে।

তৃতীয়টো—এই সমস্যাটোৰ সমাধানৰ উদ্দেশ্যে অসমৰ সকলোবিলাক পলিটিকেল পাৰ্টিৰে প্ৰতিনিধি লৈ নগা প্ৰতিনিধিৰ লগত ধূননীয়া মেজৰ মেল (Round Table Conference) পাতিল লাগে আৰু বিশদ ভাবে নগা সকলৰ লগত আলোচন কৰিব লাগে। এই প্ৰসঙ্গতে মালয়ৰ পৰিস্থিতিৰ কথাটো মাননীয় সদস্যসকলৰ দৃষ্টি আকৰ্ষণ কৰিব খোজো যে, দেশৰ অপায় অমঙ্গলৰ ক্ষণতো মালয়ৰ প্ৰধান মন্ত্ৰী টি, আবদুৰ বহমানে বিৰোধী দলৰ নেতা চিং পেংক যুদ্ধ বন্ধ কৰি আলোচনা চলাবলৈ বেডিও'ব যোগে আহ্বান কৰি বিশদ আলোচনা চলায়। তাৰ পিচত যুদ্ধ তিনিদিন বন্ধ থাকে আৰু চিং পেংক নিজৰ গন্তব্য স্থানলৈ যাবলৈ অনুমতি দিছিল। ই হ'ল মালয়ৰ ১৯৫৫ চনৰ কথা। এওঁলোকৰ মনোভাবৰ দৰে আমাৰ মুখ্য মন্ত্ৰীয়েও মনোভাব ল'ব লাগিছিল আৰু তেনেকৰা প্ৰয়োজন আছিল। বিদ্ৰোহী নগা সকলৰ সমস্যা বুজিবৰ কাৰণে আলাপ আলোচনাৰ কাৰণে অসমৰ লগত তেখেত সকল কিয় থাকিব লাগে তাৰে পৰামৰ্শ যোগাবৰ কাৰণে Round Table Conference আহ্বান কৰি বিৰোধী দলসমূহক সুবিধা দিব লাগিছিল। তাকে নকৰি মাৰত্মক ভুল কৰিলে।

এই প্ৰসঙ্গত মই এইটো উল্লেখ নকৰি নোৱাৰো যে, কেন্দ্ৰীয় চৰকাৰেও অসমৰ কংগ্ৰেছ মুখ্য মন্ত্ৰীৰ অপৰিপক্ক বাজনীতিৰ সুবিধা লৈ ঘড়ঘড় চলাই আহিছে আৰু অসমৰ অঙ্গচেহুদ কাৰ্য্য বহু অৰ্থে পৰা কৰি আনিছে। অসমৰ পৰা প্ৰথমতে আতৰাই নিলে অসমৰ দেৱানগীৰি অঞ্চল তাৰ পাচত উত্তৰ পূব সীমান্ত অঞ্চল (N. E. F. A.) আৰু এতিয়া ৪৫ সিনিটিত নগাপাহাৰ। এই সকলোবিলাক কাৰণে অসমৰ জনসাধাৰনৰ কোনো মতামত নোলোৱাকৈয়ে আৰু জনমতৰ বিৰুদ্ধে কাম কৰি আহিছে। আমাৰ মুখ্য মন্ত্ৰীয়ে এইদৰে অসমৰ অঙ্গকৃত কৰাৰ আগতে মুখ্য মন্ত্ৰীয়ে আৰু অন্যান্য মন্ত্ৰী সকলেও পদত্যাগ কৰিব লাগিছিল আৰু তাকে নকৰি এতিয়াও নিজৰ নিজৰ গান্ধী অধিকাৰ কৰি আছে। ই লজ্জাৰ কথা। কংগ্ৰেছী সদস্য সকলে—কংগ্ৰেছ আৰু মন্ত্ৰী সকলে মন্ত্ৰীৰ গান্ধী পৰিত্যাগ কৰিব লাগিছিল।

ইয়াৰ পিচত মই কওঁ নগা সমস্যা সমাধানৰ পথত উদ্বোধ কৰা কহিমা অভিন্নৰ্তনত (Kohima Convention) দুই লাখ টকা চৰকাৰে খৰচ কৰিছে আৰু তাৰ হিচাব পত্ৰ একো নাই। এইবিলাক বৰ নিৰাশাজনক অপচয় আৰু ইয়াৰ হিচাব চৰকাৰে দিয়া উচিত আছিল। (কাক দিব, কাক দিব—voices)

Mr. SPEAKER The Hon'ble member need not speak so loudly by, as there is a microphone in front of him (Loud laughter)

Shri KHAGENDRA NATH BARBARUA:— ইয়াৰ উপৰিও চৰকাৰে লাখে লাখে, কোটিয়ে কোটিয়ে টকা নগা পাহাৰত খৰচ কৰিছে। 'লয়েল' নগা সকলৰ কহিমা কনফাৰেন্সৰ কাৰণে খৰচ কৰিলে ২ লাখ টকা। ই আকৌ কেনে কথা। 'লয়েল' যিবিলাক সেই বিলাক সদায় 'লয়েল', 'দিছলয়েল' বিলাকক হে 'লয়েল' কৰিবলৈ চেষ্টা কৰিব লাগিছিল আৰু তেওঁলোকৰ কাৰণেহে টকা খৰচ কৰিব লাগিছিল। আমাৰ ৰাজ্যৰ উন্নয়নৰ ক্ষেত্ৰত নগা পাহাৰকো আমাৰ লগতে আগবঢ়াই নিব পৰাটোহে অছিল চৰকাৰৰ কৰ্ত্তব্য। তাৰ ঠাইত তেওঁবিলাকক আমাৰ নাজৰ পৰা চিৰকালৰ কাৰণে বেলগ কৰি দি গা এৰা দিয়াটো পৃথিবীৰ কোনো দেশতে পটন্তৰ নাই। পৃথিবীৰ ইতিহাসত 'লয়েল' লোকৰ ৰাজনৈতিক সভাত এইদৰে টকা চৰকাৰে খৰচ কৰা কোনো উদাহৰণ নাই।

Mr. SPEAKER The House stands adjourned till 2. p.m.

**The Assembly reassembled after lunch at 2 P. M.
with Mr. Speaker in the Chair**

Shri KHOGENDRA NATH BARBARUA (Amguri):
Mr. Speaker, Sir, when the heart is full, words are few. এই প্ৰসংগত মই বেচি কথা নকওঁ। (voice আপুনি ইংৰাজীত কওক তেতিয়াহে সকলোৱে বুজি পাব) চাব, যিসকল বিলাতৰ পৰা আহিছে তেওঁলোকে ইংৰাজীতে কৈছে, মই অসমীয়াতে ভালদৰে নিজৰ ভাব ব্যক্ত কৰিবলৈ স্মৰ্থনা পাও কাৰণে মই অসমীয়াতে কও। যি হওক মোৰ কথা হৈছে যি সকল loyal Naga আছিল, তেওঁলোকে সিটিং প্ৰাতি থিৰাং কৰিলে যে নগা সকল অসমৰ পৰা পৃথক হৈ থাকিব আৰু কেন্দ্ৰীয় চৰকাৰৰ foreign affairs বিভাগৰ দ্বাৰা শাসিত হব। আমাৰ চৰকাৰে এতিয়া পাকে প্ৰকাৰান্তৰে মহৎ কাম কৰিছে। বুলি ভাবিছে ইয়াৰ বাবে প্ৰাদেশিক চৰকাৰ ধন্যবাদৰ পাত্ৰ হব লাগে বুলি ভাবে। যিটো select committee বহিছিল অক্টোবৰ মাহৰ ২৩ তাৰিখে তাত অনেক কথা নাছিল, যে নগা পাহাৰ চিৰ কালৰ কাৰণে কেন্দ্ৰীয় চৰকাৰৰ তলত থাকিব, এইটো এটা interim measure হে। ইয়াৰ পিছত হয়তো একেবাৰে পূৰ্ণ স্বাধীনতাৰ দাবীও আহিব পাৰে। তাৰ পিছত, চাব, মুখ্য মন্ত্ৰীৰ statement অৰ ১২ পৃষ্ঠাত তেখেতে কৈছে।

“The Prime Minister has announced that the Government would grant amnesty in respect of all offences committed by the Nagas against the State in the past”.

