



*BHONSALA RESEARCH CENTRE
FOR CONFLICT AND PEACE*

DAKSH

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Central Hindu Military Education Society, Nashik, founded in 1937, by the Late Dharamveer Dr. B.S.Moonje, is a pioneer institution in the field of Military Education. To promote the ideals of Dr. B.S.Moonje, the society runs various institutions in a single 160 acre campus having classes from K.G. to P.G. covering besides academics, various aspects of personality development and physical training.

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SYNOPSIS OF A TALK ON THE GLOBAL SPREAD OF MILITARY TECHNOLOGY

.....Maj. Gen. K. S. Pendse (Retd.)

INTRODUCTION :

1. Human evolution is marked by man's ability to fashion tools as well as weapons for self-defence. It was natural that what could be used for defensive purposes also passed muster for annihilation of one's enemy. Looking at Mankind's history of a few millions of years agriculture and domestication of animals is about ten thousand years old, and civilisation is about five thousand years old. Within the last five hundred years, the whole face of the globe together with its air-envelope has been knit together physically by the amazing advance of technology. Nation's security has been tied to the military aspects of technology through the ages. And in safeguarding a nation's interests through military means, military technology has been the fulcrum without which neither strategic brilliance nor financial outlay of the most lavish nature has proved effective. Even in the post-cold war era, the adage that power flows from the barrel of a gun continues to hold true, even though the U.S. as the sole super power may be tactful enough to follow Theodore Roosevelt's advice, "Talk softly, but carry a big stick". What fashions this big stick is military technology. It is proposed to discuss the global spread of this military technology in three parts;

- (a) Part - A Brief Survey of military Technology upto the End of the Second World War.
- (b) Part II- Military Technology in the Nuclear Age.
- (c) Part III- Future Trends.

A BRIEF SURVEY :

2. All weapons, whether offensive or defensive in nature, have two features : a piercing or a cutting edge, and energy to drive them. Energy has two facets : potential and kinetic, and human beings have been in constant search for a technology that converts potential energy into kinetic energy, whose extent would be sufficient enough to produce a kill at the target end.
3. Initially, it was human energy that gave momentum to hand held weapons, be they clubs, daggers, swords or spears. David's sling defeated Goliath's armour by imparting sufficient kinetic energy to a stone which hit an unprotected forehead and struck Goliath down. That was a technological innovation which improved upon stones thrown by hand. Once man subdued a horse and rode it into combat with a lance held stiffly by one's side, the combined momentum of the man-horse combination was enough to pierce the body of enemy or topple him from his horse. Body- armour made of tough hide, and later on, out of metal plate and chain, saved man from death most of the time. But the English long-bow defeated French knight in armour in the 14th and 15th Centuries, because the Englishmen combined their tactical skills with the residual energy of their arrows that was adequate enough to penetrate the body-armour of those days. Weapons and tactics have always had a symbiotic relationship, which according to military analysts, has resulted in 50 year-cycle of alternate predominance of mobility over firepower and vice versa.
4. With the advent of gunpowder, both personal weapons as well as siege weapons underwent a revolution, which has manifested itself in offensive uses of such weapons proving mightier than their defensive ones in some periods, followed by a reversal of this process, as technology kept improving in one direction or the other. This was seen most clearly in the First World War in which machine guns in dugouts behind barbed wire obstacles could not be overcome by sheer mass -

of artillery fire until the tank was produced as an antidote to this defensive combination which had mobilised the fighting forces to a static trench warfare. Afterwards, it was Hitler's Germany which made a better use of tanks invented by the British through an innovative tactical combination with radio and the dive-bomber in 'blitzkrieg' that won them rapid victories till superior industrial strength of the US made an Allied victory possible. Again, it was the American technological superiority that made the production of atom bombs a reality. Here was a massive release of energy on an unprecedented scale that produced so much heat, blast and radiation that a single bomb could kill nearly 80,000 Japanese in Nagasaki and later on in Hiroshima and force Japan to surrender unconditionally.

MILITARY TECHNOLOGY IN THE NUCLEAR AGE

5. While the Allies had won the race to build atomic weapons it was those German scientists whom both the US and the USSR had 'hijacked' at the end of the war in 1945, who helped their new mentors to build rockets, missiles and hydrogen bombs, as the cold war hardened the attitudes of the two super-powers towards each other. An arms race followed, whose star war technologies appear to be mind-boggling. Space has been militarised and despite all treaties to reduce the holding of nuclear weapons, there is a stockpile of such weapons, which is equivalent to about 5 tons of TNT per person living today.

6. Besides weapons of mass destruction, there are many modern technologies such as those involved in -

- (a) new surveillance & target acquisition systems,
- (b) intelligent missiles,
- (c) very destructive conventional warheads,
- (d) automated communication system (O3I)

7. These technologies tend to automate the battle field in which the defender occupying his well-prepared field fortification has to manage the anti-tank envelope, the air-defence envelope and the anti-ballistic missile envelope, besides dominating the entire electro-magnetic spectrum, so as to locate, identify, engage and destroy the enemy at as long a range as possible, using stand-off intelligent munitions, fired by remote control, or even automatic through a computer-controlled signal. And the aggressor has to be able to field technologies that give him an edge over those of the defender, making such automated warfare highly technology intensive and therefore, becoming increasingly costly to the point of unaffordability. The US has already slowed down its Star Wars programme of putting laser guns in space to shoot down enemy ballistic missiles and their war heads before these can release their MIRV payloads, mainly because of costs involved in it.

FUTURE TRENDS

8. While pentagon futurologists like Andrew Marshall have warned the US military that future wars are unlikely to be fought and won with 'sunset systems' such as the present-day tanks, fighters and aircraft carriers, he has suggested that the next thirty years may see a revolution in waging wars, chief characteristics of which may be :-

(A) mass armies may be replaced by smaller, more professional forces, packing more firepower, and fighting from a distance.

(b) Superiority of standoff weapons may blur distinctions between air, land and sea warfare.

(c) In a warzone where data would move like-mail, tanks and aircraft carriers would become anachronistic being vulnerable to long range smart weapons.

(d) The new forces may need less logistics but more targeting intelligence, with the military formation becoming less hierarchical, as front-line commanders pluck intelligence from space that would be continually updating electronic display of the whereabouts of friend and foe.

9. These forecasts obviously apply to the advanced nations of the world who are so far ahead of the rest in terms of military technological lead that there is little likelihood of that gap ever being bridged. Before 1991, when the USSR broke up the two super powers had deployed about 400,000 scientists and engineers to improve and develop weapons for their military on whom, together, they were spending as much as \$ 600,000 millions a year, which was 70% of the world expenditure, as also \$ 60,000 millions on military research & development annually, which was 85% of the world expenditure on such R & D. Nevertheless, more and more countries are developing a modern military technological base, both industrialised and developing ones. Such proliferation means that sophisticated weapons are spreading world-wide. And all producers are keen to acquire the latest technologies. Details of the design of modern weapons spread because of the global arms trade, which shows little signs of coming to a halt, even after the cold war has ended. In 1991, the US sold \$ 23 billion worth of arms, which shows little signs of coming to a halt, even after the cold war has ended. In 1991, the US sold 23 billion worth of arms, which was 50.60 share of the world arms trade, followed by the CIS, Germany, China, the UK and France. This trade seems unlikely to end because-

- (a) it is a part of international economics, being connected with the problem of debt,
- (b) a nation wanting to have its own domestic arms industry for strategic reasons, has to export arms so as to afford making large production runs at home, and,
- (c) politically, such sales help make allies & friends get base and overflight right and gather intelligence as also influence a client's decision-making.

10. This all-pervasive nature of arms trade and consequent glo-

bal spread of military technology is unstoppable. Today, the most sophisticated weapons and their supporting technologies are available in the global arms bazaar, even to terrorists if they can pay for them. Hence the urgency among the developed nation's politicians to curb such proliferation through the NPT, MTCR, JPR and the like, that such weapon-sales can boomerang was evident in the Falklands war, when British made aircraft and missiles killed British troops at the hands of Argentinians using them.

CONCLUSION :

11. Human evolution thus far has been marked by growth in his skills to produce weapons of ever greater sophistication. Now that man possesses an over-kill capacity five to six times that required to exterminate mankind, there is an awakening to curb the spread to military technology, one way or the other. It remains to be seen whether such curbs will remain partial and discriminatory or total and equitable.



NUCLEAR OPTIONS

.....Prof. P. M. Kamath

M. A. Ph. D.

Prime Minister Inder Kumar Gujral stated during his recent visit to the SARC that India's nuclear option is still open. That India needs to keep her nuclear option in view of potential nuclear threat to her national security is a known fact.

Because, since the 1970s, China on our disputed border, is fully equipped to pose a nuclear threat to Indian cities while Pakistan's possession of nuclear weapons is an open secret since the early 1980s. Added to it, there is the US presence in Diego-Garcia in the Indian Ocean. Hence, we cannot surrender our nuclear option.

