## SOCIAL GROUPS OF ASSAM

**(Basis: Religion and Language)**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Assamese</th>
<th>Bengali</th>
<th>Tibeto-Burman</th>
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<td>Munda, Santhal, Ho, Savara, Oraon, Bhuyan, etc.</td>
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**Source:** Taher 1988.17

**Note:**
1. Only major castes have been shown, without traditional social precedence.
2. Hinduised and christanised tribes and those following tribal religions are not differentiated.
APPENDIX : B

The Text of the memorandum submitted to the Chief Election Commissioner by some distinguished Members of Parliament 1979.

"We the following members of Parliament take this opportunity of inviting your attention to various illegalities and irregularities in preparation of voters list of Mangaldai Parliamentary Constituency of Assam. These illegalities and irregularities have caused serious tension and panic in the area and the situation demands immediate remedial measures.

"The Mangalda constituency is composed of a large population coming from the minority communities. The Government of Assam, as it appears from the recent developments decided to use their police machinery to deprive large section of these populations of their democratic rights. So far as information goes the police officials on instruction from the Government procured objection forms in large numbers. From the Election Office at Dispur they could collect about 10,000 forms, and as these were not sufficient in their view another 40,000 forms were printed. The police officials took these forms to the rural areas and got the blank objection forms signed by village headmen and secretaries of village defence parties in some cases under intimidation and threat also. The blank spaces were then filled up by police officials themselves.

On personal enquiry made by some of us a number of objectors categorically stated that they did not know the purpose for which their signature were obtained and they had no reason to object. To the inclusion of names in the voters list of persons whose names appear in the objection forms we want to draw your attention to statutory provision that to make a statement in an objection form knowing or believing it to be false to knowing to be not true is liable to penal action under the provisions of the Representation of the Peoples Act of 1951.

"The police authorities by their action have made the innocent people subject to penal consequences. Panic and uncertainty have gripped the area. Mostly the poor persons without any resources have become the victim of this operation. They apprehend that the deletion of their names will be followed up by deportation notices. Most of these people have no resources to fight for their rights in courts of law. However, some persons have already approached courts of law - including the High Court at Gauhati and obtained stay order against the operation of these notices. Citizens of our country are being deprived of their valuable democratic rights by this dubious method by the Government of Assam. We urge upon you to make an immediate enquiry and to set things right at the earliest."

The memorandum was signed by Y.B.Chavan, C.Subramaniam, D.K.Borooh, Ahmad Hussain, Htendra Desai, K.Gopal, V.B.Raju, K.P.Unnikrishnan, Hedobrata Barua, Dinesh Goswami, Saugata Roy, B.P.Das, H.Bhumij, Jaharlal Banerjee and Dr. Rafiq Zakaia.

* Later, he became leader of A.G.P. group in Lok-Sabha.
They Are Burning the Bridges

The Novel which won the Nobel Prize for Ivo Andric, the Yugoslav writer, was called, "The Bridge over the Drinar." Bridges, in fact, appear over and over again in all of Andric's writings, because to him, the bridge was the symbol of unification and merger; and unity between man and man, culture and culture, the past and the present. If there are no bridges or if they break down, then the unifying threads between men snap and, as a result, even those who are close, slowly drift apart. That is why the history of civilisation is, from a certain point of view, the history of building bridges. The animal forces within man try continuously to create huge distances of hate and hostility between men; the great men always try with immense patience to build bridges of unity between men. Building of bridges is the work of those who love man and create his cultures; destroying bridges is the work those who hate man and lead the Vandals.

