
RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED
BY THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL
OF THE
COMMUNIST PARTY
OF INDIA

HYDERABAD

JUNE 9 to 15, 1966

COMMUNIST PARTY PUBLICATION

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

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COMRADE ABDUL HALIM

The National Council of the Communist Party of India mourns the death of Comrade Abdul Halim, one of the founder members of our party and a veteran communist. Beginning as a party organiser in Bengal in the late twenties, he was active in the great carters' strike in Calcutta in 1930 and became a member of the provisional Central Committee of the party formed in November 1933. Working steadfastly in the field of party organisation and party education, he was elected to the Central Control Commission in 1958 and again in 1961 and he continued to work in the same till June 1964 when the party was split and he joined the CP(M).

The National Council salutes the memory of this staunch communist who was loved and respected by the comrades and the masses among whom he worked in the most painstaking and strenuous way without sparing himself, despite his chronic ill health. His life of devoted service and selfless sufferings in the cause of the toiling masses will always be a source of inspiration to us. The National Council conveys its heartfelt condolences to his family.

MARTYRS OF FOOD STRUGGLE

The National Council of the Communist Party of India pays homage to the memory of the martyrs of the statewide struggle for food in West Bengal.

MILAN ABHA KAMAL
COMRADE ABHA KAMAL

DEMAND FOR RESIGNATION OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

The National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its strongest condemnation of the devaluation of the rupee by the Government of India which is by all accounts the blackest act of national betrayal since independence. The council further expresses its great shock and revulsion at the manner in which the Congress government has carried out this disastrous anti-national step. Devaluation may well be described as a treacherous economic coup behind the back of Parliament and the nation.

Devaluation has come in the wake of a series of recent anti-national surrenders to the pressures and other blackmailing tactics of the imperialists and their Indian counterparts. In fact devaluation would stand out as the greatest condemnation of the government's pro-monopolists policies and unless resisted would lead to many more surrenders both in the economic and political fields.

The Government of India did not draw the appropriate lesson when the Americans and the imperialists declared their open blockade of our economy last year. On the contrary it continued to pursue the policy which has turned India into a nation of beggars without self-respect. Our entire economy has been saddled with heavy and growing foreign debts, and has reached a stage of near bankruptcy. India has now to incur further foreign debts even to meet the outstanding debt liabilities. PL 480 has become a regular feature with serious economic and political consequences.

All sections of our people barring a handful of monopolists will be severely hit by devaluation. The working people will suffer the most. Devalued rupee means for the masses a heavy loss of their purchasing power and their further

impoverishment resulting from a greater upswing in prices. Devaluation will open the flood-gates to almost unrestrained exploitation of our national resources by the foreign monopolists and the plunder of our people by them and their opposite numbers within this country. Devaluation means higher debt liabilities, higher valuation of foreign assets in India, higher import prices side by side with our export prices going down. All the positive aspects of Indian planning and indeed the very future of independent economic development are now put in the gravest jeopardy. The National Council therefore deems it proper in this connection to warn our people against the grave economic and political consequences of this dictated devaluation.

The National Council maintains that there was no warrant for this extraordinary step of devaluation. The argument that but for devaluation our industries would have been brought to a halt is a false and misleading one. When the imperialists started their economic blockade our scientists and economists made concrete proposals to overcome difficulties on the basis of self-reliance such as import substitution and better mobilisation of internal resources. Remedial measures could have been found by taking firm actions against foreign and Indian monopolists and by effecting certain urgently needed structural changes in our economy.

The National Council is of the opinion that the manner in which devaluation was foisted upon the country is no less criminal and treacherous. During the long budget session of Parliament it was left in no doubt that the overwhelming majority of Parliament members both of the opposition and of the Congress were against devaluation. The government repeatedly assured that it had no intention to devalue the rupee. The Ministers were telling a deliberate lie to Parliament while they were at the very moment conspiring with the Americans to devalue the rupee. After sending Parliament into recess they suddenly announced according to the pre-arranged plan the devaluation and took the whole country by surprise. Parliament was actually bluffed and

deceived. Even the Congress members were completely disregarded, presumably on the assumption that they would have no other alternative but to back the government when faced with this *fait accompli*. The National Council has no doubt in its mind that many Congress members of Parliament as well as Congressmen outside share the indignation and concern of our people in this matter.

By its latest act of sell-out the Congress government has put the country on the road to ruin and have plainly betrayed the people and Parliament. The National Council urges an immediate convening of Parliament to consider the devaluation measure. The National Council further demands the immediate resignation of the central government headed by Indira Gandhi because it has proved itself wholly unworthy of any national trust and thereby forfeited its moral and political right to be placed at the helm of the nation's affairs.

