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Globalization AND SECURITY (A RESEARCH PAPER)



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Introduction

1. Globalization in its present form took off after a number of events that took place in the first few years of the last decade of the twentieth century. These include economic events like financial crises in a number of South-East Asian and Latin American countries, progress of the WTO negotiations, conclusions of a number of agreements for the formation of free trade areas and political events like the breakdown of the erstwhile USSR, incidents of terrorism and proliferation of nuclear weapons. There is an ongoing debate on what constitutes globalization and whether the same is beneficial or not. There are conflicting views on the perception of globalization with one stating that globalization is synonymous with 'Americanization' with a second view stating that globalization is only economics¹. The reality of course is that globalization even though driven and dominated by economics is in the domain of a number of disciplines covering social and life sciences. It would be difficult to imagine a globalize world without information technology, telecommunications, media or the internet revolution. Globalization also entails negatives – global crimes of Kalashnikov culture like drug and human trafficking, money laundering and gun running, cross border terrorism, migration (forced and voluntary) health hazards like HIV, erosion of environment(Global Warming), SARS, Avian flu and Swine flu.

2. The 21st century will be the first truly Global Century. Growing cross-border flow of trade, investment, finances, information, technology, cultures, values, ideas and people are drawing the far corners of the earth together, creating new opportunities and dangers. Decisions, events and people anywhere in the world – no matter how distant – can now influence our safety, prosperity and policies. This accelerating globalization raises fundamental questions on strategic consequences, likely cooperative mechanisms and security and conflict scenarios, with their consequent impact on national and international security. The present paper analyzes a few dimensions of Globalization and Security aspect.

The New Global World order

3. **The Global Environment** The global environment is in the midst of fascinating technological, economic, and political changes. This emerging system is rapidly eroding the old boundaries between foreign and domestic affairs, and those between economics and national security. However, Globalization will not eliminate traditional geopolitical concerns. There are still many lingering political conflicts over territory, borders and military competitions, and resources, ethnic and cultural

¹ Globalization, from Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia, en.wikipedia.org. on June 15, 2006.

differences. Such stresses and strains on geopolitics will continue to co-exists and interact with the emerging global system. Similarly, while world economy will integrate as a result of the globalization of finance, geopolitics will continue to fragment along regional lines². The present unipolarity has resulted in regions articulating independent political and security concerns which have little linkage or impact on developments in other regions. While this situation reduces the risk of regional tension triggering a wider global conflicts. The globalization trend especially to be feared is WMD proliferation, accompanied by changes in

4. **International Structures** Samuel HUNTINGTON foresees a clash of pitting a US led Western Alliance against a new interest based bloc that includes Russia ,China and a conglomeration of regional power. Only time will clarify the efficacy of these theories. What is evident is that current economic aspirations of the third world are leading it to a direct confrontation with the developed world. Actions by 'failed' and 'pariah' states have only exacerbated the situation. This has created a new, largely bifurcated international structure, divided between those countries that are well integrated into the evolving norms of the global economy, and those that are emerging global order. Hopefully, democracy ,market economics and multilateral cooperation will spread out and eventually , stabilize the global order³.

Challenges of Globalization and Nature of Future War

5. **Challenges of Globalization on Security** The effects of globalization are mixed and differ from region to region, based on their state of economy and regional stability .The actions of non-state actors including NGOs are a comparatively recent phenomenon are increasingly shaping social consensus . Crime has also assumed a global character, using the very tool that have fostered globalization . Media is therefore, becoming increasingly important tools for moulding global opinion. To understand the true dimensions of the emerging calculus, it is essential to understand the challenges to security provided by globalization:

(a) **Economic Threat** Weaker economies are struggling to keep pace with the global market. The resulting economic and social disparities have often exacerbated communal and ethnic tensions and let to internal turmoil and regional insecurity. This in turn has often spawned terrorism and intra-border armed conflicts. Economy as a coercive tool has also taken new dimensions and not only includes erstwhile blockades and economic sanctions but also has the potential to cause economic collapse. An example is the sudden withdrawal of financial flows into East-Asia in 1997-98 which caused unprecedented economic turmoil to the economies of that region.

(b) **Threat from Non-State Actors** Globalization has seen the serious emergence of non-state actors who have used the very tools of globalization to effectively threaten established nation states. Most are terrorists that effectively use globalization tools, like modern communication and information technology, to control fund and weaponise groups in places of their choosing. The flat, horizontal and clear nature of their organization makes them extremely difficult to combat. Their emerging connection with organized crime has also blurred distinctions between terrorist and criminal, making regional cooperation essential for their eradication.

(c) **Syndicate Crime** Globalization of criminal activity started with the Cosa Nostra and has now extended from the fields of drugs, human trafficking, extortion and gun running to economic crimes like money laundering, e-crime and telemarketing fraud. Creation of niche law enforcement organizations and international cooperation has become essential to combat the menace.

² Stephen J Flanagan, **Meeting the Challenges of the Global Century**, NDU Press Publication, 2001, the Global Century, pp22-23 regional conventional military balance brought about by the new RMA. With increasing demands by all developing nations to propel growth, control and uninterrupted access to energy resources are re-emerging as critical issues in world politics. As most hydrocarbon reserves of the world lie in areas of geopolitical instability, this dynamic has the potential to create new forms of international political conflicts.

³ Richard L Kugler, **Controlling Chaos: New Axial Strategic Principles**, NDU Press Publications, 2001, The Global Century, pp93-95.

(d) **Revolution in Communication and Information Technology** The ongoing revolution in information technology along with cable television, personal computers and the internet have powered globalization, this along with the knowledge revolution constitute key enablers of the process. However, they have also enabled inimical forces to operate efficiently and with near anonymity, outside the gaze of security agencies.

6. **Changing Forms of Warfare** Globalization does not eliminate traditional global concerns. Political conflicts over territory, resources and ethno-cultural differences still remain a reason for However economic concerns are fast catching up. For example, competition for energy resources is fast snowballing and security of sea lanes is gaining increasing importance. Some new forms of warfare that are slowly emerging are:-

(a) **Economic Warfare** This with its nuances has already been elaborated. Its increasing power and relevance in the new world order make it an effective tool for international bodies/ major powers against nations inimical t the new world order.

(b) **Information Warfare** This form of warfare has evolved from erstwhile narrow propaganda to now include an all pervasive media, which often is the final arbitrator in moulding nation/regional thought. Media, therefore has the potential to destabilize states in ways unheard of before. The well-orchestrated espousing of the Croatian cause in Western Europe is a classic example of how media can destabilize an established state.

(c) **Asymmetric Warfare** Conflict between nation states and non-state actors is on the rise in the globalize world. The obvious asymmetry between the two antagonists leads to utilization of technology, tactics or new forms of conflict to correct the imbalance. In many cases, asymmetric warfare or 'proxy war' is being carried out by non-state, to force strategic gains. This is the most likely form of physical clash that will take place in the new millennium. Modern armies will need to be trained to fight in such scenarios, where conventional force is neither effective nor essential.

Globalism, Geopolitics and Threats to International/Regional Security

7. **Challenges of Global Terrorism** Terrorism is not new to the world, and India has been battling this scourge over the past few decades, but there was a marked shift in the approach of USA and countries of the West in the post 9/11 attack period. The use of modern state of art technology by the terrorist was a rude shock, prompting the USA to re-analyze the potential threat and contingencies. One of the basic tenet of sub-conventional war, as perpetuated by terrorist groups, is to create 'security inadequacy' amongst the populace requiring heavy deployment of security forces, which in the long run, enhances public dissent against the government . It is also likely that future terrorist attacks may involve weapons of mass destruction with catastrophic effect on target countries /international establishments. This hypothesis is close to reality when seen in the back drop of AQ Khan's nuclear proliferation network and the official admission by authorities in the erstwhile USSR, of 138 missing suitcase bombs.

8. **Global War against Terror** Nuclear proliferation and the fear of its clandestine usage against humanity, has prompted the world community to come together and form a common viewpoint on the same. However, the action against nuclear proliferation by states outside the established world order or those with linkages with inimical non-state actors is ridden with double standards. USA continues to be friendly with Pakistan, the main proliferators, but threatens actions against Iran and North Korea for similar acts. The ongoing operations in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan are manifestation of a USA- led coalition against some of the troubled spots. While the action against Afghanistan has the backing of the UNSC, the action against Iraq has no such support. This duality needs to be resolved into a joint mechanism which synergizes the international efforts to include technological, economic, and military and human resources of the world community. Under the aegis of the UNSC, an integrated approach combining political, diplomatic, economic, social and military resources of all nations is necessary to be synergized to not only deal with the situation, but also neutralize the root cause of terrorism.

9. **Changing Realities of Deterrence, Interventions and Alliances** With the onset of globalization, the modern state system which came about after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 in Europe, comprising of sovereign states, influenced by individual national interest, is undergoing a major transformation. During the cold War, deterrence was the dominating factor determining security relationships which shaped the bipolar world, and strategic nuclear weapons were the weapons of choice in the stand-off between the NATO and the Soviet bloc. Deterrence was able to avert major world war type conflicts, while major alliances, treaties and agreements were largely responsible for ensuring a delicate peace in the bipolar system. While the end of Cold War has reduced the conflict between the major powers, it has also removed some of the restraints that inhibited conflict, as the existing treaties and alliances are no more binding. In this emerging environment, traditional concepts of borders, sovereignty, security and international relations manifested through deterrence, treaties and alliances like the NATO, START etc. have lost some of their relevance.

10. **Security Dynamics** With threats to security, both national and international, emanating from both State and non-State actors such as terrorists, insurgents, drug traffickers, and international mafia gangs, collective diplomacy and deterrence will need to undergo conceptual changes to fight the new menace, In today's world of interdependency, the factor of multilateral endorsement is of greater relevance for deterrence mechanisms to be effective and will need to focus on deterring non-state actors and States that sponsor terrorism and insurgencies. Hence, individual States will need to base their deterrence strategies to tackle the new problems. However, the only guarantor of state security is still the state itself. It is foolhardy for a state to assume that another country will come to its aid in times of crisis unless some vital interests are involved. Unless major security interests of the leading nations are directly threatened, substantial military involvement by the international community will be rare beyond peacekeeping and humanitarian relief operations.

11. **Role of Nation - States, Collective Diplomacy and Alliances** As nation-states work together to deal with new global problems, the sovereign state is still enduring and will not disintegrate anytime in the near future. For their security, nation- states will need to make effective use of the complementary realist tools of deterrence and alliances through diplomacy. Due to its shortcomings, deterrence alone is not sufficient to ensure nation-states' security, but will modify as a vital element of a complex interaction of military, diplomatic and political activities. On the other hand, history as well as recent experience has shown that efforts to deal with conflicts between states solely by means of peaceful diplomacy do not always succeed. The use of force to deal with violence is still necessary, as the international community may not always be able to predict and prevent the outbreak violence. Nation - states must therefore develop the capability of deterrence to prevent violence and coupled with diplomacy, formulate the instruments of any state security policy. Simultaneously, a new impetus to multilateralism and coalition alliances in order to international security is necessary.

12. **Transformation of Armed Forces in the Era of Globalization** The process of globalization makes countries inter-dependent and less hostile towards each other. In addition, globalization has coincided with the emergence of a unipolar world and making stability of the globe to be the outcome as well as a necessity. In this context, Armed Forces will need to transform for their new role of a peace keeper and peace maker, as also as the primary Instruments of stability and security all over the world. For this, the features/capabilities that armed forces would need to build are:-

- (a) Joint man-ship and interoperability within a nation's own armed forces.
- (b) Inter – operability of the armed forces with different nations (allies and/or other friendly nations) as part of multilateral forces.
- (c) Capable of truly network centric operations.
- (d) Ability to engage/face asymmetric warfare in the context of "countries of concern" (or rouge states)
- (e) Face and counter the threat from proliferation of nuclear weapons.

- (f) Capability for rapid deployment, to ensure peace and ensure channels of commerce and trade open at all times.

Impact on the UN and policing the New World Order

13. **Role of the UN in the New World Order** With the world getting unipolar, the UN, in a globalize environment, needs to be injected a fresh lease of life. The US appears to have taken over as the world's sole policeman. Iraq had no WMDs, but US believed otherwise and therefore unilaterally decided for a regime change. It also decides Iran and North Korea must not possess nuclear weapons, so be it. All this has come about because the United Nations (UN) today lacks credibility in enforcing peace and maintaining world order. It has no means to ensure that its resolutions are implemented in letter and spirit. Peacekeeping, a primary UN Charter, was intended to keep interstate conflict from spiraling out of control and sparking a superpower conflagration. However, as seen from the experience of the last decade, the UN has been unable to deal adequately with 'internal' conflicts of troubled states. In most cases, the greatest deficiency has arisen due to its inability to project a credible coercive capability, essential for peacekeeping or peace enforcement. Despite its limitations, the UN performs several essential functions in managing troubled states. No other international body possesses the same degree of legitimacy to issue a mandate for intervening in a sovereign nation.

14. **Policing the New World** While many countries oppose an autonomous military capability for the UN, the UN itself has recognized its limitations in dealing with troubled states since the setbacks in Somalia and Bosnia. The Security Council has now been proposing peace enforcement operations conducted by 'coalitions of the willing' (such as the Multinational Force in Haiti, or the Australian-led force in East Timor). In addition, creation of a standing credible force under the aegis of the UN for policing the world may be an answer for the less troubled situations. This could be a short – notice, but cogent military employment capability, which is able to respond quickly to an impending crisis. Such a force, called the United Nations Peacemaking Force (UNPF), would provide the UN a credible standing military arm to police and enforce world order. There are, however, very serious reservations on this proposal, particularly, with regard to command and control, location, equipment and coordination⁴.

International Laws and Institution

15. **Enforcement of International Laws** As globalization changes relations between states, international organizations and other non state actors, international laws and institutions will play an important role in shaping these relationships. If the defining issue of 21st century is the struggle between democracy and chaos, law will be a key part of that struggle wherein they will increasingly assist to promote conflict resolution, lessening of dangers, stability and progress. Just as information and transportation revolutions have facilitated globalization, a legal revolution of sorts is facilitating global transactions and international cooperation. Today, traditional nations of sovereignty are being challenged by trends towards extraterritoriality, regionalization and universality of laws. These are amplified below:-

(a) **Criminal Law** Through the legal device of extradition, US and other states apply criminal laws to foreign events e.g. terrorism, drug trafficking based on their effects. Certain crimes like piracy, hijacking, slave trade, genocide, war crimes and torture have been so widely condemned that international law accepts jurisdiction by any state.

(b) **Emergence of Universality** There is a growing trend to promulgate universal principle and standards via treaties and conventions. Creation of new institutions like International Criminal Court (ICC) for judging aggression and war crimes is a proof of this. New conventions on drug trafficking, money laundering, terrorism, torture, corruption, bribery have also emerged. With the tempo of cases argued before International Court of Justice increasing manifold.

⁴ Michael J Dziedzic, Peace Operations: Political Military Coordination, NDU Press Publication, 2001, The Global Century, pp 316-317

(c) **Human Rights and Humanitarian Law** NGOs increasingly play substantial roles as watchdogs and enforcers of human rights and humanitarian law. Certain regional organizations like Inter-American Court of Human Rights and the European Court of Human Rights have played a role in adopting and enforcing standards.

(d) **Trade and Labour Law** WTO is the pre-eminent institution promoting free trade and rules of fair competition, but individual countries are still resisting adherence due to impact on their internal economy.

(e) **Environmental Law** This area offers one of the most potent challenges to the voluntarism tradition of international law, e.g. Montreal Protocol and Kyoto Protocol, the latter being viewed as surrender of US sovereignty to an unelected international authority.

(f) **Growing Regulation of Warfare** A final trend of globalization is the increasing regulation of warfare. Through several conventions already exist, new ones like anti personnel land Mines Treaty (1999), Chemical Weapons Convention (1993), Child Soldier Convention and International Criminal Court have been established.

Global Network and security Imperatives

16. **Challenges to Network Security** Network has been steadily increasing their presence in the global economy and society. A network is but a set of conduits between nodes over which there is a flow of tangible items such as goods, people or germs, or intangibles e.g. money, ideas for control of information over computers and communications. The more open a society, the more risks it will be exposed to. Security of such networks in this era of globalization is discussed below:-

(a) **Goods** The global economy has grown more sensitive to possible disruptions in the flow of goods. An unanticipated cut off in the supply of components to a manufacturing process can now stop production lines all over the world. The global oil has become more defined now and can affect a nation's security. Similarly, disruption in flow of components of weapon system, disruption of electricity network or a broad attack on computer networks can be catastrophic.

(b) **People** The flow of people both for short term purposes (tourism/business) or long term is amenable to disruption, while illicit business travel (smuggling of terrorism) and illegal immigration has a serious threat to national security.

(c) **Germs** The spread of AIDS through movement of people and inter personal contacts, in a global world is a major threat to humanity. Similarly, there is an increased threat of exposure to newer infectious diseases like the avian flu or Swine Flu.

17. **Security Threat from Intangible Networks** Intangible Networks, besides being weightless are of ambiguous character. Financial markets are pioneer users of information technology and vulnerable to attacks. Sharp perturbations during an afternoon on Wall Street tend to show up in Tokyo and London. Internet accelerates the spread of memos, both trivial and serious and bad ideas can propagate quickly. There is a national security threat from Internet, Satellite communications and broadcasting. Dissent, blasphemy, rampant consumerism and pornography are as much a threat to a country's culture. Another threat is the loss of privacy of data which can be picked up by nefarious groups. Terrorists have been able to extend their reach through networks. Classified data, cryptographic know how, design information on sensitive technologies, nuclear secrets etc can be accessed if the control regime is weak. Globalization makes it harder to catch the recipient of such information.

Implications on Global Security

18. **Global Security Architecture** Globalization will not bring geopolitics to an end. Many traditional forms of geopolitics will continue to remain active on the world scene, and in some places,

globalization will give rise to new stresses and turbulence in the international system. Taming both the old and new geopolitical dynamics in order to allow for globalization's positive effects to advance will be a key challenge of statecraft. International mechanisms and institutions for coping with the challenges of the global era will become asymmetrical. Economic Globalization has already outpaced other forms of such specialized agencies of the UN (e.g. health and telecommunication) controlling and guiding the world scene. However, in contrast, security institutions and arrangements remain largely regional. Development of truly global security norms has proven quite difficult, as recent debates over military action against Serbia and maintaining sanctions against Iraq have illustrated. While the UN Security Council may be able to function in certain cases, its structure is outdated and will become incapable for action. It will also require strengthening all instruments of regional cooperation and security in order to contain or reduce existing threats and prevent the emergence of new ones. New security communities' based on shared interests in the global era will have to develop to enable a wide group of states to work together to safeguard strategic interests.

19. **The New Security Dynamics and Strategic Goals** Traditionally, security has been an external, cross-border concept. However, in the global era, security threats will increasingly have trans-national manifestations, leading most world democracies placing higher emphasis on new forms of security cooperation. Besides protection of territory and citizens as the primary defense concern, economic considerations will now figure more prominently in national security policy. Security in terms of environmental, economic, social security and foreign aid will become one of the key instruments through which the world powers, primarily the US, can make a crucial contribution to global security. However, this may not always happen, as nations are more inclined to capture new markets or to reward political and military partners than to advance social or humanitarian causes. The essential goals that would need to be implemented to meet security challenges in the New World Order can be summarized as⁵:-

- (a) The promotion of global norms through peaceful adaptation to change and integration, accompanied by development of viable global systems, institutions and rules.
- (b) The protection of regional, national and local autonomy based on diversity and free choice, reflected in strong domestic and accountable institutions sustained by rule of law.
- (c) The enhancement and expansion of Institutions and Instruments of cooperative security to contain reduce or prevent conflicts and other threats to a peaceful world order.

Conclusion

20. In the overall context, Globalization holds great promise. Over time, it will promote openness, encourage political and economic reforms, strengthen the demand for rule of law, foster integration, and reduce the likelihood of conflict and resort to military force.

⁵ Ellen L frost, **Globalization and National Security: A Security Agenda**, NDU Press Publication, 2001, the Global Century, pp36-37.

"In this era of globalization, corporate responsibility is no longer merely about local labor issues, pollution control, or energy efficiency. Sustainable businesses are those that are helping find global solutions to our most pressing environmental and social issues."

~ Ed Barker

बदलिदो विश्व परिवेशमा सुरक्षाका नयाँ चुनौती

सेनानी बिष्णु थापा



परिचय

आदिमानवदेखि वर्तमानसम्म आइपुग्दा विश्वले अनेकन स्थितिहरूबाट गुज्रदै विभिन्न समय र कालखण्डमा फरक फरक सुरक्षामा चुनौतिहरूको सामना गर्दै आइरहेको छ । मानव जातिको सुरुवाती स्पर्धा प्रकृतिसँग भएको थियो जुनवेला उसको अस्तित्वको सवालमा सामना गर्नु पर्ने बाधा व्यवधानका रूपमा मौसम, जंगली जीवजन्तु र समकालीन मानव नै प्रमुख थिए । समयको वहावसंगै समूह, समाज र राष्ट्रहरूको उद्भव भयो जस अनुरूप व्यक्तिगत भन्दा पनि सामूहिक, सामाजिक र राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षाका मुद्दाहरूले प्रश्रय पाउन थाले । यस नीतिको अवलम्बनपश्चात समसामयिक रूपमा परिस्कृत हुँदै गएका सुरक्षा नीतिहरूले समयको मर्मलाई आत्मसाथ गरी समकालिन परिवेश र परिस्थितिहरूलाई सम्बोधन गर्ने अहम् जिम्मेवारी वहन गर्नु पर्ने भएवाट वर्तमान विश्वको आधुनिक, वैज्ञानिक र बहुआयामिक परिवेशमा सुरक्षाका नयाँ चुनौतिहरूको पहिचान गरी समय सुहाउँदो सुरक्षा नीतिको तर्जुमा गर्नु पर्ने आवश्यकता देखिन्छ ।

विश्व युद्धहरूदेखि लिएर शित युद्ध, संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिका लगायत सम्पन्न राष्ट्रहरूमाथि भएका आतंकवादी हमला, संसारका विभिन्न राष्ट्रहरूमा वृद्धै गएका जातीय द्वन्द्व एवं विद्रोहका गतिविधिहरूका साथसाथै मानव जीवनको हरेक क्षेत्रमा देखा परेका विभिन्न सुरक्षासंग सम्बन्धित समस्याहरूले वर्तमान विश्वले व्यहोर्नु परेका सुरक्षा चुनौतिहरूलाई इङ्गित गर्दछन् र सम्पूर्ण विश्वलाई नै एउटा नयाँ सुरक्षा अवधारणाबारे सोचन समेत बाध्य तुल्याएका छन् । यस क्रममा सुरक्षा स्थितीको बदलावको गति अत्याधिक द्रुत गतिमा अघि बढ्दो छ र यसलाई निस्तेज पार्नको लागि विश्वका राष्ट्रहरूले एकमत भएर सुरक्षामा नवआयामका कार्यान्वयनबारे पनि प्राथमिकताका साथ सोच्नु पर्ने भएको छ ।

सुरक्षाको परिभाषा

“सुरक्षा” ले यस्तो व्यवस्थालाई जनाउछ जहाँ खतरा, क्षति र तीनका कारक तत्वहरूबाट आफू तथा आफूसँग सम्बन्धित व्यक्ति र वस्तुहरूलाई जोगाउने बन्दोवस्त मिलाइन्छ । विषयगत परिप्रेक्षमा भन्नु पर्दा सुरक्षा यस्तो विश्वास र आभास हो जसले आफ्नो वस्तुगत रक्षाको पर्याप्ततालाई संकेत गर्दछ र असुरक्षाको अन्यौलपूर्ण वातावरण हटाई निर्धक्क र निश्चिन्त भई रहन सक्ने स्थितिको श्रृजना गर्दछ । तद्अनुरूप, यसले विविध मुल्याङ्कनका तहहरूमा कार्यान्वयन हुने विचारहरूको प्रतिनिधित्व गर्दछ । सन् १९७० को दशकतिर शुरु भएको सुरक्षाका अवधारणाहरूको वृहत्तिकरणले शुरुवाती बहसको सामना गर्दै जाँदा सन् १९९० को दशकमा आएर मूलधार प्राज्ञिक तथा राजनीतिक बहसका क्षेत्रमा मान्यता प्राप्त गर्‍यो । शीतयुद्धको अन्त्यसँग आएको यस बदलाको सैद्धान्तिक र परम्परागत रूपमा चल्दै आएको राष्ट्र र जनताको सुरक्षामा सैनिक प्रमुखताको सन्दर्भलाई चुनौति दियो । यसले गर्दा राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षालाई असर पार्ने कारक तत्वहरूलाई वैचारिक रूपमा परिवर्तन गरिदियो । गरिबी, आन्तरिक द्वन्द्व, जनसंख्या चाप, वातावरणीय प्रभाव तथा खनिज एवं स्रोत साधनको उपभोग उपरका प्रतिस्पर्धा जस्ता विषयलाई राष्ट्रिय सार्वभौमसत्ता र जनताका प्रतिकुल तत्व मान्न थालियो । यस प्रकार “सुरक्षा” ले मानव जीवनको हरेक पाटोलाई समेटेको भएतापनि हतियार निर्माणको होड, आक्रमणकारी नियत लगायत द्वन्द्वको परिवेशमा सैनिक शक्तिमाथि आधारित सुरक्षा नै सर्वाधिक महत्वपूर्ण देखिन्छ ।

सुरक्षाको वर्गीकरण

वर्तमान विश्व व्यवस्थामा अत्याधुनिक प्रविधिले मानव जातिको सोचको दायरालाई वृहत रूपमा फैलाई दिएको छ । यसले गर्दा आधुनिकतामा आधारित भएर निर्माण भएका विभिन्न बहुआयामिक संरचना र कार्य प्रणालीहरू सदैव आक्रमणमा सजिला शिकार वन्न सक्ने अवस्थामा आक्रमणकारीले केवल असुरक्षित तार्गेटको पहिचान गरी आफ्नो लक्ष्य प्राप्त गर्न सक्छ भने प्रतिरक्षा गर्नेले आफ्ना सम्पूर्ण संवेदनशीलतालाई समेट्ने गरी

सुरक्षा व्यवस्था तयार गरी सजगता अपनाउनु पर्ने देखिन्छ । यसै क्रममा सामान्य रूपमा अवलोकन गर्दा राष्ट्रिय र अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय क्षेत्रका सुरक्षाग्राही क्षेत्रहरूका प्रकारलाई निम्नानुसार वर्गीकृत गर्न सकिन्छ ।

सुचना प्रविधिसंग सम्बन्धित

- Application security
- Computing security
- Data security
- Information security
- Network security

संरचनाहरूसँग सम्बन्धित

- Airport security
- Port security/Supply chain security
- Food security
- Home security
- Hospital security
- Physical security
- Public area security
- Public property security
- Infrastructure security
- VA/VP/vital instilljtion security

राजनीतिसँग सम्बन्धित

- Internal security
- Human security
- International security
- National security
- Public security
- Regional Security

आर्थिक क्षेत्रसंग सम्बन्धित

- Financial security
- National economic security

सेनासंग सम्बन्धित

- Personnel security
- Info security
- Material security
- Operation security
- Communication security

यी सबै क्षेत्रहरू सम्बन्ध राखेर सुरक्षाका अवधारणाले प्राय समेट्ने वस्तुगत विषय निम्नानुसार छन् ।

- निर्धक्कता (**Assurance**) आफुले व्यवस्था गरेको सुरक्षा व्यवस्थाले अपेक्षाकृत तवरमा कार्य सम्पादन गर्छ भनि निश्चिन्त रहने आधारको ग्यारेन्टी ।
- प्रतिवाद (**Countermeasure**) सम्भावित खतरालाई प्रभावकारी हुनवाट वञ्चित गर्ने उपाय ।

- बलियो प्रतिरक्षात्मक प्रणाली (Defense in depth) कुनै पनि सुरक्षात्मक विधि अपनाउँदा सुरक्षाका उपायहरूलाई भरपुर मात्रामा बलियो बनाउने र सो गर्दा एकभन्दा बढी सुरक्षा कवचको प्रयोग गर्नु पर्ने ।
- फाइदा लिनु (Exploit) कथंकदाचित आफ्नो अपेक्षा विपरित सुरक्षा व्यवस्थाको प्रभावकारीतामाथि आंच आएमा त्यसबाट समेत अनुकूल फाइदा लिन सक्ने व्यवस्था मिलाउनु पर्ने ।

यस प्रकारका कार्यान्वयनका विधिहरू माथि केन्द्रित रही “सुरक्षा” लाई मुख्यतः राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा र अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षामा विभाजन गर्न सकिन्छ ।

राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा कुनै पनि स्वतन्त्र राष्ट्रले आफ्नो अस्तित्वलाई जोगाई राख्न आर्थिक, राजनीतिक लगायत सैनिक शक्तिको प्रयोग तथा कुटनीतिक अभ्यासद्वारा देश र जनताका लागि कुनै पनि किसिमका विपत्तिकर समस्याको सामना गर्नुपर्ने स्थितिको सृजना नहोस् भन्ने अभिप्रायले राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षाको सम्पूर्ण मर्मलाई समेटेको हुन्छ । यस परिप्रेक्ष्यमा राष्ट्रिय हितका लागि कुटनीतिको प्रयासद्वारा मित्रराष्ट्रहरूसँग समन्वय र सहकार्यको वातावरण बनाई खतरालाई अलग्याउने देखि लिएर वृहत आर्थिक स्रोत परिचालनद्वारा सहयोगको लागि वाध्य तुल्याउने नीतिहरू सान्दर्भिक छन् । यसै गरी प्रभावकारी सैनिक संगठन र गैरसैनिक प्रतिरक्षा व्यवस्था तथा आपतकालिन स्थितिसंग जुध्ने तयारीका साथै प्रभावकारी सूचना संकलन लगायत महत्वपूर्ण र संवेदनशील संरचनाहरूमा सुरक्षाको व्यवस्था पनि उत्तिकै महत्वपूर्ण मानिन्छन् ।

राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षाको प्राविधिक पक्षबारे मुल्याङ्कन गर्दा वर्तमान विश्व परिवेशमा राष्ट्रहरूबीचको प्रतिस्पर्धात्मक प्रवृत्तिले गर्दा प्रत्येक राष्ट्रको आफ्नो कार्यप्रणालीमा सुरक्षा विधिले महत्वपूर्ण स्थान ओगटेको हुन्छ । राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा प्रणालीले आधारभुत रूपमा राष्ट्रको व्यवस्थापनका अभ्यास, प्राविधिक क्षमता, आन्तरिक र वाह्य रूपमा आफ्नो छवि प्रस्तुत गर्ने क्षमता तथा आफ्ना जनतामा पर्याप्त सद्भाव र सहयोगको भावना जागृत गराई राष्ट्रिय हितका कार्यमा प्रयोग गर्ने आर्थिक स्थितिको श्रृजना गर्ने जस्ता पक्षहरू समेटेको हुन्छ ।

अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा प्रविधिको प्रभावले हरेक क्षेत्रमा विश्वव्यापीकरण हुँदै गइरहेको सन्दर्भमा विश्वको कुनै पनि स्थानमा घटेका घटनाले विश्वव्यापी ध्यानाकर्षण प्राप्त गरी त्यसको प्रभाव र असर पनि प्रवाह हुने परिपाटी रहेकाले विश्वका राष्ट्रहरूले केवल आफ्नो राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षामाथि मात्र केन्द्रित नभई अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षाका विषयलाई पनि गहनरूपमा लिनु पर्ने देखिन्छ । हातहतियार सम्बन्धी प्रविधिमा व्यापक विकास र संख्यात्मक वढोत्तरीले मानव जातिलाई सन्त्रस्त बनाईरहेकै वेलामा विविध क्षेत्रहरूमा देखा परेमा आतंकवाद, जातीय हिंसा तथा आन्तरिक द्वन्द्वहरूले त्यस किसिममा क्रियाकलापको प्रतिकूल असर अन्य राष्ट्रहरू माथि पनि पर्न गई विश्व शान्तिमा खलल पुग्ने स्थिति समेत रहेको छ । यसरी अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय रूपमै प्रभाव पार्ने विभिन्न विषयमध्ये प्रमुख सन्दर्भ निम्न अनुसार छन् ।

- **गरिवी** यो समस्याले सम्पूर्ण विश्वलाई ओगटेको छ । सबैजसो द्वन्द्वहरूको जड नै गरिवी हो र अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय समुदायको सुरक्षा नीतिमा यसले उल्लेखनिय प्रभाव पारेको छ ।
- **साम्प्रदायिकता** विश्वभर करिव ५००० साम्प्रदायिक समूहहरू रहेका अवस्थामा जातीय तथा साम्प्रदायिक हिंसा र द्वन्द्वले प्रश्रय पाएको छ ।
- **धार्मिक बलेश** अतिवादी धार्मिक समूहबीच आपसी घृणा र असहमतिले गर्दा अनेक द्वन्द्वका स्थितिको श्रृजना हुने गरेको छ ।
- **एकध्रुवीय विश्व** संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकाले विश्व शक्तिको वागडोर सम्हाल्दै आएको बेला प्रविधि तथा हातहतियार लगायत शक्तिका सन्दर्भमा काँधमा काँध मिलाएर अघि बढ्दै गरेका अन्य राष्ट्रहरूले आफ्नो प्रभाव बढाउने तथा अमेरिकी प्रभुत्वको विरोध गर्ने कुराको थालनी भएको छ ।

- **जनसंख्या वृद्धि र बेरोजगारी र असन्तुष्ट व्यक्तिहरू** वर्तमान विश्व परिवेशमा कहाली लाग्दो रूपमा बढ्दै गएको जनसंख्यालाई समेट्ने किसिमको रोजगारी तथा आर्थिक व्यवस्थानको अभावमा बढ्दै गएको असन्तुष्ट व्यक्तिहरूको समूहले अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय स्तरमा प्रभाव पार्ने गरी विश्व सुरक्षा प्रणालीमा प्रतिकूल असर पार्ने स्थितिहरूको श्रृजना गर्ने अवस्था रहेको छ ।
- **विध्वंससात्मक हतियारहरूको संख्यात्मक वृद्धि** अत्याधुनिक प्रविधिको विकाससंगै विध्वंससात्मक मानिने आणविक तथा रासायनिक हतियारहरूको पनि अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय रूपमै उल्लेखनिय रूपमा संख्यात्मक वृद्धि भएवाट राष्ट्रहरूबीच अन्तरद्वन्द्वको संभावना बढ्दै गएको छ ।
- **आतंकवाद र विद्रोही गतिविधि** अपर्याप्त स्रोत साधन र बेरोजगारी माझ बढ्दै गएको साम्प्रदायिक, धार्मिक र जातीय विमतिका कारण विश्वव्यापी रूपमा आतंकवाद र विद्रोही गतिविधि वृद्धि हुँदै गइरहेको छ । युद्धको अवधारणामा नै परिवर्तन ल्याउने किसिमबाट फुटाउँदै गएको अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय आतंकवादले विश्वलाई पृथक रूपमा सन्त्रस्त पारिहेको अवस्थामा सुरक्षाका चुनौतिहरू भन्नु बढ्दै गएका छन् ।
- **विविध विश्वको बदलिंदो परिवेशमा** आर्थिक अभाव, खाद्यान्न अभाव र प्रतिकूल वातावरणीय परिवर्तनले समेत सुरक्षा नीतिमा महत्वपूर्ण प्रभाव पारेका छन् । यी पक्षहरूको सन्तुलनमा समयमै विचार नगरिएको खण्डमा विश्व सुरक्षा स्थिति खस्कदै जाने र थप नयां परिस्थिति स्रजना हुँदै जाने देखिन्छ ।

वर्तमान विश्व परिवेशमा नयां सुरक्षा चुनौती एक चिन्तन

विश्वभर आतंकवाद विरुद्धको लहर ल्याउने सेप्टेम्बर ११, २००१ को घटनाले जसरी विश्वलाई हल्लायो, त्यसले सुरक्षा सम्बन्धी सोचलाई विल्कुलै बदलिदिएको भए तापनि वास्तविकता नियाल्ने हो भने यो पहिले नै उद्भव भएको समस्याको पराकाष्ठा थियो । त्यस समयपछि सम्पन्न राष्ट्रहरूले दृढ भएर कार्वाहीमा उत्रेका आतंकवादीहरूबाट हुन सक्ने संवेदनशीलतामा विशेष ध्यान दिन पर्ने स्थिति आयो । यस सन्दर्भमा “संवेदनशीलतामा खासै वृद्धि नभए तापनि आतंकवादी समूहहरूको संकल्पित रवैयामा उल्लेखित वृद्धि भएको” भन्ने एकथरि विशेषज्ञहरूको भनाई छ । सम्पन्नता कै माझ पनि विकसित राष्ट्रहरूको “सुरक्षा” लाई पूनः परिभाषित गर्ने उद्देश्यमा व्यवधानका रूपमा भेदभाव, गरिबी, असमानता र अन्याय जस्ता तत्वहरू रहेका छन्, जसले विद्रोह तथा आतंकवाद जस्ता गतिविधिहरूलाई प्रस्रय दिने अनुकूल परिस्थितिको श्रृजना गर्छन् । तदनुसार विश्वका राष्ट्रहरूले समस्याका सैनिक समाधान माथि मात्र नभई उपरोक्त समस्या निवारणका लागि आफ्ना स्रोत, साधनको प्रयोग गर्नु पर्ने देखिन्छ । केही समय यता ईजरायल जस्ता देशले पश्चिम गाजा क्षेत्रमा प्यालेस्टाईनी गतिविधि नियन्त्रण गर्नका लागि पर्खाल बनाएर सुरक्षा स्थिति सबल बनाउने प्रयास गरे तापनि आत्मघाती मनोभाव बोकेर कार्वाहीमा उत्रने आतंकवादी विरुद्ध यस किसिमका सुरक्षा नीति गौण हुने हुँदा सुरक्षाका यस्ता भौतिक संरचनाभन्दा माथि उठेर मात्रै आतंकवादबाट सुरक्षित हुन सक्ने देखिन्छ ।

विश्वभर द्रुतरूपमा विकसित हुँदै गएको हतियार वृद्धिदरले गर्दा उक्त होडमा मुछिएका सम्पन्न राष्ट्रहरूबीच एउटा नयां किसिमको शक्ति सन्तुलनको परिवेश श्रृजना भएको छ । यी शक्तिहरू प्रमुख रूपमा सम्पन्न राष्ट्रहरू विरुद्ध नै प्रयोग गर्ने उद्देश्यले बनाइएका हुँदा एक आपसबीच असमझदारीमा उनीहरूलाई खतरापूर्ण अवस्थाको परिकल्पना गर्न बाध्य तुल्याएको छ । यसैबीच अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय कानून, मुल्य र मान्यताहरूको अवज्ञा गर्ने प्रवृत्ति पनि बढ्दै गएको हुँदा विश्व शान्ति हरहमेशा खतरापूर्ण र असुरक्षित स्थितिवाट गुज्रिरहेको छ । विश्वभर व्याप्त हुँदै गएका आर्थिक मन्दि, वातावरणीय दुष्प्रभाव लगायत धार्मिक, जातिय तथा साम्प्रदायिक जस्ता गतिविधिहरूले आर्थिक सुरक्षा, मानविय सुरक्षा, खाद्यान्न सुरक्षा, वातावरण सुरक्षा लगायतका मुद्दामा सबैको ध्यानाकर्षण भएको छ र तिनीहरूसँग सम्बन्धित समस्या समाधानका लागि नयां सुरक्षाका चुनौतिहरू प्रस्तुत गरेका छन् ।

परिवर्तित सुरक्षा चुनौतिका प्रभावहरू

- विभिन्न परिवेशमा बदलिदै गएका सुरक्षा अवस्थाहरूको वर्तमान परिप्रेक्ष्यमा आउदो समयमा विश्वको सुरक्षा अवस्थाले समयसंगै नयां नयां चुनौतिहरूको सामना गर्दै जाने देखिन्छ । अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय स्तरमा निकर्वाल निकाल्न सकिन्छ । जसलाई तत्कालै सामना गर्नु पर्ने अवस्थाहरू निम्नानुसार हुन सक्छ ।
- शीत युद्धको समाप्तिसंगै एकध्रुवीय विश्वको उद्भव भए पश्चात् शक्तिशाली बन्दै गएको संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकाले विश्व राजनीतिमा अर्को १५-२० वर्षसम्म महाशक्तिको रूपमा प्रभुत्व कायम गरिरहे तापनि अन्य राष्ट्रहरूले पनि शक्ति सन्तुलनको क्रममा शक्तिशाली बन्ने होडलाई अंगालेका हुँदा संभवत कुनै तरि काबाट आधारभूत सुरक्षा व्यवस्थामाथि यथोचित ध्यान केन्द्रित गर्नमा शत प्रतिशत सफलता प्राप्त गर्न नसकलान । यसैबीच विभिन्न वैचारिक विमतीमाभू अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय स्तरका सन्धि, सम्झौता र समझदारीहरू लगायत अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय कानून, मुल्य र मान्यताहरूको पनि प्रशस्त अवज्ञा हुने पर्याप्त सम्भावना रहेको हुँदा विश्वको शान्ति र सुरक्षा स्थितिले थप चुनौतिको सामना गर्न सक्ने देखिन्छ ।
- आगामी समयमा विकसित तथा विकासोन्मुख राष्ट्रहरूबीचका भौगोलिक र वैचारिक दूरीमा क्रमश कमी आउदै जानेछ । नयां आविष्कार र प्रविधिहरूले मान्छेले कल्पना समेत नगरेका अन्वेषणहरूलाई मुर्तरूप दिने छन् तर यी सबैका वावजुद विकासोन्मुख समुदायको विकसित राष्ट्रहरूप्रतिको मोहले गर्दा स्वदेश भन्दा परदेशमा जीवनयापन गर्न जाने क्रममा प्रशस्त जनप्रवाह र फलतः समस्याहरूको समेत विश्वव्यापी प्रवाह भैरहने स्थिति नआउला भन्न सकिन्न ।
- विश्वको आर्थिक भविष्यको अनुमान गर्न अबै कठिन हुँदै जान्छ । विश्व अर्थतन्त्रका बलिया पात्रहरूको उदभव तथा सशक्तिकरणले आर्थिक शक्तिको पूनर्सङ्गठन हुन्छ र यसले मौकाका साथ साथै संवेदनशिलताको पनि सृजना गर्दछ । असमान रूपमा भए तापनि आर्थिक वृद्धिले सम्पूर्ण विश्वलाई समेट्ने र यसक्रममा अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय अर्थतन्त्रमा समायोजनका साथसाथै विभाजनका प्रकृया साथै चल्दै जाने जानेछन् । गहन र अप्रत्यासित आर्थिक उत्तारचढाव सम्पतिमा भेदभाव, अप्रभावकारी धनराशीको प्रभाव, विश्व विद्युतिय संरचनाहरूमा संवेदनशिलता, मजदुर तथा सामाजिक भेद र यी सबै विरुद्ध सुरक्षात्मक प्रकृयाको आवश्यकताको अभ्यास हुनेछ । यस सिलसिलामा राष्ट्रहरूले जति मात्रामा आर्थिक सम्पन्नता प्राप्त गर्छन्, त्यतिनै असुरक्षित महसुस गर्दै जानेछन् र सुरक्षाको सवाल विशुद्ध सैनिक शक्तिभन्दा माथि उठेर अन्य पक्षहरूसंग आवद्ध हुन जानेछ ।
- प्रविधिका नयां अविस्कारहरूले सामाजिक तथा राष्ट्रिय सिमांकनका अवधारणालाई वेवास्ता गर्दै जानेछ । व्यक्तिगत वा संगठनात्मक आवद्धताले गर्दा सबै मानिसहरू विश्वभर भ्रमण गर्ने छन् । यस क्रममा कतिपय राष्ट्रहरूले आफ्नो “सुरक्षा” मा खतरा पुऱ्याउन सक्ने तत्वहरूलाई सीमा प्रवेशवाट बन्देज लगाउन असक्षम हुने देखिन्छ । विश्वव्यापीकरणले विचार र अवधारणाको प्रवाहलाई गति दिन्छ । यसरी प्रवाह हुने विचारहरू केही राजनितिक होलान, केही धार्मिक, त्यस्तै केही प्रचारवादी होलान भने केही विचारहरूको सम्बन्ध प्रजातान्त्रिक प्रणाली र मानवाधिकारसंग होला । विचार र अवधारणाहरू जेसुकै भए तापनि, तिनीहरूले आम प्रतिक्रियाका मञ्चको स्थापना गरी आफ्ना प्रभावलाई सीमा तथा सरकारका नियन्त्रण भन्दा बाहिर लैजाने कुरा अवश्यम्भावी छ ।
- विश्वव्यापी तथा क्षेत्रीय गतिविधिहरूले राष्ट्रहरूलाई संगठित गराउँछ तर प्रभावशाली राष्ट्रहरूमा घट्ने घटनाहरूले विश्व सुरक्षालाई शान्तिपूर्ण वा खतरापूर्ण बनाउँछन् । राज्यहरूले आ-आफ्नो क्षमताअनुसार प्राविधिक तथा आर्थिक मौकाको सुदुपयोग गर्ने, आर्थिक विकासका लागि आवश्यक पर्ने सामाजिक तथा राजनितिक पूर्वाधारको स्थापना गर्ने, आफ्ना नागरीकका आकांक्षाप्रति जवाफदेही राजनितिक संगठनको निर्माण गर्ने तथा खतरा र अन्यौलको अवस्थामा सहि मार्ग दर्शन र नेतृत्व प्रदान गर्न सक्ने व्यक्तिको चयन गर्ने जस्ता कृयाकलापहरू उपर विशेष ध्यान दिनु पर्ने छ । यी पलहरूमा यथोचित ध्यान पुऱ्याउन नसकेको खण्डमा त्यस्ता राज्य टुक्रिने वा असफल हुने संभावना हुन्छ र अन्ततोगत्वा दबिएका राष्ट्रियता, साम्प्रदायिक वा धार्मिक हिंसा,

मानवीय विध्वंस तथा क्षति र क्षेत्रीय संकटका प्रमुख उत्तेजक तत्व र खतरनाक हतियारहरूको वितरण र फैलावटमा वृद्धि हुन जान्छ ।

- राष्ट्र राष्ट्रबीचको युद्ध र द्वन्द्वको संभावना सदैव रहिरहने छ । तथापी आगामी समयमा सुरक्षामा चुनौती दिने किसिमका गतिविधी मध्ये प्रायको प्रार्दुभाव आन्तरिक द्वन्द्ववाट नै हुनेछन् । मानविय संकल्पको दृढता बढ्दै जाने तथा धेरैजसो राष्ट्रमा सरकारले आर्थिक र सामाजिक व्यवहारिकताका पक्ष उपर उचित ध्यान केन्द्रित गर्न नसकेपछि अवहेलित व्यक्तिहरू त्यस्ता सरकारमा भेदभावपूर्ण र अप्रभावकारी नीति सहन नसकि नयाँ समुदाय, अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय रक्षक संगठन र स्वशासित क्षेत्रका संख्यामा वृद्धि हुन्छ जसले गर्दा धेरै मात्रामा हिंसाको समेत उत्पत्ति हुन्छ । यी सबै बीच हतियारको विकासक्रमको व्यापकता र जटिलताको माझ पनि युद्धको भाव यथावत रहने छ । हत्या, हिंसा र रक्तपातका प्रकृति यथावत रहने छन्, परिवर्तन आउछ त केवल युद्ध मच्चाउने तत्वहरू र तिनले प्रयोग गर्ने हतियारमा । कसैले भौतिक हतियारको प्रयोग गर्लान् त कसैले वैचारिक हतियार । यसैविच कुनै राष्ट्र तथा समाजहरूले हिंसालाई सिमित गर्ने कोसिस गर्नेछन् भने कुनैले तिनलाई बढाउन खोज्नेछन् ।

वदलिंदो विश्व परिवेशमा तेस्रो मुलुकहरूमाथि प्रभाव

आर्थिक, प्रशासनिक, प्राविधिक लगायत राज्य संचालनका अन्य पक्षहरूमा विकसित राष्ट्रहरू भन्दा पछि रहेका र विकसित राष्ट्रमा चलेका प्रचलनहरूको नक्कल गर्ने प्रवृत्ति हावी हुनुका बावजुद विकासोन्मुख राष्ट्रहरूका स्रोत र साधनले प्रगतिमुलक देखासिकी गर्न असमर्थ हुने हुँदा तिनीहरूलाई नकारात्मक प्रभावहरूको चपेटाले बढी प्रभाव पार्ने देखिन्छ । गरिबी, विपन्नता र प्राविधिक कमजोरीका साथसाथै सुरक्षाका सन्दर्भमा देखा पर्ने किसिमका सबै दुष्प्रभावहरूले राष्ट्रियताको सवालमा नै जटिल प्रश्न चिन्ह खडा गर्नेछन् । तेस्रो मुलुकका राष्ट्रहरू सदैव समयको पछि पछि दौडिरहने छन् र विश्व समुदायमा उद्भव भएका सबैजसो समस्या, खराब प्रवृत्ति र द्वन्द्वमूलक गतिविधिवाट ग्रस्त हुँदै जाने देखिन्छ । यसै क्रममा त्यस्ता राष्ट्रहरूले समय सापेक्ष रूपमा गतिलो प्रशासनिक एवं राजनीतिक संयन्त्रको स्थापना गरी समस्याका मुद्दाहरूको संवोधन गर्न नसकेमा हिंसा, कलह र द्वन्द्व लगायत योग्य जनशक्तिको परदेश पलायन निश्चित हुँदै जानेछ र अन्ततोगत्वा त्यस्ता देशहरूले असफल राष्ट्रको दर्जामा भरेर समस्याहरूको केन्द्रविन्दु बनी विश्वभर नकारात्मक सन्देश प्रवाह गरेर मात्र आफ्नो अस्तित्व जाहेर गर्नेछन् ।

समन्वयात्मक शान्ति र सुरक्षाका लागि सुझाव

अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षाको प्रतिस्पर्धात्मक नमुना करिब तीन सताव्दिदेखि परिवर्तन हुँदै आइरहेको छ । इश्वि संवत्को १७ औं शताब्दीबाट सुरु भएको वंशीय अधिराज्यदेखी वर्तमान प्रजातान्त्रिक प्रणालीहरू सम्म आइपुग्दा हाल आएर अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षाका सवालले प्रमुखता प्राप्त गर्न थालेका छन् । राष्ट्रहरू बीचको प्रतिस्पर्धा सामाजिक, राजनितिक, आर्थिक र प्राविधिक तहमा आधारित रहेर नागरिक समाज र राज्यहरू माझ प्रकृयागत हुँदै गएको छ । यो प्रकृया समयको वहावसँगै घनिभुत हुँदै जाने क्रममा नयाँ सुरक्षा प्रणालीको विकासमा उल्लेख्य रूपमा प्रभावकारी भएका छन् । मानव सभ्यताको इतिहासमा सर्वप्रथम अभ्यासमा ल्याइएको सामूहिक सुरक्षाको अवधारणा सन् १६४८ को वेष्टफलियाको सन्धिलाई मान्न सकिन्छ । उक्त सन्धिको सहभागीहरूले आफ्ना समकक्ष मित्रराष्ट्रहरूलाई प्रतिरक्षा र सुरक्षाका सन्दर्भमा सँधै सहयोग गर्ने तथा पीडित पक्षलाई मद्दत प्रदान गरी उस विरुद्धको खतरालाई निस्तेज तुल्याउने प्रतिवद्धता व्यक्त गरेका थिए । त्यस पश्चात सामूहिक सुरक्षाको अवधारणाले व्यापक पश्रय पायो र आधुनिक युगमा आइपुगेपछि लिग अफ नेसनस (League of Nations) ले थालनी गरेको अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय शान्ति र सुरक्षा प्रवर्धनको सद्भावपूर्ण आशयको फलस्वरूप विभिन्न क्षेत्रीय सुरक्षा अंग लगायत संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ जस्तो विश्व सुरक्षा अंग समेतको स्थापना हुन पुग्यो । यसै विच वर्तमान परिवर्तित सुरक्षा परिवेशमा राष्ट्रिय स्वाधिनता र स्वतन्त्रतामा सुरक्षाको परिभाषालाई सिमित राख्नु पुरानो अवधारणा हो भने अभिव्यक्ति एक थरि विश्लेषकहरूको छ । तदनुसरूप विश्वका राष्ट्रहरूले आपसी समन्वय बढाएर नवआयामिक सुरक्षाका लागि निम्न सिद्धान्तहरूलाई मार्गदर्शनका रूपमा अवलम्बन गरेमा अनुकूल परिस्थितीको श्रृजना हुने देखिन्छ ।

- सम्भावित खतरामाथि लक्षित गरेर अन्य राष्ट्रहरूसँग सुरक्षासंग सम्बन्धित विषयमा समन्वय र दृष्टिकोणको

विकसित स्तरको विकास गर्नु पर्ने ।

- सबै राष्ट्रहरूको आपसी सहअस्तित्वको भावलाई महत्व दिनु पर्ने देखिन्छ । यस प्रकृत्यामा द्वन्द्व र विमतीहरूलाई अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय स्तरमा शान्तिपूर्ण तवरबाट समाधान गरी शक्ति प्रयोगलाई निरुत्साहित गर्नु पर्ने ।
- सैनिक शक्तिलाई अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय राजनितिसंग परिचित बनाउदै लैजाने तथा गरिबी, असमानता, जातीय तथा सांप्रदायिक हिंसा, वातवरणीय दुष्प्रभाव आदिलाई पनि उचित सम्बोधन हुने किसिमका सुरक्षा नितिको तर्जुमा गरिनु पर्ने ।
- विश्वव्यापीकरणको प्रभावले फुटाउदै गएका आतंकवाद, हतियार वृद्धि, आणविक शक्तिमा वृद्धि आदि जस्ता समस्याहरू उपर विशेष रूपमा ध्यान दिई विकासोन्मुख राष्ट्रहरूको पनि समानुपातिक विकासलाई अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीतिका प्रमुख एजेण्डाका रूपमा विकसीत गर्दै लग्ने योजनाहरूको तर्जुमा गरिनुपर्ने ।

सङ्क्षेप

अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय मञ्चद्वारा मानवहितका लागि शान्ति, सुरक्षा, सुव्यवस्था र विश्वका सम्पूर्ण राष्ट्रहरूको समानुपातिक विकास र प्रगतिलाई दृष्टिगत गरी विश्वव्यापी स्तरमा लागु हुने तरिकाबाट समयको मागअनुसार समकालीन सुरक्षा समस्याहरूको पहिचान गर्ने तथा तिनीहरूलाई सहिरूपमा सम्बोधन गर्ने कार्यप्रणालीको अभ्यासको थालनी गरिएमा समयसंगै परिवर्तन हुदै जाने सुरक्षाका समस्याहरूसंग प्रभावकारी ढङ्गबाट लड्न तथा शान्त र सुरक्षित विश्वको परिकल्पना गर्न सकिने हुँदा विश्वका सबै राष्ट्रहरूले यस सम्बन्धमा वैचारिक बहुमतद्वारा अधि बढ्ने जमर्को गरेमा वर्तमान विश्व परिवेशमा देखिएका सुरक्षाका नयाँ चुनौतिहरूलाई पाखा लगाई उन्नति तर्फ बढ्न सकिने देखिन्छ ।

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जसमा सत्य, धर्म, जाति र त्यागको गुण हुन्छ, उसैले विजय पाउँछ ।

- जातक

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE THEORIES OF SUN TZU AND CARL VON CLAUSEWITZ



Brig Gen Rajendra Chhetri

**War is a grave concern of the state; it must be thoroughly studied.
– Sun Tzu**

War is the application of armed forces by a state to destroy the enemy army to compel another state to follow the attacker's will. – Carl von Clausewitz

Various theorists have proffered their military strategies throughout history. Among many such theorists, the works of Sun Tzu and Carl von Clausewitz are widely referred to. Their insights have even been incorporated into national military doctrine and strategy. These two famous strategists wrote in different eras, and their respective products are influenced by the nature of warfare and strategic environment of their times. In *The Art of War*¹, Sun Tzu analyzes war from an idealistic point of view. But in *On War*², Clausewitz discusses war from a philosophical point of view; he shows that war is very enigmatic and susceptible to chance and happenstance. These great strategists exhibit many common views in their theories; however, they also reveal sharp differences in several aspects of their deliberation on war. This paper analyzes the work of these two strategists and compares the main ideas of their theories of strategy and war.

Sun Tzu's *The Art of War*

Sun Tzu's *The Art of War*, was composed around the fifth century BC. Sun Tzu was greatly influenced by the ancient Chinese war strategies. The contents of his book indicate that he had considerable practical experience of war. Although this book was written during the period when there was no development of any sophisticated weapons and equipment, nevertheless, he offers a comprehensive, thoughtful product that has been studied and implemented not only during the conflicts of the Chinese dynastic eras, but also in modern contemporary periods. His theories have significantly influenced Chinese and Japanese military thoughts throughout history. His theory achieved enormous popularity in its applications during the warfare of 19th and 20th centuries. Mao Tse-Tung's strategic vision, that brought revolutionary change to modern China, is also heavily inspired by the Sun Tzu's theories, which have even been adopted in Chinese military strategy. Although some scholars have questioned Sun Tzu's actual existence, however, historians have found enough evidence to prove his existence and certainly his *The Art of War* is a living document³.

Clausewitz's *On War*

Carl von Clausewitz's *On War* was published in 1832 by his wife, a year after his death⁴. Clausewitz was a career army officer, who served in active duty during the Revolutionary War and Napoleonic War between 1792 and 1815.⁵ Clausewitz's strategies are heavily influenced by the war strategy of Napoleon. Clausewitz believed in the Napoleonic concept of victory through battle and destruction of the opposing forces, at any cost. His book, though written long after Sun Tzu's book, was also written at the time when military technology was not very advanced. Nonetheless, his theories remain relevant even in today's hi-tech era. It is said that he couldn't complete his writing as he projected. However, during the process of redrafting his original work, he generated another idea, that of war as a "remarkable trinity", in which the directing policy of government, the professional qualities of the army, and the attitude of the population all played an equally significant part.⁶

Comparative Analysis

The theories of Sun Tzu and Clausewitz both primarily focus on the strategies, conduct, and effects of war. This paper will compare and analyze some of the key aspects of their theories; particularly, their views on war, relation of war with politics, impact of intelligence, effects of surprise and deception, and destruction of enemy. Sun Tzu argued that war had specific characteristics and could be waged to achieve predictable outcomes. Sun Tzu's thoughts are basically derived from the

ancient Chinese war strategies. Clausewitz, on the other hand, participated with the Prussian army in many campaigns during revolutionary wars and Napoleonic wars. He derives his theory from his actual experience of wars and experiences of teaching.

These two strategists have own way of describing war. Wars in Sun Tzu's time in ancient China were conducted in accordance with accepted norms and codes primarily for the purpose of territorial expansion. Sun Tzu thus claims that, "War is a grave concern of the state; it must be thoroughly studied."⁷ Sun Tzu believes that, "the moral strength and intellectual faculty of man were decisive in war, and that if these were properly applied war could be waged with certain success."⁸ He specifies that success is guaranteed if requirements are met. According to Sun Tzu, the war should be waged with minimal fighting, in the shortest possible time, at the least possible cost in lives and efforts, and with inflicting the fewest possible casualties on the enemy,⁹ ideally war could be avoided through a series of strategic, political, and non-military activities. Sun Tzu's advocacy of a minimal use of force is applicable these days in counter insurgency operations, in which, the capture and possible conversion of insurgents is preferable than to killing them. Sun Tzu favors efficient war over Clausewitz's total war. Sun Tzu's theory significantly differs with Clausewitz, who advocates in total destruction of enemy forces. Clausewitz defines war as, "an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will."¹⁰ According to Clausewitz, war should be fought with maximum use of force with the aim of disarming the enemy to render him incapable of further resistance. Clausewitz, however, believes that the outcomes of war are never final; he points out that "the defeated state often considers the outcome merely as a transitory evil, for which a remedy may still be found in political conditions at some later date".¹¹

We can find similarity of the views of these two strategists on their thoughts of relation of war to politics. Both realize that war is a political action of the state with a political purpose. Sun Tzu indicates that war is the ultimate instrument of statecraft; it should be used only when other instruments have failed. Sun Tzu, thus, believes that war is a tool of the state, but he regards the conduct of war as an art. Clausewitz's famous statement also concurs with Sun Tzu's views; "War is not merely an act of policy but a true political instrument, a continuation of political intercourse, carried on with other means...the political object is the goal, war is the means of reaching it, and means can never be considered in isolation from their purpose."¹² As in politics, the outcome is not always certain; Clausewitz claims an enshrouding "fog" always conceals the exact characteristics of a wartime situation. This element of uncertainty is a key highlight in Clausewitz's philosophy; he believes strongly that war is in large part determined by chance and probability. He claims that the nature of war makes it inherently unpredictable. Clausewitz is in conformity with Sun Tzu that almost in all cases, war is waged as a last resort to achieve a political objective. It is a common view of these strategists that, when the political goals are achieved, there is a strong possibility that peace will prevail. But, on most occasions, Clausewitz, admits, results are not always final. Recent examples of Arab-Israeli conflicts and the India- Pakistan wars reveal serial engagements interrupted by truce. But, tensions persist and root causes of the conflicts are unresolved. The political objectives of all parties have yet to be achieved. These countries used war as a tool (Sun Tzu's term) or other means (Clausewitz's term) to achieve perhaps unattainable political objectives. Therefore, views of both strategists are relevant that total victory in war is not possible unless the political objectives are achieved.

Intelligence can play a crucial role in war. Both strategists emphasize the importance of intelligence in war. Sun Tzu's famously declared, "Know the enemy and know yourself; in a hundred battle you will never be in peril."¹³ There is no question about Sun Tzu's estimation of the value of intelligence. But, Clausewitz views intelligence from different perspectives although he also acknowledges importance of intelligence. According to him, contradictory, false, and uncertain intelligence simply complicates the conduct of war. Only reliable intelligence, synthesized through an effective process based on sound knowledge, analysis, and judgment can be useful to the commanders. So, Clausewitz offers a much more qualified view of intelligence than Sun Tzu does. Nonetheless, both agree that, whether it is high intensity war or low intensity conflicts, absence of timely and accurate intelligence will have significant impact on the result of war.