As part of the recent agitation against elections in Assam, many bridges have been burnt. This bridge-burning has so matched the overall character of the anti-foreigner agitation that it would have been quite discordant if such burnings had not taken place. Perhaps the agitationists did not burn the bridges with any deep meditation or planning; wooden bridges are easy to burn, so they burnt them. But unbeknownst to them, this orgy of violence has revealed the real aims deeply buried in their subconscious minds. By burning the bridges which appeared in Ivo Andric's imagination as the symbol of unity between human communities and cultures, the agitationists have proved that they do not want the great unity and merger between different societies and cultures, that they want alienation, hatred and hostility. These merchants of hatred and violence may want to display themselves as the keepers and guardians of a particular culture, but in fact they are worst enemies of civilisation and culture. Through the ages, such bridge-burning people have repeatedly plunged human society into indescribable strife and disaster.

The burning of bridges will entail, even if temporarily, a great deal of suffering on the ordinary people of the villages. Groups of boys and girls will stop at the edge of the river; the laden bullock carts will grind to a halt; the tired long-distance traveller will proceed no further. They will curse the bridge-burning miscreant, the enemies of peace and amity. Afterwards, men will again rebuild the burnt down bridges. With a renewed initiative, they will not just build bridges over rivers and canals but also those bridges of love and amity across cultures and human groups. The curse of the people will burn down the bridge burners. Their ghastly jubilation will be all too temporary.


Translation : For a New Democracy April 1983 (Assam Special Issue)
APPENDIX -- D

Members of the Assam Legislative Assembly and their Party Affiliation, March 1979

Jarata

1. Lilamoy Das
2. Altaf Hussain Mazumdar
3. Jagannadh Singh
4. A.F. Golam Osmanj
5. Sonaram Thaosen
6. Billon G.Momin
7. Barlen Terang
8. Gandhiram Timung
9. Zahi ul-Islam
10. Mahammad Azad Ali
11. Mathura Mohan Sinha
12. Rabindra Nath Choudhury
13. Jagat Chandra Patgiri
14. Afrizal ur-Rahman
15. Tarani Charan Das
16. Bhubaneswar Barman
17. Umesh Chandra Das
18. Harendra Goswami
19. Lakshyadhar Choudhury
20. Tarani Mohan Barooah
21. Ajoy Kumar Dutta
22. Kiran Chandra Bezbarua
23. Rabindra Nath Malakar
24. Daibasakti Deka
25. Padam Bahadur Chouhan
26. Sheikh Chand Mohammad
27. Ramani Barman
28. Nagen Sharma
29. Madhab Rajbansi
30. Anil Das
31. Silvius Condpan
32. Jibnan Bora
33. Golok Kakati
34. Kosheshwar Bora
35. Ram Chandra Sarma
36. Baliram Das
37. Lakheswar Gohain
38. Bhabendra Kumar Saikia
40. Santi Ranjan Dasgupta
41. Soneswar Bora
42. Nagen Barua
43. Ramesh Das

44. Dulal Chandra Baruah
45. Chakhbhal Kagryung
46. Devananda Bora
47. Romesh Chandra Kouli
48. Keshab Chandra Gogoi
49. Jogendra Nath Hazarika
50. Bhadreswar Gogoi
51. Jnan Gogoi
52. Golap Borphora
53. Kul Bahadur Chettri

Congress - U

1. Abdul Muqtadir Choudhury
2. Gouri Sankar Roy
3. Abdul Kiyam Choudhury
4. Dhani Ram Rongpi
5. Mohammad Umaruddin
6. Sarat Chandra Sinha
7. Mathias Tudu
8. Renendra Narayan Basumatari
9. Ibrahim Ali
10. Danis Ali Ahmed
11. Baikuntha Nath Das
12. Pratap Kalita
13. Golok Rajbansi
14. Bishnulal Upadhya
15. Prasad Chandra Doloi
16. Kaliram Dekaraja
17. Abdul Kasim
18. Mahammad Idris
19. Mukut Sarmah
20. Chatra Gopal Karmakar
21. Aklius Tirkey
22. Gajen Tanti
23. Hiteswar Saikia
24. Lakhya Nath Doley
25. Dipak Mommoo
26. Dileswar Tanti
Congress – I