MASS ACTION

The central political task of the Communist Party of India in the coming period is to lift the movement to the level of a political battle against US imperialist blackmail, monopoly pressure and the Congress government's policy of yielding to it step by step, which has now culminated in the surrender of devaluation.

All sections of the people have to be mobilised for this battle—workers, peasants, middleclass and the patriotic sections of the national bourgeoisie.

To give a focus to mass actions and to facilitate the process of building the broadest democratic unity, the National Council of the Communist Party of India has worked out a democratic platform for discussion with other parties. This platform is based upon urgently needed radical changes in the economic and political structure in an anti-imperialist, anti-feudal and anti-monopoly direction. It represents a clear, practicable alternative to the present disastrous policies of the Congress government.

The National Council calls upon all party members and units to initiate a massive political campaign around this platform. In the context of the developing situation of raising prices, and growing attacks on the living conditions of the working people, as a result of devaluation, the mass political campaign will inevitably be combined in the various states with all sections of the people moving into action and battle in different forms like demonstrations, strikes, gheraos, dehoarding and bandhs, either under the leadership of the party or under that of the united left front.

As a climax to such battles, the National Council decides to organise a mighty mass demonstration before Parliament in Delhi on September 1, 1966. On that day, people from all corners of the country will converge on the capital to demand of Parliament that it dismiss the government which has betrayed the interests of the people and nation.

The National Council appeals to all left and other political parties, mass organisations and all patriotic and democratic Congressmen to join this national mass protest action, irrespective of differences on other issues.

The National Council directs the Central Secretariat to begin immediate preparations for the effective and successful carrying out of this national mass action.

VIETNAM

The National Council of the Communist Party of India sends its warmest fraternal salute to the gallant people of Vietnam battling for their freedom against the war of aggression of the US imperialists. The people of India are filled with admiration for the amazing unity, courage and skill displayed by this nation of heroes.

The barbaric deeds of the US imperialists have shocked the conscience of all decent people. The US imperialists have grossly violated the Geneva Agreements and wantonly flouted all canons of international law. They have bombed and shelled the villages and towns of the sovereign Democratic Republic of Vietnam. They have sent in over two

lakhs of soldiers, armed to the teeth, to try to massacre the people of South Vietnam. They are dropping poison gas bombs to kill the people and to destroy crops and cattle. They have resorted to the heinous practice of dropping poisoned sweets from the air for the unsuspecting, innocent children of Vietnam. Even the US Senators admit that the US imperialist soldiers are trying to turn the towns of South Vietnam into one vast brothel. The US imperialists have branded themselves as mass murderers and international pirates, as war criminals and the enemies of the entire human race.

The entire peace-loving and democratic humanity stands shoulder to shoulder with the patriots of Vietnam. Aid, moral and material, pours out from the entire outraged humanity for this country fighting on the frontlines of human freedom and world peace. In the USA itself students, workers, women and political commentators and even influential leading Senators have expressed their protest against the dastardly policy of the Johnson Administration. A powerful protest movement demanding the end of US aggression in Vietnam and the withdrawal of their troops is sweeping across the USA.

In South Vietnam, the daring deeds of the Vietcong has made the entire puppet regime come apart at the seams and totter to a fall. The Buddhist leaders have openly come out against the US stooge Ky. Pitched battles are being fought in several towns. Several Buddhist monks and nuns have burnt themselves to death as a mark of their sense of fury against the US and its puppets. The students of South Vietnam have displayed great daring in militant opposition to the puppet regime in South Vietnam.

The people of Asia and Africa in particular have their fate inextricably bound up with the struggle for freedom by their fraternal Vietnamese brothers and sisters. The same US imperialists who want to starve Nasser's UAR, who grossly interfere in the internal affairs of Ghana, who armed the Pakistani invaders of our country and who are practising economic blackmail against our economy, are

trying desperately to extinguish Vietnam. The US aggression against that country is the most naked expression of US imperialism's mad desire to snatch away the hard won freedom of all Afro-Asian peoples. In a vain attempt to overcome their isolation the US imperialists put up the smokescreen of so-called "containment of China". In a futile bid to hide their heinous aggression they resort to so-called "peace offensive", all the time refusing to stop their daily bombing of North Vietnam and daily military moves in South Vietnam. It is no wonder that the mighty force of Afro-Asian solidarity has ranged itself against the US imperialists.

The National Council strongly condemns the dishonourable retreat of the Government of India from its former position of disapproval of US bombing of North Vietnam to one of total silence today. The US imperialists not satisfied with this silence alone are already demanding that India should contribute "its presence in some forms" alongside of the US in South Vietnam. If the Government of India tempted by the economic aid of the USA agrees to this American demand, it will spell disaster to India's independence and democracy.