Deception is considered as an effective "force multiplier" and key element for success even in today's warfare. While comparing the work of these two great strategists, it is relevant to review what

they have to say with regard to deception and surprise. Sun Tzu assigns the utmost importance to deception, which he advises must be fully exploited.¹⁴ He thinks that deception must be used at all times of war. An army must never let the enemy know the truth. An army should use spies to disrupt an enemy's plans and create subversion within the ranks. Attacking the enemy without actually fighting should be the aim of an army. Espionage should be employed to gather information about the enemy, to create havoc within the ranks of the enemy's army, to break up the enemy's alliances, and to generally isolate and demoralize the enemy. Sun Tzu believes that espionage is a powerful tool in war; moreover, he advises that the overall practice of deception is incredibly influential in a war.¹⁵ Clausewitz, on the other hand, emphasizes surprise in both offensive and defensive operations. He believes that surprise provides an excellent means to gain superiority. Because of its psychological effects, it should also be considered as an independent element. He advocates that surprise should be fundamentally incorporated into all operations without exception in widely varying degrees, depending on the nature and circumstances of the operation."¹⁶ Clausewitz believes that the defenders will have better opportunity to give surprise and deception as opposed to attackers.

Sun Tzu's idea of offensive strategy is different than Clausewitz's idea. Sun Tzu advocates capturing the enemy rather than destroying it. He suggests that, "... To subdue the enemy without fighting is the acme of skill ... what is of supreme importance in war is to attack the enemy's strategy ... next best is to disrupt his alliances. The next best is to attack his army ... those skilled in war subdue the enemy's army without battle ..."¹⁷ Whilst, Clausewitz advocates destruction of enemy forces as the means to the end. According to him, "the engagement is the only means of destroying the enemy forces."¹⁸ Recent example of offensive operations and success made by the Sri Lankan government against the Tamil insurgents validates the Clausewitz's theory as Sri Lankan government could crush the Tamil insurgency by using the means and ways of total destruction.

These strategists have dissimilar views on victory and destruction of the enemy. Sun Tzu minimizes the value of total destruction of enemy. According to him, offensive strategy is greatly determined by the relative strength of one's own army and the enemy's army. He advocates awaiting for a very favorable force ratio before launching an attack on the enemy.¹⁹ Clausewitz, on the other hand, argues military forces of the enemy are often the center of gravity, so total destruction of the enemy forces will lead to ultimate victory in war. Clausewitz believes that victory must be absolute; the enemy must be completely beaten to the point that retaliation is not possible. Even when a country cannot win the war, it should at least try to do as much damage as possible to its enemy. Sun Tzu also believes that, "victory is the main object in war. If this is long delayed, weapons are blunted and morale depressed... When the army engages in protracted campaigns the resources of the state will not suffice... Hence what is essential in war is victory, not prolonged operations".²⁰ The American experience in Vietnam, Soviet experience in Afghanistan in '80s, and growing negative public opinion about prolonged involvement in Iraq are some of the examples that validates Sun Tzu's theory of repercussion for not having swift victory.

Conclusion

To summarize, both theorists are primarily influenced by their times. What is most notable and important is that their theories are still applicable. They are often quoted and their theories are used as a reference in military schools of most countries. While both of these strategists have different perspectives on viewing the essence of war, they do agree on strategic issues. They both agree that war be conducted in a short, concentrated effort, but in slightly different ways. Sun Tzu offers a very idealistic, rational view of war. He believes victory is assured if requirements have been met. Clausewitz, on the other hand, sees war as an uncertain, foggy event. Both realize that a strong leader is necessary for victory. Sun Tzu predicts that victory is possible if the generals are not interfered with by the sovereign.²¹ Sun Tzu views war as a small-scale operation, while Clausewitz believes that it is an all-encompassing act which requires the wholesale efforts of an entire nation. Sun Tzu advocates the use of deception, while Clausewitz warns us to be suspicious of the enemy in all respects. It is their differences that make the two military strategists so remarkable. Ultimately, it is their views on chance that distinguish one from the other. No matter whatever the similarity and dissimilarity that they have in their respective theories, their work is remarkable and immortal and relevant and recognized even in today's hi-tech era.

End Notes

- ¹ Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, Translated by Samuel B. Griffith, Oxford University Press, *The Chinese Strategists*, Sun Tzu wrote his theory around 5th century BC.
- ² Carl von Clausewitz, "On War", Edited and translated by Michael Howard and Peter Paret, Princeton University Press, New Jersey,
- ³ Sun Tzu, pp 1. Sun Tzu writes, "...The first to doubt the reliability...Sun Wu never existed and that "The Art of War" ascribed to him was "probably a fabrication of disputatious sophists" of the Warring States ...
Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, pp.1-12, Detail accounts of Sun Tzu's existence is given in these pages.
- ⁴ Clausewitz, "On War", pp. 27.
- ⁵ Michael Howard, "CLAUSEWITZ A Very Short Introduction" Oxford University Press, New York, pp. 5.
- ⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.21. Clausewitz could complete six of eight projected books.
- ⁷ Sun Tzu, pp. 39 Sun Tzu further writes, "Here is recognition – and for the first time – that armed strife is not a transitory aberration but a recurrent conscious act and therefore susceptible to rational analysis".
- ⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 39.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 39.
- ¹⁰ Clausewitz, pp.75
- ¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 80.
- ¹² *Ibid.* pp. 87.
- ¹³ Sun Tzu, pp. 84. This is his famous quote and referred often. He further writes: "... when you are ignorant of the enemy but know yourself, your chances of winning or losing are equal. If ignorant both of your enemy and of yourself, you are certain in every battle to be in peril".
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 106 – 110.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-149.
- ¹⁶ On war pp. 198
- ¹⁷ Sun Tzu, pp. 77 – 84.
- ¹⁸ Clausewitz, pp. 529.
- ¹⁹ Sun Tzu, pp. 78-81. Sun Tzu writes, "in war the best policy is to take a state intact ...to capture enemy's army is better than to destroy it ...to subdue the enemy without fighting is the acme of skill ...supreme importance in war is to attack the enemy's strategy ...next best is to disrupt his alliances ... next best is to attack his army ...worst policy is to attack cities. Attack cities when there is no alternative."
- ²⁰ Sun Tzu, pp.73.
- ²¹ Sun Tzu, pp. 82-85. Sun Tzu presented five circumstances in which victory may be predicted: a) He who knows when he can fight and when he cannot will be victorious, b) He who understands how to use both large and small forces will be victorious. c) He whose ranks are united in purpose will be victorious. d) He who prudent and lies in wait for an enemy who is not, will be victorious. e) He whose generals are able and not interfered with by the sovereign will be victorious.

Sun Tzu _____

Born	c. 544 BC (traditional)
Died	c. 496 BC (traditional)
Occupation	Military commander
Ethnicity	Chinese
Writing period	722–481 BC or 476–221 BC (disputed)
Subjects	Military strategy



Statue of Sun Tzu in Yurihama, Tottori, Japan

राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा र विकासबीच अन्तरसम्बन्धः जलसम्पदाको समुचित विकास जरुरी

विदुर केसी

स्वतन्त्र पत्रकार/लेखक



भूमिका

१. राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा र विकासबीच अन्योन्याश्रित सम्बन्ध रहन्छ। राष्ट्रको सुरक्षा व्यवस्था सुदृढ नभएसम्म समग्र विकासको मार्गमा अवरोध आउँछ। राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षाको प्रत्याभूति गर्न नसक्ने राष्ट्र कमजोर हुन्छ। तसर्थ बदलिंदो परिवेशअनुरूप राष्ट्रिय हितको संरक्षण तथा प्रबर्द्धन हुने गरी राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीतिको निर्माण एवं त्यसको सुदृढ कार्यान्वयनका लागि भरपर्दो व्यवस्था मिलाइएमा तीव्र गतिमा विकासका लागि उपयुक्त वातावरण बन्ने छ। राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षाको परम्परागत अवधारणामा धेरै परिवर्तन आएको छ र यसका विषयवस्तुले बहुआयामिक क्षेत्र ओगट्दछ। यस्तो गम्भीर तथा संवेदनशील विषयमा हाम्रा नीति निर्माताले समयमै ध्यान दिनु जरुरी छ।

२. नेपालको सर्वाङ्गीण विकासका लागि अनेकौँ क्षेत्रमा योजनाबद्ध प्रयास गरिनु अपरिहार्य देखिन्छ। नेपालको प्रमुख प्राकृतिक स्रोतको रूपमा जलसम्पदा रहेको छ। प्रकृतिको यो अनुपम वरदान हो। अपार जलसम्पदालाई 'सेतो सुन'मा रूपान्तरण गर्नसकिन्छ। यसको समुचित विकास र उपयोगबाट राष्ट्रिय मात्र होइन क्षेत्रीय समृद्धिमा समेत योगदान पुऱ्याउन सकिने प्रचुर सम्भावना छ। तर, नेपालको जलसम्पदाको अपेक्षित विकास हुन सकेको छैन। जलस्रोतको धनी देशका जनताले प्रतिदिन लामो समयको लोडसेडिङको पीडा भोग्नु परिरहेको छ। प्रस्तुत लेखमा राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षाका चुनौति औल्याउदै यससम्बन्धी नीति छिटो प्रतिपादनको आवश्यकता दर्शाइएको छ। साथै, जलसम्पदाको विद्यमान स्थितिको समीक्षा गर्दै यो क्षेत्रको विकासका लागि अवलम्बन गरिनुपर्ने उपायहरूका सम्बन्धमा संक्षेपमा अनुसन्धानात्मक प्रकाश पार्ने जमर्को गरिएको छ।

राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षाको नवीनतम अवधारणा

३. विश्वमा शीतयुद्धको अन्त्यपछि राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षाको परिभाषा तथा अवधारणामा निकै परिवर्तन आएको छ। राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षाको मामिलामा परम्परागत सोचलाई त्यागेर नवीन दृष्टिकोणबाट हेर्न थालिएको छ। सुरक्षासम्बन्धी रणनीतिकार तथा विज्ञहरूले राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षाको विषयमा सैनिक कारबाहीलाई मात्र केन्द्रित नगरी आर्थिक, सामाजिक, मानवीय र वातावरणीय पक्षहरूसमेत समेट्नु पर्ने अवधारणा अधिसारेका छन्।

४. संयुक्त राष्ट्रसङ्घले आफ्नो बडापत्रमा सुरक्षासम्बन्धी प्रावधानहरू समावेश गरेको छ। त्यसमा अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय विवादहरूलाई अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय शान्ति, सुरक्षा र न्यायमा प्रतिकूल असर नपर्ने गरी शान्तिपूर्ण तवरले निवारण गर्ने, एक राष्ट्रले अर्को राष्ट्रको भौगोलिक अखण्डतालाई असर पार्ने गरी आक्रमण गर्ने वा त्रसित गर्न बन्देज लगाउने र आफ्नो राष्ट्रको प्रतिरक्षा गर्न पाउने नैसर्गिक अधिकार हनन गर्न नपाइने उल्लेख छ। यो अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सन्दर्भअनुसार कानुनी औपचारिक धारणा हो।

५. युरोपमा सुरक्षा र सहयोगका लागि सङ्गठन (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, OSCE) ले सबै सहभागी राष्ट्रहरूको सुरक्षासम्बन्धमा समान अधिकार हुने, सुरक्षासम्बन्धी व्यवस्था छनौट र परिवर्तन गर्न नैसर्गिक अधिकार राख्ने, एउटा सदस्य राष्ट्रले अर्को सदस्य राष्ट्रको सुरक्षालाई सम्मान गर्नुपर्ने र अर्को राष्ट्रको सुरक्षालाई खतरामा पर्ने गरी आफ्नो मात्र सुरक्षा सुदृढ गर्न नपाइने अवधारणा सार्वजनिक गरेको छ। प्रादेशिक सन्दर्भबाट यस्तो गरिएको हो।

६. विभिन्न राष्ट्रहरूले राष्ट्रिय सन्दर्भअनुरूप आ-आफ्ना किसिमका अवधारणा अवलम्बन गरेका छन्। तिनमा मुख्यत आन्तरिक विद्रोह वा बाह्य आक्रमणबाट राज्यको सुरक्षा, सिमानाको सुरक्षा, राज्यको मूल्य-मान्यता, राजनीतिक प्रणाली, सामाजिक, आर्थिक, सांस्कृतिक व्यवस्थाको सुरक्षा, संरक्षणसर्वसाधारण जनताको जीवन-यापनका लागि त्रासमुक्त वातावरणको सिर्जनालाई जोड दिएका छन्।

७. सुरक्षासम्बन्धी विज्ञहरू Penelope Hartland Thanberg, Terry L.Diebel, Walterlippman आदिले राष्ट्रको

सुरक्षा भनेको राष्ट्रको त्यो क्षमता हो, जसबाट उसले राष्ट्रिय हितको सक्षमतापूर्वक संरक्षण तथा सम्बर्द्धन गर्नसक्छ भन्ने धारणा राखेका छन् । त्यसमा राष्ट्रको सैन्य तथा अन्य संयन्त्रहरूको समन्वयात्मक परिचालनद्वारा राष्ट्रिय लक्ष्य प्राप्तिको माध्यमलाई दर्शाएका छन् ।

८. राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षालाई विस्तृत अर्थबाट व्याख्या गर्दा यसले राष्ट्रलाई भौगोलिक, राजनीतिक, सामाजिक, आर्थिकलगायत सबै प्रकारका खतराबाट सुरक्षित राख्नु हो भन्ने दृष्टिकोण प्रबल रहेको पाइन्छ । यसले सर्वाधिक तवरमा चासो राख्ने विषय भनेको राष्ट्रिय हितविपरीत हुने कुनै पनि खतरा तथा चुनौतिलाई सामना गर्दै राष्ट्रलाई शान्त र समुन्नत धरातलमा उभ्याउनु हो । राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षाका प्रमुख क्षेत्रहरू यी हुन्:

- (क) राष्ट्रिय सार्वभौमिकताको संरक्षण: यसका निमित्त विद्यमान सम्पूर्ण राष्ट्रिय शक्तिको समन्वयात्मक प्रयोग आवश्यक हुन्छ । यी तत्वहरूले राष्ट्रिय शक्तिको निर्माण तथा सञ्चय हुन्छ-प्राकृतिक निर्णायक भौगोलिक अवस्थिति, प्राकृतिक स्रोत साधनको भरिपूर्णता, गुणात्मक तथा परिमाणात्मक जनसङ्ख्या, सांस्कृतिक सौहार्दता तथा सुसम्बन्ध, उच्च राष्ट्रिय मनोबल र सकारात्मक मनस्थिति, सैन्य बल, आर्थिक क्षमता, राजनीतिक संरचना, आधुनिक प्रविधिको अवलम्बन, सूचना प्रवाह,
- (ख) क्षेत्रीय अखण्डताको रक्षा: राष्ट्रिय अस्मितामाथि कुनै पनि किसिमको आँच आउन नदिने अभिप्रायबाट दरिलो प्रतिरक्षात्मक प्रबन्ध, राष्ट्रिय सिमानाको अतिक्रमण हुन नदिने सतर्कता,
- (ग) राजनीतिक स्वतन्त्रताको रक्षा: संवैधानिक तवरमा स्थापित प्रजातान्त्रिक संस्थाहरूको सबलीकरण र विधिसम्मत प्रक्रियामा नागरिक प्रशासनको क्रियाकलाप सञ्चालन, वैदेशिक हस्तक्षेप हुन नदिने उपाय,
- (घ) राष्ट्रको प्रतिष्ठा अभिवृद्धि: सही दिशा-निर्देश गर्ने किसिमबाट राजनीति परिचालन, नेतृत्व क्षमताको विकास, सुशासनको अनुभूति, आर्थिक समुन्नति, सुदृढ सैन्य शक्तिको निर्माण, नेतृत्व क्षमताको प्रदर्शन, सफल कूटनीति, आधुनिक प्रविधि र सञ्चारको प्रयोगमा पछाडि नपरेको स्थिति,

९. विशेषतः सन् १९९० को सुरुदेखि नै राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षाको अवधारणा तथा आयाममा आमूल परिवर्तन र विस्तार भएको छ । परम्परागत सैन्य सोच तथा फौजी कारबाहीद्वारा हुने भौतिक सुरक्षा व्यवस्थाबाट ठूलो फड्को मारेर राष्ट्रको राजनीतिक, सामाजिक-आर्थिक विकास, वातावरणीय सुरक्षा, जनताको आधारभूत आवश्यकताको परिपूर्ति, मानवअधिकारको संरक्षण तथा मानवकल्याणका पक्षहरू पनि राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षाको परिधिमा समावेश गरिनुपर्ने धारणा प्रचलनमा आएको छ ।

राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षालाई प्रभाव पार्ने तत्व र चुनौतिहरू

१०. राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षालाई आन्तरिक र बाह्य कारक तत्वहरूले प्रभाव पार्दछन् र यसका चुनौतिहरू विस्तार भइरहेका छन् । नेपालको सन्दर्भबाट अवलोकन गर्दा ती यस्ता देखिन्छन्:

(क) आन्तरिक कारण

- (१) राजनीतिक अस्थिरता सत्ता समीकरणमा छिटो-छिटो परिवर्तन हुँदा शासनव्यवस्था सञ्चालन प्रक्रिया र नीतिगत मामिलामा स्थायित्व नआउनु, परिणामतः राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति निर्माण हुन नसक्नु
- (२) कमजोर शासकीय व्यवस्था कर्मचारीतन्त्रलाई तटस्थ तथा निष्पक्ष ढङ्गबाट सञ्चालन नगरिंदा प्रशासनिक निकायहरूले जनअपेक्षाअनुसार प्रभावकारी रूपमा सेवा सुविधा प्रवाह गर्न नसक्नु र जनतालाई विश्वसनीय शान्ति सुरक्षाको प्रत्याभूति दिन नसक्नु
- (३) कानुनी राज्यको मान्यता अनुशरण नगर्नु शासन-प्रशासन सञ्चालनको प्रक्रियामा सर्वस्वीकार्य कानुनी शासनका आधारहरू अवलम्बन नगर्दा दण्डहीनता कायम रहनु र अपराध बढ्नु
- (४) द्वन्द्वको व्यापकता विभिन्न स्वार्थगतसमूहहरूले आफ्ना माग पूरा गराउने ध्येयबाट हत्या, हिंसा तथा आतङ्कको माध्यमबाट द्वन्द्व चर्काइरहनु
- (५) गरिबी आर्थिक विकासको वृद्धि दर आवधिक योजनामा परिलक्षित प्रतिशतभन्दा ज्यादै न्यून हुँदा रोजगारी र आय-आर्जनका अवसरको अभाव रही निरपेक्ष गरिबीको सङ्ख्यामा उल्लेख्य कमी नआउनु र आर्थिक असमानतालाई न्यूनीकरण गर्न नसक्नु
- (६) अभाव आधारभूत वस्तुहरूको आपूर्तिमा चर्को अभाव, ऊर्जा सङ्कट, आकासिदो महंगी
- (७) सामाजिक सुरक्षा तथा कल्याणमा कमी अनुत्पादक शिक्षा प्रणालीले गर्दा शिक्षित बेरोजगारहरू

बढिरहेका, जनसङ्ख्याको अनियन्त्रित वृद्धिले गर्दा सामाजिक सुरक्षा तथा कल्याणका कार्यक्रमहरूमा यथेष्ट लगानी गर्न नसकिएको

(८) **प्राकृतिक स्रोतको पूर्ण उपयोग नहुनु** मुलुकमा विद्यमान विभिन्न प्राकृतिक स्रोतहरूलाई समयमै अधिकतम उपयोगमा ल्याउन नसक्दा मुलुकको सन्तुलित विकासमा सुस्त गति

(९) **राष्ट्रिय एकतामा फुट** मुलुकका विभिन्न भागमा जातीय वा भौगोलिक आधारमा सङ्घीय स्वायत्त राज्यहरू स्थापनाको माग राख्दै अतिवादी क्रियाकलाप सञ्चालनबाट राष्ट्रिय एकतामा फुट आएको, विभाजनको रेखा कोरिएको, साम्प्रदायिक भावना फैलिएको र शान्ति सुव्यवस्था कायम राख्न विघ्न-बाधा परेको

(१०) **गुप्तचर संयन्त्र बलियो नहुनु** राष्ट्रको सुरक्षा मामिलामा नकारात्मक असर पर्ने कुराहरूको तत्काल सूचना सङ्कलन र सम्बन्धित क्षेत्रमा सम्प्रेषण गर्न सक्षम हुने किसिमबाट राज्यको गुप्तचर (जासुसी) संयन्त्रलाई अभै बलियो र प्रभावकारी बनाउन दृष्टि नपुऱ्याउनु

(११) **सञ्चारमाध्यमको असहयोग** स्वार्थयुक्त भावना भएका केही सञ्चारमाध्यमले राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षामा प्रतिकूल असर पर्ने गरी भ्रामक तथा अनर्गल समाचार प्रवाह गर्नु

(१२) **आकस्मिकता** प्राकृतिक प्रकोप, दैवी प्रकोप र दुर्व्यसनीहरूबाट उच्छृङ्खलता प्रदर्शन

(ख) बाह्य कारण

(१) विश्वनै एउटा गाउभको रूपमा विकसित भएको विश्वव्यापीकरण तथा उदारीकरणको पृष्ठभूमिमा अन्तरनिर्भरता र अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय क्रियाकलापबाट सिर्जित दुष्परिणाम

(२) अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय आतङ्कवादको सञ्जाल एवं गतिविधि फैलनु

(३) विश्व शक्ति राष्ट्रको रूपमा उदय भएको अमेरिकाले एकल महाशक्ति बन्ने ध्येय राखेको, चीनको बढ्दो सामरिक क्षमता र भारतले आफ्नो सुरक्षाको निम्ति पनि नेपालमाथि हस्तक्षेपकारी चलखेल व्यापक पार्ने सम्भावना

(४) तिब्बतको स्वतन्त्रताको नाममा चीनबिरुद्ध नेपालको भूमि प्रयोग हुन नपाओस् भनेर चीनको सतर्कता र कारबाही

(५) दक्षिण एसियामा बढेको असुरक्षा

(६) आधुनिक तथा घातक हातहतियारको उत्पादन र विक्रीमा प्रतिस्पर्धा

(७) परमाणुयुद्धको भय

(८) क्षेत्रीय सुरक्षा र राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा व्यवस्थाबीच तालमेल नहुनु

(९) अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय जगत्ले मानवअधिकार संरक्षणको नाममा गर्नसक्ने हस्तक्षेप

(१०) मुलकविरुद्ध अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय क्षेत्रमा गलत सूचना प्रवाह

(११) खुला सिमाना नियमित नगरिँदा आपराधिक, आतङ्कवादी तत्व र हातहतियारको प्रवेश

(१२) शरणार्थी र अवैध बसाइँसराइको चाप

११. राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षालाई खतरामा पार्ने उल्लिखित चुनौतीहरूलाई निम्नअनुसार पनि दुई श्रेणीमा वर्गीकरण गर्न सकिन्छ:

(क) **आन्तरिक** भौगोलिक, जातीय वा धार्मिक आधारमा सिर्जित हुने, जुन समयावधिको आधारमा तत्कालीन, अल्पकालीन, दीर्घकालीन वा स्थायी प्रकृतिका हुन्छन् ।

(ख) **बाह्य** विश्वव्यापी, क्षेत्रीय वा उपक्षेत्रीय तवरमा सिर्जना हुने ।

सुदृढ राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीतिको खाँचो

१२. आन्तरिक र बाह्य खतरा एवं चुनौतिहरूलाई सामना गर्दै राष्ट्रिय हितको संरक्षणमा योगदान पुऱ्याउनसक्ने अभिप्रायबाट राष्ट्रिय शक्ति र साधनको विवेकपूर्ण परिचालन गर्ने कलाको रूपमा सुदृढ राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति प्रतिपादन गरी त्यसको इमानदारीका साथ कार्यान्वयनमा ल्याउनु विभिन्न परिप्रेक्ष्यबाट उचित ठहरिने छ । तर, अहिले नेपालको औपचारिक राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीतिको दस्तावेज यही हो भनेर देखाउन नसक्ने दुःखद स्थिति छ । विगतको शासनव्यवस्थामा २०३३ सालमा जारी गरी २०३८ साल र २०४२ सालमा परिमार्जन गरिएको राष्ट्रिय मूलनीतिमा क्षेत्रगत नीतिहरूअन्तर्गत प्रतिरक्षा नीति पनि समावेश गरिएको थियो । त्यसको मुख्य उद्देश्य विकास कार्यमा सघाउ र सुरक्षा पुऱ्याइ आन्तरिक आवश्यकता तथा आवश्यक परेमा बाहिरी आक्रमणको समेत सामना

गरेर देशलाई विश्वसनीय रूपमा सामर्थ्यवान् र दरिलो बनाउने उल्लेख थियो । सो नीति कार्यान्वयन गर्न विभिन्न निकायहरूको भूमिका स्पष्ट रूपमा दर्शाइएको थियो । २०४६ सालको राजनीतिक परिवर्तनपछि राष्ट्रिय मूलनीतिको बेवास्ता भयो ।

१३. नेपाल अधिराज्यको संविधान २०४७ को धारा ११८ मा राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा परिषद्को व्यवस्था थियो । प्रधानमन्त्रीको अध्यक्षतामा गठित तीन सदस्यीय सो परिषद्ले सेनाको सञ्चालन र प्रयोगका निम्ति राजासमक्ष सिफारिस गर्ने कर्तव्य तोकिएको थियो । २०५८ साल फागुन २७ गते राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा परिषद् सचिवालयको स्थापना गरियो । तर, परिषदसम्बन्धी छुट्टै ऐन बनाइएन । नेपालको अन्तरिम संविधान २०६३ को धारा १४५ मा गरिएको प्रावधानबाट राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा परिषद् गठनको प्रक्रियालाई अझ व्यापक पारियो । उक्त संविधानको मर्मअनुरूप कानुनी व्यवस्थामा समयानुकूल संशोधन तथा एकीकरण गर्न पहिलेको सैनिक ऐन २०१६ लाई खारेज गरी नयाँ सैनिक ऐन २०६३ ल्याइएको छ । यो ऐनको दफा ६ मा राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा परिषद्को काम, कर्तव्य र अधिकार तोकिएको छ । परिषदलाई अन्य कुराहरूका अतिरिक्त नेपाली सेनाको नियन्त्रण, प्रयोग र परिचालनसम्बन्धी नीति, योजना तथा कार्यक्रम तयार गरी नेपाल सरकारसमक्ष पेस गर्ने समेतको कार्यभार सुम्पिएको छ ।

१४. नेपाल सरकारको कार्य विभाजन नियमावलीअनुसार रक्षा मन्त्रालयलाई तोकिएका कार्यहरूमध्ये 'राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति, योजना तथा कार्यक्रमको तर्जुमा, कार्यान्वयन, अनुगमन र मूल्याङ्कन' सबैभन्दा माथिल्लो क्रममा राखिएको छ । रक्षा मन्त्रालयका सचिवलाई राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा परिषद्को सचिवको समेत कार्य गर्ने जिम्मेवारी दिइएको छ । तसर्थ राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति छिटो ल्याउने सम्बन्धमा राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा परिषद् र रक्षा मन्त्रालयले सक्रियता दर्शाउनु आवश्यक छ । राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा परिषद्का अध्यक्ष तथा प्रधानमन्त्री माधवकुमार नेपालको अध्यक्षतामा २०६६ साल भदौ ३० गते बसेको राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा परिषद्को बैठकमा प्रधानमन्त्री नेपालले 'बढ्दो सुरक्षा चुनौती सामनाका लागि आवश्यक नीति बनाउन क्रियाशीलता बढाउन' निर्देशन दिनु भएको सान्दर्भिक छ ।

१५. परिवर्तित परिस्थितिमा संविधान सभाको गठनपश्चात् नयाँ संविधान निर्माणको सिलसिलामा संविधान सभा राष्ट्रिय हित संरक्षण समितिले राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षाको विषयलाई संविधानका प्रावधानमा समावेश गर्ने अभिप्रायबाट यससम्बन्धी प्रश्नावलीद्वारा सुझाव सङ्कलन गरी अवधारणासहितको मस्यौदा प्रतिवेदन संविधान सभासमक्ष पेस गरिसकेको छ । राष्ट्रिय हित संरक्षण समितिलाई नेपाली सेनाको तर्फबाट राष्ट्रिय मूलनीति र त्यसअन्तर्गत राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा र प्रतिरक्षा नीतिको सुझाव समावेश मस्यौदा २०६५ साल फागुनमा दिइएको प्रकाशमा आएको थियो । ती सुझाव समसामयिक र व्यावहारिक थिए ।

१६. राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति प्रतिपादनप्रति व्यवस्थापिका-संसद्को राज्यव्यवस्था समितिले पनि चासो राखेको बुझिन्छ । एक समाचार स्रोतले जनाएअनुसार राज्य व्यवस्था समितिका सदस्यहरू २०६६ साल कात्तिकमा पोखरामा भेला भएर राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीतिका अन्तरवस्तु सम्बन्धमा छलफल गरे । तिनले राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षाको लक्ष्य शान्ति, स्थायित्व, विकास र कानुनी राज्यको पालना रहनुपर्ने धारणा राख्दै यसमा राज्यको सुरक्षा, सामाजिक सुरक्षा र मानवअधिकार सम्मानका विषयहरू समावेश गरिनुपर्ने सुझाव दिए ।

१७. उल्लिखित पृष्ठभूमिबाट अवलोकन गर्दा भविष्यपरक सोचसहित राष्ट्रिय मूलनीति र त्यसअन्तर्गत व्यावहारिका राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति निर्माण गरी कार्यान्वयनमा ल्याउन सम्बन्धित क्षेत्रले सक्रियता दर्शाउनु जरुरी छ । यस्तो नीति बनाउदा दलगत स्वार्थभन्दा माथि उठेर राष्ट्रिय आकाङ्क्षा परिपूर्ति हुने र जनभावना प्रतिविम्बित गर्ने दृष्टिकोण राख्नु राम्रो मानिने छ ।

१८. राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीतिमा समावेश गरिनुपर्ने विषय-वस्तुहरूका सम्बन्धमा व्यापक छलफल तथा अध्ययनपश्चात् निश्चित गरिनुपर्दछ । तर, त्यसमा सर्वाधिक प्राथमिकता दिनुपर्ने महत्वपूर्ण विषयको रूपमा आन्तरिक विद्रोह वा बाह्य आक्रमणबाट नेपाल राज्यको स्वतन्त्रता, सार्वभौमिकता, भौगोलिक अखण्डता तथा राष्ट्रिय एकताको सुरक्षा तथा प्रतिरक्षा, राष्ट्रिय पहिचानको सम्बर्द्धन, मुलुकको समष्टिगत विकासमा सघाउ र जनताको भौतिक तथा अन्य आवश्यकताको सुरक्षालाई अङ्गीकार गरिनु पर्दछ । यस्तो नीति कार्यान्वयनमा ल्याउन सरकारको सुरक्षा अङ्गहरूलगायत विभिन्न निकायहरू र नेपाली जनता स्वयंको भूमिका स्पष्ट तवरमा तोकिनु उचित हुनेछ । यस क्रममा नेपाली सेना सङ्गठनको आधुनीकरण तथा सुदृढीकरणको औचित्य आत्मसात गरी तदनुरूप संरचनात्मक सुधार, बदलिदो परिप्रेक्ष्यअनुसार कार्यक्षेत्र र जिम्मेवारी विस्तार र उच्च मनोबलयुक्त वातावरणमा परिचालन हुनसक्ने स्थिति बनाउनु लाभप्रद ठहरिने छ । युद्ध र शान्तिको अवस्थामा पनि राष्ट्रिय सेनानै सुरक्षाको विश्वसनीय संस्था हो भन्ने जनधारणा प्रबल बनाई जनआस्था र भरोसा अभिवृद्धिका पक्षमा जोड दिनु प्रभावमूलक मानिने छ । सेनालाई उत्पादक र राष्ट्रिय हित संरक्षणको प्रमुख सहयोगी संयन्त्रको रूपमा विकास गर्ने सोच राख्नु हितकर प्रमाणित हुने छ ।

१९. राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीतिमा सैन्य कारवाहीका विषयहरूमात्र केन्द्रित नगरी राष्ट्रिय एकता, राज्यव्यस्थाको सुसञ्चालन, नागरिक हक तथा स्वतन्त्रताको संरक्षण, आर्थिक समृद्धि, आधुनिक सूचना, विज्ञान तथा प्रविधि, पर्यावरण, संस्कृति, नागरिक समाजको सहयोग र समर्थनलगायतका पक्षमा पनि उल्लेख गरिनुपर्दछ ।

२०. राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीतिलगायतका कार्य प्रभावकारी ढङ्गबाट सम्पादन गर्न राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा परिषद्को भूमिका बढाउने र अझ दक्षता अभिवृद्धि गर्ने सोच राख्नु उचित हुने छ । परिषद्ले राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षासम्बन्धी सम्पूर्ण विषयहरूमा सम्बद्ध सबै निकायहरूबीच नीतिगत तथा कार्यगत संयोजन गरी मन्त्रिपरिषदलाई सुझाव दिने कार्यभार विस्तार गरिनु आवश्यक छ । साथै, परिषद्को गठनविधिमा पनि पुनरावलोकन अपेक्षित छ । यसलाई अझ प्रतिनिधिमूलक बनाइनु पर्दछ । परिषद्को सदस्यमा नेपाली सेनाका प्रधानसेनापतिलाई समेत समावेश गरिनु मनासिब हुने छ । परिषद्मा आवश्यकताअनुसार विज्ञहरू राख्ने र उपसमितिहरू गठन गरी राय सुझाव लिने व्यवस्था मिलाउनु उपयोगीसिद्ध ठहरिने छ ।

२१. राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षाको विषयमा अन्य मुलुकहरूले गरेका व्यवस्थाबाट नेपालले पाठ सिक्न सक्ने छ । सानो मुलुक इजरायलको प्रतिरक्षा व्यवस्था र सिंगापुरको आत्मनिर्भरताको प्रबन्ध अनुकरणीय हुनसक्छ । सुदृढ राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति नहुँदा मुलुक बरबाद भएका उदाहरण पनि छन्, जस्तै हाइटी, बुरुण्डी, कङ्गो आदि । यसले राष्ट्रिय आवश्यकताअनुकूलको सुरक्षा नीति हुनैपर्ने तथ्य पुष्टि गर्दछ ।

२२. राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति कार्यान्वयनको जिम्मेवारी एउटै निकायमा मात्र नरहने हुँदा सम्बन्धित सबै निकायहरूको दायित्वका अतिरिक्त नागरिक समाज जनता स्वयंको भूमिका स्पष्ट गरी समन्वयात्मक प्रयासबाट पूरा गर्ने व्यवस्था मिलाउनु आवश्यक छ । नीति तर्जुमा गरेरमात्र हुँदैन, त्यसको प्रभावकारी कार्यान्वयनमा जोड दिनुपर्छ । राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीतिको कार्यान्वयनमा नेपाली सेनाको भूमिका निश्चयनै महत्वपूर्ण रहन्छ । नेपाली सेना गठनको उद्देश्यनै नेपाल राज्यको स्वतन्त्रता, सार्वभौमसत्ता, भौगोलिक अखण्डता तथा राष्ट्रिय एकताको संरक्षण र प्रतिरक्षाका लागि भएको हो । अतः राष्ट्रको बढ्दो सुरक्षा चुनौतीहरूलाई सामना गर्न सक्षम हुने किसिमबाट नेपाली सेना सङ्गठनलाई आधुनिक, सुदृढ, चुस्त र उच्च हौसलायुक्त बनाइराख्न कार्ययोजना निर्माणको पक्षमा पनि राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीतिको एक प्रमुख बुँदा रहनु पर्दछ ।

जलसम्पदा विकासको स्थिति

२३. नेपाल जलसम्पदाको हिसाबमा विश्वका धनी देशमध्येमा, अझ ब्राजिलपछि दोस्रोमा, गणना गरिन्छ । यहाँका हिमाल, ६ हजारभन्दा बढी नदीनाला तथा तलाउ आदिका मूलबाट प्रवाह हुने अपार जलस्रोतको समुचित विकास तथा उपयोग गरिएमा मुलुकको तीव्रतर आर्थिक विकासमा महत्वपूर्ण योगदान तथा ठूलो टेवा पुग्दछ । नेपालको जलस्रोतलाई सेतो सुनको रूपमा परिवर्तन गर्नसकिन्छ । यहाँ ८३ हजार मेगावाट जलविद्युत् उत्पादन हुनसक्ने सम्भाव्य क्षमता भएको अनुमान छ । तथापि आर्थिक तथा प्राविधिक दृष्टिले ४२ हजार मेगावाट जलविद्युत् उत्पादन गर्न सकिने तथ्य छ । जलसम्पदाको उपयोग विद्युत् उत्पादनका लागिमात्र होइन, कृषिकार्यका लागि सिंचाइ, खानेपानी, मत्स्यपालन, पर्यटन, आन्तरिक जलयातायातलगायत बहुउद्देश्यीय कार्यमा हुनसक्छ । नेपालमा बृहत्तर तवरमा गरिने जलविद्युत्को विकासबाट स्वराष्ट्रको मात्र समृद्धि नभई छिमेकी राष्ट्रको समेत हितहुने अभिप्रायबाट क्षेत्रीय सहयोगको अवधारणाभित्र जलस्रोत पनि पर्दछ ।

२४. जलसम्पदाको विकासका लागि विगतदेखि विभिन्न प्रयास नगरिएका होइनन् । जलविद्युत् उत्पादनको ऋण्डै १०० वर्ष लामो इतिहास छ । दसौँ योजनासम्मको प्रयासबाट पनि यो क्षेत्रमा अपेक्षित प्रगति हुन सकेको छैन । आर्थिक वर्ष २०६४/६५को अन्त्यसम्ममा देशभरका सबै विद्युत् आयोजनाहरूबाट जम्मा ६ सय ५० मेगावाटमात्र जलविद्युत् उत्पादन हुन सक्त्यो । उत्पादित जलविद्युत्मध्ये ६ सय ४५ मेगावाट राष्ट्रिय ग्रीडमा जोडिएको छ भने अरु साना जलविद्युत् आयोजनाहरूले राष्ट्रिय प्रसारण लाइनमा आवद्ध नभई स्थानीय स्तरमा विद्युत् सेवा पुऱ्याइआएका छन् । आ.व. २०६५/६६ को प्रथम आठ महिनाको अवधिमा ७० मेगावाटको मध्य-मर्स्याङ्दी जलविद्युत् आयोजनाको निर्माण कार्य पूराभई राष्ट्रिय प्रसारण लाइनमा जोडियो । यसै अवधिमा दार्चुला जिल्लामा ३० मेगावाटको चमेलिया जलविद्युत् आयोजना र मकवानपुर जिल्लामा १४ मेगावाटको कुलेखानी तेस्रो जलविद्युत् आयोजनाको निर्माण कार्य सुरु भएको छ ।

२५. दसौँ योजनाको अन्त्य अर्थात् २०६४ असारमसान्तसम्म मुलुकका ४८.५ प्रतिशत जनताले मात्र विद्युत् सेवा पाउन सकेका थिए । केही समयअघिमात्र ४५६ मेगावाटको माथिल्लो तामाकोसीका लागि स्वदेशभित्रै लगानी जुटेको, ६० मेगावाटको

त्रिशूली तेस्रो 'ए' र ४० मेगावाटको 'बी', काबेली, राहुघाटजस्ता आयोजनाहरू निर्माणका प्रक्रिया अधिवढाइएका छन् । तर, ती आयोजनाहरू सम्पन्न गर्न अझै ४-५ वर्ष लाग्ने छ । हाल जलविद्युत् र थर्मल गरी ६८९ मेगावाट विद्युत् उत्पादन हुनसक्ने क्षमता छ । तर, विद्युत्को माग साँझको समय ८०० मेगावाट र बिहानको समय ६०० मेगावाट रहेकोले मागअनुसार विद्युत् आपूर्ति हुन नसक्दा सातामा १६ घण्टा लोडसेडिङको मार परेको छ । सुख्खायामसँगै नदीहरूमा पानीको बहाव घट्न जाने र जाडोको कारण खपत बढ्ने हुँदा विद्युत् माग बढेको अनुपातमा आपूर्ति हुन नसक्दा विद्युत् सड्कट अझै चर्किने छ । त्यसैले विद्युत् आपूर्तिमा केही राहत पुऱ्याउने उद्देश्यले भारतबाट ९० मेगावाट विद्युत् खरिदको प्रक्रिया अधिवढाइएको छ । तर, विद्युत्को सड्कट दीर्घकालीन दृष्टिबाट समाधान गरिनु ठूलो चुनौतीको रूपमा खडा छ ।

२६. नेपालको कुल क्षेत्रफल १,४७,१८,१०० हेक्टरमध्ये करिब २६,४१,००० हेक्टर जमिन कृषियोग्य भएकोमा दसौं योजनाको आखिरीसम्म १७,६६,००० हेक्टरमा मात्र सतह र भूमिगत जलस्रोतबाट सिंचाइ सुविधा उपलब्ध गराउन सकिएको छ । वर्षेभरि सिंचाइ सुविधा पुऱ्याउन सकिए कृषि क्षेत्रको विकास भई गरिवी न्यूनीकरणमा सघाउ पुग्ने थियो ।

२७. मानिसको स्वास्थ्य र दैनिक जीवन-यापन प्रक्रियामा खानेपानी आधारभूत वस्तु हो । यसको विकासका लागि जलसम्पदा नै महत्वपूर्ण स्रोत र आधार हो । तर, दसौं योजनाको अन्त्यसम्म आइपुग्दा कुल जनसङ्ख्याको ७६.६ प्रतिशतलाई आधारभूत स्तरको र ८ प्रतिशतलाई सरसफाइसहित उच्च तथा मध्यम स्तरको खानेपानी सुविधा उपलब्ध गराउन सकियो । स्वच्छ खानेपानीको अभावमा जनता तड्पिरहेका छन् ।

जलसम्पदाको विकासमा कठिनाइ तथा चुनौती

२८. जलविद्युत् क्षेत्रको विकासका लागि प्रशस्त धनराशि लगाउनु पर्ने हुन्छ । तर, यहाँ सार्वजनिक तथा निजी दुवै क्षेत्रबाट पर्याप्त लगानी हुन सकेको छैन । तरल राजनीतिक अवस्था, शान्ति सुरक्षाको अभाव तथा नीतिगत विसङ्गतिका कारण लगानीकर्ताहरू आकर्षित हुन सकेनन् । जलविद्युत् विकास नीति २०५८ अनुरूप विद्युत् ऐन २०४९ मा परिमार्जन तथा संशोधन गरिएन । निजी विद्युत् उद्यमीहरूले नेपाल विद्युत् प्राधिकरणसंग गरेका विद्युत् खरिद-विक्री सम्झौताअनुसार जलविद्युत् आयोजनाहरू निर्माण गरेनन् । धेरैले जलविद्युत् उत्पादनको अनुमतिपत्र लिएर पनि काम सुरु गरेनन् । निजी क्षेत्र अधिक लाभमुखी प्रवृत्तिमा रहे ।

२९. जलविद्युत् आयोजनाहरूको निर्माण पूरा गर्न विविध कारणले गर्दा अनुमान गरिएभन्दा ज्यादै बढी समय लाग्यो । त्यसले गर्दा लागत प्रशस्त वृद्धि भई महंगो पऱ्यो । लागत कसरी बढ्दो रहेछ भन्ने दृष्टान्तमा कालीगण्डकी 'ए' र मध्ये मस्याङ्दी आयोजनाका लागत, ठेक्का प्रदान गरिको रकम र आयोजना पूरा हुँदाको खर्चलाई हेरेर बुझ्न सकिन्छ ।

३०. विद्युत् चुहावटको स्थिति ज्यादै उच्च छ । आ.व. २०६५/६६ मा विद्युत् चुहावट २५.२७ प्रतिशत थियो । प्राविधिक कमजोरी तथा नियतवश चोरीबाट हुने विद्युत् चुहावट नियन्त्रणमा कसरी ल्याउने भन्ने कुरा ठूलो चुनौती रहेको छ ।

३१. नेपाल विद्युत् प्राधिकरणले आफ्नो आर्थिक अवस्था सुदृढ पार्न सकेको छैन । प्राधिकरण आ.व. २०६५/६६ सम्म १२ अर्ब ३३ करोड घाटामा सञ्चालित थियो । यसले समग्र व्यवस्थापनका पक्षमा प्रभावकारिता देखाउन सक्षम नभएको, असुल गर्न बाँकी प्रशस्त रकम असुल गर्न पछि परेको, आवश्यक मितव्ययिता अपनाउन नसकेको र लक्ष्यअनुसार प्रगति हासिल गर्न नसकेको मूल्याङ्कन छ । प्राधिकरण गठन गर्नाको उद्देश्य सफल पार्न यो संस्थाको व्यवस्थापनमा कसरी सुधार ल्याउने भन्ने अहम् सवाल छ ।

३२. सिंचाइ सुविधा पर्याप्त उपलब्ध गराउन नसकेका कारणहरू विश्लेषण गर्दा ती यस्ता देखिन्छन्: सिंचाइ आयोजनाहरू निर्माणका लागि आवश्यक लगानीका रकम जुटाउन नसक्नु, सिंचाइ प्रणालीको समयमै मर्मत तथा सम्भारमा ध्यान नदिनु, आधुनिक प्रविधि अवलम्बनमा पछिपनु, उपभोक्ताहरूलाई सरकारी सिंचाइ प्रणालीमा सक्रिय सहभागी गराउन नसक्नु, सीमान्त कृषकको सिंचाइ व्यवस्थामा पहुँच नपुग्नु आदि ।

३३. खानेपानी यथेष्ट तवरमा उपलब्ध गराउन नसक्नुको परिस्थिति मूल्याङ्कन गर्दा ती यस्ता देखिन्छन्: नयाँ आयोजनाहरू समयमै सम्पन्न गर्न नसक्नु, आर्थिक स्रोतको अभाव, स्थानीय वासिन्दाबाट अनेकौं समस्या सिर्जना, पुराना

आयोजनाहरू समय-समयमा मर्मत सुधार नगरिनु, वायुमण्डलमा परेको प्रतिकूल असरका कारण स्थानीय खानेपानी स्रोतहरूको क्षमतामा कमी, शहरी क्षेत्रमा अनियन्त्रित बस्ती विकासले गर्दा खानेपानीको मागमा निरन्तर वृद्धि ।

जलसम्पदाको विकासका लागि उपाय

३४. नेपालमा जलसम्पदाको विकास तथा उपयोगका क्रममा आन्तरिक प्रयासले मात्र वाञ्छित सफलता हासिल गर्न सकिदैन, बाहिरी तत्वहरूले पनि प्रभाव पार्दछन् । विगतमा पानीको न्यायोचित बाँडफाँड र उपयोगका सम्बन्धमा नेपाल र भारतबीच सन्धि सम्झौता हुँदा नेपालले समुचित फाइदा लिन नसकेको वा ठगिएको तीतो अनुभव पनि छ । माथिल्लो तटीय राष्ट्रको हैसियतमा नेपालले अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय कानूनअनुसार पनि बढी लाभ पाउनुपर्ने हो । त्यसैले भारतसंग जलस्रोतसम्बन्धी सन्धि, सम्झौता गर्दा नेपालको हित हुने दृष्टिकोणबाट हस्ताक्षर गर्न सजग हुनुपर्छ । यसै सन्दर्भमा नेपाल-भारत संयुक्त जलस्रोत समितिको सचिवस्तरीय बैठक २०६६ मङ्सिर ५-७ सम्म पोखरामा बस्यो । बैठकमा लामो समयदेखि अल्झेका मुद्दाहरू-महाकाली सन्धि कार्यान्वयन, पञ्चेश्वर बहुउद्देश्यीय परियोजना अगाडि बढाउने, सप्तकोशी उच्चबाँध, लक्ष्मणपुर तथा खुर्दलोटन बाँध, टनकपुर बाँधको सुधार, गण्डक परियोजना, सुनकोशी डाइभर्सन, नौमुरे जलविद्युत् परियोजना, सीमा क्षेत्रमा हुने कटान र डुबान समस्यालगायतमा विभिन्न निर्णयहरू गरिए । यसरी हेर्दा नेपाल-भारतबीच जलस्रोतसम्बन्धमा धेरै मुद्दा रहेका अवगत हुन्छ । तथापि भारतले नेपालको जलस्रोतको विकासमा लगानी तथा सहयोग गर्न इच्छुक रहेको बताएको ले यस विषयमा हाम्रो कर्मचारीतन्त्रका साथै राजनीतिक क्षेत्रबाट उच्च सावधानी अपनाई कार्य गर्नु आवश्यक छ ।

३५. नेपालको जलसम्पदाको विकासका लागि लामो समयदेखि प्रयास गर्दा पनि अपेक्षित विकास किन हुन सकेन र के कस्ता समस्याहरू देखिए भन्ने सम्बन्धमा विस्तृत अन्वेषण गरी त्यस्ता समस्याहरू पुनरावृत्त हुन नपाउने दृष्टिकोणबाट नीति र कार्यक्रम घोषणा गर्ने र तिनलाई निर्धारित समयमै कार्यान्वयनमा ल्याउन सम्बन्धित निकायहरूलाई जिम्मेवार बनाउने पर्दछ । यस सन्दर्भमा के पनि विचार गर्नु आवश्यक छ भने पृथ्वीको तापक्रम वृद्धिसँगै देखिएको जलवायु परिवर्तनका कारणले विश्वलाई नै प्राकृतिक प्रकोपको खतरातर्फ धकेलिरहेको छ । यस्ता जोखिममा परेका राष्ट्रहरूमा नेपाल छैठौँ स्थानमा पर्दछ । नेपालमा ३ हजार २ सय ५२ वटा हिमनदीहरू र २ हजार ३ सय २३ हिमताल रहेका छन् । नेपालका २४ वटा हिमतालहरू कुनै पनि समयमा फुट्नसक्ने खतरा छ । पृथ्वीको तापक्रम बढ्ने क्रम अहिलेकै अनुपातमा जाने हो भने २०८० पछि नेपालमा कुनै पनि हिमनदीहरू नरहने स्थिति देखिएको छ । त्यसको असर कृषि, खानेपानी, वन, पर्यटन, जनस्वास्थ्य, जैविक विविधतालगायतव धेरै क्षेत्रमा पर्नेछ । त्यसैले जलस्रोतमा आधारित आयोजनाहरू कार्यान्वयनमा ल्याउन ढिलाइ गर्न हुँदैन ।

३६. मुलुकमा २०१३ सालमा प्रथम पञ्चवर्षीय योजनाको प्रारम्भबाट योजनाबद्ध प्रयास हुनथालेपछि दसवटा आवधिक योजना पूरा गरेर नेपाल अहिले तीन वर्षीय अन्तरिम योजना (२०६४।६५-२०६६।६७) कार्यान्वयनको चरणमा छ । राष्ट्रिय योजना आयोगबाट प्रकाशित यो योजनाको दस्तावेजमा उल्लेख गरिएअनुसारका खानेपानी तथा सरसफाइ, विद्युत् तथा ऊर्जा र सिचाइसम्बन्धी समष्टिगत नीति र कार्यक्रम पूर्णरूपेण कार्यान्वयनमा ल्याइए जलसम्पदाको विकास र उपयोगमा महत्वपूर्ण उपलब्धि हासिल हुने छ ।

३७. विद्युत्को माग बढेअनुसार आपूर्ति हुन नसकेको परिस्थितिलाई दृष्टिगत गरी लागत-लाभको मूल्याङ्कनबाट सम्भाव्य र छिटो निर्माण पूरा हुने आयोजनाहरूलाई प्राथमिकता दिई कार्यान्वयनमा ल्याउन जोड दिनेपर्छ । तर, विद्युत् आयोजनाहरू छनौट गर्दा जनतालाई भरपर्दो, गुणस्तरीय र उचित मूल्यमा विद्युत् उपलब्ध गराई विद्युत्को आन्तरिक माग पूरा गर्नुका अतिरिक्त विद्युत निर्यातद्वारा वैदेशिक मुद्रा आर्जन गरी राष्ट्रिय आय वृद्धि गर्ने सोच राख्नु उचित हुनेछ । हामीकहाँ यस्तो सम्भावना नभएको होइन तर हामी अनेकौँ कुराबाट अल्झेर पछि परिरहेका छौँ । अब ढिलाइ गर्न हुँदैन । बगेको पानी फर्कदैन भन्ने शाश्वत सत्यलाई मनन गर्नु बुद्धिमानी ठहरिने छ ।

३८. ठूला जलाशययुक्त र बहुउद्देश्यीय जलस्रोत आयोजनाहरू कार्यान्वयनमा ल्याउन प्रशस्त धनराशि लगानी गर्नु आवश्यक हुन्छ । यसका लागि स्वदेशी पुंजी बजारका अतिरिक्त प्रत्यक्ष वैदेशिक लगानी आकर्षित गर्ने उपाय गर्नसक्नुपर्छ । यस सन्दर्भमा भुटानले अपनाएको नीतिबाट हामीले सिक्न सक्छौँ । भुटान केही वर्षअघिसम्म पराश्रित पुंजीमा निर्भर थियो । तर, उसले भारतीय पुंजी लगाएर चुङ्खाजस्तो ठूलो जलविद्युत् आयोजना निर्माण गर्‍यो र त्यसबाट उत्पादित विजुली भारतलाई नै विक्री गरी मुलुकको आर्थिक समृद्धिको फड्को मात्रो ।

३९. विद्युत्को उत्पादन, प्रसारण र वितरण प्रणाली तथा व्यवसायलाई व्यवस्थित पार्न, नियमन, अनुगमन र समन्वय गर्नसमेत विद्यमान नीति, कानून र सङ्गठनात्मक संरचनामा सुधार गरिनु आवश्यक छ। नेपाल विद्युत् प्राधिकरणले विद्युत् प्रसारण लाइन विस्तार र क्षमता वृद्धिका लागि पर्याप्त दृष्टि दिएको छैन। नदीमा पर्याप्त पानी भएको समयमा पनि प्रसारण लाइनको अभावमा हाल उत्पादित सबै विद्युत् प्रवाह गर्न नसकी खेर गएको समाचार आउनु लाजमर्दो स्थिति हो। त्यसैले पर्याप्त प्रसारण लाइन निर्माणमा जोड दिनु आवश्यक छ।

४०. विद्युत् चुहावटको स्थितिमा उल्लेख्य नियन्त्रण गर्न कानुनी व्यवस्था गरेर तथा बलियो संस्थागत माध्यम कडाइ गरिनु आवश्यक छ।

४१. नेपाल विद्युत् प्राधिकरणको संस्थागत सुदृढीकरणका पक्षमा पनि दृष्टि दिनु सान्दर्भिक हुनेछ। मुख्यतः यसलाई व्यावसायिक सिद्धान्तानुरूप सञ्चालन गर्नसक्ने वातावरण सिर्जना गरिदिने सोच राख्नुपर्छ। यसको सञ्चालक समितिमा विभागीय मन्त्री रहने प्रथाको सट्टा सम्बन्धित विषयको र व्यावसायिक दक्षता भएको व्यक्तिलाई राख्नु उपयुक्त हुने छ।

४२. आ.व. २०६६-६७ को बजेटले 'बढ्दो ऊर्जा सङ्कट कम गर्न जलविद्युत्को उत्पादन र प्रसारण लाइन विस्तार गरी वितरण प्रणालीमा सुधार गर्ने' नीतिगत प्राथमिकता घोषणा गरेको छ। साथै, 'आर्थिक समृद्धिका लागि ऊर्जा विकास'को नारासहित यो आर्थिक वर्षमा विद्युत् क्षेत्रसम्बन्धी विभिन्न आयोजना र कार्यक्रमहरू सम्पन्न गर्न रु १४ अर्ब ६९ करोड विनियोजन गरेको छ। घोषित नीति र कार्यक्रम समयमै सम्पन्न हुन सकेमा विद्युत् विकास भइ राहत पुग्ने छ। तसर्थ यसका लागि समन्वयात्मक प्रयास हुनुपर्ने र बाधा अडकाउ फुकाउने व्यवस्था मिलाउनुपर्छ। नियमित तवरमा अनुगमन, मूल्याङ्कन गर्ने प्रणाली विकास गरिए प्रभावकारिता आउने छ।

४३. जलसम्पदामा आधारित सिंचाइ क्षेत्रको विकासको दृष्टिले विचार गर्दा कृषि उत्पादकत्व अभिवृद्धि गर्न वर्षेभरि सिंचाइ सुविधा उपलब्ध हुने किसिमबाट पूर्वाधार विकासमा ध्यान दिनु आवश्यक छ। नेपाल सरकारले स्वीकृत गरी लागू गरेको राष्ट्रिय जलयोजना २०६२ को अवधारणाअनुसार सन् २०२७ सम्म देशको सिंचाइयोग्य जमिनमध्ये ९७ प्रतिशत जमिनमा सिंचाइ सुविधा पुग्ने गरी सिंचाइ संरचना विकास गर्ने र सोमध्ये ६७ प्रतिशतमा बाह्रै महिना सिंचाइ हुने गरी सिंचाइ प्रणाली विकास गर्ने दीर्घकालीन सोच राखेको छ। तीन वर्षीय अन्तरिम योजनाले यो क्षेत्रको विकासका लागि परिमाणमात्मक लक्ष्यसहित विभिन्न रणनीति, नीति, कार्यनीति र कार्यक्रमहरू निर्धारण गरेको छ। तिनलाई कार्यान्वयनमा ल्याउने कटिबद्धता देखाउनु पर्छ। सिंचाइ प्रणालीमा कृषक उपभोक्ता तथा स्थानीय निकायको सक्रिय सहभागितामा जोड दिएमा प्रभावकारितामा वृद्धि हुने छ।

४४. जलसम्पदा उपयोगको अर्को प्रमुख क्षेत्र हो-खानेपानी। राष्ट्रिय जलयोजनाले सन् २०१७ सम्म शत प्रतिशत जनतालाई आधारभूत स्तरको खानेपानी तथा सरसफाइ सुविधा उपलब्ध गराउने दीर्घकालीन सोच राखेको छ। त्यसैअनुसार तीन वर्षीय अन्तरिम योजनाले परिणामात्मक लक्ष्यसहित कार्यक्रमहरू निर्धारण गरेको छ। यसैगरी आ.व. २०६६-६७ को बजेटले क्रमागत र नयाँ खानेपानी आयोजनाहरूलाई उच्च प्राथमिकताका साथ सञ्चालन गर्ने कार्यक्रमहरू समावेश गरेको छ। तिनको निर्वाध कार्यान्वयन अपेक्षित छ।

४५. काठमाडौं उपत्यकामा खानेपानीको चर्को समस्या भइरहेकोमा त्यसलाई समाधान गरी खानेपानी आपूर्ति सुलभ बनाउने अभिप्रायबाट २०५८ सालदेखि प्रक्रिया सुरु गरिएको मेलम्ची खानेपानी आयोजनासम्बन्धमा पटक-पटक विभिन्न विवाद उठी भौतिक कार्य सञ्चालन विलम्ब भइरहेको छ। अन्ततः यो आयोजनाको २६.५० किलोमिटर लामो सुरुडमार्ग निर्माणका लागि २०६६ साल साउन १९ गते शिलान्यास भयो। अब आयोजना यथासम्भव छिटो निर्माणका लागि स्थानीय सरोकार समितिले पनि सहयोग गर्नु उचित हुनेछ। वास्तवमा यो बृहत आयोजनाको सफलता राष्ट्रिय प्रतिष्ठासंग गांसिएको छ।

४६. विगतका द्रुन्द, प्राकृतिक प्रकोप वा अन्य कारणहरूबाट ध्वस्त भएका, भत्केका वा बिग्रेर सञ्चालनमा आउन नसकेका आयोजनाहरूको पुनः मर्मत, सम्भार वा पुनःस्थापनाको कार्यमा पनि ध्यान दिनु आवश्यक छ।

४७. जलसम्पदामा आधारित सबै प्रकारका आयोजनाहरूको प्रबर्द्धन तथा सुसञ्चालनका लागि भविष्यपरक दीर्घकालीन सोचसहित उपयुक्त योजना छनौट, व्यावहारिक नीतिगत तथा सङ्गठनात्मक सुदृढीकरण र प्रभावकारी व्यवस्थापनद्वारा

समयमै सम्पन्न गर्नु राष्ट्रिय हितमा हुने तथ्यलाई आत्मसात गरी सबै जिम्मेवार पक्षहरूबाट आ-आफ्ना कर्तव्य इमानदारीपूर्वक निर्वाह गर्नु अपरिहार्य छ ।

निष्कर्ष

४८. भूपरिवेष्ठित तथा छिमेकमा दुई ठूला शक्तिशाली राष्ट्रहरूका बीचमा अनेकौं समस्याले ग्रस्त भए तापनि आफ्नो स्वतन्त्र अस्तित्व एवं पहिचान जोगाउन सफल यो राष्ट्रमाथि बदलिंदो परिवेशमा राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षाका खतराहरू घनीभूत भइरहेका छन् । यस्ता चुनौतीलाई सामना गर्न सामर्थ्य हुने दृष्टिकोणबाट भविष्यपरक सोचसहित राष्ट्रिय हित-केन्द्रित व्यावहारिक, उपयुक्त र समय-सापेक्ष राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति निर्माण गरी त्यसको प्रभावकारी कार्यान्वयन अपरिहार्य छ । यसप्रकार गुणात्मक तथा सुदृढ तवरमा राष्ट्रको प्रतिरक्षा गर्न सकिएको अवस्थामा नै राष्ट्र बलियो किसिमले स्थापित हुन सक्छ र राष्ट्रिय समृद्धिका लागि उपयुक्त वातावरण सिर्जना हुनेछ । राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षाको भरपर्दो व्यवस्था गरिए दिगो शान्ति कायम भई तीव्रतर विकासका लागि मार्ग प्रशस्त हुने छ । साथै, मुलुकमा उपलब्ध अपार जलसम्पदाको समुचित विकास तथा उपयोग गरिएमा राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षामा समेत योगदान पुग्ने छ । किनभने सुरक्षाको नवीन अवधारणामा आर्थिक विकास पनि पर्दछ । सुरक्षित वातावरणले जलसम्पदाको विकासका लागि टेवा पुग्छ । पृथ्वीको तापक्रमसँगै जलवायु परिवर्तनको असर नेपालका हिमतालहरूमा पनि पर्नेछ र हिमनदीहरू सुक्ने खतरा छ । त्यसले गर्दा जलविद्युत् क्षेत्रमा गरिने लगानी संकटमा पर्नसक्ने र उर्जा संकट चर्कन सक्ने स्थिति छ । यस तथ्यलाई मनन गरी जलस्रोतमा आधारित आयोजनाहरू कार्यान्वयनमा ल्याउन विलम्ब गर्न हुँदैन । तसर्थ राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति प्रतिपादन र जलसम्पदाको विकासका लागि नीतिनिर्माण तहमा रहेका पदाधिकारीहरूको अग्रसरता, प्रतिबद्धता तथा कटिबद्धता जरुरी छ ।

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दरिद्रता ईश्वरीय नियमहरूको कारणबाट पैदान हुँदैनन्, दरिद्रताको जन्म अन्यायबाट हुन्छ ।

- लियो टोल्सटोय

EFFORTS BY NEPALESE ARMY FOR THE PROTECTION AND PROMOTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

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INTRODUCTION

1. Nepal has ratified 27 Human Rights related international treaties including six of nine core human rights covenants and conventions; and five different international treaties related with humanitarian law including four Geneva Conventions. Hence, protection, promotion and respect for fundamental rights, democratic norms and values have always been a state policy and intrinsic focus of past Nepali Constitution. According to Article 9 of the Treaty Act 1990 if Nepal signs and ratifies any international treaty, the treaty should become part of the domestic law without requiring any specific legislation to enact the provision of that international law. Also Article 47 of Geneva Convention I of 1949 entails on the part of any high contracting party to undertake in times of peace and war to disseminate the text of the present Convention as widely as possible and to include the study thereof in military programmes, so that the principles thereof may become known, in particular to the armed fighting forces, the medical personnel and the chaplains. Hence, in accordance with these provisions, *sub article (1) of Article 20* of the new Military Act sets down the requirement of human rights education and training for military personnel.