Select Committee ৰ অনুমোদন অনুসৰি অসম চৰকাৰে amnesty ঘোষণা কৰিছে। যোৱা অধিবেশনত যেতিয়া আমি নগা সকলক amnesty দিয়াৰ কথা কৈছিলোঁ তেতিয়া চৰকাৰৰ পক্ষৰ পৰা গৰম গৰম কথা কৈছিল। কিন্তু যেতিয়া Prime Minister নেহেৰুৱে কলে তেতিয়া কাৰো মাত নাই।

North East Frontier Agency ত অসমীয়া ভাষা প্ৰচলন তো বন্ধ কৰিছেই আনকি অসমীয়া অফিচাৰ সকলোকে। খেদোৱাৰ ব্যৱস্থা কৰিছে। সিদিনা খবৰ কাকতত দেখিছোঁ Naga Hills অত অসমীয়া আৰু বঙালী অফিচাৰ নবখাই কেন্দ্ৰীয়

চৰকাৰে সিদ্ধান্ত কৰিছে। যি সিদ্ধান্ত কেন্দ্ৰীয় চৰকাৰে ললে তাৰ দ্বাৰা অসমখন একেবাৰে খণ্ড বিখণ্ড হোৱাৰ বাস্তৱে মুকলি কৰি দিলে। এতিয়া অসমৰ অকল পাৰ্বত্য অঞ্চলতে নহয় সাম্প্ৰদায়িক ভিত্তিতে পৃথক মনোভাৱ আৰু পৃথক পৃথক হৈ থকাৰ মনোবৃত্তি জগাই তোলাত চৰকাৰৰ নীতিয়ে বাস্তৱ দেখুৱাই দিলে। কাজেই অসম চৰকাৰে কেন্দ্ৰীয় চৰকাৰৰ “জী হাঁ হুকুম” নীতি আমি লোৱা যেন দেখা যায়। অৰ্থাৎ কেন্দ্ৰীয় চৰকাৰে যি হুকুম দিব বাজ্যিক চৰকাৰে তাকে মানি লব। এতিয়া Oil Refinery ক্ষেত্ৰতো বুজা যায় অসম চৰকাৰে কেন্দ্ৰীয় চৰকাৰৰ হুকুমক মানি লব—কাৰণ কেন্দ্ৰীয় চৰকাৰেও বুজিছে যে অসমত শক্তি-শালী চৰকাৰ নাই। গতিকে অসমৰ দাবী কেন্দ্ৰীয় চৰকাৰে সহজেই ওফুৰাই দিব পাৰিব। এনে অৱস্থাত অসমৰ ভবিষ্যত ডেকা লৰা বিলাকৰ কি হব তাৰি নাপাওঁ।

নগা পাহাৰ পৃথক হোৱাৰ পাচত গীনাৰ কথা আহিব আৰু লগে লগেই পূৰ্ব পশ্চিম বন্ধৰ দৰে ভগনীয়া সমস্যাই দেখা দিব। অসমক ঘোৰ অন্ধকাৰৰ পথলৈ টানি নিয়া হৈছে। অসমক খণ্ড বিখণ্ড হোৱাৰ পৰা বক্ষা কৰিবৰ বাবে বান বজাই শ্ৰীকৃষ্ণৰ লগত যুজ কৰিছিল, অসমীয়াই যোগলৰ লগত যুজিছিল। কিন্তু এতিয়াৰ চৰকাৰে অসমৰ integrity বক্ষা কৰিব পৰা নাই। গতিকে এই চৰকাৰে অবিলম্বে resign দিয়া উচিত।

মই এই প্ৰসংগত পাহাৰীয়া ভাই সকলক আৰু ৰাজ্যৰ প্ৰত্যেক নাগৰিককে অনুৰোধ জনাওঁ যে সকলোৱে মিলি যাতে ৰাজ্যৰ integrity বক্ষা কৰে। আৰু সকলো পাহাৰীয়া ভাই সকলে যাতে অসমৰ লগতে থাকিবলৈ যত্ন কৰে। মুঠৰ ওপৰত মই মুখ্য-মন্ত্ৰীৰ statement ত এনেকুৱা কোনো কথা বা যুক্তি পোৱা নাই যে যি কাৰণে তেখেতৰ statement মই গ্ৰহণ কৰিব পাৰো, বৰঞ্চ মই সেই statement ৰ প্ৰত্যাক্ষাণ জনাই এই সদনৰ পৰা ১০ মিনিটৰ কাৰণে walk out কৰিলোঁ। (The member returned back the copy of the statement to the Speaker).

Shri HARINARAYAN BARUAH: (Teok) মাননীয় অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়, আজি নগাপাহাৰৰ জটিল সমস্যা সম্পৰ্কে এই সদনত আলোচনা হৈছে আৰু সদস্য সকলে নিজ নিজ ভাৱত সমালোচনা কৰিছে। এইটো অৱশ্যে পৰিতাপৰ কথা যে এই নগাপাহাৰ জিলাখন অসম চৰকাৰৰ অধীনৰ পৰা কেন্দ্ৰীয় চৰকাৰৰ শাসনাধীন হব। কেন্দ্ৰীয় শাসনাধীন কিয় হব লগা হ'ল আৰু কাৰ কাৰণে হবলৈ পাইছে নানান দৃষ্টি ভঙিৰ পৰা বিভিন্ন লক্ষ্য লৈ আলোচনা হৈছে। ১৯৪২ চনৰ গণ আন্দোলনত যেতিয়া মই চুনামগঞ্জ জেলত তিনি বছৰৰ কাৰণে আটক বন্দী হৈ আছিলো, তেতিয়া বাতৰি কাকতত পঢ়া মনত পৰে যে ব্ৰিটিছ প্ৰধান মন্ত্ৰী মিঃ চাৰ্চিলে কৈছিল, “ব্ৰিটিছ সাম্ৰাজ্য দেৱলীয়া কৰিবলৈ মই সভাপতিত্ব কৰিব নোৱাৰোঁ”। কিন্তু মিঃ চাৰ্চিলৰ সেই অহঙ্কাৰ আৰু দস্তানি নিটিকিল। ভাৰত স্বাধীন হ'ল। সেই দৰেই আজি অসম চৰকাৰৰ গুৰিয়াল মুখ্যমন্ত্ৰী শ্ৰীযুত মেধিক যদি কোৱা হয় যে দেৱলীয়া অসমৰ তেখেত সভাপতি; তেন্তে মই সেই কথা মানি লবলৈ টান পাম আৰু বিশ্বাস নকৰোঁ। আচল কথা হৈছে—যেতিয়া দেশত কোনো সমস্যাই দেখা দিয়ে তাৰ সমাধান কৰিব লগীয়া হয় সেই সময় অৱস্থা অনুযায়ী।

ভাৰতবৰ্ষ স্বাধীন হোৱাৰ পিচত ভাৰত আৰু পাকিস্তান নামে দুখন ৰাষ্ট্ৰ হ'ল। তেনেহলে ইয়াৰ সভাপতি কোন? আজি নগাপাহাৰত যিটো সমস্যাৰ উদ্ভৱ হৈছে পৃথিবীৰ আন বহুত ঠাইতে এনে সমস্যাই দেখা দিছে। ব্ৰহ্মদেশত কেবেনসকলে বহুদিন ধৰি ব্ৰহ্ম চৰকাৰৰ লগত যুঁজ কৰি আহিছে সেইদৰে মালয়তো যুঁজ চলিছে। দেশৰ এনে সমস্যাৰ সময়ত সমস্যা সমাধানৰ কাৰণে সকলো মানুহ একটাই সহযোগ কৰা উচিত আৰু তাকে নকৰি শাসনকৰ্ত্তা সকলক গৰিহণা দিলে সমস্যাৰ কেতিয়াও সমাধান হ'ব নোৱাৰে। আজি নগাপাহাৰ যোৱাৰ বাবে বা নগা সমস্যা সমাধান কৰিব নোৱাৰাৰ বাবে কংগ্ৰেছক

দোষাবোপ কৰিব পাৰে। কাৰণ বহুতৰ এইটো স্বভাৱ। কিন্তু ইয়াৰ তাৎপৰ্য্য বাহিৰ কৰিবলৈ কোনোও চেষ্টা কৰা নাই। কিছুমানে কৈছে যে নগাসকলৰ লগত মন মিলাব পৰা নীতি গ্ৰহণ নকৰাৰ ফলতে এই অৱস্থাৰ সৃষ্টি হৈছে, কিছুমানে আকৌ কৈছে যে শাসন যন্ত্ৰত কেৰোণ থকাৰ নিমিত্তে এই সমস্যাৰ উদ্ভৱ হৈছে। গতিকে শাসন যন্ত্ৰত কেৰোণ নেবাখিবলৈ যত্ন কৰা বাঞ্ছনীয়।

নগাপাহাৰৰ দাঁতি কাষৰীয়া জিলাৰ বাসিন্দা সকলে এই সমস্যা আন এটা ফালৰ পৰা চাব লগা হৈছে। বৃটিছ চৰকাৰৰ দিনত নগাসকল ভৈয়ামলৈ নামি আহি বাইজৰ পৰা কৰ-কাটল আদায় কৰিছিল। কাৰণ তেওঁলোকে দাবী কৰিছিল যে, ধোদৰ আলি আৰু বেল আলিক তেওঁলোকৰ ৰাজ্যৰ সীমা নিৰ্দ্ধাৰণ কৰিব লাগে। তেওঁলোকৰ ওপৰত বৃটিছ চৰকাৰৰ কোনো অধিকাৰ নাছিল। জনসাধাৰণে একালে নগাঁক আৰু আনফালে চৰকাৰক কৰ-কাটল আৰু খাজনা দিব লাগিছিল। কিন্তু ভাৰত স্বাধীন হোৱাৰ পিচত নগাসকলে বাইজৰ পৰা কৰ কাটল আৰু খাজনা আদি আদায় কৰা নাছিল। তেওঁলোকে দাবী কৰে যে নগাপাহাৰ তেওঁলোকৰ আৰু তাত কাৰো অধিকাৰ নাই। এই ভাব তেওঁলোকৰ মনত কোনে সূমাইছিল? মোৰ বিশ্বাস এই ভাব নিশ্চয় বৃটিছ চৰকাৰৰ শাসন নীতিৰ পৰা তেওঁবিলাকৰ এই পৃথক ভাব হোৱাৰ বাবে বৃটিছ শাসক সকলৰ নীতিয়েই দায়ী আছিল। কাৰণ বৃটিছৰ দিনৰ পৰাহে এই ভাব দেখা গৈছিল। কেপ্টেইন চাংমাই কৈছে যে কংগ্ৰেছে 'ডিভাইড আৰু ৰুল' নীতিৰ ভিত্তিত প্ৰশাসন চলাইছে। মই ভাটি কৈছোঁ—কংগ্ৰেছৰ এই নীতি কেতিয়াও নহয় আৰু এই নীতিৰ কেতিয়াও পৃষ্ঠপোষকতা নকৰে।