The Prime Minister during her tour of the USA, tarnished the image of our anti-imperialist India most by her complimentary references to the US aggressors' "desire for peace" in Vietnam. She lent her support to the US actions for the so-called "containment of China"—which in reality is nothing but a mask for the aggressive attacks by US imperialism against the independence and sovereignty of the peoples of Asia.

While feebly asserting that the old policy on Vietnam continues, in actual practice the Government of India has surrendered to the US government's demand for symbolic or moral support for its aggression in Vietnam. TELCO trucks are being sent to South Vietnam obviously for use in the military operations of the US imperialists and their puppets against the people of Vietnam. The British-owned Indian Oxygen Company is allowed to send gas to the

puppet regime at Saigon. Costly foreign exchange is consumed by allowing the remittance of so-called donations from trusts like the Wadias of Bombay.

The Communist Party urges the Government of India to reverse its policy of surrender to US dictates, and take a bold initiative together with other non-aligned powers to bring the force of world opinion to bear to stop the US aggression, stop the bombings of North Vietnam, ensure the complete withdrawal of all US troops from South Vietnam and the recognition of the South Vietnam National Liberation Front as the sole authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people. These steps, as has been rightly pointed out by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the South Vietnam Liberation Front, would help to ensure that the Vietnamese people can go forward to peaceful unification when the conditions mature, in peace and independence and in accordance with the Geneva Agreements.

The Communist Party calls for the most widespread popular actions in support of the Vietnamese people and against US aggression, demanding that the Government of India acts in the spirit of the solemn duties imposed on it as Chairman of the International Control Commission, to ensure the observance of the Geneva Agreements, which demand the immediate withdrawal of US troops and bases from South Vietnam.

The National Council calls for the widest protest demonstrations outside the US Embassy, US Consulates and other US establishments all over India. It calls upon the people everywhere to demonstrate in towns and villages all over India on the same day as a mark of solidarity with Vietnam. It calls upon its members and units to organise a mighty petition campaign against the US bombings on North Vietnam and for the withdrawal of US troops from South Vietnam in each and every of the five lakh villages of our country. Only thus can the mighty voice of India ring out loud and clear for the cause of Vietnam's freedom and for world peace.

THE BOMBAY RAIL DISASTER

The National Council of the Communist Party of India expresses its deep shock and grief at the terrible railway collision at Matunga, in Bombay, which has already claimed 57 lives and seriously injured over 100. It sends its heartfelt condolences to the bereaved families. It demands that all assistance be rendered to these families as well as to those who have been injured. This railway disaster is only the latest in a series. The railways are becoming veritable death-traps due to the thorough inefficiency and callousness of the high officials, who always try to find some scapegoats or contrive flimsy excuses. The Railway Minister, S. K. Patil, cannot escape his due share of blame for these disasters. The very least he can do is to immediately resign as was done by the late Lal Bahadur Shastri when he was the Railway Minister after the Ariyalur rail accident and when the disaster was not nearly so grievous. Shri Patil's resignation is the demand of all our grief-stricken people and he must bow to the popular will.

THE INDO-US FOUNDATION

The formation of the Indo-US Foundation has shocked academic circles and democratic opinion in the country and has called forth bitter criticism in Parliament and outside. The wave of protest has extended far beyond political parties and elements who have consistently opposed US blackmailing policies towards India and the government's compromises with such pressures.

Despite all official apologia the foundation is going to be a gigantic instrument of massive American penetration into India's cultural life, above all, in the sphere of moulding the ideology and political outlook of adolescent youth, the vital force which will shape the future policies of the country. It is equally clear that the Congress rulers have accepted the proposal of the foundation as a part of the

price they have been compelled to pay for their growing economic dependence on US imperialism.

The proposal for the foundation was mooted in 1964, after Nehru's death, by Chester Bowles, then US Ambassador in India. The University Grants Commission was opposed to it. Acceptance by the Government of India was repeatedly postponed because of the notorious US role in the Indo-Pak conflict. Its final unilateral announcement by President Johnson and its acceptance by the government without reference to Parliament is itself an insult to India's national self-respect and an encroachment on India's sovereignty.

The 'brainwashing' of Indian youth and academicians (to use the pet terminology of US ideologues) which has already been attempted by the Rockefeller, Ford and Asia foundations and the Fulbright scholarship, and not without some success, is a matter of actual experience. Aggressive dollar imperialism is no longer satisfied with these 'modest' efforts. Hence a vast foundation of 150 crores of rupees, yielding nearly seven crores of rupees a year as interest, which is a much larger amount than the new annual grants of about five crores of rupees which can be disposed of by the UGC. The massive economic invasion of the country is thus to be accompanied hereafter by an equally massive intellectual invasion.