2. The Interim Constitution of Nepal 2007 in its preamble expresses full commitment towards human rights. As such, section 3 of the Interim Constitution guarantees the fundamental rights of all citizens. *Article 33 (m)* lays down the obligation of the state to effectively implement international treaties and agreements; and *Article 144, (4)* of the *Interim Constitution of Nepal 2007* clearly states that the Nepalese Army will be trained and educated in accordance with the values and norms of human rights. Therefore, in the light of these circumstances, there exists a legally binding obligation on the part of the army to ensure the protection, promotion and respect for human rights and International Humanitarian Law (IHL)

AIM

3. The aim of this paper is to highlight Nepalese Army's efforts on human rights and international humanitarian law.

Establishment of HR Cell

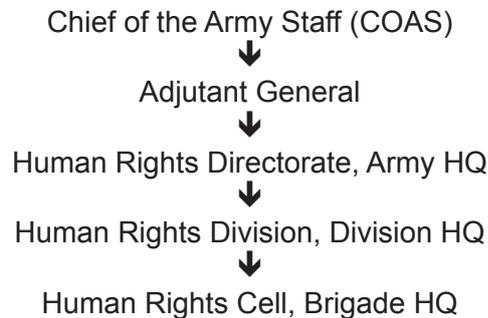
4. In the wake of the insurgency that began in Nepal on BS 2052/11/1(13th Feb 1996), the Government of Nepal put every effort to control the movement. After the Maoists attacked Dang Barrack on BS 2058/8/8 (23rd Nov 2001), the democratically elected Government under the provision of the then Constitution, mobilized the Nepalese Army on 2058/8/11 (26th Nov 2001), by declaring a State of emergency in the country and enacted the Terrorist and Destructive Ordnance (Control and punishment) Act to protect and promote Human Rights, civil liberties and to instill law and order in the country.

5. The establishment of human right cell can be seen as a landmark on the part of the army to ensure the protection, promotion and respect for human rights and humanitarian law. Before the establishment of Human Rights Cell, the Judge Advocate General (JAG) Branch had been dealing with Nepalese Army's Human Rights and IHL issues, both during and before the counter insurgency operations in Nepal and in UN peacekeeping operations abroad. As a token of concern and with a view to protect, promote and respect human rights and humanitarian law and to avoid the potential violations of these laws, the Human Rights Cell was initially established on 8th July 2002 under the supervision and guidance of the JAG Branch. However, owing to the nature of responsibility, volume of information transactions and the given mandate, the office was upgraded to Human Rights Division on 9th Nov 2006. Subsequently, the office was again upgraded to the Directorate of Human Rights headed by a Brigadier General on 6th March 2007. Likewise, a Human Rights Division and Human

Rights Cell have been established in each of the divisional and brigade HQs, respectively.

Command and Management Structure

6. The importance and value given to the protection and promotion of Human Rights and Humanitarian law is clearly exhibited in the command and management structure of Directorate of Human Rights which is as illustrated under:



7. Directorate of Human Right has Various Desks which implement to respect, protect and promotion of IHRL and IHL are as follows:

- (a) Desk - I National Human Rights Commission and other Domestic Human Rights Organizations.
- (b) Desk-II International human rights organizations.
- (c) Desk-III Training on IHRL and IHL.
- (d) Desk-IV Investigations on cases of Human Rights violations by military personnel.
- (e) Desk-V
 - (1) Human Rights violations against Nepalese Army personnel.
 - (2) Documentation on in-country HR and IHL violations.
 - (3) Collection of family data of deceased/injured NA persons during the armed conflict.
 - (4) Recording and compensation to families of victims of armed conflict (NA personnel).

TOWARDS CLEARING PAST ALLEGATIONS

8. It is a fact of the Universe that the severest of the policy cannot stop the wicked mind from committing crime. However, it is the state responsibility and the responsibility of the concern organization to bring the perpetrator to justice by punishing him/her and do justice to the victim by giving him/her compensation. At the same time some of the allegations forwarded might be baseless and an attempt to defame the institution. Even in this case it is the responsibility of the concern organization to deal it with utmost professionalism and procedural fairness. Nepalese Army has been dealing all the allegations it has received in the similar fashion. Apart from forming several fact finding committee and punishing the perpetrator if need be, NA has recently formed following committee.

- (a) An investigation committee has been formed in every brigade to investigate into alleged cases on IHL and human rights violations by NA personnel.
- (b) Another investigation committee has been formed at the brigade level to investigate into alleged cases on Bardia disappearances.

9. The statistical data on Nepalese Army's effort to clarify allegations and the statistical data on the number of persons punished for violating human rights and humanitarian law are tabulated below in the two tables:

(a) **STATISTICAL DATA ON NEPALESE ARMY'S EFFORTS TO CLARIFY ALLEGATIONS**

Initial Source/ Organization	Total Allegations Received	Allegations prior to NA Mobilization (2001/11/26)	Allegations Quoted as SF before Unified Command (2003/07/15)	Remainder Allegations that NA Should Respond	Total Clarifications Forwarded to Initial Source/Org	Total Cases Solved	Remainder Outstanding Cases to Response	NA's Response Indicator (%) to Allegations
ICRC	1465	75	NA	1390	865	783	525	62.2%
UNOHCHR	315	13	46	256	134	0	122	52.3%
WGEID	323	98	43	182	73	4	109	40.1%
NHRC	1895	19	32	1844	1580	-	315	85.6%
Total	3998	190	121	3672	2652	787	1071	72.2%

(b) **STATISTICAL DATA ON NUMBER OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATORS PUNISHED**
(UN Peacekeeping Operations)

No of Cases	Officers	Other ranks	Total Officers/men Punished
39	15	51	66

STATISTICAL DATA ON NUMBER OF HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATORS PUNISHED
(In-country)

SUMMARY

- **Officers 30**
- **Other Ranks 139**

No of Cases Investigated: 109

No of Person punished: 169

Category of Punishment as of 01 Jan, 2010

S. No.	Punishment	Number	Remarks
1	Imprisonment	116	1 month to 7 years
2	Discharged from Service	58	
3	Demoted to lower rank	40	
4	Forfeiting of Grade	23	
5	Forfeiting of Promotion	29	
6	Warning	9	
7	Sentenced to Pay Compensation to the Victims Family	8	
8	Total punishments awarded	281	

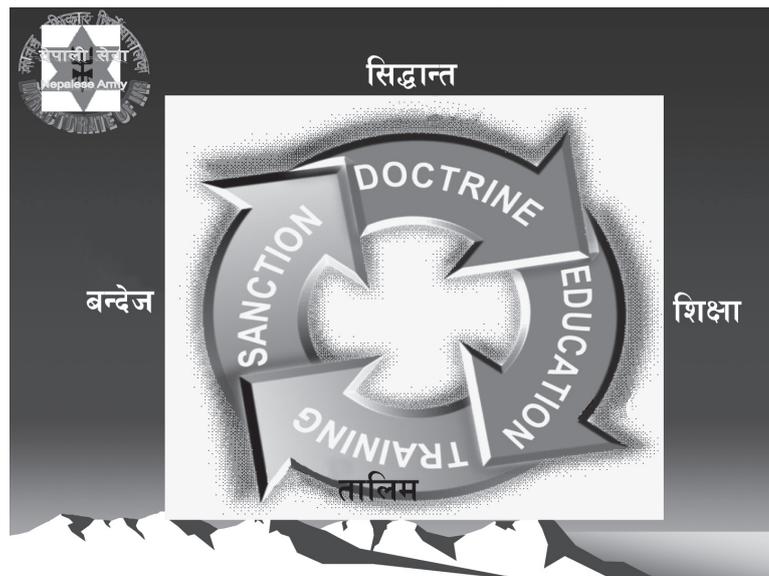
Total number of personnel punished - 169

Number of Personnel who were given more than 1 punishment - 115

Rape cases forwarded to civil court- 2

TOWARDS INTEGRATION OF IHL/IHRL

10. One of the significant efforts Nepalese Army has made for the promotion and protection of human rights and humanitarian law is the integration of human rights law and humanitarian law in doctrine, education, training, equipments and sanction system.



Doctrine focuses on how best to employ the Armed Forces in order to achieve national objectives at strategic, operational, and tactical levels. It provides personnel with a common language and a common reference point that allows shorthand professional communication. It is authoritative but requires judgment in application. It is periodically revised. Together with its supporting instruments - tactics, techniques and procedures - doctrine must be in accordance with national legislation that in turn embodies international treaties and conventions. It must encapsulate IHL principles and provide concrete measures and means for the respect of specially protected persons and objects. The following are the existing international and constitutional/domestic measures that help to shape the formulation and structuring of our core doctrinal values in the army:

(a) **Doctrine**

- (1) Article 47 of Geneva Convention I of 1949 stipulates us as a high contracting party to undertake in time of peace as in time of war, to disseminate the text of the present Convention as widely as possible and to include the study thereof in our military programmes so that the principles thereof may become known to in particular to the armed fighting forces, the medical personnel and the chaplains.
- (2) IHL/IHRL International Treaties/Covenants signed/ratified/ acceded by Nepal that puts a legally binding pressure on the part of the state to endorse the legislation of relevant Acts or Bills into the domestic and other laws in concord.
- (3) The preamble section of Interim Constitution of Nepal 2007 expresses full commitment towards human rights.
- (4) Section 3 of the Interim Constitution guarantees the fundamental rights of all citizens.
- (5) *Article 33 (m)* lays down the obligation of the state to effectively implement international treaties and agreements.
- (6) *Also, the Article 144, (4) of the Interim Constitution of Nepal 2007* clearly states that the Nepalese Army will be trained and educated in accordance with the values and norms of human rights.
- (7) According to Article 9 of the Treaty Act 1990 if Nepal signs and ratifies any international treaty, the treaty should become part of the domestic law without requiring any specific legislation to enact the provision of that international
- (8) *Sub Article (1) of Article 20* in the new Military Act sets down the requirement of human rights education and training for military personnel.
- (9) Integration of IHL/human rights standards and values in NA's operational

doctrine.

(10) Various operational and legal directives/instructions on international human rights law and international humanitarian law immediately and after NA's mobilization on BS 2058/8/11.(26th Nov.2001) in order to ensure the protection, promotion and respect for human rights and humanitarian law. These include:

(aa) Legal Directives issued by the Judge Advocate General on BS 2058/8/28 (13th Dec.2001) that included the following core messages:-

- (i) Legal rights for the security forces during the state of Emergency.
- (ii) Legal rights for the security forces during the Peace situation.
- (iii) Instructions to protect and promote IHRL and IHL.
- (iv) Instructions regarding the compensation and reparation of victims of the conflict.
- (v) Do's and Don'ts on IHRL and IHL

(ab) Instructions issued by the Judge Advocate General dated BS 2059/3/13 (27th Jun.2002) regarding legal procedure of dealing with the arrested persons / detainees.

(ac) Instructions issued by the Judge Advocate General dated BS 2060/6/13 (30th Sep.2003) regarding the implementation of the provision set forth in Geneva Convention - 1947 and its protocols.

(ad) Instructions issued by the Adjutant General dated BS 2060/9/15 (30th Dec. 2003) regarding arrest procedure, search procedure, check point duties and SOPs, use of weapons, security of the detainees, evacuation, behavior with the detainees, ration, clothing and medical assistance to the detainees, working with the ICRC and human rights organizations etc.

(ae) Instructions issued by the Adjutant General dated BS 2060/12/12 (25th Mar.2004) regarding the strict implementation of IHRL and IHL instructions issued before in the Nepalese Army.

(af) Instructions issued by the Adjutant General dated BS 2061/6/21 (7th Oct. 2004) regarding the implementation of the 25 points Government's commitments for the protection and promotion of IHRL and IHL.

(ag) Instructions issued by the Chief of the Army Staff dated BS 2061/9/26 (10th Jan. 2005) to prevent extra judicial killing, disappearance, torture, illegal detention and other inhumane treatments etc in the Nepalese Army.

(ah) Instructions issued by the Chief of the Army Staff dated BS 2062/1/18 (1st May.2005) to convene a High Level Special Task Force to sensitize field commanders, civil administration, Police force and government attorneys on IHRL and IHL.

(ai) Human rights Action Plan issued by the Chief of the Army Staff dated BS 2062/1/21.(4th May.2005)

(aj) The Chief of the Army Staff Directive No. 02/060

(ak) The Chief of the Army Staff Directive No. 01/061

(al) Special instructions by the Chief of the Army Staff dated BS 2063/5/29 (7th Sep.2005)

(am) Integration order on IHL and IHRL issued by the Chief of the Army Staff on BS 2064/11/10 (22nd Feb.2008)

(an) Formulation of a Code of Conduct. The Directorate of Military Operations

in coordination with the Directorate of Human Rights has issued a code of conduct to be applied by all soldiers in an armed conflict situation

(b) **Education** In addition to the exclusive practical modalities incorporated into the training, there is also a necessity of imparting a theoretical understanding of the subject which will ensure and promote a corresponding perception of the Law. For this reason, the Nepalese Army has included theoretical lectures and interactive seminars for officers and NCOs at appropriate phases of their career courses. The following measures have been adopted to ensure integration of IHL/IHRL in education.

(1) Formulation of a Code of Conduct. The Directorate of Military Operations in consultation with the Directorate of Human Rights has issued a code of conduct to be applied by all soldiers in an armed conflict situation.

(2) All preliminary, career and special courses as well as UN pre- deployment trainings include human rights and LOAC lessons as part of the curriculum. The Nepalese army has trained a total of 18,907 officers and men in IHL/IHRL beginning from 08 July 2002 till 03 June 2009.

(3) In-country seminars and trainings on IHL and Human Rights

(4) Distribution of books and pamphlets on IHL and Human Rights in units and training institutions.

(5) The HR directorate carries out an initial pre-departure briefing on human rights/IHL related issues to officers assigned on command duties including peacekeeping mission commanders.

(6) We send officers overseas to attend human rights and IHL courses/seminars.

(7) LOAC Manual. The Nepalese Army is in the process of formulating a manual on the Law of Armed Conflict. The Manual will serve as a reference for legal officers and senior commanders.

(8) Publication of the "*Handbook on the Law of War for Armed Forces*"

(a) The ICRC has generously extended its willingness to support the NA in the publication of a twenty-two-page content on the "*Law of War, Summary for Commanders*" extracted from the "*Handbook on the Law of War for Armed Forces*". The book will be distributed to commanders at all levels in the NA and will serve as an excellent referential guide for soldiers employed in operations when it comes to application of IHL.

(9) Annual publications on the Human Rights Journal.

(10) Training on Child Rights and Women for NA officers conducted by IHIRICON and Save the Children Nepal.

(11) Seminar for NA officers on UN Resolutions 1325 and 1820 by UNIFEM.

(12) The HRD, DPR and the ICRC are working together to produce a training documentary on LOAC. We appreciate the willingness of the ICRC to generously extend financial support in this regard.

(13) Books on Nepalese version on the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and additional protocols have been distributed to every formation, unit, military school and academies of Nepalese Army.

(14) Under the direct initiative of HRD, Save the children Nepal has agreed to donate a sum of rupees 1, 00,000/- (one lakh) to Bijeshwori Gyan Mandir Secondary school for the purchase of library books. It has also agreed to organize and conduct seminars on child rights protection and promotion to the teachers and students of the school.

(15) Sensitization of soldiers of all ranks and peacekeepers in Resolution 1325 and Resolution 1820 by incorporating these resolutions in human rights package that is conducted in every training carried out in Nepalese Army. Nepalese Army has also produced a 72 minute educational movie on HIV AIDS, distributed to all units and shown to all ranks as mandated by the Resolution.

(16) The Human Rights Day is observed by organizing the following activities:

(aa) Message by the Chief of Army Staff to all rank and files on compliance with human rights and humanitarian law,

(ab) Presentation on human rights and humanitarian law at the Army Headquarters for officers

(ac) Putting stickers on all military vehicles with a logo displaying NA's commitment to human rights and humanitarian law;

(ad) Organizing lectures on human rights and humanitarian law in all units.

(17) The Director of Human Rights NA is a member invitee of the National IHL Committee

(c) **Training** Doctrinal plans are suitably incorporated in the training cycle to ensure the practice of understanding the law, and practice its application to instill a positive behavioral outcome in a soldier. It must enable personnel to acquire *practical* experience by practicing and implementing the principles of IHL, as well as the concrete measures and means for the respect of specially protected persons and objects, as provided by doctrine, tactics, techniques and procedures. This can be realized by integrating suitable LOAC and IHRL theoretical knowledge into practical training in career and special courses for officers and NCOs throughout the different stages of their career. The following measures have been adopted to ensure integration of IHL in training.

(1) The Nepalese army has now taken complete ownership from the ICRC to train its soldiers in IHL. This is seen as a strong indicator of integration of IHL in training.

(2) Commanders at all levels carry out a final brush-up in the form of a quick briefing to their troops on fundamental IHL aspects, just before the conduct of operations.

(3) The application of IHL into military operations is defined under the sub heading, "*coordinating instructions*" of a detailed operation order.

(4) The basic principles and spirit of IHL is already contained in the four major operations of war, minor operations, as well as in CI ops. For example, women and children shall be given special protection, protection of the civilian population, protection of cultural and religious property, treatment of PWs, etc., are some of the many standard procedures that every soldier is expected to strictly comply with.

(5) Recent efforts are underway to incorporate IHL into scenario based tactical and collective exercises, including TEWT, the latter being more relevant to senior officers attending Staff College and Battalion Commander Course.

(6) Several Command Post Exercises have been designed and successfully conducted in the past. When including the consideration of LOAC imperatives into the

exercise scenario, and in the events and incidents lists, these exercises are felt to be very effective in that they help to instill a strong sense of command responsibility and IHL discipline in a commander.

Number of persons trained/educated on Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law is tabulated as under

Preliminary/Basic/ Career/ Special/ Advance Courses

	Types of Course	2063/64	2064/65	2065/66	Total
1	Preliminary/Basic Course	5465	3805	4409	13679
2	Career Course	759	734	876	2369
3	Special Course	5476	6994	6492	18962
4	HR & LOAC Basic Course	60	148	189	397
5	HR & LOAC Advance Course	112	22	48	182

**Data on HR/IHL Training (2063 - 2066)
undertaken by UN Peacekeepers undergoing training at
Birendra Peacekeeping Training Center Panchkal**

Mission	2063/64	2064/65	2065/66
UNIFIL	850	1700	1700
MONUC	1700	1700	1700
MONUC FD COY	350	350	175
UNMIL	80	80	55
MINUSTAH	1500	1500	1436
MINUSTAH LT BN	350	700	700
TOTAL	4830	6030	5766

(d) **Equipment**

- (1) We make sure that troops only use issued weapons, do not modify or alter the issued weapons and use them in the way that would make them legal.
- (2) Ensure that troops at the lowest levels are able to appropriately use the variety of means at their disposal in a legitimate and lawful manner.

(e) **Sanctions**

- (1) Sanctions must be visible, predictable and effective so as to play a preventive role. Experience shows that the more visible they are and the more predictable their application, the more dissuasive they will be in their action. They also make it possible to punish effectively those who have failed to obey the Law. Therefore, there is a means of enforcing orders and discipline of showing that the whole chain of Command is firm in defending its fundamental values and legal aspects of the command.
- (2) Sanction can be enforced through penal or disciplinary measures. While the former is doubtless necessary, it must be backed by effective disciplinary sanctions at all levels of the chain of Command.
- (3) The following are the existing sanction measures that play an effective, preventive role in the prevention IHL/IHRL violations in the NA
 - (aa) Establishment of the National Human Rights Commission.
 - (ab) Establishment of the National IHL Committee.
 - (ac) Establishment of a Commission on Disappearance (draft bill under consideration in the CA)

(ad) IHL/IHRL International Treaties/Covenants signed/ratified/ acceded by Nepal that puts a legally binding pressure on the part of the state to endorse the legislation of relevant Acts or Bills into the domestic and other laws in concord.

(ae) Various provisions related to the protection and promotion of human rights in the Interim Constitution

(af) The NA has adopted a *Zero Tolerance Policy* against any form of human rights/IHL violation to be committed.

(ag) Since 15 May 2005, the Nepalese army has formulated and strictly implemented the policy of barring its personnel from participating in UN peacekeeping operations i.e., if anyone be found guilty by the court of having violated human rights.

(ah) An investigation committee has been formed in every brigade to investigate into alleged cases on IHL and human rights violations by NA personnel.

(ai) Another investigation committee has been formed at the brigade level to investigate into alleged cases on Bardia disappearances.

(aj) Military Act 2006

(i) In accord with the constitutional framework, article 20(1) of the Military Act 2006, sets down the mandatory legal provisions to impart education and training to all military personnel in the field of IHL and IHRL.

(ii) Article 13.1.d states that persons convicted of human rights violation shall be deemed ineligible for the posts of the army.

(iii) Article 20.1 under "training" states that any individual who shall be included in the organization of the Nepalese Army shall be provided trainings on topics including military education, ethics, physical exercise, human rights and international humanitarian law.

(iv) Article 41 (b) under "offences against military operations states that entering into any house or place with the intention of looting is an offense.

(v) Article 61 under "offence related to irregular arrest or detention" states the following conditions to be offenses:

- ♦ In arresting any person or holding him in detention but failing to submit the case before the relevant officer for investigation or in delaying the proceeding of a case without reason;

- ♦ In holding any person in military custody, failing to submit an account making known the appropriate reasons for placement into custody, immediately or as soon as possible or regardless of condition within twenty four hours except in the event of reasonable grounds of those who have the right to place into military custody and the JAG Branch.

(ak) "Special provisions on offences of **corruption, theft, torture and disappearance**" are initially investigated by an **investigation committee, which is chaired by the Deputy Attorney General**, the other two members being the chief legal officer from the Ministry of Defense and a major from the JAG department. The findings of the committee are then forwarded to the Military Special Court which presides over the first jurisdiction to trial. **The Military Special Court is chaired by a Judge from the Appellate Court** appointed by the Government. The other two members will be the Secretary from Ministry of Defense and the Judge Advocate General. **(Article 62)**

(al) Article 62 under "miscellaneous offenses"

- (1) In disturbing the sacredness of a religious place or in knowingly disrespecting the religion of any other person by any other means or in causing disrespect to religious sentiments;
- (2) In causing any loss or damage to the body or property of any citizen or inhabitant of the country one is serving.
- (am) Article 66 states that "rape" and "homicide" falls within the complete jurisdiction of civilian courts.
- (an) Article 67 defines the Formation and Jurisdiction of different Courts Martial for the purpose of the trial and hearing on offences. The types of courts martial formed are:
- (i) A General Court Martial
 - (ii) A Summary General Court Martial
 - (iii) A District Court Martial
 - (iv) A Summary Court Martial
- (ao) Article 70 on "*No double jeopardy*": Any person under the jurisdiction of this Act, after being subjected to trial, hearing and adjudication of an offence mentioned in Section 38 to 65 of this Act by a Court Martial, or after being subjected to departmental action, shall not be subjected to action again for the same offence.
- (ap) Article 75 on *Responsibility of the commanding officer during custody*:
- (i) If the commanding officer receives a report that a person under his command has been held in custody, he shall make arrangements not to hold him in custody exceeding the period of twenty four hours without an investigation.
 - (ii) Notwithstanding anything provided by subsection (1) if there is a situation that the same [twenty four hours] is not possible because of the lack of transportation services, he may be held in custody for a reasonable period.
 - (iii) The commanding officer shall send all of the details of the person who is held in custody exceeding twenty four hours, and reports with reasons, to the Chief of Army Staff or the JAG Branch.
- (aq) Article 119 under "*Appeal against decisions or orders of Courts Martial*":
- (i) There shall be an Army Special Court which will hear appeals against a decision or final order rendered by a General Court Martial and Summary General Court Martial under Clause (a) of Section 68. The composition of the Army Special Court will be:
 - ♦ Judge of an Appellate Court nominated by the GoN on the recommendation of the Judicial Council
 - ♦ Secretary of MoD
 - ♦ JAG

-----	Chairperson
-----	Member
-----	Member
 - (ii) An appeal may be lodged to the Supreme Court against a decision made by the court within 35 days of the decision.

Conclusion:

11. Violations of international humanitarian law that took place in the past conflict were not a policy driven motive. Nepalese army adapts a zero tolerance policy against violations of human rights and humanitarian law and always seeks to discourage the culture of impunity in the organization. Protection, promotion and respect for human rights and humanitarian law have always been the army's visionary approach to safeguard the fundamental core values of law.

श्री फष्ट रैफल गण (शा.से.) पहिलो डफ्फा, कङ्गोको अनुभव र कमाण्ड मूल्याङ्कन तथा शान्ति सेना सम्बन्धी सुभाबहरु



म.से. धर्म बहादुर बानियां

परिचय

१. नेपाली सेना विगतको विद्रोह दमन कार्यमा परिचालन हुनु पूर्व श्री फष्ट रैफल गण हिमालय ब्यारेक, छाउनीमा तैनाथ रहेको थियो । आन्तरिक द्वन्द्वको समयमा देशभित्र अनुशासन कायम गर्ने सिलसिलामा मिति २०५८।२।७ गते यस गण हिमालय ब्यारेक, छाउनीबाट स्थानान्तरण भई ऐ. आषाढ २८ गते सम्म रुकुम जिल्लाको मुसीकोट, सांख, बाफीकोट तथा खारा, जाजरकोट जिल्लाको मटेला, दैलेख जिल्लाको नारायण नगरपालिका र डोल्पा जिल्लाको सदरमुकाम दूनैमा तैनाथ रहेको थियो ।

२. यस गणले रुकुम जिल्लामा सफलतापूर्वक आफ्नो जिम्मेवारी पुरा गरी मिति २०६०।१।२९ गते श्री भवानी बक्स गणलाई बदला गर्न रुकुमबाट भरतपुर ब्यारेकमा तैनाथ भएको ।

३. यस गणले रोल्पा जिल्लाको रातमाटा टावरमाथि भएको आक्रमण तथा पहिलो खारा आक्रमणलाई पूर्णतया विफल बनाई आफ्नो जिम्मेवारी क्षेत्रमा शान्ति सुरक्षा कायम गर्न प्रमुख भूमिका निर्वाह गरे बापत नेपाली सेनाले संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेना अन्तर्गत United Nations Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUC) मा Chapter-VII (Peace Enforcement Mission) म्यान्डेटमा नेपाली सेनाबाट पहिलो पटक तत्कालीन गणपति प्र.से. धर्म बहादुर बानिया (यस लेखका लेखक) को कमाण्डमा यस गणलाई प्रजातान्त्रिक गणतन्त्र कङ्गोको Ituri Province मा तैनाथ गर्ने निर्णय गर्‍यो । Ituri Province MONUC को Sector 6 अन्तर्गत पर्दछ ।

४. श्री फष्ट रैफल गण (शा.से.) पहिलो डफ्फा, कङ्गो MONUC मिशनको Pre-deployment तालिमको लागि १०५० जना (Ituri Bde Staff ३३ जना र NEPBATT-I १०३३ जना) को नफ्रिमा श्री वीरेन्द्र शान्ति कार्य तालिम केन्द्र, पांचखालमा मिति २०६०।३।२० (४ जुलाई सन्. २००३) गतेदेखि मिति २०६०।७।५ (२२ अक्टोबर, सन् २००३) गतेसम्म तैनाथ रहेको थियो ।

५. यस गण मिति २०६०।०।७।६ (२३ अक्टोबर, सन्. २००३) गते MONUC मिशनको लागि कङ्गोतर्फ प्रस्थान भई मिति २०६१।०।५।०।५ (२९ अगष्ट, सन्. २००४) गते सफलतापूर्वक कार्य सम्पादन गरी स्वदेश फिर्ता भएको थियो ।

उद्देश्य

६. यस लेखले श्री फष्ट रैफल गण (शा.से.) पहिलो डफ्फा, कङ्गोको अनुभव, कमाण्ड मूल्याङ्कन तथा नेपालको संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनाको सहभागितालाई विस्तार गर्ने सम्बन्धी सुभाबहरु प्रस्ताव गर्नेछ ।

क्षेत्र

७. नेपाल, नेपाली सेना, भविष्यमा खटिने Contingent कमाण्डर तथा फौजहरुलाई मार्ग दर्शन दिने उद्देश्यले यस लेखलाई निम्न विषयहरुमा वर्णन गरिनेछः-

- (क) श्री फष्ट रैफल गण (शा.से.) पहिलो डफ्फा, कङ्गोको मिशन इलाकामा तैनाथी ।
- (ख) मिशन इलाकामा गरिएको बन्दोबस्ती आपूर्ति ।
- (ग) मिशन इलाकामा आइपरेका चुनौतिहरु र सो को समाधान ।
- (घ) मिशन इलाकामा प्राप्त गरिएका मुख्य उपलब्धिहरु ।

- (ड) मिशनमा कमाण्डरलाई मूल्याङ्कन गर्ने सुभावहरू ।
- (च) नेपालको संयुक्त राष्ट्र संधीय शान्ति सेनाको सहभागितामा विस्तार गर्ने (Enhancing and Expanding the United Nations Peacekeeping Capabilities) सम्बन्धी सुभावहरू ।
- (छ) संक्षेप ।

मिशन इलाकामा तैनाथी

८. यस गण कङ्गोको लागि पहिलो गण भएकोले श्री शान्ति सेना संचालन निर्देशनालयको सहयोगमा गणपति गुपले Chapter-VII मिशनको लागि Organization तथा Equipment Table निर्माण गरी सोलाई आवश्यक पर्ने बन्दोवस्ती सामग्रीहरूको योजना तथा आपूर्ति गर्ने कार्य भएको थियो ।

९. सन् २००३ को अगष्ट महिनामा तत्कालीन गणपतिको कमाण्डमा मिशन इलाकाको रेकीको लागि एक टोली MONUC तर्फ प्रस्थान गर्‍यो । उक्त टोलीले MONUC मिशनका SRSG, Force Commander तथा अन्य महत्वपूर्ण अधिकारीहरूबाट मिशन बृफिङ्ग प्राप्त गरी Ituri Province मा रहेको NEPBATT Area of Responsibility (AOR) को हवाई रेकी गरी सात दिनपछि नेपाल फिर्ता भएको थियो ।

१०. रेकी टोलीले नेपाल फर्केपछि जंगी अड्डामा मिशन सम्बन्धी विस्तृत ब्रिफिङ्ग प्रस्तुत गरेको थियो ।

११. सोही समयमा UN HQ बाट Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) मा उल्लेख भए बमोजिम Contingent Owned Equipment (COE) को निरीक्षणको लागि UN Inspection टिम नेपाल आई Organization तथा Equipment Table र बन्दोवस्ती सामग्रीको निरीक्षण गरी फिर्ता भएको । यस कार्यमा श्री शान्ति सेना संचालन निर्देशनालय तथा तत्कालीन श्री विकास निर्माण निर्देशनालयबाट विशेष सहयोग प्राप्त भएको थियो ।

१२. सबै तयारी पूरा गरी यस गण मिति २०६०।७६ (२३ अक्टोवर, सन् २००३) गते कङ्गोतर्फ प्रस्थान गरी Entebbe (Uganda) हुँदै MONUC, Sector 6 HQ बुनियामा अस्थायी रूपमा फौज Assemble भएको थियो ।

१३. फौज बुनियामा एकत्रित भएपछि सन् २००३ को नोभेम्बर महिनामा गणपतिको नेतृत्वमा NEPBATT AOR को स्थलगत रेकीको लागि रेकी टोली पुनः Entebbe हुँदै Uganda को स्थलमार्गबाट NEPBATT AOR आरु, माहागी र क्वान्डोमाको आफ्नो तैनाथी लोकेशनको यकिन गरी एक हप्तापछि पुनः सोही स्थलमार्गबाट Entebbe हुँदै Entebbe बाट बुनियासम्म हवाई साधनद्वारा फिर्ता भएको थियो ।

१४. Sector 6 HQ लाई रेकी प्रतिवेदन प्रस्तुत गरेपछि सन् २००४ को फेब्रुअरी महिनाबाट NEPBATT AOR मा निम्नानुसार फौज तैनाथ गरीएको थियो:-

- (क) माहागी - गण हे.क्वा. र एक गुल्म ।
- (ख) क्वान्डोमा - एक गुल्म ।
- (ग) सेन्ट एभ - एक गुल्म ।
- (घ) मेगाडोर - एक गुल्म ।
- (ड) रुवाम्पारा - एक से.मु. ।
- (च) रियर हे.क्वा. बुनिया - एक से.मु. ।
- (छ) रियर इलिमेण्ट, Entebbe- एक पत्ति ।

मिशन इलाकामा गरिएको बन्दोवस्ती आपूर्ति

१५. यस गणलाई निम्न अनुसार बन्दोवस्ती आपूर्ति उपलब्ध गराइएको थियो:-

- (क) गण हे.क्वा. माहागी र क्वान्डोमा राशन पानी आपूर्ति UN ले Entebbe बाट र एफ.ओ.एल. आपूर्ति UN मार्फत NEPBATT ले Paidha (Uganda) बाट गरेको ।

- (ख) बूनिया, सेन्ट एभ, खाम्पारा र मेगाडोर सबै प्रकारको आपूर्ति UN मार्फत NEPBATT ले गरेको ।
 (ग) रियर इलिमेण्ट, Entebbe राशन पानी आपूर्ति बूनियाबाट र एफ.ओ.एल. आपूर्ति UN मार्फत Entebbe बाट गरेको ।

मिशन इलाकामा आई परेका चुनौतीहरू र सोको समाधान

१६. यस गणलाई निम्न चुनौतिहरू आइपरे तापनि जंगी अड्डाको निर्देशन, गणपतिको Diplomacy र सकल दर्जाको कार्य दक्षताले चुनौतिहरूलाई प्रभावकारी रूपमा समाधान गरीएको थियो:-

(क) **वासस्थानको अभाव** पहिलो गण भएकोले बूनियामा फौज तैनाथ हुनासाथ वासस्थानको अभाव हुनु स्वभाविक नै थियो । यस अवस्थामा यस गणले नेपालबाट लगेको COE श्रोत र MONUC HQ को सहयोगबाट काम चलाउ वासस्थानको व्यवस्था गरेको थियो । खासगरी MONUC HQ संगको राम्रो सम्बन्धले गर्दा केही हदसम्म वासस्थानको समस्या समाधान भएको थियो ।

(ख) **COE मा Compatibility नहुनु** MONUC का सबै Contingents Chapter-VII म्याण्डेटमा तैनाथ भएकोले सबै फौजको बनावट Robust Nature को थियो । खासगरी Joint Operations को दौरानमा अन्य Contingents संग APC र NEPBATT संग MPV हुनाले खराब मौसममा MPV बाट Mobile Operations संचालन गर्न केही कठिनाई परेको थियो । हामीसंग APC भएको भए Operations संचालनमा Interoperability र Common Standard हासिल गर्न सजिलो हुने थियो । यी समस्या हुंदा हुंदै पनि सकल दर्जाको अथक प्रयासले NEPBATT ले सबै अपरेशनहरू सफलतापूर्वक सम्पन्न गरेको थियो ।

(ग) **मानव अधिकार हनन हुने कार्यमा संलग्नता हुनु** MONUC का प्रायः सबै Contingents लाई Sexual Abuse मा संलग्न भएको भन्ने उजुरीहरू लाग्ने गरेको थियो । UN को Standard अनुसार सबै प्रकार का मानवअधिकार हननका घटनाहरूलाई Zero Tolerance Policy अन्तर्गत दण्डित गर्ने प्रावधान रहेको र NEPBATT ले पनि सोही नीति अख्तियार गरी हाम्रो तर्फबाट कुनै पनि प्रकारका मानवअधिकार हनन नहोस् भन्ने तर्फ विशेष प्रयास भएको थियो । तर Contingent नेपाल फिर्ता भएपछि विगतमा केही सैनिकहरू Sexual Abuse मा संलग्न भएको भन्ने उजुरी प्राप्त भएपछि ती सैनिकहरू माथि सैनिक अदालतले छानबीन गरी दोषी माथि गरिएको कारवाहीबारे UN DPKO मा जानकारी गराइएको थियो । कतिपय अवस्थामा भुठाला उजुरीहरू पनि प्राप्त हुने गरेको थियो । यसप्रति हामी अत्यन्तै सतर्क हुनु पर्दछ ।

(घ) **सबै Contingents को समान कटिबद्धता नहुनु** MONUC मिशनमा नेपाल, बंगलादेश, पाकिस्तान, भारत, उरुग्वे, दक्षिण अफ्रिका, मोरक्को, इण्डोनेसिया आदि राष्ट्रका सैनिकहरू कार्यरत थिए । सबै Contingents को कटिबद्धता समान नहुनाले Force Commander को विशेष अनुरोधमा जंगी अड्डालाई जानकारी गराएर NEPBATT ले अन्य Contingents को AOR मा समेत क्रियाशील हुनु परेको थियो ।

(ङ) **HQ तहमा असरदार कमाण्ड कन्ट्रोल नहुनु** कुनै कुनै अवस्थामा कुनै एउटा Contingent को AOR मा सोही Contingent ले सुरक्षा कारवाही गर्नु पर्नेमा सो Contingent ले कारवाही गर्न MOU मा उल्लेख नभएको कारण देखाई सुरक्षा कारवाही नगरेकोले MONUC HQ को विशेष अनुरोधमा NEPBATT ले आफ्नो राष्ट्र र सेनाको नाम, सम्मान र इज्जतलाई अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय जगतमा उजागर गर्ने उद्देश्यले Initiative लिएर अन्य Contingents को AOR (जस्तै: Sector 6 को AOR मा तैनाथ भए तापनि Sector-5 को Goma, Kindu र Bukavu) मा तैनाथ भई सुरक्षा कारवाही गरेको थियो । यो केही हदसम्म MONUC HQ / Ituri Bde HQ को असरदार कमाण्ड कन्ट्रोलको अभावले हुन गएको महसुस भएको थियो ।

(च) **HQ तहमा Civilian र Military Component बीच प्रभावकारी समन्वय नहुनु** MONUC HQ र Sector HQ मा कार्यरत Civilian र Military Component बीच राम्रो सम्बन्धको अभावमा फिल्डमा तैनाथ Military Component लाई कार्यगत समस्या हुने गरेको थियो । NEPBATT ले Civilian

Component संग सम्बन्ध विस्तार गरी अधिकतम फाइदा लिएको थियो ।

(छ) फिल्डमा **Civilian Component** को उपस्थिति अत्यन्तै न्यून रहेको MONUC को Military Component हरू फिल्डमा तैनाथ भए तापनि Military Component लाई कार्यगत सहयोग पुऱ्याउनको लागि त्यहाँ तैनाथ Civilian Component जस्तै: Human Rights Team, Political Affairs Team, Child Protection Unit आदिमा कार्यरत अधिकारीहरू फिल्डमा नगइकन Sector HQ मै सीमित हुने गरेको ले Aerial तथा Ground Verification Mission मा Military Component ले गरेको कार्यलाई Justify गर्न कठिनाई परेको थियो । तसर्थ NEPBATT ले MONUC HQ लाई Civilian Component लाई सबै Verification Mission हरूमा परिचालन गर्न जोडदार सिफारिस गरेको थियो ।

(ज) **Heart and Mind winning Operations** को लागि श्रोत साधन उपलब्ध नहुने MONUC HQ बाट स्थानीय जनताहरूलाई सहयोग गर्न कुनै श्रोत र साधन उपलब्ध हुने नगरेको । यस कार्यको लागि NEPBATT ले आफ्नो AOR मा नेपालबाटै लगेका खाद्यान्न, औषधी, विद्यालय सामग्री तथा सामान्य विकास सम्बन्धी सामग्री वितरण गरी स्थानीय जनताको मन जित्ने प्रयास गरेको थियो । NEPBATT ले यस कार्यबाट प्रशस्त मात्रामा जनसमर्थन प्राप्त गरी MONUC मा छुट्टै पहिचान स्थापना गरेको थियो ।

(झ) **COE Inspection** मा कठिनाई Mission इलाकामा लगेका कतिपय COE हरू Fully Operational नरहेको र केही COE हरू MOU मा उल्लेख भएभन्दा कम संख्यामा रहेकोले नियमित COE Inspection मा धेरै कठिनाई भोग्नु परेको थियो । COE Inspection सम्पन्न गर्न अन्य Contingency उपायहरू अपनाउनु परेको थियो ।

मिशन इलाकामा प्राप्त भएका मुख्य उपलब्धीहरू

१७. MONUC मिशन इलाकामा करिब १० महिनाको कार्यकालमा यस गणको उपलब्धीहरू निम्न अनुसार प्रस्तुत गरीएको छः-

(क) **Operations Chomiya** सन् २००३ को नोभेम्बर महिनामा मिशन इलाकामा तैनाथ भएको २ हप्ताभित्रै बुनियाको करिब १०० कि.मी. पूर्वमा पर्ने Lake Alert को किनारमा रहेको चोमिया भन्ने स्थानमा तैनाथ BANBATT को कम्पनी र त्यहाँका स्थानीय जनता माथि सांघातिक हमला गर्ने FNI मिलिसियालाई निशस्त्र गर्न बुनियाबाट NEPBATT को १ गुल्म ३० मिनेटको नोटिसमा हेली लिफ्ट भई चोमियामा ड्रप गरीयो । चोमियामा ड्रप हुनासाथ NEPBATT ले BANBATT लाई रि-ईन्फोर्समेन्ट गरी स्थानीय जनतालाई FNI को पकडबाट मुक्त गरेको थियो ।

(ख) **Operations Kindu and Goma** सन् २००३ को नोभेम्बर महिनामा NEPBATT को १/१ गुल्महरू Sector 5 मा तैनाथ दक्षिण अफ्रिकी फौजलाई रि-ईन्फोर्समेन्ट गर्न किन्डु र गोमामा तैनाथ भए । किन्डुमा तैनाथ रहेको नेपाली फौज कङ्गो नदीदेखि पारी तर्फ रहेको एलङ्गुली भन्ने स्थानमा पुगी करिब ५०० जना Mayi Mayi मिलिसियालाई शान्ति पूर्ण तरिकाबाट निशस्त्र गर्न सफल भयो । यस सफल कार्यको लागि दक्षिण अफ्रिकाको गणपति र Force Commander बाट प्रशंसापत्र प्राप्त भएको थियो । त्यसै गरी गोमामा तैनाथ फौजले पनि प्रशंसनीय ढंगबाट न्याबोन्डोमा रहेका मिलिसियालाई निशस्त्र गर्ने कार्य गरेको थियो । दुवै गुल्महरू करिब २ महिना पछि सकुसल बुनिया फिर्ता भएका थिए ।

(ग) **Operations Gobu** सन् २००४ को जनवरी महिनामा PAKBATT को AOR पर्ने Lake Albert को किनार रहेको गोबु भन्ने स्थानमा (बुनियाबाट १ घण्टा उत्तर पूर्व हवाई दुरी) FNI मिलिसियाबाट पुरै वस्ती Massacre गरेको भन्ने जानकारी UN Media मा प्रसारण भएको थियो। त्यसपछि Ituri Bde HQ ले सबै Contingents (नेपाल, बंगलादेश, पाकिस्तान र उरुग्वे) लाई अलग अलग समयमा Ground Verification Mission को लागि Tasking गर्‍यो । कुनै Contingents पनि गोबु भन्ने स्थानमा पुग्न सकेनन् । यसबाट Ituri Bde को Professional Efficiency मा नकरात्मक टिप्पणी हुन लाग्यो ।

त्यसपछि Ituri Bde Commander ले तत्कालिन NEPBATT गणपतिलाई अन्तिम प्रयास गर्न अनुरोध गर्नु भयो । NEPBATT ले आफ्नो राष्ट्र र सेनाको छविलाई अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय जगतमा उजागर गर्ने उद्देश्यले गणपतिको कमाण्डमा २ गुल्म फौजलाई PAKBATT को AOR (बुनिया देखी ४५ मिनेट उत्तर पूर्व हवाई दुरी) मा हेली ड्रप गर्‍यो । NEPBATT ले सोही इलाकामा Forward Operating Base (FOB) खडा गरी १ गुल्म प्लस फौज दुई जना सेनानीको कमाण्डमा गोबु तर्फ परिचालन गर्‍यो । उक्त फौजले २ दिन र रात गरी मिलिसियाको भीषण हस्तक्षेपको बाबजुद गोबुसम्म पैदल हर्कत गरी FNI मिलिसियाले करिब २०० जना स्थानीय बासीन्दाहरूलाई Massacre गरेको र पुरै गाउँ आगो लगाएको एकिन गर्‍यो । तेश्रो दिनमा उक्त फौज FOB मा फिर्ता भएपछि तहांबाट सबै फौज बुनियासम्म हेली लिफ्ट भयो । गोबुको सफलता पछि Ituri Bde Commander ले NEPBATT HQ (बुनिया) मा आई दरवार परेड मार्फत नेपाल राष्ट्रको विश्व शान्ति प्रतिको कटिबद्धता र नेपाली सेनाको पेशागत दक्षतालाई प्रशंसा गर्दै धन्यवाद ज्ञापन गर्नु भयो । यस सफल कार्यलाई MONUC HQ र UN HQ ले "The Mystery of Gobu is Unfolded" भनेर नेपाली फौजको प्रशंसा गरेको थियो ।

(घ) **Demining Operations** सन् २००४ को मार्च महिनामा बुनियादेखि दक्षिण पूर्वमा रहेको करिब ४० मिनेटमा हवाईमार्गबाट पुग्न सकिने BANBATT को AOR मा पर्ने एरिङ्गेटी भन्ने स्थानमा दक्षिण अफ्रिकी Demining Team ले मिलिसियाले लगाएको माईन फिल्डलाई Demining गरिरहेको थियो । उक्त Demining Team लाई BANBATT ले नै सुरक्षा प्रदान गर्नु पर्ने थियो, तर BANBATT ले सुरक्षा कारणबाट सुरक्षा प्रदान गर्न नसक्ने कारण देखाएर त्यहां जान नमानेपछि MONUC HQ बाट Ituri Bde को नकारात्मक टिकाटिप्पणी हुन थाल्यो । तसर्थ Ituri Bde HQ को विशेष अनुरोधमा Demining Team लाई सुरक्षा प्रदान गर्नको लागि NEPBATT लाई खटाइयो, जसले १५ दिनमै Demining Operations सम्पन्न गर्न मद्दत गरेको थियो ।

(ङ) **Operations Kombokabo** सन् २००४ को अप्रिल महिनामा BANBATT को बन्दोवस्ती कन्भोय बुनियादेखि दक्षिण पूर्वी इलाका कोम्बोकावोदेखि बुनियातर्फ एडभान्स गर्दै गरेको अवस्थामा मिलिसियाको एम्बुसमा पर्‍यो । उक्त फौजलाई रि-ईन्फोर्समेण्टको लागि NEPBATT को १ गुल्म फौज परिचालन भयो । मिलिसिया तथा नेपाली फौजबीच Eye to Eye Contact मा मुठभेड भयो । मिलिसिया तर्फ धेरै मारिए र घाइते भए । MONUC को तर्फबाट नेपाली फौजका एक जना सुवेदार (सु.गोपाल मोक्तान) र एक जना बंगाली सैनिक घाइते भए । सफलतापूर्वक बंगाली सेनालाई Rescue गरेकोमा MONUC HQ बाट नेपाली सेनाको प्रशंसा भएको थियो ।

(च) **Operations Kunda** सन् २००४ को अप्रिल महिनामा बुनियादेखि उत्तर पश्चिम कुन्दा भन्ने स्थानमा विद्रोहीको प्रशस्त मात्रामा हतियार भण्डार छ भन्ने खबर प्राप्त भएपछि NEPBATT ले उक्त इलाकामा पैदल Search and Destroy अपरेसन संचालन गर्‍यो । यस अपरेसनमा नेपाली सेनाले प्रशस्त हतियारहरू, ८१ मि.मि. मोर्टार बम तथा अन्य एम्पूनिशनहरू बरामद गर्न सफल भयो । MONUC Force Commander बाट प्रशंसा पत्र समेत प्राप्त भएको थियो ।

(छ) **Operations Bukavu** सन् २००४ को जुन महिनामा Sector 5 अन्तर्गत उरुग्वेको AOR मा पर्ने सुन्दर शहर बुकाभुमा रुवाण्डाबाट मद्दत प्राप्त मिलिसिया र कङ्गोली राष्ट्रिय सेनाबीच भिषण मुठभेड भयो । यो मुठभेड महिनौसम्म नरोकिएको र उरुग्वे सेनाको नियन्त्रण भन्दा बाहिर गएकोले MONUC HQ ले Sector 6 बाट थप रि-ईन्फोर्समेण्ट पठाउने निर्णय गर्‍यो । तत्पश्चात् Ituri Bde Commander ले Sector-6 का सबै गणपतिहरूलाई रि-ईन्फोर्समेण्ट पठाउन अनुरोध गर्दा Sector-5 को AOR मा आफ्ना फौज पठाउन MOU को बरखिलाप हुने भन्ने कारण देखाई फौज पठाउन ईन्कार गरे । यसबाट MONUC HQ र UN HQ न्यूयोर्कमा MONUC Sector 6 का Contingents ले बुकाभुमा फौज पठाउन अस्वीकार गरेको भनेर नकारात्मक टिका टिप्पणी हुन गयो । यो टिका टिप्पणी नेपालको स्थायी नियोग मार्फत जंगी अड्डामा समेत जानकारी गरीयो । सोही समयमा MONUC Force Commander ले नेपालका गणपतिलाई १ गुल्म फौज बुकाभुमा पठाउन निकै अनुरोध गरेपछि जंगी अड्डालाई जानकारी गराएर ६ घण्टाको नोटिसमा हवाई साधनद्वारा नेपाली फौज बुकाभुतर्फ प्रस्थान गर्‍यो । पूर्वतर्फ मिलिसिया र पश्चिमतर्फ कङ्गोली राष्ट्रिय सेनाबीच मुठभेड भइरहेको अवस्थामा नेपाली फौज बुकाभु एअरपोर्टमा

ल्याण्ड भयो । नेपाली सेनाले विभिन्न Peacekeeping Techniques अपनाई मुठभेड रोक्न सफल भयो । त्यसको अतिरिक्त बुकाभु शहरमा पहिलो पल्ट नेपाली फौजले निरन्तर पैदल गस्ती शुरु गर्‍यो । त्यहाँ नेपाली फौजले मिलिसियाको ठूलो हतियार भण्डारलाई सर्च एण्ड डिस्ट्रोई अपरेशनबाट कब्जा गर्‍यो । यसको साथसाथै नेपाली फौजले मिलिसियाबाट बन्दी बनाइएका ५२ जना स्थानीय महिला, पुरुष र बाल बालिकाहरुको सकुशल रिहा गर्न सफल भयो । यस कार्यमा UN HQ, MONUC HQ र Ituri Bde HQ बाट नेपाली सेनाको प्रशंसा भएको थियो ।

(ज) **DDR Program** MONUC ले Sector 6 मा पहिलो चरणमा ६ वटा DDR कार्यक्रम संचालन गर्ने योजना गर्‍यो । जसअनुसार NEPBATT ले आफ्नो AOR मा सन्तोषजनक सुरक्षा वातावरण श्रृजना गरेको आधारमा MONUC ले NEPBATT AOR मा मात्रै २ वटा DDR कार्यक्रम संचालन गरेको थियो । न्यून सुरक्षाको कारणले MONUC ले अन्य Contingent को AOR मध्य कसैकोमा एउटा मात्र संचालन गरेको वा कसैकोमा एउटा पनि DDR कार्यक्रम संचालन गरेको थिएन ।

(झ) **Heart and Mind Winning Operations** नेपाली फौजले आफ्नो जिम्मेवारी क्षेत्रमा नेपालकै श्रोत र साधन प्रयोग गरेर निम्न कार्यहरु संचालन गरेको थियो:-

- (१) गण हे.क्वा. माहागीमा स्कूल, स्पोर्टस स्टेडियम, फुटवल ग्राउण्ड तथा सडक निर्माण गरेको ।
- (२) स्थानीय जनतालाई खानेपानीको व्यवस्था गरेको ।
- (३) आफ्नो AOR मा निरन्तर मेडिकल कार्यक्रम तथा नेपालबाट लिएको खाद्यान्न वितरण गरेको ।
- (४) स्थानीय अस्पतालमा हप्ताको २ पटक डाक्टर अधिकृतबाट स्थानीय विरामीहरुको स्वास्थ्य परिक्षण गरेको ।
- (५) २ वटा ठूला कच्ची पुल निर्माण गरेको ।
- (६) २ वटा DDR Camp निर्माण गरेको ।
- (७) धेरै पटक स्थानीय युवासंग मैत्रीपूर्व फुटवल खेल खेलेको र सामुहिक सास्कृतीक कार्यक्रम प्रदर्शन गरी स्थानीय समाजको मन मस्तिष्क जित्न सफल भएको ।
- (८) हाम्रै आयोजनामा बुनियामा सबै Contingents समावेश गरी भलिवल तथा एथलेटिक्स प्रतियोगिता आयोजना गरेको । एथलेटिक्स प्रतियोगितामा नेपाल प्रथम र भलिवल प्रतियोगितामा दोश्रो स्थान हासिल गरेको ।
- (९) NEPBATT HQ मा स्थानीय राजनैतिक कार्यकर्ता, मिलिसिया कमाण्डर, MONUC का Political Affairs र अन्य Civilian Component बीच शान्ति प्रक्रया सफल पार्नको लागि निरन्तर अन्तर्क्रिया संचालन गरेको ।

(ञ) **Appreciation by the Under Secretary General, Force Commander, Brigade Commander and the Chief of the Army Staff** नेपाली सेनाले मिशन इलाकामा Chapter - VII को म्याण्डेट अनुसार आफ्नो AOR लाई Weapon Free Zone बनाउन र Heart and Mind Winning Operations प्रशंसनीय ढंगबाट संचालन गरी Ituri Province मा शान्ति स्थापना गर्न प्रमुख भूमिका खेलेकोले United Nations, Under Secretary General for Peacekeeping Operations, MONUC Force Commander र Ituri Bde Commander बाट नेपाली फौजले प्रशंसापत्र प्राप्त गरेको थियो । त्यसै गरी कार्यकाल समाप्त गरी स्वदेश फिर्ता भएपछि श्री प्रधान सेनापतिज्यूबाट समेत गणपति र सम्पूर्ण फौजलाई मेडल परेड समारोह, जंगी अड्डामा प्रशंसा पत्र प्रदान भएको थियो ।

मिशन कमाण्डरलाई मूल्याङ्कन गर्ने सुझावहरु

१८. मिशन कमाण्डरले आफ्नो क्षमताले भ्याएसम्म संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ, नेपाल र नेपाली सेनाको मान सम्मान, इज्जत र कल्याणको लागि प्रयत्नरत रहने भए तापनि सबै कमाण्डरको क्षमता एउटै भएको देखिदैन । तसर्थ, मिशन कमाण्डरलाई निम्न Parameters मा केन्द्रित रही निजको कार्य क्षमताको मूल्याङ्कन गर्न प्रस्ताव गरीन्छ:-

(क) UN HQ / Force HQ बाट हुने COE Inspection हरेक पटक उत्तिर्ण गरेको छ, छैन ।

(ख) Force HQ बाट गरीने Operational Readiness Inspection (ORI) संतोषजनक छ, छैन ।

(ग) मानव अधिकार हनन् र अन्य अनुशासनहीन कार्य भएका छन् वा छैनन्, के यस्ता घटना हुन नदिन निजले पर्याप्त उपायहरू अवलम्बन गरेका छन ? के यी घटनाहरू कमाण्डरले पर्याप्त उपायहरू अवलम्बन गर्दा गर्दै पनि घटेका हुन, आदी बारे मूल्याङ्कन गर्ने ।

(घ) मानव अधिकार हनन् गर्ने वा अन्य अनुशासनहीन कार्य गर्ने व्यक्तिलाई नेपालमा Repatriation गर्दैमा कमाण्डरको दायीत्व पूरा हुँदैन । किनभने Repatriation गर्दैमा नेपाल र नेपाली सेना बदनाम हुन बाट पन्छिन सक्दैन । तसर्थ, Repatriation हुन बाट रोक्न कमाण्डरले पर्याप्त उपायहरू अवलम्बन गरेका छन ? सो को मूल्याङ्कन गर्ने ।

(ङ) वर्तमान कमाण्डरले पुरानो Contingent उपर लागेका उजुरीहरू उपर मनोवैज्ञानिक ढंगबाट समाधान गर्न प्रयास गरेका छन ? समाधान गर्न प्रयास नगरीकन उक्त उजुरीहरू मेरो Contingentसंग सम्बन्धित छैन भनी जिम्मेवारी पन्छाउन जंगी अड्डामा पत्राचार गरेका छन, छैनन्, सो को मूल्याङ्कन गर्ने ।

(च) सुरक्षा कारवाहीमा वा अन्य बन्दोवस्ती कारवाहीमा के कति जना मृत्यु वा घाइते भए, Force Protection गर्दागर्दै भएका हुन वा Negligence बाट भएका हुन, मूल्याङ्कन गर्ने ।

(छ) निजको कार्यकालमा खास विशेष उपलब्धी के के भए ? जस्तै: कति हतियार बरामद भए, कति मिलिसिया पक्राउ गरी स्थानीय प्रशासनलाई बुझाईए वा कति जना मिलिसियाहरू पक्राउ पश्चात् भाग्न सफल भई नेपाली सेनाको बदनाम भयो, सो को मूल्याङ्कन गर्ने ।

(ज) कमाण्डरले के कस्ता कल्याणकारी कार्यहरू गरे ? जस्तै: के कति मात्रामा आर्जित व्याज वितरण भयो, मनोरञ्जन भत्ता, पानी भत्ता, आदी सबै वितरण भयो कि भएन ? राशन, एफ.ओ.एल. वा आर्थिक हिनामिना (भ्रष्टाचार) भयो कि भएन ? मूल्याङ्कन गर्ने ।

(झ) कमाण्डरले मिशन इलाकामा अन्य Contingentले भन्दा असाधारण वा प्रशंसनीय कार्य गरी राष्ट्र र नेपाली सेनाको नाम, मान सम्मान उजागर गर्न सफल भए कि भएनन् ? वा साधारण Routine कार्यहरू मात्र गरेर स्वदेश फिर्ता भए, मूल्याङ्कन गर्ने ।

नेपालको संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनाको सहभागीतामा विस्तार गर्ने (Enhancing and Expanding the United Nations Peacekeeping Capabilities) सम्बन्धी सुझावहरू

१९. संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनामा कार्यरत भई संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ, नेपाल र नेपाली सेनाको मान सम्मान र छवी उच्च राख्नको लागि नेपाल, नेपाली सेना, Contingent कमाण्डर तथा फौजहरूको लागि निम्न सुझावहरू प्रस्ताव गरीन्छः-

(क) **राष्ट्रिय कटिबद्धता हुनु पर्ने** नेपाली सेनाले विगत ५० वर्षदेखि संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनामा कार्यरत रही नेपाल राष्ट्रलाई विश्व समुदायमा राम्रो परिचय दिन सफल भएको छ । यस कार्यबाट नेपाल, नेपाली सेना र सहभागी सैनिकहरूको पेशागत तथा आर्थिक लाभ हासिल गर्न समेत सुवर्ण अवसर मिलेको छ । नेपाल जस्तो सानो राष्ट्र (Small State) को लागि संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनामा सहभागी हुन पाउनु परोक्ष रूपमा राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा (National Security) लाई मद्दत पुऱ्याउनु हो । तसर्थ, राष्ट्रको सम्पूर्ण संयन्त्रले राष्ट्रिय स्तरबाटै संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनामा सहभागी हुन कटिबद्ध हुनु पर्दछ । नेपालले संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनामा सहभागी हुनको लागि वर्तमान New World Order मा Peace Enforcement र Robust Nature को म्याण्डेट तथा Self Sustained Basis मा सहभागी हुन हरदम तयार रही अन्य Troops Contributing Countries (TCCs) संग प्रतिस्पर्धा गर्न सक्षम र सफल हुनु पर्दछ ।