নগা সমস্যা সমাধান কৰিব নোৱাৰাৰ বাবে আজি কংগ্ৰেছক দোষাবোপ কৰা হৈছে। ইয়াত এটা কথা চিন্তা কৰি চাব লাগে যে দোষাবোপ কৰা সকলে এই সমস্যা সমাধানৰ বাবে কি পৰামৰ্শ আগ বঢ়াইছে। কংগ্ৰেছক তীব্ৰভাবে আক্ৰমণ কৰাৰ বাহিৰে তেওঁলোকে সমস্যা সমাধানৰ বাবে কি বৰঙণিৰ যোগান ধৰিছে। যেতিয়া বিৰোধী দলৰ লোক পৰৱৰ্তলৈ যাৰ খুজিছিল তেতিয়া তেওঁলোকক বাবলৈ দিয়া নহল। (Voices—যাবলৈ নিদিলে) কাৰণ তেওঁলোকে সমস্যা সমাধানৰ বাবে বাইজৰ আগত কোনো উপায় দাঙি ধৰা নাছিল। যেতিয়া নগাৰ শুভেচছা মিছন আহিছিল তেতিয়া তেওঁলোকে বিভিন্ন দলত কিয় পৃথক পৃথক ভাবে লগ কৰিছিল, আৰু পৃথক ভাবে আলোচনা কৰি অভ্যৰ্থনা জনাইছিল। এনে কাৰ্য্যৰ দ্বাৰাই তেওঁলোকক উৎসাহিত কৰা নহলেনে? তেওঁলোকেও ধৰি নললেনে যে তেওঁলোকৰ সহানুভূতিশীল লোক বহুত আছে? এইটো হবলৈ পাইছে আমাৰ অটনক্যৰ দোষত! আমি সকলোৱে একত্ৰভাৱে চেষ্টা কৰা হলে এই সমস্যা সমাধানৰ পথ নিশ্চয় উলিয়াব পৰা হলেহেঁতেন।

Captain WILLIAMSON A. SANGMA (Phulbari: Reserved for Scheduled Tribes): Before Independence of India, there was a move by the Naga people for integrating all areas inhabited by them into one district: that was in 1945-46.

Shri HARINARAYAN BARUAH (Teok): অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়! মোৰ এইটো দৃঢ় বিশ্বাস যে যদি সকলোৱে একযোগে চেষ্টা কৰিলেহেঁতেন, পৃথক মনোভাৱ নেদেখুৱালেহেঁতেন আৰু সহানুভূতিৰ বিবেচনা কৰিলেহেঁতেন, তেন্তে এই সমস্যা সমাধানৰ পথত আমি কিছুদূৰ আগবাঢ়িব পাৰিলোহেঁতেন।

এতিয়া সংবিধানৰ কথাটো আহিছে। সংবিধানৰ Sixth Schedule তৈয়াৰ কৰিছিল কোনে? এইখন অসম চৰকাৰে তৈয়াৰ কৰা নাছিল—তৈয়াৰ কৰিছিল, ভাৰতৰ Constituent Assembly এ নগাপাহাৰৰ সমস্যা উদ্ভৱ হৈছে সেই Sixth Schedule ৰ পৰাহে। এই কাৰণে অসম চৰকাৰ বা শ্ৰীমতী জগদীয়া নহয়। টুয়েনচাং অঞ্চল আমাৰ পৰা আতৰি গৈছে সেই Sixth Schedule ৰ কাৰণেহে অসম চৰকাৰৰ শাসনৰ দোষত নহয়; ইয়াৰ পিচতো আমি পৰস্পৰে পৰস্পৰৰ লগত সহযোগ কৰি কাম কৰাৰেহেঁতেন সকলো সমস্যাই সমাধান হলেহেঁতেন।

Captain WILLIAMSON A. SANGMA (Phulbari—Reserved for Scheduled Tribes) : Before the Sixth Schedule came we the Hill people had life and good administration in all the Hills Districts.

Shri HARINARAYAN BARUAH (Teok) : কেপটেইন চাংমাই কৈছে যে নগা ভাইসকলৰ স্বাধীনতাৰ যি আন্দোলন, সেই আন্দোলন এতিয়াহে আৰম্ভ হৈছে। সেই কথা সঁচা নহয়। এই আন্দোলন ১৯২৯ চনৰে পৰা আৰম্ভ কৰিছিল। যদি সেয়ে হয় তেন্তে সেই সময়ত Sixth Schedule Constituent Assembly আৰু অসমৰ কংগ্ৰেছ চৰকাৰ আদি কাৰো জন্ম হোৱা নাছিল, নগা সমস্যা সেই সময়ৰ পৰাই গঢ় লৈছিল—তেন্তে এতিয়া কেনেকৈ চৰকাৰৰ নীতিক দোষাবোপ কৰে ?

Captain WILLIAMSON A. SANGMA : I could not quite follow. Would the hon. Member please speak in English this particular sentence ?

Mr. SPEAKER : Order, Order. I have already given a ruling to the effect that when an hon. Member is not in a position to speak English, it would be unfair to ask him to do so.

Shri HARINARAYAN BARUA : তেখেতে অসমীয়া ভাষাও জানে। বহুবাৰ তেখেতৰ লগত অসমীয়াতে কথা পাতিছোঁ।

গোঁস্বামী ডাঙৰীয়াক মই এইখিনিতে কব খুজিছোঁ। যে এনে এটা জটিল সমস্যা লৈ ৰাজনৈতিক খেলা কৰা ঠিক নহব। তেখেতসকলে যাতে দলীয় ক্ষুদ্ৰ স্বার্থ বাদ দি দেশৰ বৃহৎ স্বার্থ আগত লৈ এই সমস্যা সমাধানার্থে চেষ্টা কৰে। মই এইখিনিতে ইয়াকেহে কব খুজিছোঁ যে—চৰকাৰৰ তৰফৰ পৰা বহুবান হোৱাৰ লগে লগে যাতে সদনৰ সদস্যসকলেও একযোগে যত্নবান হয়, তেতিয়া সমস্যা সমাধানৰ পথত বহুখিনি আগুৱাই যাব পৰা হব। কিন্তু কাৰ্য্যত হৈছে কি ?

সকলো ক্ষেত্ৰতে দেখিছোঁ। তাৰ বিপৰীত। ভটাচাৰ্য্য ডাঙৰীয়াই কৈছে যে চৰকাৰে Divide and Rule Policy কৰিছে। মই কওঁ যে, এইটো তেখেত সকলৰ পক্ষৰ পৰাহে হৈছে। উদাহৰণ স্বৰূপে মই যোৱা স্বাধীনতা দিবস পালনৰ কথা কওঁ। গোঁস্বামী ডাঙৰীয়াই অভিযোগ কৰিছে যে চৰকাৰে বল পূৰ্বক ভাবে কহিমাত স্বাধীনতা দিবস পালন কৰা সম্বন্ধে আমাৰ গোঁস্বামী ডাঙৰীয়াই সেই বিভেদ নীতিবেই বশৰতী হৈ জনসাধাৰণক নিৰ্দেশ দিছিল পৃথক ভাবে স্বাধীনতাৰ দিন পালন কৰিবলৈ। চৰকাৰে পালন কৰা স্বাধীনতা দিবস একেলগে পালন কৰা উচিত নহয়।

গোঁস্বামী ডাঙৰীয়া ! আপোনাগলকৰ পাৰ্টিৰ পৰা নিৰ্দেশ দিয়া হৈছিল যে স্বাধীনতা দিবসত চৰকাৰৰ কাৰ্য্যসূচীৰ লগত খাপ খুৱাই সহযোগেৰে কেতিয়াও কাম কৰিব নোৱাৰে। সেই অনুসাৰে তেখেতসকলৰ সমৰ্থক সকলে সেইদিনাও চৰকাৰৰ লগত অসহযোগ কৰিছিল। ফলত প্ৰত্যেক মহকুমাতে দুৰ্ঠাইত স্বাধীনতাৰ দিন পালিত হৈছিল। আমাৰ পৃথক পৃথক মনোভাব থাকিব পাৰে—কিন্তু দেশৰ স্বাধীনতা সকলোৰে উমৈহতীয়া বস্তু। স্বাধীনতা দিবসত আমি এক। আজি ভাৰতৰ কোটি কোটি নব-নবীয়ে একযোগে সহযোগিতাবে সৈতে

এই উমৈহতীয়া দিবসটো পালন কৰাত কি আপত্তি থাকিব পাৰে? যিসকলে এনে এটা নিৰ্দেশো দিব পাৰে, সেই সকলেই মানুহৰ মনত Divide and Rule Policy-ৰ ভাবটো জুৰুৱাই দিয়া নাইনে? এনে এটা জাতীয় উৎসবৰ দিনত তেখেতসকলেই মানুহৰ মন বিঘাঙ কৰা নাইনে? গতিকে মই ভাবো Divide and Rule নীতিটো তেখেত সকলেই মানুহৰ মনত সুমাই দিছে। দেশত যি বিলাক বিভেদকাৰী দল আছে, যিবিলাক জাতীয়তা বিৰোধীলোক আছে তেওঁবিলাকে এইবিলাকত উৎসাহিত নহবনে? মই ভাবো এইবিলাক কাৰ্য্যই দেশত বিভিন্ন ভাৱৰ সৃষ্টি কৰিছে। এই দেশৰ স্বাধীনতাৰ বিৰুদ্ধে যোৱা লোকসকলক নৈ আমি কিমান বাধা প্ৰতিবাধাৰ মাছেৰে সমস্যাৰ সন্মুখীন হব লগা হৈছে, আপোনালোকে ভাবি চাওক।

