

Assam Legislative Assembly Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT

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

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97

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

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber, Shillong, at 1-30 P. M. on Friday, the 7th March, 1952.

P r e s e n t

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

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS

(To which answers were laid on the table)

The present Commissioner of Excise, Assam

Shri DHARANIDHAR BASUMATARI asked :

1. Will Government be pleased to state—
 - (a) Whether any proceedings were drawn up lately against the present Commissioner of Excise, Assam ?
 - (b) If so, on what grounds ?
 - (c) What were the results of the proceedings ?
 - (d) How long the present Commissioner of Excise has been holding the post of Excise Commissioner ?
 - (e) Do Government propose to transfer him to a less important charge in view of the proceedings ?
 - (f) If so, when ?

The Hon'ble Srijut BISHNURAM MEDHI replied :

1. (a)—Yes.
 - (b)—The subject of the disciplinary proceedings against the present incumbent of the post of Commissioner of Excise and Taxes had no bearing on his duties as Commissioner of Excise and Taxes but related to an omission on his part in 1947-48 while entrusted with the task of preparing the Government of Assam's case regarding division of assets and liabilities as between Assam and East Bengal necessitated by the partition of the country.
 - (c)—The matter was dropped as the omission was found to be due to a *bona fide* mistake on his part by the then Chief Secretary to Government who drew up the proceedings.
 - (d)—The present incumbent of the post held this post once before from 15th June 1946 to 24th May 1948 and has been in this post since 7th October, 1950.
 - (e)—Does not arise in view of the reply to part (b) of the question.
 - (f)—Does not arise.

Debate on His Excellency the Governor's Address

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: There is a Motion in the name of Shri Mohi Kanta Das.

Shri MOHI KANTA DAS: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am moving a Motion in reply to his Excellency the Governor's Address in this House yesterday. The Motion runs as follows:—

‘I beg to move that the Members of the Assam Legislative Assembly assembled in this Session are deeply grateful to His Excellency the Governor for the Address which he has been pleased to deliver to this House’.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, with great humility, I venture to move this Motion in reply to the Address of His Excellency to this House. I crave the indulgence of the hon. Members through you, Mr. Speaker, to address a few words in connection with this Motion.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, His Excellency's august speech has reminded us of the various problems which faced our State and also the various measures adopted by His Excellency and His Excellency's Government. Although our State is small but the problems are many and various. Our problems are border problems, problems of rehabilitation of displaced persons, problems of rehabilitation of earthquake-affected persons, problems of food, problems of labour—on which His Excellency has stressed most and drew our pointed attention. This Government has done what is possible with the limited resources at their disposal but the task is stupendous. It will take time to give full effect to these problems.

His Excellency stated about the situation in the Pakistan border of our State, which is not an easy one. There were warlike propaganda and preparation and massing of armed men by Pakistan on the border and occasionally there were raids by Pakistanis in our territory and forcible occupation and many other troubles. His Excellency the Governor mentioned about the effective steps taken by our Government in order to meet those situations. Steps also have been taken to protect the cultivators living in the Assam-Pakistan border.

As regards rehabilitation of displaced persons, His Excellency's speech has recorded the problem of rehabilitation of displaced persons which faced this Government. Influx of refugees into Assam in 1950, who were victims of Partition, overwhelmed this Government. The task of rehabilitation is an uphill task and the Government met the situation very bravely and brought it under control.

But there are many more things to be done. What has been done by this Government has been possible to do under the circumstances. The number of displaced persons from East Pakistan was 2,74,455 of which nearly 1¼ lakh of persons have been permanently rehabilitated. The total amount of rehabilitation loans issued to these displaced persons amounted to Rs.45 lakhs.

Of the other measures which Government have taken up, I would like to mention a few. Almost all the Muslim population who had to evacuate during the trouble returned and got back their property and land. Over Rs.28 lakhs have been spent by the Government by way of gratuitous relief or rehabilitation loans to

these Muslim migrants. Minority Commission and District and Subdivisional Minority Boards were formed for their rehabilitation and a Committee under the style—Evacuee Property Managing Committee has been formed.

As regards the displaced persons, as I have already stated, various measures have been taken up by the Government, such as, construction of new markets at Gauhati and Haibargaon and construction of 36 stalls at Nalbari. In addition a township near Gauhati for rehabilitating about 500 families has been sanctioned and three other townships at Shillong, at Pandu and at Rupshi are under contemplation. These measures have been taken by the Government for the rehabilitation of the displaced persons. The question of rehabilitation is an uphill task and Government will require more time to give complete relief to them.

As regards the earthquake which shook the very foundation, the foundation of the entire world, had its drastic effect in Assam. We have not heard of such an earthquake in our living memory. Thousands of our brothers and sisters were victims of this earthquake. They were rendered homeless and loss to them was unestimatable and the whole situation had overrun not only our Government but also our people but they faced the situation bravely against vagaries of nature. Hon. Members are aware that in order to give relief to these persons all that was possible was rendered to the distressed people. Even now the people affected by the earthquake have been rehabilitated to a certain extent. Grazing reserves have been opened and about 30,000 bighas of land from grazing reserves have been made available for allotting to the distressed people. We hope that this Government would complete the remaining work and take all possible steps for the rehabilitation of them all.

His Excellency has referred also to the food situation of the country in 1951. There is no doubt that it was an acute one. Every hon. Member is aware of the situation and the sufferings of our brothers and sisters in the State of Assam for lack of food. Our resources were not sufficient. We had to import food from abroad with great difficulty and had to pay higher price. Many cheap-grain shops were opened in different districts and thereby saved the people and saved their life. Owing to the prompt action of the Government and also of India Government not a single life was lost and the situation was brought under proper control. But the scarcity of food in our State still exists and His Excellency also suggests that Government should be mindful of the situation that is forthcoming. Our output from procurement would not be sufficient for meeting the situation. This Government has already moved the Government of India for sending food grains to Assam and India has promised a sufficient amount of food grains for this State.

As regards the tribal people His Excellency has given much stress on this problem. Hon. Members are aware that almost half of Assam is inhabited by these tribal brothers and sisters. But they are still backward. His Excellency's Government has taken steps to ameliorate the conditions of these tribal brothers and sisters. These tribal areas form an important part of our State and we are glad to note that many development schemes and other programmes to uplift the economic life of these people have been already adopted and construction work has already begun. Some of the schemes have been already executed. Many roads in different parts of the hill districts have already been taken up and work has already been started. In this connection I beg to mention the following

among other roads: (1) Amguri-Mokokchung road, (2) Silchar-Aijal road, (3) Mawflang-Balat road, (4) Dawki-Muktapur road, (5) Jowai-Badarpur road.

The Central Government has granted Rs.39 lakhs for the improvement of the condition of the people of the hill areas, but many more things have to be done to bring our brothers and sisters of these areas to a status befitting the status of independent citizens. We hope our Government will have plans and programmes to improve the lot of these people.

As regards other problems hon. Members are aware that the number of labour population throughout the State of Assam is quite considerable. These people have contributed to the welfare of this State. They are still backward. Ten years ago their conditions were most miserable. After the attainment of independence our Central Government and His Excellency's Government have taken steps to ameliorate the conditions of these labour population and in consequence we find to-day that their economic condition has much improved and their housing condition has improved more than before. If all the measures that have been adopted by this Government are put into execution our brothers and sisters will find themselves under conditions befitting the labour of an independent country and we are confident that the Government would be in a position to do everything for the amelioration of the conditions of the labour and for the improvement of their lot.

His Excellency's speech has referred to the development schemes and schemes for the improvement of the cottage industry. There is no doubt that these schemes and plans if properly executed will greatly benefit our mass people. Now our mass people are in very great difficulty. His Excellency's Government have tried by adopting measures to improve their living conditions we and can feel that His Excellency's Government by following these plans and programmes will be in a position to improve the lot of our brothers and sisters living in the villages.