(ख) **संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनाको सहभागितालाई Foreign Policy को अंग मान्ने** नेपाल जस्तो सिमित श्रोत साधन र भूपरिवेष्टित सानो राष्ट्रले वाह्य र आन्तरिक क्षेत्रबाट हुन सक्ने चुनौतिहरूलाई प्रभावकारी रूपमा Counter गर्न विभिन्न अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय तथा क्षेत्रिय संस्था तथा सन्धीहरूमा सहभागी हुनु पर्दछ । नेपालले संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनामा सहभागी हुने कार्यलाई परराष्ट्र नीतिको अभिन्न अंगको रूपमा अवलम्बन गरी नेपालको शान्ति सेना सहभागितालाई राष्ट्रिय स्तरबाट नै प्राथमिकताका साथ विस्तार गर्नु पर्दछ ।

(ग) **नेपाल संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ, सुरक्षा परिषदको अस्थायी सदस्य बन्ने** संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघको सुरक्षा परिषद (Security Council) मा P5 राष्ट्रहरूबाट निर्मित ५ स्थायी सदस्यहरू रहेका हुन्छन् । त्यसैगरी Security Council मा अन्य १० राष्ट्रहरू अस्थायी सदस्यको रूपमा हरेक २/२ वर्षमा निर्वाचित हुने गर्दछन् । विश्वका द्वन्द्वग्रस्त राष्ट्रहरूमा शान्ति सैनिक खटाउने कार्यमा सुरक्षा परिषदको मुख्य हात रहेको हुन्छ (Veto प्रयोग भएका General Assembly ले पनि शान्ति सेना तैनाथ गर्न सक्छ) । नेपाल सुरक्षा परिषदको अस्थायी सदस्यमा निर्वाचित भएमा नेपाल (नेपाली सेना, नेपाल प्रहरी र शसस्त्र प्रहरी बल तथा नेपाली नागरीक) लाई संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनामा सहभागी गराउन ठोस मद्दत मिल्ने देखिन्छ । तसर्थ, नेपालले सुरक्षा परिषदको सदस्य बन्न हरदम प्रयास गर्न आवश्यक देखिन्छ ।

(घ) **United Nations, Department of Peacekeeping Operations वा अन्य अंगहरूमा नेपाली सेनाका उच्च ओहोदाका रथीवृन्दहरूको सहभागिता हून् पर्ने** हालसम्म नेपाली सेनाबाट संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनाको फिल्ड मिशनमा Force Commander - ४ जना र United Nations Secretary General को Deputy Military Adviser मा १ जना जेष्ठ रथीवृन्दहरू नियुक्त भई सफलतापूर्वक कार्य सम्पादन गरीसकेका छन् । यी नियुक्तिहरूबाट नेपालको शान्ति सेना सहभागितामा केही हदसम्म पहुँच बढेको महसुस भएको छ । हाम्रो सहभागितालाई विस्तार गर्नको लागि United Nations, Department of Peacekeeping Operations वा UN HQ का अन्य अंगहरूमा नेपाली सेनाका उच्च ओहोदाका रथीवृन्दहरूलाई सक्षमता (Professional Competence) को आधारमा निरन्तर रूपमा सहभागीता गराईएमा UN HQ मा हाम्रो पहुँच बढ्न गई संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनामा बढी अवसरहरू पाउने देखिन्छ । तसर्थ, नेपालको नेतृत्व तह, परराष्ट्र मन्त्रालय र संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघको लागि नेपालको स्थायी नियोगले विशेष पहल गर्नु पर्ने देखिन्छ ।

(ङ) **नेपालको स्थायी नियोग, न्युयोर्कले निरन्तर लवीड गर्ने** संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघका लागि नेपालको स्थायी नियोगले संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनामा नेपालको सहभागितालाई विस्तार गर्न उल्लेखनिय योगदान दिइरहेको छ । वर्तमान New World Order मा विश्वका विभिन्न द्वन्द्वग्रस्त मुलुकहरूमा दीर्घकालीन शान्ति र सुरक्षाको लागि संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघले UN Peacekeepers को Demand गर्न सक्ने संभावनालाई पूर्वानुमान (Anticipate) गरी नेपालको स्थायी नियोगले संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघमा निरन्तर लवीड गरी नेपालको शान्ति सेना सहभागितालाई विस्तार गर्न प्रयत्नरत रहनु पर्दछ । नेपालले सन् १९५८ देखि नै संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनामा कार्यरत रही विश्व शान्ति कार्यमा असाधारण (जस्तै कङ्गो-MONUC) दक्षता प्रदर्शन गरिरहेकोले स्थायी नियोगलाई संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघको सम्बन्धित कार्यालयमा लवीड गर्नको लागि प्रशस्त Justifications प्राप्त हुने देखिन्छ ।

(च) **National Representation को प्रतिवेदन लिने** संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघमा नेपाली सेनाको उपस्थिति सम्मानजनक भए पनि गैरसैनिक नेपालीहरूको प्रतिनिधित्व अन्यन्तै कम रहेको देखिन्छ । तसर्थ, नेपालको स्थायी नियोग, न्युयोर्कले निरन्तर रूपमा संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघलाई नेपालको सैनिक र गैर सैनिक प्रतिनिधित्वलाई अन्य राष्ट्र सरह समान अवसर दिन र निरन्तर रूपमा नेपालको National Representation तथ्याङ्कलाई Update गर्न अनुरोध गर्नु पर्ने देखिन्छ ।

(छ) **स्टयाण्ड बाई फौज (Stand-by Arrangement) को व्यवस्था गर्ने** दक्षिण एशिया, दक्षिण पूर्वी एशिया र अफ्रिका महादेशका केही राष्ट्रहरूले संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनामा सहभागी हुन तीब्र प्रतिस्पर्धा गरीरहेका छन्, जस्तै: बंगलादेश, पाकिस्तान, भारत, ईण्डोनेशिया, घाना, नाईजेरिया आदि । संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघले वर्तमान विश्वमा सिर्जना भएका द्वन्द्वलाई Traditional Peacekeeping मार्फत समाधान

गर्न कम प्रभावकारी भएको महशुस गरीसकेको छ । तसर्थ, संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघले अधिकांश रूपमा Robust Posture को Self Sustained Force लाई Peace Enforcement Role (वा अन्य Mandate) मा तैनाथ गर्न प्रयास गरेको देखिन्छ । नेपाली सेनालाई यस प्रकारका मिशनमा सक्षमतापूर्वक सहभागी गराउन संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघले फौज माग गर्नु पूर्व नै नेपालले Robust Posture को Fully Equipped Self Sustained Force लाई Peace Enforcement Role वा अन्य Mandate को लागि Stand By मा राख्ने र फौज माग हुनासाथ मिशनमा तैनाथ गर्न सक्ने गरी तयारी हालतमा रहनु पर्ने देखिन्छ, अन्यथा हामीलाई प्राप्त हुने सुवर्ण अवसर अन्य TCCs ले हात पार्न सक्ने छन् ।

(ज) **Inter-operability** र **Common Standard** हासिल गर्ने कतिपय संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनामा तैनाथ हुने बहुराष्ट्रिय सेनाबीच Inter-operability र Common Standard नहुनाले मिशन सफलतामा समस्या परिरहेको देखिएको छ । नेपाली सेनाको पेशागत दक्षता अत्यन्तै उच्च स्तरको छ । तर विगतको मिशनहरूमा नेपाली सेनासंग Peace Enforcement Role का लागि उपयुक्त Mechanized तथा Engineering Capability को अभावमा अन्य राष्ट्रहरूका सेनाहरूसंग प्रतिस्पर्धा गर्न केही कठिन हुन गएको महसुस भएकोले भविष्यमा खटिने मिशनहरूको लागि अन्य TCCs संग Inter-operable र Common Standard को फौज तयार गर्नु नेपाल र नेपाली सेनाको दूरदर्शिता र प्रमुख दायित्व हुनेछ ।

(झ) **वीरेन्द्र शान्ति कार्य तालिम केन्द्रलाई South Asian Regional Peacekeeping Training Center** मा विस्तार गर्ने नेपाली सेनाले यस तालिम केन्द्रमा संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सैनिकहरूलाई मिशन सम्बन्धी Pre-deployment तालिम दिदै आईरहेको छ । यस केन्द्रले समय समयमा मित्रराष्ट्रका सेनाहरूलाई समेत शान्ति सेना सम्बन्धी तालिम प्रदान गर्दै आईरहेको छ । मित्र राष्ट्र अमेरिका, क्यानडा तथा युरोपेली राष्ट्रका सेनाहरूसमेत शान्ति सेना सम्बन्धी क्षेत्रीय तालिम केन्द्रहरू संचालन भइरहेको तर दक्षिण एशियामा क्षेत्रीयस्तरको तालिम केन्द्रहरू नभएकोले नेपाली सेनाले आधा शताब्दी अघिदेखि संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनामा कार्यरत रही शान्ति स्थापना कार्यमा अनुभवी, परिपक्व तथा सक्षम भएको कारणले वीरेन्द्र शान्ति कार्य तालिम केन्द्रलाई दक्षिण एशियाली क्षेत्रीय शान्ति सेना तालिम केन्द्रमा विस्तार गर्न नेपाल सरकारकै तर्फबाट तत्कालै (ठिला गरिएमा अन्य राष्ट्रहरूले प्रयास गर्न सक्ने छन्) पहल गर्नु पर्ने देखिन्छ । क्षेत्रीय शान्ति सेना तालिम केन्द्र निर्माण भएपछि यस केन्द्रलाई **Peacekeeping Training Center of Excellence** मा विस्तार गरी शान्ति सेना सम्बन्धी संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघका अधिकारी तथा विभिन्न मित्रराष्ट्रहरूका शान्ति सैनिकहरूलाई तालिम दिन र नेपाली सेनाका सक्षम अधिकृतहरूलाई संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ तथा विदेशी शान्ति सेना तालिम केन्द्रहरूमा शिक्षकको रूपमा खटाउन सकिनेमा क्षेत्रीय र अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय जगतमा समेत नेपाल र नेपाली सेनाको गरीमा अझ विस्तार हुने देखिन्छ ।

(ञ) **संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ तथा मित्रराष्ट्रहरूबाट सहयोग जुटाउने** नेपालको संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेना इज्जतपूर्वक सहभागी भएको ५० वर्ष बितिसकेको छ । नेपालले विश्व शान्ति तथा सुरक्षा (World Peace and Security) कार्यमा कार्यरत रही धेरै वीर सपुतहरूलाई बलिदान गरी विश्व शान्तिमा प्रशस्त देन दिएको हुंदा UN Peacekeeping Capability मा विस्तार गर्न संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ र विभिन्न मित्रराष्ट्रहरूबाट नैतिक तथा भौतिक सहयोगको अपेक्षा गर्न हिचकिचाउन पर्ने देखिदैन । तसर्थ, नेपालको नेतृत्व तह तथा नेपाल सरकारले नेपालको UN Peacekeeping Capability लाई अझ विस्तार गर्नको लागि संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ तथा मित्रराष्ट्रहरूबाट आवश्यक सहयोग जुटाउन हरदम प्रयत्नशील रहनु पर्दछ ।

(ट) **संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ र नेपालबीच हुने उच्चस्तरीय भ्रमण तथा भेटघाट कार्यलाई निरन्तरता दिने** संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ र नेपाल बीच विगत देखि नै समय समयमा उच्चस्तरीय भ्रमण तथा भेटघाट कार्यक्रमहरू भइरहेका छन् । भविष्यमा पनि यस्ता कार्यक्रमहरूलाई नेपालको तर्फबाट प्रथामिकताको साथ निरन्तरता दिन सकिनेमा नेपालको विश्व शान्तिप्रतिको Commitment अझ उजागर हुन गई नेपालले संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनामा बढी अवसरहरू पाउन सक्ने सम्भावना देखिन्छ ।

(ठ) **संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघमा Contribute गर्नुपर्ने आर्थिक सहयोग समयमै बुझाउने** संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघका हरेक सदस्य राष्ट्रहरूले वार्षिकरूपमा संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघलाई तोकिए बमोजिमको आर्थिक सहयोग बुझाउने गर्दछन् । यसै सन्दर्भमा केही राष्ट्रहरूले विभिन्न कारण देखाई तोकिएको आर्थिक सहयोग समयमा नबुझाउने

गरेको पनि देखिएको छ । तसर्थ, नेपालले आफ्नो भाग अनुसार संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघमा बुझाउनु पर्ने आर्थिक सहयोग समयमै बुझाएमा भुपरिवेष्टित, सानो, कम विकसित तथा निम्न आय श्रोत भएको राष्ट्रले पनि विश्व शान्तिको लागि तोकिएको जिम्मेवारी पूरा गरीरहेको व्यहोरा उजागर हुन गई नेपालको संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनामा अवसरहरू विस्तार हुने सम्भावना देखिन्छ ।

(ड) **नेपालबाट मिशन इलाकाको भ्रमण गर्ने** विगतदेखि नेपालबाट रक्षा मन्त्रालय, जंगी अड्डा तथा केही Selected मिडिया जगतलाई नेपाली सेना कार्यरत रहेको मिशन इलाकामा भ्रमण गराउने व्यवस्था गरिएको छ । यस कार्यमा निकट भविष्यमा विशिष्ट महानुभावहरू (सम्भव भएसम्म सम्माननीय राष्ट्रपति, सम्माननीय प्रधानमन्त्री, परराष्ट्रमन्त्री, अर्थमन्त्री, रक्षामन्त्री, आदि), भविष्यमा कमाण्डमा नियुक्ति हुने गणपति, त्यस मिशन इलाकामा विगतमा कमाण्ड गरेका गणपति, बन्दोवस्ती विशेषज्ञ आदिलाई समेत संलग्न गराई भ्रमण गराउने कार्य भएमा अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय जगतमा सम्पूर्ण नेपाल राष्ट्र नै विश्व शान्ति स्थापना कार्यमा पूर्ण कटिवद्ध रहेको व्यहोरा उजागर गर्ने अवसर मिल्ने देखिन्छ ।

(ढ) **सैनिक उत्पादन क्षमता (Military Production Potential) विस्तार गर्ने** नेपाली सेना राष्ट्रिय एकिकरण अभियानदेखि नै राष्ट्रिय स्वतन्त्रता, सार्वभौमसत्ता, राष्ट्रिय एकता तथा भौगोलिक अखण्डतालाई कायम राख्न सफल भएको छ । त्यसैगरी नेपाली सेनाले संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेना अन्तर्गत विभिन्न मुलुकहरूमा शान्ति स्थापना कार्यमा कार्यरत रही विश्वमा एक अनुशासित, पेशागत दक्ष र प्रभावकारी फौजको रूपमा परिचय दिन सफल भइसकेको छ । नेपाली सेनालाई सुम्पिएको बहुआयामिक जिम्मेवारीहरूलाई पूरा गर्नको लागि अधिकांश रूपमा विदेशबाट आयात गरिएका इक्वीपमेन्ट र उपकरणहरूमा भर पर्नु परेको छ । तसर्थ, नेपाली सेनालाई अझ बढि सक्षम बनाउनको लागि राष्ट्रले नै नेपालको सैनिक उत्पादन क्षमतामा समयानुकूल विस्तार र आधुनिकीकरण (Expansion and Modernization) गरी आत्मनिर्भर बनाउनको लागि प्राथमिकताका साथ नैतिक तथा भौतिक सहयोग उपलब्ध गराउन आवश्यक देखिन्छ, जसले गर्दा नेपालको संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेना सहभागितालाई समेत प्रत्यक्ष रूपमा मद्दत पुग्नेछ ।

(ण) **मानव अधिकार हनन् हुन नदिने** नेपाली सेना देशभित्र र संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनामा कार्यरत रहंदा मानवअधिकार हनन् गर्ने व्यक्तिलाई Zero Tolerance Policy अन्तर्गत दण्डित गरी सच्चा मानवअधिकार संरक्षक (True Protector of Human Rights) को हैसियत प्राप्त गरिसकेको छ । मानवअधिकार संरक्षण र संवर्द्धन गर्न निरन्तर रूपमा नीति निर्देशनहरू प्रवाह भईरहेको छ । तापनि समय समयमा मिशन इलाकामा केही सैनिकहरूबाट मानवअधिकार हनन् तथा अन्य अनुशासनहीन कार्य हुने गर्दछन्, तर यसलाई रोकथाम गर्न कमाण्डरले भरमग्दुर कोशिस गर्नु पर्दछ । यस प्रकारले हनन् हुने वातावरण श्रृजना हुन नदिन कमाण्डरले हरदम प्रयास गर्नु पर्दछ र हनन् भएको खण्डमा कमाण्डरलाई होइन, सम्बन्धित व्यक्तिलाई नै कानून अनुसार कारवाही गरीनु पर्दछ ।

(त) **COE को संख्यात्मक र गुणात्मक वृद्धि गर्ने** संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनामा फौज तैनाथ हुंदा जहिले पनि COE को संख्यात्मक र गुणात्मक स्तर वृद्धि गर्दा बढी Reimbursement प्राप्त भई राष्ट्र र नेपाली सेनालाई बढी आर्थिक लाभ हुने देखिन्छ । सानो भन्दा सानो ईक्वीपमेन्ट वा औजारको समेत MOU मा उल्लेख भएको हुनु पर्दछ । जबसम्म MOU मा मिशन इलाकामा तैनाथ गरीने सामानको नाम उल्लेख हुंदैन तब सम्म Reimbursement प्राप्त गर्न सकिंदैन ।

(थ) **COE Inspection उत्तिर्ण गर्ने** नेपाली सेनाले शान्ति सेनाबाट विभिन्न कल्याणकारी कार्यहरू संचालन गरेको छ । जब मिशनमा तैनाथ भएका ईक्वीपमेन्टहरूलाई COE Inspection मा उत्तिर्ण गराउन सकिंदैन, UN बाट MOU मा उल्लेख भएसरहेको Reimbursement प्राप्त गर्न सकिंदैन । तसर्थ, सम्बन्धित कमाण्डरले मिशन इलाकामा Security Operations सफलतापूर्वक संचालन गरी राष्ट्र र नेपाली सेनाको छवी उच्च राख्न जति प्रयास गर्दछन् त्यति नै मात्रामा COE Inspection सफल गराई Full Reimbursement प्राप्त गर्ने तर्फ प्रयास गर्नु पर्दछ । आंशिक रूपमा COE Inspection उत्तिर्ण गराउने कमाण्डरलाई Accountable बनाउनु पर्दछ । COE Inspection उत्तिर्ण गर्नु मिशन कमाण्डरको एक प्रमुख जिम्मेवारी हो ।

(द) पुराना उजुरीहरूलाई मनोवैज्ञानिक ढंगबाट समाधान गर्ने कुनै पनि कमाण्डरले देश भित्र तथा संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनामा कार्यरत रहँदा आफ्नो राष्ट्र र सेनाको मान सम्मान उच्च राख्न सदैव प्रयत्नशील रहन्छ । यसको लागि मातहतका सकल दर्जाबाट आफ्नो देश र सेनाको बदनाम हुने कुनै पनि मानवअधिकार हनन् तथा अनुशासनहीन कार्य नहुनको लागि हरेक कमाण्डरले यथेष्ट उपायहरू अपनाएको हुन्छ, तापनि दुर्भाग्यवस केही घटनाहरू घटेका हुन्छन् । त्यस्ता घटनाहरूको विषयमा मिशन इलाकामा नै रहँदा रिपोर्ट भएमा कमाण्डरले सम्बन्धितलाई कारवाही गर्ने पर्दछ । तर पुरानो Contingent संग सम्बन्धित कतिपय उजुरीहरू नयां Contingent मा प्रतिवेदन हुने र नयां कमाण्डरले मेरो Contingent संग सम्बन्धित घटना नभएकोले उक्त घटनालाई मनोवैज्ञानिक ढंगबाट समाधान गर्न प्रयास नगरी जंगी अड्डामा जानकारी गराई जिम्मेवारी पन्छ्याउने प्रवृत्ति रहेको देखिन्छ । तसर्थ, नयां कमाण्डरले उक्त घटनाहरू पुरानो Contingent ले जानेर/नजानेर गरेको हो, यो उजुरी हाम्रो राष्ट्र र सेना प्रति लक्षित छ, यसलाई समाधान गर्नु मेरो जिम्मेवारी हो भन्ने धारणाले वर्तमान कमाण्डरले मनोवैज्ञानिक ढंगबाट समाधान गर्न प्रयास गर्नु पर्दछ ।

(ध) Repatriation गर्दैमा कमाण्डरको जिम्मेवारी पूरा नहुने कुनै पनि मानवअधिकार हनन् वा अनुशासनहीन कार्य भएमा सम्बन्धित व्यक्तिलाई कारवाहीको लागि Repatriation गर्दैमा हाम्रो राष्ट्र, सेना र कमाण्डर उजुरीमुक्त हुन सक्दैन । तसर्थ, सम्बन्धित कमाण्डरले Repatriation गर्नु पर्ने वातावरण श्रृजना हुन नदिने तर्फ सबै उपायहरू अपनाउनु पर्दछ ।

(न) **Strong Vetting / Screening Procedure अपनाउने** नेपाली सेनाले मानवअधिकार हनन् गर्ने व्यक्तिलाई संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनामा नपठाउने नीति लागु गरीसकेको छ । मानव अधिकार हनन् गर्ने कुनै व्यक्ति शान्ति सेनामा तैनाथ भएपश्चात् UN लाई जानकारी भएमा राष्ट्र र सेनाको ठूलो बदनाम भई भविष्यका मिशनहरूमा सहभागी हुन समेत प्रश्न चिन्ह खडा हुनेछ । तसर्थ, सम्बन्धित कमाण्डरले छनौट प्रक्रियामा कडा Vetting Procedure र मिशन कमाण्डरले Pre-deployment तालिममा कडा Screening Procedure अपनाउनु पर्दछ ।

(प) **समयमै UN BOI प्राप्त हुनु पर्ने** मिशन इलाकामा कसैले मानवअधिकार हनन् वा अन्य अनुशासनहीन कार्य गरेको खण्डमा Sector HQ / Force HQ बाट Board of Inquiry (BOI) गर्ने कार्य हुनेछ । उक्त BOI लाई Force HQ को सम्बन्धित निकायले अध्ययन गरी आवश्यक सुझाव सहित DPKO, UN HQ मा पठाउंछ, DPKO ले नेपालको स्थायी नियोग, न्यूयोर्क र स्थायी नियोगबाट परराष्ट्र मन्त्रालय, रक्षा मन्त्रालय, शान्ति सेना संचालन निर्देशनालय हुँदै सेना प्राड विवाकमा आई पुग्दा करिब १०-१२ महिना लागेको देखिन्छ । जब BOI सेना प्राड विवाकमा आइपुग्छ, सम्बन्धित व्यक्ति नेपालमा आएर सजाय पाउने डरले जागिर छोड्ने वा भगएर भइसकेको हुन सक्दछ । जसले गर्दा नेपाली सेनाले सम्बन्धित दोषीलाई कारवाही गर्न सक्ने अवस्था देखिँदैन र सोही अनुसार DPKO, UN HQ मा सम्बन्धित व्यक्तिले जागिर छोडेको वा भगएर भई कारवाही गर्न नसकिएको भनि जवाफ दिँदा नेपाली सेनाले समयमै सम्बन्धितलाई कारवाही नगरी दण्डहीनताको अवस्थालाई कायमै राखेको भन्ने उजुरी आउने गरेकोले शान्ति सेना संचालन निर्देशनालयबाट DPKO, UN HQ लाई नेपाली सेनासंग सम्बन्धित BOI समयमै उपलब्ध गराउन अनुरोध गर्नु पर्ने देखिन्छ ।

(फ) **Contingent ले गरेको कार्यलाई उजागर गर्ने** मिशन कमाण्डरले मिशन इलाकामा फौजको सुरक्षा (Force Protection) लाई ध्यानमा राख्दै राष्ट्र र सेनाको नाम उजागर गर्न निरन्तर Security Operations संचालन गरेको हुन्छ, तर कागज (Documents) मा प्रस्तुत गर्न सकिरहेको देखिँदैन । जबसम्म कागजद्वारा हाम्रो कार्य दक्षता प्रस्तुत हुँदैन, हाम्रो कार्य UN HQ को नजरमा ओभेलमा परिरहेको हुन्छ । तसर्थ, सबै कमाण्डरहरूले मिशन इलाकामा हामीले गरेका कार्यहरूलाई बलियो रूपमा कागजमा प्रस्तुत गर्नु पर्दछ ।

(ब) **Initiative लिएर कार्य गर्ने** हरेक कमाण्डरले मिशन इलाकामा Security Operations को अतिरिक्त पहिले नै Initiative लिएर Heart and Mind Winning Operations हरू संचालन गरी अन्य राष्ट्रका Contingents ले भन्दा छुट्टै पहिचान कायम गर्न सक्नु पर्दछ ।

(भ) **Civil-Military Cooperation कायम राख्ने** कतिपय राष्ट्रका Contingents को मिशन इलाकामा UN Civilian Components संग मनमुटाव हुन गई सम्बन्ध विग्रको देखिने गरेको हुंदा नेपाली सेनाका मिशन कमाण्डरहरूले Civilian Components संग मिलेर (डराउने होईन) काम गरेमा मिशन सम्पन्न गर्न सजिलो हुने र अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय जगतमा राष्ट्रकै Projection राम्रो हुने देखिन्छ ।

(म) **बलियो रूपमा प्रस्तुत गर्ने** मिशन इलाकामा निरन्तर रूपमा हुने उच्चस्तरीय मिटिङ तथा अन्तरक्रिया कार्यक्रममा मिशन कमाण्डरले आफ्नो राष्ट्र र तैनाथी फौजको Professionalism र कार्य दक्षतालाई बलियो रूपमा प्रस्तुत गर्न र सोही अनुसार आफ्नो फौजलाई On the Job Training दिलाउन सक्नु पर्दछ ।

(य) **अन्य AOR मा तैनाथ गर्ने सम्बन्धमा** कुनै पनि मिशनमा फौज खटाउने निर्णय भएपछि नेपाली सेना/नेपाल सरकार तथा UN HQ बीच MOU मा दस्तखत गर्ने गरीन्छ । मिशन इलाकामा फौज तैनाथ भएपछि परिस्थितिअनुसार तोकिएको AOR भन्दा अन्य Contingents को AOR मा समेत तैनाथ हुनु पर्ने अवस्था आउन सक्दछ । तसर्थ, फौजलाई आफ्नो AOR बाहेक अन्य AOR मा तैनाथ गर्न मिल्ने वा नमिल्ने स्पष्ट किटान गरी MOU दस्तखत भएमा मिशन कमाण्डरलाई Split Second Decision दिन सजिलो हुनेछ ।

संक्षेप

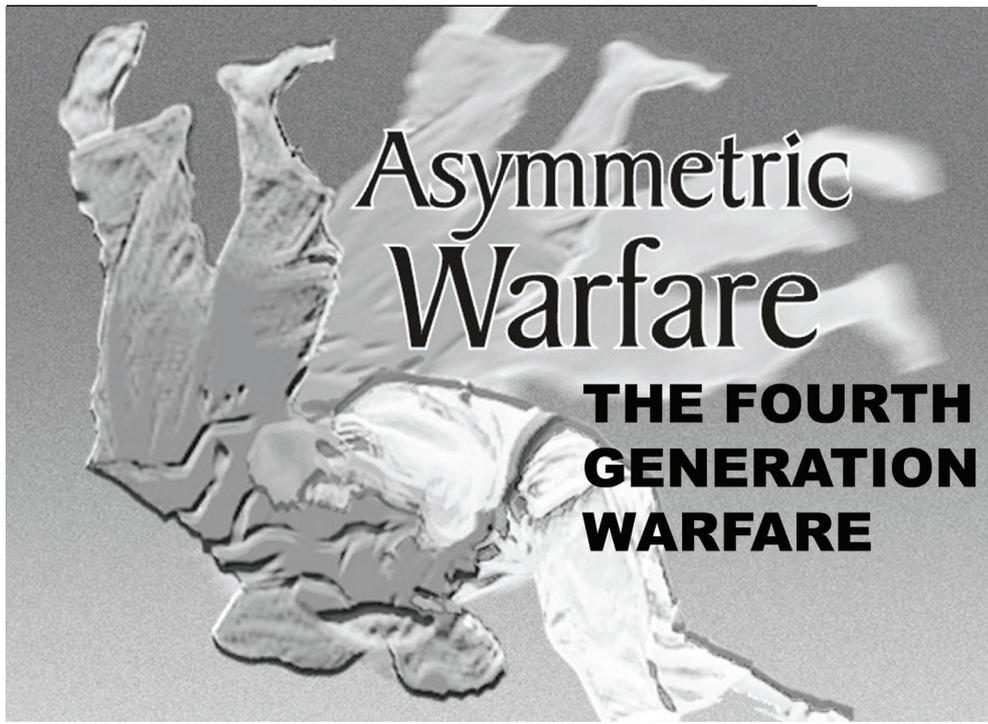
२०. श्री फष्ट रैफल गण (शा.से.) पहिलो डफ्फा, कङ्गो मिति २०६०।०७।६ गते देखि २०६१।०५।०५ गतेसम्म करिब १० महिनासम्म कङ्गोमा तैनाथ रही संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ, राष्ट्र र नेपाली सेनाको नाम उजागर गर्न हरदम प्रयत्नशील रह्यो । यस गणले जंगी अड्डाको सहयोग, कमाण्डरको पहलता तथा फौजको पेशागत दक्षताले गर्दा सबै Security Operations र Heart and Mind Winning Operations सफलतापूर्वक सम्पन्न गर्न सफल भएको थियो ।

२१. नेपाली सेना संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनामा विगत ५० वर्ष देखि कार्यरत रही अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय जगतमा नेपाललाई इज्जतपूर्वक प्रतिनिधित्व गर्दै आइरहेको छ । वर्तमान New World Order मा संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनामा सहभागी हुन हरेक TCCs बीच तीव्र प्रतिस्पर्धा भइरहेको अवस्थामा संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघको बहुआयामिक र बहुउद्देश्यीय जिम्मेवारीलाई वहन गर्न सक्षम बनाउनको लागि राष्ट्रले नेपाली सेनालाई अझै बलियो, पेशागत सक्षम र प्रभावकारी फौज निर्माणको निमित्त यथेष्ट भौतिक तथा नैतिक सहयोग उपलब्ध गराई हाम्रो सहभागीतालाई विस्तारित गर्नु पर्दछ ।

२२. नेपालले संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनामा सहभागी हुने कार्यलाई नेपालकै परराष्ट्र नीतिको अंग सम्भेर निरन्तर विस्तारित गरेमा समग्र राष्ट्रलाई नै दीर्घकालिन रूपमा फाईदा हुने देखिन्छ ।

भाग्नु कायरता हो, छोड्ने, त्याग्ने काम भागेर हुँदैन,
छोड्ने र त्याग्ने काम जाँगर वा भित्री चेतनाले मात्रै सम्भव हुन्छ ।

- गोरखवाणी



**Brig Gen
Pawan B Pandé**

"The first, the supreme, the most far-reaching act of judgment that the statesman and commander have to make is to establish . . . the kind of war on which they are embarking; neither mistaking it for, nor trying to turn it into something that is alien to its nature."..... Carl von Clausewitz, On War.

Introduction

Asymmetry in warfare can, at a very basic level, be defined as a conflict between forces whose military resources and capabilities are incongruous; the strong versus the weak. The base concept of a weaker adversary using unconventional means, stratagems, or niche capabilities to overcome a stronger power remains pertinent. The biblical story of David and Goliath, in which David slew Goliath with "five smooth stones" hurled from a sling is often cited as the inspiration for the triumph of the weak and the oppressed over the strong and the mighty. David's victory also symbolized the triumph of the advanced against the old and outdated; his superior planning coupled with knowledge and skill, defeated Goliath who depended on overt force, intimidation, and heavy weapons. Between 1800 and 1999, the percentage of conflict victories won by the weaker combatant has risen from 11 percent between 1800 and 1849 to 51.2 per cent between 1950 and 1999.

Armies geared for conventional combat have a difficulty with unconventional warfare. The latter requires a wholly new mindset. What really differentiates asymmetry warfare from other types of warfare is not the equipment or tactics, but the identity and motivations of the people who fight it. As Carl Von Clausewitz would say, in his trinity, the relationship that exists in any nation state between the government, the armed forces and the people is paramount.

The purpose of this paper is to explain the modern trends of asymmetry warfare now popularly coined as the Fourth Generation war and present the reader with a lucid and simplified explanation on a very complicated subject. It is not country or region focused but is very generalized in its approach.

Historical back ground

The fact that the root of Fourth Generation war is a political, social and moral phenomenon, parallel to the decline of the state, means that there can be no purely military solution to Fourth Generation threats. Before delving into the issues of asymmetric warfare let us recast the evolution of warfare from the first to the fourth, some even point out that fifth generation warfare is just around the corner. These generational divisions for warfare are equaled valid for all nations at different points

in their history. The evolution of a new generation does not mean that any of the older generations go away. Some societies lack the economic, political and social structures necessary to employ the new generations of war and will therefore continue to employ previous generation warfare tactics.

The First Generation warfare is between states, where battles were fought in orderly lines and columns. The technical development of muskets, machineguns and barbed wire made line and column tactics suicidal, 1GW culminated in the massed-manpower armies of the Napoleonic era.

The second generation warfare was developed by the French Army during World War I to reestablish order on a disorderly battlefield. This firepower/attrition warfare relied on centrally-controlled indirect artillery fire, carefully synchronized with infantry, cavalry and aviation, to destroy the enemy. "The artillery conquers, the infantry occupies"

Third Generation War, also called Maneuver Warfare, has its roots in the German Army also in the First World War. Instead of trying to restore order through endless staff work and centralization, the German Army used chaos by relying on speed and tempo. Decentralizing and focusing on the enemy rather than terrain and valuing initiative more than obedience were central characteristics of maneuver warfare.

Fourth generation warfare uses all the shifts from a mechanical to an information/electronic society to maximize the power of insurgency. It continues to evolve along with our society as a whole, thus making 4GW increasingly dangerous and difficult to deal with. Warfare evolves from society as a whole – not just from the technology. How a nation fights is based on its political, economic, social and technical status and that of its enemies.

UNDERSTANDING FOURTH GENERATION WAR

The Fourth generation warfare is important because no one really comprehends it and that it is still evolving, which means our understanding of 4GW will also continue to evolve. The three classical levels of war—strategic, operational and tactical—still exist in Fourth Generation warfare but must be co-related to three new important levels being the physical, mental and moral. The physical level—killing people and breaking things—is the least powerful, the moral level is the most powerful and the mental level lies between the other two. Using their overwhelming firepower at the tactical level, insurgents, primary components of 4GW, intimidate the local population; if they are hostile, the local population works towards the states strategic defeat. The British troops in Northern Ireland, were not allowed to return fire unless they are taking casualties. The Israeli military historian, Martin van Creveld, argues that one reason the British did not loose in Northern Ireland is that they took more casualties than they have inflicted.

In Fourth Generation warfare adversaries will mostly be irregular troops. They can fight an endless war of mines and ambushes, because irregulars operate within the population and are usually drawn from it, they can solicit popular support or, if unsuccessful, compel popular submission. Light infantry is the best counter to irregulars. Fourth Generation opponents' strategic centers of gravity are intangible. Because operational art is the art of focusing tactical actions on enemy strategic centers of gravity, it becomes difficult or even impossible to operate effectively in such situations. A Fourth Generation conflict will usually have many different independent power centers not only at the grand strategic level but down all the way to the tactical level. The game of connection and isolation will be central to tactics and operational art as well as to strategy and grand strategy. Terrain can be used as a force multiplier by weaker force and as a force inhibitor against the stronger forces. For examples of asymmetric war, Fourth generation war, one need only look to the war between the Mujahadeen

and the Red Army during Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Another example is the multi-national presence of Al-Qaida, accused of carrying out the September 11, 2001 attacks in the United States and numerous other attacks around the globe. At its very core Fourth Generation war requires out of box thinking for action, prevention and containment.

Fundamentals of Asymmetric warfare

A key to success is creative thinking coupled with the concealed use of force as well as money as weapons. Money is a powerful motivator, especially in the poorer parts of the world where most Fourth Generation conflicts occur. Another major change is the fact that insurgencies are becoming self sustaining through a combination of fundraising locally and internationally, charity organizations, legitimate businesses and criminal enterprises, as was the case with the LTTTE. In the past, most insurgents depended on one or two major outside sponsors that could be subject to diplomatic or economic pressure. The combination of this self funding capability and the ability to move funds outside official banking channels makes it increasingly difficult to attack insurgent finances.

Intelligence is fundamentally different and Fourth Generation war needs a different approach from that of conventional warfare intelligence; it must start bottom up. It's likely that locally gathered information will be the most current and have the most relevant impact on operational efforts. Media is a double edge weapon, and every effort must be made to win the media war. This shift from Mao's three-phased insurgency to a strategic communications campaign has been developing since Ho Chi Minh's successful effort at breaking America's political will over Vietnam.

The rise of networked coalitions is in keeping with the fact that both the societies in conflict and the dominant business organizations of our time are networks. Like society as a whole, irregulars/armed groups have become networked, transnational, and even trans-dimensional. The armed groups generally fall into three categories: they can be reactionary, opportunistic, and/or founded to further ideological objectives. Kautilya, the Indian political genius, warned of the four threats that can beset any nation. First, an external threat externally abetted; second, an external threat internally abetted; third, an internal threat externally abetted; and fourth, an internal threat internally abetted. Of these the fourth, an internal threat internally abetted is most dangerous. If faced with the challenge of all, the last should be the first to be tackled. Prophetic words indeed!

Chinese military thinkers have argued that ones strategy should center less on conventional battles where troop concentrations are susceptible to remote attack, and more on striking enemy information systems, while ensuring Beijing's capacity for information warfare. Anti-satellite weaponry might be one method to level or establish dominance over the information field however it is not the only mechanism. Chinese strategist Chen Hu'an explains, "The operational objectives of the two sides on attack and defense are neither the seizing of territory nor the killing of so many enemies, but rather the paralyzing of the other side's information system and the destruction of the other side's will to resist."

As always, developments in political, economic and social conditions have led to an evolution of warfare. Fourth generation warfare is a competition between human networks. To understand those networks we must understand the pre-existing links as well as the cultural and historical context of each struggle. By mapping the human connections in these networks and then applying both cultural knowledge and network theory to the networks, we can understand them more clearly. We can also apply the common sense observation that most networks grow from pre-existing social networks. The strategy must focus on establishing good governance by strengthening our key nodes

and weakening the enemy's. We must shift the mass of the population to our side. Good governance is founded on the combination of providing effective security for the population and giving them hope for their future. It is not based on killing insurgents/terrorists. To provide that security we must be able to visualize the fight between and within the human networks involved. Only then can we develop and execute a plan to defeat the threat.

Mao wrote his famous—Yu Chi Chan in 1937. Despite the passage of time, many of his basic observations about insurgency remain valid. First and foremost, it is a political not a military struggle. **It is not amenable to a purely military solution without resorting to a high level of brutality.** Another aspect of fourth Generation warfare is the duration. Past insurgencies have been measured in decades not months or years. The Chinese fought for twenty seven years. The Vietnamese fought for thirty years. The Palestinians have been resisting at least since 1968. Even when the counterinsurgent has won, it has taken a long time. The Malaya Emergency required twelve years to resolve. The El Salvadorian insurgency also required twelve years. The Maoist insurgency in our country took 10yrs.

Finally, technology does not provide a decisive advantage. In fact, in the past, the side with the simplest technology often won. It is not the technology that has allowed one side to dominate but rather the human attributes of leadership, cultural understanding, and political judgment. In short, the key factors of insurgency that have not changed are its political nature, its protracted timelines and intensely human aspects of this form of conflict.

Conclusion

The fourth generation warfare dangerous as it is giving way to the fifth generation which will result from the continued shift of political and social loyalties to causes rather than nations. It will be marked by the increasing power of smaller and smaller entities and the explosion of biotechnology. 5GW will truly be a nets-and-jets war: networks will distribute the key information, provide a source for the necessary equipment and material, and constitute a field from which to recruit volunteers; the jets will provide for worldwide, inexpensive, effective dissemination of the weapons.

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Don't ever be the first, don't ever be the last, and don't ever volunteer to do anything.

- US Navy Swabbie

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL AND THE NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY OF NEPAL

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Introduction

This paper attempts to generate and fashion ideas for the formulation of a National Security Policy (NSP) through the National Security Council (NSC) and an appointment of a National Security Advisor (NSA) in the context of unlimited opportunities for Nepal with the access of 601 people's representatives in the Constituent Assembly (CA), security professionals, economists as well as other connoisseur and specialists from all walks of life.

The council as well as the policy created should, and is, being envisaged in the perspective of a surfacing South Asia in the wake of the literally swiftly shifting world order with unrevealed international challenges to peace and security. Nepal should cooperatively and unitedly work out for the wellbeing and the interests of the Nepalese.

Nation states and communities within it, just like individuals, feel insecure when other nations, societies and individuals threaten their very existence, their material and financial assets, and their fundamental values respectively.

Nations, communities and individuals' families feel internally secure when there exists, within its territory, communal harmony and tolerance so that there are safe from social turmoil and violence. They also feel secure when there is an absence of political disruptions with law and order prevailing with clear prospects of trouble free recourse to, and dispensation of justice, by a highly trusted and dependable judiciary.

All states feel threatened may they be continental, sub-continental, land-locked or sea-locked. Nations feel secure when they are protected from external threats, and encroachments from outside unwillingly thrust upon them, to cast aspersions on its territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence. Nations feel secure when they can contribute in the decisions and deliberations collectively. Nations feel secure, too, when they can modernise the social, economic and political institutions to keep pace with the competitive demands of economic and financial globalisation being driven persistently by the unfolding revolutions accompanied by transport, communications, information and science and technology.

This paper, furthermore, analyses the subject against the background of the progression of NSP as a collective thought and seek to build on its achievements by identifying National Interest (NI), National Security (NS) and the likely policy that may be adopted. In doing so, it is more focused on geo-politics rather than geo-economics and indeed, as it should, on geo-psychology that motivates the people of Nepal to want to cooperate.

In achieving all of the above, it is anticipated that this essay will stimulate ideas, and encourage further research, with principles and approaches for the sketch of NSP. It should garner the full participation of the entire political contributor especially the major three parties (UNCPM, NC and UML), the people and the interest groups as partners for the benefit with the strategic mission to attain stability, sustainable peace, prosperous and a democratic Nepal. Given its geopolitical sensitivity and geo-strategic balance, the issue of NS is the most sensitive issue, which is located between two giants and rising global powers China and India

The basic thrust of this paper is also to widen the participation in the NSC. The current council will function as the backbone for the formulation of NSP.

Background

The NSC was established in 27 Falgun 2058 under the clause 118 of the 2047 constitution. The council consisted of all the security agencies chaired by the Secretary, Ministry of Defence (MoD). The initial establishment did frame itself as the National Defence Council and dominated by staffs of the security forces.

The interim constitution guides the PM as the Chairperson, while Defence, Home and three other Ministers representing different political parties. NSC has a secretariat with the Defence Secretary (DS) as the secretary of the council. The PM can appoint an official in the absence of the DS. It is upon the PM to invite any officials as members of the council

The NSC ought to and develop into an advisory body of the PM or the Head of the Government (HoG) on matters relating to NS, foreign policy, development and other threats that may be and is facing the nation. The NSC should be the PM's and the Government's staff forum for advising on NS issues. It must derive its authority from the law and operate on the basis of the PM or the HoG's guidelines.

The NSC is furnished with officials and experts from different security forces. The military heavy council has tried its best to provide information for the betterment of the nations concerning NS. The Nepal for tomorrow must see appropriate agendas being addressed by the modified NSC.

History

The NSC was created as per constitution of 1992 or 2047 BS. It was created because policymakers felt that the security and diplomacy of the State was no longer adequate to contain and inform the HoG in light of the economic and security development and enhancement geopolitically placed between China and India the emerging world powers. The intent was to ensure coordination and concurrence among the National Investing Department (NID), Nepal Police (NP), Armed Police Force (APF), Nepal Army (NA) and other instruments of NS.

National Interest

NI is often a country's aspirations and ambitions whether economic, military, social or cultural. The notion is an important one in international relations where pursuit of the NI is the foundation.

NI of a state is multitalented. Foremost is the State's continued existence and security. Also imperative is the recognition and search of wealth and economic expansion and supremacy. Many states, especially in modern times, regard the preservation of the nation's social, culture and tradition as of great importance for safeguarding your identity.

It is required to have a clear view and discuss and put NI primary, before self-interest. Figuring out what is good for the people of Nepal must direct the country. The national leaders must articulate and express maturity by committing themselves to a dialogue process for identifying NI. It is important to make a few observations that will enable all of us to put everything into perspective and context. There is always the danger of missing the forest for the trees.

In Nepal there must be a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) within the political sphere, which will be an important document, as it will allow the other organisations to begin negotiations on matters affecting our people.

More importantly, there is an unprecedented political stalemate. The process will start in a political settlement to this impasse, thus allowing to collectively fashion a new beginning. Key activities will include addressing NI for the formation of a NSP, which in return will stabilise political, security and economy distinction. The political agreement and the redemptive socio-economic plan we seek to achieve in these negotiations constitute a short-term measure in pursuit of the resolution

of our multi faceted national challenges. This substitute effort is neither the sustainable answer nor the long-term solution to our dire circumstances.

Beside the political agreement and adoption of a collective plan of action, it is time to execute a programme of national healing and rehabilitation to the people. This cannot be done in two years.

What happened in the country in the past 13 years requires to be evaluated but the period has traumatised the citizens. The people have been brutalised and dehumanised. The culture and practice of our country's politics have been taken back in years.

It must be acceptable to feel right to different political ideologies as well as communal groups. It is okay to vote for whomsoever you wish, and yes the will of the people shall be supreme, respected, and sovereign. It is required to agree in the name of the country, and have a constitution that will protect and venerate all of the Nepalese people. A people driven democratic constitution should be the basis of a sustainable solution to the national problems. With this foundational legal framework in place, the journey towards a peaceful, democratic and prosperous Nepal can then begin.

It can then be disagreed and competed on strategies and tactics of achieving that common vision. The envisioning process has to be done as early as possible. The most that can be performed is committing to the concept and principle, while defining the necessary processes. In conclusion, the pursuit of a short-term national unity, socio-economic-political solution to address the long-term issues must be driven by NI.

The concept of the NI today is often associated with political Realists who wish to differentiate their policies from idealistic policies that seek either to inject morality into foreign policy or promote solutions that rely on multilateral institutions, which might weaken the independence of the state. As considerable disagreement exists in every country over what is or is not in NI, the term is as often invoked to justify isolationist and pacifistic policies as to justify interventionist or warlike policies.

Nepal in the perpetual pursuit of protection, preservation and promotion of NI may it be vital or primary interest. The vital interest may be considered as:

- Safeguarding national sovereignty, self-determination and territorial integrity
- Defending the people of Nepal
- Preserve and sustain national unity
- Warrant that Nepali territory not to be used against any country
- Securing the routes for trade as well as transit
- Boost economic growth
- Adhere and commit to democratic values, Human Rights and equal justice
- Conserve and save from harm social, traditional and cultural values

Primary Interests, which may consist of:

- National progress
- National dignity
- Political stability
- Eradication of poverty
- Peace and reconciliation
- Non-alignment and abide by the principal of Panchasheel
- Continuation and contributing to International peace and security
- Environment protection
- Enhance culture and tradition of all the communities

National Security

NS refers to the requirement to maintain the survival of the nation-state through the use of economic, military and political power and the exercise of diplomacy.

Measures taken to ensure NS include:

- Using diplomacy to rally allies and isolate threats
- Marshalling economic power to facilitate or compel cooperation
- Maintaining effective armed forces
- Implementing civil defence and emergency preparedness measures (including anti-terrorism legislation)
- Ensuring the resilience and redundancy of critical infrastructure
- Using intelligence services to detect and defeat or avoid threats and espionage, and to protect classified information
- Using counterintelligence services or secret police to protect the nation from internal threats

It is important to discuss on the aspects of three features, the history of NS, NS and rights as well as freedom and technical aspects to grasp the concern of national security.

Firstly, the relatively new concept of NS was first introduced in the United States after World War II, and has to some degree replaced other concepts that describe the struggle of states to overcome various external and internal threats. The concept of NS became an official guiding principle of foreign policy in the United States when U.S. President Harry S. Truman signed the NS Act of 1947 on July 26, 1947. The majority of the provisions of the Act took effect on 18 September 1947; the day after the Senate confirmed James V. Forrestal as the first Secretary of Defence. Together with its 1949 amendment, this act:

- Created the National Military Establishment, which became known as the Department of Defence when the act was amended in 1949
- Created a separate Department of the Air Force from the existing United States Army Air Forces
- Subordinated the military branches to the new cabinet level position of the Secretary of Defence, and
- Established the National Security Council (NSC), a central place of coordination for NS policy in the Executive Branch, as well as the Central Intelligence Agency, the United States' first peacetime intelligence agency.

During the Cold War's bipolar system, states were relying on the two superpowers to guarantee their NS. But any system is not everlasting. Communism collapsed and sovereign states emerged without a guarantor. States had to build a nation, maintain NS and rely on themselves.

Subsequently, terrorist incidents around the world, NS have had to become a paramount concern for most of the governments and societies.

Secondly, although NS measures are imposed to protect society as a whole, such measures will necessarily tend to restrict the rights and freedoms of all individuals in society. The concern is that where the exercise of NS laws and powers is not subject to good governance, the rule of law, and strict checks and balances, there is a risk that NS may simply serve as a pretext for suppressing unfavourable political and social views.

Therefore there are two main questions that arise:

- To what extent, for the sake of NS, should individual rights and freedoms be restricted?
- Can the restriction of civil rights for the sake of NS be justified?

Finally, because of the highly competitive nature of nation states, NS for countries with significant resources and value is based largely on technical measures and operational processes. The NS apparatus depends largely on combinations of management practices, technical capabilities, the projection of images both internally and externally, and the capacity to gain enough of the will of the people to gather taxes and spend them on useful efforts. Increasingly the world is replacing

transportation with communication and thus the ability to communicate effectively and convey messages in the information environment is critical to national security for all the nations.

Additionally, given the dynamics of interconnectedness and interdependency in the globalised world, it goes beyond the capacity of individual states to realise security unilaterally. Thus, cooperation is an indispensable element of Nepal's strategy. Cooperation and coordination amongst all national entities involved in guaranteeing NS is imperative. Also, cooperation with the immediate neighbours (India and China) and with other states through bilateral bonds and through multilateral venues is another crucial aspect of this strategy.

National Security Policy (NSP)

Various attempts at defining NS have been made, although in certain views, there is no universal definition, as it means different things to different countries. A distinction between traditional (and Western-oriented) definitions of NS, broadened definitions and definitions specifically applicable to Third World countries has also developed.

The aim of NSP of Nepal is to enhance the safety of social, economic and political institutions against threats arising from other independent states or within by some interest groups. NSP may be thought of as existing in three forms and on two levels. *Military security policy* is the program of activities designed to minimise or neutralise efforts to weaken or destroy the nation armed forces operating from outside its institutional and territorial confines. *Internal security policy* deals with the threat of subversion the effort to weaken or destroy the nation by forces operating within its territorial and institutional confines. *Situational security policy* is concerned with the threats of erosion resulting from long-term changes in social, economic, demographic and political conditions leading to reduce the relative power of the state. Each of these three forms of policy has an *operating level* and an *institutional level*. Operating policy consists of the immediate means taken to meet the security threat. Institutional policy deals with the manner in which operational policy is formulated and executed.

Defending the state and its people is the principal commitment of any government. However, implementing and ensuring NS demands a national response. Essentially, the Nepali people are the main guarantors of NS. It is, therefore, the ultimate responsibility of every Nepali citizen to actively engage in the realisation of NS.

In real meaning, NSP include the totality of those policies that are unambiguously planned to save from harm and conserve the NI and motivate to accomplish the national objective of preserving and promoting peace and prosperity. This policy recognises Nepal's security needs that have to be addressed in a comprehensive and cooperative manner. As the perspective of security has broadened significantly over the last two decades, this guarantee a NS frame that entails all magnitude of security.

National Security Council (NSC)

The NSC is the HoG's or the PM's principal forum for considering NS, development, eradication of poverty and foreign policy matters with his NSA and cabinet officials. Since the inception, the Council's function has to be to advise and assist the PM on NS and foreign policies. The Council also serves as the HoG's principal arm for coordinating these policies among various government agencies.

As the governments are exercising the current council, it can be seen that the political masters are well aware and are advised to have an effective council that deals not just the security and foreign matters of the state but the development and eradication of poverty. The HoG or the PM chairs the NSC. Its regular attendees (both statutory and non-statutory) are the Deputy PM, Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Finance, Defence, Home and the NSA. The CoAS is the statutory military advisor to the Council, and the Director of National Security Agency is the intelligence advisor. The NSC Co-ordinator is the secretary general to the council. Experts for Economic Policy, legal or the advisors are invited to attend any NSC meeting. The heads of other executive departments and agencies, as well

as other senior officials, are invited to attend meetings of the NSC when and as appropriate.

NSC is also a governmental body specifically designed to assist the HOG in integrating all spheres of NDP. NSC is usually an executive branch governmental body responsible for coordinating policy on NS issues and advising chief executives on matters related to NS. NSC is often headed by a NSA and staffed with senior-level officials from military, diplomatic, intelligence, law enforcement and other governmental bodies. The functions and responsibilities of an NSC at the strategic state-level are different from those of the United Nations Security Council.

The Head of the National Security Staff or the NSA should be directly subordinate to the HoG, and reports directly to the PM on events and issues in the field of NS.

With the formation of a National Security Agency under the NSC, Directorate of Military Intelligence (DMI), NID, intelligence wing of the NP and the APF should be put responsible for the collection and analysis of intelligence, which involves NS. It is also responsible for protecting Nepal government communications and information systems from similar agencies. National Security Agency should be directed to help monitor federal agency networks to protect them against unseen events. National Security Agency should be a key component of the Nepal Intelligence Community, which should be headed by the Director of National Security Agency.

The NID is the intelligence agency of the government of Nepal, administered as part of the Home Ministry. NID should be a co-located agency created to coordinate intelligence activities and co-operation between DMI and National Security Agency and other cryptanalysis agencies. NID work is limited to communications intelligence as well as performs field or human intelligence activities.

The decision process inside the structure has to become less formal, but influence of the Council to become stronger and stronger.

Occasionally a similarly named body, such as "the National Security Committee or Council for National Security", will rule a nation. These bodies are often the result of the establishment or preservation of a military dictatorship (or some other national crisis), do not always have statutory approval, and are usually intended to have transitory or provisional powers.

Mission

- Conducting integrative staff work for the foreign, Finance and security affairs of the Prime Minister and the Government of Nepal.
- As part of this function, the Head of the NSC (National Security Advisor) also serves as an advisor to the PM on national security issues.

Vision

The NSC shall serve as the staff forum for the PM or the Head of the Government and the Government of Nepal, with the aim of promoting

- National security in the most professional manner on the basis of the National Security Council Law and the values represented in Nepal's Constitution and the National Security Act
- Shall serve as a locus for attracting the best minds in the field and shall serve as a professional counsel to the Government Ministers.

Values

- The NSC shall serve the PM and the Government of Nepal.
- Staff work will be based on the principles of integration, innovation, and purposeful.
- Members of the NSC shall be driven by a sense of national calling, shall be persons of integrity, reliability, and responsibility.

Division

The NSC is composed of six divisions and seven sub divisions under Development and Eradication of poverty Division:

- Foreign Policy Division
- Security Policy Division
- Intelligence Division
- Logistic and Human Resources Division
- Progress, Development and Eradication of Poverty Division
 - * *Economic Security*
 - * *Food Security*
 - * *Health Security*
 - * *Environmental Security*
 - * *Personal Security*
 - * *Community Security*
 - * *Political Security*
- Counter -Terrorism and Operational Division

The heads of these divisions are deputies of the Head of the NSCS, each according to his field of expertise, and in addition to them the NSC includes an Economic Advisor, and a Legal Advisor. The separate divisions and the chart of the NSC and the NSCS are shown from Figure 1 to 7.

Mission of the Division

The missions of the divisions should usually be based on the directives of the HoG or the PM, senior Ministers or from within the organisation according to the directives of the Head of the NSC (NSA). The Head of the NSC presents the products of division work, after approval, to the PM and his advisors, and to the senior staff. The divisions work in close collaboration with numerous government ministries, such as the Foreign Ministry, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Industry and Trade, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Public Security and more. In addition, division employees work in collaboration with the security organisations and the intelligence community, as well as with academics and experts in a wide variety of fields.

Function

The functions of the NSC are to be formulated in the National Security Council Law, as follows:

- To centralise the council work of the Government, of the ministerial committee on NS matters, and of any other ministerial committee regarding foreign and security affairs
- To prepare the discussions of the Government and its Committees, to present the alternatives regarding the matters of discussion, in addition to their presentation by the bodies concerned with the matter, the differences between the alternatives and their significance, as assessed by it, as well as its reasoned recommendation for a chosen alternative
- To track the performance of the decisions of the Government and its Committees and to report on their implementation to the PM
- To propose to the PM an agenda and issues for discussion for the Ministerial Committee on NS affairs, and for any other ministerial committee or other ministerial composition on foreign and security affairs, and to recommend the invitation of participants and the echelon of those invited, to their discussions
- To be responsible on the part of the PM, for the inter-organisational and inter-ministerial council work on foreign, development and security matters, to present him with the alternatives in the field, the differences between them and their significance, as assessed by it, and its

recommendation to the PM regarding policy in these matters, as well as to present to the Government as stated, pursuant to the decision of the PM

- To prepare and to present to the ministerial committee on NS affairs, at least once per year, an annual and multi-year evaluation of the diplomatic security situation, as well as to prepare situational assessments regarding issues tangential to them, including opinions and analyses in the various fields of intelligence, as needed and with the approval of the PM; situational assessments as stated, as well as assessments on the part of the security bodies over whom the PM is appointed, the NA, the MoD, the MoFA and the MoH, shall be presented to the PM and shall be discussed in the ministerial committee on NS affairs, at least once per year.
- To prepare the council work for the PM prior to discussions on the defence budget, as well as any other budget section that the MoD, or anyone he has appointed for this, is the supervisor of, in the budget that the Minister (MoFA) is supervisor of, and in the budget of the security bodies over whom the PM is supervisor, including the formulation of alternatives.
- To operate the centre for national crisis management in the PM's Office
- To assess the security concept of the State of Nepal and to propose updates
- To assess security initiatives with importance in the diplomatic – security field and to present its position to the PM, the ministerial committee for NS affairs, or any other body upon which the PM shall decide, including the formulation of alternatives pursuant to reasoned orders of priorities with an over all view, unless the PM shall instruct otherwise
- To carry out any other council role in foreign and security affairs, and in other areas that the PM has determined

The functions of the NSC, as formulated in other government decisions, include responsibility for the counter terrorism division's activities.

Conclusion

Feeling secure both as an individual and as a nation-state in this new age of inter-dependence and instant exposure of daily events throughout the far corners of the globe has got to be a challenging business. Because never before in mankind's history have there been so many nations with so many peoples making daily contacts at the state-to-state and people-to-people levels with attendant vulnerabilities and risks at the global or regional.

Mr. Kumar Rupensinghe, the security analysts, advocates that:

"an understanding of the linkages between politics, modernity, criminality and psychology are essential for creating a new security framework...In a situation of intensive globalization, the revolution of expectations and the feelings of relative deprivation are normally seen as a source of violence"

Combating threats from nuclear and military arms race, energy, water, food and employment insecurity; inequality; democratic deficits, religious fundamentalism, failed governance, political extremism, regional spill over impact from political instability in one state upon another, ethnic cleansing, insurgency, civil war, terrorism, ethno-nationalism, pollution, waste management and global warming remains to be put into operation.

The prosperity of Nepal depends critically on the ability of the political leadership with the assistance of all the tools of the nation to eradicate poverty bring about sustainable peace, respect democratic values and modernise its social order by preserving the culture and tradition putting Nepalese values as centre of gravity for the full benefit of all the vastly diverse peoples.

NS plan must be conceived as matters of NIs equally seek to protect and promote NI. People-to-people cooperation, therefore, is as vital as party-to-party cooperation for comprehensive NSP.

Cooperation for NSP requires that all political and security actors cooperate to advance the country's peace and democratisation by helping each other stabilise their polity and economy to

strengthen law enforcement agencies and to safeguard the rule of law within the nation. It must desist from destabilisation politics through intelligence agencies.

NSP cannot take off unless all political parties agree to expand NI and strategies. The policy can only be possible through cooperation and co-ordination between the political parties and all the actors in the security sphere, otherwise Nepal will face more multi dimensional challenge and threat in the days to come.

It is time that regional politics and economy in the 21st century be cultivated by the intangible political forces that move forward the Nepalese life. We necessitate a genuine channel of communication between all the sectors may it be politicians, military, economists and experts on various aspects.

Even now, internal conflicts continue. The internal dynamics of security, the genesis of the decade-long armed conflict, and the culture of violence that has prevailed indicate that internal ethnic and regional conflict will pose the greatest challenge in the days to come.

The NSC under the PM's undeviating enthusiasm should take the initiative to draft the much needed policy following the comprehensive consultations with the various stakeholders of society and the CA should adopt a new policy safeguarding its national values and identity based on national consensus.

An individual and institution cannot be a symbol of national unity. Therefore, plurality, democracy, cultural, traditional values and people's supremacy will be the basic guidelines for safeguarding national unity, territorial integrity and people's sovereignty.

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बाल अधिकार



प्राड सेनानी रक्षा के.सी.