The financial resources for the foundation are to be drawn from PL 480 counterpart funds which have accumulated as a result of the sale of American wheat in India, and have now reached the colossal amount to Rs. 1500 crores.

The US authorities have insisted that they want "enlarged opportunities for American and other area studies and research in India" and also "a curriculum for improvement in the sciences, humanities and social sciences". The government has accepted these outrageous objectives of the foundation and yet claims that its operations are not going to influence the content and values of national education.

Recent American and British publications have exposed to the hilt the relations between the CIA and American universities. The so-called "area studies" and "national in-

telligence estimates" carried out by innumerable American academicians all over the world have been proved to be espionage documents prepared by them for the CIA, for supplying it with political information and socio-economic data for the purpose of subverting the independence and sovereignty of the nations in which such studies and estimates are made. The Indo-US Foundation is thus the CIA functioning legally under a philanthropic academic grab.

Equally, "improving the curricula of humanities and social sciences" has invariably meant poisoning the minds of youth with vicious anti-democratic, anti-national, anti-socialist theories, masquerading as education. It has meant the dissemination of falsehoods, distortions and slander for undermining non-alignment and the friendship and cooperation between the socialist and newly-independent countries. It has meant preaching the philosophy of "free enterprise". Worst of all, such "education" has gone hand in hand with degrading the moral values of youth and dragging it into the vulgarities of the American way of life. "Improved curricula" are a synonym for intellectual subservience towards American political policies.

Such are the real aims for which the Americans want the establishment of the foundation. No wonder the US government despite hypocritical talk of the foundation being binational, is not prepared to hand over its control and management to the UGC or any similar Indian body, which demand also has been conceded by the government. Half the members of the governing body of the foundation will be nominated by the US government and half by our government. The chairman will be an Indian and the executive director will be an American. There can be no doubt about the type of Indian academicians who will agree to work on the foundation and whom the government will appoint.

It is such a governing body that will decide the purposes for which the vast funds of the foundation will be used and to whom its grants will be given. This power of money and patronage is bound to be used to corrupt, divide and black-

mail Indian teachers. This is apart from the witchhunt which the CIA agents in the governing body will start against all progressive and democratically-minded teachers and students. Either surrender to American dictates and sell your opinions and beliefs or ruin your academic prospects and career, such will be the alternative placed before every self-respecting student and teacher, every academician with an intellectual conscience.

The National Council greets the academicians of Delhi, Calcutta, and other centres for the courageous lead they have given in organising a mass protest of lecturers and professors against the Indo-US Foundation. The protest movement has been organised both because the government never consulted Indian academicians before accepting the proposal and also because of its nefarious aims and objects.

The National Council also appeals to all teachers' organisations, student and youth organisations as also party members working in academic institutions to organise the protest campaign in every state and raise it to a national level. Its clear objective must be to force the government to annul the agreement regarding the foundation.

What is at stake is nothing less than the intellectual and patriotic independence of Indian education, the future of Indian youth. US imperialist penetration into India's culture and education must be resisted with the same vigour and determination as the threat of economic and political slavery.

EMERGENCY & DEFENCE OF INDIA RULES

The National Council of the Communist Party of India emphatically reiterates its demand for the withdrawal of the emergency and revoking of the DIR.

In the three and a half years since the emergency was proclaimed and the DIR was enacted these extraordinary powers have been and are still being used by the ruling party and the government to suppress the rising movement of the democratic masses. Thousands of leaders and workers of the trade unions and democratic movements have been

arrested and detained without trial; thousands of workers who challenged government policies in regard to high food prices, unemployment, taxes, and burdens on the people were arrested and detained under the DIR. Strikes of workers, movements of peasants and movements for democratic rights and civil liberties have been sought to be suppressed making use of the emergency powers under the DIR.

It is significant to note that the DIR did not act as any deterrent to the real anti-social elements—the monopolists, profiteers and hoarders who were utilising the opportunity to raise up prices and loot the people.

A widespread movement developed in the country against the emergency and the DIR. This movement gained still further momentum because in the changed conditions of today specially after Tashkent almost all sections of public opinion came to the conclusion that there is no longer any warrant for the continuation of the state of emergency.

The National Council hails the people of the different parts of the country and specially West Bengal and Kerala in building a powerful movement against the continuance of the emergency and the DIR and in defence of the democratic rights of the people.