His Excellency's Government is no less unmindful for the eradication of corruption in every walk of life. His Excellency's Government has already adopted certain measures to this end, but the problem is still there. We hope His Government with the co-operation of us all will be able to solve this problem and to exterminate corruption from the State.

Now, Sir, for the works done and steps taken by His Excellency and His Government and for all the plans and problems that have been referred to by His Excellency in his illuminating speech delivered in this Assembly we are very grateful to him. I hope the House will lend its full support to my Motion.

With these few words, Sir, I commend my Motion for the acceptance of the House.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER : I have received an amendment from Shri Gaurisankar Bhattacharyya.

Shri GAURISANKAR BHATTACHARYYA : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I beg to move the following amendment to the original Motion moved by hon. Sri Mohikanta Das :—

“That at the end of the original Motion on His Excellency's Address moved by Sri Mohikanta Das the following be added :—

‘But this Assembly regrets that the speech of His Excellency does not envisage a policy of the Government whereby even the most primary needs of the people, namely, food, clothing and housing will be fulfilled,

‘The speech does not envisage a policy according to which land will belong to the actual tillers, intermediaries between the State and the cultivators will be progressively abolished, redistribution of land on an equitable and economic basis will be effected, all cultivable fallow lands whether in the tea gardens or elsewhere will be brought under the plough, landless peasants being given first preference in the settlement of these lands, people living in the chronic flood-affected areas will be provided with lands elsewhere and effective measures will be taken to combat floods and erosions, and people who live in the border areas and have either lost their land due to partition or cannot cultivate their land for security reasons will be provided with lands elsewhere.

‘The speech does not envisage adequate State-aid to the cultivators in the form of loans, seeds, implements, etc., to increase food-production.

‘The speech does not envisage an improved and equitable land-tenure by abolishing short-term and annual patta-system and converting the same into long-term and periodic one subject to the proviso that agricultural lands will not be transferable to non-agriculturist and that no accumulation of holding by any body will be permitted beyond a reasonable limit.

‘The speech does not envisage that agricultural labour will be treated on the same footing as other labour with the guarantee of minimum living wage and that un-employment or under-employment in this sector will be reduced by finding alternative avenues of employment.

‘The speech does not envisage a policy of procurement based on a system of compulsory Levy with the provision that deficit areas both rural and urban will be provided with food-grains through rationing.

‘The speech does not envisage that proper and effective measures will be taken to create conditions for a free and fair market in order to abolish control progressively and that no monopoly in trade will be given to any individual or firm.

‘The speech does not envisage that unemployment including that of the middle classes will be progressively removed by opening up avenues of employment for proper persons in proper places, that all wage and salary earners will be guaranteed appropriate living wages and other amenities of life, that adequate unemployment allowance will be provided for those who cannot be provided with employment immediately and that trade union rights including the right to collective bargaining and the right to strike will be guaranteed to all sections of workers and employees.

The speech does not envisage that feasible major industries will be started under State control guidance and initiative, that means of transport like River Steam Navigation and Motor-transport will be State-owned and State-controlled and that cottage industries on scientific lines will be encouraged vigorously.

The speech does not envisage that Primary Education will be made free, compulsory and universal, that Secondary Education will be made cheaper and easily available with due emphasis on its technical and vocational side, that all Secondary Educational institutions will be treated at par in matters of grants-in-aid, etc., that there will be no distinction between Governmental and non-Governmental institutions, and that adequate measures will immediately be taken to improve the service-conditions with provision for increased emoluments to teachers of all categories.

The speech does not envisage that the Government will take appropriate measures to tackle the problem of housing in urban and semi-urban areas, and that house-rents in towns will be strictly controlled.

The speech does not envisage that there will be an end of the top-heaviness of administration, that redundant posts will be abolished, and that the number of Ministers and their emoluments will be reduced.

The speech does not envisage that the burden of tax and revenue on the common man will be reduced, and that appropriate measures will be taken to increase their purchasing power.

The speech does not envisage that civil Liberties of the people will be scrupulously maintained, that detention without trial will be done away with, that all repressive laws like the Assam Maintenance of Public Order Act will be repealed forthwith, that all detenues will be immediately and unconditionally released, and that all warrants and orders pending against political workers will be withdrawn.

The speech does not envisage that all minorities will be effectively provided with equal rights and full participation in all spheres of social, economic cultural and political life and that no discrimination against any minority will be permitted.

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

The speech does not envisage that corruption, nepotism and bribery will be combatted effectively and persons guilty of such offences will be punished ruthlessly.

The speech does not envisage that immediate and effective measures will be taken to improve communication, trading and other facilities to reorganise on a sound economic basis the life of the people living on the border areas.

The speech does not envisage that constitution and working of the local bodies will be improved”.

***Shri RADHIKA RAM DAS:** On a point of order, Sir, the amendment is not in order as it violates Rule 47, sub-rule (2) of Assam Legislative Assembly Rules which runs as this—

“An amendment shall not be moved which has merely the effect of a negative vote.”

Moreover, Sir, my second point is that it is not one amendment—it is a combination of lots of amendments. The hon. Member has mixed up various amendments into one amendment and as such the amendment is not in order for this purpose.

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I do not understand what the hon. Member from Silasundar Ghopa says in this matter. I think, in this and many other matters, we have taken a leaf from the Constitutional Procedure and Parliamentary Practices of the House of Commons, and in this matter, Sir, I would refer to Article 194, clause (3) of the Constitution of India. It is clearly written that—"In other respects, the powers, privileges and immunities of a House of the Legislature of a State, and of the members and the committees of a House of such Legislature, shall be such as may from time to time be defined by the Legislature by law, and, until so defined, shall be those of the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and of its members and committees, at the commencement of this Constitution."

Sir, what the hon. Member has just said is in regard to ordinary Motion and the Motion in connection with His Excellency's speech is generally covered by rule 47 (2). Sir, in United Kingdom there is no procedure of taking a vote of confidence at the beginning of the Session. In France, a vote of confidence is taken as soon as the Ministers are sworn in. In the United Kingdom the procedure followed is that His Majesty's King and now Her Majesty's Queen makes a speech from the throne, and the speech envisages policy that will be followed in the course of a year or two. Here I may refer to the practices followed in the United Kingdom, Page 788, Volume 2, Fourteenth Edition of the Book of Sir T. Erskine May's Parliamentary Practice.—"The subjects upon which addresses are presented are too varied to admit of enumeration. They have comprised every matter of foreign or domestic policy; the administration of justice; the expression of congratulation or condolence; and, in short, representations upon all points connected with the Government and welfare of the country; but they ought not to be presented in relation to any Bill depending in either House of Parliament". With regard to one or more amendments, I again refer to page 275 of the same Book—"When the royal speech has been read, an address in answer thereto is moved in both Houses. Two Members in each House are selected by the administration for moving and seconding the address; and they appear in their places in levee dress, for that purpose. The form of the address used to be an answer, paragraph by paragraph, to the speech." So, Sir, the length cannot justify the ruling out of amendments. Then it continues—"In both Lords and Commons, since the commencement of Session, 1890-91, the answer to the royal speech has been moved in the form of a single resolution, expressing their thanks to the sovereign for the most gracious speech addressed to both Houses of Parliament, and amendments to the address are moved by way of addition thereto." Later on it was also the practice in the House of Commons to consolidate all the amendments and put them in a single amendment to criticise or to bring any new point in the speech. Sir, in Halsbury's Law of England, Second Edition of Volume 24 in page 265 also the point has been made very clear. It says—"Upon this motion a debate may ensue, and as soon as the Speaker has put the question for the address it is possible for members to hand in amendments to it at the table. Such amendments invariably raise questions of public policy, criticising the action of the Government and their programme as

disclosed in the Speech from the Throne"; and there is a foot note to it at Q which runs as follows:—

'If an amendment to the address is carried, it is usually treated as a vote of want of confidence in the Government;' Sir, it may be contended that if the amendment is passed, it will be tantamount to a vote of no confidence. We have every right to put forth the alternative view-point. Again, Sir, in page 643 of Sir John Simon's Official Report to the Parliamentary Debates, it is said "The Official Amendment to the Address tabled by the Opposition at the beginning of every Session is, of course, designed to define the fundamental issues which divide the two sides of the House". So, Sir, my contention is that this amendment is perfectly in order. There are certain issues which we hold very dear to us and which His Excellency has failed to mention in his illuminating address and, Sir, the rules regarding ordinary Motion cannot be made applicable in this particular case, and I contend that Article 194 (3) of the Constitution of India should apply. Sir, any indication of want of confidence cannot be a pretext for setting aside the amendment.