आजका बालबालिका भोलिका भविष्य हुन, बालबालिका कसैको सम्पत्ति होइन, उनीहरू पनि वयस्क सरह अधिकार राख्ने व्यक्ति हुन साथै बालबालिकाको विकासका लागि विशेष अधिकारहरू आवश्यक हुन्छ भनी पहिचान गराउने उद्देश्यले नै बालअधिकार सम्बन्धी अवधारणाको विकास भएको पाइन्छ । बालबालिकाको वाचन पाउने, विकास गर्न पाउने, संरक्षण पाउने र आफ्नो बारेमा हुने गरिने नीति निर्णय र सामाजिक गतिविधीहरूमा सहभागी हुन पाउने अधिकारको समुच्च स्वरुपलाई नै बालअधिकार भनिन्छ ।^१

बालअधिकार सम्बन्धी अवधारणाको शुरुवात प्रथम विश्व युद्धको सन्दर्भबाट भएको पाइन्छ । युद्धले बालबालिका माथि पारेको असरहरू सबैको सामु ल्याउने उद्देश्यले एक वेलायती महिला फोटोग्राफर एगलाईन्टाइन जेवले युद्धपीडित बालबालिकाको फोटो खिची प्रचार प्रसार गरीन, जुन समयमा वेलायती समाजमा केटीहरूको कुर्कुच्चा देखाउनु समेत अपराध मानिन्थ्यो तसर्थ उनलाई कारावासको सजाय सुनाइयो तर पनि उनले कारावासबाट नै सबै प्रकारका युद्ध महिला तथा बालबालिका विरुद्धका युद्ध हुन भन्ने आवाज उठाउँदै सन् १९२१ मा बालअधिकारको घोषणाको मस्यौदा तयार पारिन साथै सेभ द चिल्ड्रेन फण्ड यु.के. को स्थापनाबाट बाल बचाउ अभियानको शुरुवात गरिन ।^२

सन् १९४८ मा मानवअधिकारको विश्वव्यापी घोषणापत्र लगायत विभिन्न मानवअधिकार सम्बन्धी दस्तावेजहरू जारी भयो तर यसले बाल बालिकाको संरक्षण, सुरक्षाका विषयमा विशेष आवाज उठाउन सकेन तसर्थ समयको परिवर्तन संगै बाल बालिकाको लागि छुट्टै कानूनी व्यवस्थाको महसुस गरी २० नेभेम्बर सन् १९८९ मा संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघको महासभाले बाल अधिकार सम्बन्धी महासन्धी पारित गर्‍यो । यो महासन्धीमा ५४ धारा छन् । यो महासन्धी मुलतः निम्न ४ सिद्धान्तमा आधारित छ जुन यस प्रकार छः

- (१) भेदभाव विरुद्धको अधिकार
- (२) सर्वोत्तम हितको अधिकार
- (३) दीर्घजीवन र विकासको अधिकार
- (४) विचार र भावनाको कदर सम्बन्धी अधिकार

बाल अधिकार सम्बन्धी महासन्धीले बालबालिकाको परिभाषा लगायत बालबालिकाको विविध अधिकारहरू को प्रत्याभुति गरेको छ । अर्को अर्थमा भन्नु पर्दा बालबालिकाको व्यक्तित्व विकासका लागि चाहिने सम्पूर्ण अधिकारलाई समावेश गरेको छ । मुख्यरुपमा सुरक्षित रूपमा जन्मन पाउनु, आवास, स्वास्थ्य, शिक्षा लगायतका आधारभुत आवश्यकताको व्यवस्था हुनु पर्ने, भेदभाव, शोषण, दुर्व्यवहार, अवहेलना, उत्पीडन, हानिकारक तथा जोखिम पुर्ण काम साथै युद्ध संलग्नताबाट संरक्षण पाउनु पर्ने, शारीरिक, मानसिक, नैतिक, सामाजिक विकासका निम्ति आवश्यक पर्ने सुविधा र अवसर पाउने, बाबु आमाको समान माया ममता पाउने वा पारिवारिक वातावरणमा हुर्कन पाउनुपर्ने, बालबालिका सम्बन्धी विषयमा निर्णय लिदा बालबालिकाको विचारको कदर गरिनु पर्ने, संघ संस्था खोल्न पाउने ।^३ त्यसै गरी श्रमिकको रूपमा काम लगाउंदा न्यूनतम उमेर, काम गर्ने समयवधि लगायत आवश्यक शर्तहरू निर्धारण गर्नु पर्ने । कुनै अपराधमा सजाय पाएका बाल बालिकालाई क्रुर कठोर सजाय दिन, नेल हत्कडी लगाउन तथा उमेर पुगेका वन्दीका साथ राख्नु नहुने व्यवस्थाहरू महासन्धीमा समावेश गरिएको छ ।

^१ बाल अधिकार सबैको सरोकार, विनोद कुमार विश्वकर्मा राष्ट्रिय मान अधिकार प्रतिष्ठान, २०६५, पृ. ४३

^२ सशस्त्र द्वन्द्वका समयमा बाल अधिकारको रक्षा र सुरक्षा निकायको भूमिका, मानवअधिकार सञ्चार प्रतिष्ठान नेपाल २०६१, पृ. ८

^३ बाल बालिका शान्ति क्षेत्र हुन, मानवअधिकार, सञ्चार प्रतिष्ठान नेपाल, काठमाडौं २०६०, पृ. ३

त्यसैगरी बालबालिकाको बेचबिखन, बालदेहव्यापार र बालबालिकाको अश्लिल चित्रण सम्बन्धी ऐच्छिक सन्धिपत्र, २००० ले कुनै पनि प्रयोजनको लागि बालबालिकालाई बेचबिखन गर्नु, अश्लिल चित्र निर्माण, वितरण, वा यौन प्रयोजनको लागि आफूसंग राख्नुलाई अपराधको रूपमा परिभाषित गरेको छ भने बाल श्रम शोषणलाई अन्त्य गर्नको लागि अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय श्रम संगठन (ILO) ले १९९९ मा निकृष्ट अवस्थाको बालश्रम सम्बन्धी अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय महासन्धि नं.१८२ पारित गरेको छ ।

भनिन्छ द्वन्द्वको अवस्थामा जहिले सुकै र जुनसुकै किसिमको मुद्दामा जो सुकैले जिते पनि सदैवहार भने बाल बालिका हुन्छ किनकी या त युद्धरत पक्षले बालबालिकालाई प्रयोग गर्दछन या उनीहरूको अभिभावकहरूको मृत्युको कारण अनाथ असहाय बन्न पुग्दछन । जुन तथ्य यस तथ्याकंले समेत पुष्टि गर्दछ कि हरेक वर्ष २ लाख बालबालिका सशस्त्र द्वन्द्वको कारण मर्दछन भने ८ देखि १० हजार बालबालिका बारुदे सुरुङ्गको प्रयोग, ओसार पसार र भण्डारण गर्ने क्रममा मारिन्छन । ६ लाख घाईते हुन्छन भने करिब ३० देशहरूमा ३ लाख बाल बालिका सैन्यको रूपमा प्रयोग गरिएका छन ।^४

तसर्थ बालबालिकालाई सशस्त्र द्वन्द्वको असरबाट बचाउन बालअधिकार महासन्धी र सशस्त्र संघर्षमा बाल बालिकाहरूको संलग्नता सम्बन्धी बाल अधिकार महासन्धिको ऐच्छिक सन्धिपत्रले सशस्त्र द्वन्द्वमा बाल बालिकाको प्रयोगलाई रोक लगाई पुनःस्थापनामा जोड दिएको छ साथै युद्धको दौरान बारुदी सुरुङ्गको विष्फोटनले गर्दा हरेक वर्ष हजारौ मानिस विशेष गरी निर्दोष बाल बालिकाहरूको मृत्यु हुने हुंदा सो कार्यलाई रोकन मानवविरुद्ध परिलक्षित बारुदी सुरुङ्गको प्रयोग, भण्डारण, उत्पादन र ओसार पसारको रोकथाम र विनास सम्बन्धी महासन्धीले अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय कानूनको रूप लिइसकेको छ ।

नेपालमा बाल बालिकाको स्थिति

१४ सेप्टेम्बर १९९० मा बालअधिकार सम्बन्धी महासन्धीलाई नेपालले स्वीकार गरे पश्चात् नेपाल सन्धि ऐन, २०४७ को दफा ९ बमोजिम नेपाल पक्ष भएको कारण महासन्धीको व्यवस्थाहरूलाई आफ्नो कानूनमा समावेश गर्नु राज्यको दायित्व भएको छ किनकी सन्धि ऐन, २०४७ अनुसार महासन्धीका व्यवस्थाहरू नेपाल कानून सरह मान्य हुने कानुनी प्रावधान रहेको छ । सो बमोजिम बालअधिकारको संरक्षण तथा प्रवर्द्धनको लागि नेपालको अन्तरीम संविधान, २०६३ ले बालअधिकारलाई मौलिक हकको रूपमा समेटी बालसंरक्षणका लागि महत्वपूर्ण संवैधानिक अधिकारको व्यवस्था गरेको छ । यसका साथै महासन्धीमा अन्तरनिहित भावनाहरूलाई समावेश गर्दै बालबालिका सम्बन्धी बेग्लै ऐन निर्माण भएका छन । जसमा बालबालिका सम्बन्धी ऐन, २०४८, बालश्रम (निषेध र नियमित गर्ने) ऐन, २०५६ मुख्य रहेका छन ।

यी त भए कानुनी व्यवस्था अब यि व्यवस्थाहरू व्यवहारमा लागु भएका छन वा छैनन् भनी हेर्न विविध पक्षहरूको मूल्यांकन गर्नु पर्छ । प्रस्तुत अध्ययनमा घरेलु बाल श्रमिक, सडक बाल बालिका बाल विवाह, अदालती कारवाही, स्वास्थ्य स्थिति, द्वन्द्वको असरलाई प्रमुख आधार बनाईएको छ । जुन निम्नानुसार छ :

घरेलू बाल श्रमिक

बाल बालिकाबाट सजिलै काम लिन सकिने, कम ज्याला दिए हुने, अरुको तुलनामा बाल बालिका बढी अनुशासित तथा आवश्यकताहरू समेत कम हुने हुनाले घरेलु बाल श्रमिक राख्ने प्रचलन बढ्दै गएको देखिन्छ । करिब ७५ हजार बालबालिका घरेलु कामदारको रूपमा कार्यरत छन । सिविनले गरेको एक अध्ययन अनुसार १५ प्रतिशत बाल बालिका ५ देखि ९ वर्षमा र ३० प्रतिशत बाल बालिका १० देखि ११ वर्षको बीचका घरेलु बाल श्रमिकको रूपमा काम गर्दछन । जसमा १८ प्रतिशत शिक्षाको अवसरबाट वञ्चित छन भने १० प्रतिशतले नाम मात्र लेखन जान्दछन । यिनीहरू मध्ये ३० प्रतिशत ले १२ देखि १४ घण्टा, ६४ प्रतिशतले १५ देखि १६ घण्टा र ५ प्रतिशत ले १६ घण्टा भन्दा बढि काम गर्दछन भने ५९ प्रतिशत बाल श्रमिक विभिन्न किसिमका यौन दुर्व्यवहारको शिकार भइरहेका छन ।

^४ बाल बालिका शान्ति क्षेत्र हुन, मानव अधिकार, सञ्चार प्रतिष्ठान नेपाल, काठमाण्डौ २०६०, पृ.१०

सडक बाल बालिका

सडक बाल बालिका भन्नाले ति बाल बालिकालाई जनाउदछ जो आफ्नो जीवनयापनको लागि सडकमा नै आफ्नो दिन बिताउन बाध्य छन् । यिनीहरूको संख्या करिब ५००० छ । यिनीहरूको सम्बन्धमा राज्यले सशक्त तथा प्रभावकारी कदम उठाउन सकेको देखिदैन । जस्तै भौतिक पुर्वाधारको विकास, Counseling, घर परिवारमा फिर्ता पठाउने प्रयास, उनीहरूप्रतिको नकारात्मक सोचलाई हटाउने सचेतना जगाउन सकेको पाईदैन ।

बाल विवाह

UNICEFF को एक अध्ययन प्रतिवेदनको अनुसार ४० प्रतिशत बालिकाको विवाह १४ वर्ष उमेर पुग्नु अगावै हुन्छ । बाल विवाहको कारण बालिकाको पूर्ण विकास नहुँदै आमा बन्नु पर्ने वा गर्भाधारण गर्नु पर्ने विवशताले मुख्य रूपले स्वास्थ्यमा समस्या भईरहेको छ भने बुहारी भएपछि घरधन्दा गर्नु पर्छ भन्ने मान्यताले शिक्षा लगायत व्यक्तित्व विकासको अवसरबाट समेत वञ्चित भइरहेका छन् ।

अदालती कारवाही

कानून अनुसार बाल बालिकालाई क्रुर र कठोर यातना दिन नहुने, नेल, हत्कडी लगाउन नपाईने, कानून अनुसार बाल अपराधीलाई कैदमा राख्दा उमेर पुगेका कैदीसंग नराखी छुट्टै राख्नु पर्ने व्यवस्था भए पनि यो व्यवस्था किताबी व्यवस्थाको रूपमा मात्र रहेको देखिन्छ जुन तथ्य सर्वोच्च अदालतको फैसला तथा सरकारलाई बाल सुधार गृह निर्माण गर्न दिएको निर्देशनात्मक आदेशहरूबाट बाट समेत प्रमाणित हुन आउछ ।

स्वास्थ्य स्थिति

नेपालमा विभिन्न रोगका कारण बर्षेनी ५८,०००^६ बाल बालिका अकालमा नै मर्ने गर्दछन् । बाल मृत्यु दर प्रति हजारमा ६१, नवजात शिशु मृत्युदर प्रति हजारमा ३४ छ भने ७० प्रतिशत शिशुको जन्म तालिम प्राप्त नगरेका सुडेनीको निगरानीमा हुने गर्दछ ।

सशस्त्र द्वन्द्वको असर

सशस्त्र द्वन्द्वले प्रत्यक्ष तथा अप्रत्यक्ष रूपमा असर पुऱ्याइरहन्छ । जस्तै द्वन्द्वमा आफ्ना अगाडि भएका हत्या हिंसा, भिडन्तका दृश्यहरूले बाल बालिकाको विकासमा दीर्घकालिन असर गर्दछ जसको कारण उनीहरूमा डराउने, त्रसिने गर्दछन्, अव्यवस्थित लास, वम, वारुदको धुवा, खाना, औषधीको अभाव, दुषित वातावरणको कारण विभिन्न रोगको शिकार हुनु पर्दछ भने स्कूल बन्द, शिक्षकको अपहरण आदि जस्ता कारणहरूबाट बाल बालिकाको भविष्य अन्धकारमय हुन पुग्दछ । त्यसै गरी विभिन्न प्रलोभन देखाई, जवरजस्ती गरी सैन्यमा सामे ल गरी उनीहरूलाई हुलाकी, सुराकी, सामान बोक्न लगाउने, विद्युतीय धराप थाप्न लगाउने जस्ता जोखिमपूर्ण काममा प्रयोग गर्ने गरेको पाइन्छ जसको कारण बाल बालिकाको खेल्ने, मनोरञ्जन गर्ने, आमा बाबुको स्नेह संरक्षण प्राप्त गर्ने, शिक्षा प्राप्त गर्ने जस्ता आधारभुत अधिकारहरू खोसिन पुग्दछ । यि वास्तविकताहरू सशस्त्र द्वन्द्वको समयमा नेपालका बालबालिकाहरूले समेत सामाना गर्नु परेको तथ्य ४७५ जना बालबालिकाको मृत्यु, ५६२ जना बालबालिका घाईते,^७ ४०,००० आन्तरीकरूपमा विस्थापित, ८००० अनाथ,^८ शिक्षक लगायत विद्यार्थीको अपहरण, विद्यालय बन्द, स्वास्थ्य उपचारको अभाव जस्ता घटनाहरूले समेत पुष्टि गर्दछ भने द्वन्द्वका कारण शहर तिर पलायन भएका बालबालिका बाल श्रम शोषण र यौनशोषणका लागि ओसार पसार र बेच

^६ Bablu Godia vs. Banke District Court and others (writ no. 3390of 2000)^६ Keshav Khadka vs. Dhankutta District Court and others (writ no. 3685 of 2000) ,Ashish Adhikari vs. His Majesty's Government and others (writ no. 3391 of 2000)

^७ The Kathmandu Post, November 2, 09.

^८ Impact of Armed Conflict on Children , A case Study of Nepal), Madav Prasad Gautam , 2007, p. 52

^९ www.cwin.org.np/press_room/fact_sheets/fact_cic (accessed on 13 Dec 2009)

बिखनका शिकार हुन पुगे जुन क्रम निरन्तर सम्म पनि चलि रहेको पाइन्छ ।^९

यी तथ्यांकहरूलाई हेर्दा सरकारले बालअधिकार संरक्षण र सम्बर्धन को लागि प्रयासरत रहे तापनि महासन्धीलाई पूर्णरूपमा अवलम्बन गर्न सकेको देखिदैन । आजका बालबालिका भोलिका भविष्य हुन तसर्थ राज्यले बाल बालिकाको विकास र संरक्षणमा विशेष ध्यान पुऱ्याउनु पर्दछ तर यो दायित्व राज्यको मात्र होईन चाहे शान्तिको अवस्था होस् चाहे युद्धको अवस्था बाल अधिकार संरक्षणको लागी हरेक क्षेत्रबाट हरेकले व्यक्तिगत तवरबाट प्रयास गर्नु पर्छ अनि मात्र बाल अधिकार संरक्षण र प्रवर्द्धन सम्भव हुन सक्दछ यसको लागि प्रत्येक नागरिकले बाल अधिकार हनन् हुन नदिन पहलता लिई समाज तथा राज्य तहमा आवाज उठाउने, शिक्षित वर्गले बाल अधिकार सम्बन्धी सचेतना फैलाउने, विभिन्न संघ संस्थाले अनुसन्धान गरी भई रहेका बाल शोषणलाई उजागर गर्ने त्यसै गरी मिडियाले बाल बालिकालाई आफ्ना विषयमा बोल्ने मौका दिई उनीहरूको आवाज राज्य तहसम्म पुऱ्याउनुका साथै विभिन्न कार्यक्रमहरूको माध्यमबाट पुरातन सोचलाई हटाउन सहयोग गर्नु पर्दछ ।

बाल अधिकारको कुरा गर्दा सुरक्षा निकायलाई अलग राख्नु सम्भव हुदैन किनकी बाल बालिकाबाट भए गरेका अपराधहरूको सम्बन्धमा प्रहरीबाट पक्राउ, अनुसन्धान गरिन्छ भने युद्धको समयमा सेना परिचालित हुन्छन तसर्थ बाल अधिकारको संरक्षण र प्रवर्द्धनको लागी सुरक्षा फौजलाई समेत बाल सरोकार र बाल हितका विषयमा विभिन्न तालिम र कार्यक्रमको माध्यमबाट अवगत गराई रहनु पर्दछ । सुरक्षा निकायको चर्चा गर्दा म यहाँ बाल अधिकारको संरक्षण र सम्बर्द्धनमा नेपाली सेनाले के कस्तो भूमिका खेलेको र के कस्ता कार्यहरू गर्नु आवश्यक छ भन्ने विषयमा समेत उल्लेख गर्नु चाहन्छु ।

शिक्षा नै जीवनको आधार हो भन्ने भनाइलाई आत्मसात गर्दै नेपाली सेनाले बाल बालिकाको शिक्षालाई प्राथमिकता दिएको देखिन्छ जस अनुरूप नेपाली सेनामा कार्यरत सकल दर्जाका छोरा छोरीले उच्च र गुणस्तरीय शिक्षा पाउन भन्ने उद्देश्यले विभिन्न महाविद्यालयहरू स्थापना गरेको छ जुन निम्नानुसार छनः^{१०}

- (१) श्री वीरेन्द्र सैनिक आवाशिय महाविद्यालय (भक्तपुर)
- (२) श्री ज्ञानेन्द्र सैनिक पश्चिमाञ्चल महाविद्यालय (पोखरा)
- (३) श्री ज्ञानेन्द्र सैनिक पूर्वाञ्चल महाविद्यालय (धरान)
- (४) श्री ज्ञानेन्द्र सैनिक मध्य पश्चिमाञ्चल महाविद्यालय (सुर्खेत)
- (५) श्री रिपुमर्दिनी निम्न माध्यामिक विद्यालय (काठमाण्डौ)

यि विद्यालयहरूले विद्यार्थीहरूलाई गुणस्तरीय शिक्षा प्रदान गर्नुका साथै नृत्य, खेलकुद, चित्रकला, संगित लगायत अतिरिक्त क्रियाकलापहरूमा सहभागी गराई विद्यार्थीहरूको चौतर्फी विकासमा प्रयत्नशिल रहेको छ जुन तथ्य विद्यार्थीहरूले विभिन्न प्रतिस्पर्धामा प्राप्त गरेका परिणामहरूले समेत पुष्टिगरि रहेका छन ।

त्यसै गरी Vinnea Declaration And Programme of Action, Beijing घोषणापत्र^{११} लगायत अन्य अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय दस्तावेजहरूले बालिकाको हक हितका विषयमा गरेको व्यवस्थाहरूलाई नेपाली सेनाले आत्मसात गरेको तथ्य श्री विजेश्वरी ज्ञान मन्दिर माध्यमिक विद्यालय, आशाकिरण छात्रावासको स्थापनाले समेत पुष्टि गर्दछ । श्री विजेश्वरी ज्ञान मन्दिर जहाँ कमजोर आर्थिक अवस्था भएको कारण शिक्षाको अवसरबाट वञ्चित हुन परेका नेपाली सैनिकका छोरीहरूलाई शिक्षा प्रदान गरिन्छ भने जंगी कारवाही र कर्तव्य पालनको सिलसिलामा मृत्यु भएका सैनिकका छोरीहरू शिक्षाको अवसरबाट वञ्चित हुन नपरोस भनि उनीहरूलाई आशाकिरण छात्रावासमा बस्ने, खाने व्यवस्था मिलाई, शिक्षाको अवसर प्रदान गरिरहेको पाइन्छ ।

गुणस्तरीय शिक्षाको लागी बाल बालिका बीचमा प्रतिस्पर्धात्मक भावना जागृत गराउने उद्देश्य तथा सुविधा प्रदान गर्ने उद्देश्यले विभिन्न छात्रवृत्ति सम्बन्धि व्यवस्था गरेको छ । जुन निम्नानुसार छ ।

- (१) श्री ५ वीरेन्द्र ऐश्वर्य छात्रवृत्ति (विदेश)

^९ सिविनको अध्ययन अनुसार वर्षेनी करिव १२००० बालिकाको बेचबिखन हुने गर्दछ ।

^{१०} कल्याणकारी दर्पण, श्री सैनिक कल्याणकारी योजना निर्देशनालय, जंगी अड्डा, २०६४ पृ. २२..४८

^{११} यि अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय व्यवस्थाहरूले बालकको तुलनामा बालिकाको अवस्था कमजोर हुने भएकोले बालिकाहरूको सम्बन्धमा विशेष व्यवस्था गर्न जोड दिएको छ ।

- (२) श्री प्रधान सेनापति शैक्षिक कोष छात्रवृत्ति
- (३) श्री ५ वीरेन्द्र ऐश्वर्य छात्रवृत्ति (विदेश)
- (४) श्री सैनिक कल्याणकारी छात्रवृत्ति, २०६५

त्यसैगरि स्वास्थ्यको क्षेत्रमा समेत वहालवाला तथा भु.पु. सैनिकका छोरालाई २४ वर्ष उमेर सम्म र छोरीलाई अविवाहित रहेसम्म स्वास्थ्य उपचार प्रदान गर्दछ तर यदि शारीरिक विकृती, मानसिक असन्तुलन वा अन्य यस्तै कारणबाट बाबु आमाको आश्रित भएमा विशेष सुविधा प्रदान गरिने व्यवस्था छ भने बाल बालक नभएसम्मको लागि आवश्यकता अनुसार बाल अस्पताल लगायत अन्य अस्पतालबाट सेवा उपलब्ध गराईने व्यवस्था रहेबाट महासन्धीको भावना बमोजिम विशेष अवस्थाको लागि विशेष व्यवस्था गरेको पाईन्छ ।

हालसालै पर्वत जिल्लाको थापाठाना गा.वि.स. वडा नं. ५ पतेदार बस्ने अवकाश प्राप्त प्रा.हु. दुर्गा बहादुर भण्डारी लगायत नीजको श्रीमती, छोरा १ छोरी १ गरी ४ जनाको पहिरोमा परी मृत्यु भई निजको १० र १२ वर्षका दुई छोरी मात्र बाचन सफल भएको अवस्थामा नेपाली सेनाले ती दुई बालिकाको सम्पूर्ण जिम्मेवारी लिई आशाकिरण छात्रावासमा राखी अध्ययन अध्यापन गराएबाट समेत नेपाली सेना बाल अधिकारको संरक्षण तथा सम्बर्द्धनमा कत्तिको प्रतिबद्ध छ भन्ने तथ्य समेत प्रमाणित हुन्छ ।

नेपाली सैनिकका बाल बालिकालाई शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य लगायतका अन्य सुविधा प्रदान गरी एक योग्य र असल नागरिक बनाउनु भनेको नै नेपाल भनी नेपालीको भविष्य सुदृढ बनाउनु हो भन्नु अन्यथा भन सकिन्न किनकी नेपाली सैनिक का बाल बालिका पनि समाजका एक अभिन्न अंग हुन ती नेपालकै सन्तती हुन साथै नेपाल अनी नेपालीको हित नै नेपाली सेनाको मूल उद्देश्य रहेको छ । नेपाली सेनासंगको सिमित श्रोत र साधनको कारण सबैलाई समेट्न नसके पनि समष्टिगत रूपमा बाल बालिकाको हक हितका लागि गैरसैनिक क्षेत्रमा समेत नेपाली सेनाले सक्दो प्रयास गरिरहेको देखिन्छ जस्तै विद्यालय भवन निर्माण, खेलकुद मैदान निर्माण तथा सरसफाईका कार्यक्रमहरूलगायत अन्य कार्यहरूमा आर्थिक तथा जनशक्तिको माध्यमद्वारा सहयोग पुऱ्याई रहेको छ भने घुम्ती स्वास्थ्य शिविरहरू संचालन गरी स्वास्थ्य उपचार समेत प्रदान गरिरहेको छ । त्यसैगरि सेनाको अप्रेसनल अर्डर तथा ROE मा मानवअधिकार, मानवीय कानूनको पूर्णरूपमा पालना गर्ने प्रतिबद्धताले समेत नेपाली सेना बाल अधिकारप्रति कटिबद्ध रहेको तथ्यलाई प्रमाणित गर्दछ । साथै नेपाली सेनाले बाल बालिका “शान्ति क्षेत्र” हुन भन्ने अवधारणालाई आत्मसाथ गरेको समेत देखिन्छ ।

सेनामा संचालन गरिने विभिन्न तालिमहरूमा बाल अधिकारको विषयलाई समेत समावेश गरी नेपाली सेनालाई बाल अधिकारप्रति सशक्तरूपले सजक बनाउदै लगिरहेको तथ्यलाई सकारात्मक परिणामको रूपमा लिन आवश्यक देखिन्छ । साथै नेपाली सैनिक श्रीमती संघले समेत विभिन्न कार्यक्रमहरूको माध्यमबाट जेहेन्दार, सुरुतमनस्थिती, अन्धा अपाङ्ग एवं बहिरा बालबालिकाहरूलाई आर्थिक सहयोग गरिरहेको छ । यसर्थ संस्थागत रूपबाट नेपाली सेना बालअधिकारको संरक्षण तथा सम्बर्द्धनको लागि सशक्त रूपमा अधि बढिरहेको तथ्य प्रष्ट हुन आउछ । यस कार्यलाई सहयोग पुराउनको लागि प्रत्येक सैनिक व्यक्तिहरूले समेत व्यक्तिगत तवरबाट बालअधिकारको संरक्षण तथा सम्बर्द्धनको लागि पहलता दिनु आवश्यक छ ।

बाल बालिका भनेको राज्यका आशा र भरोसाका केन्द्र हुन त्यसैले प्रत्येक बाल बालिकाहरू माया, स्नेह र सकारात्मक वातावरणमा हुर्कन र बाचन पाउनु पर्छ । बाल बालिकाको अधिकार भन्नाले बाचन पाउनु मात्र होईन । स्वास्थ्य वातावरणमा पूर्ण चौतर्फी विकासको साथ हुर्कन पाउने अधिकारलाई जनाउंछ जुन अधिकारको पूर्ण उपभोग गर्नबाट नेपालका बाल बालिका वञ्चित छन । तसर्थ बाल अधिकारको संरक्षणका लागी निति, नियम तथा कानूनमा प्रभावकारी व्यवस्था गर्नु पर्दछ । यसका लागि अब बन्ने नया सविधानमा समेत बालबालिकाको अधिकारलाई सुनिश्चत गर्नुका साथै, प्रशासन, कानून व्यवसायी, नागरिक समाज, आदी सम्बन्धित पक्षहरूलाई बाल अधिकार सम्बन्धमा सजग गराउने, बाल बालिकाको मुद्दाहरू छिटो, छरितो सरल सुलभ तथा उचित किसिमबाट भए नभएको अनुगमन गर्ने व्यवस्थाका साथै बालबालिका संग सम्बन्धीत क्षेत्रहरूलाई बालमैत्रीपूर्ण बनाउनु अति आवश्यक देखिन्छ ।

द्वन्द्व पीडित बालबालिकाको हकमा विशेष कार्यक्रमहरूको माध्यमद्वारा उनीहरूको हक अधिकारलाई संरक्षण गर्नु जरुरी देखिन्छ साथै कुनै पनि समाजको निम्ति हत्या हिंसाको संस्कृति भनेको गलत कुरा हो यसले बाल

बालिकाको विकासमा नकारात्मक असर पार्दछ । बाल विकासको समुच्च रूप भनेको नै बाल बालिकाको शारीरिक, मानसिक, सामाजिक र बौद्धिक विकास हो यी मध्ये कुनै पनि कुरामा असर पऱ्यो भने बाल बालिकाको विकास अवरुद्ध हुन पुग्दछ । सशस्त्र संघर्षको कारण बाल बालिकाहरुको शारीरिक, मानसिक विकासमा तत्कालीन तथा दीर्घकालीन रूपमा असर पार्दछ । शान्ति सुरक्षाको दृष्टिकोणले मात्र होइन सामाजिक सुरक्षाको दृष्टिकोणले पनि युद्ध प्रभावित क्षेत्रहरु बाल बालिकाको हित अनुकूल हुन सक्दैन तसर्थ सार्थक शान्ति सम्पूर्ण बाल बालिका र सिङ्गो समाजको निम्ति आवश्यक छ ।^{१२} वर्तमान अवस्थामा बाल अधिकार साढेको जुदाई बाच्छाको मिचाई जस्तो भएको छ तसर्थ यसलाई रोक्नका लागि प्रत्येक नागरीकले व्यक्तिगत तवरबाट सोच्नु अपरिहार्य भएको छ अन्यथा भोलिको स्थिति भयावह हुने देखिन्छ । किनकी राष्ट्रको जिम्मेवारी बोक्ने काधलाई आज बलियो बनाउन सकेनौ भने भोलि सहि नेतृत्वको अभावमा नेपाल अनि नेपालीको अस्तित्वमा प्रश्न चिन्ह खडा हुन सक्छ ।

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COMBAT TRACKING AND IT'S POSSIBLE INDUCTION IN VARIOUS ROLES OF NEPAL ARMY

Maj Bhuvan Khatri



“Combat Tracking – the Eyes of the Army”

“Tracking is one of the best sources of immediate use of intelligence, information about the enemy that can be put to use immediately!”

- US Army FM 17-98. The Scout Platoon

INTRODUCTION

1. After the culminating development of science and technology, human beings are again turning back to ancient skills. One of such ancient skills is tracking which has been proved as the key of success of various advanced Armies in the world. Visual Trackers have been employed in numerous military campaigns, during counter guerrilla warfare operations in Borneo; Malaysia; Vietnam; and recently in Iraq in counter urban insurgency warfare scenario. Apart from its small portion of study and application in our specialized units and training institutions, majority of our soldiers in the formation, unit and subunits, are still ignorant about the combat tracking skill and its importance in tactical operations and special missions.

2. Starting from counter-insurgency operations in rural environment up to advanced complicated urban environment, it is applicable in locating, identifying, pursuing an adversary and get him down. In one side, it can enhance our intelligence-collection and reconnaissance capability and at the same time in other side, it helps to deny our information to the enemy. In deed, Tracking is the special skill which can be applied as the precursor in all ops of war, warfare, special mission or even pursuing a thief who commits theft in our daily house hold life.

3. In a broad military context, it can support counterterrorism, counterinsurgency, intelligence collection, reconnaissance, and force protection operations as well as numerous combat operations functions. Combat Tracking is one of the secret of successes of various Special Forces units in the world. British SAS successfully applied Combat Tracking skill in Malaya, Borneo and Brunei, as well as in Africa, Cyprus and other parts of the world. Similarly, our Special Forces (SF) and Special Operating Forces (SOF) are capable to apply this concept so that our future operations can be further more effective. In the recent days, poaching is seemed as the major challenge muddling the image of Nepal Army in the field of Nature and wild life Conservation. Besides our ongoing efforts over the nature and wild life conservation, Combat Tracking can be proved as the main tool of anti-poaching enabling our security forces to track down the poachers in time. In general, Combat tracking can add a new dimension in our military activities if we could apply this skill in various organs and roles of Nepal Army down to unit/subunit level.

Aim

4. This paper intends to enhance the capability of Nepal Army with in its limited resources by introducing Combat Tracking together with its probable induction in various roles and organs of Nepal Army.

History and Necessity

5. History has showed that the visual trackers came from all walks of life and nationalities. Some of the initial international examples of trackers are –the Indian tribes of Canada, United States of America and Mexico; the Indian tribes of South America; the Aboriginal of Australia; the Maori of New Zealand; the ORANG ASLI of Malaysia; the IBAN and DYAKS of Borneo etc. Chepang, Rautes etc can also be categorized in this example in our context.

6. The British used this technique with great success against Communist insurgents in Malaya, Borneo and Brunei, as well as in Africa, Cyprus and other parts of the world. The units, also known as Combat Tracker Teams (CTTs), became a reliable tool for stopping the same sort of terrorist and guerrilla tactics that contributed to the defeat of the French in Indochina.

7. Despite the remarkable success in Operations DESERT SHIELD and DESERT STORM, the United States has been facing an insurgency that uses guerrilla tactics and acts of terror in Iraq. Guerrilla tactics have long frustrated counterinsurgent forces. Chief among these tactics is the ability of the adversary to strike and then disappear into the indigenous population. C.E. Callwell posited in his work, *Small Wars*, "In small wars the field intelligence department is often greatly hampered by this difficulty in eliciting correct information from the people of the country." ¹ Previously, forces that lacked human intelligence capabilities developed organic scouting and tracking capabilities to locate and destroy guerrilla forces. The U.S. Army maintained combat tracking teams (CTTs), units designed to track enemies on the battlefield until 1975. The CTT consisted of soldiers trained in visual tracking coupled with a tracking dog.

9. In the process of developing a tracking school in U.S. Army, a common source of contractors is the Tactical Tracking Operations School run by David Scott-Donelan, a former Selous Scout. This school is one of the only schools in the United States that teaches tracking skills. In late July 2005 the U.S. Army Intelligence Center conducted a 1-week pilot tracking course that was developed in large part by David Scott-Donelan. The Army has since created a formal combat tracking school at Fort Huachuca, AZ.

10. *Marine Corps Doctrinal Publication 2 (MCDP 2), Intelligence*, states: "Sources of information must be appropriate to the nature of the particular intelligence requirement; that is, the collection method or capability used must be appropriate to the aspect of the enemy or the environment about which information is needed. For example, electronic intelligence will likely be of little use against a technologically unsophisticated enemy; human intelligence sources will generally be more valuable. We must tailor the sources to the requirement, ensuring that we exploit both the observations of units in direct contact with the enemy and our more sophisticated sensors." ² The challenge then is to develop the capability to locate, tag, and track a technologically "unsophisticated enemy." Then Combat Tracking remained as a solution in countering this challenge. The CTT is one such capability.

11. The Israeli Defense Force (IDF) employs tracking dogs and teams in support of its operations. ³ The CTTs are a critical link in the sensor-shooter cycle against infiltration operations along the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The Israeli Security Authority provides real time intelligence through its channels that is then verified through Israeli Air Force UASs and other aerial platforms. Sometimes an infiltrator's track will be lost by electronic surveillance, particularly if the infiltrator enters an urban environment. Field commanders then employ CTTs to regain the pursuit. The IDF centrally manages its military working dog (MWD) program by maintaining a battalion consisting of MWDs, the Oketz Battalion.

Combat Tracking and details

12. **Defining Combat tracking** Tracking is simply an effort to get close with and apprehend or destroy a fleeing adversary. For this purpose, a sign or mark is required. A sign is any physical indication that is left on or in the environment by an adversary and his belongings. A sign could also be a mark left on the ground by the passage of a person or object. Examination of such signs or marks reveals information about the enemy. Thus, tracking is the ability to locate, identify, and pursue an adversary by following and interpreting a series of signs. "Tracking is one of the most important sources of actionable intelligence, information about the enemy that can be put to use immediately." ⁴ Tracking can be defined as the art of being able to locate, identify, and pursue sign, and from intelligent interpretations and deductions gain reasonably accurate information about the target concerned. ⁵ The main purpose of Combat Tracking is to gain and pass onto commanders as

¹ (Callwell, Col C.E., *Small Wars: Their Principles and Practice*, University of Nebraska Press, Bison Books, 1996, p. 49.)

² (*MCDP 2, Intelligence*, Headquarters Marine Corps, 1997, p. 55.)

³ (Many countries maintain a CTT capability that includes tracking dogs, including (but not limited to) Great Britain, Israel, Malaysia, and the Philippines.)

⁴ US Army FM 17-98. The Scout Platoon

⁵ NZ Army Field Manual Tracking Hand Book

much information as possible about the enemy by employing tracking techniques.

13. **Tracking –Methods and types** Sight and Smell are the two main methods through which a target can be followed and tracked. In addition, the sense of hearing and touch are also used, but the latter only to a small degree. In this regard, Tracking can be divided into two types- Visual Tracking and Scent Tracking.

(a) **Visual Tracking** is an art of following and analyzing the series of signs and marks left by a target or animal. These signs and marks could be- Changes in the color and the unnatural formation of vegetation due to disturbance; Bruises, breaks and cuts in vegetation; Water in areas where it is normally dry; Lack of water or dew on vegetation; mud or soil on grass or bushes; footprints in bare or muddy ground; sap from a bruised root or trunk of a tree; disturbances to animal, bird or insect life etc.

(b) **Scent Tracking** The olfactory capability in particular is the subject of many industry studies. Most studies indicate that industry is at least 20 years away from creating a similar technological capability. For a human, the olfactory center in the brain is about 1/2 square inch in size, compared to 20 square inches of tissue for an average dog. Researchers know very little other than that. They do not know how or why a dog uniquely processes scent the way it does.⁶ That's why scent tracking is normally preferred by dogs. However a well trained tracker can follow a quarry by its scent. The scent which is either provided by human or animal is strong and fresh. In addition the visual tracker will use his sense of smell to warn of any new scent in the area, i.e. cooking fumes, smoke, Latrines, newly dug out earth etc.

14. **Combat Tracker's qualities, skills and composition** Nobody is born with the natural instincts of a tracker. He is a normal person who attains these qualities and skills through dedication, practice and hard work. It is possible for everyone to become proficient in the art of tracking provided he is determined and interested.

(a) **Qualities** To be a competent tracker one must possess certain qualities, these are- Honesty; patience; Perseverance; Inquisitive mind; Acute observation; Determination (mental and physical) and above average endurance.

(b) **Skills** The special skills to be acquired by good tracker are- High standard of field craft; Knowledge about enemy and his tactics; knowledge about local flora and fauna; High standard of alertness; High average navigation skill.

(c) **Composition** The organization of a combat tracker team is divided into three elements- The command; The tracking element; and the protection elements. The team leader is normally a NCO and his task calls for initiative, aggressiveness and practical knowledge in tracking. The signaler maintains all communication for the team. Four trackers are employed within the team, and are interchangeable between the tracking element and protection group.

15. **Combat Tracking –the eyes of the Army** Combat Tracking can be termed as the eyes of the Army as it is an important source of intelligence that can be put in use immediately. The information gained by the tracker may be vital to higher command decisions. However all information gathered during a pursuit task will give the tracker a better understanding of his enemy and with this knowledge be able to counter any moves the enemy may employ. The following types of information can be obtained through tracking:-

(a) **Direction of enemy** (Through some of the direction indicators i.e. boot/foot prints; use of pointers (broken sticks); high grass and fern pushed down in the direction of movement; transfer i.e. mud, sand, grass and water.

(b) **Numbers of the enemy** (By estimating numbers- numbers of sleeping areas in a

⁶ Lemish, p. 218. 16. DARPA, accessed 17 February, available at <http://www.darpa.mil/>.

Harbored/LUP(Lying up position) area; numbers of resting places at the rest halt; different types of boot prints etc.

(c) **Distance traveled by the Enemy and probable location of the enemy** (By judging the Age of the sign)

(d) **Speed of the enemy** (By assessing the following- Distance between rest/LUPs/meal halts; gap of the stride/pace (if short moving slowly, if long moving fast); Depth of pace (If more carrying heavy loads and speed is less) etc.

(e) **Types of the weapons** (By Collecting discarded ammo cartridges from battle or encounter area; Butt or the bipod marks on the ground/rest/harbor areas; sight mark on the tree where the weapon may be placed etc.

(f) **Rations** A tracker can gain the following information from discarded rations- Nationality; suppliers of the ration (place/company/date); types of rations etc.

Combat Tracking & its possible induction in various roles of NA

16. Combat Tracking has been applied in various campaigns, operations and special missions. Its scope in Nepal Army is abundant. Tracking is the most matching job for the Infantry. If we apply this skill from our formation down to unit/subunit level, it will produce a dramatic result in our future operations and missions. Tracking can be applied in most of the important roles of infantry both in peace time and wartime scenario. It is applicable in both conventional and unconventional roles of Infantry. The arenas where Combat Tracking is applicable in Nepal Army are as follows:

(a) **Conventional Role** It's the primary role of the Army. Nepal Army doesn't have a remarkable experience of conventional warfare apart from its involvement in 1st and 2nd WW long time back. Future is always uncertain and our possible involvement in conventional warfare in the long run can't be neglected. So being based on the conventional role, it'd better to set a combat tracker team of section level in Independent coy and brigade level and a platoon(-) level tracker team in Infantry Division HQ and battalion level as per strength . It can be employed on the following tasks-

- (1) act as scout platoon/section (Advance to contact)
- (2) enemy camp search and reconnaissance
- (3) combat search and rescue operations
- (4) tracking the fugitives and fleeing PWs
- (5) intelligence Collection of Immediate use
- (6) force protection (from front, rear and flanks)
- (7) detecting and protecting border incursion
- (8) limiting the ability of enemy to move freely in the operational area.
- (9) UMINT-The use of tracking in an urban environment is a useful skill for HUMINT operations.
- (10) incorporating "track traps" into current force protection measures will make it impossible for personnel to move into or out of an area undetected.

(b) **Counter-Insurgency and Counter-terrorist Role** In the prolong glorious history of Nepal Army, it recently witnessed decade long bloody insurgency in its own home country and also got involved in countering it. Had we introduced combat tracking in our unit/sub-units before being involved in counter-insurgency problem, we'd have definitely achieved further more good results. The successful employment of combat trackers during counter guerrilla warfare operations in Borneo; Malaysia; Vietnam; and recently in Iraq, proves that Combat Tracking is the most essential part of Counter-Insurgency and Counter-terrorist campaign. So, in this regard, the same combat tracker team proposed in the conventional role can be employed in unconventional role as well. Most of the tasks to be performed by the Tracker

team in CI role are similar to Conventional role. Some typical new tasks in this role are as follows-

- (1) Act as Lead scout platoon/section in Search and destroy Operation.
- (2) Insurgent/Terrorist camp search and reconnaissance
- (3) Tracking and trailing the insurgents/terrorists/security suspects
- (4) Intelligence Collection of Immediate use
- (5) Detecting and protecting VA/VPs
- (6) Limiting the ability of Insurgents/terrorist to move freely in Certain areas.
- (7) "track traps" –it is the most matching job in counter-insurgency/urban insurgency/terrorist operations which makes impossible to insurgents/terrorists to move into or out of an area undetected.

(c) **National park and Wild-life conservation role** One of the important roles Nepal Army is the security of National park and Wild-life conservation. But, despite the remarkable contribution of Nepal Army in National Park and Wild life Security, poaching of some of the precious wild lives i.e. one-horn rhino and the tiger has defamed Nepal Army in the recent days. So, Combat Tracking is such a tool of anti-poaching which enables our security forces within their limited resources to track down the poachers and hunters in time. So, the Units and subunits which are deployed in the security of National Park and Wildlife Conservation duties, should immediately prepare themselves on forming combat tracker teams. It would be better and effective if they maintain a section level combat tracker team in their each jungle post. It can be employed on the following tasks-

- (1) Locate, identify and pursue the poacher, mediator and smuggler
- (2) Tracking and Staining the fleeing wounded poacher
- (3) Search of poacher's camp
- (4) Tracking and staining (by blood stains) wounded wild animals which have been hunted.
- (5) Immediate Intelligence Collection about poacher, mediator and smuggler
- (6) Finding numbers., direction and location of poacher and ambushing them.
- (7) Detecting and protecting border incursion by civilian in National Park, buffer Zone and protected areas.
- (8) Limiting the ability of poacher and mediator to move freely in the National park, buffer Zone and the protected areas.

(d) **Special Forces and Special Operating Forces** In deed, Special Forces (SF) & Special Operating Forces (SOF) are the ornament of an Army. These forces are employed on the highest value special missions and are kept under the command at highest level. Being a strategic reserve Yudhdha Bhairab Battalion(SF), Bhairab Nath Battalion(Para-commando) and Mahaveer Battalion(Ranger) are the SF and SOF of Nepal Army respectively. These are the forces who can utilize Combat Tracking (CT) most effectively across the all spectrum of warfare be it counter-insurgency or conventional; tactically, operationally or strategically; offensively or defensively; overtly or covertly; by day or even at night. Back-Tracking⁷ is the most difficult and risky part of Combat Tracking and this great job is also matching to our SF and SOF. Today, most of the special forces and special operating forces have already included a Combat Tracker Team or T (Tango) team within their various specialized groups/teams (i.e. Anti-terrorist team; Sniper team; Demolition team; Anti-hijacking group etc). It is the right time for the Special Forces and Special Operating Forces to take necessary steps on establishing such T team.

⁷ Back-tracking fits into the Passive Tracking category and is used mainly for intelligence gathering purposes in terms of establishing and recording enemy routes, bases camps, contact men, supply point, safe houses, feeding areas, habits, routines, arms caches, border crossing points and other information of value to the G3/S2 folks.

Conclusion

17. Today's high-tech battlefield often resembles, what was once in the not so distant past, science fiction. These high-tech battlefield technologies have enabled the security forces to seize operational and tactical momentum, quickly exceeding the capability of the adversaries to react. Despite technological superiority, the security forces lacked human intelligence (HUM-INT) and fresh intelligence. Tracking is the best source of immediate use of intelligence that can be applied immediately.

18. The combat Tracking can help in integrating actionable intelligence into a longer-term intelligence analysis of the enemy's overall goals relative to current and future courses of actions of enemy. It also helps reconnect with the loss of intelligence and information due to immediate direct action and elimination of the threat. Skilled Combat Trackers can exploit intelligence and develop actionable target packages that will enable to target not only the enemy triggerman but the bomb-maker as well.

19. In the present changing security scenario, many countries have already maintained a CTT(Combat Tracker Team) capability that may include tracking dog. USA, Great Britain, Israel, Malaysia and the Philippines seem ahead in regard to this example. Visual Trackers have been employed in numerous military campaigns, during counter guerrilla warfare operations in Borneo; Malaysia; Vietnam; and recently in Iraq in counter urban insurgency warfare scenario. Nepal faced deadly decade long insurgency problem which's yet not reached to its logical conclusion. During the recent counter-insurgency campaign, despite its limited use by our SF and SOF (Special Forces and Special Operation Forces), we rarely applied Combat Tracking as a team. The lessons learnt in the past demands the induction of Combat tracking in the various roles and organs of NA sooner than later.

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Everyone wants peace - and they will fight the most terrible war to get it.

- Miles Kington, on BBC Radio, 4th February 1995

THE GORKHAS: A BUSINESS OF BRAVERY, LOYALTY, AND DISCIPLINE

Lt Col Surendra Singh Rawal



"Bravest of the brave, most generous of the generous, never had country more faithful friends than you."

- Professor Sir Ralph Turner, MC

"If a man says he is not afraid of dying, he is either lying or he is a Gurkhas"

- Field Marshal Sam Manekshaw

Introduction

The Gurkhas have been known all over the world for their bravery, loyalty, and discipline for the last two centuries. When the British first encountered the Gurkhas in the Himalayas during the Anglo-British War, they were impressed by their unwavering valor. Since then, the British have sought to recruit Gurkhas into their army.¹

The British succeeded recruiting the Gurkhas into their colonial army and employed them in several wars during and after the British Empire all over the world. After the end of the British Raj, and independence of India, both countries tried their best to maintain this elite force. However, the Gurkhas were finally split into two and each country took a portion of it. Thus, the Gurkha units continued to be the jewel in the crown of the two armed forces. Even today, in the age of sophisticated military technology and innovation, there is no sign of dwindling value of the Gurkhas.

While the Martial Race Theory is considered out-dated and irrelevant at present, demands for racial-based Gurkhas keep rising in one form or other. In addition to serving their own country, Nepal, the Gurkhas are in the Indian Army, the British Army, the Singapore Police, the Brunei Reserve Unit, and plethora of other places as private armies. Currently, the demand for Gurkhas is growing in privatized military firms and other security agencies.

This trend has shown that despite technological advancement and transformation of the nature of warfare, the value of Martial Race and ethnically oriented units of armed forces are still convincing. This trend also indicates the importance of bravery, loyalty, and discipline in the business of the "management of violence" - whether in the private or the public domain.

The British Army has proudly owned the Gurkha Brigade for last two centuries. The Indian Army is also continuously recruiting the Gurkhas into its service. The Gurkhas were the legacy of the British East India Company, which served the British Empire during various wars. Even after the 1947 independence of India, the numbers of the Gurkhas have grown not only in the Indian Army but also in other security agencies of India such as the Assam Rifles.² In this period, many changes have occurred in the dynamics of security perceptions, relations with neighboring countries, and economic-political developments. Nuclear capabilities and the emergence of asymmetric warfare have changed the equation of the security threats in the world. The rise of nationalist and the ethnic movements, the changes in internal and external political situations, and the growth of populations and unemployment problems are also part and parcel of such changing dynamics. Even after such changes in various factors and rapid development in military institutions, there is still a significant demand for the Gurkhas by security services worldwide. When many of their own citizens are desperate to join their armed forces, why they still need the Gurkhas is a pertinent question.³

¹ Gokul Sinha, *The Role of Gorkhas in The Making of Modern India* (Delhi: Bharatiya Gorkha Prisingh, 2008), <http://gorkhaharisangh.org/pdf/roleofgorkhas.pdf>. (Accessed on 05 Sept, 2009)

² Lt Col AK Sharma, "The Assam Rifles", Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, Article No 638, 22 November 2001. (<http://www.ipcs.org>, accessed on 23 July 2009). "From a nominal complement of only five battalions in 1947, it has grown to 33 with several range HQs...The AR[Assam Rifles] draws its rank and file... from all corners of India...Gurkhas, both Nepalese and domiciled, constitute approximately 40 percent."

³ " 'Mercenaries' and Others", *Economic and Political Weekly*, July 24, 1999. "...the pathetic incidents of the death of army aspirants who had inundated the recruitment centers in Bihar and Rajasthan indicate the desperate urge for jobs among the unemployment ...thousands of young men besieged the centers, and turned violent when turned away after the filling of the few vacancies. Several among them were killed when the police opened fire to disperse the violent crowd of aspirants."

In many instances, mutiny, indiscipline, cowardice and insubordination have caused adverse effects in various military institutions; at times, leading to failure in performing their roles. But, this has not happened in the case of the Gurkhas, despite its long service. The harmonious association of Gurkhas with the British and the Indian Army may result from some specific reasons.

Historical Setting

The British victory in the Battle of Plassey in 1757 established British supremacy, and the expansion of the East India Company gained momentum thereafter. A decade later, the British came into contact with another resolute power when they further expanded their border by winning the territories of Bengal and Bihar. Another expanding power was the city-state of Gorkha. Under the dynamic leadership of King Prithivi Narayan Shah and his successors, most of the hill countries from the Kashmir border in the west to Bhutan in the east were conquered. The powers clashed, and the British declared a war against Nepal in 1814. After the two long and bloody campaigns, a peace treaty was signed in 1816.

While fighting the war, the two adversaries developed mutual respect and admiration because of their excellent warrior qualities. The British were so impressed with the Gurkhas' fighting spirits that, under the terms of the Peace Treaty, a large number of Gurkhas were permitted to volunteer to join of the East India Company's Army. This marked the starting point of the Gurkha Brigade and friendship between Britain and Nepal.

The Gurkha soldier started fighting war under the British flag from the Pindaree War in 1817 for "Keeping the Peace" in India. Then, they fought the Sikh War in 1846. In the Indian *Sepoy* Mutiny of 1857, the Gurkhas showed striking proof of their loyalty. In one position, during fighting against the mutineers, the Gurkhas suffered 327 casualties out of a total strength of 490 under continuous fire from the mutineers over three months, but they did not abandon the building they were protecting. When requested, with the view to stop the violence without further worsening it, Nepal also sent 12 regiments of the Nepalese Army to India. During the same period, the Gurkha regiments actively served in Afghanistan, Burma, Malta (the Russo-Turkish War of 1877), Cyprus, Malaya, China (the Boxer Rebellion of 1900), and Tibet (Younghusband's Expedition of 1905).

The Gurkhas played important roles during and after the great wars. During World War I, more than 200,000 Gurkhas served in the British Army on the battlefields of France in the Loos, Givenchy, Neuve Chapelle and Ypres; in Mesopotamia, Persia, the Suez and Palestine against the Turkish advance, Gallipoli and Salonika. After World War I and before World War II, the Gurkhas fought in the Third Afghan War in 1919 and participated in numerous campaigns in the North-West Frontier, mainly in Waziristan. Again, during World War II, more than 250,000 Gurkhas served in almost all theatres, in North Africa, Italy, Greece, Syria, Burma, northeast India, and Singapore.

Both, Britain and India used the Gurkhas in the post-imperial period. In the post-independence period, India used the Gurkhas in all the wars of 1947, 1965, 1971, and the Kargil War against Pakistan; the 1962 War against China; various UN peacekeeping missions; counterinsurgency operations within country; and an operation against LTTE in Sri Lanka. On the other hand, the Gurkhas continued to fight in Britain's wars in Malaya, Borneo, Cyprus, Falklands and Kosovo. They are presently serving in the British and NATO forces in Afghanistan.

Although the British reduced the number of their Gurkha contingents with the downsizing of their armed forces, the number of Gurkhas continued to grow in the Indian Army after the independence of India. There were around 120,000 Gurkhas in forty-six battalions of the Indian Army, Assam Rifles, the Jammu and Kashmir Light Infantry, and other police and paramilitary forces.

The name, fame, and saga of the Gurkhas are such that they have been admired all over the world. Because of their historical legacy and their uniqueness, the Gurkhas are continuously serving in various armed forces and other security agencies. Not only was there admiration, the Gurkhas were also criticized, although, very rarely. At times, the Gurkhas serving in the British and the Indian Armies, and elsewhere were branded as mercenaries. Kaushik Roy, however, argues that since the

various battles fought by Gurkhas have proved that the Gurkhas did not merely fight for money, they cannot be typologized as mercenaries.⁴ But, in the face of sharp criticism from certain sectors of the educated class of Nepal,⁵ why Britain and India want continue recruiting Nepalese citizens into their armies is a profound question. There must be some specific reasons for it. Sinha asserts:

*The Gurkhas from Nepal, who are not even nationals of this country, constitute nearly 5 percent of the strength of the Army. Keeping in view their unique record of service to India and their continuing service to our Army which is in our national interest, the question of stopping their recruitment to our Army should never arise.*⁶

What kind of national interests make the Gurkhas so indispensable? Were there just Indian security implications or some significant implications on the British side as well? Was it a zero-sum game that came into play? The linkages go back to the British Empire that handed over their pathological imperial legacy to Indian neo-imperialism undermining the sovereignty of a nation-state, Nepal, and committing a strategic blunder for itself. Gregorian claims:

*Unfortunately, the British government acted myopically with respect to the Gurkhas... acceptance of an Indian role in the future of the Gurkhas not only subjected the British Gurkhas to a de facto Indian veto on their future, it also gave India enormous power over Nepal.*⁷

The end of World War II changed the course of global war and the focus of the British and Allied strategies. The British strategists envisioned that the threats from the Soviet Union were going to be the core of future threats. They could not have a strong presence everywhere and hence needed to concentrate post-war resources in order to prepare to fight the Soviets in Europe and the Middle East. Since the British did not see any major threat in the Far East in the near future, and believed that any potential threat would be in the form of internal instability, they ordered their operationally ready imperial military units deployed in Singapore, Hong Kong and Malaya to move to the Middle East to fight possible Soviet aggressions.⁸

According to Gregorian, "As the Imperial strategic reserve for the Far East, 17 Gurkhas Infantry Division was supposed to be available for service anywhere in the world, and in an all-out war with Russia, the Gurkhas had been earmarked for the defense of the Middle East."⁹ While the Gurkhas were being trained and prepared for this role, the Malayan insurgency and the Indian political moves with Nepal threatened the very existence of the British Gurkhas. After diplomatic moves and considerable efforts, the British Gurkhas, however, survived the Indian game plan, but their role in the Middle East was switched over to the Southeast Asian Theater because of the increased Chinese threats.¹⁰ This switching over of the Gurkhas' role was possible when the likelihood of a war in the Middle East became distantly possible because of the emergence of nuclear deterrence.

The analysis of the strategic use of the Gurkhas is not the scope of this paper. Some observations, however, showed that the Gurkhas played significant roles during the Cold War strategic balance by their being committed as a strategic reserve for the core, and also fighting conventional war in the periphery, and helping to ease tension in the core. In the face of the Malayan insurgency threats, the "FARELF [Far East Land Forces] went from a strategic backwater to the front-lines of the Cold War."¹¹ And, the Gurkhas were planned to be used to ease the strain on the rest of the armies and assist the British in achieving their strategic goals. Although the first focus was to the Malayan insurgency, they were also employed in Hong Kong to check the increasing threat of communist forces against the isolated colony.¹² Malaya played a key role both as raw material provider and later as a stronghold against the communist encirclement. Thus, the initial concept of using the Gurkhas as a strategic reserve was gradually subverted by the threats to the periphery.

⁴ Kaushik Roy, *The Construction of Regiments in the Indian Army: 1859-1913*, War in History, Vol.8, No.2, 127-148(2001), pp 147, <http://wih.sagepub.com/cgi>.

⁵ Lionel Caplan, 'Bravest of the Brave': Representations of 'The Gurkha' in British Military Writings, Modern Asian Studies, Vol.25, No.3(Jul., 1991), pp.588.

⁶ Sinha, Class Composition of the Army, p. 83, quoted in Omar Khalidi, Ethnic Group Recruitment in the Indian Army: The Contrasting Cases of Sikhs, Muslims, Gurkhas and Others, Pacific Affairs, Vol. 74, No.4(Winter, 2001-2002), pp.538.

⁷ Raffi Gregorian, *The British Army, the Gurkhas and Cold War Strategy in the Far East, 1947-1954*, Palgrave, 2002, pp. 234.

⁸ Raffi Gregorian, *The British Army, the Gurkhas and Cold War Strategy in the Far East, 1947-1954*, Palgrave, 2002, pp., 31.

⁹ Ibid., .pp 178.

¹⁰ Ibid., .pp179.

¹¹ Raffi Gregorian, *The British Army, the Gurkhas and Cold War Strategy in the Far East, 1947-1954*, Palgrave, 2002, pp., 50.

¹² Ibid., pp. 50.

The Martial Races Theory

Officials of British-India created the Martial Race designations, which explained that one race is more aggressive, brave and well built for fighting than others. They classified each ethnic group into one of the categories of the "Martial" or the "non-Martial." The Martial Races carried the qualities such as courage, loyalty, hardiness, resilience, adaptability, self-sufficiency, and physical strength.

British-India, when faced with fierce resistance from some regions such as Nepal while easily conquering others, concluded people of some regions were martial and others were not. And, it is believed that the Anglo-Nepal War of 1814 compelled them to consolidate the Martial Races Theory. While doing so, they developed a theory that the people from hill regions, involved in agriculture and hunting, possess the warlike qualities but not the plains people from hot areas. Their theory is also based on the heredity and genes not only the climatic conditions. With the firm belief in the Martial Races, the British identified most Indians, with some exception, as unwarlike, and did not recruit from such races. On the other hand, the British started recruiting heavily from the Martial Races for service in the colonial army.

Some people believed that the *Sepoy* Mutiny of 1857 played a crucial role in reinforcing the British belief in the Martial Races Theory, in which some races, such as Bengali, mutinied but other races such as Punjabi, Gurkhas, Kumaoni and Garhwali did not join the mutiny; rather, they remained loyal to the British Raj. This incident gave impetus to the recruitment of the martial races in the colonial army.

The British employed the Martial Race Theory to their great advantage; using it in two ways. With the use of this theory, they were able to avoid any possible recurrence of the scenario of the Indian rebellion of 1857. It also created a sense of competition among the different races. Some believed that the British used this "divide and rule" strategy to achieve their political goals.

Although in principle, the Indian Army does not recognize martial races, the practices are deviant to the principles. India has a colonial legacy and does not want to go away from the tradition. The cult of ethnic based regimentation in the present day Indian Army portrays some connection to the original British concept of the martial races.

Similarly, it is alleged that Pakistan's Military excessively believed in the concept of the martial races prior to the 1971 Indo-Pak war, and thought that they could easily defeat Indian soldiers. The belief was so profound that they thought one Pakistani was equal to four to ten Hindu or Sikh soldiers, and could easily overcome the numerical superiority of the Indian armed forces. The Pakistani military demonstrated biased and racist behavior to the Bengali of the East Pakistan, due to their excessive faith in the Martial Races Theory, and discouraged Bengali people from joining the Pakistani armed forces. Some authors have noted that the defeat in 1971 war compelled Pakistan to cast off its belief in the Martial Races Theory.