The National Council congratulates them for having heroically faced all sorts of brutalities including brutal firings of the police and the military in building such a mighty and powerful movement.

All political parties except the Congress, eminent jurists, educationists and public men of all walks of life have come out with the demand for lifting of the emergency. This powerful demand found echo even inside the ruling Congress party.

In the face of this powerful movement and the universal demand the government has been forced to retreat and release most of the political prisoners and restrict the use of the DIR. But even now the government refuses to lift the emergency, revoke the DIR and restore the fundamental rights of the citizens. Reports have appeared

that the government is considering the question of putting some of the vicious provisions of the DIR permanently on the statute book.

The National Council demands of the government to immediately withdraw the emergency, revoke the DIR, release the rest of the detenus and restore the fundamental rights of the people.

The National Council appeals to people to intensify and broaden their movement so as to force the government to lift the emergency and revoke the DIR.

FOOD SITUATION

The National Council of the Communist Party of India greets the people who have fought heroically in historic struggles for food in a number of states in the face of brutal repression of the government and salutes the martyrs who have laid down their lives in these epic struggles.

The National Council condemns the government which has refused to suppress the foodgrain hoarders and make food available to the people but used armed forces of the state and the DIR to suppress the food movement joined by all sections of the people, breaking all political barriers. The utter callousness of the government towards the life and conditions of the people is laid bare by the official review that the food situation is "now well under control", though the indisputable truth is that for two successive years the food crisis is continuously deepening and as yet no improvement is in sight.

An acute food crisis has gripped the whole country. Millions of people are simply starving. Many millions more have to cut down their purchases of other bare necessities in order to pay very high prices for foodstuff. Such is the fate of the people after 18 years of Congress rule which had promised food self-sufficiency by the end of the Third Plan. This unprecedented food crisis is not only or even mainly due to the drought. It is the direct result of the bankrupt agrarian policy of the Congress government which

refused to implement radical agrarian reforms in favour of the peasantry, to build buffer stocks by moving against the hoarders in towns and villages.

Though food production in 1965-66 fell, there were large stocks in the hands of hoarders from the last year. But the government refused to take effective measures for dehoarding these stocks nor did they launch a serious and energetic drive for procuring the newly-harvested foodgrains at par prices and to nationalise the entire wholesale trade in foodgrains and even suppressing hoarding and profiteering with the organised cooperation of the people.

Even in those states where the government went in for monopoly in wholesale trade in foodgrains it did not succeed in procuring more than one-third of the marketable surplus or its targets because it refused to give fair price to the peasants, refused to take over the entire surplus of large landowners and usurers, kept many other loopholes for hoarders and profiteers, relied mainly on rice mill owners and wholesale dealers, i.e. the main hoarders, to collect the levies or otherwise procure foodgrains and refused to set up all-parties' or popular committees with power of supervision and control in order to overcome bureaucratic inefficiency, corruption and oppression.

Thus evading the urgent need for breaking away from the policy of sheltering and encouraging hoarders and profiteers and introducing genuine and effective state trading on a democratic basis, backed by nationalisation of banks, the Government of India ran to the USA with the beggar's bowl and agreed to terms dishonourable to the nation and detrimental to national independence for getting wheat under PL 480.

And now it has devalued the rupee which will further undermine national economy and further push up prices, the prices of foodgrains having already gone up 60 to 300 per cent above the prices fixed by the various state governments the benefit of which have been reaped by hoarders and profiteers.

The distress of the common people all over the country

is grave indeed. And in the areas severely affected by drought the suffering of the people is simply terrible because of the callousness on the part of the government.

In such a situation the people naturally launched heroic and united mass struggles for food in many states defying brutal suppression. Even bigger, more widespread, militant and united mass struggle are on the agenda.

The Communist Party, which has been campaigning for effective steps for increasing food production and for genuine state trading in foodgrains and also played an important role in the people's struggle for food, demands:

1. An immediate end to nationally degrading PL 480 imports.

2. Nationalisation of wholesale trade in foodgrains together with immediate announcement of fair procurement prices for the peasants in consultation with all parties and peasant organisations; enforcement of urgently needed land reforms with peasant cooperation; and provision of adequate credit, seeds, fertiliser, water, etc.; and supply of consumer goods at fair price to the peasants. In this way a national upsurge to increase food production can be ensured.

3. Effective steps, in cooperation with the people, against hoarders and all-out procurement drive, extension of rationing to all urban areas and supply of adequate food at fair or subsidised prices to the people in the scarcity stricken rural areas and adequate relief measures in all distressed areas.