With these words, Sir, I maintain that it is perfectly in order.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: You seek to rely upon Article 194? Will you please look to the procedure under Article 208 of the Constitution?

Srijut HARESWAR GOSWAMI: Yes, Sir.

The Act came into operation in 1951.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: No, on the 26th January, 1950.

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI: That's right, but this was modified in 1951 and, Sir, even then the rule mentioned by Mr. Das does not actually relate to Motions in connection with His Excellency's Address. It relates only to ordinary Motions. There is no mention about His Excellency's Address.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: Don't you think it is covered by Article 208 of the Constitution?

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI: No, Sir, we should confine ourselves to Article 194.

***Shri RADHIKA RAM DAS:** My Friend has stated that Rule 47 is not applicable to the Governor's Address. But I submit that according to Rule 20 (4) this is applicable. Rule 20 (4) says:—"Notice of any amendment to such motion or the address made by the Governor may then be given and the rules relating to amendments to motions shall *mutatis mutandis* apply in this case". So, this sub-rule applies.

Then, Sir, we should see whether the amendment has merely the effect of a negative vote. The hon. Member from Palashbari has not replied to this point.

Maulavi Md. ROUFIQUE: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise on a point of order. I submit that the hon. Member who has raised this point of order is out of order himself. The amendment was simply moved by Mr. Bhattacharyya and it was not put to the House by the Hon'ble Speaker. Before it was actually put the hon. Member raised his point of order. The whole discussion, therefore, is not in order. If such discussion should take place they must take place afresh.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER : That is your objection. All right.

†**Shri RADHIKA RAM DAS :** The hon. Member says that Rule 47 does not apply to amendments relating to the Governor's Address. So I refer to Rule 20(4), which applies to Governor's address. My hon. Friend has not been able to give any reasoning why sub-rule (2) of Rule 47 should not apply. Sub-rule (2) says. "An amendment shall not be moved which has merely the effect of a negative vote".

My second point is this: the hon. Member has read certain quotations from the procedure obtained in the British Parliament. But those quotations refer to amendments. He is free to move any number of amendments. But here he has moved one single amendment combining a number of amendments. This he cannot do.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER : Is it your contention that he cannot have more than one paragraph in his amendment? Is that your idea?

†**Shri RADHIKA RAM DAS :** No, Sir, my contention is that every paragraph contains different matters. His every paragraph is a separate amendment by itself.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER : I have carefully scrutinised the amendment given notice of by Shri Gauri Sankar Bhattacharyya and have also heard the objections made with regard to the admissibility of the amendment. The Address was delivered by His Excellency the Governor under Article 176(1) of the Constitution of India under which he is to inform the Legislature the causes of its summons.

Article 176(2) lays down: "Provision shall be made by the rules regulating the procedure of the House for discussion of the matters referred to in such address."

This procedure of our Constitution has been borrowed from the procedure in the British House of Commons where Parliament opens its every Session with a speech from the Throne.

From Volume II, pages 59-60 of Redlich's Procedure of the House of Commons, I find that such a speech is followed by a debate where general criticisms of the Government from all imaginable points of view, demands for redress of grievances, the statement of aspirations and proposals of all kinds, are rendered possible. The whole policy of the country, domestic and foreign, is open to discussion. The form of procedure adopted is that, immediately upon the speech being communicated to the House by the Speaker, a Motion for an address in reply is proposed by some member chosen beforehand.

Any member of Parliament who wishes to influence Government's legislative programme at any point or to call the attention of Ministers to any question may bring up matters in the form of an amendment to the address proposing addition of some words.

So far as we are concerned, His Excellency's address reflects the policy of the Ministry as now-a-days Governor means a Constitutional Governor and any lapses or omission on the part of Government seems possible to be discussed by way of an amendment.

I also scrutinised the amendment under Assembly Rule 20(4) read with Assembly Rule 47, and I find that the amendment is in order.

Mr. Bhattacharyya may therefore move his amendment.

Shri GAURI SANKAR BHATTACHARYYA : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I must first of all thank my hon. Friend from Shila Sundari Ghopa for raising this point of order because as many of us are quite new to the Legislature and as we have

been working now under a New Constitution, it is quite meet and proper that we should know the procedure, rules and the usages. I therefore think that his raising of this point of order has been very helpful for creating a precedent for us in future. Of course there are already some precedents ; because, I see from the Assembly proceedings of 1950 that on the 14th March 1950 during the debate on His Excellency's Address, Sir Md. Saadulla, the then Leader of the Opposition, had said, 'His Excellency's speech takes place of the King's speech in the British Parliament and the speech is intended to give to the outside world the policy that is followed by his Government.'

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER : You are to go on with the subject.

Shri GAURI SANKAR BHATTACHARYYA : I am coming to what Mr. Gopinath Bordoloi as Leader of the House had said in this connection. He stated that, "the Opposition is entitled to bring in amendments with a view to challenge the policy of the Government, also on the ground that the Legislation to implement certain policies is wrong and, therefore, the Government is liable to censure."

So far as my amendment is concerned, I have deliberately made it a bit long and exhaustive. Why have I made it exhaustive ? Firstly, because I want to say that though the leaders of the present Government are very fond of parading their achievements, when we come to the concrete, we find them always failing. That is why I have made my amendment deliberately a long one.

Secondly, this has become a habit with the leaders of the ruling party to go on haranguing that all other parties opposing the Congress have only a negative stand that they have no positive programme to offer. I want to show that the Opposition has a concrete positive programme to put before the House. The most positive and most important programme before us is to overthrow the white cap tyranny. But even though this is the most important item of our programme, we have some other items also. In order to overthrow the white cap tyranny, we have to go on with this programme. Why I call this "Tyranny" ?

Because though His Excellency has said in his speech that people have reposed their confidence upon the Government, an analysis of the result of the last election shows just the contrary. I am speaking from three stand-points. The first stand-point is that of the total electorate. The total electorate is 41,12,000. Out of that, Congress secured only 10,65,340 votes, that is, about 25.9 per cent. of the total electorate of this State. The second stand-point is when we examine the result of the votes polled. We find that out of a total of 24,71,235 votes polled, Congress has secured 43.1 per cent. only.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER : Under what part of your amendment are you talking ?

Shri GAURI SANKAR BHATTACHARYYA : I was just introducing.

So, from the second stand-point, we see that the Congress has secured only 43.1 per cent. of the total votes polled. From the third stand-point, that is, from the number of valid votes, we see that the total number of valid votes polled was 24,42,776. So, from this stand-point, we see that the Congress has secured about 43.6 per cent. and parties and individual opposed to the Congress have secured 56.4 per cent. of the valid votes.....

The Hon'ble Shri BAIDYANATH MOOKERJEE : May I enquire from my hon. Friend what was the total votes in his constituency and what percentage of this he got to justify his statement and his existence on the floor of the House.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER : Hon'ble Mr. Mookerjee is irrelevant.

Shri GAURI SANKAR BHATTACHARYYA: About these amendments, Sir, is it an oversight that His Excellency has not taken this House into confidence for solving what is generally known as the Naga Problem? This is a part of the general tribal problem also. This House is being deprived of the valuable knowledge and experience of the three Naga Members of Legislative Assembly from the Naga Hills. They are going without an Autonomous District Council. The ominous side of this question is that an entire people has remained unreconciled and un-represented in the counsels of the State.

***The Hon'ble Sri BISHNURAM MEDHI:** This portion is centrally administered. On what that Government has done there cannot be any discussion in this House.