It was therefore a strange diplomatic posture of India to have advocated the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) in the 1990s.

But instead of consistently sticking to India's known position of keeping her nuclear option open, Indian policy makers in 1993 joined hands with the only superpower- the US by co-sponsoring CTBT, only to back out in June, 1996 when the CTBT was presented in its full form for global acceptance. What explains India's stand? How real is the nuclear option today? These are the questions which need realistic answers. India joining the US in cosponsoring the CTBT and the subsequent backout is a classic example of mismanaged diplomacy.

Indian diplomats failed to correctly evaluate Indian national interest during the period. It is the pressure on a weak government led by Narasimha Rao that led it to cosponsor CTBT in 1993.

While K Srinivasan, then foreign secretary in January 1995 described the NPT as "not a live issue", the present foreign secretary stated in early 1995 that India does not need

nuclear weapons. With such conciliatory statements, the Narasimha Rao government, in all probability was prepared to sign the CTBT. However, the emergence of the BJP as the single largest party in Lok Sabha in May 1996 elections, made political parties particularly the Congress-change their approach to the CTBT.

Now, how real is the nuclear option today? with the end of bipolarity and the Cold War, the opportunity to keep the nuclear option open in perpetuity is losing ground very fast. If India was serious in retaining her nuclear option, she ought to have tested one or more nuclear devices and joined the ranks of nuclear weapons states by signing the NPT and the CTBT following in the footsteps of France and China. Even if this was done as late as in early 1995, the international fallout would have been within India's damage control abilities. The US could have used its leverage to deny or delay concessional loans from international monetary institutions, But any US pressure on the MNCs not to invest in India would have been resisted by the MNCs themselves. Pakistan would have gone nuclear, in that event, India's threat perception would have looked more real to the world. We have not done this.

But did India possess only two options of signing the CTBT or rejecting it? India had the third option of bargaining with the US for substantial security- promoting concessions in return for signing the CTBT. In the changed international environment, India should have convinced the US of its commitment to nuclear disarmament in light of the security threat emanating from China and Pakistan. India should have bargained hard on two quid pro quos in return for India's co-operation.

First, since India lowers her security guard by signing the CTBT despite the known security threat she should have demanded to be compensated by US accepting her legitimate claim for a permanent seat in the UN security Council with veto power. This would have balanced the loss of nuclear option-

by the gain of veto power.

Second, India should have asked for a computer simulation testing device from the US.

The US has promised a computer simulation device to China to secure its signing the CTBT, whose record of adhering to international treaties and agreements towards the goal of disarmament is of low credibility as illustrated by its supply to Pakistan of M11 missiles capable of carrying nuclear weapons. At least there is no reason why India cannot be trusted as her record has been better according to the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Even now, it is not too late for Indian diplomacy to bargain for the two concessions for its signing the CTBT.

Though it must be admitted that India's leverage has diminished considerably with the US inflexibility increasing after a majority of nation signed the CTBT, However, with the Republican majority in the US Congress opposing the CTBT, it is unlikely that the US Senate will approve it. India could still convince the US administration that the third option of India signing the CTBT with compensatory gains still provides both with a win-win situation.

We need to build pressure in these directions. If the present international environment favouring the US' dominance continues for another five years, India's nuclear option might be exposed as phoney.

☆☆☆☆

ACHIVEMENTS OF IPKF IN SRILANKA

....Dr. P. A. Ghosh

M. Phil, Ph. D.

Introduction :-

Following Indian air - dropping of relief supplies on northern Srilanka, an agreement was signed between President Jayewardene and Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi on 29 July, 1987 in Colombo to establish peace and normalcy in Srilanka. Under the agreement, India got obliged to provide military assistance as and when requested by the Srilankan government for the implementation of the agreement. In accordance with the terms of the agreement, at the request of the Srilankan government, the IPKF was inducted into Srilanka on 30th July 1987, one day after the agreement was signed. The initial purpose of the IPKF was mainly to help Srilankan government to implement the agreement and thereby to resolve the ethnic strife between Sinhalese and Tamils. Consequently, to restore peace in the riot torn Srilanka (and thus naturally was called Indian peace keeping force). It is significant to note that as peace keeping force, the initial strength of the IPKF was only 5,000 to 6,000 although its strength was raised in November 1988 to 60,000. (1) This clearly indicates that Indian political decision to send the IPKF into Srilanka under the Indo Srilanka agreement was not based upon the premise of waging a war against the Tamil militants but to maintain peace and stability in the northeast provinces of Srilanka. On his return from Colombo after signing the agreement, Rajiv Gandhi categorically stated on 31st July 1987 both, in the Rajya Sabha as well as Lok Sabha that "IPKF had gone into Srilanka in response to a

formal request of the Srilankan government, who had invoked our obligations and commitments under the Indo-Srilanka agreement, and their dispatch underlines our commitment to the unity and integrity of SriLanka. (2) So, the initial purpose of the IPKF was to ensure that the Tamils were not to be punished anymore by the Srilankan armed forces in SriLanka and the country had to remain united. Consequently, Tamil militants had to give up the idea establishing "Eelam". Lieutenant General Depinder Singh wrote in his book, "IPKF in SriLanka" that the initial objectives of the IPKF were as follows : (3)

- a) Supervise handing over of all weapons by LTTE and other militant groups.
- b) Ensure dismantling of SLAF camps established after May, 1987.
- c) Separate the two warring factions i. e. SLAF and LTTE.
- d) Help the local population to return to their homes so that they could live in peace.

Transformation of Initial Objectives of IPKF :

Although initially, LTTE adopted flexible attitude and accepted the agreement, but in the last week of September of 1987, LTTE refused to co-operate with the IPKF in implementing the Agreement. In order to make life difficult for IPKF soldiers LTTE initiated civil disobedience movement in the north and east provinces of SriLanka. Also, LTTE launched armed attacks on civilians, killed 200 Sinhalese mainly in Batticaloa and Trincomalee districts. In reaction, Sinhalese also launched armed attacks against Tamils. Thus in the presence of IPKF once again, Communal violence had broken out between Tamils and Sinhalese in the north-eastern provinces. LTTE its strong opposition to the agreement was due to the perception that India was imposing on them an unfair agreement to protect her strategic interests in SriLanka. (4) LTTE also found the agreement deflected from their goal of establishing Tamil sovereign state encompassing north and eastern provinces of SriLanka.

In early October 1987, LTTE resumed violent activities, the law and order situation was fast deteriorating in SriLanka, particularly in the eastern province. SriLankan government started putting pressure on the IPKF to maintain law and order. This was evident, when President Jayewardene specifically asked Lieutenant General Depinder Singh, OFC IPKF, that either IPKF must act now or should quit SriLanka. (5) In fact, President Jayewardene was under increasing criticism from all sections of Sinhalese population for not protecting Sinhalese life and properties. IPKF was initially reluctant to undertake military operations against the LTTE for, it only would have reinforced their earlier perception that IPKF wanted to prolong its stay with a view to drawing SriLanka more closer in her orbit of influence.

It was against this backdrop that on 9th October 1987, India finally decided to forcibly disarm the LTTE - the main militant group who had merely made token surrender of arms so far. The action was aimed at removing obstacles to the implementation of the Agreement and thereby establishing peace in SriLanka. IPKF Commanders were told to avoid civilian casualties and not to inflict unwarranted damage to civilian properties. This was confirmed by then Major General. A. S. Kalkat when he disclosed that,

" the IPKF had been asked to disarm the Tamil guerrillas, avoid causing civil casualties, ensure communal harmony and create an environment in which democratic forces could start operating effectively." (6)

Hence the role of the IPKF was transformed from peace-keeping to peace-making when IPKF had to undertake military operations against LTTE in support of SriLankan government.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE IPKF

To take a holistic view of the achievements of the IPKF, it is essential to recapitulate the internal situation prevailing in Sri Lanka in the wake of July 1983 riots. The agitation launched by Janata Vimukti Peramuna (JVP) for the dissolution of parliament in southern province of Sri Lanka had almost torn asunder the fabric of cohesion. The conflict between JVP and the ruling party was the product of Sri Lanka's internal social, economic and political disorientation, resulting from the government's past economic, social and political policies. (7) When the IPKF came to Sri Lanka, the U.N.P. government had already ruled the country for 10 years without conducting parliamentary elections. Thus, prevailed a situation which was described by some analysts, as a "New -Gaullist-Bonapartist state."- (8) Under these circumstances, the JVP, who remained an ally with the ruling party till 1982, was driven to collision course after being proscribed. JVP members consisted of a segment of Sinhala population, educated, jobless and motivated by Buddhist ideology in the context of the exacerbated ethnic conflict. (9) Till 1985, JVP tried to secure a reprieve from the government but in vain. (10)

Sri Lankan government's problems were further compounded when the LTTE remorselessly started pursuing its goal of Tamil Eelam through revolutionary movement and armed struggle in the north-eastern provinces of Sri Lanka. Consequently, Sri Lankan government found difficulties in deploying her security forces simultaneously on two fronts against LTTE and JVP- the two enemies of the State. The strength of the Sri Lankan armed forces was small, and they were relatively inexperienced in counter insurgency operations. With the induction of the IPKF, Sri Lankan Government could spare sufficient forces for dealing with the law and order problems in the South-Western part of Sri Lanka while the IPKF could keep the LTTE in check in the North, thus removing the incipient threat to the territorial integrity of Sri Lanka.