The Communist Party calls upon the people, all parties, groups and individuals who are patriotic and democratic to unite in a really powerful all-India movement to force the government to change its anti-people and anti-national food policy, both regarding production and distribution, to isolate and defeat the parasitic landlords, usurers, traders and millers, the hoarders and profiteers and the monopolists backing them.

Only then can the food be available to our people and the national honour and independence also saved.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF PUNJAB BOUNDARY COMMISSION AND THE DECISION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

The National Council of the Communist Party of India views with deep concern the recent happenings in the Punjab.

After belatedly accepting the application of the principle of linguistic reorganisation to the Punjab state, the Government of India appointed a Boundary Commission for demarcation of the borders of the new states of Haryana and Punjab and for transfer of hill areas to the union territory of Himachal—with obviously unjust terms of reference. It made the 1961 census figures as the basis for the demarcation of Hindi- and Punjabi-speaking areas, knowing fully well that those figures were false as the census had been conducted in an atmosphere charged with communal tension. Further, it made tehsil as the unit of demarcation instead of the village.

The Punjab State Council of the Communist Party of India had from the beginning come out against these unjust terms of reference and had demanded the scrapping of the reference to 1961 census; and making village as the unit of the demarcation. It had warned that the given terms of reference could only lead to distortions of the linguistic reorganisation and enhancement of communal tension.

The recommendations of the Boundary Commission confirmed the worst fears of the secular forces of the Punjab. The Government of India instead of intervening to undo the injustice, has decided to take over Chandigarh as union territory and allowed to let some Punjabi-speaking areas go to Haryana. Only in the case of parts of Kharar tehsil it has decided to undo the wrong recommendations of the Boundary Commission.

The National Council is of the opinion that this unjust stand of the Government of India with regard to Chandigarh and other Punjabi-speaking areas excluded from the new Punjab state will only lead to the strengthening

of the communal forces led by Master Tara Singh and the Jana Sangh and will sow seeds of bitterness between the newly-formed states of Haryana and Punjab.

The National Council demands that the Government of India must undo the wrong done to the Punjabi people and modify the recommendations strictly applying the principle of linguistic homogeneity, contiguity and taking the village (not the tehsil) as the unit and taking into account linguistic realities and not the 1961 census. The National Council also demands that the new Haryana state should be provided with necessary funds by the Government of India to build a capital for Haryana and allow Chandigarh to be the capital of the Punjabi-speaking state.

It appeals to all the secular and democratic forces of both the states to come together and arrive at a common understanding on the basis of democratic principles with a view to forging united sanctions for undoing the injustice done by the Boundary Commission recommendations and the decision of the Government of India thereon.

THE PROBLEM OF THE NAGAS, MIZOS AND OF THE OTHER TRIBES IN THE BORDER AREAS OF ASSAM

The continued hostile activities of the Naga rebels even after the formation of the Nagaland state, the armed revolt of the Mizo tribes and its aftermath, as well as the disastrous sabotage acts on the North-Eastern Railway which took scores of innocent lives, sharply underlines the fact that the unsolved problem of the tribal population in these parts, aggravates the border situation on our eastern frontiers.

The well-known fact that these hostiles get assistance from the British imperialists, and are able to function from bases in and get arms supplies from Pakistan further complicates the matter and their activities become a source of maintaining and sharpening Indo-Pak tensions.

While the government's military operations may succeed in quelling this armed unrest of the tribal people, it is

recognised on all hands that the question cannot be solved by the use of force, and that it is necessary to go into deeper political and economic causes of the same and to find a solution which accords with the wishes and interests of the tribal people themselves and thus can strengthen India's national integration and unity.

But the Congress rulers, guided by narrow class interests, just as they, in the beginning, refused to implement the democratic demand for forming the linguistic states, also treated the demands of the tribal people with callous disregard. Immediately after independence, the tribal area continued to be administered by commissioners, who were now Indians instead of British. When India gave herself the Constitution of a democratic republic, the two demands of the tribal people, viz. for regional unification and for political autonomy, including the formation of a state wherever feasible within the Indian union, were not incorporated in the Constitution.

Similarly, economic development of these parts was sorely neglected, roads and communications were not developed. No plans of economic development of the tribal regions were drawn up and implemented. On the other hand, traders and capitalists entered the region to intensify their exploitation.

Guided by these considerations, the National Council puts forward the following broad outlines for a solution of the political and economic problems of the hill districts of Assam. The solution suggested is in consonance with the stand of the party on the demands of the tribal people set forth in the Party Programme.

1. Cessation of the military operations in the Naga hills and the continuation of direct talks between the underground Naga leaders and the Government of India is a welcome development but is marred by sporadic hostile activities and sabotage attacks. These talks can lead to a stable solution only if the Government of India pursues a bold and firm policy based on principles of respecting the

wishes and interests of the tribal people and of strengthening India's national integration and unity.