Shri GAURI SANKAR BHATTACHARYYA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I think, the Leader of the House is wrong in putting this. As His Excellency has raised this question as a part of his speech, I think we have got the duty and responsibility and also right to consider this. It will be a dishonour on our part if we ignore this part of His Excellency's speech.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: I think this is insinuating.

Shri GAURI SANKAR BHATTACHARYYA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, may I speak about the administered areas of the Naga Hills?

***The Hon'ble Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI:** Mr. Speaker Sir, I am only speaking on this point that there is no reference in His Excellency's speech regarding the Naga Hills. There is particularly nothing regarding the Naga Hills.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: Mr. Bhattacharyya, have you got the Constitution?

Shri GAURI SANKAR BHATTACHARYYA: So, may I refer to the Sixth Schedule, Part A, item No. 4 of the Constitution regarding the Naga Hills?

***The Hon'ble Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI:** Mr. Speaker, Sir, the whole idea is that my Friend has misunderstood what I have stated. I never mentioned anything about the Autonomous Naga Hills District or districts within the purview of the Sixth Schedule. Moreover his amendment does not specifically say even the Autonomous District or the District Councils in the Autonomous Districts. His amendment does not say anything, which is so elaborate, with regard to the Naga Hills. But I am afraid, if you want to oppose the amendment as a whole, you can do so.

Shri GAURI SANKAR BHATTACHARYYA: So Sir, you have given a ruling, and I have stopped proceeding in this matter. The other point raised by me in course of my explanation to the amendment is that I have said something about the Government. This Government is a Government of national betrayal. This Government, in violation of every pledge, in violation of every solemn declaration, has curbed civil liberties of the common man. The Congress Government has made India a part of the British Commonwealth of which the British Sovereign is the head, and in many parts of which Indians are treated worse than pariahs.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: Is it possible to substitute the word "betrayal" with a suitable word.

Shri GAURI SANKAR BHATTACHARYYA : Yes, Sir, "Non-fulfilment".

***The Hon'ble Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI** : On a point of information, Sir. India is a part of the Commonwealth or not is not perhaps the subject matter which can be discussed in the floor of this House.

Shri GAURI SANKAR BHATTACHARYYA : If the Hon'ble Leader of the House goes to see the first part of His Excellency's speech, it will give a clear idea. Now what are the reasons ?

One of the reasons of this non-fulfilment is that we have been kept within the British Commonwealth. If we are to remain within the British Commonwealth, our country is not going to be industrialised and if our country is not industrialised, our problems cannot be solved.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER : Mr. Bhattacharyya, do you think we are discussing about the British Commonwealth here ?

Shri GAURI SANKAR BHATTACHARYYA : No Sir. As a result of our State being included within the British Commonwealth, our finance is controlled by the British capitalists, our tea, oil-fields, collieries, steam navigation and what not, are being controlled by the British capitalists. Our country has not been able to industrialise up till now, and if we cannot industrialise our country, we cannot solve the problem of our food, housing, cloth and un-employment, etc. If we cannot go ahead with a plan of industrialisation of the country, it is due to our being associated with the British Commonwealth which stands as the greatest stumbling block in this part of the country. That is why, Sir, I say that when I refer to our connection with that of the British Commonwealth, I am not going outside the purview of the subject matter.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER : We need not refer to the King who is dead. That is rather a bad form of reference.

Shri GAURI SANKAR BHATTACHARYYA : I am a man coming from an orthodox family. So I don't mind mourning for 11 days (*Laughter*). And, of course, when our Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi died there was no telegraphic holiday granted to our employees, but on the death recently of the King of another country we got telegraph-holiday.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER : Please do not make further reference about the King.

Shri GAURI SANKAR BHATTACHARYYA : Now that the period of mourning is over, let me not speak anymore on this.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER : You have got two minutes only.

Shri GAURI SANKAR BHATTACHARYYA : As a matter of fact, I shall not need two minutes more. My amendment is sufficiently exhaustive and we shall have ample time during the Budget discussions to come to different items.

But one thing remains, which, I think, needs an answer. And where do we get that answer ? Why in this Country when the Congress is in power our people are suffering even more than they used to suffer during the British rule ?

I think, the answer can be read in the emaciated bodies, it may be read in the eyes of the poor people, it can be read in the tottered clothes of our women and children and we can find the answer in the lathi, bayonet and other charges that Congress Governments are inflicting upon the simple masses when they say that they are hungry. When they are hungry, they say that they are hungry simply because they have got the courage to state about the necessity. But whenever anybody or bodies stand up in defence of the cause of the people our hon. Members on the other side of the House and, especially, our Hon'ble Leader of the House, are very fond of branding those people as anti-social and subversive people. If to espouse the cause of the people is called subversive action, I am a thousand times subversive. Is not it a betrayal to the cause of the people if the people are betrayed after making promises? If that be the criterion of coming to power, we hope, we shall never take that path.

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

Shri Bimala Bora to speak.

Shri BIMALA KANTA BORA: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am glad that I need not be long in my speech. Only thing to which I would refer is the 'white cap phobia' that is being prevalent on the other side of the House. It appears that the Mover of the Motion was suffering from 'white cap phobia'. I will try to remove that.

The Hon'ble Shri BAIDYANATH MOOKERJEE: Ask your Friend to change colour of the cap.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: I hope, hon. Members will refrain from making reference to personal matter.

Shri BIMALA KANTA BORA: This long amendment was moved from the Opposition but I find that except a few paragraphs, other paragraphs deal practically with nothing. The few paragraphs that deal with facts are the distribution of land and the problems of food, clothing and housing. These are the important problems in the amendment.

I would try to speak a few words about the land settlement policy. Now, land settlement policy of the Government of Assam appears to have been made complicated by the influx of refugees and other people from outside. The policy which requires change from time to time cannot be expected to be systematic and consistent. It is bound to be changed to meet new circumstances from time to time. The amendment that has been placed is not a realistic one. So far as my district is concerned, I mean, Nowgong district, I can say that lands have been given to landless people and the tillers of the soil. That is a policy adopted by the Government and by the District Land Settlement Boards. Of course, there may be some defects here and there, but the general policy remains in tact. Hundreds of acres of land in the grazing reserves have been thrown open and I can say with emphasis that land has been given to landless people. I know of large areas of lands opened from the reserves for rehabilitation of the refugees. Is this not a right policy? To make distribution of land to the indigenous landless people cannot be said as a faulty policy. The policy is sound. This opening of reserves for the landless has helped the State towards improvement of the grow-more-food campaign in the district of Nowgong. We have been feeding Shillong and Gauhati from our surplus stock and but for Nowgong many of the people would have been starved to death.

Therefore, to say that land has not been given to landless people is without foundation. We should be thankful for giving succour to the needy.

We have been hearing of harrowing tales of starvation in other States like Bihar, but such harrowing tales of starvation are not to be found in this State, though some people in this connection tried to bring allegations against the Government which were found to be utterly baseless. After getting a report in the newspaper that about 5 or 6 persons in one family of Nowgong District were on the point of death by starvation the police rushed to the spot and found that there was no such case. It is the habit of many people to make capital out of nothing.

With regard to the Grow-More-Food Campaign I request the hon. Members of this House to help Government. Grow-More-Food Campaign means distribution of land for production of more food and thus to relieve the people from starvation. To fully appreciate the gravity of the situation if one goes to the Lumding railway station it will be found that about 20 to 30 thousands of people are waiting for getting land. It is a huge problem for the Government to provide land to these landless people; it is really a problem of rehabilitation of people. The Government is to consider all aspects of the matter. First, they will have to consider the case of the indigenous landless people and then the case of the refugees in the matter of providing land. In the midst of this conflicting situation the Government moves cautiously. Nobody can blame the Government. That is what I have to say.