1. Nepeal Chandra Das
2. Sisir Ranjan Das
3. A. Sobhan
4. A. W. Akram Hussain
5. S. A. Taimur
6. Sayya Tanti
7. Joy Chandra Nagbansi
8. Rameswar Dhanower

RCPI

1. Md. Shamsul Huda
2. Baneswar Saikia
3. Khagen Barbarua
4. Budha Baruah

CPI – M

1. Nishit Ranjan Das
2. Ramendra Dey
3. Diapak Bhattacharjee
4. Noor ul-Huda
5. Birendra Nath Choudhury
6. Hemen Das
7. Narendra Nath Dutta
8. Sasha Kamal Handique
9. Biresh Misra
10. Bipin Hazarika
11. Purna Boro

CPI

1. Allauddin Sarkar
2. Girdhar Tengal
3. Jogen Gogoi
4. Pramod Gogoi
5. Sulo Borah

PTCA

1. Samar Brahma Choudhury
2. Panchanan Brahma
3. Binoy Kumar Basumatari
4. Kamal Chandra Basumatari

Independents (including CPI – ML and SUCI)

1. Fakra ul-Islam
2. Kazi Kutbuddin Ahmed
3. Dewan Jainul Abedin
4. Ghiasuddin Ahmed
5. Pacma Lochan Bora
6. Phani Medhi
7. Nazim ul-Haq
8. A. Latif
9. Siraj ul-Haq
10. Manik Chandra Das
11. Ramesh Chandra Saharia
12. Atul Chandra Goswami
13. Premdhar Bora
14. Afzaluddin Ahmed
15. Purna Chandra Bora
Members of the Assam Legislative Assembly and their Party Affiliations on 14 December 1980

Congress - I

1. Sayeda Anwara Taimur
2. A.N.Akram Hussain
3. Satya Tanti
4. Rameswar Dhanowar
5. Joy Chandra Nagbasi
6. Nepal Chandra Das
7. Dhani Ram Rongpi
8. Abdul Muqtaadir Choudhary
9. R.N.Basumatari
10. Kaliram Dekaraja
11. Ramesh Saharia
12. Hiteswar Saikia
13. Afzalur Rahman
14. Silvius Condapan
15. Abdul Latif
16. Altaf H. Mazumdar
17. Danis Ali
18. Dipak Moormoo
19. Dileswar Tanti
20. Abdus Sobhan
21. Lilamoy Das
22. Padam Bahadur Chouhan
23. Santi Ranjan Dasgupta
24. Keshab Chandra Gogoi
25. Rabindra Nath Choudhary
26. Zahi ul-Islam
27. Prasad Chadnra Doloi
28. Lakya Nath Deley
29. Abdul Kasim
30. Aklius Tirkey
31. Mukut Sarmah
32. Jagat Patgiri
33. Daibasakti Deka
34. Baikuntha Nath Das
35. Bishnulal Upadhaya
36. Golok Rajbansi
37. Ibrahim Ali
38. Md. Idris
39. Fakr-ul Islam
40. Sona Ram Thaosen
41. Jaganath Sinha

Janata

1. Golap Borbora
2. Dulal Chandra Baruah
3. L.D.Choudhary
4. Soneswar Borah
5. Lakheswar Gohain
6. Ramani Barman
7. Ram Chandra Sarma
8. Kosheswar Borah
9. Gandhi Ram Timung
10. Ajoy Dutta
11. Bali Ram Das
12. Barleng Terang
13. Bhaben Saikia
14. Bhubaneswar Barman
15. Chakbhal Kagyung
16. Devendra Borah
17. Golok Kakati
18. Harendra Goswami
19. Jiban Borah
20. Jnan Gogoi
21. Nagen Sarmah
22. Rabindra Nath Malakar
23. K.C. Bezbarua
24. Madhav Rajbansi
26. Nagen Baruah
27. Ramesh Das
28. Umesh Das
29. Bilton G. Mamin
30. Kula Bahdur Chetri
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<td>2. Gajen Tanti</td>
<td>2. Budha Baruah</td>
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<td>5. Mathius Tudu</td>
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<td>2. Anil Das</td>
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<td>3. Tarani Mohan Barooah</td>
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<td>4. Mankik Chandra Das</td>
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<td>6. Tarini Charan Das</td>
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<td>5. Pramod Gogoi</td>
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APPENDIX - F