1. It may be now noted that deployment of Indian forces against Tamil guerrillas in the north-east provinces of Sri Lanka, facilitated the Sri Lankan army to concentrate all its resources and strength to fight the JVP revolutionaries whose leadership was decimated, in the south. IPKF had prevented LTTE from setting up an independent Tamil state in Sri Lanka (11) in the terms stipulated in the Agreement. Thus, India's military assistance by means of containing the Tamil guerrillas challenges and providing support for the Sri Lankan armed forces under the provisions of the agreement (Exchange of letters, para.3. 11), proved crucial for Sri Lankan security. Thus it was a great help to Sri Lankan Army and Sri Lanka's government over burdened economy. In this context, we may note a Daily News editorial written on the first anniversary of Indo-Sri Lanka agreement, 29th July 1988.... there has been increasing acceptance of the bitter truth, that far from being sell -out, the agreement almost certainly saved the island from dismemberment. The strength and capacity of the LTTE alone have been amply manifested in the contest against Indian troops. It must be recognized that at the time of the peace agreement, the Lankan victory at vadamarachchi notwithstanding, a whole garrison was under siege in the fort of Jaffna. It must be recognized that the LTTE had not began their attacks from the rear. The war had already claimed a large number of Lankan lives. Even the IPKF, now engaged in campaign of going out to round - up and disarm the militants, have already lost over 500 of their men.(12) Thus, **Indian Military Intervention was beneficial to Lankan interests (emphasis added).**

2. In retrospect therefore, it may be stated that IPKF's main contribution may be that it saved the Island from its territorial disintegration. It is difficult to imagine the fate of the United Sri Lanka with the escalating, violent and conflicting movements launched by the centripetal forces. Prior to arrival of the IPKF, there were about 25,000 people who had taken shelter in various refugee camps within Sri Lanka;

they were made homeless during fighting between LTTE and SLAF. Also, " during Operation Pawan," 90,000 Tamil refugees took shelter in various refugees camps and temples in and around Jaffna. The largest concentration was at Nallur Kandaswamy temples where 30,000 men, woman and children lived in fear. (13) when Jaffna was brought under IPKF control, all these people returned to their homes, as IPKF brought considerable normalcy to the public life in SriLanka.

3. During post - July 1983 ethnic riots, an estimated 1,50,000 Tamil refugees had taken shelter in the Indian state of Tamil Nadu. Under the terms of Indo-SriLanka Agreement, the Government of India was to expedite repatriation of SriLankan Tamil refugees from India. In this context, one of the notable features of IPKF achievements was the creation of conditions under which 60,000 refugees were sent back in batches to their homeland- it is also deemed in a failure because 90,000 of the refugees were still in India when the IPKF was completely deinducted from SriLanka in March 1990.(14)

4. Soon after Operation Pawan was over, Indian Armed Forces provided all possible support to revive normal administration in the Jaffna, Trincomalee and Batticaloa districts of SriLanka. For this purpose, reconstruction and rehabilitation works were undertaken on a large scale and essential services were swiftly reactivated. For example, the 51 Engineer Regiment was specially placed under the Town Commandant of Jaffna (TCJ), Brigadier R. I. S. Kahlon. Rail links from Jaffna to Killinochchi and Colombo were restored. Government of India had sanctioned five crore rupees for repairing buildings, water and electric supply lines. The engineers of Indian army even undertook works to repair central Tele-communication complex office in Jaffna and Kankesanthurai Jetty, which were heavily damaged during fighting between the LTTE and the SLAF. (15) The engineers worked under LTTE sniper fire to restore the electric supply lines. Thus, banks, courts, post and telegraph office, hospitals as well as educational institutions -

could function in the riot torn north-east provinces of SriLanka, under the IPKF's protection to all communities. (16)

5. The Ministry of Defence stated that " India's basic objectives in sending its forces to SriLanka were to preserve its democratic set-up and territorial integrity seriously threatened by various militant groups and to ensure that the legitimate aspirations of its Tamil minorities were not neglected in the governance of that country." In this context, objectives were achieved in a large scale, (17) although IPKF could not ensure complete success.

The IPKF had been a catalyst for reviving democratic institutions in SriLanka, after a gap of eleven years. It may be noted that the last parliamentary elections, prior to 1989, was held in SriLanka in 1977. IPKF made possible in holding three consecutive elections i.e, the provincial council election of 19th October 1988, the presidential elections of 19th November 1988 and the parliamentary elections in February 1989, with overwhelming turn-out of voters. During parliamentary elections, out of total electorate of 5,34,306, about 3,99,066 voters exercised their franchise in the north-east provinces of SriLanka. In all these elections, IPKF not only succeeded in creating necessary environment but also ensured the safety and electoral freedom of Tamils and Sinhalese candidates, in spite of the LTTE threatening of bloodbath. (18) Therefore, IPKF not only demonstrated its success in peace making but also played a significant political role in SriLanka.

6. The Indo-SriLanka agreement and subsequent government devolution of power accommodated all legitimate demands of the Tamils. Even then, only Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) militants refused to honour the agreement because, they were unwilling to make transition from militancy to democratic political process, although they were given all possible encouragement and opportunity to play a leading role in the process. It may be noted that the agreement recognized Tamil as a distinct ethnic group, north-east provinces of

Sri Lanka as areas of traditional home land of Tamil people and Tamil along with Sinhala as an official language was incorporated in the constitution. Also devolution of governmental power in the areas like finance, land settlement, law and order and the political autonomy for managing their future were granted.

Tamil aspirations to a large extent were met, due to India's efforts to ensure that powers are transferred to the Tamils by the central government following the Signing of the agreement as envisaged in the 13th Amendment of the Sri Lankan Constitution, in accordance with the provisions of the Provincial Council Act passed by the Sri Lankan parliament in November 1987. Further, as envisaged in the law passed by Sri Lankan Parliament in January 1989, all four demands viz language, devolution merger and homeland were met. (19) During the IPKF's stay in Sri Lanka, there existed an elected Tamil government in the north-east province of Sri Lanka, such a government was formed for the first time in the contemporary history of Sri Lanka. In this context, within the framework of Sri Lankan union, the concession which was being granted to the Tamils gradually was certainly much more than ever before. (20) Thus, the government of India conceded that despite some problems and delays, this agreement represented the only way of safeguarding legitimate Tamil interests and ensuring a durable peace in Sri Lanka.

Conclusion :-

The present study observed that the IPKF mission was inherently complex and unusual. Because, Creating conditions for the implementation of July 1987 Agreement was not precise and clearly defined objective to be accomplished by Indian military forces. Besides, IPKF was fighting under several constraints. The first and foremost problem was at the IPKF had neither a correct perception nor a clear mandate during its operations in Sri Lanka mainly due to confused political aim and lack of precise military goal. The IPKF was under clear

instructions to avoid killing civilians and not to damage their property, as IPKF overall strategy was to push LTTE for a political solution. In the final analysis, it is clear that the role of the IPKF, despite its inability to disarm the LTTE completely, has been constructive engagement. Because India's military involvement in Sri Lankan ethnic conflict, it decidedly saved the island from its territorial disintegration. Also, it proved a close link between India's willingness to guarantee the peace and physical integrity in Sri Lanka in return for the accommodation of her security concerns in the region.

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MILITARY CULTURE OF GARHWAL : EVOLUTION AND IMPACT ON SOCIETY

....Dr. Lakshmi Kumar & Dr. Govind Das

Ancient Indian literature has depicted Uttarakhand (Kumaon-Garhwal Himalayas) as veritable abode of Devas and Rishis, the holiest of holy region and paradise on earth. Most of the principal gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, a majority of incarnations of Vishnu, all the greater Rishis, some Tirthankars, and Buddhas and a number of greater emperors, heroes, learned men and celebrated devotees are in some way associated with this region about which there is no dearth of legends and traditions and which has ever had a powerful human appeal.