While the Government of India should demand of the underground Naga leaders that they ensure that all hostile and sabotage activities cease completely, they should also assure them that union statehood of the independent, democratic Republic of India has conferred on the Naga people as a whole the right to have a government of their own choice and has made them masters of their own destiny. If the underground Naga leaders are prepared to join with the rest of the Naga people to accept loyally the basic obligations of a union statehood, the Government of India should show its readiness to grant Nagaland further extension of autonomy and status than is provided for in the Constitution. The Government of India must come forward with a bold plan of economic and cultural development of the tribal people, which accords with their needs and wishes, and provide generous financial grants for the same. Such a plan must be based on the development of the natural resources of the hill area, in the interest of the tribal people themselves, on the training and education of cadres from the tribal people to man and administer the various projects, a plan guaranteeing the raising of their living standards and ensuring the democratic cooperation of the people.

2. The problem of the Mizo tribes will have to be solved on similar lines. The Mizo tribe should be granted union statehood. The exact form of the proposed state, its powers, etc. should be determined by negotiating with the leaders of the parties of the Mizo people.

3. The Garos and the united Khasi-Jaintia hill tribes will have to be granted sooner or later their separate autonomous regions or union statehood under the centre, the exact nature of their autonomy and statehood to be determined by negotiations with parties of the respective peoples.

4. The problems of the other tribes of Assam, such as those of North Cachar and Mikir hills can be solved on

the basis of granting them regional autonomy by enlarging powers of the existing district councils in consultation with the leaders of the tribes concerned. This is possible because these people have expressed themselves in favour of remaining within Assam state on the basis of regional autonomy. In carrying out these political and administrative changes efforts should be made to bring together the linguistic groups that are now divided in different districts by adjustment of boundaries in consultation with the people concerned.

5. In place of present set up where the NEFA tribes are being governed by bureaucracy alone, political status with regional autonomy must be granted to them and help them to rapidly develop to the status of at least the other peoples of India.

6. In this new political and administrative set up Assam state will be reorganised basing itself on the Brahmaputra valley, Cachar district and the autonomous district of North Cachar and Mikir hills. Naturally, in the reorganised state and in its autonomous regions, the rights of the interested linguistic minorities shall have to be adequately protected.

7. To coordinate and integrate the economic development of this entire contiguous hill tribes region, consisting of the hill tribal areas of the reorganised Assam state, the union states and territories like the Nagaland, Mizoland and the others, as well as of the NEFA union territory, all of which have common natural features and common tribal interests, it would be necessary to set up a statutory planning and development body. This should be formed by having equal representation from all the tribal areas, states and territories of the region, big and small, and of the central government. Its task should be to coordinate and dovetail the economic development plans made by the respective area and state and territorial authorities, to ensure them adequate financial and technical assistance from the central government so that these plans are carried out most efficiently and without duplication, in the best interests of the various tribal peoples themselves, ensuring their willing

cooperation in the common endeavour of achieving their rapid economic and cultural growth.

BASTAR ADIVASIS

The National Council of the Communist Party of India strongly condemns the unprovoked and murderous attack launched by the Madhya Pradesh government on the adivasis of Bastar, who had gathered in the palace of the raja of Bastar to voice their protest against the forceful collection of food levies in the condition of terrible drought, resulting in the death of the raja and many adivasis.

The Communist Party considers this atrocious act as outright political murder as the Congress in Madhya Pradesh could not win over adivasis from the influence of the Maharaja.

It also condemns the attitude of the MP government in not heeding to the demands unanimously raised by all the opposition parties for the resignation of the chief minister and to strengthen the commission of enquiry by appointing two more Supreme Court judges to inspire greater confidence in the commission. The MP government has also failed to transfer immediately the officers who were responsible for the said incidents so that they may not tamper with the evidence.

The above incidents in Jagdalpur have once again brought to the forefront the pitiable and primitive conditions in which nearly a million adivasis are leading their lives in the heart of our country. It is all the more shocking to realise that they are cut off from the main stream of civilisation and are compelled to live in primitive conditions. It is a matter of shame for all of us that in a district of MP surrounded by other states of Orissa, Andhra and Maharashtra, even after 18 years of independence we have deplorably failed to do anything to raise them to the ways of modern life.

The transformations that have been brought about in the lives of some other tribes must be an eye-opener to the

great possibilities and also about the gross and criminal negligence on the part of the government.

These adivasis had been for generations the victims of constant harassment by the government bureaucrats because of their primitiveness and ignorance. Even after independence this harassment by the government officials goes on unabated, the only difference is that this army of officials has been multiplied many fold under Congress rule.