অধ্যক্ষ মহোদয়! মই ভাবো মই সামান্য মানুহ হলেও এইটো ডাঙৰ কথাই কৈছো। (হাঁহি) এনেবিলাক কাৰ্য্যকলাপৰ দ্বাৰাই মানুহৰ মনবিলাক পৃথক হৈ যোৱাত সহায় কৰিছে।

আজি কংগ্ৰেছ চৰকাৰে বা মেৰী চৰকাৰে যেনেকৈ দেশখনক শাসন কৰিছে হয়তো গোস্বামী ডাঙৰীয়ায়ো যদি এদিন শাসনকৰ্ত্তা হয়, তেতিয়া তেখেতেও আমাৰ ভটাচাৰ্য্য ডাঙৰীয়াৰ লগত লৈ তেনেকৈয়ে নানা বিপদৰ সন্মুখীন হৈ শাসন কৰিব লাগিব। (Voice—Bhattacharyya ক লগত নলয়? হাঁহি) Coalition শাসন তেখেতক লগত লৈয়েই গঠন হব পাৰে। বিৰোধীদলে কৈছে যে কংগ্ৰেছে স্কীয়া নেতৃত্ব তৈয়াৰ কৰিবলৈ যত্ন কৰিছে। মই কব পাৰো যে কংগ্ৰেছে স্কীয়া Leadership তৈয়াৰ কৰি দেশ শাসন কৰিবলৈ কেতিয়াও চেষ্টা নকৰে।

Shri KHOGENDRA NATH BARBARUA (Amguri): মূখ্যসভীয়ে নিজেই স্কীয়া Leadership নগাপাহাৰত তৈয়াৰ কৰা কথা কৈছে।

Shri HARINARAYAN BARUA (Teok): যিটো Leadership এ দেশক বিপথগামী কৰে সেই Leadership তৈয়াৰ কৰাৰ কথা কেতিয়াও কোৱা নাই। সেই চেষ্টা অন্যান্য দলেহে চলাইছে। বৰ্ত্তমান যিটো শাসনকাৰীদল সেইদলে কেতিয়াও স্কীয়া Leadership গঠনত সহায় নকৰে। কংগ্ৰেছে কেতিয়াও হিংসা নীতিক প্ৰশ্ৰয় নিদিয়ো। চৰকাৰে নগা পাহাৰতো সেই শৃঙ্খলাবদ্ধ শান্তিপ্ৰিয় লোকসকলক নিৰাপত্তাহে বক্ষা কৰি আহিছে। শান্তিপ্ৰিয় লোকসকলক বক্ষা কৰিবলৈহে স্কীয়া Leadership ৰ প্ৰয়োজন হৈছে।

কেপ্টেইন চাংমাই যিটো কথা কৈছে তাক সকলোৱে অনুভৱ কৰে। আমাৰ মানুহে আমাৰ মানুহক মাৰিছে। সেই বিপথগামী নগা ভাই সকলো আমাৰেই মানুহ। আক উপদ্ৰৱ কৰা নগা ভাই সকলো আমাৰেই মানুহ।

Capt. WILLIAMSON A. SANGMA (Phulbari—Reserved for Scheduled Tribes): What I said was that the Naga people are Indians and they are being killed by the Indian Army and the Assam Police who are also Indians.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, Order.

Shri HARINARAYAN BARUA: মই সেইটো কথা কবলৈকে গৈছো। বৰ্ত্তমান কিছমান নগা ভায়ে আমাৰ লোকসকলৰ ওপৰত উপদ্ৰৱ, উৎপাত আৰু লুণ্ঠন আদি কাম চলাই আহিছে। সেই উপদ্ৰৱী লোক সকলক চৰকাৰে সংপথত অনাৰ চেষ্টাহে চলাইছে।

(voice—আমাৰ লোক কোন ?)

আমাৰ লোক সেই Loyal নগা সকল । সেই হত্যাকাৰী সকলৰ ওপৰত চৰকাৰে যেনে ভাবে ব্যৱস্থা লব লাগিছিল তেনে ভাবে নলৈ সোহ প্ৰীতিৰে তেওঁলোকক তেনে কুৰাৰ্য্য পৰা বিৰত কৰিবলৈ চেষ্টা কৰি আহিছে । আমাৰ বৰবৰুৱাৰ ঘৰৰ ওচৰৰে নগা হাট গাঁৱত সেই লোক সকলে উপদ্রব কৰিছে, শিবসাগৰত যোৰহাটৰ আশে পাশে থকা মানুহৰ ওপৰত কিমান উপদ্রব কৰিছিল কিমান ঘৰ পুৰিছিল, মানুহ মাৰিছিল, মানুহক ধৰি নিছিল সেই কথা শ্ৰীবৰবৰুৱাই যিজে যোৱা অধিবেশনত উল্লেখ কৰিছিল, এনে উৎপাত কৰা সত্ত্বেও চৰকাৰে তেওঁলোকক আয়ত্বাধীনলৈ আনিবলৈ যি যত্ন চলাইছিল সেই যত্নত সহযোগিতাৰ অভাৱতে কৃতকাৰ্য্য হোৱাত সময় লাগিছিল । তেওঁলোকক মৰমেৰে আয়ত্বাধীন কৰিবলৈ যি যত্ন কৰিছিল তাক যদি তেখেত সকলে (বিৰোধীদল) স্বীকাৰ কৰিবলৈ টান পায় তেনেহলে ডাঙৰ অনায়াস কৰা হব । চৰকাৰৰ নীতিত যদি নগা পাহাৰবাসী ভাই সকলে মুকলি ভাবে আলোচনা কৰি কিবা এটা সুসিদ্ধান্তত উপনীত হনহেতেন তেন্তে সি আমাৰ ৰাজ্যৰ মঙ্গল সাধন কৰিলেহেতেন । আজি বিৰোধী দলৰ সদস্য সকলে আলোচনা প্ৰস্তুত একো একোটা এনে ধৰণৰ হান বা খোচ মাৰি গৈছে যে তাক সহ্য কৰা টান হৈ উঠিছে । আনহাতে তেওঁলোকে এনে কিছুমান বাক্য প্ৰয়োগ কৰি গৈছে যিবোলাকে অন্যান্য পাহাৰী ভাই সকলক পুনৰ বিপথে যোৱাৰ সুযোগ দিব পাৰে । এই প্ৰস্তুত এইটো স্পষ্টকৈ কোৱা উচিত হব যে এই সদনত যেনে ভাবে কথা কোৱা হৈছে তাৰ পৰা যদি কেতিয়াবা আকৌ এনে নতুন পৰিস্থিতিৰ উদ্ভৱ হয় তেনেহলে এনে বিভেদ নীতিৰ বীজ সিঁচাৰ বাবদ বিৰোধী দলেই ইয়াৰ বাবে দায়ী হব লাগিব ।

Pu. LALMAWIA (Aijal East—Reserved for Scheduled Tribes) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I would like to say.....

Mr. SPEAKER : I would request the hon. Member to be brief, because I propose to call upon the Chief Minister to give his reply at 3 o' clock, and I would like to give chances to one or two more Members.

Pu. LALMAWIA : Well, Sir, I would like to have more than 15 minutes, if possible.

Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister,) : Sir, some Members from this side of the House may also be allowed to speak.

Mr. SPEAKER : Let them make a stand, they have heard the speech of the Hon'ble Chief Minister. Now if they take their stand, I would give them chance to speak.

Pu. LALMAWIA : Mr. Speaker, Sir, from the Statement of the Chief Minister we come to understand the policy of the Government with regard to the Tribal people, specially with regard to the Naga Hills. First of all, I would like to comment on some of the points mentioned by the Chief Minister. At the out-set the Chief Minister said, "I

would like to remove the mis-conception held by various sections of the people which occasionally finds expression in the Press or otherwise, that as if the Naga problem is due to any policy or any acts of omission or commission on the part of the Assam Government." It is clear that the Chief Minister is trying to be free from the blame. Well, I do not think that the Assam Government is absolutely free from this blame. We can prove in many ways that they are not free from the blame. Had it not been for the wrong policy of the Government, the Nagas would not have gone so far as to secede from Assam as many speakers before me had already stated. The Chief Minister has stated that the demand for Independence could be dated back to 1929. But I do not think that it is a true statement of fact. If he could produce the copy of the demand for independence, we cannot deny, but so far as I know from some of my Naga friends, they never demanded independence in that year, not even in year 1945-46. The demand for complete independence was never advocated by the Nagas. But what they demanded previously was not complete independence but formation of a Government, a type of administrative set-up, acceptable to them. But after the famous 9-point agreement between the then Governor of Assam and the Naga National Council, the Naga people expected that the agreement would be incorporated in the Constitution of India. In 1947, I went to Kohima to contact the Naga leaders in this respect. I was given a copy of the 9 point agreement and definitely there was no provision for complete secession but those 9 points were so framed as to give the essence of the real demands of the Nagas. But since it was an agreement, it was to follow a give-and-take policy, and so they had to come down to this extent, so that, it may be acceptable to the Government. But even that 9-point agreement was not incorporated in the Constitution as the Chief Minister himself has just said. That was the reason why they started demanding more, to the extent of independence. When an agreement was signed, the Nagas thought and also sincerely expected that the agreement would be implemented. But when the Government failed to honour the agreement, the Nagas have lost their confidence in the Government of Assam. That was the reason, so far as I know, why the Nagas demanded independence. In the 9-point agreement, the Nagas demanded that various reserve forest should come under the control of the Nagas, and certain areas which are now outside the Naga Hills should be also included in the Naga land. These demands were not fulfilled. There were also many other points which were not fulfilled. Since then