Tehri Garhwal (and Almora) have been celebrated in ancient Indian literature as Kedar Kshetra and Hindu Kingdom of Bramhapura, Kumaon and Garhwal flourished here. According to another tradition, the Himalayan country is said to be made of five divisions, one of which is Kedar Khand, which has been specifically dealt with Kedar Khand section of Skandpurana. Where it is said. It surpassed all tirthas and it is land where nature stands personified. It is sum total of all tirthas on earth. There is no place on this fair earth which can compare to this holy land. (1)

Legends and folktales and names of certain places such as Jakh, Jakhu and Jakhini, Probably derived from term Yakshas, point to the association of this region with legendary Yakshas, other legends connect the region with Asuras. There were Dasas or Dasyus of Vedic literature who came in conflict with Aryans in course of latter's expansion in North India. Nagas were yet another inhabitants who inhabited part of Alaknanda Valley, probably Known in their times as Nagaloka.(2)

According to Hindu tradition, the earliest King to rule this region was Kubera, Lord of Yakshas, later superseded by Asuras who controlled this area noted among them being Sahasrakavacha, Raktabij, Mahishasura and last but not least, Banasura. Pandavas too spent much of its time in this area. Great sages like Vyas, Kashyap, Atri, Vashistha, Vishwamitra, Jamdagni, Parashara and Agastya, to whom authorship of Mahabharat and many vedic hymns is attributed and some of founders of famous schools of philosophy like Gautam, Vyas and Jamini as also Garga, the astronomer, Varuchi, the grammarian and Badrayana, the author of Bramhasutra are said to have graced this region. (3)

After Mahabharata war, the Asuras are no more heard of and Nagas, Kuninds, Kirats, Tanganas and Khasas appeared on the scene. However with the passage of time all other except Khasas vanished who controlled this region till the advent of Mauryas and after the fall of this mighty empire, the Katyurics emerged as a viable ruling dynasty with its capital near Baijnath in Katyuri Valley. Evidences also corroborate the rule of Kushan and Kuninds in this area. (4) During sixth century AD, Kings of Paurav Dynasty ruled this area and during this period only, that Huen Tsang, the Chinese traveller reached India. (5) During seventh century AD, the Katyuri dynasty emerged as its rulers to interweave the scattered fiefdoms into an empire. Which existed till twelfth century. It was probably during the reign of Ishtaganadev that Shankaracharya (circa 788-820 - AD), the eminent Vedantic Philosopher, came to the District Chamoli, where he established a math (Monastery) which gave the place the name, Jyotirmath, later corrupted into Jyotimath. He brought change into beliefs and practice of the local people. After the fall of Katyuri Dynasty, the Uttarakhand was again shattered to form smaller principalities.

During sixteenth century, the Pawar Dynasty established their rule over Garhwal and in 1771 AD, the Pradymna Shah, the last King, ruled Garhwal. Gorkhas, who captured Kumaon in 1790, also forced Garhwal under his sway by 1803. The injustice and atrocities perpetuated by Gorkhas, facilitated British interference, who defeated Gorkhas, annexed Uttarakhand to their ever expanding empire and forced the latter to enter upon a treaty in 1816 with Britishers according to which the State of Tehri was returned to its ruler Sudarshan Shah and the rest of Uttarakhand, treating it as a single 'political unit' was converted into Kumaon Commissionary. In 1901, the Uttarakhand was amalgamated into the United Provinces of Agra and Awadh. In 1947, Tehri didn't immediately merged with the Indian Union, however, this State was finally merged with Indian Union in the year 1948. (6)

From its ancient times the area of Garhwal or for that matter entire Uttarakhand was identified as curious mix of the repository of natural wealth and beauty, divine peace unfathomable source of metaphysical and occult powers and valour & chivalry. All such traits still persist and emphatically reflect in the composite culture of Garhwal. The present paper seeks to focus on the genesis and factor contributing to the making such a culture popularly known as Military Culture of Garhwal.

Culture :

The classic definition of culture framed by Sir Edward Taylor reads, "Culture..... is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." Stated more simply, culture is everything which is socially learned and shared by members of society. (7) The Puranic and Mythological references abound in details of Asuras Viz : Banasur, Raktbeej Mahishasur to name a few, were incessantly at war with the Gods/Aryans for one or other reasons. The entire area of Uttarakhand, -

Continued

better known as the fountainhead of Divine/Metaphysical powers, celestial, peace was in fact badly punctuated by local wars. The geographic conditions, inaccessible terrain, inclement and inhospitable weather, inherited war traditions and host of other factors gradually contributed to the development of a sub-culture in this area, known as Military Culture.

Factors Contributing To The Development of the Military Culture :

Military Traditions :

The area of Garhwal is popularly known as House of 52 forts. (8) Above apart, the nature, with steep and high-rising peaks has gifted this area with the impregnable defence system whom a few can dare to traverse. Nevertheless, the area has to suffer frequent onslaughts and it is this state of internicine warfare, (Garhwal vs Kumaon vs Gorkhas) that also to some extent, helped to evolve a war-culture or Military Culture in this area.

The region of Uttarkhand mainly consists of thinly populated small villages and settlements scattered over ridges and valleys. The folklore, rituals, mythologies, usages and value system have significantly enriched the folk culture of this region. The folklore abounds in heroic saga of legendary war heroes viz : Tillu Rautela, Suraju Kauni, Kafu Chauhan, Jagdev Panwar, Bramha Kunwar, Kali Harpal, Madho Singh Bhandari, Rama Dharani, Malu Rajula, Bhanu Bhupela and Kalu Bhandari (9) and war legends associated with them still continue to be a source of inspiration to the youth.

Among the eminent martial dances/songs of Garhwal are "Ranbhut Nritya Geet" performed to propitiate the spirit of the warriors who laid down their lives in war. Such martial dances present a virtual scene of war when performed in the state of ecstasy with weapons. The variegated style of this martial art is performed in different ways like Bhala Yudh (Spear war), Mall Yudh (Duel), Talwar Yudh (Sword Fight),

Lathi Yudh (Stick Fight) and Chor Yudh (Guerrilla War).(10) Folk Song of Garhwal a pleasant melodious and carry indelible imprint of heroic military traditions of past and present. Such an enriched folk culture of Garhwal significantly contributed to the development of military culture. Playing "Ranbheri", wardrums, bugles in festive occasions and cermonials, worshiping ferocious gods, Shakti Upasana, Shakti Peeth and Siddha Peeth, belief in supernatural existence and occult practices, are all that appeal to the marshal instincts of the people of this area.

No Study is complete without understanding the role and contribution of the " Garhwal Rifles " towards the security of the nation, disseminating defence awareness and motivating the youth to join Armed Forces. Eversince its inception on May 5, 1887 at Almora, Garhwal Rifles earned laurels and battle honours in various military operations including WW I and WW II. The list of Gallantry Awards won by the Garhwal Rifles between 1887 to 1987 speak volumes for their fortitude courage and chivalorous deeds :

**Gallantry Awards Won by the Garhwal Rifles (11)
(1887 - 1947)**

Victoria Cross	3
Distinguished Sevice Order	17
Bar to Distinguished Service Order	1
Military Cross	46
Bar to Military Cross	3
Indian Order of Merit	38
Indian Distinguished Service Medal	64
Military Medal	24
Bar to Military Medal	1
Mention-in-despatches	262

(1947 - 1987)

Ashoka Chakra	1
Maha Vir Chakra	5
Kirti Chakra	9
Vir Chakra	35
Shaurya Chakra	15
Sena Medal	38
Mention-in-despatches	69

During world war I, the 1 and 2 Battalions took part in operations in France when Naik Darban Singh Nagi of 1st Battalion won the Victoria Cross at Festubert on 24 November 1914 and Rifleman Gabar Singh Negi 2 Battalion won the Victoria Cross posthumously, in the battle of Neuve Chappelle on 10 March 1915. The battle of Nuranang (NEFA) 1962, Hilli (East Pakistan) 1971, phillora (Pakistan) 1965 are replete with the Valorous deeds of the Garhwal Rifles. Recital of heroic actions of the rank and file of Garhwal Rifles enthuse the youth with the pride of their military inheritance and serves as a perennial source of inspiration. (12)

Geography and the Development of Military Culture :

Its a fact undisputed that terrain and climatic / weather conditions, inter alia, contribute to the making of Marshal traditions in an area. The frequent alien onslaughts from Khyber and Bolan pass coupled with the policy of religious intolerance perpetuated by the Moghual Rulers converted the Sikh from peace loving & Truth seeking followers of Guru Nanak into a all time warrior and marshal race. The rugged, inhospitable terrain of Rajasthan, incessant strifes amongst the local ruling dynasties and impregnable hill forts induced the glorious military traditions in Rajasthan. Likewise, Maharastra and States of North East owe their military traditions to more or less these factors.

The region of Garhwal is located in the Shivalik ranges of Central Himalayas consisting of high and lofty hills. The scarcity of plain areas oblige the people to settle down in the ridges. The steep gradient of the ridges / hills make the social mobility and transport / communication an arduous task for the local inhabitants, state planners as well. This vertical mobility in the hills otherwise adds to the sturdy physical growth of the people, best suited for the army recruitment.

The settlement patterns of the villages underline the fact of the same being done on security considerations. Throughout the entire length and width of Garhwal, the old villages / townships are seen to be situated on the high ridges of the hills for the only reason that being situated on the top the particular settlement is not only secure from the internicine local wars, with whom the general population was totally detached, but also in case of an unexpected attack the villagers on the top were in a comfortable position to repel the same with minimum loss.