The meaning of Congress rule and its reforms to the adivasis is nothing but eviction from the land, denial of facilities of the forest products, new taxes and intense exploitation by forest contractors and oppression by the police. It was this harassment by the officials, in the absence of a democratic movement to protect them, that drove the adivasis to the lap of the raja of Bastar and strengthened his hold on them.

The tightening of the forest administration and intensive exploitation of the forest wealth by the government on the one hand and the failure of the government to help them with an alternative way of life on the other, has denied them the facility they once enjoyed to lead at least the primitive ways of life thus making their living more miserable.

This has been revealed by the fact that the revenue for the government from this district has gone up from Rs. 50 lakhs during the last 15 years to Rs. 3 crores and the expenditure for all "developmental" activities had never been more than half of this amount. Even this amount was not properly utilised in the interest of adivasis. So instead of spending more money in a backward district so as to raise its level, the government has been following a policy of ruthless exploitation, thereby causing steady deterioration in the lives of the people in this district.

Side by side with this, the policies of the government brought into being in this district a new class of forest contractors who also exploit the ignorance of the adivasis to rob them of what little they possess.

In short, the policies of the government, the continuous harassment of the officials and the exploitation of the new brood of forest contractors have reduced the lives of the adivasis who form 77 per cent of the population to one of utter misery.

The National Council demands of the governments of India and Madhya Pradesh to make a radical change in their policies and approach to the problems of the adivasis and put it on a par with the rehabilitation of the refugees.

The Communist Party of India demands that a comprehensive scheme similar to the projects for rehabilitating the refugees should be started in Bastar, which should be exclusively worked out for the benefit and development of the adivasi tribe in accordance to their needs and social customs for which purpose the centre should immediately take over the administration of Bastar.

DEMAND FOR DECLARATION OF TRIBAL SCHEDULED AREAS IN TRIPURA

Before integration, Tripura was a princely state with a population of 513,010 of which tribals formed the majority. But, after partition of India, due to huge influx of refugees, the position has been reversed. According to the 1961 census, the population of Tripura is 1,141,746, of which the scheduled tribe population is 361,751, i.e. 31.68 per cent of the entire population. Further influx in the form of exchange with Muslims of Tripura by the East Pakistan Hindus and also otherwise have already converted the position of tribal population to still lower percentage. This has created a serious land problem of which the backward tribal people have been the worst victims.

It can easily be appreciated that a people—the tribals of Tripura—who have been the original inhabitants of this land and who were the majority population once, have thus been reduced to the position of a minority. The emotional aspect of this phenomenon cannot be overemphasised. The tribals feel insecure and haunted by thoughts of exter-

mination. This has been further aggravated by the policy of the government which is always anti-democratic and callous towards the real problems of the tribals. The government which failed to solve the refugee problem, thought it wise to push them in compact tribal areas and thereby creating ground for strife between these two sections of the suffering people. Not only this; the arbitrary reservation of land for forest, survey and settlement, moneylenders—all have played no less havoc in ousting the tribals from land. Having thus been ousted and finding no alternative for living, hundreds of tribals from Tripura have migrated to Assam and East Pakistan Reserves.

The government plan of development of tribal people and Jhumia (landless tribals) has really proved to be a flop. Hence this great sense of insecurity amongst the tribal people.

The sufferings and difficulties of tribal people have not only found an echo in the Dhebar commission report, which has suggested some remedial measures, but also have found appreciation in the democratic sections of Tripura people who earnestly desire some sort of solution of the tribal problem.

Under the circumstances the National Council strongly demands that the few recommendations of the Dhebar Commission be implemented forthwith with right seriousness. Particularly the recommendation as to the formation of tribal scheduled areas in Tripura for safeguarding their interests in land. Such areas are to comprise compact tribal areas taking the village as a unit. It also demands that the fifth schedule of the Constitution be immediately extended to Tripura and areas mentioned in Dhebar commission report along with other areas where there is a preponderance of tribal population, be declared as scheduled areas.

The measures suggested above are in no case a solution of the problems of Tripura tribes. But these measures, particularly the formation of tribal scheduled areas are

measures which will bring back some sense of security in the minds of the Tripura tribes.

The National Council calls upon all the democratic forces in Tripura and elsewhere in India to support this just demand of tribal scheduled area and also calls upon the tribes of Tripura to launch the strongest movement for this demand unitedly, with all the democratic forces, thus forcing the unwilling hands of the government to concede it. The Communist Party of India assures the tribals of Tripura that it will do everything in its power to actively support and fight for the just demands of the tribals at all times.

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