Bravery, Loyalty, and Discipline as Essential Soldierly Qualities

As Thucydides expressed in his "Melian dialogue," "right" is only in question between equals in power; when it comes between imperialist and "barbarian," the barbarian must suffer. The imperialists in South Asia had a similar Realists view for almost two centuries. While expanding their empires, they invaded and subjugated princely city-states one after another in the Indian Territory. During that time, driven by international influences, Nepal was also moving in the wave of the Westphalian nation state, integrating tiny principalities into a greater Nepal. When the expansionist's security and economic interests collided at the foothills of the Himalayas, it declared war against Nepal in 1814. The Gurkhas' martial qualities and geopolitical situation favored Nepal in the war. After unsuccessful attempts, they realized that the winning a war against Nepal was going to be very costly; thus, instead of fighting a decisive war and making Nepalese the enemy, they decided to have the country as an ally.

The Realist and the Liberalist approaches possibly may not explain the Gurkhas tradition and their relations between Nepal and India, or the U.K. This phenomenon seems to challenge both

theoretical bases. The Gurkhas are neither mercenaries nor are they fighting for their own country. But, they demonstrate diehard loyalty to whomever they are serving. They are professional soldiers, and their livelihood is soldiering; however, they do not join an army just for monetary benefit. The Gurkhas pose all those distinct qualities that an ideal soldier is supposed to have, which perfectly fit them into professional soldiers' category rather than mercenaries. It is their business of "management of violence" whether it be in the public sector, a private sector, or even a corporate sector. The imperialists cunningly recruited the Gurkhas in its colonial armies, which cannot be explained from the perspective of balance of power or a security dilemma.

According to realists, the states can rely on no one but themselves for security, which is characterized as a self-help system. The Gurkhas do not fit this case. The Realists also maintain that states recognize each other's sovereignty; whereas, in the imperial scenario it was not the case. The security scenario relating to the Gurkhas is not competitive and zero-sum, where one country's gain of security is another country's loss. Regarding the Gurkhas, Britain or India hold alternative concepts of security as "co-operative," where they can maximize their own security without negatively affecting the security of Nepal; not leading to self-help as mentioned by anarchy.

On the other hand, the constructivists' lens is likely to give some understanding of the Gurkhas, which maintain that the structures of human association are determined primarily by shared ideas rather than material forces. There was a major normative shift in the formation of army units in British-India. After recruiting them to its army, the colonial power formed separate units for the Gurkhas and used them for "keeping the peace" in India. The Gurkhas fought first the Pindaree War in 1817, and then they fought the Sikh War in 1846. In 1857, they played an important role to quell the Sepoy mutiny. As a result, the number of Gurkhas regiments were increased and consolidated. Kaushik Roy observed, "In one sense 1857 was a break in the history of regimental construction in particular and British rule in general because caste consciousness was replaced by racial pride."¹³ This establishment of new norms possibly can be explained by analysis of constructive approach. The structure of regimental units is based on shared idea rather than material forces. The identity and interests of these actors are constructed by shared idea of regimental spirit rather than by human nature.

Indeed, the Gurkhas are a colonial construction, possibly an effect of Orientalism. Based on shared norms and values. The Gurkhas have different insignias and uniforms distinguishing them from others and presenting the evidence of ethnic content. Their regimental tradition can be understood as an amalgamation of tradition and modernity.¹⁴ The regimental tradition eventually constructed a new structure that enabled them to endure the "face of battle." Because of this same structure, it was possible to prevent mutiny from the colonial military.

For Gurkhas, whether the Martial Races Theory is valid or not, soldiering is in their genes. It is the tradition they have maintained since before the British discovered their martial qualities, and they formally established a theory. Many people admire their work, not because of their passion for violence, but their devotion and specialization in warfare. They are brave and intrepid, but at the same time, they are peace loving "Johnny Gurkhas" who loathe ruthless violence. At times, this quality seems dichotomous, but it is the reality. Analysis of this complex chemistry is beyond the scope of this paper - a profound anthropological insight may shade light on it. The Gurkhas' tradition shows that war and peace are complementary to one another; a strong desire of peace contingent upon willingness to fight and die without other thoughts.

The amazing thing about the Gurkhas is that they fought against the British in the Anglo-Nepal war, and showed unmatched bravery that was venerated by their antagonist - the British. Then, they served under the same British crown and fought against many princely states within India; the Maharajas of the princely states highly admired their warrior qualities, and proudly recruited them into their armies. After the Independence of India, a large portion of the the British Raj's Gurkhas have been serving as an elite force of the Indian army with the same loyalty and bravery. This is a quintessential example of loyalty that can be rarely found in military tradition elsewhere.

¹³ Kaushik Roy, *The Construction of Regiments in the Indian Army: 1859-1913*, War in History, 2001.

¹⁴ Kaushik Roy, *The Construction of Regiments in the Indian Army: 1859-1913*, War in History, 2001.

Moreover, the paradox of "war and peace" and "antagonism and friendliness" of the Gurkhas is hard to explain. Some people have observed this phenomenon from another perspective, and considered it as their subservient nature and lack of leadership quality. But, the question begs, if the Gurkhas' self-sacrifice for their owner is described as subservient, then what can define the "loyalty"?

Although the British Army or even the Indian Army recruits the Gurkhas from some specific geographic locations and ethnic communities, the inherent Gurkha qualities are not limited to such constrictive boundaries. The Gurkhas are not just ethnic communities or races in Nepal, they are also a blend of culture and tradition with some geographical peculiarities. Hence, most of the hill people in Nepal are Gurkhas.

The business of loyalty, bravery, and discipline is such that the Nepalese or the Gurkhas are highly demanded all over the world for a diverse nature of works, especially in the security related jobs. A decade earlier, the demand of the Nepalese workforce were in some sectors in India such as guard duty in private and public companies, and residence. However, the proliferation of the economic globalization and privatization of the security business have created the heavy demands of the loyal, hardy, and discipline Gurkhas all over the world. Today, the demands of the Gurkhas are not only in the Gurkha regiments of some of the armies, but also in the global economic sector as a workforce; private security sector as a security personnel and guards; and other sectors demanding loyalty, handwork and discipline.

The trend of worldwide growing demand of the Gurkhas in a diverse security business highlights that martial qualities, which were previously considered as a non-commercial and state's prerogatives, is becoming a prominent fungible commodity.

The Gurkhas' existence, or even expansion in some cases, in many armed forces and other security agencies tells us that warrior like qualities and discipline are still essential ingredients of modern soldiers, or law enforcement agents. While a modern soldier must be educated and technologically sound, the personal traits are still key factors for efficiency and success in the warfare.

Whether Britain and India or other countries should maintain the Gurkha regiments or not, could be a matter of debate. But, the relevancy and the importance of the Gurkhas have grown exponentially in the post modern era, both in private and public sectors. The fact is that the essence of violence has not changed, albeit its nature or forms have been changing from time to time. Therefore, despite their educational and technological profoundness, the necessity of warrior like personal traits in soldiers - bravery, loyalty, and discipline - is unchanging.

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अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवा-एक विवेचना

सहायक रथी
बिजय कुमार शाही



प्रस्तावना

१. वाह्य आक्रमणबाट राष्ट्रको सार्वभौमिकता तथा क्षेत्रिय अखण्डतालाई जोगाउन कुनै पनि देशमा सेनाको व्यवस्था गरिएको हुन्छ। साथै आन्तरिक द्वन्द्वको समयमा प्रहरी, प्रशासन तथा अर्ध-सैनिक बलबाट परिस्थिति नियन्त्रण गर्न नसकिएको अवस्थामा अन्तिम अस्त्रको रूपमा सेनाको प्रयोग गरिन्छ। सेनाको निर्माण सामान्यतः दुई प्रकारले गरिएको हुन्छ। व्यक्तिगत रूपमा आफ्नै मनोमानी राजीखुसीले न्युनतम आवश्यक योग्यता पूरा गरी सेनामा भर्ना भई पेशागत रूपमा सेवा गर्न इच्छुक व्यक्तिहरु समावेश गरी तयार गरिएको सेनालाई स्वेच्छिक सेना (Volunteer Army) भनिन्छ। त्यस्तै राष्ट्रको आवश्यकता र सुरक्षा स्थितिको माग बमोजिम तयार गरिएको देशको सुरक्षा नीति अनुसार निश्चित उमेर समुहका युवा युवतीहरुलाई अनिवार्य रूपमा सैनिक तालिम दिई अनिवार्य सैनिकसेवा अन्तर्गत तयार गरिने सेनालाई आरक्षित सैनिक (Reservist) भनिन्छ।

२. संसारको प्रायः सबै राष्ट्रहरुमा स्वेच्छिक सैनिक वा पेशागत सेनाको व्यवस्था गरिएको हुन्छ। अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको व्यवस्था वर्तमान विश्व परिवेशमा क्रमशः लोप हुँदै गईरहेको छ। अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको व्यवस्था राष्ट्रिय सेवाको एक पुरानो व्यवस्था हो। प्रजातान्त्रिक तथा गैरप्रजातान्त्रिक दुवै राजनीतिक व्यवस्था भएको मुलुकमा अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको व्यवस्था लागू भएको देखिन्छ। विशेष गरी, साम्यवादी व्यवस्था भएको प्रायः सबै मुलुकहरुमा अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको व्यवस्था भए तापनि अष्ट्रिया, ब्राजिल, डेनमार्क, फिनल्याण्ड, जर्मनी, इजरायल, मेक्सिको, नर्वे, रसिया, दक्षिण कोरिया, स्विडेन, स्विजरल्याण्ड, टर्की जस्ता प्रजातान्त्रिक मुलुकहरुमा पनि अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको व्यवस्था भएको पाइन्छ।

३. कुनैकुनै राष्ट्रमा पुरुष तथा महिला दुवैलाई अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवामा सरिक गराइन्छ। अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको लागि प्रायः सबै राष्ट्रहरुले तालिममा प्रवेश गर्नु पर्ने उमेरको हद १७-१८ वर्ष तोकेको पाइन्छ। कुनैकुनै राष्ट्रले आफ्नो नागरिकहरुबाट आवश्यक व्यक्ति र संख्या छनोट गरी अनिवार्य सैनिक तालिम दिने गरेको पनि पाइन्छ। यस्तो व्यवस्थालाई छनोट गरिएको अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवा (Selective Compulsory Military Service) भनिन्छ। यो व्यवस्था पनि अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको एउटा पक्ष हो। कुनैकुनै राष्ट्रले देशमा संकट आईपदा सेनाको संख्या बढाउन आवश्यक परेमा नागरिकहरुलाई अनिवार्य सैनिक तालिम दिइने भनी देशको संविधानमा उल्लेख गरेको पनि पाइन्छ। बंगलादेश, इथियोपिया, पोर्चुगल, उरुवे आदि मुलुकहरुमा आवश्यक परेमा अनिवार्य सैनिक तालिम दिन सकिने भन्ने व्यवस्था विद्यमान छ। संयुक्त अधिराज्य, सिंगापुर, न्युजिल्याण्ड आदि मुलुकहरुमा अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवालार्इ “राष्ट्रिय सेवा” (National Service) भनी नामाकरण गरेको पनि पाइन्छ। देशका नागरिकहरुलाई राष्ट्रिय सेनामा अनिवार्य भर्ना गरिने कार्यलाई अंग्रेजीमा Conscription भन्ने शब्द ज्यादै प्रचलित शब्द हो। यो शब्द बाहेक पनि Selective Service, Call up, Draft, Reservist, National Service आदि अंग्रेजी शब्दहरुले अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवालार्इ नै बुझाउदछ। महायुद्धको समयमा र संकटको अवस्थामा कुनै पनि राष्ट्रले अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको व्यवस्था गर्न सक्दछ।

ऐतिहासिक पृष्ठभूमि

४. अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको इतिहासको अध्ययन गर्दा यो प्रथा परापूर्वकालबाट नै प्रचलनमा रहेको पाइन्छ। बेबिलोन साम्राज्यको हमुराबी शासनकालमा अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवा कायम रहेको थियो, जसलाई likum भनिन्थ्यो। यो प्रकृया अन्तर्गत युद्धको समयमा योग्य व्यक्तिले तत्कालिन शाही सेनामा सेवा गर्नु पर्दथ्यो। यि व्यक्तिहरुले शान्तिको समयमा भने राज्यको अन्य क्रियाकलापहरुमा संलग्न हुने गर्दथे। यस बापत राज्यले व्यक्तिलाई जमिन उपलब्ध गराउथ्यो।

५. मध्यकालिन युगमा सामन्तहरूले अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको व्यवस्था गरेका थिए। यस अवस्था अन्तर्गत एउटा परिवारबाट एक जना उमेर पुगेको पुरुषलाई सैनिक सेवाको लागि राजा वा स्थानीय सामान्त वा जमिन्दार समक्ष पठाउनु पर्दथ्यो। यस्तो सेनाले राजा वा सामन्तको तर्फबाट युद्धमा भाग लिनु पर्दथ्यो। यदि जमिन्दार वा राजाले चाहेमा मात्र यस्ता सैनिकलाई खेती गर्ने समयमा घर जान दिइन्थ्यो।

६. अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको अर्को रूप दास सैनिक पनि एक हो। दास सैनिकको प्रचलन मध्यपूर्वमा तुर्कहरूद्वारा व्यापक रूपमा प्रयोगमा ल्याएका थिए। त्यसपछि नवौं शताब्दीबाट अगाडि बढ्दै १९ औं शताब्दीको अटोमन साम्राज्य रहँदासम्म यो प्रथा कायम रहेको इतिहासमा पाइन्छ। चौधौं शताब्दीको मध्यमा अटोमन सुल्तान मुराद प्रथमले आफ्नै दास सेना गठन गरेका थिए। यस्तो सेना निर्माण गर्दा प्रायः जसो ठूलो संख्यामा केटाकेटीहरूको अपहरण गरी सेनामा राखिन्थ्यो। यस्ता केटाकेटीहरू आफ्नो परिवार तथा समाजबाट अलग गरिएको हुन्थ्यो र तिनिहरूलाई इस्लाम धर्म ग्रहण गराइन्थ्यो। यि केटाकेटीहरूलाई सेना सम्बन्धी विविध तालिमहरू दिइन्थ्यो र एक कुशल सैनिक जत्थाको निर्माण गरिन्थ्यो। अटोमन साम्राज्यले युरोपमा आक्रमण गर्दा यही सेनाले निर्णायक भूमिका खेलेको थियो।

आधुनिक अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको प्रारम्भ

७. स्विडेनले सत्रौं शताब्दीमा अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको नीति तयार गरेको थियो। तर ठूलो संख्यामा नागरिकहरूलाई अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको व्यवस्था फ्रान्सको क्रान्तिबाट मात्र प्रारम्भ भएको हो। युरोपियन राज्यहरूबाट फ्रान्सलाई सुरक्षित राख्न यो व्यवस्थाको शुरुवात गरिएको थियो। सेप्टेम्बर ५, १७८९ मा पारित कानूनमा “प्रत्येक फ्रेन्च नागरिक सिपाही हो र उसले देशको प्रतिरक्षा गर्नु पर्छ” भन्ने उल्लेख गरिएको थियो। यो प्रक्रिया अनुसार सन् १८०० देखि १८१३ सम्ममा फ्रान्समा २०,६०,००० भन्दा बढी सेना तयार भई सकेको थियो। नेपोलियन बोनापार्टले यो सेनालाई “The Nation in Arms” नाम दिएका थिए, जसले युरोपियन सेनाहरूसँग सफलतापूर्वक युद्धहरू लडेको थियो। तत्कालिन पर्सियाको युद्धमा हार भएपछि उसले पनि छोटो अवधीको लागि अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवा लागु गरी सेनाको संख्या बढाएको थियो। सन् १८७४ बाट रसियामा पुरानो व्यवस्थालाई हटाई नयाँ नियम तथा कानून अनुसार अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको प्रारम्भ भएको थियो। यो नयाँ कानून अनुसार २० वर्ष लागेका पुरुषहरूले सैनिक तालिम लिई ६ वर्ष अनिवार्य रूपमा सैनिक सेवा गर्नु पर्दथ्यो।

८. अमेरिकन गृहयुद्धको समयमा सन् १८६३ को कानून अनुसार Union Army मा अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको व्यवस्था गरिएको थियो। तर त्यहाँ यो व्यवस्थाको जनताद्वारा कडा आलोचना भएकोले असफल सिद्ध भयो। त्यसपछि सन् १९१७ सम्म अमेरिकामा अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको व्यवस्था भएन। भियतनाम युद्धताका अमेरिकामा अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको व्यवस्था पुनः कायम गरिएको थियो, तर सो युद्धपछि सन् १९७३ बाट अमेरिकामा यो व्यवस्था पूर्णरूपमा हटाइएको थियो, जुन आजसम्म कायम छ। आधुनिक सिद्धान्तविदहरू मध्येको एक म्याकिभेलीले पनि अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवा र यसको राष्ट्रको स्थापनासँगको सम्बन्ध बारेमा प्रकाश पारेका थिए। सन् २००६ सम्ममा चीन, इरिट्रिया, इजरायल, लिबिया, मलेसिया, उत्तर कोरिया, पेरु, ताइवान, इजिप्ट र टयुनिसियाले अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवा अन्तर्गत महिलाहरूलाई पनि सेनामा भर्ना गरिसकेका थिए। सन् १९४१ मा दोस्रो विश्वयुद्ध प्रारम्भ हुँदा संयुक्त अधिराज्यले समेत महिलालाई अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवामा सम्मिलित गराएका थिए। अमेरिकाले जापानमा आक्रमण गर्ने योजना बनाउँदा उसले नर्स कोरमा महिलालाई अनिवार्य प्रवेश गराउने व्यवस्था गरेको थियो। हाल अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको प्रक्रिया कायम रहेका धेरै राष्ट्रहरूमा महिलालाई पनि सम्मिलित गराउन शुरु भईसकेको छ।

वर्तमान विश्व परिवेशमा अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाका दृष्टान्तहरू

९. आजको विश्व परिवेशमा शितयुद्धको युग समाप्त भईसकेको छ। विगतमा जस्तो विभिन्न गुट-उपगुटमा लागेर

राष्ट्रहरू विभाजन भएको देखिएको छैन । ९० को दशकबाटै साम्यवादी मुलुकहरू पनि क्रमशः प्रजातान्त्रिक बाटोमा हिँडन शुरु गरिसकेका छन् । वर्लिनको पर्खाल ढलेको पनि इतिहास भइसकेको छ, तापनि केही राष्ट्रहरूको बीचमा भने आपसी द्वन्द्व र वैमनस्यता जारी रहेको पाइन्छ । आजको विश्वमा आतंकवाद ठूलो खतरा र सुरक्षा चुनौतीको रूपमा देखिएको छ । संसारका धेरै राष्ट्रहरूले आफ्नो सुरक्षा निकायहरूलाई आतंकवाद नियन्त्रण गर्ने कार्यमा प्रयोग गरिरहेका छन् । यो परिप्रेक्ष्यमा विश्वका प्रायः सबै राष्ट्रले आफ्नो पेशागत राष्ट्रिय सेनालाई समयानुकूल तालिम दिई आधुनिक हात-हतियार तथा स्रोत साधनबाट सुसज्जित गराउन अपरिहार्य देखिएको छ । तर पनि केही राष्ट्रहरूले अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवालाई पनि कायमै राखेका छन् ।

१०. आज पनि विश्वका करिब ८० देशहरूमा अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको व्यवस्था कायम रहेको पाइन्छ । साथै ति देशहरू मध्ये धेरै देशले भविष्यमा क्रमिक रूपले यो व्यवस्थालाई हटाउने योजना पनि गरेका छन् । देश अनुसार अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको लागि उमेरको हद, सेवा गर्नु पर्ने अवधि, तालिमको अवधि तथा अन्य मापदण्डहरू पनि पृथकपृथक रहेको पाइन्छ । कुनै देशमा एक पटक निश्चित अवधीसम्म सैनिक सेवा गरेपछि कर्तव्य पुरा हुन्छ तर कुनै देशमा भने तोकिएको उमेरको सीमा भित्र प्रत्येक वर्ष अनिवार्य रूपमा सैनिक सेवा दिई रहनु पर्ने हुन्छ । अफ्रिकी मुलुक अल्जेरियामा ६ महिना आधारभूत सैनिक तालिम गरेपछि अर्को १ वर्ष सेवा गर्नु अनिवार्य हुन्छ, त्यस्तै बेनिनमा १८ महिना र अंगोलामा २ वर्ष सेवा गर्नु अनिवार्य हुन्छ । अष्ट्रियामा भने ६ महिना सैनिक तालिम गरेपछि ८ वर्षसम्म रिजर्भका रूपमा रहनु पर्छ, ताकी सो अवधीमा सम्बन्धित व्यक्ति जहाँ भएपनि सरकारले बोलाउनासाथ उपस्थित हुन सक्नु पर्छ ।

११. अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवा अन्तर्गत नै इजरायलमा १८ वर्षका जुज र डुज (Jews & Druzes) धर्मावलम्बीका महिला र पुरुषलाई सैनिक सेवा अनिवार्य छ । शुरुमा पुरुषले ३ वर्ष, महिलाले २१ महिना तथा अधिकृतवर्गले ४ वर्षको सेवा अनिवार्य गर्नु पर्दछ । त्यसपछि पुरुषहरू ५१ वर्षसम्म र महिलाहरू २४ वर्षसम्म रिजर्भको रूपमा रही प्रत्येक वर्ष निश्चित अवधीको सैनिक तालिम गरेको हुनुपर्छ । दक्षिण कोरियामा निम्न माध्यमिक तह उत्तीर्ण गरेका २० देखि ३० वर्ष भित्रका महिला तथा पुरुषले २४-२८ महिना अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवा गर्नु पर्दछ । पोल्याण्डमा १८-२८ वर्षका युवाले ९-१२ महिना अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवा गर्नुपर्छ । त्यसपछि रिजर्भमा रहनु पर्ने उमेरको हद ५० वर्ष तोकिएको छ । पोल्याण्डको अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको व्यवस्था सन् २०१२ बाट हट्ने भएको छ । रसियामा पनि १ वर्ष अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवा गरेपछि ५० वर्ष उमेरसम्म रिजर्भ सैनिकको रूपमा रहनु पर्छ । रसियाले पनि अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको व्यवस्थालाई सन् २०३० सम्म मात्र जारी राख्ने भनी आफ्नो रणनीतिमा उल्लेख गरेको छ ।

१२. सर्वियाले अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवामा प्रवेश गर्न पुरुषको लागि १९-३५ वर्ष उमेर तोकिएको छ । ६ महिनाको सेवा अनिवार्य गरेको छ । तर उसले सन् २०१० बाट यो व्यवस्थालाई हटाउने भएको छ । सिंगापुरले पनि सबै पुरुषहरूलाई २ वर्षको सैनिक सेवा अनिवार्य गरेको छ । चीनले १८-२२ वर्षका नागरिकहरूलाई २ वर्षको अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको व्यवस्था गरेको छ । नर्वेमा पनि १८-४४ वर्षका पुरुषहरूलाई १ वर्षको सैनिक सेवा अनिवार्य छ । स्विजरल्याण्डमा १९ वर्षका युवाहरूलाई सैनिक सेवा अनिवार्य छ । त्यहाँको संविधानमा “हरेक स्विस् पुरुषले अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवा गर्नुपर्ने” भन्ने उल्लेख छ । युवाहरूलाई शुरुमा १८ हप्ताको सैनिक तालिम दिइन्छ । सो तालिम पश्चात् हरेक युवाले घटीमा २६० दिन सेनामा सेवा गर्नु पर्दछ । त्यसपछि अर्को १० वर्षको अवधीसम्म प्रत्येक वर्ष ३ हप्ताको पुनर्ताजगी तालिम प्रदान गरिन्छ । संयुक्त राज्य अमेरिकामा भने देशका प्रत्येक स्वस्थ र योग्य युवाहरूले १८ वर्ष उमेर पुग्नासाथ आफ्नो नाम सरकारले तोकेको इकाईमा दर्ता गराउनु अनिवार्य हुन्छ । देशलाई आवश्यक परेको समयमा मात्र ति युवाहरूलाई अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको लागि आमन्त्रण गरिन्छ । माथि उल्लेखित विवरणहरू विश्व परिवेसमा वर्तमान अवस्थामा अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवा कायम रहेका राष्ट्रहरू मध्येका केही राष्ट्रका दृष्टान्तहरू प्रस्तुत गरिएका हुन् ।

सकारात्मक पक्षहरू

१३. अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको सम्बन्धमा विगतका अनुभवहरूबाट निम्न सकारात्मक पक्षहरू देखिनमा आएका छन् :-

- (क) **लाभदायक तालिम** देशका सबै नागरिकले सैन्य तालिमको दौरानमा प्राथमिक उपचार, पौडी, शारीरिक तालिम, एकलोपनमा बाँच्ने तरिका आदि विषयहरूमा पनि तालिम लिने हुँदा सो विषयहरू जीवनको हरेक पक्षमा लाभदायक हुन्छ ।
- (ख) **अनुशासित जनशक्ति** सैन्य तालिम प्राप्त व्यक्तिहरू अन्य व्यक्ति भन्दा बढी अनुशासित हुन्छन् । उनीहरूमा एकता र राष्ट्रियताको भावना बढि मात्रामा भल्कन्छ । तसर्थ यसबाट संस्कारलाई तिखार्दछ ।
- (ग) **रोजगारीको अवसर** यसबाट केही हदसम्म देशको बेरोजगार समस्या समाधानमा समेत सहयोग पुग्दछ ।
- (घ) **जगोडा सेना** स-सानो मुलुकहरूलाई यसबाट सानो आकारको सेना राखेर परिआएको समयमा ठूलो संख्याको सेनालाई मैदानमा उतार्न सकिन्छ । यसको उदाहरणको लागि स्वित्जरल्याण्डको इतिहास अध्ययन गर्दा स्पष्ट हुन्छ ।
- (ङ) **कम आर्थिक दायित्व** पेशागत सैनिकलाई भन्दा अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवा अन्तर्गत कार्यरत व्यक्तिलाई दिनुपर्ने आर्थिक दायित्व (भत्ता आदि) कम हुन्छ ।
- (च) **भाडाका सेना नचाहिने** अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको व्यवस्थाले देशमा संकट आईपर्दा भाडाका सैनिकहरू (Mercenaries) प्रयोग गर्नुपर्ने आवश्यकतालाई विस्थापित गर्दछ ।
- (छ) **सहयोगी सेना** प्रथम तथा दोस्रो विश्वयुद्ध जस्ता ठूला युद्धहरूमा पेशागत सैनिकको कार्यलाई हलुको बनाउन र उनीहरूलाई बदला गर्न अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाले महत्वपूर्ण सहयोगी भूमिका खेल्न सक्दछ ।

नकारात्मक पक्षहरू

१४ अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको पक्षमा माथि उल्लेखित सकारात्मक पक्षहरू देखिए तापनि यसका धेरै नकारात्मक पक्षहरू पनि अनुभवहरूबाट देखिएको छ, जुन तल उल्लेख गरिएको छ :-

- (क) **मानव अधिकार** अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको प्रकृया Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the UN को विपक्षमा देखिन्छ । जस अनुसार कुनै पनि व्यक्ति आफ्नो इच्छा बमोजिमको जीवनयापन गर्न स्वतन्त्र हुन्छ । तसर्थ, इच्छा बिना कसैलाई पनि जबरजस्ती कुनै पनि काममा लगाउन सकिन्दैन ।
- (ख) **तानाशाहीलाई बढावा** नेपोलियन बोनापार्ट, एडल्फ हिटलर तथा सद्दाम हुसेन जस्ता व्यक्तित्वले अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको आडमा आफ्नो तानाशाही प्रवृत्ति संचालन गरेका थिए । त्यसैले यसले तानाशाहीलाई बढावा दिन्छ भनी मानिएको छ ।
- (ग) **दासत्वसँग तुलना** केही विद्वानहरूले अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवालाई दासत्वसँग तुलना गरेका छन् । उनीहरूको भनाईमा देशको सार्वभौमिकतालाई जोगाउन संगठित र पेशागत राष्ट्रिय सेनाको निर्माण गरिनु पर्दछ ।
- (घ) **उमेरको भिन्नता** अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवा अन्तर्गत कार्यरत रहने व्यक्तिहरूमा प्रायः जसो युवावर्गको वाहुल्यता हुन्छ । तर पेशागत राष्ट्रिय सेनाका अधिकृत तथा जवानहरूको उमेर छिप्पिएको हुन्छ, यिनीहरूले नै

युवावर्गलाई नेतृत्व गर्दछन् । त्यसैले उमेरको यो भिन्नताले गर्दा कार्यक्षेत्रमा समस्या उत्पन्न हुन सक्छ ।

(ड) **लिर विभेद** परम्परागत रूपमा धेरैजसो मुलुकहरूमा पुरुषहरूलाई मात्र अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवामा लगाइने प्रचलन छ । तर हाल आएर केही राष्ट्रले महिलालाई पनि यो सेवामा सहभागी हुन अनिवार्य गरेका छन्, तापनि अबै धेरै मुलुकमा महिलालाई अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवामा सरिक गराइन्दैन । त्यसैले केही संघ-संस्था तथा विद्वानहरूले यो प्रकृत्यामा लिङ्ग विभेद भएको वकालत गरेका छन् ।

(च) **अनुशासनको अभाव** अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवामा सरिक हुने व्यक्तिहरूमा उत्प्रेरणाको कमी हुन्छ, जसले गर्दा उनीहरूमा पेशागत सेनाको भन्दा अनुशासनको कमी हुन जान्छ । तसर्थ, अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाका व्यक्तिहरूले कमान्डरको आदेश नमान्ने, चित्त नबुझेमा तुरुन्त विद्रोह गर्ने, आफूखुसी कार्य गर्ने, चेन अफ कमान्ड अनुसार नचल्ने जस्ता घटनाहरू बढी मात्रामा हुने गर्दछ । यसको ज्वलन्त उदाहरण दोस्रो विश्वयुद्धमा धेरै राष्ट्रहरूमा देखिएको थियो ।

(छ) **उग्र राष्ट्रवाद तथा सैनिकिकरण** अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको व्यवस्थाले उग्र राष्ट्रवाद तथा सैनिकिकरणलाई बढावा दिन्छ, भन्ने केही विद्वानहरूको मत रहेको पाइन्छ । ठूलो संख्यामा निर्माण गरिएको अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाका सेनाले प्राणघातक उग्र राष्ट्रवादको उदय हुन सक्छ, भन्ने मान्यता रहेको छ । उन्नाइसौं र बिसौं शताब्दीमा देखिएको उग्र राष्ट्रवादले गर्दा नै दोस्रो विश्वयुद्धलाई निम्त्याएको थियो । शान्तिकालमा अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवामा समाजमा सैनिकिकरणको वातावरण खडा गर्न सक्छ, भन्ने मान्यता रहेको छ ।

(ज) **गुणस्तरको कमी** पेशागत स्वेच्छिक सेना भन्दा अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवामा रहेका सेनामा गुणस्तरमा कमी रहेको पाइन्छ । उत्प्रेरणाको कमी र छोटो अवधीको सैनिक तालिम लिएका कारण उनीहरूको गुणस्तर कम हुन्छ । त्यसैले उनीहरूमा युद्ध लड्ने खास दक्षताको पनि कमी रहन्छ ।

(झ) **आर्थिक दायित्व** कुनै पनि देशमा सेना राख्नु भनेको ज्यादै खर्चिलो कार्य हो । त्यसमा पनि देशका सम्पूर्ण नागरिकलाई सैनिक तालिम दिई सैनिक सेवामा कार्यरत गराउँदा आर्थिक दायित्व ज्यादै नै बढ्न जान्छ । अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको लागि आउने व्यक्तिहरूको लागि वासस्थान, लत्ताकपडा, खाना, तालिम खर्च, भत्ता आदि विविध पक्षमा राष्ट्रले अरबौं आर्थिक दायित्व वहन गर्नुपर्ने हुन्छ । त्यसैले युद्ध भईरहेको अवस्था वा तुरुन्त युद्धको सामना गर्नु पर्ने अवस्थामा बाहेक अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको प्रकृत्या आर्थिक दायित्वको हिसावले उपलब्धीमूलक हुने देखिन्दैन ।

(ञ) **विश्वासनीयताको कमी** विभिन्न कारणहरूले गर्दा पेशागत स्वेच्छिक सैनिकको दाँजोमा अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाका व्यक्तिहरू विश्वास गर्न कम योग्य हुन्छन् । युद्धमा साह्रो-गह्रो, अप्त्यारो र खतरनाक परिस्थिति आई पर्दा यि सैनिकहरू पछि हटेको वा धोका दिएको तथा आदेशको अपहेलना गरेको थुप्रै उदाहरणहरू इतिहासमा पाइन्छन् । यसको ज्वलन्त उदाहरण भियतनाम युद्धको दौरानमा अमेरिकी सेनामा देखिएको थियो । साथै न्युयोर्कको सन् १८६३ जुलाईमा पनि अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाबाट विद्रोह भएको थियो ।

निष्कर्ष

१५. कुनै पनि देशको आ-आफ्नै राष्ट्रिय हित (National Interest) रहेको हुन्छ । सोही हित अनुरूप एउटा विशाल रणनीति (Grand Strategy) तयार गरिन्छ । यसबाट नै राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा रणनीति (National Security Strategy) तय हुन्छ, राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षाको रणनीतिलाई उद्देश्य, साधन र अवधारणा यि तिन तत्वले प्रभाव पारेको हुन्छ । यही रणनीति निर्धारण भए पश्चात् नै अन्य विभिन्न रणनीतिहरू तयार गर्ने क्रममा सैनिक रणनीति (Military Strategy) पनि तयार गरिन्छ । यो

रणनीति अर्न्तगत नै राष्ट्रिय सेनाको संगठन, संचालन लगायत अन्य विविध पक्षको व्याख्या गरिएको हुन्छ ।

१६. कुनै पनि राष्ट्रमा अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको व्यवस्था गर्ने/नगर्ने भन्ने सम्बन्धमा पनि त्यस देशको राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा रणनीतिको आधारमा तयार पारिने सैनिक रणनीतिमा उल्लेख भएको हुनुपर्दछ । देशको भू-राजनीतिक स्थिति, आर्थिक अवस्था, सेनाको संगठन र संख्या, खतराको विश्लेषण, छिमेकी राष्ट्रहरूसँगको सम्बन्ध आदि विभिन्न पक्षहरूको अध्ययन र विश्लेषण गरेर मात्र अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको आवश्यकता भए नभएको निक्कै गरिनु पर्दछ । दोस्रो विश्वयुद्धको समाप्ती पश्चात् र विश्वमा कम्युनिष्ट शासनको पतनसँगै धेरैजसो राष्ट्रहरूले अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको व्यवस्थालाई हटाइसकेका छन् । आगामी वर्षहरूमा पनि केही मुलुकहरूले आफ्नो देशमा हाल विद्यमान अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको व्यवस्थालाई हटाउने निर्णय गरेका छन्, पोल्याण्ड र रसिया यसको उदाहरण हुन् ।

१७. हाल हाम्रो देशमा नयाँ संविधान बन्ने प्रक्रियामा रहेको छ । यसै सन्दर्भमा कहिलेकाँही नेपालमा पनि अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवाको व्यवस्था गर्नु पर्छ, भन्ने सुनिनमा आएको छ, यो असम्भव भने होइन । तर यसको लागि माथि उल्लेखित विविध पक्षहरूमा ध्यान दिनु जरुरी छ । त्यसको अतिरिक्त नेपालको आर्थिक, सामाजिक तथा राजनैतिक अवस्था र यस व्यवस्थाको सकारात्मक तथा नकारात्मक पक्षहरूमा विस्तृत रूपमा अध्ययन, अनुसन्धान र विश्लेषण गरिनुका साथै अनिवार्य सैनिक सेवा लागु गर्ने सम्बन्धमा खुल्ला बहस हुनु पर्दछ । अनि मात्र यस्तो व्यवस्थालाई संविधानमा राखिनु न्यायोचित, असरदार र व्यवहारिक ठहर्दछ भन्नुमा शायद कसैको दुईमत हुनेछैन ।

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उन्नति एवम् ऐश्वर्य चाहने मानिसले निन्द्रा, तन्द्रा (उघ्नु), डर, क्रोध, आलस्य तथा
दिल्लासुस्ती जस्ता बानीलाई त्याग्नुपर्छ ।

- लियो टोल्स्टोय

SUN TZU'S ART OF WAR

Trailokya Raj Aryal



Military has always been an important instrument of statecraft from time immemorial, and as such the military history is inseparable from the political history. It is the military power that determines the course of history and provides a state with the ability to carry out its domestic and foreign policies. The states which used their military power wisely and modernized their military with time survived, those who did not, simply perished. Since it's the military power or in other words outcome of wars determine the survival of the state, it is no surprise that there exists a plethora of documents, books and treatises on warfare and military strategy. Of all the books on warfare and military strategy, Sun Tzu's book, The Art of War, written in the 6th century BC in China, is one of the most widely studied and discussed .

The Art of War is one of the surviving seven Chinese classics on military and warfare and many scholars consider it to be one of the oldest books on military strategy. Although written before the unification of China, by the Sung dynasty (10th Century AD) it was required that those taking the civil service examination knew it thoroughly. The book was first translated into French by a Jesuit priest, Jean Joseph Marie Amiot in 1772 AD and it is believed that it influenced Napoleon. Also, the text in one way or the other influenced other military leaders such as Mao Zedong and General Douglas McArthur. Even today the book is on the US Marine Corps Professional Reading Program. In China and the rest of East Asia, the book enjoys a huge readership.

The book is divided in 13 chapters and surprisingly covers all aspects of a war. From the initial calculation to waging a war, from studying the terrain to employing spies, the book has it all. The first chapter of the book is "Laying Plans" (*shi ji*). Sun Tzu begins his book with the following line, "Warfare is the greatest affair of state, the basis of life and death, the Way (*dao*) to survival or extinction. It must be thoroughly pondered and analyzed." In this chapter he highlights the factors—*dao* or the way, leadership, management and terrain— that are crucial in determining the outcome of war.

The second chapter of the book is, "Waging War" (*Zuo Zhan*). In this chapter he describes how to make the soldiers fight, and cautions against protracted warfare. It is surprising that writing some 2500 years ago, he understood the economic constrain of war, and advises that war should be short and fought with planning to reduce the expenses and human loses. He writes, "When employing them (soldiers) in battle, a victory that is long in coming will blunt their weapons and dampen their ardor. ... If you expose the army to a prolonged campaign, the state's resources will be inadequate... No country has ever profited from protracted warfare." Thus he puts the responsibility to end a war quickly on the general commanding the war. According to him, "a general who understands warfare is Master of Fate for the people, ruler of the state's security or endangerment."

The Third Chapter of Sun Tzu's book is titled "Planning Offensives" (*mou gong*). In this chapter he cautions against attacking fortified cities. According to Sun Tzu, attacking the enemy plans is the highest realization of warfare whereas attacking their fortified cities is the lowest realization of warfare. Therefore, the general is advised to attack the enemy plans, rather than destroying the enemy's capital, cities and army. According to Sun Tzu, an able general is, "who excels at employing the military to subjugate other people's armies without engaging in battle, captures other people's fortified cities without attacking them, and destroys other people's states without prolonged fighting. " In this chapter he makes it clear that before a battle the general ought to know his enemy. According to Sun Tzu, "One who knows the enemy and knows himself will not be endangered in hundred engagements. One who does not know the enemy but knows himself will sometimes be victorious, sometimes meet with defeat. One who knows neither the enemy nor himself will invariably be defeated in every engagement."

The fourth chapter of the book is titled "Military Disposition" (*jun xing*). In this chapter he deals

with positioning the army. According to him, "One who excels at warfare first established himself in a position where he cannot be defeated while not losing any opportunity to defeat the enemy." He also goes on highlighting the importance of offensive attacks. According to him, "Those who excel at offense are able to preserve themselves and attain complete victory."

The fifth chapter is titled "Strategic Military Power" (*bing shi*) and deals with the strategic configuration of power, i.e., deployment and command of the forces. According to Sun Tzu, "Commanding a large number is like commanding a few. It is a question of dividing up the numbers. Fighting with a large number is like fighting with a few. It is a question of configuration and designation. Strength and weakness are a question of the deployment of forces."

The sixth chapter is titled "Strengths and Weaknesses" (*xu shi*) and in this chapter Sun Tzu states that enemy's weaknesses should be utilized as one's own strengths. According to Sun Tzu, "Whoever occupies the battleground first and awaits the enemy will be at ease; whoever occupies the battleground afterward and must race to the conflict will be fatigued. Thus one who excels at warfare compels men and is not compelled by other men." He then goes on to explain how to move or restrain the enemy. He writes, "in order to cause the enemy to come of their own volition, extend some profits. In order to prevent the enemy from coming forth, show then the potential harm."

The seventh chapter is titled "Military Combat" (*jun zheng*). According to Sun Tzu, "in military combat what is most difficult is turning the circuitous into the straight, turning adversity into advantage." This chapter mainly deals with the strategy to employ the military. Sun Tzu writes, "Do not approach high mountains; do not confront those who have hills behind them. Do not pursue fatigued retreats. Do not attack animated troops."

The eighth chapter is titled "Nine Changes" (*jiu bian*), and highlights the importance of flexibility in plans. He advises the general to change his plans according to circumstances. In this chapter he also explains the traits of generals. According to him, "One (general) committed to dying can be slain. One committed to living can be captured. One easily angered and hasty to act can be insulted. One obsessed with being scrupulous and untainted can be shamed. One who loves people can be troubled." He states that if these traits are found in excess in a general, then it will result in his death and the destruction of his army. Therefore, before employing the army, the general commanding it should be thoroughly investigated.

The ninth chapter is titled, "Moving the Troops" (*xing jun*), and deals with the different situations a marching army might face, and how to move the army in different situations and terrains. He also provides the general with the clues to look for to assess the enemy's movements and intentions. Sun Tzu writes, "If the birds take flight, there is an ambush. If the animals are afraid, enemy forces are mounting a sudden attack. If dust rises high up in a sharply defined column, chariots are coming. If it is low and broad, the infantry is advancing. If it is sparse, coming and going, they are encamping."

The tenth chapter is titled, Terrain (*di xing*). In this chapter Sun Tzu classifies the terrains as being accessible, suspended, stalemated, constricted, precipitous, and expansive and what the general should do if he is caught in one of these terrains. This chapter also goes on to describe how the general ought to regard his troops. According to Sun Tzu, "If they (soldiers) are well treated but cannot be employed, if they are loved but cannot be commanded, or when in chaos they cannot be governed, they may be compared to arrogant children and cannot be used. Furthermore, the chapter puts the blame entirely on the general if the battle is lost, because it is the general who must know his enemy and himself. Besides this, the chapter also states that if the general thinks the war will result in victory then he should press for it, but if he thinks the war will result in defeat, then despite the pressure from the ruler, he should avoid it. According to Sun Tzu, a virtuous general is, "...who does not advance to seek fame, nor fail to retreat to avoid offense of retreating, but seeks only to preserve the people and gain advantage for the ruler."

The eleventh chapter is titled, "Nine Situations" (*jiu di*). In this chapter Sun Tzu explains the 9 common situations the troops face in battles and the ways to deal with them. He explains when to

entrap, encircle and plunder and engage the enemy. His prescription is, "If the enemy opens the door, race in. And attack what the enemy loves first." As in previous chapter he describes the virtues that a good general should possess. According to Sun Tzu, "It is essential for a general to be tranquil and obscure, upright and self-disciplined, and able to stupefy the eyes and ears of the officers and troops, keeping them ignorant." Of the institution of the Army, he says, it should be like a snake, when the head is hit, the tail responds, when the tail is hit, the head responds, and when it is hit in the middle, both the head and the tail respond.

The 12th chapter is called the "Attack by Fire" (*huo gong*), and Sun Tzu highlights the situations in which fire should be used as a weapon, and how to react when the enemy uses fire as a weapon. According to Sun Tzu, there are five types of fire attack: "the first is to incinerate men, the second to incinerate provisions, the third to incinerate supply trains, the fourth to incinerate armories, and the fifth to incinerate formations." Also Sun Tzu makes it clear that before using this tactic, i.e., setting ablaze, the army needs to carefully prepare all the necessary equipments, and also look for the weather conditions. He then goes on to explain how to react if the enemy starts the fire. For example, if the fires are started from within the enemy camp, an immediate attack from outside should be launched. If the enemy army remains quiet after starting the fire, then it is advisable to wait. If fires are ignited upwind, then it is not advisable to attack downwind.

The 13th chapter of the book is titled "Employing Spies" (*yong jian*), and in this chapter Sun Tzu highlights the importance of intelligence in warfare because "one cannot find out the enemy's true situations from ghosts, spirits or gods, so, it is imperative to employ spies to find out about the enemy." Thus, he prescribes 5 types of spies to be employed to run the daily affairs of the state and to win a war—local spy, internal spy, double agent, expendable spy and living spy. Local spy is hired from the area of which the information is needed. Internal spy holds a key position in the enemy's bureaucracy and has access to important information. Double agent is the enemy's spy. Sun Tzu advises to be generous towards internal spy and double agent because it is from them; the information about one's own double agents can be acquired. Expendable spy is hired to disseminate false information to the enemy. Sun Tzu does not seem very kind to this particular group of spies because he writes that "once the job is done, then, it's better for the state to kill the spy." Living spy is the most valuable one because he goes to the enemy's territory, witnesses the events taking place there and based on the intelligence he has gathered, submits a report to the ruler. When all these five types of spies are mobilized secretly, then the state will always be able to take proactive measures against the enemy's moves. Not only this, he cautions against the enemy spies. According to Sun Tzu, "You must search for enemy agents who have come to spy on us. Tempt them with profits, instruct and retain them."

As mentioned earlier, since Sun Tzu's book covers all aspects of internal security and warfare, it is still widely read today. Although written some 2600 years ago, the strategies mentioned in the book can be applied to achieve success in wars, and protect the country from invaders and intruders.

As The Art of War is one of the Chinese classics, there are many English translations of it. I have used Ralph D. Sawyer's translation of the book "The Art of War (1994), Barnes and Noble Books, NY, USA.)

If our soldiers are not overburdened with money, it is not because they have a distaste for riches; if their lives are not unduly long, it is not because they are disinclined to longevity.

- Sun Tzu

कल्याणकारी कोष सम्बन्धी संक्षिप्त जानकारी



म.से. विष्णु बहादुर जि.सी.
श्री क.का.यो.नि.

पृष्ठभूमी

१. “बहुजन हिताय बहुजन सुखाय” को उद्देश्य राखी राष्ट्रका लागि प्राणोत्सर्ग गर्न तत्पर नेपाली सेनाका सकल दर्जा, अवकास प्राप्त सैनिक र तिनका आश्रित परिवारहरूको वृहत हितका लागि औषधोपचार, शिक्षा, परिवार आवास र विभिन्न आर्थिक राहत तथा कल्याणकारी कार्य सञ्चालन गर्ने उद्देश्यले २०३० सालमा नेपाली सेना **UN Mission** मा सहभागी भए वापत प्राप्त रु.१ करोड २४ लाख १ हजार ४ सय ५ रुपैया ७० पैसाबाट वि.सं. २०३२ सालमा सैनिक कल्याणकारी कोषको स्थापना भएको हो ।

२. हाल यो कोष सैनिक ऐन २०६३ को दफा २९ (३) बमोजिम ७ सदस्यीय कल्याणकारी कोष सञ्चालन तथा व्यवस्थापन समितिको व्यवस्था भए अनुरूप कार्य सञ्चालन भइरहेको छ ।

३. उक्त ऐनमा व्यवस्था भए अनुसार कोषको संरक्षकमा प्रधानमन्त्रीज्यू र सह संरक्षकमा रक्षामन्त्रीज्यू रहने व्यवस्था छ ।

४. सैनिक कल्याणकारी कोष सञ्चालन तथा व्यवस्थापन समिति

- | | |
|---|-----------|
| (क) प्रधान सेनापति | - अध्यक्ष |
| (ख) संरक्षकबाट भूतपूर्व र बहालवाला सैनिक अधिकृत मध्येबाट मनोनीत दुई जना | - सदस्य |
| (ग) प्रधान सेनापतिबाट बहालवाला र भूतपूर्व सैनिक अधिकृत मध्येबाट मनोनीत दुईजना | - सदस्य |
| (घ) प्रतिनिधि अर्थ मन्त्रालय (रा.प.प्रथम श्रेणीको अधिकृत) | - सदस्य |
| (ङ) प्रतिनिधि रक्षा मन्त्रालय (रा.प.प्रथम श्रेणीको अधिकृत) | - सदस्य |

कोषको प्रयोग

५. कोषको प्रयोग सैनिक ऐन, २०६३ अनुसार देहायको प्रयोजनको लागि मात्र गर्न सकिने प्रावधान रहेको छ ।

(क) नेपाली सेनाका बहालवाला तथा अवकास प्राप्त सैनिक ब्यक्ति र निजका आश्रित परिवारको निमित्त आवश्यकता अनुसार कल्याणकारी कार्य सञ्चालन गर्न ।

(ख) कल्याणकारी योजना तथा आयमूलक कार्य सञ्चालन गर्न ।

(ग) साविकमा सञ्चालित कल्याणकारी कार्यहरूलाई निरन्तरता दिन ।

(घ) नेपाली सेनालाई आवश्यक पर्ने विविध सामग्रीको आपूर्ति गर्न तथा यस्ता सामग्रीको उत्पादन तथा सञ्चय गर्न ।

(ङ) नेपाली सेना, संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ र मित्र राष्ट्रको आह्वानमा शान्ति सेनामा सम्मिलित हुंदा सोसंग सम्बन्धित कार्यको लागि आवश्यक पर्ने रकम तथा सरसामान उपलब्ध गराउन ।

सैनिक कल्याणकारी कोषको रकम बैंक तथा वित्तीय संस्थाहरूमा निक्षेप राख्ने व्यवस्था

६. सैनिक ऐन, २०६३ को परिच्छेद ६ “सैनिक कल्याणकारी कोष”, नेपाल सरकारद्वारा मिति २०६५ माघ २ गते प्रकाशित “सैनिक कल्याणकारी कोष नियमावली, २०६५”, सैनिक कल्याणकारी कोष संचालन तथा व्यवस्थापन समितिद्वारा मिति २०६५/२/२ गते स्वीकृत “सैनिक कल्याणकारी कोष निक्षेप नीति” तथा अर्थ मन्त्रालय र नेपाल राष्ट्र बैंकबाट विभिन्न मितिमा जारी गरेको निर्देशनहरूको दयारा भित्र रही सैनिक कल्याणकारी कोषको रकम विभिन्न बैंक तथा वित्तीय संस्थाहरूमा निक्षेप राखी सोबाट आर्जित व्याज रकमबाट विभिन्न सैनिक कल्याणकारी कार्यहरू संचालन गर्दै आई रहेको छ । कल्याणकारी कोषलाई समय अनुरूप व्यवस्थित तथा पारदर्शी बनाउने उद्देश्यले कल्याणकारी योजना निर्देशनालयबाट “कल्याणकारी दर्पण” प्रकाशित गर्ने गरिएको छ । साथै अनुकूल समयमा पत्रकार सम्मेलनको आयोजना गर्ने तथा वार्षिक आय व्यय विवरण राष्ट्रिय दैनिक पत्रिकामा समेत प्रकाशित गरिने गरिएको छ साथै कोषको वार्षिक आय व्यय प्रतिवेदन कोषको संरक्षक र राज्य व्यवस्था समितिमा समेत जानकारी गराउने गरिएको छ ।

कोषको आयश्रोत

७. कल्याणकारी कोषको मुख्य आयश्रोत संयुक्त राष्ट्रसंघको आह्वानमा नेपाली सेनाले भाग लिएबापत प्राप्त हुने रकम नै हो । अन्य विविध थप श्रोतहरू निम्न अनुसार रहेका छन् ।

(क) मुख्य आयश्रोत

- (१) शान्तिसेनामा भाग लिए वापत प्राप्त हुने रकम ।
- (२) बैंक तथा वित्तीय संस्थाहरूमा निक्षेप गरिएको रकमबाट प्राप्त हुने व्याज ।

(ख) विविध

- (१) पेट्रोल पम्पबाट प्राप्त हुने भाडा रकम ।
- (२) विद्यालयहरूका विद्यार्थीहरूबाट प्राप्त हुने शुल्क ।
- (३) टेण्डर फारम बिक्रि र सामान ढिला बुझाए वापत प्राप्त हुने विलम्ब शुल्क ।
- (४) वीरेन्द्र सैनिक अस्पतालबाट विभिन्न शिर्षकमा प्राप्त हुने रकम ।
- (५) परिवार आवास भाडा वापत प्राप्त हुने रकम ।
- (६) MSA (Mission Subsistence Allowance) प्राप्त गर्नेहरूबाट प्राप्त हुने ५ प्रतिशत रकम ।
- (७) विदेशी मुद्रा सटही कमिशन ।
- (८) सैनिक ऐन २०६३ ले दिएको अधिकार प्रयोग गरी आर्जन गरेको विभिन्न योजना तथा आयमूलक कार्यहरूबाट प्राप्त हुने रकम ।

सैनिक कल्याणकारी कोषबाट संचालित कल्याणकारी कार्यहरू

८. स्वास्थ्य उपचार सेवा र उपचार खर्च

(क) बहालवाला सैनिकका परिवार तथा अवकाश प्राप्त र तिनका आश्रित परिवारलाई २०३४ सालदेखि

कोषले निशुल्क औषधोपचार सुविधा उपलब्ध गराउदै आएको छ ।

(ख) उपचारको क्रममा एक आर्थिक वर्षमा एक व्यक्तिका लागि रु. एक लाखसम्मको खर्च कोषले ब्यहोर्न सक्ने ब्यवस्था गरिएको छ ।

(ग) कोषबाट औसतमा वार्षिक २ लाख ५० हजारले औषधोपचार सुविधा प्राप्त गर्ने गरेका छन् ।

(घ) बहालवाला तथा अवकाश प्राप्त सैनिकका श्रीमान/श्रीमतीलाई गम्भिर रोग लागी सैनिक अस्पतालमा उपचार हुन नसक्ने अबस्थामा प्रति व्यक्ति रु. ५ लाख (दम्पतिको लागी रु. १० लाख) को स्वास्थ्य बिमा दिन सकिने व्यवस्था रहेको छ ।

९. **परिवार तथा आवास सहूलियत** सकल दर्जाका सैनिकहरूलाई बहाल रहंदासम्म समान रूपमा प्रतिव्यक्ति मासिक रु. २०० का दरले कल्याणकारी कोषबाट अनुदान दिने ब्यवस्था गरिएको छ ।

१०. **स्वास्थ्य विमा अनुदान** सकल दर्जाका सैनिकहरूलाई बहालमा हुंदा वार्षिक रु. २०००- स्वास्थ्य विमा अनुदान दिने गरिएको छ ।

११. **वीरेन्द्र सैनिक कल्याणकारी निवृत्तिभरण** त्यसैगरि सैनिक सेवाबाट अवकाश प्राप्त गर्ने सैनिक तथा नीजका विधवा/विदुरका लागि समेत मासिक रु. २०० का दरले कोषबाट आजीवन कल्याणकारी निवृत्तिभरण दिने गरि एको छ ।

१२. **आवास सुविधा** देशका विभिन्न स्थानहरूमा तैनाथ सेनाका ईकाईहरूमा कार्यरत सैनिकहरूको हितलाई ध्यानमा राखी परिवार आवास निर्माण गर्दै जाने नीति अनुरूप उपत्यका बाहिरका हरेक युनिटहरूमा कम्तिमा १०/१० परिवार संख्याको निमित्त आवास निर्माण गर्ने कायलाई बिगत देखिनै निरन्तरता दिदै आईएको छ । मिति २०६६।०१।१५ गते सम्ममा उपत्यकाभित्र कल्याणकारी कोषबाट निर्माण भएका आवास गृहहरूमा आवास सुविधा लिने परिवार संख्या ७२९ रहेको छ भने, देशभर १७१ परिवार आवास गृह निर्माण भई कुल १७८५ परिवारले आवास सुविधा प्राप्त गरिरहेका छन् ।

उपत्यकाभित्रको परिवार आवासको बिबरण

आवास गृह	आवास सुविधा लिने परिवार संख्या
अधिकृत परिवार आवास	७२
डा.अ.परिवार आवास	८
नर्स परिवार आवास	८
पदिक तथा अन्य दर्जाको परिवार आवास संख्या	६४१
जम्मा	७२९

१३. **विस्थापित परिवारको लागि आवास व्यवस्था** विस्थापित परिवारको लागि पुर्वाञ्चल र मध्यमाञ्चलमा ३०/३०, पश्चिमाञ्चलमा ५०, मध्यपश्चिमाञ्चलमा २० र सुदूर पश्चिमाञ्चलमा ४० परिवारको लागि आवास गृह निर्माण भइसकेका छन् ।

१४. **आर्थिक सहायता** जंगी कारवाहीको सिलसिलामा घाइते तथा वीरगति प्राप्त गर्ने व्यक्तिहरूको निमित्त आर्थिक सहायता दिने व्यवस्था समेत रहेको छ ।

(क) **आवास सहयोग** वीरगति प्राप्त गर्नेहरूको हकवालाले कोषबाट राहत स्वरूप आवास सहयोग वापत रु. २५ हजार प्राप्त गर्ने व्यवस्था रहेको छ ।

(ख) आर्थिक अनुदान त्यसैगरि वीरगति प्राप्त गर्नेहरुको हकवालालाई कोषबाट अनुदानस्वरुप रु. १ लाख समेत प्रदान गर्ने व्यवस्था गरिएको छ ।

(ग) असक्त घाइते सहयोग जंगी कारवाहीको सिलसिलामा घाइते भएका व्यक्तिहरुलाई मेडिकल बर्गीकरण अनुसार नेपाल सरकारबाट प्रदान हुने रकम बराबर अर्थात रु. ५ हजारदेखि ५० हजारसम्म कोषबाट थप प्रदान गर्ने व्यवस्था रहेको छ ।

(घ) चन्दा पुरस्कार विभिन्न दैवी प्रकोप तथा अन्य कारणबाट पीडित व्यक्तिहरुलाई राहत स्वरुप अवस्था हेरी आर्थिक सहायता प्रदान गर्ने प्रावधान छ ।

(ङ) कानुनी सहायता बहालवाला पदिक तथा अन्य दर्जालाई कानुनी सहायतावापत कोषबाट अधिकतम रु. १ हजारसम्म दिने व्यवस्था छ ।

(च) कृया कर्म खर्च सेनामा बहालवाला व्यक्तिको बहाल छुदै मृत्यु भएमा वा अवकाश प्राप्त व्यक्तिहरु सैनिक अस्पतालमा उपचार गर्दा गर्दै मृत्यु भएमा न्यूनतम रु. १ हजार कृया कर्म खर्च दिइने व्यवस्था समेत रहेको छ ।

१५. अन्य विविध

(क) भू.पू. सैनिक पुनर्मिलन समारोह, एवं सहयोग सामाग्री वितरण ।

(ख) अवकाश प्राप्त सैनिकहरुलाई स्वीकृत निश्चित कोटामा सैनिक कल्याणकारी कोषबाट संचालित विभिन्न कार्यहरुमा रोजगारीको व्यवस्था ।

(ग) नेपाल राष्ट्रिय भूतपूर्व सैनिक संघलाई वार्षिक अक्षय कोषमा रु.१ लाख र विश्व भू.पू. सैनिक महासंघको सदस्यता नवीकरण गर्न १ हजार ७ सय ६० युरो बराबरको रकम कल्याणकारी कोषबाट आर्थिक अनुदानस्वरुप दिने व्यवस्था ।

१६. सैनिक पुनस्थापना केन्द्र जंगी कारवाहीमा अंगभंग भएका सैनिक तथा गैहसैनिकहरुका लागि छाउनीस्थित पुनस्थापना केन्द्रमा आवश्यक कृत्रिम हातखुट्टा बनाउने रोजगारीमुलक अर्थात् व्यवसायिक तालिमको साथै बसोबासको व्यवस्था गर्ने कार्यले समेत निरन्तरता पाई रहेको छ । हाल उक्त पुनस्थापना केन्द्रमा १६ जना अंगभंग भएका व्यक्तिलाई पुनस्थापना गरिएको छ भने हाल सम्म ४० जनाको कृत्रिम हातखुट्टा जडान गर्ने कार्य समेत सो केन्द्रबाट भई सकेको छ ।

१७. सैनिक आवासीय महाविद्यालयहरु नेपाली सेनाका बहालवाला तथा अवकाश प्राप्त सैनिकहरुको साथै गैरसैनिकहरुका जेहेन्दार छोरा छोरीहरुलाई सुलभ तथा गुणस्तरीय शिक्षा प्रदान गर्ने पुनित कार्यको निमित्त निम्न स्थानमा सैनिक महाविद्यालय तथा विद्यालयहरुको स्थापना भई संचालनमा रहेका छन् ।

सि.नं.	विद्यालयको नाम	स्थापना	संचालन हुने	छात्र छात्रा
१	श्री वीरेन्द्र सैनिक आवासिय महाविद्यालय, भक्तपुर	२०४३	कक्षा ४ देखि	२३४७
२	श्री ज्ञानेन्द्र सैनिक पश्चिमाञ्चल आवासीय महाविद्यालय, पोखरा	२०६१	कक्षा ४ देखि	६६४
३	श्री ज्ञानेन्द्र सैनिक पुर्वाञ्चल आवासीय महाविद्यालय, धरान	२०६२	कक्षा ४ देखि	५२२
४	श्री ज्ञानेन्द्र सैनिक मध्यपश्चिमाञ्चल आवासीय महाविद्यालय,	२०६३	कक्षा ४ देखि	४३२
५	श्री विजेश्वरी ज्ञान मन्दिर माध्यामिक विद्यालय, विजेश्वरी	२०५४	कक्षा १ देखि	४५१
६	श्री रिपुमर्दिनी प्राथमिक विद्यालय, बासवारी	२०६१	नर्सरी देखि	२५२
जम्मा				४६६८