this demand for independence has been going on, and to prove that the Naga people were in favour of complete independence, a plebiscite was held. That plebiscite clearly and beyond all doubt proved that cent per cent of the Nagas were in favour of independence. But our Government is trying to make out that a large section of the Nagas were not in favour of independence. I understand our Government is busily engaged in trying to win over a small section of the Naga people, and they are successful in this to some extent but they cannot win over their real mind. Well, some of my friends have stated the reason why the Nagas have come down to accept something short of independence, because of the force of arms. For a small tribe like the Naga people to fight against the Government of India it is something is beyond imagination. Only the fight which they had put up against the Government shows their courage which we very much admire, but no body will ever think for a moment that the Naga people would be able to subdue or win the Government forces; but this shows their honesty and desire to be free from any domination, to be free from being a subject race. All this clearly shows that the tribals are never satisfied. This tribal problem is not confined to the Naga Hills alone. The problem is everywhere amongst the tribals wherever they may be. In the autonomous districts of Assam, in Manipur, Tripura and wherever the tribals are, the problems are there and they need immediate solution. Sir, though we blame the Government of Assam, Government of India is also not free from all these blames. To some extent the Government of India is responsible also, but I would like to confine my statement to the Assam Government's policy because we are immediately concerned with it. The Chief Minister blamed the Naga National Council for giving false promises to the people. Well, Sir, sometimes these people made promises according to circumstances but because there is some power above them which can allow or not allow what they asked for and because of that high power above them these people may not be able to fulfil their promises to the people, but I rather blame the Government for promising something and not fulfilling it. The Naga National Council also made promises sometimes but they could not fulfil some promises as they are not the final authority to give the people anything they want to. Sir, the dissatisfaction with the Government is not confined only to the tribal areas alone. In Cachar District, which is a plains district there are to be found complaints against the Government. We all know their demand for another kind of administrative set-up for Cachar district. I think we all know about the Purbachal demand from that district

and there are also other kinds of demands to change the present administrative set-up of the State. Sir, this needs close study, it needs immediate solution. The tribals are not satisfied with the present set-up. How many times we have suggested to the Chief Minister and other leaders that a meeting of the tribal leaders should be called, we should sit together round a table, and try to solve the problems, but I regret to say that the Chief Minister ignored the idea of the tribal leaders sitting together to discuss matters, but instead he preferred to talk to individuals and, therefore, discussed matters suitable only to those individuals. He made promises to them and the result is that some of our friends have been won over while some still remain dissatisfied. Sir, in this way we shall never be able to solve the problems of the tribal people, and, even now, I would like to suggest to the Government and particularly to the Chief Minister to call a conference of the leaders of the hills districts and also some of his trusted friends sit together in a conference and discuss the tribal problems and find out ways and means to solve them. Sir, unless the Government can make proposals acceptable to the tribals as a whole, not only to a few selected individuals but to the majority of the people, I don't see any possible solution to the problem of the hills people except a separate hills State. By separation we may not be benefited economically, but we shall be satisfied. Even now, sir, we are willing to consider any reasonable proposals that may come forward from the Government or even from any independent persons. Sir, as time will not permit me to speak longer, I shall conclude my speech with a suggestion that the Chief Minister calls a conference of the representatives of all the hills people to sit together and try to solve their problems with real earnestness. Sir, I am surprised that in the Congress party there are still some people who have strongly supported the statement of the Chief Minister with vehemence. The hon. member who spoke before me, unfortunately I could not understand what he said because the language problem again is there. This is also one problem which needs solution. Without knowing what my friend said how can I say a men? Sir, I do not know what he said. He should speak in a language that we all know. In this connection, I may say that we should not try to impose a language upon another who is not willing to accept—it, this is also one thing I would like to request the Government to solve.

Mr. A. THANGLURA (Parliamentary Secretary):
Mr. Speaker, Sir, this morning three leaders, belonging to the 3 parties have expressed their gratitude for having the

opportunity to express themselves on the floor of this house, in matters primarily concerning the Naga Hills. As for myself I have no hesitation in saying that I am no less grateful for having an opportunity to say a few words. Sir, since the Chief Minister was the main target of criticism and attack, I take my stand to support and acknowledge the statement delivered by him. As a budding politician and a young lawyer I had not the privilege or pleasure of associating myself with the Chief Minister before, but now when I have come in contact with him, I know what sort of man he is. As it was told by my friend Sir Bhattacharyya, who is really a good friend of mine outside the House, that the Chief Minister is hard-working, sincere and really above corruption. I think, I can safely believe even Sir Bhattacharyya up to that extent.

Sir, it is true that the Naga problem has primarily concerned Assam but at the sametime it cannot be gainsaid that it is a national problem as well and in fact it rocked the whole of India. Mr. Bhattacharyya unfortunately said that if the Chief Minister left the Chief Ministership two years back the Nagas would have come back, as if the situation is only a new thing. This problem could be traced back to 1929. So how could a learned and well informed Member like Mr. Bhattacharyya express like that is a thing that I do not understand. Perhaps he has said like that just to indulge in personal spite against the Chief Minister. Sir, as I have stated, the matter is a very delicate one and at the same time potential. So I have been very attentively listening to the statements of the three hon. Members of the opposition viz. Mr. Goswami, Mr. Bhattacharyya and Captain Sangma but they have not proposed anything constructive and on the concrete line. So I wonder whether they are really concerned with the Naga problem. Rather it seems the opposition Members simply want to fish in troubled water. For them it is no wonder that the Naga land itself has become a happy fishing spot. Again there is no unanimity among them in their statements. Captain Sangma appears to blame the State Government whereas Mr. Goswami blamed the Central Government. So if they are talking like that, I do not know their real motion (*interruptions*).

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. Let the hon. Member continue his speech.

Mr. A. THANGLURA (Parliamentary Secretary): Mr. Goswami has said so many things of the Nagas in such a beautiful language that "they are our flesh of flesh, etc, etc. Such remarks are very gratifying. I have tried to follow the real meaning, but I wonder whether he is sincere enough.

Such surprisingly generous remarks almost impart a mental tonic. Well, Captain Sangma said something about the Assamese language ignoring the affinity of the Assamese and the Nagas. There is no doubt that it is spoken by the bulk of people of the Naga Hills. While my friend Lalmuwaia just complained the difficulty in following the speeches of some hon. Members we cannot deny the importance of language in bringing us together. It seems Captain Sangma has been incidentally overtaken by his own political whim (*interruption*). He said that Agents were being sent out in various districts to divide the hills people and thus the Assam Government was following a divide and rule policy, by offering Bakshish to these agents. This is equally fantastic. (*interruption*).

Captain WILLIAMSON A. SANGMA (Phulbari—Reserved for Scheduled Tribes): It is absolutely correct.

Mr. A. THANGLURA: Sir, as the Chief Minister has already more or less elaborately spoken about the matter I need not take the time of the House. I support once again what has been stated by the Chief Minister and with these few words, I resume my seat.

Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): Mr Speaker, Sir, there has been an attempt on the part of my Hon. friends sitting in the opposition to make an impression as regards the policy that has been pursued in the Naga Hills and other Hills districts that there is no unanimity between the Congress organisation, the Congress Parliamentary Party and the Government. That impression is absolutely incorrect. Sir, we belong to a democratic party. There may be difference of opinion among some members but these are removed after discussions and the decision is accepted on principle, by the Organisation, by the Party as well as by the Government. In this matter of Naga Hills situation, as it will appear, the Assam Congress Party passed a resolution which clearly indicates this policy which is being pursued by the Government in this matter. So, that impression is not correct. I hope, after realising the situation my friends will consider this matter dispassionately and try to understand what is being done from time to time by us as a democratic Government. With regard to the constitution of one administrative unit their assumption is that the Naga Hills and the Tuensang area will be taken outside the boundary of the State. I do not know wherefrom they have got this idea. No such idea is given anywhere in the statement of the Prime Minister. My friend Mr. Goswami who is a young lawyer and a much better lawyer than myself should have looked

into the Article 3 of the Constitution. Therein it will be found that for the formation of new States and alteration of boundaries or names of existing States consultation with the State Assembly or with the State is necessary. Now, there no such proposal for changing the boundary of our State and the boundary will be within the State of Assam. In the First Schedule the boundaries of the states have been defined. For Assam it is given as : "The territories which immediately before the commencement of this Constitution were comprised in the Province of Assam, the Khasi States and the Assam Tribal Areas." The Tribal Areas have been defined in the Sixth Schedule. The Areas specified in Part A and Part B of the Table shall be the Tribal Areas within the State of Assam. So, the boundary is not mentioned there. The Tuensang area is under the External Affairs Ministry and is under the control of the Governor as the Agent of the President. Before the independence the Naga Hills area was an excluded area and at that time the Governor was administering that area as Agent of the Governor General. Now the Tuensang Area which is under a separate administration though within Assam and the Naga Hills area are brought together as an interim measure before final settlement is achieved. The solution of the problem can best be made by the Central Government which can sponsor any measure, that is necessary for amending the sixth Schedule. For the sake of convenience during this interim period the Tuensang area and the Naga Hills area have been proposed to be brought under one administrative unit giving an opportunity of a psychological reaction in the minds of the Naga people who are both in the Tuensang area and the Naga Hills within Assam. They are brought together so that there may be a feeling of unity. This shows that there has been no contemplation of any divide-and-rule policy in the mind of either the Central Government or the Assam Government.