SOCIAL FACTORS :

a. Quest for living :-

The area of Garhwal being geographically inaccessible and inhospitable could not attract investors to set up industries / service sectors to enable this region to generate revenue and employment. It is after the sino-Indian war of 1962 that the strategic significance of the border areas adjoining Tibet was realised by the Indian Government and planned development of these areas was worked out. Never the less, the absence of the industries in this area fail to create the job opportunities consistent with the expanding need of job to the literate and non-literate alike in Chamoli Distt alone, out of its population of 4,40,000, some 1,13,000 persons live below poverty line (13). Resultantly the eligible youths were obliged to look upon Army as the only viable and the dignified alternative of job to sustain their living. This phenomenon greatly helped to -

identify this area as a Military Feeding area and also towards fortifying military traditions of its glorious past. Strategic significance of this area required to station military units serving as the base of military operation in any national contingency. Accordingly the operational units of Regular Army and Para Military Forces namely ITBP, BSF,SSB were raised in this area. The Garhwal Regimental Centre, Lansdowne and Indian Military Academy, Dehradun were instrumental in disseminating security awareness in the area as also were the mainstay of inspiration and prime mover to motivate the youth to join Armed Forces.

Army way of Life : Impact on Society

The Garhwal Rifles consists of 22 Battalions and encapsulates 25,000 soldiers on its roll. The region of Uttarakhand prides itself for producing soldiers even to the rank of Army Chief. There are 3,00,000 retired Army personnel hailing from Garhwal and for Chamoli District, the number of retired Army Personnel comes to 42,000. (14) These war veterans do also influence voting pattern, value system, local developmental Schemes, trade and commerce, community services welfare schemes and the thought process of the society. Even settlement pattern of the villages is immensely affected by these retired service men. The civic bodies, headed by the retired soldiers are seen devoted to the honest implementation of the developmental schemes. Army personnel, retired or serving have significantly contributed to the well being of the region by way of money order economy*. An obvious impact of military way of life can also be felt in civic life style, diction and urban / rural settlements. People are still passionately attached and take pride in their Army connection. Above apart it being a fiscal necessity, Joining Army is looked upon as a most dignified profession, which every youth aspire and dream of.

EPILOGUE :

Above apart being revered as an abode of gods and holiest of holyland, this land was paradoxically, beset with internicine wars from its Vedic ages. Kedar Khand (Garhwal) & Manas Khand (Kumaon), from time immemorial, have been the perennial source of enlightenment, Metaphysical / Occult powers and land of penance. The gods, great rishis, Yaksha, Kinnar, Nagas and Asuras inhabited this area. Whereas on the one hand creation of Vedas and great epic like Mahabharat are attributed to this region, epic celebrities and great warriors like Dashanan. Arjun have performed penance and achieved divine powers required to vanish their opponents. The myths and legends of Ramayana and Mahabharata are associated with this region. The divine powers so achieved were invariably used during war. Rural settlement in this area, where the villages are situated on the ridge or top of the hills, corroborate the fact that people at large, for safety reasons, preferred to stay on top. Attacks from Hun, Turks Gorkhas and kumaon kings necessitated the construction of 52 forts to defend this area from outside, inhospitable geographic conditions and wild weather, have all cemented the will of the people to fight against the odds and developed the marshal spirits. The economic conditions too, to some extent, obliged the youth of the area to join Army, which in turn helped to boost the economy of the area. The military personnel, serving and retired do influence the value system , voting pattern, implementation of the welfare schemes and also the thought process of the society. The great war traditions, War legends and folklores replete with the war references, motivate the youth to such an extent that joining Army is a cherished dream of most of the youth.

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Continuation from Vol. 3....

U.S ATTEMPT OF ORDER IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA : SEATO YEARS

.... Dr. Shrikant Paranjape

As war in Vietnam escalated council meetings of SEATO focussed their discussions on increasing strength of communists and the need for support for Vietnam. When the crisis spread to Cambodia, SEATO found itself incapable to act. There were bitter debates at Manila meeting (1970), as Philippines and Thailand attacked U. S. policy. It was belived that U. S. had persuaded Cambodia not to apply for SEATO as it would have been the cruch of the matter.(31) All it could do was call upon the 1954 Geneva members to ensure independence and neutrality of Cambodia and paraise actions of South Vietnam and U. S. Mr. Thanat (Thailand) opened his opening speech by saying that unless the meeting was ready to preside over liquidation of SEATO, Thailand would have to do something more than join hands in make believe rituals commomerating a passing faith while still unwilling to accept change. (32) The final communique highlighted this military incapacity.

Curiously enough, the Secretary-General Konthi Suphamonkhon took certain odd positions on regional problems. He maintained that SEATO had not been created to tackle regional problems like Indonesian 'confrontation' Indo-pak dispute on Kashmir, or Thai-Cambodian dispute. SEATO did not enter unless a member specifically asks for it. (33)

Malaysia, faced with Communist insurgency threat after its independence and later with Indonesian confrontationist attitude continued to rely on Britain for security but did not join SEATO. In later years Malaysia increasingly turned towards neutrality. Nonaligned India did not take much interest in S. E. Asia After Indonesian independence, this being due to the growing differences within the nonaligned camp and increasing

Chinese influence in S. E. Asia, or even due to the fact that S. E. Asia did not accept India as within their region.

The 'Korean' system of alliance that had attempted balancing or containing communism and deploying a global nuclear deterrent thus had two other characteristics :-

1) Its lack of overarching political structure.

2) Its Eurocentric character. (34)

The whole alliance system focused and ultimately rested upon the U. S. as the center of action. There was no overarching structure that might help deliberations upon global policies, elaboration of strategic plans or exploration of nuclear contingencies of the whole alliance system. There was no mechanism for coordinating global action, nor reconciling conflicting interests nor for reaching understanding, on the use or non use of nuclear weapons, soon recognised as the real basis of the structure.

Strategically, SEATO had been assigned with the basic role of holding the 'Communist frontier' that stretched through the demarcation line of Vietnam and along Thai and Laotian borders. The 'Treaty Area' that was limited to 21° 30' N. Lat. excluded all such areas of riposte as Hong Kong, South Korea and Formosa, which would have been effective strategically against the only significant threat : China. Yet had a wider definition been adopted in 1954, it was likely that British and French interests would have opted out. Further, the islands under Nationalists China, besides Formosa had been set under protection of Seventh Fleet of USA. U. S. remained the only power whose participation was the only fear China held from an otherwise important SEATO. And Chinese success since Bandung with its policy of 'peaceful coexistence' and 'popular diplomacy' paid rich dividends. China succeeded in finalizing boundary agreements with most of its S. E. Asian neigh-

bours, increased trade relations with Malaya and Indonesia and gained a favourable image in Thailand. (35) The power balance combined with geographic limitation created a strategic impotence, such that it was a mere pretence to assume that in a major Asian war SEATO would decide on ground strategy and execute decisions. More important, SEATO could not undertake a 'power dialogue; before a crisis and thereby prevent it.

The Laotian crisis of 1961 showed that SEATO could not be used for 'local' as against 'strategic' purposes either. The alliance would have acted as in Korea and entered the scene declaring the area to be within the 'defence perimeter' after the Communists had gained an upper hand, perhaps, this is what happened in Vietnam in 1962-64, but this does not prove SEATO working any better. As for subversion, besides the lack of an accepted definition no common values were held. Thus in Australia the Communist party was legal while in Thailand the Communists fought a war against communists who were regarded with tolerance at home. (36)

Whether out of disillusionment or apathy, the U. S. took to disregarding SEATO. Consequent uncertainty made its Asian members reach out for individual rather than collective interest, only to guarantee a feeling of strategic importance within SEATO. Finally in July 1975, Philippines and Thailand called for a gradual dismantling of the alliance. (37) Though it was initially decided that SEATO as a political structure be maintained the idea did not last long and on February 20, 1976 the SEATO was formally disbanded.

The Asian attitude towards Manila pact had puzzled the Western observers who tended to be exasperated by the fact that S. E. Asia did not apparently view the threat of Communist domination as real danger and resolutely refused to ally with the West to resort to it. This was considered particularly unfortunate as a S. E. Asia pact had to have the cooperation of a

majority of regional powers. The Western powers had therefore been in an invidious position of wishing to defend countries, which did not wish to be defended, from dangers, the existence of which they denied in public. (38)

Dysfunctioning of Alliance System, and Search for a New Order In S. E. Asia.

The alliance system had come to represent, as we saw above, an 'order' in world politics in the context of the cold war image of bipolarity and confrontation. Its early most manifestation was NATO in Europe where the communists threat seemed an obvious reality. In the post-war Asia, where nations that had newly emerged independent got tied up in alliances mainly for their own domestic or immediate interests rather than a prevailing concern for communists expansion. However, independent Asia had also presided over an alternative image represented as nonalignment and noncommitment; the result being such an abnormality as a SEATO with only two S. E. Asian powers.