१८. आशाकिरण छात्रावास विजेश्वरीस्थित सैनिक परिवार आवास परिसरभित्र नेपाली सेनामा कार्यरत रही दे शमा शान्ति स्थापना गर्ने काममा खटिएको बखत जंगी कारवाहीमा परी वीरगती प्राप्त गर्ने र कार्यालय कामको सिलसिलामा मृत्यु हुने सैनिकका छोराहरूलाई मात्र खाने, बस्ने र पढ्ने व्यवस्था गरि वि.सं. २०६१ साल वैशाख ३ गते स्थापना भएको हो र हाल उक्त छात्रावासमा ८५ जना छात्राहरू रहेका छन् ।

१९. शिक्षा छात्रवृत्ति व्यवस्था

(क) वीरेन्द्र ऐश्वर्य छात्रवृत्ति (विदेश/विविध) भारत, बंगलादेश र पाकिस्तानमा मेडिकल लगायतका प्राविधिक विषय अध्ययन गर्न जान छनौट हुने र भएका मेडिकल उमेदवारहरूलाई निश्चित सुविधा (छात्रवृत्ति) प्रदान गर्ने गरिएको छ ।

(ख) वीरेन्द्र ऐश्वर्य छात्रवृत्ति (स्वदेश) नेपाली सेनामा सेवारत तथा अवकाशप्राप्त सैनिकका कक्षा ६ देखि १२ सम्म अध्ययन गर्ने छोरा छोरीलाई मासिक रु.२०००- का दरले दिई आएकोमा आ.व.०६६/६७ बाट मासिक रु. ३०००- का दरले एकमुष्ठ रकम दिने व्यवस्था गरिएको छ ।

(ग) प्रधानसेनापति छात्रवृत्ति २०३२ सालमा स्थापित यो छात्रवृत्ति बहालमै रहँदा मृत्यु भएका वा जंगी कारवाहीमा वीरगति प्राप्त गर्ने सैनिकका ६ देखि १८ वर्ष सम्मका २ जना छोरा छोरीलाई मासिक रु.४०० का दरले दिई आएकोमा आ.व.०६६/६७ बाट मासिक रु.६०००- का दरले एकमुष्ठ रकम दिने व्यवस्था गरिएको छ ।

२०. पूर्वाधार विकास

(क) कोषबाट सञ्चालित औषधोपचार तथा शिक्षा क्षेत्रका कल्याणकारी कार्यक्रमहरूलाई प्रभावकारी रूपमा संचालन गर्न अस्पताल, विद्यालय तथा महाविद्यालयहरूमा आवश्यक भौतिक पूर्वाधारहरूको विस्तार गर्दै जाने नीति लिईएको छ ।

(ख) पूर्वाधारका लागि आवश्यक रकम कल्याणकारी कोषबाट व्यहोरिने र विकास निर्माण तथा स्थापित महानिर्देशनालय मार्फत योजनाबद्ध रूपमा पूर्वाधार निर्माण गर्ने गरिएको छ ।

(ग) आर्थिक वर्ष ०६६/६७ मा पूर्वाधार निर्माणमा अनुमानित २५ करोड ८४ लाख २३ हजार छुट्टै याईएको छ ।

कोषको आर्थिक अवस्था

२१. स्थापनाकाल (२०३२ साल) मा रु. १ करोड २४ लाख १ हजार ४ सय ५ रुपैया ७० पैसाबाट शुरु गरिएको सैनिक कल्याणकारी कोषको २०६६ असार मसान्तसम्ममा मिति २०६६/८/१५ गतेको विदेशी मुद्रा विनिमय दरले रु.१३ अर्ब १३ करोड ५७ लाख २७ हजार १ सय रुपैया १५ पैसा मौज्जात रहेको छ ।

कल्याणकारी कोषको लेखा परिक्षण

२२. महालेखा परिक्षकको वार्षिक प्रतिवेदन २०५८ को भाग १ दफा १० को पेज नं. ४४३ मा निम्न व्यहोरा उल्लेख भएको:

नेपाली सेना शान्तीस्थापना गर्ने कार्यमा विभिन्न मुलुकमा गई सेवा गरे वापत संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघबाट पाइने सुविधा रकमबाट केही रकम कट्टा गरी नेपाली सेनाका वहालवाला र भूतपूर्व कर्मचारी तथा नीजको परिवारहरूको लागि शिक्षा, स्वास्थ्य आदि कल्याणकारी कार्यक्रम सञ्चालन गर्ने उद्देश्यले यो कोष संचालन भईरहेको । रक्षा मन्त्रालयको २०३४।५।२।५ को पत्र तथा तत्कालीन व्यवस्था बमोजिम सो कोषको अधिकांश इकाइको २०४४।०४५ सम्मको ले

खा परिक्षण यस विभागबाट सम्पन्न भएको थियो । त्यस बखत कोषले कानुनी अस्तित्व नपाएकाले लेखा परिक्षण हुनसकेको थिएन । यसै बीच २०५७/८१९४ को नेपाल राजपत्र भाग २, अतिरिक्त ४४ मा सैनिक ऐन, २०१६ मा चौथो संशोधनबाट दफा १६३ क थप भई कल्याणकारी कोषको स्थापना भएको थियो । कोषले कानुनी अस्तित्व प्राप्त गरेपछि केही कर्मचारीहरु करारमा काममा लगाई कोषको वक्यौता लेखाको आर्थिक वर्ष २०४५/०४६ देखिको २०५८/४१९ वाट लेखा परिक्षण कार्य आरम्भ गरिएको थियो ।

२३. सैनिक ऐन, २०६३ को दफा ३२ (१) मा व्यवस्था भए बमोजिम कोषको कारोवारमा कुनै संगलनता नरहेका उपरथीको अध्यक्षतामा लेखापरीक्षण सम्बन्धी दक्ष जनशक्ति अधिकृत, आर्थिक विशेषज्ञ, चार्टर्ड एकाउण्टेण्ट सम्मिलित बोर्डबाट कोषको आर्थिक वर्ष २०६३/६४, २०६४/६५ को पुरै र आर्थिक वर्ष २०६५/६६ को प्रथम चौमासिकको लेखापरीक्षण समेत सम्पन्न भइसकेको छ ।

आवास तथा बीमा शाखा

२४. यस शाखा अन्तरगत साधारण बिमा, स्वास्थ्य बिमा, दुर्घटना बिमा, आवास योजना, घडेरी विकास योजना र ऋण सहूलियत जस्ता कार्यहरु सञ्चालन भइरहेको छ ।

२५. साधारण बिमा योजना अन्तर्गत बहालमा छुदै मृत्यु हुने बिमकको हकवालाले प्राप्त गर्ने थप लाभांस, हालको मासिक कट्टी दर र बिमा रकम निम्न अनुसार रहेको छ ।

दर्जा	साधारण तर्फ			ग्यारिजन गण र बन्दोबस्ती कार्य गणतर्फ		
	मासिक कट्टी दर	पाउने बिमा रकम	मृतकलाई लाभांस थप	मासिक कट्टी दर	पाउने बिमा रकम	मृतकलाई लाभांस थप
रथी पृन्द	२००।-	२०००००।-	२५०००।-	-	-	-
अधिकृत	१५०।-	१५००००।-	२५०००।-	७५।-	७५,०००।-	१२,५००।-
पदिक	१००।-	१०००००।-	२५०००।-	५०।-	५०,०००।-	१२,५००।-
अन्य दर्जा	५०।-	५००००।-	२५०००।-	२५।-	२५०००।-	१२,५००।-

२६. स्वास्थ्य बिमा नेपाली सेनाको अस्पतालबाट साधारण उपचार हुन नसकी गम्भिर प्रकृतीको रोग लागि स्वदेश वा विदेशमा उपचार गर्नको लागि सेनाका बहालवाला तथा अवकाश प्राप्त व्यक्तिको श्रीमान/श्रीमतीको लागि स्वास्थ्य बिमा लागु गरिएको छ । यो योजना अनुसार बहालवालाहरुको हकमा कोषबाट वार्षिक रु.२००।- र आवास योजनाबाट रु. २००।- गरी जम्मा रु.४००।-साथै अवकाशप्राप्त व्यक्तिको हकमा एकमहिना बराबरको पेन्सन रकम एकपटक मात्र जम्मा गर्ने व्यवस्था गरीएको छ । यसबाट बिमकका दम्पतिहरुको लागि एकजना बराबर रु. ५,००,०००।- (पांचलाख) सम्मको बिमा व्यवस्था गरिएको छ ।

२७. दुर्घटना बिमा बहालवाला सैनिक व्यक्तिको दुर्घटनामा परी मृत्यु भएमा नीजको हकवालाले रु. १,००,०००।- (एकलाख) सम्म र दुर्घटना भई घाइते भएमा मेडिकल सिफारिस अनुसार नेपाल सरकारबाट दिइने रकम बराबरको रकम कल्याणकारी कोषबाट समेत उपलब्ध गराउने व्यवस्था गरिएको छ ।

२८. आवास योजना यो योजना अन्तर्गत नेपाली सेनामा कार्यरत रथीपृन्द/अधिकृत, पदिक र अन्यदर्जाबाट क्रमशः रु. २००।-, रु. १२५।- र रु. १००।-संकलन गरी त्यसमा कोषबाट मासिक परिवार सहूलियत तथा अनुदान थप रकम वापत रु.२००।- तथा अधिकृत क्याडेट र सैन्यबाट रु.१००।- संकलन गरी कोषबाट रु.१००।-थप गरी सेवानिवृत्त भई जांदा चक्रवृत्ति व्याज सहित जम्मा भएको रकम दिने व्यवस्था छ । यसरी कट्टा भएको रकम

तथा थप रकम समेत सेवाबाट निवृत्तभरण भई जादा अनुमानित निम्न अनुसार रकम पाउने छन् ।

सि.नं.	दर्जा	सेवा अवधि	बिमा रकम	आवास रकम	जम्मा रकम	कै
१	अधिकृत	२० वर्ष	५१,२४२।३४	१,२९,९८९।६३	१,८१,२३१।९७	
२	पदिक	१७ वर्ष	१८,३८४।७८	६७,८९४।०४	८६,२७८।८२	
३	अन्यदर्जा	१६ वर्ष	१२,९८८।३५	५६,४७१।०६	६९,४५९।४१	

२९. घडेरी विकास काठमाडौं उपत्यका र उपत्यका बाहिरका पृतना र बाहिनी क्षेत्रको उपयुक्त इलाकामा जग्गा खरिद गरी योजनाबद्ध ढंगले घडेरीको विकास गरी सरल र किस्ताबन्दिमा नेपाली सेनाका सकल दर्जाहरूलाई घडेरी उपलब्ध गर्ने गरिएको छ । जसअनुरूप हालसम्म पोखरा फुलबारी टोलको घडेरी वितरण गर्ने कार्य सम्पन्न भइसकेको छ भने सुनसरी जिल्लाको ईटहरीमा घडेरी खरिद भई बिक्रि वितरण गर्ने कार्य शुरु भइसकेको छ भने पोखराको राधाकृष्ण टोल, चितवन, किर्तिपुर र भक्तपुरमा समेत व्यवस्थित घडेरी व्यवस्था गर्ने प्रकृया अघि बढिरहेको छ ।

३०. ऋण सहूलियत १० वर्ष सेवा अवधि पुगेका सैनिक व्यक्तिहरूको सामाजिक स्तरोन्नतीको निमित्त अधिकृतले रु.३,५०,०००।-, पदिकले रु.२,००,०००।- र अन्य दर्जाको लागि रु.१,००,०००।- सम्मको ऋण सुविधा ५.७५ प्रतिशत व्याजदरमा उपलब्ध गराइदैं आईएको छ ।

३१. लेखा परिक्षण आवास तथा बिमा शाखातर्फको आर्थिक कारोवारको महालेखाबाट लेखापरिक्षण हुने कानुनी व्यवस्था नभएकोले यसतर्फको लेखापरिक्षण नेपाल सरकारको रजिष्टर लेखा परिक्षकहरूबाट विगत देखि २०६५ साल आषाढ मसान्तसम्मकै लेखा परिक्षण सम्पन्न भइसकेकोछ ।

संक्षेप

३२. सैनिक ऐन २०६३ अनुसार सैनिक कल्याणकारी कोष सञ्चालन हुदै आएको र सोही ऐनको अधिनमा रही कोष नियमावली २०६५ पनि पारित भइसकेकोछ । कोषलाई समयानुकूल सञ्चालन गर्नको लागि आवश्यकता अनुसार कार्यविधि तयार गर्ने कार्य पनि तदारुकताका साथ भइरहेको छ । कोष सञ्चालनमा पारदर्शी, मितव्ययी साथै तल्लो तहसम्म सेवा सुविधा पुगोस् भन्ने उद्देश्यले सबैबाट समय समयमा सुझाव एवं सहमति लिई कार्यान्वयन गर्ने गरिएको साथै सबै तहमा जानकारी होस् भन्ने उद्देश्यले समय समयमा परिपत्र, नियमित रूपमा सैनिक आदेश एवं पुस्तक प्रकाशन तथा विभिन्न मिडियामार्फत समेत जानकारी गराउने गरिएको छ ।

३३. सैनिक जवानहरूप्रति लक्षित सम्पूर्ण कल्याणकारी कार्यहरू सामान्यतया नेपाल सरकारको प्रत्यक्ष दायित्वको विषय भए तापनि आर्थिक अवस्थाको कारणबाट सैनिक कल्याणकारी कोषद्वारा संचालित कार्यक्रमहरू नेपाल सरकार र नेपाली सेनाको निमित्त अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण पक्ष हुनआएको छ । नेपाली सेनाका बहालवाला वा भू.पू.सैनिक एवं तिनका आश्रित परिवारले पाइआएको औषधोपचार सेवा, शिक्षा, छात्रवृत्ति, आवास तथा अन्य आर्थिक राहत एवं कल्याणकारी कोष अन्तर्गत कार्यरत निजामति कर्मचारीहरूले समेत औषधोपचार सेवा प्राप्त गरिरहेका छन् । यसबाट विशेषगरि नेपाली सेनाका सकलदर्जाहरूको हौसला कायम राख्न र बहालवाला सैनिक एवं आश्रित परिवारहरूले समेत नेपाली सेना एवं समग्ररूपमा नेपाल सरकारबाट राहतको महसुस गरिरहेको छन् ।

सिंगो राष्ट्रले दुःख पाउनुभन्दा एउटा ब्यक्तिले कष्ट उठाउनु राम्रो हो ।

- स्वामी विवेकानन्द

ROLE OF ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIOR TO CONFLICT RESOLUTION WITHIN THE STATE

Brig Gen Umesh K. Bhattarai



Introduction

1. Administration is defined as functioning systematically for attainment of some specific task within the organization, like mobilization of resources for the development, operation of the routine work and to co-ordinate actions for the common objective. Administration is ordinarily discussed as the art of getting things done (Simon-1947.1). As it has been mentioned, sometimes it is considered arts and sometimes as a science. Art is certainly systematic practice but it must be informed by systematic knowledge (Sharma-1967.3).

2. Management and administration are synonymously used together as one because both deal with achieving a common goal within the organization. Perhaps there is no more important human activity than managing, for all managers at all levels and in all kinds of enterprise have the basic task of designing and maintaining an environment in which individuals, working together in groups can accomplish selected missions and objectives. Management is related with the system whereas administration falls within the system so as to facilitating overall resources and assets contributable to the management itself. The functions of manager are mainly planning, organizing, co-coordinating, controlling, leading and staffing (Koontz, Donnell and Wehrich-1982.4).

3. Administration generally involves co-operative efforts by a number of people to achieve some purpose, for example like a rolling of a heavy log of wood - people should stand one side of the log and exert pressure simultaneously. If some stand one side and rest stand other side the effort will neutralize and the log will not move at all. So there must be a plan of action and that is called organization. There can be no administration unless there is first organization to run it (Sharma-1967.83).

4. All behaviors involve conscious or unconscious selection of particular action out of all those which are physically possible to the actor and to those persons over whom he exercises influence and authority. The selection in particular action so happens automatically if it has been adopted in the behavior as a typist need not to see the keyboard to type the letter. The practice as well as knowledge enhances the performance to greater extent. The behavior within the organization depends on how they are trained/groomed. The additional factors that influence behavior are socio-economic condition, culture and education of the employees as a whole.

What is Conflict Resolution?

5 Any sort of confrontation/disputes that make human being annoyed and dissatisfied with the system may give birth to the conflict. This is not the end state to become a conflict but root starts from dissatisfaction. It is a clash of interest. It can also be defined as struggle between two or more people over value or competition for status, power and scarce resources. The nexus of dissatisfaction if fertile with effective leadership, sympathy of the mass may result in conflict. It is the difference in ideology, thinking, feelings that may cause conflict. It ends with compromise, realization of own mistake and forgiveness. Grievances are not bad in it but imposing own's interest to others may sometime create conflict and end with violence.

6 Violence is an act of violent aggression against the opponent. Action or reaction against any body's unwillingness of work or forceful tasking of job can be categorized as social violence. In other word, any sort of exploitation can be considered as the violence. Categorizing violence in the context of South Asia is a critical step towards systematically understanding violence and developing sustainable reduction and peace initiative. However, an attempt to categorize violence confronts major constraints such as violence is highly complex and context specific. The people of the region list several types of violence like political, drugs, gang, economic, domestic, disputes, mafia and interpersonal (Rizal and Yokoto- 2006.73).

7. Conflict resolution is a very complex issue to address, solve and settle. The inception of conflict comes from the mind of the people which should be solved within the mind itself. As being the mind as centre of gravity, the surroundings are very important to be cleaned. The infected group must be taken out from the contamination. The socio-cultural background, education level, poverty, unemployment are some of the root cause for the conflict. It is also considered as the third world countries are only the birth place for the conflict, but it is not so. There are ample of evidences that conflict have taken place in the well developed countries. It is true that conflict can be minimized by good governance, consensus, true democracy and compromise.

8. Politics is the social study of human behavior and moves in that periphery. Driving the state in the right direction is the prime responsibility of the politics. In other words, it is a job of the master-minds to study social behavior, set the policy, change at times as per the will of the society and represent the mass for their betterment. The behavior of the mass changes as per the change of time and situation, a good politician must monitor this and act accordingly. If it happens in the right way, the conflict can be avoided.. Likewise- insurgency, revolution, terrorism, people's movement and armed conflict are not modern inventions. They mainly started after the First World War and subsequently spread all over the world after the Second World War. At present more than 100 countries are facing the problem of insurgency in one way or other(Shrestha-2004.5) . Insurgency means unconstitutional struggle by a group of people with or without arms with the purpose of capturing state power. These groups first catch some reasonable cause of dissatisfaction of the mass to gather their support. The proper fuelling on any dissatisfaction of the mass may later become a seed for conflict and subsequently gear up to protracted struggle in which irregular military tactics are combined with psychological and political operations to establish a new political structure(Shrestha-2004.5).

9. Now it is known to us that change is the natural phenomenon that has to shape in this earth. Development is the necessity of the mankind that has to take place for the betterment of the human being. Conflict and violence is the outcome of frustration that may develop by jealousy, anger, temptation, stress and tension within the society. To explain why conflict and violence arise from development and related factors, what role they play in shaping and molding the lives of human being and dynamic international relations, and how to manage development and conflict in a manner that provides maximum benefit and opportunities is a complex and most difficult task. Perhaps, the relationship of conflict and violence on development is one of the largest debated theories in the social science and it is one of the most vexing issues(Shrestha-2004.31). Conflict and development are inter-related to each other. It should be a human endeavor to keep these in distance so that maximum benefit can be derived out of development activities that have been gathered so far. Conflict and development are two things that no human being or functioning organization can evade nor escape. We all experience change, development, conflict and violence. Development may bring about violent conflict and destroy existing relationships or it may create opportunities for the establishment of new ones, making both painful and promising.

Security Perception – Traditional Vs Modern Philosophy

10. The national security denotes an effort by all the apparatus of national power to ensure the protection, persuasion and preservation of defined national interest. The national vital interest may be to ensure territorial integrity, national freedom of action, sovereignty, and national unity. The first step towards national security is to define the vital national interest by the state. The second step is to identifying immediate and strategic threat to defined national interest and third one is to create adequate ways and means to meet these threats. Likewise, the important national interests may be to protect the lives of the citizen, poverty alleviation and economic development, preservation of natural resources, international peace and security, environmental conservation, political stability, religious harmony, protection of human rights etc. The national security strategy is an art and science of employing the nation's intellectual, political, economic, informational and military power to achieve stated national security objective in peace and in war. The objective for national security strategy should be to enhance the honor/image of the nation in the international community by maintaining its sovereignty, integrity and freedom. Likewise, ensure the full justice on social, economic and the political freedom to its citizen by close protection of their life, their property and their freedom of movement.

11. The definition of national security is to protect the core value and norms of the nation from internal as well as external threat and challenges to it. In words of Walter Lippman, "A nation is secured to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values, if it wishes to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by victory in such a war". Like wise, Mc Namara states as "Security means development, security is not military hardware though it may involve it. Security is not military activity though it may encompass it. Security is development and without development there can be no security".

12. The traditional understanding of national security was limit to protect the territorial integrity and to manage internal political stability. Even most intellectuals understand that the notion of national defense is the same and mix up with notion of national security. The concept of national security comprises of comprehensive national security. It involves all the elements of national power as diplomatic, political, economic, military, and informational into one and if channeled together then only a viable security plan can function effectively within the nation. The preservation, protection and persuasion of vital national interest are only possible with formulation of viable security plan as mentioned earlier.

Administration and Organization Behavior Vs Conflict Resolution

13. As it has been already mentioned that behavior is conscious or unconscious action of an individual or group of individuals that comes through training by strong motivation and practice. It is inbuilt and sets in the mind so that willingly or unwillingly the person follows the action as part of his behavior. Administration and organization behavior is also the same as what the standard procedure enables the person to follow automatically.

14. In the similar way, conflict resolution can be tackled by routine procedure if the motivation is persuaded accordingly. Like grooming of a plant is possible according to shape and size, the people can be well motivated by good leadership, sound development, equal opportunities and improved educational standard. As conflict is the result of disagreement, development is the medicine to cure the conflict as a chronic disease. Here development means good governance, poverty alleviation, economic development etc.

Conclusion

15. Administration behavior and conflict resolution are two different subject matters though settlement of any dispute is some how related with sound management system, hence administration plays a vital role as being supplementary to the management itself. Conflict resolution is a complex issue and needs careful handling by the state team players with co-coordinated efforts. A comprehensive master plan for motivation, psycho-analysis of the people, identification of dissatisfied group of people with cause, development activities and collection of mass feed back of general state programmes are necessary actions that ought to be taken by the state. If above activities are taken seriously and state bureaucrats including all the team players related to conflict resolution are trained and groomed on sound administrative behavior will definitely help to resolve the conflict within the state.

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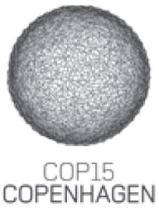
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The politics of climate change

Representatives from 192 countries met in Copenhagen to chart out a road map on ways to save the planet from the catastrophe of climate change. This took place because it is now scientifically established that climate change is accelerated by global warming which is largely due to the anthropogenic green-house gas (GHG) emissions that occurred after the industrial revolution by the developed countries. The 15th Conference of Parties, COP 15 as it is formally known, which took place in Copenhagen, became one of the biggest-ever international event. With the presence of around 120 world leaders in this conference, it reflects the seriousness with which climate change is now regarded as a threat to human kind globally.

This conference was about how the countries can jointly mitigate GHG emission (for developed countries) and assist those countries that need to cope with the impacts of this change (for developing countries). This agreement was guided by the Kyoto Protocol which has its first commitment period between 2008 to 2012. In Copenhagen, a new set of rules was to be agreed upon for the post 2012 period on commitment levels. The initial expectation of the COP 15 was that a deal would be made where the developed nations would commit to reducing GHG emission and also come up with a financial commitment to assist developing countries to adapt to climate change. It was expected that this agreement will also tow in the United States, the world's largest polluter, to make a commitment on reducing emission which the USA failed to honor under the first commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol which ends in 2012.

Major debate

The major debate at Copenhagen conference was whether to work with the Kyoto Protocol or to come up with a new treaty. The deadlock over Kyoto Protocol stems from the fact that this is the only legally binding agreement on climate change that requires the developed countries to commit GHG emission reduction by 2012 while there are no commitments for the developing countries. As the first commitment period ends in 2012, the developed nations want a new treaty, arguing the world has changed and the major emerging economies such as China and India must now commit to curbing their huge and fast growing national emissions, which is not included under the current commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol. But the developing nations argue that rich nations grew wealthy by polluting the atmosphere and must take primary responsibility for it, which can only be guaranteed by Kyoto Protocol commitments.

In this debate, the world was divided into three main blocks- developed countries, major developing economies, and small island state. Developed countries (Australia, Canada, the European Union, Japan, New Zealand and the United States) mainly are reluctant to take historical responsibility, and want emerging economies of Asia to also commit emission reduction targets. In contrary, Group of 132 developing countries called G77 plus China want the developed countries to commit emission reduction by taking into account, reflection of their historical responsibility. The Small Island Developing States (SIDS) are in imminent danger from rising sea level and therefore want to see a treaty with drastic global GHG reduction commitment and also require immediate assistance in implementing adaptation measures.

The COP 15 process

The U.N. climate talks work on a consensus basis with one-country one-vote. Every member state can exercise veto power which makes it possible for any one country to bring the negotiation process to a standstill. With 192 nations engaged in negotiations on emission reduction targets, there was no guarantee for a simple outcome.

In the negotiating process, the diverging interest between those that want to preserve their standard of living and the emerging economies that want to reach those levels of prosperity was clearly evident. The world was divided into North-South or between the rich and the poor. The outlines of the negotiation were made two years earlier in Bali in 2007 at COP 13, but yet the two weeks of the negotiations in Copenhagen were not adequate to come up with an agreement on this. The intense negotiations at COP 15 illustrated the fact that climate policy has finally come of age. The negotiations were so contentious because every leader was aware of the real impact the agreement would have, not only for the environment, but more importantly on the future of national economy. While COP 15 won't end the UN process for addressing climate change, it marks a shift to decision making process within the UN system by non-western countries.

Main players

Unlike other UN conferences, this time round, four emerging economies – Brazil, South Africa, India and China, constituting the informal BASIC group – played a key role in shaping the Copenhagen climate negotiation. The developed countries that usually lead the UN negotiations saw new powers emerging in the UN system.

“The BASIC group (...) has emerged as a powerful force in climate change negotiations, especially in the face of relentless pressure from richer countries,” Jairam Ramesh, India's Environment Minister, notes according to BBC News, while adding that “all of India's concerns had been safeguarded” and that yet “India's approach had been recognized as constructive”.

“China and the US played hardball – and sent heads of government to do the talking – precisely because they had something to lose. The onset of a kind of climate realpolitik, which eschews hot air for real action, is a sign that global climate talks have moved beyond symbolic rhetoric,” writes Bryan Walsh in the Time magazine.

The negotiations came up with an agreed text after United States President met with China, India, Brazil and South Africa. Their agreement was presented on a take-it-or-leave-it basis to the other 180 plus nations. While this process was viewed by many nations as an undemocratic move, Copenhagen showed that this was the only way to reach a conclusion. This Copenhagen Accord was agreed after China agreed to provide details about its actions to control carbon emissions, moving to meet a key US demand for verification of its efforts to mitigate GHG – providing that it's not intrusive and does not infringe on China's sovereignty.

Africa under the G77 plus China block has also added to the clout to the climate politics because of its close and growing links with China, the world's major producer of GHG. “China has invested more than any other country in Africa's metals, oil and forests, and it now has more allies there than in most other continents”, writes John Vidal of the Guardian. And adds “Just as the US used Britain and its friends to make its arguments at Copenhagen, so China used Africa”.

Outcome of Copenhagen

On the eve of the final day, delegates from 192 countries met behind closed doors late into the night in an effort to resolve outstanding differences. The text was finally accepted which set out to limit world temperature rises to a maximum rise of 2 Celsius above pre-industrial times to avert adverse impacts such as droughts, floods, heat waves, melting of polar ice and glaciers, species extinctions and rising ocean levels. Summary of some key points from the Copenhagen Accord is

discussed below.

Reducing emission from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD) and the need to enhance removals of GHG by forests was also agreed upon, this now legitimizes REDD plus initiatives. The developed countries agreed on the need to provide positive incentives to such actions through the immediate establishment of a mechanism including REDD-plus, to enable the mobilization of financial resources from developed countries. Developing countries like Nepal can now seek finance for forest conservation, sustainable management by communities and increment in biomass stock.

In terms of financing for adaptation and mitigation, the collective commitment by developed countries is to provide new and additional resources, including forestry and investments through international institutions, approaching USD 30 billion for the period 2010 to 2012 with balanced allocation between adaptation and mitigation. This will allow Nepal to seek finance for adaptation measures as well as mitigation measures. But for few developing countries that have not yet signed the Copenhagen Accord will not be eligible for this finance.

In the context of meaningful mitigation actions and transparency on implementation, developed countries commit to a goal of mobilizing jointly USD 100 billion dollars a year by 2020 to address the needs of developing countries. This funding will come from a wide variety of sources, public and private, bilateral and multilateral, including alternative sources of finance.

New multilateral funding for adaptation will be delivered through effective and efficient fund arrangements, with a governance structure providing for equal representation of developed and developing countries. A significant portion of such funding should flow through the Copenhagen Green Climate Fund. Earlier the Kyoto Protocol did not have provision for equal geographical representation and consequently the least developed countries could not benefit from finance and technology transfer as initially planned.

However, many of the environmentalists criticize this accord by saying that there is no commitment on GHG reduction by the developed countries by 2020 as per the discussion leading up to the COP 15. It simply calls for global emissions to peak 'as soon as possible'.

The call to mobilize \$100billion for adaptation and mitigation by 2020 is an important step. However, it does not make clear the sources of this fund, who is going to pay how much, and how funds will be divided between adaptation and mitigation. Furthermore, the Accord does not mention whether this climate finance will be raised separately and additionally to the existing 0.7% of GNP as aid committed by developed countries to the developing countries. As per the discussion up to COP 15, it was agreed that climate finance should be additional to the aid commitment.

At the end of the day, the conference 'noted' rather than 'adopted' the Copenhagen Accord and agreed to keep the negotiation ongoing for another year saving this conference from being a failure. The end of the COP 15 also marks the beginning of a new phase, and COP 16 in Mexico is going to get more serious that will put numbers on commitment targets which lacked in Copenhagen. Just as no deal is better than a bad deal, getting a good deal a year later is better than one that is done in haste.

The blunt truth about the politics of climate change is that no country will want to sacrifice its economy in order to meet this challenge, but all economies know that the only sensible long term way of developing is to do it on a sustainable basis.

- Tony Blair

TERRORISM: AN EVALUATION

Brig Gen Himalaya Thapa



1.0 Introduction

Terrorism has been a threat not only to the peace, security and stability of nations but also to economical development, globalisation and sustainability around the world. Thus it has been increasingly realized that dealing with this problem effectively is imperative for establishing the lasting peace and security of the international community. Taking into view of its magnitude, this paper focuses its discussion on issues concerning present-day international terrorism and ways to deal with it effectively.

The paper provides an overview of the term “terrorism” and the types of terrorist activities particularly focusing on modern terrorism. It examines the causes and recent trends in terrorism; it evaluates the counter-terrorist methods applied, and their implications for future stability. It outlines the lessons learnt from the past experience and possible future strategies for addressing terrorism effectively. It concludes with a range of suggestions derived from the analysis.

2.0 What is “terrorism”?

There is no universally accepted definition of terrorism. Terrorism is unlawful in all countries where such acts occur, and is defined by statute— target, objective, motive, perpetrator, and legitimacy or legality of the act. Among these definitions there are several that do not recognize the possibility of legitimate use of violence by civilians against an invader in an occupied country and would, thus, label all resistance movements as terrorist groups. Others make a distinction between lawful and unlawful use of violence. Likewise, some news sources refuse to use the term "terrorism"; others use the term in context. For example, the BBC and CNN has described the Northern Irish IRA as "terrorists" but describes Palestinian armed groups who employ the same methods against Israeli citizens as "militants". Ultimately, the distinction is a political judgment.¹

In November 2004, a UN panel described terrorism as any act "intended to cause death or serious bodily harm to civilians or non-combatants with the purpose of intimidating a population or compelling a government or an international organization to do or abstain from doing any act".²

3.0 Types of Terrorism

There are many kinds of terrorist movements, and no single theory can cover them all. Not only are the aims, members, beliefs, and resources of groups engaged in terrorism extremely diverse, but also so are the political contexts of their campaigns. The experts have identified at least six different sorts of terrorism currently operating throughout the world: nationalist, religious, state/state-sponsored, left-wing, right-wing, and anarchist.³ The targets of terrorists differ, depending on which of these categories they belong to.

(a) **Nationalists** Nationalist terrorists seek to form a separate state for their own national group, often by drawing attention to a fight for “national liberation”. This sort of terrorism has been among the most successful at winning international sympathy and concessions. Nationalist terrorist groups include the Irish Republican Army and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

(b) **Religious** Religious terrorists seek to use violence to further what they see as divinely commanded purposes, often targeting broad categories of foes in an attempt to bring about sweeping changes. Examples include Osama bin Laden’s al-Qaeda network, the Palestinian Sunni Muslim organization Hamas and the Lebanese Shiite group Hezbollah.

¹ Mercieca, C., (2006), United Nations Primary Goal: Lasting World Peace.

² UN Security Council Resolution 1377.

³ News Center for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence (<http://www.borrull.org/e/noticia.php?id=12608>).

(c) **State/state-sponsored** These groups are deliberately used by radical states as foreign policy tools—as Hoffman puts it, as “a cost-effective way of waging war covertly, through the use of surrogate warriors or ‘guns for hire’” One important early case was the Iranian government’s use of supposedly independent young militants to seize hostages at the American embassy in Tehran in 1979. Similarly the military dictatorships in Chile (1973–90) and Argentina (1976–83) committed acts of state terrorism against their own populations.⁴

(d) **Left-wing** Left-wing groups are driven by liberal or idealist political concepts; tend to prefer revolutionary, antiauthoritarian and anti-materialistic agendas. In line with it, they often employ brutal criminal type behaviors such as kidnappings, murders and bombings but they have difficulty in defining their future vision. Nepalese Maoists and Indian Naxalites fall under this category.

(e) **Right-wing** During the last couple of decades, terrorism from racist and right wing groups has emerged as an increasing threat. This has been particularly noticeable in North America and Europe. Some of these forms of terrorism have long traditions: violence against ethnic, racial and political minorities.

(f) **Anarchist** Anarchist terrorism is the use of terrorism to further anarchist causes. Anarchists have often been portrayed as dangerous and violent, due partly to a number of high-profile violent acts including riots, assassinations, and insurrections attributed to anarchists, mainly in the late 19th century and the early 20th century.

4.0 The Nature of the Present Day Terrorism

Historian David Rapports has described contemporary terrorism such as the method by al Qaeda, as part of a religiously inspired “fourth wave”. This follows three previous phases; break up of the empires, decolonization and anti-Americanism⁵ The argument is that modern terrorism is a power struggle: big power vs. small power, modern power vs. traditional power, central power vs. local power. Terrorism stemming out of the Islamic countries has more of flavour of religious inspiration, which, if seen in the larger context, can be considered as anti-globalization and the struggle between have and have-not nations. Thus, a distinguishing characteristic of modern terrorism is the connection between sweeping political or ideological concepts and increasing levels of international terrorist activity.⁶

After 9/11, the world is witnessing a new type of terrorist activity. The strong polarization of spiritual and religious movement has overshadowed the nationalists or leftist revolutionary ethos and thus is a recent focus of the international trend. It would be wrong to say that religious terrorism is a new phenomenon; rather it is a continuation of a contemporary power struggle between those who are and those who are not in power.

However, this does not mean that today’s interconnected world can escape from the problems of terrorism. Terrorism has become institutionalized and groups have become large entities with ‘sleeping cells’ composed of members of various nationalities. The terrorist organizations are no longer limited to spreading panic and horror in order to achieve its local objectives. Today they have no regard for national borders, nor nationality, faith and background of their victims.

The effects of terrorism have gone beyond the sheer number of people killed or directly affected, because of the links to money laundering and the smuggling of drugs and weapons. Increasingly globalisation-terrorism is not a problem of a specific country or region but has become a threat to peace and security everywhere.

5.0 Causes and Effects

In attempting to resolve the problem effectively it is important to fully understand underlying

⁴ Britannia encyclopaedia, <http://www.britannica.com/eb/article-217762/terrorism>.

⁵ Rapoport, ‘The Fourth Wave.’

⁶ Audrey Kurth Cronin, ‘Transnational Terrorism and Security’, (Georgetown University Press 2003) p282.

causes of terrorism and the motives of terrorist. Unless the root causes of terrorism are fully explored, we are likely to experience terrorist activities till the end of times. Amongst the various causes that give rise to terrorism, following are some of the important root causes presently seen in the modern terrorism.

Poverty is generally termed as the root causes of terrorism but many are sceptical whether poverty is truly a root cause. Most of the suicide bombers of September 11, in the United States and July 7, in London came from middle and upper class⁷. However, the people often argue that one of the basic elements aggravating poverty and inequality has been the phenomenon of "globalisation", the dominant economic theme of the 21st Century, which in turn produces frustration and hatred among people.

Some believe that terrorist have a hatred of modernity and view US as the symbol of modernization, which is a source of their suffering. This resentment is attractive young Arab men to carry out outrageous crime against innocent Americans.

While analysing the underlying causes of poverty the issue of poor governance come first. It provides a platform when government is weak to address outlying issues like poverty, injustice, inequality, politics, access to resources etc. These grievances give rise to aggressive method out of desperation and anger, including terrorism.

Some cite degrading environment as root cause of terrorism. When there is a shortage of agricultural land and clean water which has crippled farming in the rural areas and has compelled mass population to live in urban slums where they are vulnerable for being employed by the terrorists.

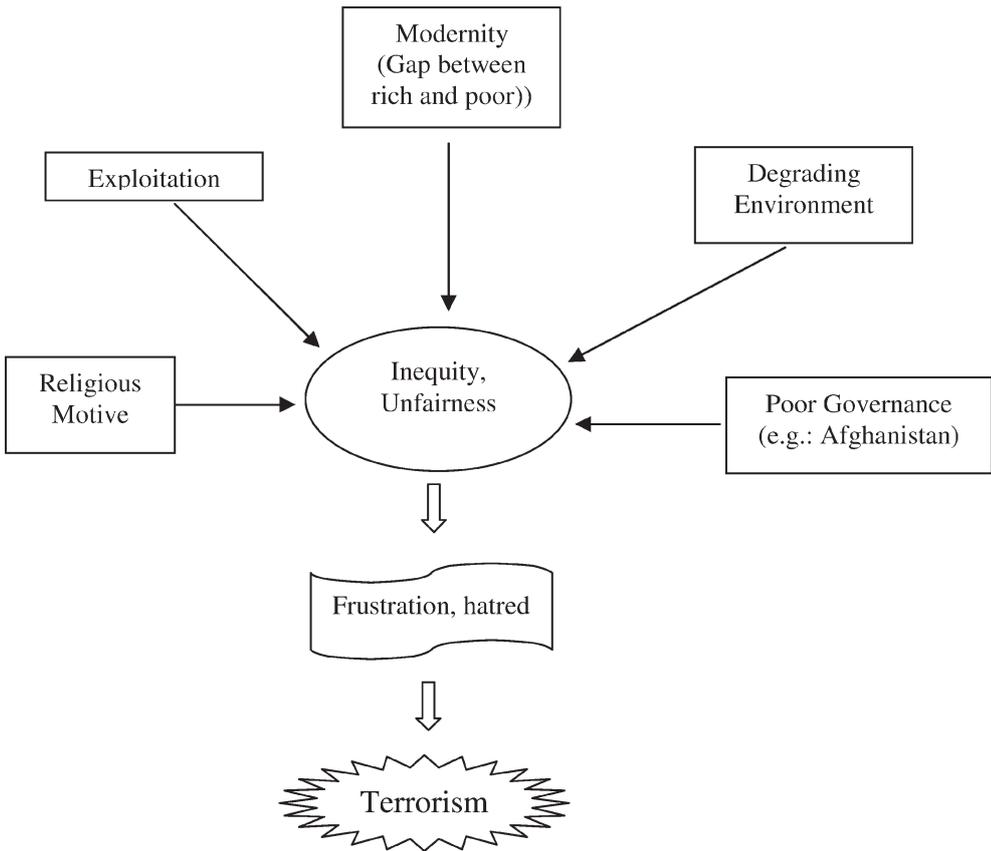


Figure 1: Causes and effects related of terrorism.

In nutshell, the causes and symptoms of terrorism are complex and vary from one global area to another. Some argue that the root cause of terrorism as to weak governance, poverty, access to resources and lack of addressing the genuine needs of the people. Others argue that it is the

pursuit of power through illegitimate use of force. Looking at various arguments about the causes of terrorism, a common thread seems to be a sense of inequity and unfairness experienced by those who are not in good side of poverty, governance and globalisation. Leaders of terrorists seem to exploit this sense of injustice and inequality among the vulnerable.

6.0 Lessons from the past

The earlier discussions reveal that the latest wave of terrorism has its root is deeply embedded in an ideology of violent extremism, unfairness and inequality, and is unlikely to be short lived. Thus dealing with it is not simply eradicating a relatively small number of terrorists, but also requires addressing the environment that helps or forces people to become terrorists. Various analyses of causes and sources of terrorism have identified that in order to reduce the threat emanating from terrorism, it is critical to intervene into this sense of unfairness and inequality.

Traditionally, countering terrorist strategy involved using forces and military power. However, the changing nature of international terrorism and experiences of Afghanistan and Iraq have made realize that the security of people and bringing peace can not be solely done by the weapons of destruction and by the formation of large military alliances. In future, to effectively prevent and combat terrorism there has to be short-term and long-term strategies.

7.0 Countering Terrorism

As explained above, the recent trend of terrorism involves complex issues from economic issues to social issues. Short-term strategies generally should deal with symptoms and are addressed through military forces or special operations. Long-term or holistic strategies should deal with both root causes and symptoms. They have to be planned carefully, encompassing and integrating all elements of national power i.e. political, diplomatic, economic, military and information. During the planning and conduct of counter terrorist strategies the following principles have to be taken into consideration.

Civil Supremacy: .The overall control of the security policy and operations is the responsibility of the legitimate civil authorities, ideally a democratically elected government. The main aim of counter terrorist strategy is to defeat the terrorist within the rule of law.⁸

Precise Political Aim: “Military action is a method used to attain a political goal. While military and political affairs are not identical, it is impossible to isolate one from another”.⁹ The government sets the political aim with proper involvement of other elements of national power / members of other coalition.

Integrated Approach: “Modern warfare resembles a spider’s web, everything connects longitudinally or laterally to everything else, there are no independent strategies, no watertight compartments, nor can there be”.¹⁰

Decisive Intelligence: It is very important that the decision makers are provided with correct and update intelligence than the terrorist. The one who acts fast succeeds. It is also imperative to penetrate inside the decision cycle of the terrorist.

Separating the Terrorist: “If the guerrillas can be isolated from the population i.e. the little fish removed from the water then their eventual destruction becomes automatic”¹¹

8.0 Possible Future Strategies

To effectively deal with terrorism, international organizations need to make a sustained effort

⁷ Akiko Fukushima, 'Understanding and Addressing the Underlying Causes of International Terrorism'

⁸ The UK Approach to Countering Terrorism 2001.

⁹ Mao Tse-tung on Guerrilla Warfare 1937.

¹⁰ John Terraine, 'A Time for Courage' (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1985), p515.

¹¹ Sir Robert Thompson, 'Defeating Communist Insurgency' (London: Chatto & Windus Ltd, 1974), p56

to address the sense of injustice and unfairness. Some of the possible future strategies could be as follows:

- (a) Put top priority on the suffering of the people: In the present era, people and countries are living in a world of interdependence. What affects one person will affect the rest of the world. If people live in exposed condition they are most likely to be exploited by the terrorists thus increasing threats to the world's peace and security. For this purpose UN and the developed countries must allocate funds and resources for addressing the underlying social, economic and cultural issues that generates grievances, particularly in developing countries.
- (b) Extensive multinational co-operation: The changing nature of transnational terrorism means that no country can deal with this threat in isolation and remain safe, rather all countries have to come together to deal with it collectively. Campaign against international terrorism requires extensive multinational co-operation, sharing of information, safe guard financial system and commitment to social, economical prosperity of each individuals. Countries should also recognise the important role of regional and sub-regional organisations in addressing the issue and to encourage and support them in complementing efforts made at the global level.
- (c) Effective roles of UN: The UN having unparallel position in the world has to play critical roles in establishing a basis for action in international law, promoting international consensus particularly through the development of more effective conflict prevention and resolution activities.
- (d) Universally agreed definition: There should be a clear and universally agreed definition of terrorism, so that it can be differentiated from the legitimate struggles of peoples under colonial and foreign occupation for self-determination and national liberation, as recognised by the relevant resolutions and declarations that have been adopted by the United Nations. However, this does not justify the terrorist methods used by any group against the unarmed civilian population.
- (e) Assume the responsibility to develop a new world economy. The United States and industrial countries cannot continue to rely on weapons to make quick money. This is a lethal product, which leads to killing of many people. Focus must be on helping poor countries to improve their social, economic and good governance.
- (f) The Promotion of Good Governance: The linkage between development, democracy, human right and peace has been more widely recognized than ever before (Boutros-Ghali, 1994, 1996). The argument is that good governance will allow people to determine their own priorities: safeguard and promote civil, political, economic and cultural rights, and provide a pluralist environment within which they can live with one another in peace. This would mean that UN along with other international organizations need to provide assistance to local and national governments in the development of good governance with special assistance for weak states and those in transition.
- (g) Good Actors and Bad Actors: United Nations in co-ordination with other major donor countries needs to provide good incentives to reward good actors: countries with good governance, ample social, inclusive educational system and social programs. Concurrently, they must not ignore but work with poor actors and intervene in so-called failed states.¹²

9.0 Conclusion

In sum, terrorism is not only a threat to the continued success of globalisation but it is also to the peace, stability and prosperity around the world. Notably, it does not exist in isolation from other aspects of national and international interests. Similarly, the changing nature of transnational threat means, no country can deal with it in isolation and remain invulnerable within its own boundaries.

¹² Audrey Kurth Cronin, 'Transnational Terrorism and Security', (Georgetown University Press 2003) p299.

The comprehensive analyses of the contemporary terrorism outlines that poverty, bad governance, social injustice and economic inequality are some the key causes and sources of terrorism that generates hatred, frustration and anger that lead to terrorist activities. To address these complex multifaceted problems effectively, roots causes for each nation has to be identified and addressed collectively through multifaceted policies, with political, legal, social, diplomatic, economic and military means.

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RISE AND RISE OF POWERS

Maj Shekhar Sharma Panta



1. “Power”- The word itself demands respect, superiority and authority. It’s a feeling, a sensitivity or even an atmosphere that most want to possess and control as according to their way. The Merriam Webster dictionary defines Power as “possession of control, authority, or influence over others.” From antiquity, from the times when the world started to be dwelled by civilizations, the Power factor has played a vital role in shaping up civilizations, forming up the structural make up of current states, influencing ones authority over other civilizations and culture and in building the current might that most World Powers of today possess.

2. Power in today’s International Relations has been defined in various ways. However power is generally related to the following:

- (a) Power as a goal of states or leaders;
- (b) Power as a measure of influence or control over outcomes, events, actors and issues;
- (c) Power as reflecting victory in conflict and the attainment of security; and,
- (d) Power as control over resources and capabilities. (All Expert)

3. The hunger for power among world civilizations and rulers have existed throughout ages with the development of civilizations. If we talk about the Power factor in the current modern context, discussions could initiate about it from the times of the Greek and the Roman empires. In antiquity, power could have meant just the military might and proper utilization of human and other resources that assisted in physical capture of ground of another Nation and thus spreading its influence in other parts of the region. The influence could have been religious, cultural, mythical or even philosophical. But in the modern context the concept of a Powerful Nation or state is possible not only because a Nation possesses a military might or it has the availability of various resources, it is not only the geographical locality or its economic might, leadership qualities of the rulers or the innovational characteristics of its people, it’s the combination of all these things put together at the right time and context that converts a Nation into a World Power. The influence factor in today’s context can be political, economic, cultural, financial, monetary, hegemonic, regional, nuclear, technological, cyber, climatic, trade, geopolitics etc. etc. the list goes on. This article will in brief discuss the world powers of ancient times to modern days and through this timeline, the general changing factors of power.

4. Ancient civilizations such as Hurrian Kingdoms who inhabited the Northern Mesopotamian regions , the Assyrian civilization of the Upper Tigris river region, Median Empire on the territories of modern day Persia, Ancient Egyptian empire and the ancient Indian Empire were the world powers of their days predominantly from 10th BC to 20 BC. Given the limitations of traveling and no means of communication mediums whatsoever during those ages, the above mentioned ancient powers had considerable amount of influence in their region. The influence were mainly cultural, religious and territorial. The rulers of these civilizations ruled mainly by virtue of their religious and sometimes even mythical beliefs. People were bounded by these beliefs. The more these beliefs were territorially expanded, the more control over a region a civilization had. There were minor battles involved also for the expansion of the territories. However, more than military might, it was beliefs, myths and “god” that played an important part in the portrayal of their Power.

5. In the medieval ages, most notable and developed cultures of the ancient times were the Greek and Roman civilization. The ancient Greek and Roman civilizations of Europe began to progress toward a more civilized order of society. As there were no previous establishment to base their ideals on, it was understandable that there were some difficulties in their progression as a society. Although the ancient Greek and Roman governments fell, both had similar paths of creation, conquest, and destruction. Greek society began by the formation of the city-state. The city-state, based on tribal allegiances, was generally the first political association during the early stages of civilization. This was the first step in the progression toward early self-government. Greek city-states generally moved through four stages: rule by a king (monarchy), rule by landowning aristocrats (oligarchy), rule by one

man who seized power (tyranny), and rule by the people (democracy).

6. Roman society began by the influences of surrounding cultures and quickly grew beyond the confines of a city-state status economy. The more advanced civilizations of both Etruscans and Greeks were gradually absorbed by the Romans. From them, Romans acquired architectural styles and skills in road construction, sanitation, hydraulic engineering (including underground conduits), metallurgy, ceramics, and portrait sculpture. Their need for growth led them to form a republic. As in the Greek cities, the transition from theocratic monarchy to republic offered possibilities for political and legal growth.

7. Both Greeks and Romans tried to realize some form of democracy. It is to Greece that we ultimately trace the idea of democracy and all that accompanies it: citizenship, constitutions, equality before the law, government by law, reasoned debate, respect for the individual, and confidence in human intelligence.

8. Because Rome tried to maintain a republic it had different needs compared to the Greeks. The Romans, unlike the Greeks, were distinguished by practicality and common sense, not by a love of abstract thought. In their pragmatic and empirical fashion, they gradually developed the procedures of public politics and the legal state.

9. It was the Greeks and the Romans who fundamentally revolutionized the concept of a World Power. The Greeks created a glorified civilization upon which the Romans carried on their legacy. It was not only beliefs, culture and religion that mattered to increase your hold over other civilizations. It also needed vision, a great leadership, a grand strategy, law and systems and an economic and Military might to support these factors.

10. The medieval times saw new powers starting to gain momentum. The Byzantine empire, Arab Empire, Chinese Tang and Song dynasties, Mongol Empires. These Empires however were not able to amplify their influence in a global basis rather they could be called a regional powers. However these empires widely used their military might and human resources to expand their powers eg. Chengiz Khan of the Mongol Empire. The Arabs, the Chinese and the Byzantines influenced regions of certain border rather than the whole world. This could also be due to the fact that movement to far off places then were impossible and the continents of Americas and Australia were still unexplored until then.

11. Mainly after the 15th Century, progress in technologies, discovery of new resources, new land masses, changes in the living styles, trade styles, education and a lot of things gave way for many European States to attain more and more Power and move towards the concept of expansionism. From 16th century to the early 18th century the three major powers in Europe were France, Spain and the Ottoman Empire who were able to attain massive power among themselves. Ottoman Empire (1299 to 1922) was a Turkish state, which at the height of its power (16th - 17th centuries) spanned three continents controlling much of Southeastern Europe, the Middle East and most of North Africa. The empire has been called by historians a "Universal Empire" due to both Roman and Islamic traditions.

12. France was a dominant empire possessing many colonies in various locations around the world. The Empire of the French (1804-1814), also known as the Greater French Empire or First French Empire, but more commonly known as the Napoleonic Empire, was the empire of Napoleon I in France. It was the dominant power of much of continental Europe during the early 19th Century.

13. Subsequent years of military victories known collectively as the Napoleonic Wars extended French influence over much of Western Europe and into Poland. At its height in 1812, the French Empire had 130 departments, ruled over 44 million subjects, maintained extensive military presence in Germany, Italy, Spain, and the Duchy of Warsaw, and could count Prussia and Austria as nominal allies. Early French victories exported many ideological features of the French Revolution throughout Europe. Napoleon placed relatives on the thrones of several European countries and granted many noble titles, most of which expired with the fall of the Empire. Historians have estimated the death toll

from the Napoleonic Wars to be 6.5 million people, or 15% of the French Empire's subjects. These empires attained more and more power not only through Military means but also their geo-political status, economic factors and the character that their rulers possessed. Various arts of war including Operational art of war formulated during the grasp of power by these then World powers.

14. The British Empire was the largest empire in world history and between 1815-1914 was unchallenged as the foremost global power. The empire began in the 17th century as a combination of factors led to its creation, such as the growth in British trade with India and the Far East, the success of the British East India Company, numerous British maritime explorations around the world, and the vast Royal Navy.

15. British colonies were created along the east coast of North America during the 17th century and 18th century but by the late 18th century most of these colonies rebelled against British rule, leading to the American War of Independence and formation of the United States of America. Nevertheless Great Britain retained significant colonies in Canada, the Caribbean and India, and shortly thereafter began the settlement of Australia and New Zealand. Following France's defeat in the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, Great Britain took possession of many more overseas territories in Africa and Asia, and established informal empires of free trade in South America, China and Persia.

16. It was after this period during the 19th century that the United Kingdom became the first country in the world to industrialise and embrace free trade, giving birth to the Industrial Revolution. This rapid industrial growth transformed Great Britain into the world's largest industrial and financial power, while the world's largest navy gave it undisputed control of the seas and international trade routes, an unassailable advantage which helped the British Empire, after a mid-century liberal reaction against empire-building, to grow faster than ever before. The Victorian empire colonised large parts of Africa, including such territories as South Africa, Egypt, Kenya, Sudan, Nigeria, and Ghana, most of Oceania, colonies in the Far East, such as Singapore, Malaysia, and Hong Kong and took control over all the Indian Subcontinent, making it the largest empire in the world.

17. After victory in the First World War the empire gained control of territories such as Tanzania, and Namibia, from the German Empire, and Iraq, and Palestine from the Ottoman Empire. By this point in 1920 the British empire had grown to become the largest empire in history, controlling approximately 25% of the world's land surface and 25% of the world's population. It covered about 36.6 million km² (14.2 million square miles). Because of its magnitude, it was often referred to as the empire on which the sun never sets. British mastered colonialization as their main means for influencing the world and remaining the undisputed world power for most of the 18th and 19th centuries.

18. The political and social changes and economic disruption in the United Kingdom and throughout the world caused by First World War followed only two decades later by the Second World War caused the empire to gradually break up as colonies were given independence. Much of the reason the empire ceased was because many colonies by the mid 20th century were no longer as undeveloped as at the arrival of British control nor as dependent and social changes throughout the world during the first half of the 20th century gave rise to national identity. The British Government, reeling from the economic cost of two successive world wars and changing social attitudes towards empire, felt it could no longer afford to maintain it if the country were to recover economically, pay for the newly created welfare state, and fight the newly emerged Cold War with the Soviet Union.

19. Since the end of the World Wars, the term "great power" has been joined by a number of other power classifications. Foremost among these is the concept of the superpower, used to describe those nations with overwhelming power and influence in the rest of the world. It was first coined in 1944 by William T.R. Fox and according to him, there were three superpowers: the British Empire, the United States, and the Soviet Union. But by the mid 1950s the British Empire lost its superpower status, leaving the United States and the Soviet Union as the world's superpowers. The term middle power has emerged for those nations which exercise a degree of global influence, but are insufficient to be decisive on international affairs. Regional powers are those whose influence is generally confined to their region of the world.

20. During the Cold War, the Asian power of Japan and the European powers of the United Kingdom, France, and West Germany rebuilt their economies. France and the United Kingdom maintained technologically advanced armed forces with power projection capabilities and maintain large defence budgets to this day. Yet, as the Cold War continued, authorities began to question if France and the United Kingdom could retain their long-held statuses as great powers. China, with the world's largest population, has slowly risen to great power status, with large growth in economic and military power in the post-war period.

21. At present China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States are sometimes referred to as great powers, although there is no unanimous agreement among authorities as to the current status of these powers or what precisely defines a "great" power, and sources have referred to the China, France, and the UK as "middle powers". Those five nations are the only states to have permanent seats on the UN Security Council. They are also the recognized "Nuclear Weapons States" under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. In addition, despite the lack of a permanent seat at the UN Security Council, Germany and Japan are occasionally considered to be great powers, although Germany and Japan are referred to by others as middle powers or economic great powers.

22. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, its UN Security Council permanent seat was transferred to the Russian Federation in 1991, as its successor state. The newly-formed Russian Federation emerged on the level of a great power, leaving the United States as the only remaining global superpower.

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You can have power over people as long as you don't take everything away from them. But when you've robbed a man of everything, he's no longer in your power.