ASSAM ACCORD 1985
(MEMORANDUM OF SETTLEMENT)

1. The government have all along been most anxious to find a satisfactory solution to the problem of foreigners in Assam. The All Assam Student Union (AASU) and the AGSP have also expressed their keenness to find such a solution.

2. The AASU through their memorandum dated 2nd February, 1980 presented to the late Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, conveyed their profound sense of apprehension regarding the influx of foreign nationals into Assam and fear about adverse effects on the political, social, economic and the cultural life of the state.

3. Being fully alive to the genuine apprehensions of the people of Assam, the then Prime Minister initiated the dialogue with the AASU and the AGSP. Subsequently the talks were held at the Prime Minister's and home minister's levels during the period 1980 to 1983. Several rounds of informal talks were held during 1984, formal discussions were resumed in March 1985.

4. Keeping all prospects of the problem including constitutional and legal provisions, international agreements and national commitments and humanitarian consideration has been decided to proceed as follows:

FOREIGNERS ISSUE

5. (1) For purposes of detection and deletion of foreigners 1.1.1966 shall be the base date and year.

5. (2) All persons who came to Assam prior to 1.1.1966 including those amongst them whose names appeared on the electoral rolls used in 1967 elections, shall be regularised.

5. (3) Foreigners who came to Assam after 1.1.1966 (inclusive) up to 24.3.1971 shall be detected in accordance with the provisions of foreigners Act 1946 and the foreigners (tribunal) order 1964.

5. (4) Names of foreigners so detected will be deleted from the electoral rolls in force. Such persons will be required to register themselves before the registration officer in respective districts in accordance with registration of foreigners Act 1939 and registration of foreigners rules 1939.

5. (5) For this purpose Government of India will undertake suitable strengthening of the government machinery.
5. (6) On the expiry of a period of 10 years following the date of detection, the names of all such persons which have been deleted from the electoral rolls shall be restored.

5. (7) All persons who were expelled earlier but have since reentered illegally into Assam shall be expelled.

5. (8) Foreigners who came to Assam on or after March 25, 1971, shall be detected, deleted, and expelled in accordance with law. Immediate and practical steps shall be taken to expel such foreigners.

5. (9) Government of India will give due consideration to certain difficulties expressed by the AASU and AAGSP regarding implementation of illegal migrants (determination by tribunals) Act 1983.

**Safeguards and economic development:**

6. Constitutional, legislative, and administrative safeguards as may be appropriate will be provided to protect the cultural, social and linguistic identity and heritage of the Assamese people.

7. Government takes this opportunity to renew the commitment to the speedy, all-round economic development of Assam. So as to improve the standard of living of the people, special emphasis will be placed on education, science and technology and establishment of national institutions in Assam.

8. (1) Citizenship certificates in future will be issued only by the authorities of the Central government.

8. (2) Specific complaints made by AASU and AAGSP about irregular issuance of Indian citizenship certificates will be looked into.

8. (3) International border will be made secure against future infiltration by erection of physical barriers such as walls, barbed fence, and other obstacles at appropriate places. Patrolling of security forces on land and river along the international border will be adequately intensified.

In order to further strengthen the security arrangements and prevent future infiltration, adequate number of check posts will be set up. Besides a road all along the international border will be constructed so as to facilitate patrolling by security forces.