The only real challenge to the Alliance system came first, not in Asia, but in Europe from General de Gaulle in 1958. (39) He explained that the sharing of risks incurred in NATO was not matched by indispensable cooperation on decisions taken and responsibilities actually shared. He followed up with a proposal of a three-power directorate of U. S., Britain and France as a substitute to U. S. primacy. The weakness of the proposal lay in the fact that even in 1958, a world security organization could no longer be built by the U. S. primarily upon the support of its two European allies. However impracticable, the proposal struck at the heart of the problem of U. S. alliance system: decisions bearing on world security cannot reliably be made by U. S. either entirely on its own or in crisis consultation with the governments most affected. over the long haul, de Gaulle's-

proposals called for a permanent organisation with shared participation.

As the growing irrelevance of the cold war image of international relations came to be realized, the changed problem of security from classical war defence to insurgency and subversion came to be accepted and as the indispensibility of recognising China became evident, the U. S. caught between military containment and forward defence for allies faced some bleak strategic choices :

With regard to deterrence : (a) Perpetuation of a high level of conventional forces ; (b) Fundamental reliance on nuclear weapons; (c) Acknowledgement of a higher probability of enemy initiative.

With regard to initial defence : (a) Maintenance of rapid deployment; (b) Early recourse to tactical nuclear weapons; (c) Accepting risk of loosing allied territory.

With regard to terminating war: (a) Large commitment of troops; (b) Use of nuclear weapons, tactical and strategic; (c) Recognition of a stalemate, tantamount to a defeat. (41)

The only solution that could transcant this triangle of unsatisfactory choices was to reevaluate and restate goals and objectives. Both the Nixon Doctrine and Ford's pacific charter, (42) were efforts in this direction.

To a degree that may be surprising, S. E. Asian countries had a common concern about Nixon Doctrine, that U. S. withdrawal from Vietnam should not presage a total U. S. pullout. U. S. presence was dsirable as long as intervention and confrontation could be avoided. But none could deny the disaster in Vietnam. Nixon Doctrine's stress on self-reliance in local defence finds its counter-part in demand for 'tools' to do the 'job' themselves. In theory, at least, a S. E. Asian balance of power will not keep internal war from happening, but it will reduce the directness of U. S. involvement. Once characteristic of this less direct involvement was the deterioration of the allies system so assiduously developed during Eisenhower days.

The changing balance of extra-regional forces in S. E. Asia was more of reassessment rather than an end to external competitive interests, and to a great part it came as product of reprisal of strategic U. S. interests... the 'decoupling' of regional priorities from global priorities as attempted by the Nixon Doctrine. (43) While American concern for a multipolar set up was not new, S. E. Asian countries themselves had acquired a wider regional perspective. In immediate matters of defence China had provided an 'environment' for regional cooperation: a common perception of threat. In matters of regional economic and political cooperation it was realised that India and Japan had limited roles to play. Besides India's obvious reluctance, S. E. Asia did not consider India to be a part of their system. Japan held a position of first trading partner, a wartime legacy, but overdominance by Japan remained a concern. Both, the Association of South East Asia (ASA) (1961-1967), and the Malphilindo marked the second phase of Asian regionalism by excluding extra-regional participation rather than as had been done earlier with ECAFE, Colombo plan or SEATO. Admittedly the sustained S. E. Asia from taking initiative, also had helped indirectly by providing 'time' for Asia. (44)

Lack of cohesive image around which the region could rally around in search of some set pattern in international relations became increasingly evident with the dysfunctioning of the allies system that had to break the older order. This region had seen little institutionalization of authority and changes in regimes occurred constantly. Political fragmentation has made foreign policy increasingly vulnerable to domestic events. Nationalism is still holding the minds of man. Decisions continue to be dictated by immediate national needs compounded by conflicting determination, if not aversion against, to remain sovereign. One major implication of all this, considering the capacity to adjust, accommodate and realign, is that S. E. Asia for some more time to come is likely to continue to experiment in foreign policy.

The origin of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) as a regional organisation can be traced to one common feature it held with west Europe where such an organisation was made possible : a strongly held, well articulated extra-regional threat to existence... China. But that was in 1967 when internal and domestic insurgency threat and external threat blended into one.

Behind the official postures of hospitality and hope that Ford's pacific Doctrine was initiative in wake of Communist take over in Indo-China, there appeared to be a good deal of disquiet over actual Communist advances. By April 1975, Malaysia complained of Communist insurgency along Thai-Malaysia; President Marcos had ordered 'self-reliance' posture for national defence; Indonesia called in for 'national resilience' in all fields. Singapore shared the same feeling though it did not join what Admiral Sudomo of Indonesia State security Agency called 'current panicky rush' to Peking. (45)

In view of all this one set to wonder to what extent the ASEAN gesture of invitation to Indo-China to join in, was merely a gesture of good will and willingness to seek cooperation or to what extent it represented an acceptance of a new Communist power centre in Indo-China and mainly Vietnam, that was independent and likely to continue to be free of Sino-Soviet influences in a major way. In June 1975, Thai premier, Pramoj came out with a categorical statement that 'North-Vietnam is giving support to insurgency movement. (46) Yet whatever the present polarisation of forces in Indo-China, the reported Soviet-North Vietnam influence on Laos and cooling of Soviet-Cambodian relations in terms of Sino-Soviet rivalry; adjustment if not political accommodation of China is bound to be a policy priority for ASEAN States. The question is how to develop a format for accommodation. Therefore, any invitation to Indo-China of ASEAN would depend on defacto Sino-Soviet agreement as well as U. S. concurrence to effectively 'neutralize' S. E. Asia as cherished by Kuala Lumpur Declaration. (47)

This raises certain fundamental question on ASEAN'S likely future posture. The 1971 Malasian initiative for neutralisation was severely criticised by Indonesia. While this criticism may spring from the hope of staking claim in initiation of new patterns of S. E. Asia, the smaller countries like Singapore had expressed genuine fear of regional power domination.

ASEAN is unlikely to replace SEATO in the military-alliance sense of the term. True, Malaysia had expressed its desire of keeping alive the political dimension of SEATO while dismantling it militarily so as to have a 'low profile activity of extra-regional powers before SEATO was actually dismantled. But at the same time 'Bangkok Post' editorially observed : "While we are putting away SEATO shield to show our goodwill towards neighbours the North Vietnamese backed by Soviet Union are continuing to take over Indo-China, and hence is our government confident that expanding Communist power would stop at the Thai border?". Indonesian military spokesman writing in 'Berita Yudha' on September 11, 1975, called that Indonesian Navy will hold joint exercises with Singapore and Philippines Navies 'in accordance with increased co-operation among countries that are part of ASEAN'. Later Indonesian-Malaysian co-operation was cited as efforts at 'regional resilience', (48)

Yet if ASEAN that has shown a poor record where its primary function of trade is concerned, (49) and persists to occupy itself with defence, the net product is likely to be separate bilateral alliances that fall well short of military alliances, for that would inevitably get in the super powers and China. Perhaps it is for that reason that alongside the non-threatening call for regional resilience and strengthening of economic ties, ASEAN in the near future is likely to retain a 'Western' orientation, that can be a, minus military' version of SEATO, or the Five Power Commonwealth Defence agreement. Further, -

the U. S. is still very likely to remain in the periphery of Asia, along, Korea, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and Indian Ocean, therefore, in Indo-China militarily or economically; and this seems to be the essential underpinning of the U. S. Pacific Doctrine.

The conflicting strategic demands tend to produce statements of potentially diverse security implications, Malaysian Home Affairs Minister, Gazali called for preserving an 'equilibrium' of super-power presence and yet maintain an 'equidistance policy' (October, 1975). Philippines Foreign Secretary called for a unanimous demand that U.S. should stay (November 24, 1975), and Singapore's Rajaratnam struck a different note when he called for regional cooperation (December 14, 1975). (50) The roots of uncertainty in S. E. Asia lie in the course of relations that the non-communist and anti-communist ASEAN states take with Indo-China states and in the degree to which big power interests get involved again. Much would depend on to what extent S. E. Asian states, Communist and non-Communist solidify their cooperation, and upon their ability to remain 'equidistant' but in equilibrium.

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37. The proposal of gradual dismantling of SEATO "to make it in accord with the new realities of the region", was contained in the joint communique issued at the end of a four day visit to Manila by Thai Premier, Kukrit Pramoj (July 24, 1955.) The leaders however, called for the retention of the 'Pacific Charter', the document appended to the SEATO Treaty, which urged 'common action to maintain peace and security in S. E. Asia and the Pacific. On September 4th, 1975, the decision on phasing out was formally taken by the Council of Foreign Ministers meeting in New York.

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INDIA'S INTEGRATION PROBLEM IN THE NORTH EAST AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

.... Dr.Ch. Budhi Singh
M. A. Ph.D.