Shri GAURISANKAR BHATTACHARYA (Gauhati) : On a point of information, Sir, will the Chief Minister be pleased to clarify whether this combined Tuensang and Naga Hills area will form Part A of the Sixth Schedule politically or it will remain within the N. E. F. A. boundary.

Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister) : At this stage I am not in a position to disclose anything in the best interest of India, but as far as I can understand there is no idea whatsoever of taking this one unit administration outside the State of Assam. That question will be determined only after the interim period is over when the hostiles also come and join in.

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI (Rampur): Sir, is it not a fact that the States Re-organisation Commission defined the boundary of Assam and included whole Naga Hills area within Assam and not within N. E. F. A. and today this formula of the Central Government is a deviation from the States Re-organisation Commission ?

Shri BISNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): I will not reveal the confidential discussion or correspondence that passed between us and the Central Government in this respect. But this much I say that constitution of one unit of Tuensang area and the Naga Hills does not mean that it will go outside the boundary of Assam. Whether the unit will be Part A or Part B or a separate part of the Schedule will be a matter to be examined later. But in future or even after the interim period or during the interim period if some such contingency arises to take the unit outside the State, then the Government of India may ask us to give our advice as was done when our advice was taken before the acceptance of the recommendations of the States Re-organisation Commission relating to Assam. So, the arguments advanced by some of my friends in the Opposition including Shri Barbarua that there is going to be dis-integration of Assam are not correct. Nothing can be imposed on the mind of the tribal people. Their mind can be approached only with sympathy and reason. We can attract them only with reason and sympathy and that is the policy of the Government all along in dealing with the problems of the hills and plains. I, on different occasions stated that the welfare of the people of the hills and plains are inter-dependent. This fact must be borne in mind that it will be detrimental to the interest of the people living both in the hills and plains if there is any plan of separation between them. Such an idea will never serve the best interest of the people of either the plains or the hills. By unity we can try to develop our country because nature has made us inter-dependent.

Nature has made us inter-dependent on each other. That hint has to be taken by us in building the country and each individual district, plains and hills. The hills and plains of Assam are economically so inter-dependent on each other that it will serve the best interests of both plains and hills if they are developed as one economic unit. With that object in view we have tried to remove misunderstanding and suspicion.

Capt. WILLIAMSON A. SANGMA (Phualbari—Reserved for Scheduled Tribes):—Then why is this dissatisfaction ?

Shri BISNURAM MEDHI: Our efforts may not succeed for some reasons or other, but to say that we have been pursuing a policy of divide-and-rule is not correct.

Capt. WILLIAMSON A. SANGMA: May I know whether the definition of the scheduled tribes was made by the President himself or it was done on the recommendation of the Assam Government ?

Shri BISNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): As is known to Capt. Sangma, we obtained the views of the tribal people through their representatives in the District Councils and these were sent to the Government of India. The Backward Classes Commission also after examining the scheduled tribes made certain recommendations. After examination of all aspects of the matter, the Government of India came to certain decisions. They laid down that the scheduled tribes of the plains living in the hill areas and scheduled tribes of the hills living in the plains areas would get all the facilities, educational and otherwise, to which they are entitled, but in the political sphere they would be debarred from contesting for the reserved seats. That means that plains tribals living in the hills and the hills tribals living in the plains can contest for the general seats but not for the reserved seats. If, of course, my tribal friends in the hills and the plains can come to an agreement on this matter, we can have no objection. I have already stated on several occasions that there is much difference amongst them. All the different views were sent to the Government of India. As a matter of fact, Sir, my Government have been pressing the Government of India to give more autonomy to the hill areas and to remove the difficulties in the way of working of the District Councils. We have always maintained that the district councils should exercise certain functions of the State, the other functions being administered by the Legislature and the Executive. With this end in view I wanted to convene a conference of all the district councils and ascertain their difficulties. I waited till all the district councils were elected. In the meantime, I have been urging on the Prime Minister that simultaneously with the solution of the Naga problem, steps should be taken to give greater autonomy to the hill districts and remove the difficulties in the way of working of the districts councils. Prompt action has been taken by the Prime Minister and he sent Pantji to study this problem. Sir, I do not want to create any heat at this time; I feel that we should all sit together and dispassionately consider these matters and try to solve the difficulties that face us. But, Sir, what was the propaganda in Shillong then ? The propaganda was that the Prime Minister had sent Pantji in order to give the Hill State ! That was the propaganda throughout the Khasi Hills. I ask, was that right ? Was it not the duty of every one of us to keep our minds open and to evolve a solution which would serve the best interests of both the hills and the plains people, whether

by formation of a separate Hill State or by some other means, viz., by giving fuller autonomy and by removing the difficulties in the way of working of the district councils. Why should we prejudice our mind by insisting a Hill State beforehand?

Capt. WILLIAMSON A. SANGMA (Phulbari—Reserved for Scheduled Tribes): Sir, I wanted to know from the Chief Minister whether the scheduled castes and the scheduled tribes order was done by the President on his own motion or on the recommendation of the Government of Assam. My point is that all the scheduled tribes, whether residents in the autonomous districts or not, but who belonging to the same tribe or tribes, should have been treated as such. For example, the rights and privileges enjoyed by, say, the Garos living in the Garo hills should also be enjoyed by the Garos who are living in plains districts. I would also like to know whether the exercise of certain rights and privileges now entered to the hills tribes in the plains districts was made on the recommendation of the Government of Assam or by executive instructions issued by the Government of India on its own motion.

Shri BISNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): As I said, there was difference of opinion among the tribal people themselves on the question of political rights. The President has, therefore, directed that the plains tribals living in the hill areas and the hills tribals living in the plains areas would be eligible to contest for the general seats but not for the reserved seats. Since there was difference of opinion, we forwarded the different views to the Government of India. We did not want to impose anything.

Capt. WILLIAMSON A. SANGMA: All the hill areas are pressing for that.

Shri BISNURAM MEDHI: I am not in favour of imposing anything on any body. I want to do away with all imposition. As a matter of fact, all these matters were gone into and examined by the Backward Classes Commission. They also considered whether these political rights should be given or not. They made their recommendations which were considered by the Government of India. The Government of India decided that the right to contest in reserved seats should not be given.

Sir, our Constitution also recognises the salient facts that this great country of ours is rich in its variety of people, who have their own culture, characteristic ways of life, custom

and usages and that each cultural group must be afforded fullest freedom to develop in the manner it considers best according to its own genius and inherent traits. The essence of this scheme of local autonomy envisaged in the State is, therefore, that the Tribal people should be allowed the utmost freedom to shape their lives and their future according to their own dictates and in the manner they consider best without let or hindrance from outside, the rest of country co-operating with them and helping them, whenever such help is sought, to develop themselves in a manner consonant with their background, traditions and culture. I have repeated on various occasions that the policy of Government is to allow every group or sect in the country the freedom to develop along its own cherished line.

Now from the statement that I have made it appears that the various Naga Scheduled Tribes were discussing matters in Assamese. I did not thereby want to support 'divide and rule' policy. That was not my intention. I was only emphasising that there should be unity among diversity. I did not want to impose any language with the idea of divide-and-rule policy as has been expressed by some hon. Members of this House.

Capt. WILLIAMSOM A. SANGMA (Phulbari-Reserve for Scheduled Tribes): No, Sir, I did not say that the Government had been adopting divide-and-rule policy among the Hills people and others. What I said was the divide-and-rule policy of the Government amongst the Hills people themselves.

Shri BISNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): There are differences of opinion about the policy adopted by the Government. The people may accept the policy adopted by the Government, but if they do not accept the policy adopted by the Government, it is not a fact that the Govt. adopted divide-and-rule policy. As a matter of fact, this Government has been doing all that is possible to do with a view to giving full autonomy to the District Councils in the Autonomous districts.

As I was not convinced with the idea of a separate Hill State, I stated in my statement before this august House on the 19th of November, 1955, which I would like to repeat as follows:—

"The whole of Assam presents a picture of the mingling of innumerable races and tribes and it will continue to be heterogeneous with an underlying current of broad unity and a composite culture. Any artificial *vivi*-section of the State is not likely to be conducive to the welfare of any section of her people. This great collection of peoples in the hills and the plains has been set in a particularly well demarcated corner of the world and their welfare will depend on their proving able to live together. Assam should look to her diversity and to her capacity for toleration to provide her strength.

The State Government have opposed separate Hill State not because of any hostility to the Tribal people for their legitimate aspiration, but because in their opinion a separate Hill State will be no solution to the problem, and the sentiments behind it, if not checked, are likely to undermine national unity which is detrimental to the interest of the hills and plains. I therefore request the hon. Members who have stated to be unhappy with the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission to consider these difficulties and accept the recommendations whole-heartedly and work for building up New Assam with abundance of good-will of the people of the plains. It will be also for us, the majority in the land, to remove any suspicion and misgivings that may be lingering in the mind of anyone living in the hills and it will be our duty to bring them closer together by our good-will for this joint endeavour of building New Assam. The overwhelming desire of the people of Assam is for the plainsmen and hillsmen to march hand in hand towards national unity and progress and achieve a richer life for all. I can rightly expect that our brothers in the hills will appreciate and accept this good-will of the majority people that the path of progress and self-realisation of hill people does not lie in isolation but in the unity with the rest of the State and India."