Maulavi MD. UMARUDDIN: Mr. Speaker, Sir, the Address of His Excellency I take as an index of Governmental activities during the past year and outlines of their policy and programme for the immediate future and as such it reflects conditions which, I regret to say, Sir, do not agree with realities. The facts and figures and the statements of policy and programme as furnished, as we all know, are based upon the responsibilities of the Hon'ble Ministers under whose advice His Excellency the Governor, as the Executive Head, runs the administration. It is therefore a matter of utmost importance that as a white paper on governmental activities it should be true, as true as circumstances permit, and not wishful or misleading. Sir, the most cardinal feature of our Constitution on which we have resolved to govern our country is its secular character, and it is indeed disappointing that no mention has been made on this very vital aspect of our great Constitution so as to draw pointed attention of those responsible for running the Government and the people at large to this ideal and the necessity of its fulfilment. Sir, I wish I could avoid a reference to this issue. This State of ours, till very recent years, maintained the proud record of communal harmony and tolerance. Its people, simple, unsophisticated and peace-loving as they are, are well known for their tolerance and liberality of mind. But for some unfortunate reasons communal frenzy swept a large part of the State towards the beginning of 1950 rendering no less than half a million people destitute. While a large majority of these people sought refuge in the neighbouring State of East Pakistan, a substantial number of Hindu minority of that State, in equally helpless and tragic circumstances, sought refuge inside our borders. This sudden upheaval and movement of population on a gigantic scale on either direction constituted a very serious problem for our Government and heavily taxed their resources in all spheres. On the conclusion of the Prime Ministers' Agreement in April, 1950 practically the entire body of uprooted section of the Muslim minority came back to their motherland unhesitatingly in face of untold privation and distress solely relying upon the noble words of our great beloved Leader, Hon'ble Shri Nehru, and that of our State Government assuring protection and equal treatment to them. Sir, besides those noble words of assurance by the Government, they were attracted by the love of the land

from which they have sprung and to which they are determined to lay their last remains.

It has been said in the report, Sir, that a sum of Rupees 28 lakhs has been spent either as loan or gratuitous relief or rather generally loans, for the rehabilitation of the displaced Muslims. According to our estimate, Sir, the total number of families would be about 57,000 in the Districts of Kamrup, Goalpara, Darrang and Cachar. I know, Sir, the figures furnished by the Government would probably be less, but about this I am not prepared to accept. Now on the basis of Rs.200 per family, the maximum amount allowed in the case of displaced Muslims, anything upto a crore of rupees represents the total minimum requirement for their rehabilitation on a very modern scale. The grant of Rs.28 lakhs against such a large requirement leaves a heavy leeway to be made up. A large percentage of the displaced persons has not either received any financial aid of any kind and the amount that was given to others was so small that they found it difficult to keep their body and soul together, far less to build their houses, to buy their plough, cattle and seeds and other implements of husbandry. The Muslim agriculturists are industrious and hardy people and their contribution to the food and other agricultural resources of the State is far in excess of their number. Many of them, economically mutilated, have become a burden on the State and society and unable to make their contribution towards the solution of the grave food problem that is troubling our State.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not gratefully acknowledge what has been done by our Government for the rehabilitation of the displaced Muslims. On this score, Sir, the displaced Muslims offer a special debt of gratitude to the Hon'ble Sri Motiram Bora for the sympathy and solitude with which he has tackled the problem of rehabilitation. Our gratitude is due to some Government officers and some men of the majority community without whose sympathy and help the rehabilitation could not have been a success to the extent that it has been.

Sir, though there has been a remarkable improvement in the communal situation yet a full sense of security and confidence has not developed among all sections of the minority. In some quarters some members of the minority community are suspected of disloyalty to our State and also extra territorial loyalty. Sir, while I would not deny that there might be a few black sheep in our midst, but the entire body of the minority remains as loyal and faithful to the State as they have been ever before (*Voices:—Hear, hear*) and I solemnly declare on the floor of this House that if at any time any foe from whatever quarters he may come, dares to violate the sacred borders of our State, we the Muslims will rise to a man as many of our compatriots in making the highest sacrifice that defence of our mother-land may demand of us. I would earnestly appeal to the Government and to the majority community in particular to give the Muslim community a bit of their trust and goodwill and I assure you they will never fail to return it with a still larger measure of trust and friendship, service and sacrifice in the cause of the Nation.

Lastly, Sir, I appeal to the Hon'ble Chief Minister on whom have devolved the various pressing problems of our State for solution that he will be good enough to give his sincere and urgent attention to the cause of the minority. Let me tell him that the minority is wishfully looking forward to him and his Government for full restoration of conditions in which they can live with honour and security.

Next, Sir, I refer to the question of acute food problem. Last year the shortage of food in India was to the tune of 7 million tons. In the speech of His Excellency there is no mention as to what is the total deficit of this State. The

total deficit is estimated as high as 2 lakhs 50 thousand tons. It is a disturbing situation, Sir, and I call it absolutely abnormal. Few years ago it was a surplus Province and was in a position to export foodgrains to the neighbouring Province. The following figures are a testimony to the previous food position of Assam.

Food exports were as follows:—

1943-44	...	...	...	...	...	71,000 tons.
1944-45	...	...	...	...	...	1,12,000 "
1945-46	...	...	...	...	...	1,30,000 "
1946-47	...	...	...	...	...	1,00,000 "
1947-48	...	...	...	...	...	90,000 "
1948-49	...	...	...	...	...	70,000 "
1949-50	...	...	...	...	...	1,00,000 "

and in 1952 we are deficit to the tune of 2 lakhs 50 thousand tons. It is the most disturbing state of affairs for our State. My Friend from the other side was speaking eloquently about the food position in Nowgong. Well, Nowgong does not represent the whole State, and we must take into consideration the condition of the country as a whole. Now what is this due to? It is ascribed as due to earthquake, flood, natural calamities, etc. There used to be earthquake in Assam; it is not a new thing, in Assam. Floods also we have had in the past.

The Hon'ble Shri RAM NATH DAS: How many times did we have earthquakes of this intensity as we had last time?

Maulavi MD. UMARUDDIN: Many times. Sir, the present policy of procurement adopted is loose, haphazard, unco-ordinated and above all timid. It has practically no statistical basis and there is no well conceived methods of procurement except what is seized from hoarders and black-marketers. In spite of various representations and suggestions offered to the Government, nothing has been done by the Government to improve the food position by adopting better methods of procurement. With a view to improve the situation, a compulsory levy system should be introduced accompanied by general rationing in urban and deficit rural areas.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: You have only one minute more.

Maulavi MD. UMARUDDIN: Sir, we must also take effective steps to grow more food by taking up irrigation works and other steps which will enable us to increase our production of food.

Now, Sir, with regard to the question of land reform, I am sorry, there is no mention in the learned speech of His Excellency. No clear cut policy has yet been adopted to liquidate Zamindari. Steps should be taken to abolish the Zamindari system early, but in doing so, it must be the duty of the Government to see that the rights of tenants are safeguarded and considerably enlarged and lands are distributed to the actual cultivators on a uniform basis.

With these words, Sir, I take my seat and support the amendment moved by hon. Member, Shri Bhattacharjee.

M. MOINUL HAQUE CHAUDHURY : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I take my stand and deliver this maiden speech of mine in support of the Motion moved by my hon. Friend, Shri Mohi Kanta Das. Hon. Member Srijut Bhattacharjee has given reasons at the outset as to why he has a long Motion. I have no objection to a still longer Motion, but my only objection is that in his Motion he has not spoken of any new thing which has not been referred to in the speech of His Excellency.

My hon. Friend is very much afraid of 'white cap tyranny'. May I know, Sir, by what cap he wants to replace it? Possibly by red cap, which he has handed over to his friends sitting near by, without any cap on his head. At the same time I find he is very much disturbed to see us mourning for the death of King George in which he finds us to owe allegiance to the United Kingdom. Possibly he wants the allegiance to be shifted from the United Kingdom to the Kremlin. But ours is a sympathy of a nation for another nation, and there is no question of owing allegiance to any foreign country. My hon. Friend, in his arguments, has referred very little about any constructive programme.