National integration is the primary phase of development and modernisation in India in its sociopolitical ecology having diverse ethnonationalistic underlinings so conformed on the scores of race, assumed blood tie, language, religion, origin, tradition, region etc. India's integrative movement has, however, been constrained by this tangential factor of her sociopolitical ecology. A logical as well as concrete configuration of this dialectic structure of the Indian nation-state is the alignment of the peoples into the majority (those of the societal core of the nation) and the peripheral minority scheme of relationship. This structuring of the Indian peoples entails in a process of two contrastive forces, centripetal and centrifugal. India's north-east has been an arena where the away-from the core force looms large, it assuming the due proportion of ethnocentrism bursting out in the form of secessionist movements.

India has been experimenting two methods of consolidating national integration, : 'reconciliatory' and 'mobilisation.' The first separates state from religion and other complementary 'given' factors, and prescribes state administration on legal basis as the binding force of the whole national community. By this method law is thus the ultimate commitment by which the state community has to live, breathe and prosper. Secularisation and government of law, not of individual personalities, are the cornerstones of the national administration. In the mobilisation statecraft political doctrine is transformed into political beliefs for purpose of effective achievement of the goal of national unity. This method requires charismatic, messianic leaders who symbolise the 'one' thus implying personification and monistic conception of the complicated pluralistic socio-political system. A kind of theocratic form of go-

vernment based on perfection of the individual members is implied. In this system politics as such loses its existence ; it is elevated to the level of the 'sacred' and the state to that of the 'transcendent'. And the seat of the central authority becomes sanctum sanctorum for the whole nation whereby all the categories of state and politics are metamorphosed into a type of religion now known as 'political religion.'

Adopting either the 'réconciliatory' policy or the 'mobilisations' as mature or an approach partaking of both the two, the Government of India has been labouring the point of restoring national integration, however, only to be faced with the increasing magnitude of the problem.

A sociological view on this situation of integrative revolution vis-a-vis local ethnocentrism is that the former does not do away with the latter integrative movement only modernises disintegrative movement, it involving a demand for adjustment between the forces, an adjustment that the process of the government can proceed freely without seriously threatening the cultural framework of personal identities and that whatever discontinuities in national unity happen to exist in general do not radically distort political functioning. This sociological mode of understanding the problem ultimately ends in having recourse to a 'wait-and-see-policy'. In the light of this thought the feelings on their expressions relating to the 'given' of ethnic differences are just rudimentary primordial and exogenous to the civil polity of a new nation-state. Therefore, all kinds of ethnic malestorm taking place at the socio-political periphery of the nation are para-or pre-political. The ethnic underlinings of such a state are yet to develop into civil societies. If such be the assesment of macro-sociology on the situation occurring in India;s north-east, then it is here that the idiological contrive of this discipline is most evidently exposed. Its tradition of the core sector of the society still lingers on assuming the form of the contemporary macro-sociological thought and analysis. This predilective posture of macro-sociology is made unmasked most

crystal clear in the spasmodic centrifugal movements of the ethnic groups of North-east. India, Thus, macro-sociology tends to look at the peripheral peoples from the vantage point of the core. And, this tendency would also imply to conceptualise national integration merely as an identity of opposites rather than 'Unity of opposites.'

The minority ethnic groups of India's North-East that got merged into the Indian Union have now ratified and openly asserted their own identities, both in the cultural and historical terms. This new climate of ethno-historical re-awakening leads, in some extreme cases, to violent separatist movements. The retold ethno-histories are the main reason d'être of these movements. These people assert that they had been self-ruling in some form or other until the British colonial Government mechanically put them in the bigger administrative unit with which the Indian nation-hood was born in the wake of Indian independence. And, when they got free from the colonial bondage, the majority groups of the territorial areas where they happened to have been posted by the erstwhile British rules arrested them within the boundary of the present nation state of India.

Economic development of the people is a much-talked-about approach to the solution of the issue. But , the prospect of the economicistic formula as the lone antidote of the problem is quite bleak; intensification and the all the more inflammatory uprise of the problem in the face of gross economic growth plans is self-explanatory. The political institutional - approach falls flat on this question, either, for the sheer reason that a modern nation-state is just a bundle of modern political institutions alone.

The ethnic upheavals in India's north-east are a socio-political reality sui generis. One should not reduce it to mere para-or political phatasm. Any kind of empathic understanding and consideration of the question from without it will not justifiably appreciate the reality. Any macroscopic social science

assessment of the problem has undoubtedly an extent of validity. India is, however, a duumvirate national personality. Hence macroscopic validity in this regard would be purely relative and unilateral; its validity as regards the other side of the personality i.e. the populist side ought yet to be called in question.

Answer to the populist side of the duumvirate Indian national personality may be deemed to be responded by the micro-sopic social science discipline of social anthropology in as much as the philosophy of populism is its ontological essence, kernel epistemological postulate and axological term of reference. Yet judged by the above logic of argument to which macro social sciences have been subjected, it would equally be questionable as to if micro-sopic social anthropological epistemology harping only on the populist spirit of the peoples concerned, is really an effective panacea for the problem of disintegration in this part of India. Obviously, social anthropological epistemology offers an equally relative validity, it rather snacking of less responsibility to the holistic interest in the larger national context.

Which truth, we have to go by, that of macro-sopic understanding or that of micro-sopic knowledge. Both have relative validity. Not to be confused and despaired, however of course, every truth is partial truth. Absolute truth exists only in the transcendental world. At the level of consciousness truth manifest several relative dimension which are the real embarrass deriches of human knowledge. The variations of the manifestations of truth result from variable individual perceptions. Here, Bertrand Russel's teaching may be remebered: individual percepts are the basis of all our knowledge, and on method exists by which we can begin with data which are public to many observers. The epistemological crussade of social thinkers like the German sociologist of knowledge, Manhiem that the criterion of validaty of a given system of human thought and knoweldge should be determined by the given historical setting and the social climate prevailing therein would pronounce itself, too, a just a version of truth. The same

observation equally applies to the 'contemporary historical' thought conveyed by such expressions as much we have been taught to regard as central is really peripheral and much that is usually brushed aside as peripheral had in it the seeds of the future. The existentialist conception of the centrifugal tendency as a temporary phase of isolation and rejection of the national mainstream like the ritual individual at the time of initiation ceremony for purpose of attaining selfhood and finitude when back of the society as an adult member thereof indeed be deemed to assume a transcendental level of observation. It might look to some, as a neo-core centric visualisation, yet it has probably a merit in that it suggests to the exploration of the complementary value of the mutual contradiction of the centripetal and the centrifugal forces.

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YOUTHS' MENTAL UNREST IN MANIPUR

.....Padmashri Dr. M. Kirti Singh
M. A., LL.B., Ph. D. (Litt.)

What's astonishing in Manipur and burning topic in the world is the youth's insurgency, drug abuse and celebration-rated youths. Removal of corruption, communalism, and casteism forms one of the main planks of the youth's movement.

It's too early to prognosticate whether the youth's movement and activities can inspire Manipur or belie hopes. Only time can throw light on the real picture, which is being awaited. The youth's mental unrest has been caused by the following factors.

GENERATION GAP :

The generation gap in our state has reached a volatile stage. The gulf between the old and the new generations has become quit dangerous. The youths firmly believe that they are wiser than the old and that the old traditions are now antiquated. The old generation people have good command over Sanskrit and Bengali in writing or speaking and study a number of books in these languages. They believe that they will achieve salvation by chanting some slokas in Sanskrit. If they can go on a pilgrimage to some holy shrines of Vaisnavas, they feel as though they have reached the paradise, their lives have borne fruit. In Hindu Vaisnav-faith, prayers and worship keep the miseries and suffering away. But the youths feel all these behaviours are reactionary. They are more inclined to de-Sanskritisation and de-Indianisation. The ages of monarchy, all the king's noblemen etc. had sunk in the evolution of time. The elder generation feel the youths have violated the cherished traditions and committed destructive sins. And they are cursing the youths for upsetting age old traditions. A dreadful change in lifestyle and clothing has also come about.

Everywhere in the world, all societies are facing the problem of generation gap. Youth is the period where they strive

with realistic situations. They take up various things dauntlessly. In the olden days, attention was focused on non-violence and preservation of culture and traditions. This difference portrays the youths as wayward.

What would happen if the matter of youth is stretched unlimitedly? If this generation gap goes on for yet another three or four generations and still after, an amazing society will emerge. Let's see the psycho-dynamics of the changes in the society.

To psycho-analyst Maslow, in man's ego there are this "urge for power" and the "need for self actualisation." Self-actualisation is that which develops the latent in an individual. After fulfilment of other needs, self-actualisation comes. At present, in Manipur there is nothing short in material and physical requirements irrespective of town or village. Clan, creed and organisation provide the essentials to the society. In view of exploiting one's own talents, the situation of the main needs of individuals has become critical. Young children show respect to the elders. They hardly criticise. They try to do the work quickly and successfully. Though it's tiring, they know it will pay in the long run. The present youth work not for love of labour, but for labour of love. If such youths come to power, what kind of society will evolve?

It's necessary to consider the emergence of numerous political parties and ephemeral factions, personality clash and involvement of youths in myriad of matters. Youths are found to join (political) parties and take active role in decision making. Movement on protection of rights also comes strangely. The question of self-determination and liberation movement is also getting to be intensely discussed. More concern for the weak and poor becomes conspicuous.