So, this has been the policy followed by the State Government. There is no question of imposing any language on others. I was the first man from the Government side to examine the matter thoroughly and how the difficulties of the District Councils could be removed in pursuance of the policy adopted by the Government.

Capt. WILLIAMSON A. SANGMA (Phulbari-Reserved for Scheduled Tribes): What was the expression of opinion by Chief Minister about the District Councils in the Autonomous Districts before the States Reorganisation Commission?

Shri BISNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): Before the States Reorganisation Commission, I only spoke about the

constitution of a separate Hill State. There was no mention here and there, about the District Councils, and not even about the functions of the District Councils and difficulties which could be removed and more power for the proper functioning of the District Councils that should be given.

Capt. WILLIAMSON A. SANGMA [Phulbari (Reserved for Scheduled Tribes): Sir, the Chief Minister expressed before the States Reorganisation Commission that power should not be extended to the District Councils.

Shri BISNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): When I was saying at that time was that some District Councils were not constituted, and Shri Pantji also desired to examine the matter whether more autonomy could be given to the District Councils, and that was the reason why Shri Pantji consulted the different tribal leaders in his recent visit to Shillong with a view to give more autonomy to the District Councils. We tried to examine all those proposals put forward by different tribal leaders and political parties dispassionately.

Now another point has been raised by Shri Khogen Baruah about the Naga Convention which was held at Kohima and pointed out that the State Government has spent about Rs. 2 lakhs for holding the Convention.

Shri KHOGENDRANATH BARBARUAH (Anguri): What was the actual amount spent for this Convention?

Shri BISNURAM MEDHI: So, Sir, he seems to be impatient even to know the amount that had been spent by the State Government.

Shri KHOGENDRANATH BARBARUAH: Because Sir, the Naga Hills has gone away.....

(A huge laughter in the House)

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order.

I thought that the hon. Member has refreshed himself by walking out of this House. It seems to me now that he could not refresh himself outside.

Shri BISNURAM MEDHI: Sir, I would like to say for the information of the House that the expenditure incurred

on the Kohima Naga Convention on items like camps, food, etc., was less than Rs.20,000.

Then, as a matter of fact, when the tribal people assembled in a certain place, it is the customary duty on the part of the Government to feed them.....

Capt. WILLIAMSON A. SANGMA [Phulbari (Reserved for Scheduled Tribes)] : When we have the opportunity of meeting together, will the same help be entrusted to us ?

Shri BISNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): If you approach us.

Besides this, as you know, this is not a question of divide-and-rule. All the representatives in the Kohima Convention were elected representatives who assembled in a meeting. What was done by the hostiles ? The hostiles wanted to kill persons and snipe them even in the meeting place. It was our duty to preserve law and order amongst the representatives of the people of the Naga Hills. There is no transport system in the Naga Hills. Naturally by Military conveyance the representatives of the people had to be carried on to the Kohima Convention.

Shri GAURISHANKAR BHATTACHARYYA (Gauhati): So Government acted as a Reception Committee.

Shri BISNURAM MEDHI : No, Government did not act as a Reception Committee. We had to protect the elected representatives of the different tribes, in the Naga Hills from the hostiles who were meeting in a Convention. It is not a question of divide-and-rule, but it is a question of protecting the people so that they can freely express their views. After so much terrorising, killings and shooting we feel it is the duty of the Government to protect these people.

Now, these people on their own free will passed a resolution requesting the Prime Minister to grant an amnesty to their fellow Nagas. My friend, Shri Borboruah, says that the Assam Government never granted any general amnesty. I think my friend was present here last June when a general amnesty was declared by this Government to persuade the hostiles to surrender their arms and to come out of the jungles. As a matter of fact, many people come out from their hiding in the jungles as a result of this amnesty. Similarly an amnesty was given by the

Prime Minister recently with the object of persuading the hostile elements to change their wrong notion of a separate Naga Independence, but to agree to the general public opinion of coming into one administrative unit under the External Affairs Ministry. Is not this a great achievement? Is it a question of divide-and-rule? I think this question of divide and rule has been misquoted here.

Capt. WILLIAMSON A. SANGMA [Phulbari (Reserved for Scheduled Tribes)] : What we mean is that the Naga people have been separated from other hills people now?

Pu LALMAWIA [Aijal-East (Reserved for Scheduled Tribes)] : In giving protection.....

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order. Let the Leader of the House continue.

Shri BISNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): Sir, as I have already said, our policy is absolutely clear on this point. As I said here, no responsible Government could tolerate widespread lawlessness and threats of subversion and the State Government had to take adequate measures, however, reluctantly, to suppress lawlessness and afford protection to the loyal elements. Secondly, in spite of difficulties, programme of development for the welfare of the Naga people in general had to go on simultaneously. Lastly, we never believed that a mere law and order approach and firm hand policy could bring a solution to the political problem which was essentially a human problem. It had to be approached with a sense of service and sympathy.....

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order, is the Chief Minister reading from today's speech?

Shri BISNURAM MEDHI : Yes Sir, because I find many hon. Members could not understand. However, as I said, this policy is being pursued from 1952-54. Our idea is to show to the Naga people themselves the futility of the false promises of the Naga National Council and to make them realise the mistake in following this sentimental agitation for secession from the Indian Union, and to amend their mistakes by replacing the Naga National Council by other leadership among themselves.

Again, on several occasions the Prime Minister himself met these people and advised them to give up the idea of a separate Independent Naga land. On one occasion the Prime Minister met the delegation from some of these Naga people

including Phizo and talked with them for three hours when he persuaded them to change their view of independence but to be a unit within the Indian Union. But to no avail. In this connection I can place some facts for the information of the House. The Prime Minister considered freedom very precious. He was sure that the Nagas were as free as he was, in fact more free in a number of ways. For, while he was bound down by all sorts of laws, the Nagas were not to the same extent bound down by such laws, and were governed by their own customary laws and usages. But the independence the Nagas were after, was something quite different from individual or group freedom. In the present context of affairs both in India and the world, it was impossible to consider, even for a moment, such an absurd demand for independence of the Nagas. It was doubtful whether the Nagas realise the consequences of what they were asking for. For, their present demand would only lead them to ruin.

The Prime Minister then told the deputation that he wanted to make a few things quite clear and definite. Firstly, no part of India as constituted today, including Naga land, can be separated from India. Secondly, no people whoever they be, can be exploited by any other people. All have equal rights throughout the Indian Union. Thirdly, in particular areas, which have their special culture, traditions, etc., there can and will be no outside interference with the customs, usages of people, and their development will be along the way best suited to their genius and culture. So, even after three hours of deliberations, persuasion and arguments with these people they did not give up their idea of separate independence. After that it was thought that there is no need for negotiation so long these people do not give up the idea of independence. That was the stand taken by Central Government as well as the state Government.

Now I will just place some facts as to how the Communist Revolutionary Party was encouraging and helping the hostile elements.....

Shri KHOGENDRA NATH BARBARUAH (Amguri) :
I challenge the Government.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order.

Shri BISNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): I have with me letters which have been translated. But I do not want to mention the names of persons involved here.

Shri BISNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): In connection with this matter some cases are still pending. So I do not want to disclose the names of these persons. But I am convinced from the report of the D. I. G.....

Mr. SPEAKER: Then do I understand from the Chief Minister that this entire matter is now sub-judice ?

Shri BISNURAM MEDHI : No, not the entire matter, but some of the names mentioned in this letter are implicated in connection with certain cases regarding supply of unauthorised arms and ammunition.

Mr. SPEAKER: If it is a matter of arms and ammunition, I am afraid, that letter will also be sub-judice, because it will have to be produced before the court.

Shri BISNURAM MEDHI: Sir, this letter refers to a previous case and not to the present case I am speaking of.

Mr. SPEAKER: Are you sure ?

Shri BISNURAM MEDHI: Yes, Sir.

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI (Rampur): May I know if any member of the R. C. P. I. was put under arrest for giving such aid to the Naga hostiles ?

Mr. SPEAKER: Let the Chief Minister say what he wants to say, and then any clarification required may be sought for.

Shri BISNURAM MEDHI: So some of the persons mentioned in this letter rendered help to the Naga hostiles to continue their struggle against the Government, and now, some of these persons named here were reported to be members of Revolutionary Communist Party. That is the position.

Mr. SPEAKER: So, as I understand from the Chief Minister, this letter has no connection with the supply of arms and ammunition in the present case which is now sub-judice. Therefore there should be no objection in mentioning the names.

Shri GAURISANKAR BHATTACHARYYA (Gauhati): Sir, if the Chief Minister refers to any such letter which is not sub-judice, he should also give the names, otherwise he

should not implicate any party as I think it is not only improper but a breach of the privilege of the House and also of the Members belonging to that party.

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS (Karimganj—North):

Sir, with regard to the ruling given by you the other day, you were pleased to say that if any body wants to refer to any person, he should first bring it to the notice of the Speaker. May I know, Sir, if in the present case the Chief Minister brought these names to the notice of the Speaker ?

Mr. SPEAKER : In pursuance of the practice followed in the Lok Sabha, I held on a previous occasion that if any Member wants to make any reflection on any body, be he a Member of the House or a member of the public outside, it is necessary that these names should first be placed before the Speaker, who would then give these names to the Government for verification of facts and that Government after ascertaining fact would make them available to the Speaker who would then decide as to whether or not these names might be mentioned in the House. Hon. Member from Karimganj now wants to know whether the names which the Chief Minister proposes to refer to before the House were first referred to the Speaker.

These names were not referred to me. So, they may not be mentioned here.

Sari BISNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): Yes, Sir, these names were not referred to you, so I will not mention the names.