Before going to support the Motion of Srijut Das, I would like to refer to certain difficulties with which this State is faced to-day. But yet we have got to consider certain difficulties with which the Government are faced to-day. In this connection it would have been reasonable for my hon. Friend to consider the situation of Assam as a whole. Assam is a border State having other States and areas on its sides with forces which are hostile to the working of this Province. This State has got so many bottlenecks with regard to communications with the outside world. The link through which we are connected with the rest of India is slender and its capacity for transport of goods to Assam is very limited. Two districts of this State, *viz.*, Lushai Hills and Cachar have practically no means of communication of their own. The route through the Hill Section does not work properly all through the rainy season. The air route itself is a gamble of Nature. In these circumstances we have got to consider that the economic programme of the Province cannot be systematically grappled. In case of an emergency the State has got to depend entirely on the circumstances because the capacity of the little link we have got with the rest of India is too limited.

Now, Sir, my Friend has referred to certain aspects of the Governmental policy, but he has not considered that one-third of this State had never had democracy before. These areas are entirely backward. During British Rule they were shut out from the eyes of the people outside. These areas have got to be developed now. Government have to give some aid towards the improvement of these areas. We cannot forget that they form a part and parcel of this State.

Then, Sir, I am really grateful to His Excellency for referring to certain problems of the Province. First of all he has referred to the anti-social elements working in the Province. Then he has referred to corruption. Before going into these gigantic problems we have got to remember the effect of the last War and its consequences. To-day we have got to consider very seriously this aspect of the problem. Certain anti-social elements are working not only amongst the masses but also amongst our officers, particularly the lower grade officers and they are trying to foment troubles. We have got to be very careful and see that conditions of life of the people in general do improve so that their grievances may be removed.

In connection with checking of corruption I have got to make a little suggestion to the Government. We must follow a very vigorous policy. We find that certain officers of the Anti-Corruption Department are themselves corrupt. I would therefore suggest to the Government to appoint such officers to the Anti-Corruption Department who have got courage and conviction and who have got a reputation for good character.

Then, Sir, His Excellency has referred to the problem of food and Grow-More-Food Campaign. In this matter our Government very often faces various difficulties. The programme followed by the Centre itself in this connection is not consistent. I would be only too glad if this House be one with me in requesting the Government of India to have a consistent policy in these matters. I found that the Government of India encouraged people to divert their paddy land for the production of money crops. But a few days ago I was surprised to find that the Hon'ble Minister-in-charge of Food, Government of India, himself saying that this policy was a wrong one. Such sort of things create more difficulties for us. This State with a huge surplus population on the one hand and very limited resources of its own on the other has got to follow a standard policy all over the State. We must not vary our policy from district to district. Our procurement policy is not carried out in a standard manner all over the province. So far as districts where food is not surplus, my personal view is that, we should abandon the procurement policy in those districts.

Sbri HARESWAR GOSWAMI : Is the hon. Member supporting the amendment ?

M. MOINUL HAQUE CHAUDHURY : No, but I am giving some constructive suggestions. I was saying, Sir, that in those districts where food was not surplus procurement should be abandoned. But I certainly do oppose the amendment put forward by my hon. Friend in the Opposition that there should be compulsory levy. I have never said that I approved of that policy which my friends in the Opposition have envisaged in their amendment. So hearing a word or two from my mouth which may sound like supporting them they should not conclude that I have supported the amendment. Being a new Member myself I have yet to understand fully what Government policy is and it would be wrong for me to criticise Government at this stage. No question of supporting the amendment therefore does arise.

Then, Sir, it has been argued from the Opposition that the standard of living of the people has got to be raised. Certainly, Government has also taken this policy. It has been stated by the Opposition that the Zamindari system should be abolished and that land should be given only to the landless. Government has already taken this policy and a Bill to that effect was passed. That Bill also received the assent of the Governor, but because of certain cases filed in the Hon'ble High Court by some landlords this could not be given effect to. For this some of the Members of the Opposition are themselves responsible. So, it does not lie in their mouth to say that Government has not done anything to abolish the Zamindari system.

Coming to the other problems—the problems of unemployment and refugees it has been stated by His Excellency, the Governor yesterday that the refugee problem is being tackled successfully in this side. So far as Cachar is concerned I would suggest to the Government in this connection that refugee people are

experiencing a lot of troubles there and as such in my district the refugee question should also be taken over by the Government of Assam instead of the Central Government.

With these words Sir, I beg to support the Motion moved by my hon. Friend, Shri Mohikanta Das.

Shri DHARANIDHAR BASUMATARI: মাননীয় অধ্যক্ষ ডাঙৰীয়া, মোৰ বন্ধু মাননীয় মহিকান্ত দাস ডাঙৰীয়াৰ প্ৰস্তাবটো সৰ্বাস্তঃকৰণে সমৰ্থন কৰিছো আৰু তাৰ ওপৰত শুধৰণী প্ৰস্তাব আনিবলৈ গৈ শ্ৰীযুত গৌৰীশঙ্কৰ ভট্টাচাৰ্য ডাঙৰীয়াই যিখিনি কথা কলে তাক তীব্ৰ ভাবে প্ৰতিবাদ কৰিছো। এই শুধৰণী প্ৰস্তাব দাঙ্গি ধৰি তেখেতে দেখুৱাবলৈ চেষ্টা কৰিছে যে তেখেতে ট্ৰাইবেল সকলৰ পক্ষেহে যেন কৈছে। এই শুধৰণী প্ৰস্তাবৰ ওপৰত মই একো নকও বুলি ভাবিছিলো, কিন্তু যেতিয়া দেখিলো যে চৰকাৰে ট্ৰাইবেল সকলৰ শিক্ষা আৰ্থিক আৰু সামাজিক অৱস্থাৰ উন্নতিৰ কাৰণে একো কৰা নাই বুলি কলে তেতিয়াহে কওঁ নকওঁ কৈ কবলৈ ওলাইছোঁ। তেখেতে ট্ৰাইবেল সকলৰ আৰ্থিক সামাজিক আৰু শিক্ষাৰ দুৰবস্থাৰ কথা কৈ ট্ৰাইবেল সকলৰ মন আকৰ্ষণ কৰিবলৈ চেষ্টা কৰিছে। এই ধৰণৰ কথা কৈ কমিউনিষ্ট পাৰ্টি চিচিয়েলিষ্ট পাৰ্টি আৰু নানা বকমৰ পাৰ্টিয়ে ট্ৰাইবেল সকলক উত্তেজিত কৰিছে। এইবোৰ পাৰ্টি ট্ৰাইবেল সকলৰ সৰলতা আৰু নিৰক্ষৰতাৰ সুযোগ লৈ নানা বকমে উত্তেজিত কৰিবলৈ সুবিধা পাইছে। তেখেতে মাটি নোহোৱা মানুহকে মাটি দিব লাগে বুলি কৈছে। আৰু কৈছে ট্ৰাইবেল সকলৰ মাটি নাই; তেওঁলোকৰ দুখ দুগতিৰ কথা কৈ ট্ৰাইবেল সকলক আকৰ্ষণ কৰিবলৈ বিছাৰিছে। কিন্তু ট্ৰাইবেল সকলে কমিউনিষ্ট পাৰ্টিক বিশ্বাস নকৰে। চিচিয়েলিষ্ট পাৰ্টিক বিশ্বাস নকৰে। কংগ্ৰেছৰ বাহিৰে ট্ৰাইবেল সকলে আন কোনো পাৰ্টিকে যে বিশ্বাস নকৰে তাৰ প্ৰমাণ যোৱা নিৰ্বাচনে দেখুৱাই দিছে। সেই নিৰ্বাচনত দেখিবলৈ পালো যে তেওঁলোকে কংগ্ৰেছকহে বিশ্বাস কৰে। ট্ৰাইবেল সকলৰ নিৰক্ষৰতা আৰু সৰলতাৰ সুযোগ লৈ তেওঁলোকে কংগ্ৰেছকহে বিৰুদ্ধে এজন নহয় দুজন নহয় ২৭ জনক উঠাইছিল। কিন্তু তেওঁলোকৰ ভিতৰত এজনো নিৰ্বাচিত হব নোৱাৰিলে। আনকি বহুতৰে security forfeit হৈ গল। তাৰ পৰাই আমি বুজিলো যে ট্ৰাইবেল সকলে আন কোনো পাৰ্টিকে বিশ্বাস নকৰে। তেখেতে কৈছে যে মাটি নোহোৱাক মাটি দিব লাগে, ঘৰ নোহোৱাক ঘৰ দিব লাগে। কিন্তু আমি যেতিয়া গঠনমূলক কামৰ বাবে গবৰ্ণ মেণ্টৰ পৰা সহায় পাব লাগে তেতিয়া চিচিয়েলিষ্ট পাৰ্টিৰ মানুহে ট্ৰাইবেল সকলক কয় তোমালোকে একো নকৰিব। তোমালোকৰ চৰকাৰ আছে, চৰকাৰে ঘৰ কৰি দিব, তোমালোকে একো কৰিব নালাগে। এইধৰণৰ কথা কৈ যদি তেওঁলোকক উচটাই দিয়ে তেনেহলে মই কবনোৱাবো কেনেকৈ দেশত গঠনমূলক কাম হব। আমি যদি সকলোৱে এক হৈ মানুহক উদগনি নিদিও তেনেহলে দেশৰ উন্নতি কেনেকৈ হব? তেখেতসকলে নিজে নিজে নেতা হবৰ কাৰণে নানা বকমৰ পাৰ্টি গঠন কৰিছে। তেনেস্বলত আমি দেশৰ উন্নতি কেনেকৈ আশা কৰিব পাৰো। গৌৰীশঙ্কৰ ডাঙৰীয়াই শুধৰণী প্ৰস্তাৱটিত যিখিনি কথা কৈছে সেই কথাটো আমি ভোল নাযাওঁ। ভোল নাযায় ট্ৰাইবেল সকল; ভোল নাযায় এই সৰল মানুহবোৰ। গতিকে এইবোৰ কথাটো ডাঙৰ ডাঙৰ বক্তৃতা দি যাতে সময় নষ্ট নকৰে তাকে কবলৈ মই থিয় দিছো।