In the matters relating to planning of educational policies for the youths, if they find something incompatible with their demands, they just resort to agitations. No youth who is aware-

of autonomy wishes to work in an authoritarian organisation. Their wish is decentralisation.

SOME CAUSES OF MENTAL UNREST :

Society and culture differ from place to place. The same is true of history too. What was once considered good is now bad. Why has unrest in youth's mind increased? Opinions may differ, but the following few facts may be agreed upon.

ARMED INSURGENTS AND THEIR ACTIVITIES :

The challenge posed by the various insurgents groups against the government is very serious. Before Manipur attained statehood, there was no organisation involved in gathering sophisticated weapons, collection of tax and separatist movement. After statehood was granted, the movement was once suppressed. Many of the insurgents had also been granted general amnesty and rehabilitated. However since the government failed to bring about a permanent solution to the problem, it has become worse. Although various developmental schemes are taken up, the frighteningly increasing population, ever soaring prices, less production etc. have hit the youths badly. Despite the youths of every household going for studies, armed insurgency also takes place side by side. In spite of lives being snuffed out in the prime of their youths, they are made aware of revolution through agitprop and attracted to underground organisations.

The economy of Manipur has terribly deteriorated. Agriculture and earning livelihood has been badly affected by the ethnic killings in the hills. Since it's a do or die struggle, monies are being collected to purchase weapons. For the mutual killings or other deaths, the government is compelled to pay compensation. Huge amount of money is spent on security. Those youths who do not join the armed revolution are seen as gutless and timid. The ones who have sacrificed their lives are acknowledged as "heroes". This has confused the minds of the youths and given different impacts. Egoism then raises its head. Enmity between each other is given birth to. A number of youths become anti-civilisation and pro-ignorance. They have lost trust in the society.

They commit murders and involve in anti-social and unlawful activities.

DISRUPTIONS IN EDUCATION :

After independence, the number of students has increased. The number of educational institutions has multiplied. Degree holders are too many. New policies are also being introduced. But the quality has declined. There is no merit at all.

GRABBING POWER AND LEADERSHIP CRISIS :

Only a few persons want to wield power all the time. There is no room for honest persons. Horse trading at the time of formation of government is the clear example of scramble for power. The bureaucrats monopolise the access to TV, radio etc. Simple folks can't get appropriate education and good food. Many are starving.

Racism, casteism, untouchability and division of society, all of which had contributed to the downfall of Indian society, though driven out through the front door, creep in again through the backdoor. Those who attempt to destroy them are considered as "agitators" by those who want to be at the top. The latter can't but pretend to be audience at the battalions of evils being imported from outside. Of future, the youths may take care.

UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM :

It requires a lot of means to live in a growing youth's life. The youths should not only be properly educated but also provided employment. The higher number of unemployed the worse the unrest would become. At present nobody wants population and ever worsening unemployment problem. Most of the insurgents are unemployed and dejected persons. Youths who are not sure of getting suitable jobs are now confounded.

IMPACT OF FAMILY ENVIRONMENT :

Since science, technology, culture and physical matters have undergone a sea-change a lot of changes have occurred in the family environment too. The joint family system has been shattered. In the newly set up (shifted) family, since the parents go to work from sunrise till sunset, the children are not properly looked after. Childcare and lessons of discipline are not taught. School education and sociology do not make up for the loss of the broken family.

As the family is not doing what it ought to do, mutual affection shrinks. From laxness, any consequent wrong doing is easily okayed. So long as the number of early marriage and cases of multi-children and divorce rise, the children get all the more agitated. The higher the incidents of contention in the family, fights and court cases, the more is the loss for the youths.

INFLUX OF UNHEALTHY CULTURE:

A dangerous trend of lascivious culture has invaded the Meitei society. Several channels of outside (foreign) writers, salacious movies, photos, TV, murder, violence etc have been opened. The minds and bodies of young girls and boys have become obsessed. These are spiritual narcotics.

Then the western morality-the licence given to boys and girls to go out together also causes various crimes, which in turn creates mental unrest.

PREVENTION AND REMEDY :

The government should have a firm stand to take up measures for prevention and then means for mass remedy. It means that the government should lead the society in finding ways how to pacify the youths, detect the root cause of their mental unrest, remove it and usher in an everlasting peaceful society for the betterment of the youths

Indeed, it has been the government's policy too. An intensive scientific research needs to be done to prevent the anti-

social germs from spreading. The government and concerned organisations, Youth Dept., medical dept. and social scientists have been discussing. Seminars and symposia have been held. Several projects and thesis on the wave of drug-abuse among the youths and the insurgency movement etc. have been carried out. However, because the recommendations for remedy either remained unimplemented or found to be faulty, they have not become much of a success. The creation of mother nature appears too good to soothe. Instead of finding a solution to the problem it has become hydra-headed and got rooted all the more firmly.

One solution is that a kind of three-in-one combination of education comprising family, school and society may be introduced. This may bring about certain changes. It will be specially helpful to observe discipline, spread awareness on law and regard the mannerism. Some of the common experiences and traditions practised in the state down the ages are to conduct prayers, offering of worship by "Maiba-Maibi" at sacred places of tutelary deities, to listen to prophecies and to face future happening by being foretold by astrologers and "Maiba". For Hindu religion, it is felt that the germs being spread in the society make destiny's inevitability and repercussion of one's sins in the past life and effects of planetary positions etc.

It is not quite logical to lean towards fate or faith for everything, though there are certain goodness and correctness. One must strive at the human level as well. It will be useful to discuss the tragedy of the obstructed. Failure caused by deprivation of one's duties and challenge against political economy has earlier resulted in unrest. In democracy where it is said that a man can make his own destiny, obstructionist and harmful attitude always end up in negative consequence.

Instead of severely criticising teachers, social leaders and elders, it's better to cultivate a culture toward the family live and unity, kindness and peaceful living. In other foreign countries and elsewhere in India, festival of family reunion is celebrated.

Troublesome and restless youths may be mollified by feasting them, reteling them the stories of the erstwhile mutual affection and peaceful co-existence in the olden days and sitting jointly at the table to iron out their differences and offences. All together should feel happy to think that the situation is back to normal.

Celebrating "Chakkouba", "Mera Houchongba", Parents Day etc. regularly will be able to pacify the youths to certain extent. Since it takes time in processing, mental unrest cannot be removed in a day or two.

USEFULNESS OF MENTAL CULTURE:

Both the mind and body have their own uses. While the body remains neglected, too much mental exercise is ruinous. Daily physical exercise and drill should be made compulsory. Negligence of health should be given up. Many know about health but not mind. To most, it doesn't appear important to discuss "mind". But sickness occurs more often to the mind than to the health. Happiness and sadness are products of the mind. Health may be sick, but mind may be sprightly. However, at present, pure happiness is non-existent. Negative emotions such as fear, anger, jealousy, hatred and gloomy thoughts produce poisonous chemical compound in the body. Excessive eating and drinking is bad. But bad habits are worse. Physical education instructors are appointed at educational institutions. They should give instructions about mental health also. The instructors should be well familiar with physical health as well as mental health. If the mind is kept clean, God is attained. God is called "pure conscience". Yoga books give nice lessons how to keep mind clean and cool. It should be studied. One must try not to draw unhealthy thoughts into mind as he/she wakes up.

Mental health and mental hygiene need to be specifically taken up. This is paramount to the society and the nation. Steps in this regard should be taken up not only in Manipur but also at the national level, Government, teachers, social workers,

दि जनलक्ष्मी को-ऑप. बँक लि.

'समृद्धी' गडकरी चौक, जुना आग्रारोड, नाशिक - २

स्थापना : १४ फेब्रुवारी, १९७६ फोन नं. ५७७८७२ / ५७७८७३ / ५७७८७४

रजि नं. एनएसके / विएनके / १३८

सर्वसामान्य जनतेसाठी अतिरिक्त कार्य करणारी सहकारी बँकिंग क्षेत्रातील अग्रगण्य बँक, ठेकीवर व्याजाचा भरघोस मोवदला, तत्पर सेवा, बँकिंगच्या सर्व सुविधा, निवडक शाखांत खातेदारांच्या सोयीसाठी रविवारीही बँकिंग सेवा उपलब्ध. सेफ डिपॉझिट लॉकर सेवा उपलब्ध. बचतीच्या आकर्षक योजना व परिपूर्ण बँकिंगकरीता ऑपण नजिकच्या शाखेस आजच भेट द्या. मुंबई व पुणे शहरांकरिता बँकिंगची थेट सेवा उपलब्ध.

आर्थिक स्थिती

(रकम लाखांत)

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शाखा व त्यांचे फोन नंबर

- १) शिवाजीरोड शाखा - ७८५५४/७५६५३ २) महात्मा फुले नगर शाखा - ५१३५८१
- ३) देवळाली शाखा, अनुराधा थिएटर कंपाउंड - ६३८२८
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