What I want to say is that the members of the Communist Party never informed these Nagas that they were against the move for complete independence or secession from India. Because those members of the Naga Good-will Mission visited this State from one end to the other and met people professing different political parties. Wherever this Mission went, they gave out their aim to be complete independence. They met our friends of the Communist Party also. But these members of the Communist Party never tried to dissuade them from their wrong path of complete secession from India. They met our Tribal people and Tribal leaders. It must, however, be said to their credit, they asked them to give up their claim for complete independence and to join them in their movement for obtaining a Hill State. But the Members of the Naga Good-will Mission did not agree to that even.

Mr. SPEAKER : In this connection, I would like bring before the notice of the Chief Minister about the procedure of reading or quoting before the House. This is from May's Parliamentary Procedure :

“A Minister of the Crown is not at liberty to read or quote from a despatch or other State paper not before the House, unless he be prepared to lay it upon the table”.

The same practice is followed in the Lok Sabha also. Here it says—

“If a Minister quotes in the House a despatch or other State paper which has not been presented to the House, he shall lay the relevant paper on the table”.

Shri BISNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): Sir, I do not propose to disclose them.

Now about the Praja Socialist Party including my Friend Shri Hareswar Goswami who along with two others, one of them is Shri Bipinpal Das, the Provincial Secretary of the party, visited the Naga Hills probably in the year 1953. At that time my Friend Shri Hareswar Goswami could not visit all the places but the other two gentlemen, Shri Bipinpal Das and the other, moved from place to place under the guidance of Miss Iralu. But unfortunately none of them persuaded these misguided people to give up their demand for independence. Photostat copy of the Press Note issued under the signature of the Information Officer of the Nagaland National Council claiming that the Praja Socialist Party had recognised the right of the Nagas to political independence was brought before the House on the last occasion and the same is now form the proceedings of this House. The visiting party consisted of Shri Hareswar Goswami, leader, Shri Bipinpal Das, Provincial Secretary of the Praja Socialist Party, Assam, and Shri Birendra Kumar Bhattacharji. Shri Goswami could not continue the tour to Ao country due to some urgent call from home.

Nagas were told that the Praja Socialist Party of India stood for the liberation of non-self governing people from political and economic domination of others. Economic freedom was not possible where political freedom did not exist. Consistent with this principle the party recognised the right of Nagas to political Independence for which they were now struggling. The party also stood for the establishment of a third power

block to balance the two power blocks of the present pulling the world to conflicting directions.

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI (Rampur): On a point of clarification Sir, on an earlier occasion this matter was raised in this House, and then I had stated that the Press Statement did not give the actual picture of what had actually happened, and then I said that my statement should be accepted, and I got the impression that my statement was accepted.

Mr. SPEAKER: Do I understand that this matter was discussed in this House on a previous occasion?

Voices—Yes, yes.

If this matter was once settled on a previous occasion by this Assembly, I think it will not only be against the rules to bring this matter once again and discuss it here, but it will also serve no useful purpose.

Shri BISNURAM MEDHI (Chief Minister): Yes, Sir, this matter was discussed in this House on a previous occasion, and as my Friend Shri Goswami has stated, I also accepted his statement. But here what I want to point out is about the impression created in the minds of the Nagas by the visit of the Praja Socialist Party delegation. I also want to show that no political party ever tried to dive deep into the Naga problem and give a definite and practical solution to resolve the complicated situation arising therefrom. Only criticising the Government saying that this should not be done or that should not have been done would solve no problem. The conduct of these political parties in their dealings with this matter was nothing short of giving encouragement to their demand for independence. So under the circumstances, the best thing the Government could do was to leave the matter to the Nagas themselves. That is the only thing that we can do to solve the Naga problem. That is why the Government has ordered a general amnesty so that those hostile elements may come out of their jungle hide-outs and sit round face to face with their friends and brothers with a view to come to a lasting solution of this long drawn-out struggle. This is, however, the first stage. If this can now be established, I am quite sure, there will be an atmosphere of good-will in which the problem can be solved in the best possible way. That is why we should support and we sent our good wishes for the success of this interim measure.

The Assam Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 1957

Shri SIDDHINATH SARMA (Minister, Local Self-Government): Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to introduce the Assam Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 1957.

The Motion was put as a Question by the Chair and adopted.

Shri SIDDHINATH SARMA : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that the Assam Municipal (Amendment) Bill, 1957, be taken into consideration.

Sir, the reasons for introduction of this Bill are very simple.

Section 154 of the Assam Municipal Act, 1956 (Assam Act XV of 1957) empowers the Municipal Boards to acquire land necessary for the sites of the buildings to be erected on the sides of the road. But since the purpose of erecting such buildings is not mentioned and under Article 31 of the Constitution no property can be acquired save for a public purpose the provisions of this section are *ultra vires* of the Constitution. It is therefore deemed necessary to repeal this Section.

The Motion was put as a Question by the Chair and adopted.

At this stage Shri Tarun Sen Deka (Nalbari West) wanted to speak. Since the question was adopted, the Speaker told him that he might speak on it later.

The Assam State Legislature Members' (Removal of Disqualifications) (Amendment) Bill, 1957

Shri RUPNATH BRAHMA (Minister) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to introduce the Assam State Legislature Members' (Removal of Disqualifications) (Amendment) Bill, 1957.

The Motion was put as a Question by the Chair and adopted.

Shri RUPNATH BRAHMA : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that the Assam State Legislature Members' (Removal of Disqualifications) (Amendment) Bill, 1957, be taken into consideration.

This is a very simple Bill. It seeks to remove certain disqualifications relating to certain persons now serving under the Auxiliary Air Force or the Air Defence Reserve.

The Motion was put as a Question by the Chair and adopted.

**The Assam Displaced Persons (Rehabilitation Loans)
(Amendment) Bill, 1957**

Shri HARESWAR DAS (Minister) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to introduce the Assam Displaced Persons (Rehabilitation Loans) (Amendment), Bill, 1957.

The Motion was put as a Question by the Chair and adopted.

Shri HARESWAR DAS : Mr. Speaker, Sir, that the Assam Displaced Persons (Rehabilitation Loans) (Amendment) Bill, 1957, be taken into consideration.

This is a very small measure. Only the person so displaced is considered as a displaced person. That was the decision taken by the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry of the Displaced Persons. This definition was accepted by the Union Government, so we have come to amend the Act.

The Motion was put as a Question by the Chair and adopted.

The Assam Legislative Assembly (Members' Emoluments) (Amendment) Bill, 1957

Mr. SPEAKER : There is a message from the Governor in respect of the Assam Legislative Assembly (Members' Emoluments) (Amendment), Bill, 1957.

“Camp—Rashtrapati Bhavan,
New Delhi, 4th November 1957.

I recommend under Article 207(1) of the Constitution of India that the Assam Legislative Assembly (Members' Emoluments) Bill, 1957, be introduced and moved in the Assam Legislative Assembly.

Sd./- FAZL ALI,
Governor, Assam.”

Shri DEBESWAR SARMAH (Finance Minister) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to introduce the Assam Legislative Assembly (Members' Emoluments) (Amendment) Bill, 1957.

The Motion was put as a Question and adopted.

Mr. SPEAKER : There is another message from the Governor. I will read the same.

“Camp—Rashtrapati Bhavan,
New Delhi, 4th November 1957.

I recommend under Article 207(3) of the Constitution of India, that the Assam Legislative Assembly (Members' Emoluments) (Amendment), Bill, 1957 be taken into consideration by the Assam Legislative Assembly.

Sd./- FAZL ALI,
Governor, Assam.”

Shri DEBESWAR SARMAH : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that the Assam Legislative Assembly (Members' Emoluments) (Amendment), Bill, 1957 be taken into consideration.

This is a very simple Bill and it has been clearly explained in the Statement of Objects and Reasons.

The Motion was put as a Question by the Chair and adopted.

The Assam Autonomous Districts Administration of Justice (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill, 1957

Shri CHATRA SING TERON (Minister, Tribal Welfare) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to introduce the Assam Autonomous Districts Administration of Justice (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill, 1957.

The Motion was put as a Question by the Chair and adopted.

Shri CHATRA SING TERON : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move that the Assam Autonomous Districts Administration of Justice (Miscellaneous Provisions) Bill, 1957 be taken into consideration.

This is a very simple Bill and the need for it has been fully explained in the Statement of Objects and Reasons.

The Motion was put as a Question by the Chair and adopted.

The Assam Hindu Religious Endowment Bill, 1957

Shri HARESWAR DAS (Minister, Revenue) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to introduce the Assam Hindu Religious Endowment Bill, 1957.

Mr. SPEAKER : The Question is that the Assam Hindu Religious Endowment Bill, 1957, be introduced.

(After a pause)

The Bill is introduced.

There is a message from the Governor of Assam, dated the 4th November, 1957 in respect of the same Bill.

"I recommend under Article 207(3) of the Constitution of India that the Assam Hindu Religious Endowment Bill, 1957 be taken into consideration by the Assam Legislative Assembly.

Sd./- FAZL ALI,
Governor of Assam."

Shri HARESWAR DAS : Sir, as the Bill has an important bearing on the social life of the people of Assam, I beg to move that the Bill be circulated for eliciting public opinion thereon by the 15th March, 1958.

Mr. SPEAKER : The House now stands adjourned till 1-30 P.M. to-morrow the 8th instant.

Adjournment

The Assembly was then adjourned till 1-30 P.M., on Friday, the 8th November, 1957.

SHILLONG :

The 26th July, 1958.

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

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