Shri GAURI SANKAR BHATTACHARYYA : On a point of order, Sir, the hon. Member is not speaking the truth—(Voices. That is not the point of order.)

Shri HARESWAR GOSWAMI : On a point of order, Sir. The hon. Shri Bhattacharyya did not speak about the tribals. The hon. Shri Basumatari is accusing Shri Bhattacharyya for nothing.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER : He is just reiterating what he said about white cap tyranny.

The Hon'ble Shri BAIDYANATH MOOKERJEE : Wait. The hon. Member will be paid back in his own coins.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER : I now request Raja Ajit Narayan Dev to speak.

Raja AJIT NARAYAN DEV : I will speak tomorrow, Sir.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER : The time is up now. I think we can continue our business for another hour if the hon. Members have no objection.

The Hon'ble Shri BISHNU RAM MEDHI : Sir, it will be a bit difficult to continue for another hour.
(The House then agreed to continue for another half an hour unanimously.)

Raja AJIT NARAYAN DEV : Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the amendment moved by my Friend, Mr. Gaurisankar Bhattacharyya.

Sir, many things have been said by His Excellency the Governor with regard to the policy the Government followed during the last year. He has also made forecasts of things that the Government will do their best to achieve in future. We have heard many things here as to what the Government have done or propose to do and money is being spent, but the lot of the commonman has not improved. The condition with regard to their food and cloth remains the same. Many promises have been made by the Government with regard to raising the standard of the commonmen. Many appointments have been made, many new buildings have been constructed, the number of files have been heaped up, but the lot of commonman has not improved up till now.

With regard to the raising of standard of the commonman, we are happy to find that one side is being improved. Our Honourable Ministers' and hon. Members' living standard has very much improved. The Hon'ble Ministers now no longer require to live in rented houses, instead they are now provided with State cars at a great cost of the State and also the best buildings are acquired for them to live in.

With regard to the Members of the Legislative Assembly, I myself have seen that the standard of living has very much improved. The best hotel is also being purchased for that purpose. But I do not think, Sir, as a result of this the commonmen are getting any benefit. On the other hand, Sir, the commonmen do not want all the amenities of life like those of the Hon'ble Ministers and the hon. Members. They want just a handful of food and a piece of cloth, which is also denied to them. Of course the Government say that they have been trying to import food from outside to feed the hungry millions. But, Sir, the commonman is ready to grow his own food provided he is given reasonable facilities. Last year's famine is a lesson to the Government. They could have taken time by the forelock and tried to do something so that famine could not come again. But unfortunately, nothing has been done in this regard. The Grow More Food Schemes of the Food Department are very costly experiments, and all experiments made in this connection proved failure and did not give any benefit to the people.

Sir, just at the present moment, the time for Ahu crops has come. People are waiting for the seed. But no arrangement whatsoever is being made in that direction. We are hearing every time that all facilities will be given and that the Government are doing their best to give all facilities to grow more food and will afford all facilities in future. Moreover, seeds that are already stocked at some centres are so high priced that they are not within the reach of the commonman. The Government themselves have controlled the price of paddy at Rs.10 per maund, but the cultivators cannot get seed at that price and shall have to pay Rs.16-8-0 per maund.

Then Sir, I come to the question of general election which has been described in His Excellency's address as just and fair. The Hon'ble Ministers, at the time of general election, used to go to the interior villages in their State cars. They used to cross ferry *ghats* free and stayed at Inspection Bungalows and Forest Bungalows free which were denied to us.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER : Inspection Bungalows were denied to you ?

Raja AJIT NARAYAN DEV : Yes, Sir. One Forest Bungalow was denied to me.

Sir, we can hardly call the election just and fair. In many places Government servants were participating in election propaganda. I can cite an instance, Sir. I heard at one place, the Presiding Officer snatched away ballot papers from the hands of many female and illeterate voters and cast them in the ballot box belonging to a Congress candidate.

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

Raja AJIT NARAYAN DEV : Yes, Sir, there was a case like that and the Presiding Officer was seriously assaulted.

***The Hon'ble Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI :** Mr. Speaker, Sir. The whole thing is that "he has heard". What does it mean ? Whether he has heard the incident and from whom ? Whether he has followed the real meaning of the charge I do not know.

Raja AJIT NARAYAN DEV : Sir, if verification means inquiring from those who were present at that time, then I did verify. In any case, Sir, there should be an impartial inquiry whether the election was just and fair.

***The Hon'ble Shri BISHNURAM MEDHI :** On a point of information Sir. May I know whether any complaint was lodged before any Magistrate in this connection ?

Raja AJIT NARAYAN DEV : I did not make any complaint.

Sir, with regard to the law and order, I am glad to know from His Excellency's speech that the law and order situation in the State showed great improvement during the last year. But as far as my knowledge goes, there were many recent cases of dacoities in the northern side of the district of Goalpara.

I feel that Police still consider that they are the masters of the people and not servants. They failed to create any confidence in the people. As a matter of fact all Government servants in general and Police in particular still feel that they are appointed here to rule over us and the same state of things which the Congress used to speak against during the British Raj are still continuing.

Then we read in His Excellency's speech regarding the border problem. We hear of raids from Pakistan and massing of troops in the border. This is, I think, an instance of negligence of the Government, because as soon as the country was partitioned these things were inevitable and when there was no definite demarcation of boundary. So there may be raids from either side and steps should have been taken then and there, but we waited till Pakistan took possession of several places within our territory and we made protests to Pakistan Government. This is a sort of thing which goes against the principle of "prevention is better than cure".

Lastly I feel that the hon. Members in the Treasury Benches could not tolerate the Opposition. But Opposition is probably necessary in a democratic country.