9. The land between border and the wall will be kept free of human habitation wherever possible, patrolling along the international border will be intensified and all effective measures will be adopted to prevent infiltrators from crossing attempting to cross international border.
10. It will be ensured that relevant laws for prevention of encroachment on government land and lands in tribal belts and blocks are strictly enforced. Unauthorised encroachers will be evicted under such laws. It will be ensured that relevant laws restricting acquisition of immovable properties by foreigners in Assam will be strictly enforced.

It will be ensured that birth and death registers are duly maintained.

RESTORATION OF NORMALCY

AASU and AAGSP will call off the agitation and take up themselves towards the development of the country.

Centre and state governments have agreed to:
(a) View with sympathy and withdraw cases of disciplinary action taken against its employees in the context of the agitation to ensure that there is no victimisation.
(b) Frame a scheme for ex-gratia payment to the next of kin of those killed in the course of the agitation.
(c) Give sympathetic consideration to the proposals for extension of age limit for purposes of employment in public services, having regard to exceptional situation prevailed in holding of academic and competitive examinations etc. in the context of the agitation.
(d) Undertake review of detention cases, if any, as well as cases against persons charged with criminal offences in connection with the agitation except those charged of commission of heinous offences.
(e) Consider withdrawal of prohibitory orders notification in force if any.
(f) The Union home ministry will be the nodal ministry for the implementation of the accord.

Government have agreed to the following:
(a) Election Commission will be requested to ensure preparation of fair electoral rolls;
(b) time for settlement of claims and objections to be extended by 30 days, subject to this being consistent with the election rules; and
(c) Election Commission will be requested to send Central Observers.

In order to accelerate the industrial and educational development, the Government of India have agreed:
(a) to establish an oil refinery in Assam. Government will render all possible assistance in terms of institutional and Bank finance to facilitate the establishment of a refinery in the Private Sector.

(b) Central Government will render full assistance to the State Government in their efforts to re-open:
   (i) Ashok Paper Mill
   (ii) Jute Mills.

(c) An I.I.T. will be set up in Assam.
THE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE AGP

1. Establishment of a progressive society free from exploitation and based on political equality, economic development and social justice.

2. To work for the achievement of secularism, democracy and socialism, to strive for peace, progress and social harmony and integration and to promote these causes among the people.

3. To secure more rights for the State in a real federal Union.

4. Full utilisation of Assam's natural resources in the interest of all round benefit for the people and on that basis to strive for strengthening the State's economic foundations.

5. Protection of forests and reserved areas and adoption of measures for cultivation of fallow lands to increase productivity.

6. Balanced agricultural and industrial development and extension of special benefits to indigenous cultivators and local entrepreneurs.

7. To provide for full protection of the interests of local candidates in all matters of employment.

8. Restructuring of the State's Plan so that the benefits of a planned economy serve the interests of the poorest sections of the society and thus ensure maximum welfare for the people of Assam.

9. Protection of the interests of local peasantry and workers by revising land laws and policy relating to industries.

10. Equal opportunities for all in the field of education, introduction of employment-oriented educational courses, and ensuring autonomy in the field of higher education.

11. Strengthening understanding and goodwill among different ethnic groups and sections of people, and adoption of all measures for the development of all indigenous languages, art and culture.

12. Extension of health care facilities to the poorest sections also through decentralisation of public health service measures.

13. To accelerate the pace of rural development by making improvement in the field of transport and communication.
14. Promotion of the scientific temper in the society in order to keep pace with future industrial development and for all this, to lay emphasis on science and technology.

15. In order that national and international problems could be faced appropriately, to seek to extend cooperation with all democratic, secular and such other political parties as are opposed to regional imbalance and respect the legitimate rights of small nationalities; such cooperation would depend on the merits of the issues.

16. To seek to build unity in action with all like-minded parties of the north-eastern States for facing problems of common concern.

18. To adopt all measures to realise in practice the constitutional safeguards provided for in the Constitution for all comparatively backward people including S.C./S.T. categories irrespective of their habitation in hills or plains areas.