I do not want to rely on one party Government in this country (*voices*: Do you want coalition?). We do not want one party Government. There should be an opposition. Even the party in power with the best of intentions must have some opposition to point out there drawbacks. But our remarks from this side have been dubbed as destructive criticisms. (The Hon'ble Speaker: Neglect them) But may I ask Government why do they should want constructive criticisms from us? Have they not got a galaxy of well paid advisers and so called experts? The Opposition, I think, should form a sort of watchdog to see how the Government succeed in their schemes which have been formulated by some highly paid experts. Any way, I hope they will learn to tolerate the Opposition and feel that the Opposition is very much needed in an independent country.

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I rise to support the amendment moved by my hon. friend, Mr. Bhattacharya. But before I speak on the subject, I think, it will be in the fitness of things to reply to a question put to my Friend, by the Hon'ble Mr. Baidyanath Mookerjee. Yes, my Friend, Mr. Bhattacharyya, has returned from the Gauhati constituency which is regarded as the nerve centre of the Congress of Assam and from which his late leader Gopinath Bardoloi used to come.

Sir, with our very limited experience, we find that in His Excellency's speech there is nothing new. His Excellency has simply repeated what he said last year with some little changes here and there. To-day we are just where we had been in 1951. Sir, as the time has been very carefully rationed by my leader, I shall confine myself within two or three points.

Regarding the general election His Excellency has said that it was a fair and free election. Yes, it might be so so far as the Congress and its candidates are concerned. To us who fought Congress candidates, it is different. Sir, I personally was very fortunate to have been able to elbow my way to this House through good many hurdles.

The Congress organisation with all Government powers at its back made the path of a non-Congress candidate so difficult that I with many other friends in the Opposition had almost to pass through the eye of a needle. The services of the officials were utilised in every possible way in favour of the Congress candidates. Any officer suspected to be not amenable to the dictates of the Congress authorities was threatened with transfer and other punishments. All permit-holders, school teachers and other semi-official organisations were transformed into Congress canvassers over-night. Muslims were threatened with dire consequences, if they did not prove their loyalty to the State by voting in favour of the Congress. Congress became for the time being synonymous with the State.

In the person of the most respected leader, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, combined with the dual functions of a Head of the Government and the Head of the Congress Organisation, very few people could differentiate between these two different aspects of his personality, while he came to address the election meetings. His voice was taken as the voice of the Government, his appeal was mis-read as the command of the Government.

The State Ministers were not slow to utilise their official positions during the election campaign. The motor cars provided for them from the State funds, with their official labels hung up on these transports, were freely utilised in the election tours, and all pretexes of official works were resorted to for journeys which were actually undertaken for election purposes.

Sir, I would take the liberty of illustrating my points by a short reference to the tricks which were played though unsuccessfully against me during the last

election by the Congress Government of Assam. Just, on the eve of the general election, the State Government gave some nominations to the Municipal Board of Karimganj only to strengthen the hand of the Congress supporters against me in the Board of which I was the Chairman. While the general election was due to be held on the 5th of January last, the Government hurriedly notified the date for the election of Municipal Chairman of Karimganj on the 28th of December 1952, only 7 days before the general election. All sorts of pressure were brought to bear on my supporters, but all were in vain. It was the design of the Congress Party to utilise the Municipality as a position of vantage for their candidate in the election in the Town Constituency. But all their plans were misfired. The majority of the members stood behind me as a solid rock in the municipality and they failed to interpret their plan.

Now, finding no other alternative, the Congress Party created rowdiness in presence of the officials and Police just while the meeting for the election of Chairman was in progress. I, as the Chairman of the Board, knew nothing as to how the Police came inside the meeting Hall without my approval.

The Hon'ble Shri MAHENDRA MOHAN CHOUDHURY: My hon. Friend is making reference about himself.

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS: Yes, I am making reference of my own.

The Hon'ble Shri MOTIRAM BORA: What has got the Congress Party to do with the speech of His Excellency ?

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS: His Excellency said that the election was fair and free. I am coming to that, Sir.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: You should finish making further reference to the general election.

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS: I have something to say about election. I think, the hon. Members in the Treasury Benches are afraid to hear their own affairs in the election.

So far as my Hon'ble Friend, Mr. Baidyanath Mookerjee, is concerned, he is one of the leaders of the Congress Party in my place, if I am not allowed to speak on general election affairs, my Friend will be able to explain about them better as he was present on the spot.

The Hon'ble Shri BAIDYANATH MOOKERJEE: I hope, when I will narrate the affairs, he will not make a retreat.

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS: Sir, if the hon. Members in the Treasury Benches give me a patient hearing, I can conclude my speech making a reference to the method of exaction, followed by the Congress Ministers, before and during their election campaign, in order to augment their vast financial resources. Big merchants and permit holders were produced before the Ministers and they were made to give handsome donations at the camouflaged requests of the Ministers.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER: Are you making a reference to election again ?

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS: I am speaking about corruption, Sir.

Secondly from the speech of His Excellency we find that an Anti-Corruption Department with so many big and small officials had been established in 1946. But, unfortunately, for us, only money is being spent on that account without any result being known to the country.

Sir, it is the universal talk throughout the country that every limb of the Government is affected with virus of corruption. It is also amusing to note that the people who cry from house tops against corruptions are themselves the best champions of corruption. Corruption, in my opinion, can be attributed to three factors:—

- (1) A general moral degradation coming as the after-math of the War.
- (2) A price level too high for the average people to tackle.
- (3) The system of control.

Regarding the first cause, we could naturally expect that the evil which came out of the war would by now have been controlled by an able and strong administration. But, unfortunately, the moral standard has been lowered even at higher levels. We have a proverbial saying that if the ghost enters the mustard, how can we apply it as an antidote for an evil spirit? So, we must begin from the top. Let the Government issue strict circulars against Ministers collecting donations for any party organisation either directly or indirectly. I am sure, if the hon. Members of the Government can work with a clear conscience it will go a long way to uproot corruption.

The second cause concerns the people with low and inelastic income. When the index of living has shot up by 500 per cent. how can you expect an employee drawing Rs.60 or Rs.70 a month to make his two ends meet with such a small amount? Such a poor pay, with no bearing to the cost of living index, is an open invitation to corruption. The Government has failed to check the inflationary tendencies and it is not possible to expect honest services from their employees with very meagre income and still meagre dearness allowance.

Sir, the third cause of corruption is by far the most important. Control is universally recognised as the mother for corruption. Certain unscientific approach to the problems of trade and industry and meddling in economic affairs by inexperienced people have laid open the doors for corruption.

The system of procurement is a glaring instance of such unscientific handling. There is no data on which the Procurement Department can lay hands on the stock of foodgrains held by a particular man. So, the procurement staff grope in the dark in the absence of any statistical information. They apply their engines of oppressions right and left and thereby create fertile fields for corruption.

Again, Sir, the margin of profit which is given to the wholeseller and retailer of the controlled commodities is most unattractive. And to secure a permit for dealing in controlled commodity, one has to incur many legal and illegal expenses.

The Hon'ble the SPEAKER : You have only one minute more.

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS : He is made to pay donations, to each and every funds started at the instance of the Government. But curiously

enough, the traders still run to Shillong, knock at the door of every office, carry presents for the wives and children of officers and each carries one or two Congressmen in his pocket in order to procure a permit. (*Laughter.*) Sir, who pays for all these expenses? The answer is obvious. It is the poor consumer who is made to pay for all these commitments of the dealers.

Maulavi MAHMUD ALI: Was he not a Congressman just before the election?

Shri RANENDRA MOHAN DAS: That's why I knew all these.

We hear that there is a chain of officials intended to check and detect corruption. The Rice Control staff, the Supply Inspectors, Enforcement Department, Anti-corruption Department, Intelligence and police staff are all there to check corruptions. But in practice what do we find? It is the smaller fries who are brought to trial, but the kings of corruption roam majestically under the very nose of the authority.

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

The House stands adjourned till 10 A. M. to-morrow.

Adjournment

The Assembly was then adjourned till 10 A.M., on Saturday, the 8th March 1952.

SHILLONG:

The 10th May, 1952.

R. N. BARUA,

Secretary, Legislative Assembly, Assam.