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

अनुशासन – आत्मा समीक्षा

प्र.से. भक्तबहादुर कार्की
श्री पशुपति प्रसाद गण



श्री गणेश

कुनै पनि सामाजिक संस्कार, प्रथा, रीतिरिवाज, चालचलन, आचरण, मर्यादा वा वैधानिक प्रावधानलाई अनुशरण गर्नु नै अनुशासन हो । यो एक विभेदरहित सामाजिक मूल्य र मान्यता पनि हो जसले व्यक्ति, समाज तथा सम्पूर्ण मानव जगतलाई नै सही मार्गनिर्देश गर्नुको साथै एक असल र उत्तरदायी नागरिकको पहिचान गराउँदछ । यो जुनसुकै क्षेत्र, वर्ग, जाती, लिङ्ग, वा पेशासंग आवद्ध व्यक्तिहरूको व्यक्तित्व उजिल्याउने एक अब्बल अलङ्कार पनि हो । अनुशासन केवल कुनै नियम तथा कानूनलाई अंगिकार गर्नुमा मात्र सिमित नभएर यो असल र सभ्य नागरिकको परिचय प्रदायक पनि हो । सबै मानिसहरू आफूलाई अनुशासित बनाउन वा देखाउन लालायीत हुन्छन् नै तथापी हामीमध्ये अधिकांश व्यक्तिहरू बोध सहित वा अन्जानमा कुनै न कुनै क्षेत्रमा असफल सावित भइरहेका हुन्छौ । तसर्थ सम्भेरेर वा भुलेर पनि अनुशासनलाई आफ्नो स्पन्दन सरह सुरक्षित र क्रियाशिल राख्नु अपरिहार्य छ ।

पेटबोली

एक कर्तव्यनिष्ठ, वफादार तथा उत्तरदायीकर्ताका विभिन्न अवयवहरू हुन्छन्, जसको अभाव वा अपूर्णतामा कसैको पनि लक्ष्य तथा कर्तव्यले पूर्णता हासिल गर्न सक्दैन । ती अमूल्य अवयवहरूमध्ये मेरो दृष्टिमा रहेको अब्बल दर्जाको अवयव अनुशासन नै हो । कुनै पनि संघ, संस्था वा समाजको सेवामा समर्पित जुनसुकै स्तर वा तहको व्यक्तिमा पनि सामान्य नियममाथि अतिक्रमण र आचरणप्रति किञ्चित पनि न्युनता छ भने उसले सम्बद्ध संस्थाभित्र रहेर गर्ने जुनसुकै कार्यमा पनि दोहोरो दृष्टि राख्नु सान्दर्भिक हुनेछ । बिना अनुशासन शुरु गरिएको जस्तोसुकै उचाईको उद्देश्य लिइएको कार्य पनि सतह छोडेर माथि उठ्न असंभव छ । आफू सम्बद्ध समाज वा संस्थालाई मूर्तता प्रदान गर्न अत्यावश्यक जडरूपि अनुशासनलाई अझ मजबुत बनाउन वफादारीसाथ निर्वाह गरिने कर्तव्य र कर्मप्रति सकारात्मक समर्पणभावले मलजलको स्वरूप धारण गरी सहयोगीको भूमिका निर्वाह गर्दछन् ।

देश र जनताको सेवामा आफ्नो कर्मलाई अर्पण गर्ने राजनेता हुन वा राष्ट्रको आर्थिक टेकोरूपी उद्योग व्यवसाय संचालक हुन वा राज्यको अधिकांश नागरिकको प्रतिनिधित्व गर्ने किशान तथा मजदुर हुन वा विशुद्ध सेवा भावनाका साथ राष्ट्र सेवकको गरी प्राप्त गैरसैनिक वा बर्दीधारी सुरक्षाकर्मी हुन यी सबैमा कर्मको प्रकृति अनुसारको अनुशासन निहित छैन भने केवल लक्ष्य र कर्मका ढोंगी मात्र सावित हुनेछन् । नेपाली माटो र जनताको सेवक तथा रक्षक वा पहरेदार हुने अवसर प्राप्त गर्नुलाई गौरवको विषय मान्नु मात्र पनि अनुशासन अवलम्बनको प्रतिक हो ।

आज भन्दा एक, दुई दशक अगाडि मात्र पनि सुनेका, देखेका तथा भोगेका विषयवस्तुहरूले अहिले धर्म र मर्मको धरातल छोडिसकेको भान भैरहेछ । जसको दृष्टान्तको रूपमा वर्तमान समयमा हरेक क्षेत्रमा घटित केही ताजा, अकल्पनीय र अप्रिय घटनाहरूले पुष्टि गरिरहेका छन् । स्वयं सम्बद्ध संस्थाभित्र रहि गरेको सेवाको दौरानमा भोगेका अपरिहार्य विषयवस्तुहरूमा पनि छोटो समयमा धेरै उतार चढाव भइसकेका छन् । अहिले पुनरावृत्ति गर्दा महसुस हुन्छ, कि शिक्षित, चेतनशील, आफूलाई समय सापेक्ष रूपमा परिचालन गर्न सक्षम तथा समय र संयन्त्रको चालसंगै गति र मति विकास भएका व्यक्तिहरूको उदय दिनानुदिन आरोहमा छ भने स्वच्छ मनस्थिति र कर्मप्रति प्रगाढ लगाव भएका भनौ वा अनुशासन, कर्मबोध र समर्पित भावना भएका व्यक्तिहरूको गणितीय आंकडा चाहि अवरोहमा पाउन थालेका प्रशस्त उदाहरणहरू हाम्रो सामु बग्नेली छन् ।

अनुशासन कुनै नौलो र भीमकाय बस्तु केही हुदैं होइन, यो त कुनै पनि संघ, संस्था वा संगठनसंग आवद्ध सामान्य

शासन, जसले कर्महरूलाई सरलिकृत गर्दछ, त्यसलाई अनुशरण गर्नु मात्र हो । तर यसको ठीक प्रतिकूल हुनेगरि र सामान्य नैतिक मर्यादालाई समेत आंच पुग्नेगरि गरिएका कर्महरूले कुनै पनि वर्ग, सम्प्रदाय वा संगठनको लक्ष्य, भावना र मर्मलाई नकारात्मक रूपले प्रहार गर्दछ, भन्ने विषयबोध सबै जिम्मेवार र उत्तरदायी अगुवा, पदाधिकारी तथा प्रतिनिधि पात्रहरूलाई हुनै पर्ने टड्कारो आवश्यकता प्रस्टिएको छ ।

उचाइको लक्ष्य लिएको संघ, संस्था वा समाजभित्र पनि पछिल्ला दिनहरूमा सामान्य तथा दैनिकीको रूपमा स्वतस्फूर्त हुनु पर्ने अनुशासित कर्महरूमा किन ह्रासपन देखा परिरहेका छन् ? आज यसको कारण र निराकरणको खोजी गरी विषय बृक्षको जरा पहिल्याउन आवश्यकता भइसकेको छ, जसलाई वफादार, लगनशील र उत्तरदायी नागरिकहरू जो सुकैले महसुस गरेको हुनु पर्दछ । आजको बदलिदो परिवेशमा सिमित स्वार्थहरूलाई थाती राखी नेपाली सेना लगायत सम्पूर्ण क्षेत्र, वर्ग, संघ, संस्था र समाजसंग प्रत्यक्ष वा परोक्ष रूपमा संलग्न व्यक्ति विशेषले जनभावना अनुकूल हुनेगरि समयसापेक्ष रूपमा परिचालित भई राष्ट्र तथा जनहितका कार्यको लागि गोलबद्ध रूपमा प्रस्तुत हुँदै राज्यका सबै इकाई तथा व्यक्तिहरू सबल स्तम्भ सावित भै सजगता र संवेदनशीलताका साथ आफ्ना कर्महरूलाई अनुशासनको जन्जिरले बाध्नु मुलुक र मुलुकीको सर्वोपरी हितको लागि अकाट्य आवश्यकता भएको छ । यी कार्यहरूमा किञ्चित पनि बिचलन आएमा नेपालीको अस्मिता तथा गरिमामाथि यत्रतत्रबाट निर्बाध ढङ्गले प्रहार हुने कुरामा दुई मत हुन सक्तैन । तसर्थ हामी राष्ट्रका एक एक इट्टाहरू कर्मका गोरेटोहरूमा अब्बल दर्जाको अनुशासन सहित स्थिर, समर्पित र उच्च आचरणयुक्त हुनु अपरिहार्य छ भन्दा सायदै मेरो कलम अन्यायी ठहर्ला ।

सेनासंगको नाता

सेना र अनुशासनबीचको नाता अनादिकालदेखि नै प्रगाढ तथा सहोदर रहेको छ । सैनिक संस्थाले आर्जन गरेको ख्याति वा सफलता र निर्माण गरेको सुनौलो इतिहासको पृष्ठभूमिमा अनुशासनले अद्वितीय र महत्वपूर्ण स्थान ओगटेको छ । देश र जनतामाथि आइपरेको असहज परिस्थितिको सामना गर्ने क्रममा सेनाले प्रदर्शन गरेको कार्यकुशलता तथा रणकौशलता पनि अनुशासनकै उपज हुन भन्दा सायदै अतिशयोक्ति होला । समावेशी प्रकृतिको नेपाली सेनाले स्वदेशमा होस् वा परदेशमा आर्जन गरेको कार्य कुशलता र लक्ष्य प्राप्तिलाई पनि अनुशासनबाट अलग्याएर हेरेमा न्याय ठहर्दैन । नेपाली सेनाले प्रार्दुभाव कालदेखि हालसम्म स्थापित गरेको गौरवमय इतिहासलाई फर्केर हेर्दा पुर्वजहरूको अनुशासन र बहादुरीपनलाई सलाम नगरी रहन सकिदैन ।

तथापी वर्तमान समयमा यस आस्थापुञ्ज संस्थाभित्र यदाकदा महसुस गरिएका व्यक्तिगत कमीकमजोरीहरूलाई नजर अन्दाज गर्न सकिदैन । पुर्खाहरूको अनुशासित र बहादुरीपूर्ण कर्मबाट निर्मित सेनाको गौरवगाथालाई अक्षुण्ण राख्नु आजका सैनिक पिढीको निःसन्देह कर्तव्य हो । तसर्थ आजको सैनिक पिढीमा देखापरेका अनुशासन प्रतिकुलका हर्कत तथा गतिविधिहरूलाई निरुत्साहित गर्नको लागि सेवा प्रवेशको प्रथम विहानीदेखि नै व्यक्तिविवशेषमा संस्थाको उच्च गरिमा, महत्ता र विशिष्टताबारे आत्माबोध गराउदै अनुशासनको अद्वितीय तथा अनन्त महत्वलाई केन्द्र बिन्दुमा स्थान दिई यसैलाई सेनाको वलिष्ठ आधारस्तम्भ मान्दै कर्तव्य, ज्ञान र कलाको अभिवृद्धि गर्दै लैजानु नै एक अगुवा सिपाहीको कर्म र धर्म ठहर्न आउदंछ ।

पछिल्ला दिनहरूमा हरेक सैनिक इकाईमा महसुस गरिएका तथा दैनिक क्रियाकलापको दौरानमा दृष्टिमा परेका कमीकमजोरी र सुधार गर्नु पर्ने पक्षहरू मध्ये अनुशासनको विषयलाई गौण रूपमा लिई जिम्मेवार वर्गले आंखा चिम्लिने हो भने उक्त गौरवउत्तरदायी कर्म संस्थाको निमित्त प्रत्युत्पादक सावित हुने कुरा अवश्यंभावी छ । यसका केहि दृष्टान्तहरूमा सुरक्षा फौजका विभिन्न इकाइहरूमा यदाकदा देखापरेका संस्थागत मर्यादा र नियमबद्ध प्रावधानको मार्ग भुलेर भौतिक, मौखिक वा लिखित रूपमा प्रस्तुत गरिएका अनुनय, विनय लगायत आरोप प्रत्यारोपदेखि आफ्नो इकाइको दैनिक क्रियाकलापमाथि नै आंच पुग्नेगरि गरिएका बाधा विरोधहरूलाई पनि असहज रूपमा नलिने हो भने कालान्तरमा गएर संस्थाले जन विश्वास र आस्था

गुमाई संस्था नै पक्षघातको शिकार हुनुको साथै सुरक्षा निकायहरुमा पनि अनुशासन नामक आचरण इतिहासको पानामा मात्र सिमित रहन पुग्ने कुरा सबैको चिन्ता र चासोको विषय बन्नु पर्दछ ।

विशुद्ध छवि र सुवर्ण इतिहास भएको यस संस्थासंग आवद्ध व्यक्तिहरु सबै वा अधिकांशमा अनुशासनको कमी छ वा आचरण अशुद्ध छ भन्न खोजिएके भने विलकुलै होइन । अपवादले त सर्वत्र स्थान पाएको नै हुन्छ, भन्ने तथ्यलाई पनि मनन गर्ने पर्दछ । यस संस्थामा अपवादरूपी विकारयुक्त आचरणको द्वार खुला रहेमा यसले व्यक्ति स्वयं, आफ्नो जमात लगायत क्रमिक रूपमा पुरै संस्थामा वीषको संवाहन गर्दछ । साथै विशिष्ट दर्जाको अनुशासनरहित व्यक्ति विशेषले गरेको जुनसुकै कार्यमा पनि सच्चाइपनको अभाव निहित हुन्छ । तसर्थ नेपाली सेनासंग प्रत्यक्ष वा परोक्ष रूपमा पनि संलग्न सबै व्यक्तिहरुको लक्ष्य, आचरण, कर्तव्य, आस्था र विश्वास पूर्णरूपमा विशुद्ध हुनुको साथै कर्महरु मुलूक र मुलूकीप्रति समर्पित हुनु पर्ने कुरामा दुई मत हुन सक्तैन । निस्वार्थ सेवार्थ सपथ वा वाचा लिएका संस्थासंग आवद्ध व्यक्ति विशेषको आचरणमा पवित्रता आउन सर्वप्रथमत स्वचेतना प्रष्फुटन हुनु अपरिहार्य छ, भने कर्मका सकारात्मक र नकारात्मक पाटोहरु तथा त्यसबाट पर्ने दूरगामी प्रभावलाई हासले दूध र पानी छुट्याए सरह पहिचान गर्नु पर्ने विशिष्टता पनि अपेक्षित र फलदायी रहन्छ ।

वास्तवमा संस्था प्रवेशकै क्रममा विवेकपूर्ण र दूरगामी महत्व तथा असरलाई समेत समाहित गरी छनौट (Filter) गर्नुको साथै ज्ञान, कला र सैनिक आचरण प्रदान गर्ने इकाईले प्रथम पाइलादेखि नै सैनिकयोग्य अनुशासन तथा आचरणको विकास र पेशागत ज्ञानमा निपूर्ण बनाउन सकेमा मात्र संस्थाको आधारस्तम्भ बलिष्ठ बनाउने पाको इट्टाको निर्माण हुन सक्तछ । यस प्रकार सैनिक व्यक्तिहरुको अनुशासन र आचरणमा हासपन तथा हौसला र समर्पण भावमा अवाञ्छित लचिलो प्रवृत्तिले प्रश्रय पाएको खण्डमा गौरवशाली गाथा र इतिहास भएको नेपाली सेनाको छवि नै पक्षघात हुने कुरामा शंका गर्ने स्थान रहने छैन । तसर्थ देश, काल र परिस्थिति तथा जनआकांक्षलाई गाम्भीर्यताकासाथ दूरगामी रूपले नियाल्दा मेरो दृष्टिमा सर्वोच्च स्थान प्राप्त सैनिक अनुशासन तथा आचरणलाई शिखरमा स्थिर राख्नु अकाट्य अत्यावश्यकता भएकोले सर्वदा अटल रहनेगरि विकास गर्दै लैजानु कर्तव्यका विविध पक्षहरु मध्येको प्रथम र प्रमुख दायीत्व हुनेछ ।

विसर्जन

सेवारत संघ, संस्था वा समाजको आफूप्रतिको जिम्मेवारीलाई हृदयंगम गर्दै अझ पनि यसको ज्योतिलाई चम्काउने कार्य गरी आर्जित र स्थापित छविमा आयाम थप्ने कार्य समग्र व्यक्ति विशेषको नै हो । कुनै पनि संघ, संस्था वा सामाजिक कार्यमा आवद्ध संपूर्ण व्यक्तिहरुले आफूलाई एक भरोसादार स्तम्भको रूपमा स्थापित गरी सर्वपक्षीय बृहत्तर हितको लागि अटल रूपमा प्रतिबद्ध रहेर आफ्ना प्रत्येक क्रियाकलाप तथा गतिविधिहरुलाई अनुशासित र विशुद्ध आचरणयुक्त तुल्याई यसैलाई आफ्नो सफलताको नैतिक उर्जाको रूपमा ग्रहण गरेमा मात्र लक्ष्यले गन्तव्य पहिल्याउनुको साथै व्यक्ति विशेषको उत्थान समेत निश्चित प्रायः छ ।

अस्तु

आफन्तहरुप्रति प्रेम तथा श्रद्धा देशवासीप्रतिको प्रेम र श्रद्धाको प्रारम्भ हो ।

- कन्फ्युसियस

MILITARY INTERVENTION AND NEPALESE ARMY

Lt Col Santosh Ballav Poudel



Road to the brink

Historically a monarchical nation, Nepal is now transitioning into a Federal Democratic Republic. With dramatic political changes happening in a rather short span of time, role of the national army has come under increasing domestic and international scrutiny and its behavior has become a matter of public debate. This is much so since the United Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) came to power through constituent assembly elections that took place as a part of the peace process to end a 12 year long armed insurgency. Deteriorating civil military relation during the period culminated in to the fall of Maoist led government. The resignation of the prime minister came in protest of the president intervening on the request of 22 parties in parliament over the decision of their minority cabinet to dismiss the Army chief over allegations of insubordination. Since then the UNCP (M) is carrying out series of protests and street agitation for so called 'civilian supremacy'¹. This incident has led to a deep polarization between the UNCP (M) and other political parties at the cost of consensual politics that is required to write the constitution in time. Amidst all this, stands a worried, nervous and rather defensive national Army.

The NA at the moment is struggling hard to adapt to the new environment. NA's counter insurgency campaign was cut short, largely because of the dynamics of the February 1st Royal move and emergence of a new alliance in the national politics. The proclamation of the House of Representatives drastically altered its historic position and stripped away its prerogatives and privileges. The Comprehensive Peace Accord (CPA) signed between the government and the UNCP (M) and monitored by the United Nations Mission in Nepal (UNMIN) has put a severe restriction upon the NA which is taking a serious toll in its professional capabilities. Contentious issues related to its institutional survival such as management of Maoist combatants, democratization and restructuring still lack clear political decisions.

The double standard adopted by various domestic and international agencies in dealing with allegations of human rights abuse by its members in comparison to the members of the former rebel party has frustrated the ranks and files of the organization². Worsening law and order situation across the country, rise in confrontational politics and serious issues of institutional survival is haunting the institution. Media reports, occasional articles and editorials have hinted at the growing influence of the Nepalese Army during the insurgency which they believe continues till date³. Now with the serious break down of trust between the political forces and the growing frustration within the NA many analysts do not overrule possibilities of a military intervention.

Dispositions to Intervene

According to Finer, militaries intervene in politics when presented with "the motive, mood, and opportunity". Here Finer identifies 'manifest destiny or a providential mission of the soldiers as saviours of their countries' which is the ultra nationalist feeling among the soldier amidst the functioning of 'weaker political institutions' that arouse sense of responsibility as the custodian of 'national interest'; and may be different from that of the civilian institution as a key motive⁴. Other motives include 'corporate self interest' which manifests in its ability to maintain autonomy in terms of internal administration. The other and most crucial motive is the 'personal self interest' of the military leader which is very personal⁵.

In terms of the mood, Finer points to the 'self importance of the armed forces' and 'high self esteem' as the two factors that make the mood for intervention. This is the self image of the armed

¹ For example, The main opposition party of Nepal the UNCP(M) is still engaged in series of protests against the move of the President in reinstating Gen katawal after he was dismissed by their minority cabinet and calls it an issue of civilian supremacy over the military.

² Dr. Hari Bansha Dulal, Selective justice, an Op Ed in Myrepublica. Com, Dec 21,2009

³ Rhoderick Chalmers, *Towards a New Nepal? Current History* 106, no 699(2009), www. Proquest.com, Kumar, Dhruba and Hari Sharma, *Security Sector Reform in Nepal: Challenges and Opportunities*, (Kathmandu, Friends for Peace, 2005), 6-45 , ICG report, *Nepal in whose hands? Asia Report no 173*, (13 Aug 2009), [http:// www.icg.org](http://www.icg.org)

⁴ Samuel E Finer, *The man on horseback: the role of Military in Politics*, (London: Pall Mall Press, 1962),23-46

⁵ Finer, pg 47-85

forces and how they view themselves in the national scene as compared to other institutions of the state. Lastly, Finer puts forward, 'increased civilian dependency on the military' and 'domestic circumstances such as crisis and power vacuum' combined with the 'popularity of the military' as dimensions that provide a military with an opportunity to intervene⁶.

On the other hand, Finer in agreement with Huntington (though he differs on the definition of professionalism) identifies factors that inhibit military from intervening in politics. He claims that 'political weakness of the military' to govern, 'strength of the political institutions' and 'professionalism of the military that adheres to the principle of civilian supremacy' are the critical factors that constrain the military misadventure.

The Nepalese case

If we cross match the above mentioned variables to the situation in Nepal over a period of time from history till recently, we get a result which heavily tilts in conditions favorable to a possible military intervention. Despite the absence of strong political institutions, serious instability in domestic situation and acute neglect of the political leadership in matters of military concern; the NA have not demonstrated any political ambitions. Even in the face of serious challenges against its 'corporate interests' such as curtailing of power and privileges by the HoR and the attempt to discharge its Chief of Army Staff, the NA has remained a truly civilian subordinated military institution. Although Nepalese case do not provide all the conditional variables to confirm the situation but they can be considered sufficient conditions, especially in a region where military intervention in neighboring countries have taken place for reason less significant. However to the surprise of all the hawks of civilian supremacy and advocates of democratization of the NA, the NA has hitherto remained disciplined and subordinate to the civilian authority. What are the reasons underlying this behavior? More importantly is this historic precedent a guarantee of continued adherence to these norms? Answer to these questions should be of very important policy implications for the government of Nepal, since they will provide the foundation for consolidation of democratic civil military relations in Nepal.

It is my argument that despite the fragility of the Nepalese political institutions and grave institutional grievances that the NA has, it will always remain a professionally sound, non partisan and apolitical institution. I claim this for various contextual factors pertaining to the NA in addition to the ones identified by the theorists. It is not very difficult to analyze the dominant theoretical conditions however there are many contextual factors unique to Nepal that have constrained and will continue to shape and influence the disciplined and subordinate behavior of the NA. I will deal with the contextual factors in detail while making reference to the theoretical findings of Huntington and Finer. The main factors I consider are its glorious and proud historical lineage, association with institution of monarchy, higher standard of professionalism, aware and able leadership, national prestige and international linkages and foreign pressure.

Historic Contribution an Eternal Source for Responsible Behavior

The Nepalese Army takes its historical contributions very proudly and considers it to be a primary foundation of its motivation to serve the nation and people. It claims a "history that dates back to 350 BC" and "invaluable contribution to the nation state formation process and preservation of the independence, sovereignty and unity of the nation"⁷. The Nepalese Army is also very proud of its historic role in defending the nation from the 'clutches of imperialism' and has been highly praised for its bravery and valor demonstrated by it in the face of a largely disproportionate and strong armed forces. This historic achievement has not only given it a 'higher self esteem' but also has instilled in it, a deep sense of humbleness towards the concept of the nation state that makes it a very responsible entity. The leadership of the NA have consistently thus pledged this traditional contract with Nepal and the Nepalese people of their service and subordination. Recently also, the NA leadership have repeatedly pledged allegiance to the new political realities of Nepal and have reiterated "that it has

⁶ Samuel P Huntington, *The Soldier and the State: The Theory and Politics of Civil-Military relations*, (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1957), 141-196

⁷ *The Nepalese Army, a force with history, ready for tomorrow*, Directorate of Public Relations, 2008

and will always abide by the directives of the government under all circumstances”⁸.

Association with the Institution of Monarchy

It is now considered a taboo (given that the freedom of speech is guaranteed by the interim constitution) to speak of Monarchy’s contributions or association with the NA, but I may exercise my fundamental right anyway. Nepalese army’s long standing relationship with the institution of monarchy and the role of monarchy in Nepalese politics largely remained one of the primary reasons for NA’s restrained behavior in the past.

The Nepalese Army was instrumental in creating the current political boundaries and a national identity for Nepal by annexing ancient petty kingdoms of the region under the leadership of the Shah monarchs. Since Nepal started functioning as an independent sovereign state, the national army sought its allegiance to the monarchs in dual way, one as the head of the state and another as the commanders of the army. This period of warrior kings and absolute rule never allowed army to have any political ambition⁹.

As long as the monarchy provided the NA with its patronage, its independent identity and ambition remained dormant to the extent that it couldn’t conceive a mood different, than that of the monarchy. Unlike armed forces of other nations, it never functioned as a separate entity with any political leverage. Late constitution expert and advocate Ganesh Raj Sharma, in a Nepal Television interview said “had there not been Monarchy in Nepal, the NA would have taken over a long time ago”. This long standing association and faith in the institution of Monarchy worked as a limiting condition.

Professionalism

The professionalism of an armed force is defined in many ways. Huntington believes that it has three ingredients, expertness, social responsibility and corporate loyalty to the fellow practitioners¹⁰. His argument that professionalism is the best way to insulate the armed forces from politics is not considered complete because very professional armies like that of Pakistan have intervened in politics the past. Finer argues that this very sense of professionalism may give rise to intervention, which usually manifests when the government tries to use the military to coerce its domestic opponents. Thus, now a day non partisan character and adherence to civilian supremacy are considered the non negotiable elements of professionalism besides the ability to carry out the given task by the government in an effective and preferably efficient manner¹¹.

Nepalese Army though not very well equipped, its officers and men are considered to be one of the best and professional soldiers in the world. Upon the direction of the civilian government, it has been carrying out both the primary and secondary roles such as nation building, protection of national parks and others even at the expense of its professional training. It’s bravery as ‘Gurkha soldiers’ is world known and its prowess in peacekeeping has been a long admiration for the world. A testimony of this is Mr. Ban Ki Moon’s praise for the “exceptional bravery and sacrifice of Nepalese soldiers while carrying out Peacekeeping duties”¹². This demonstrates a strong sense of professionalism in the NA that satisfies both the traditional and modern definition and remains a significant factor in consolidation of its democratic credential.

An aware and alert Leadership

Leadership is probably the most critical factor that will either pursue ‘personal political ambition’ or consolidate non partisan and professional values within the organization. The history of NA is

⁸ Gen Rookmangud Katawal, ex COAS, Nepalese Army and Gen Chhatraman Singh Gurung, the current COAS of the NA both reiterated the fact during the farewell ceremony of the former in the Tribhuban Army Officers Club on Sep 5, 2009. Gen Gurung has reiterated this again in his various speeches since then.

⁹ Ashish Upadhyaya, “An analysis of civil military relation in Nepalese context”, Master’s Thesis, Tribhuban University, 2008. P 56

¹⁰ Huntington P 120

¹¹ Dick Chaney, *Professional Military Education for the 21st Century Warrior, a proceedings of the Naval Post Graduate School and Office of Naval Research* Ed, Cdr Michael D. Palatas, 1998 Nov 15-16

¹² HE Ban Ki Moon at a press conference on his two days trip to Nepal from Oct31to Nov 2, 2008.

evidence to the effort of the leadership in always preaching as well as practicing the professional norms of civilian control and democracy. Not only that the leadership have been reiterating its commitment to civilian supremacy but have ensured through a series of training and education that it is engrained in the rank and files of the institution¹³. The NA leadership had in fact believed to have facilitated smooth transition to democratic changes during 1990 by using its relationship with the institution of Monarchy, a fact largely ignored by the popular media¹⁴.

NA's training and education program is designed as such that all officers and men are required to undergo a "civil military orientation" training program ¹⁵which instills democratic values in them. Additionally, many of the Nepalese Army's top leadership had been trained by the British, American and Indian Army who are world's top democracies and one of the highly professional armed forces. Although this doesn't guarantee restraint on personal ambition but goes a long way in imbuing the leadership with democratic values that these armed forces share. The restrained behavior of the leadership even when his own position has been challenged during the last crisis explains the extent this value is adhered to by the leadership of the NA. These international exposure and contacts has knowingly or unknowingly have helped to reinforce the democratic character of an already aware and alert leadership.

Relationship with the other Armed Forces

Nepalese Army has maintained friendly relationship with other nation's armed forces which has helped it not only in the enhancement of its capability but to foster healthy and interactive relationship with them. This relationship at all levels and more importantly, at the highest level have always helped in consolidation of better civil military relationship in Nepal. The ranks and files of the NA have worked alongside best of the militaries in various peacekeeping operations around the world learning from them. The US Army conducts joint exercise with the Nepalese Army at regular intervals throughout the year. Similarly, officers from the NA work alongside officers of other armed forces in various UN missions.

Special case in point is the unique relationship with the Indian army. There exists a long standing tradition between the two nations, of conferring upon the Chief of Army Staff of the other nation a title of honorary general in a high profile ceremony by respective heads of the state. This additional title and honor, although largely symbolic has served as a constant reminder of the need to maintain higher democratic values that each country stands for. Additionally, it may have indirectly contributed to inhibit any personal ambition of the leadership.

To Intervene or Not To Intervene

While there is abundance of argument against any role of the military in politics amazingly there are some schools of thoughts that accept military intervention as normal. Welch and Smith and Kukreja argue that the role of a military in politics is rather a normal phenomenon and explain that it is not a question of whether but of how much and of what kind.¹⁶ Janowitz also agree that almost all the militaries in the developing nations exercise a certain degree of influence in politics¹⁷. Paul Collier even goes to the extent of suggesting that 'military intervention can be a part of a model of solving political problems'¹⁸ which is a classic departure from the traditional thinking. Military intervention may occur in the form of 'influence' or 'blackmail' without having to displace the civilian government or may manifest in a total 'displacement'¹⁹.

¹³ COAS Gen Chhatra Man Singh Gurung, makes explicit commitment to democracy and civilian supremacy in his first inaugural speech to the all ranks of the Nepalese Army Sep 14 2009

¹⁴ Unverified reports claim that the then COAS Gen Gadul Shamsheer JBR and Gen Satchhit Shamsheer JBR have advised the then King Birendra against repression and for facilitation of political transitions. Similar support to popular change have been claimed by Gen Katawal in his famous explanation letter to the Council of Ministers.

¹⁵ Nepal Army's training directive 2008, 2009

¹⁶ Claude E Welch, Jr. and Arthur K Smith, *Military Role and Rule*, (California: Duxberry Press, 1971) and Vina Kukreja, *Civil Military Relations in South Asia*, (New Delhi: SAAG publications, 1991) 27

¹⁷ Morris Janowitz, *The Comparative Analysis of Middle Eastern Military Institution in "On Military Intervention"* ed. by Morris Janowitz and Jacques Von Dorm, (Rotterdam: Rotterdam University Press, 1971) 124

¹⁸ Paul Collier, *Wars Guns and Votes: Democracy in Dangerous Places*, (New York: Harper: Collins Publishers, 2009) P231

¹⁹ Finer pg. 145-163

The contradictory viewpoints regarding military intervention indicate the sharp division among political scientists about the role of a military in politics or the utility of military intervention in a democratic framework. Whether military intervention is taken as a problem or part of the solution, there is no doubt that any such endeavor is likely to be very costly not only to the armed force but to the nation and the people. It is a plain fact that solution to political problem should in all cases be sought only through political means. This wisdom has certainly not lost on the NA and its leadership. However, historical evidence also suggests that in most of the cases military interventions have occurred not because they were desirable but because they were induced by circumstances.

Conclusion

The current civil military relations in Nepal can at best be called critical. At the one end of the spectrum is the NA, that has always served the people of Nepal and the legitimate political authority of the state, whereas on the other end, reside the hawks whose mistrust of the institution run to the extent of schizophrenia. The meeting point as usual always lies somewhere in the middle. Current political undercurrent and discriminative human rights dimension have definitely put the NA at unease. Most will agree that a solution to this should be found within a framework of resolving all remnants of the past conflict involving all the parties to the conflict. It is nevertheless duty of NA to continue to unequivocally reiterate its commitment to civilian supremacy and translate them into tangible evidence. On the other hand, it will be prudent on the part of various political forces to make sincere attempt to understand the psyche, utility and credential of the military machine based upon objective evaluation.

Although, the NA has demonstrated, a non partisan and professional character throughout the history until now, this, by no means should be taken as its inherent weakness or cowardice. Consolidation of democratic civil military relation should receive a higher priority in a post conflict transitional society like Nepal. With the Monarchy gone, the NA genuinely expects political patronage, better political direction in defense matters and at least a fair treatment in the new political order.

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ROLE OF NEPAL ARMY ENGINEERS IN MINE ACTION MANAGEMENT

Engineers Directorate
Nepal Army

Introduction

1. The history of the Nepal Army Engineers began with the establishment of the first Field Company in 1953, which was later upgraded to Kali Prasad Battalion (Engrs) in 1966. In 1990, the No. 14 Brigade was established to control and supervise the Engineer facets of the Nepal Army. It was then renamed as Engineer Directorate in 2003. At present, under its command, it has an Engineer Training School, a Bridging Unit, an EOD Holding Unit and five Engineer Battalions. The main role of the Nepal Army Engineers is to provide combat engineering support i.e. mobility, counter mobility and survivability to the Nepal Army. During the decade-long conflict, mines and IEDs were laid around security bases with the sole purpose of strengthening the security of these bases. At present, clearance of these mines and IED fields has become a major task of the Nepal Army Engineers. In addition to these, NA Engineers at present are also actively involved in handling (disposing and/or neutralizing) Improvised Explosive Device (IED) threats posed by various armed groups operating throughout the country.

2. The Nepal Army started de-mining operations in early 2007. The NA Engineers have till date cleared 20 minefields in various locations. In this task, the Nepal Army Engineers are being assisted by the United Nations Mine Action Team (UNMAT) including in carrying out the clearance of these minefields and also conducting Mine Risk Education (MRE) for the communities living in the vicinity of these minefields.

Objective

3. The aim of this article is to highlight the role of Nepal Army in Mine Action Management.

Improvised Explosive Device (IED)

4. An IED is a bomb fabricated in an improvised manner incorporating destructive, lethal, noxious, pyrotechnic or incendiary chemicals and designed to destroy or incapacitate personnel or vehicles. In some cases, IEDs are used to distract, disrupt, or delay an opposing force, facilitating another type of attack. IEDs may incorporate military or commercially-sourced explosives, often combining both types, or they may otherwise be prepared using homemade explosives (HME).

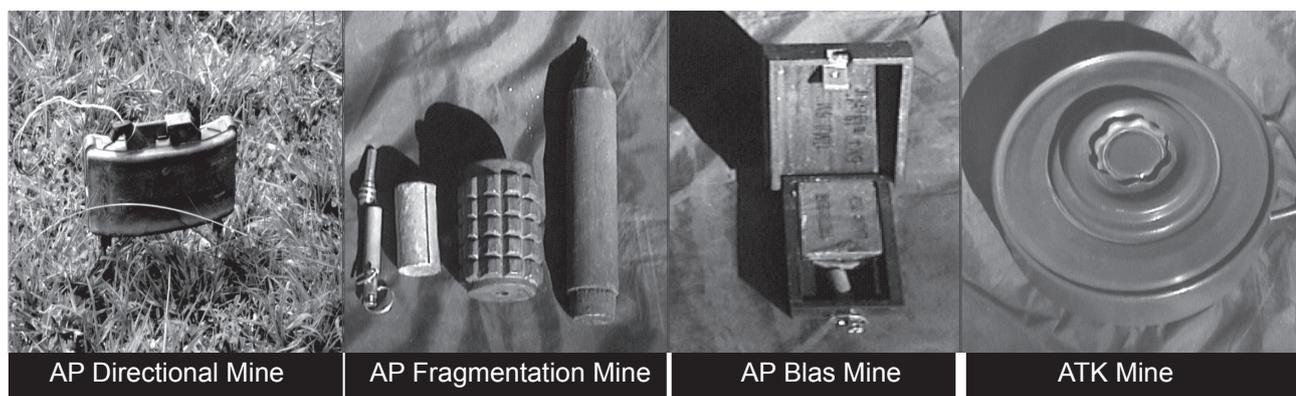
Explosive Remnants of War (ERW)

5. ERW is defined as “unexploded ordnance” (UXO) and “abandoned explosive ordnance” (AXO).” This means that not only can ERWs be understood traditionally as resulting from the failure of weapons (UXO), but also as weapons that were not used at all (AXO). AXOs may range from “a few rounds of ammunition or a grenade left with the body of a dead soldier to entire ammunition dumps abandoned (frequently in a great hurry) by a retreating force.”

Landmines

6. Landmines are explosive traps that are victim-activated, whether the intended target is a person or a vehicle. A mine comprises a quantity of explosive material contained within some form of casing (typically in metal, plastic or wood) and a fuse mechanism to detonate the explosives. Mines are generally classified into two categories: anti-tank and anti-personnel.

Landmines



Nepal Army Mine Action Coordination Center (NAMACC)

7. Nepal Army Mine Action Co-ordination Center (NAMACC) was established under the Engineer Directorate on **December 1, 2006** at the EOD Holding Unit. The role of NAMACC is to meet the stated provision of the "**Comprehensive Peace Accord-2006**" and to conduct humanitarian de-mining and other mine-related tasks. Besides this, the Nepal Army Engineers are also actively involved in clearing IEDs laid/planted by various armed groups in different places all over the country.

8. During the decade-long conflict, Nepal Army planted anti-personnel mines in 53 locations and command detonated Improvised Explosive Devices (IEDs) in 275 places. In addition to being well-recorded to facilitate future de-mining operations, these were well-marked and fenced in order to prevent people and animals straying in.

9. **As per the Comprehensive Peace Accord - 2006**, Nepal Army has wholeheartedly been committed to Mine Action Management. At present, the NA has primarily been engaged in the following areas of Mine Action:

- (a) Humanitarian De-mining
- (b) Mine Risk Education
- (c) Victim Assistance

NAMACC in Humanitarian De-mining

10. De-mining covers all the activities that eventually lead to the removal of the threat from landmines and Explosive Remnants of War (ERW). It is very important to distinguish humanitarian mine clearance from military de-mining. In humanitarian de-mining, the objective of mine clearance is to clear all mines and ERW from a given area in order to hand over the cleared land to civilians, ensuring safety of those civilians. After the establishment of NAMACC, Nepal Army started conducting humanitarian de-mining of minefields. Prior to the commencement of de-mining operations, the verification of all 53 minefields was done. This was then followed by survey, risk assessment, mapping, marking, clearance, post-clearance documentation and the handing over of cleared land to civilians. Although physical clearance is only a part of the de-mining process, it is the most costly one. After the contaminated area is made free from explosive devices including metal contents, the safe area for inhabitation is then handed over to the concerned people in the presence of representatives from International Mine Action Team (MAT), local government bodies, local security commander and the local people living around the minefield sites.

NA De-mining Team

11. Till date, NAMACC has trained three batches of Humanitarian De-miners as per the International Mine Action Standard (IMAS) for Manual Clearance Operation. The training was conducted with the assistance of United Nations Mine Action Team (UNMAT). At present, Nepal Army has 3x IMAS accredited De-mining Platoons deployed in three different locations, while one more Platoon has been trained and is ready to receive IMAS accreditation.

DEMINEING TEAM AT SITES



Demining Team at Salleri



Demining Team at Wami Takshar



Demining Team at Siraha



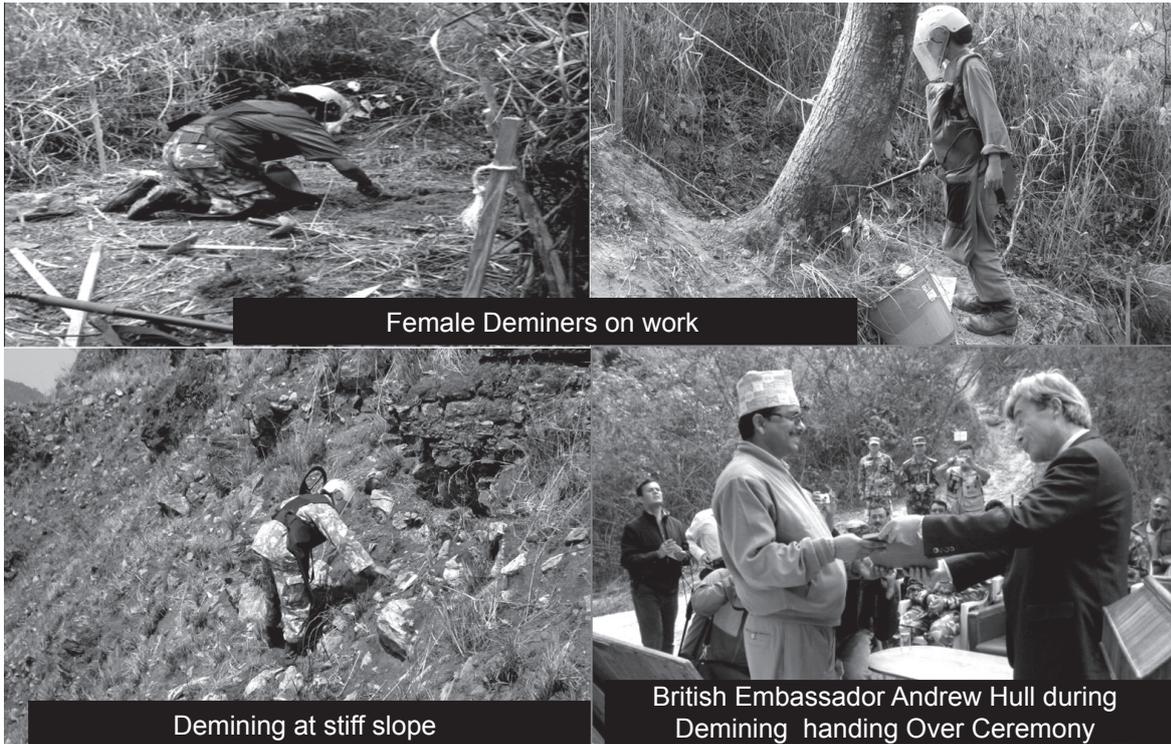
Demining Team at Lamahi

Minefield Clearance Progress

12. Immediately after the completion of the training under the direct supervision of the Armor Group (International De-mining Company hired by UNMIN, MAU), the first batch of Nepal Army deminers were deployed to the Dolakha-Khimti minefield to conduct humanitarian de-mining operation. The clearance operation started on October 13, 2007 and was successfully completed on November 15, 2007. Since then, 20 minefields located in various parts of the country have already been cleared, and in the process 3436 anti-personnel mines have been destroyed. The details of the cleared minefields are as follows:

S. No.	District	Minefield
1.	Dolakha	Khimti
2.	Arghakhanchi	Thada
3.	Makawanpur	Mahadevdanda
4.	Khotang	Suntale
5.	Doti	Budar
6.	Tanahun	Jalbhanjyang
7.	Siraha	Kopche
8.	Doti	Samuwagad
9.	Rolpa	Liwang
10.	Lamjung	Bhirpustung
11.	Lamjung	Bhorletar
12.	Gulmi	Wamitaksar
13.	Baglung	Hatiya
14.	Doti	Jhigrana
15.	Baitadi	Bittadpakha
16.	Syangja	Nuwakot
17.	Dadeldhura	Kaphali
18.	Dang	Lamahi
19.	Dadeldhura	Jogbudha
20.	Solukhumbu	Salleri

GLIMPSES OF DEMINING ACTIVITIES



IED Field Clearance Progress

13. As per the clearance plan, Nepal Army Engineers have also started clearing the IEDs laid at various locations during the conflict. Out of a total of 275 recorded IED Fields, 138 have already been cleared and the remaining 137 IED fields have also been scheduled for clearance.

NAMACC in Mine Risk Education (MRE)

14. The International Mine Action Standards (IMAS) define the term Mine Risk Education (MRE) as *"activities which seek to reduce the risk of injury from mines and ERW by raising awareness and promoting behavioral change, including public information dissemination, education and training, and community mine action liaison."*

15. NAMACC is actively involved in MRE, and has conducted various MRE programs in and around mines and/or UXO affected communities with the sole purpose of minimizing mine and UXO related accidents. School children, local villagers and security forces are the main target groups of these programmes. MRE Campaign is conducted as a part of Mine Action in co-ordination with UNICEF and it covers all the communities affected by Mine Fields and IED Fields. An estimated 21,565

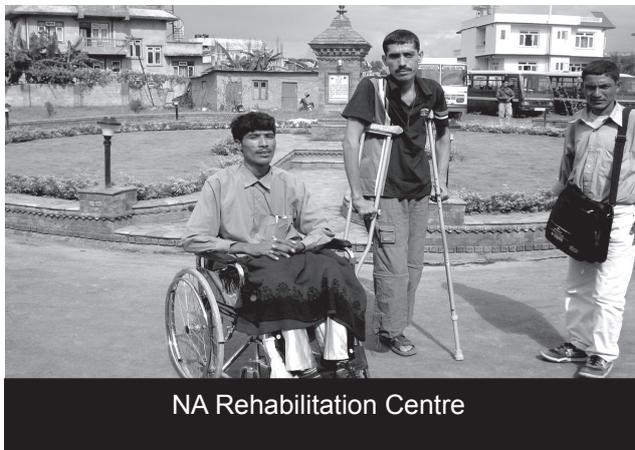


people have been educated during the awareness campaign, conducted in 84 different locations. In addition to this, Emergency Mine Risk Education (EMRE) programmes are promptly conducted by the Nepalese Army personnel at settlements near the minefield sites. UNICEF has been assisting NAMACC by providing MRE materials and training.

Victim Assistance

16. As mentioned above, the minefields are well-fenced and marked with sign postings of international standards. The perimeter fences are also checked and strengthened time and again with the aim of preventing people and animals from entering into the minefields. Despite these precautions, some accidents have occurred resulting in serious injury to people/cattle. The Nepal Army has been carrying out emergency rescue operations in case of such accidents. The victims are immediately evacuated by army helicopter or ambulance to Birendra Military Hospital for treatment. Nepal Army has also established a Rehabilitation Center situated at Chhauni. The Rehabilitation Center serves both military as well as civilian victims of mines and ERW.

GLIMPSES OF VICTIM ASSISTANCE



NA Rehabilitation Centre



NA Helicopter during Evacuation

Information Management System for Mine Action (IMSMA)

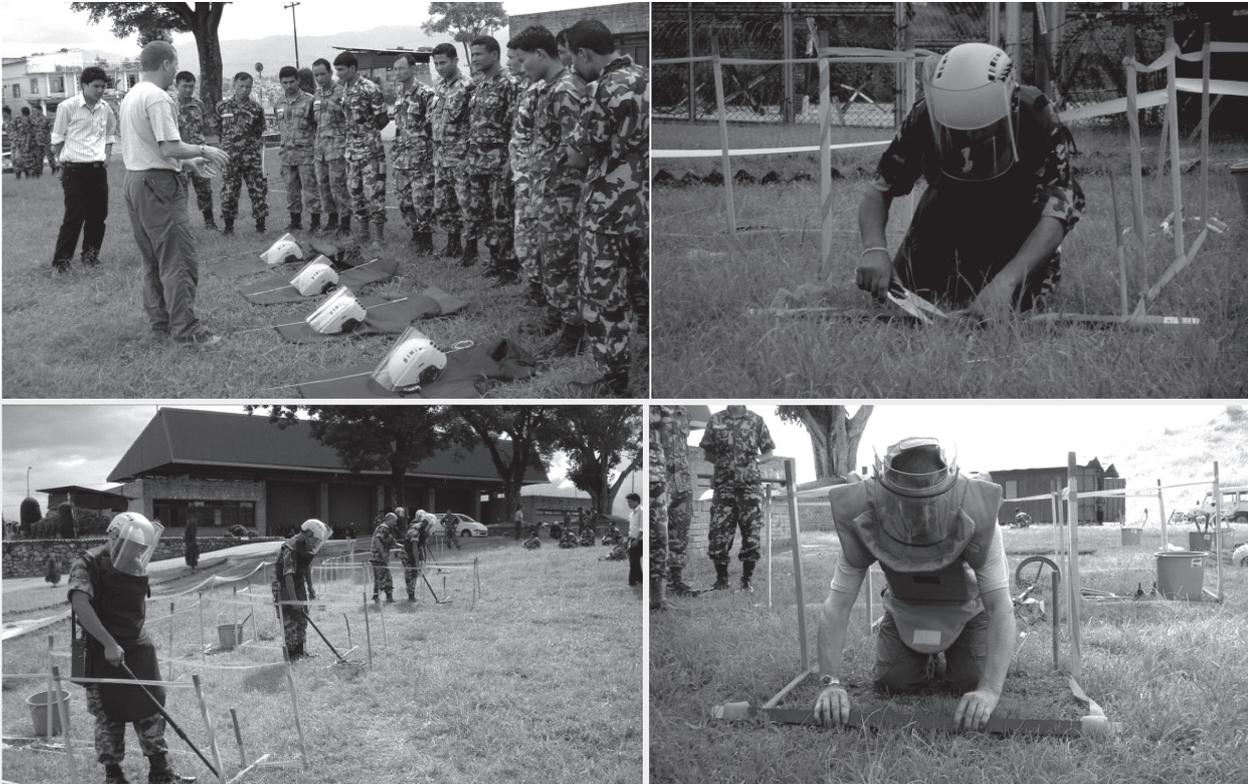
17. IMSMA is a powerful tool, to manage and implement the information which could help in enhancing the Mine action process and attain safer, effective and efficient de-mining. IMSMA is based on standard computer technology, which is approved by the United Nations. At present, it is in use in more than 80 % of all mine action programs around the world, with Nepal being one of them. IMSMA can be used to plan, manage, report and map the results of survey and field data collection, report on and map mines, UXO and other ERW threats and, record, report on, and map clearance activities.

18. Ever since its establishment in 2007, the Nepal Army Mine Action Co-ordination Center (NAMACC) has been involved in implementing IMSMA as its standard supporting tool to enhance the Humanitarian De-mining process. NAMACC has adopted this system with support from UNMAT and Geneva International Convention for Humanitarian De-mining (GICHD).

Assistance from UNMAT

19. UNMIN MAU started assisting NAMACC with the provision of first Humanitarian De-mining Training and Medical Training according to International Mine Action Standards (IMAS) from August 26, 2007. The training was conducted by Armor Group to the officers and other ranks of Nepal Army Engineers. Later, in January 2008 UNMIN MAU was renamed as United Nations Mine Action Team (UNMAT) and was put under United Nations Mine Action Service (UNMAS).

20. As aforementioned, UNMAT has been conducting Humanitarian De-mining Trainings to NA Engineers. In addition to this, UNMAT has been assisting NAMACC with de-miners' insurance, risk allowances, logistics, equipment, supervision, Quality Assurance (QA) and other technical assistance. Moreover, UNMAT has helped NAMACC to develop Capacity Development Plan (CDP). The aim of the CDP is to develop mine action and IEDD capacity of NAMACC as per international standards. Through CDP, a series of trainings have been conducted with a view to develop the mine action capabilities of NAMACC. At the same time, clearance is in progress as well.



Glimpses of Humanitarian Demining Training

Assistance from British Government

21. Nepal Army has been getting continuous and unflinching support from the British Government. British government has been equipping NA with Bomb Disposal (BD) equipment, accessories and spare parts since the start. It has also been providing BD training to NA officers since as early as 1986. Additionally, it has also been providing de-mining equipment such as Personal Protective Equipment (PPE), de-mining tool kit bags, mine detectors, ambulance and humanitarian de-mining related trainings in order to facilitate rapid clearance of mine and IED fields. British assistance and continued support to NA's de-mining activities has been instrumental in minimising IED risks and carrying out de-mining operations.

Assistance from Donor Countries

22. Under the coordination of UNMAT, several donor countries have been providing various support to facilitate humanitarian de-mining in Nepal. The area of their assistance varies from training to material support and has been very significant for minimizing the hazards from mine/IED fields. The following are some of the countries providing significant assistance in the areas of humanitarian de-mining.

- (a) United Kingdom
- (b) Canada
- (c) Norway
- (d) Sweden
- (e) Denmark

Achievements of NAMACC

23. Since its establishment, NAMACC has made tremendous efforts in the field of humanitarian de-mining and has achieved considerable success. Three de-mining platoons of International Mine Action standards have already been accredited by UNMAT, and are deployed in three different minefields to conduct simultaneous humanitarian de-mining. So far, NAMACC has also trained and deployed 5 female de-miners and is planning to train more female officers and other ranks. Despite the risks and difficulties, the de-miners have exhibited professionalism and confidence of the highest order in successfully conducting de-mining operations. The UNMAT, British government, the representatives of UNMAS and everyone that has visited NAMACC have openly lauded and admired the determination, skills and professionalism of NAMACC's de-miners. Nepal Army de-miners are also considered as one of the best de-miners of the world.

24. Through the capacity development plan (CDP), NAMACC, in partnership with UNMAT, has been able to enhance the mine action capabilities of Nepal Army. A number of trainings related to mine action and clearance of minefields are being conducted simultaneously.

De-mining Challenges

25. De-mining is a high-risk and difficult job. Successful de-mining requires well trained personnel and very expensive high-tech equipments. Safety is of paramount importance and should not be compromised at any cost. Geographical conditions similar to those of ours make de-mining even more difficult. Some of the challenges of de-mining operations are:

- (a) Dense undergrowths inside the minefields make use of tools and equipment difficult, thus rendering the job tedious and slow.
- (b) Displacement of mines due to landslides, flash floods and heavy rain.
- (c) Explosion of mines due to fire, animals and lightning.
- (d) De-mining operation is not possible during adverse weather conditions, i.e., monsoon, extreme cold conditions and during periods of poor visibility (cloud, fog).
- (e) Remoteness of minefields and lack of road communication, necessitating heli-transportation.
- (f) De-mining in steep slopes is dangerous, as the chance of de-miners falling or slipping and stepping on mines are very high.
- (g) Quality Assurance of humanitarian de-mining as per IMAS, demands third party.

Conclusion

26. In a short span of time, NA's de-miners have exhibited remarkable determination and professionalism to succeed at the highest level. Despite of difficult terrain and adverse weather conditions, within three years, they have cleared nearly half of the 53 minefields laid during the conflict. Moreover, numerous IED fields have also been cleared in the same duration. In clearing these mine and IED fields, they have strictly adhered to international guidelines and safety precaution of the highest level. The fact that these have been carried out by NA's own de-miners make it ever more remarkable, considering only partial success achieved despite huge presence of international de-mining agencies in countries like Lebanon, Afghanistan, Eritrea and Iraq. In Lebanon, for example, only partial success has been achieved since the establishment of the Lebanese National De-mining Office 12 years back. De-miners from UN partner agencies, Italy, Spain, France and various other nations operate in Lebanon. Despite their collective efforts, a lot still remains to be done. The scenario is similar in Afghanistan, Eritrea and Iraq.

27. The success of NA's humanitarian de-mining operation can also be credited to use of proper recording procedures when the minefields were being laid. All the minefields were well-recorded, appropriately marked and strongly fenced to prevent people and animals from straying in. All these have enabled swift, safe and successful clearance of mines.

28. The very nature of ongoing de-mining operations is humanitarian, and hence, has enhanced the image, role and professionalism of Nepal Army. Moreover, the de-mining job carried out by Nepal Army is being appreciated by both the international community and the donor agencies. This has been witnessed during the visits by delegates from UNMAT, Chief of UNMAT, NYHQ and representatives from donor nations. The efforts and hard work of NA de-miners have significantly reduced mines and IED related threats to humans and properties in Nepal. Many of us are not aware of the ordeal that the people living in far-flung villages near a minefield go through everyday. For some of these people, it's a living hell. They cannot for once take their minds off their children and livestock for fear they might stray into the minefield. And if such a thing were to happen, it would bring overwhelming grief upon these villagers. But, since the commencement of de-mining operations, the situation of these people has improved significantly. Communities and villages in the vicinity have greatly benefited due to the clearance of these minefield. In doing their jobs, the de-miners have not only cleared the minefields but also served invaluable to provide great relief to these people. The whole of Nepal owe the Nepal Army and especially the NA de-miners, for their hard work and contribution in creating a mine/IED free environment. Based on the successes achieved in Nepal, NA de-miners have proven that they can lend an experienced and safe hand in de-mining operations in other affected nations of the world in the future.

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A good plan, violently executed now, is better than a perfect plan next week. A pint of sweat, saves a gallon of blood. No poor bastard ever won a war by dying for his country. He won it by making other bastards die for their country.

- George Patton

CONCEPTUALIZING THE SPECIAL OPERATIONS COMPONENT IN THE CONTEXT OF PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS



Lt Col Anup Jung Thapa

Introduction

1. In most countries Special Forces (SF) is a generic term for highly-trained military units that conduct specialized operations such as reconnaissance, unconventional warfare, and counter-terrorism actions. In some countries, as in the United States for example, 'Special Forces' refers to a specific unit and, more appropriately, the term Special Operations Forces (SOF) is used in its place.

2. SOF units are typically composed of relatively small groups of highly-trained personnel equipped with specialist equipment and armament, operating under principles of self-sufficiency, stealth, speed, and close teamwork. SOF are sometimes considered



a force multiplier, as when they train and operate in conjunction with other forces, often achieving tactical results that pave the way for operational or even strategic opportunities.

3. The Special Operations Component is traditionally one of the most misunderstood instruments in any military. Historically, more often than not, Special Operations have been either surrounded by legends and myth or mired in mistrust. Where the former view dominates, the presence of the useful 'hammer' may lead to every problem being perceived as a 'nail' – leaving an opening for misuse, and ultimately abuse, of this valuable asset. If the latter reigns, the asset is unlikely to be used to its fullest potential. A balanced understanding is thus essential.

4. The deployment of a dedicated SOF component in the peacekeeping environment is relatively novel. Only a few UN missions, such as MONUC in the DRC and ONUB in Burundi have employed SOF within their force structures. As peacekeeping missions are increasingly multi-national with unavoidably less structured command and control architectures in the best of times, the case for the fullest possible understanding of the SOF component cannot be overstated. As such, there is a need for the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations to conceptualize the special operations component. But for such a doctrine to be prepared, the basic fundamental questions governing the role, tasks, organization, command control, limitations and other aspects of SOF in general must first be considered.

5. This paper seeks to highlight some of the basic issues regarding the utility and employment of the Special Operations Component in the context of a peacekeeping mission. It brings out some fundamental aspects related to the employment of the SOF component in peacekeeping. This paper cannot hope to serve as a draft doctrine for the employment of SOF. Rather, it merely highlights the key areas of contention that must be addressed clearly before a doctrinal approach is conceptualized by higher authority after further research. In addition to SOF fundamentals, the experience of the Nepalese Army SOF in ONUB (Burundi) and currently in UNAMID (Darfur) have naturally also influenced resultant deductions to an extent. For added practical utility, it includes a more detailed list of the tasks and capabilities of the Force Reserve (SF) unit in UNAMID in Figure '1'.

TASKS AND CAPABILITIES – FORCE RESERVE (SF), UNAMID

SN	Tasks as Outlined in Force Requirement Document	Remarks
QUICK REACTION FORCE TYPE TASKS		
1	As Force level Strategic Reserve, BPT deploy throughout AOR.	
2	Respond to hostile actions against AU / UN pers and installations	Full effectiveness only after Armed Heli available
3	Provide indirect fire (light mortar)	
4	Specified regular Infantry tasks	
5	Self-protection EOD capability.	
6	Provide integral, high quality secure VHF radio communications.	
7	Provide a Radio Communications detachment to the Force HQ.	
8	Deploy by foot, vehicle or by aircraft (both fixed and rotary wing)	
SPECIAL OPERATIONS FORCE TYPE TASKS		
1	Provide sniper capability.	
2	Temporary security to UNAMID personnel in risky areas.	
3	Extraction operations for UNAMID personnel, liaison's officers, civilian and military VIPs in hostile situations.	In coord and liaison with concerned departments
4	Close protection operations.	
5	Conduct overt and covert reconnaissance by day and night.	
6	Contribute to the information gathering process as directed by the FC.	Full effectiveness only after Heli available

*Note = The NEP SOTF (Force Reserve) can further contribute in (as directed by Force Cdr):

- | | |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foot Patrolling – commence foot patrols in urban areas to raise confidence, win over population and deter car jacking (<i>not as routine</i>) • Escorting of Special Teams from higher HQs. • Route Reconnaissance between Positions | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Heli Recce Patrols • Force Multiplier for J7 - Provide Mobile Trg / Demonstration Teams |
|--|--|

Figure '1' – Tasks and Capabilities of the Nepalese Army SOF unit in UNAMID

Fundamental Questions

6. Special Forces or Elite Infantry?

(a) **The Issue** The nature of the force – both in terms of what the UN DPKO asked for and what the TCC committed – has to be considered. The elitism of the unit, in itself, does not necessarily make it suitable or even adept at regular tasks. There are some missions for which SOF are just less suitable than say, Mechanized Infantry. Hence, the first fundamental to tackle is to clarify not just what the unit is, but also what it is not. This issue comes into particular prominence in reaction operations – where any tendency to rush lightly equipped SOF into the same function where Armored Infantry has been outgunned – may exact a heavy price. Similarly, 'extraction operations' are not 'hostage rescue', which, even if the SOF component may be competent to carry out, is often risky enough to perhaps entail individual Member State sanction before their citizens may be exposed to a rescue attempt.

(b) **Deductions** Pre-determine the nature and limitations of the force and use it where suitable. SOF are not 'better' at everything. Additionally, unlike Infantry units – where there are more universal commonalities, every country's SOF has its own nuances, strengths and limitations – these must be understood and considered. Similarly, the definitions and parameters of the SOF's pre-determined roles must be uniformly understood by decision makers.

7. Quick Reaction Force or Special Forces?

(a) **The Issue** Another dimension of the question above exposes the fact that Quick Reaction Force (QRF) and Special Operations are not really synonyms. In fact, quite often, they are two opposing specialties – the former calling for robust mobile operations while the

latter stresses a mobile but stealthy modus operandi. The Force Mobile Reserve (FMR) in the old UNIFIL, South Lebanon, one of the most respected units, was essentially a Mechanized Infantry Unit; as is the Force Reserve in MINURCAT, Chad. Both are highly credible QRF Units, neither are Special Forces. By contrast the SF unit in ONUB, Burundi was a light and specialized approximately 80 man unit.

(b) **Deductions** In complex missions with diverse requirements, in particular when both a robust mobile QRF and a skilled SOF component are required, it would be better to ensure a suitably task organized unit with an additional Mechanized / Light Armored element on top of the standard SOF unit. This would yield better results in both disciplines than a SOF unit tasked to perform two characteristically opposing roles. Furthermore, the SOF unit in peacekeeping is more accurately termed a 'Special Ops Task Force' - and is not really a 'Company'. This is more than semantics – if you ask for a traditional 'Company', that is more than likely what you get! The current organization (with recommendations) of the Nepalese SOF unit for UNAMID is in Figure '2'.

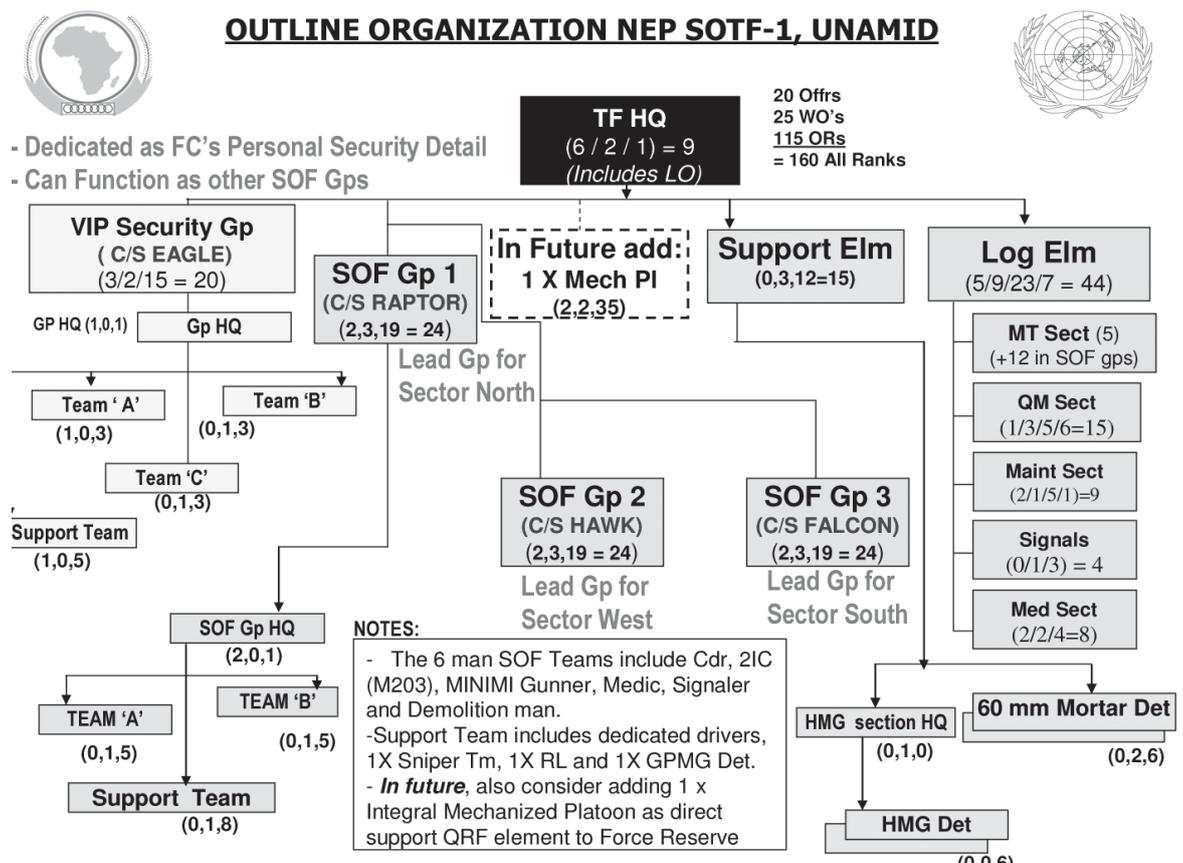


Figure '2' - Organization (with recommendations) of the Nepalese Army SOF unit in UNAMID

8. Routine or Reserve Tasks?

(a) **The Issue** To tie down central reserves in routine tasks is to sacrifice the retention of true rapid reaction capability. However, the reserve, if it is to develop a meaningful capability and requisite situational awareness, must be kept operationally active. What is the correct balance?

(b) **Deductions** The right approach is to keep the reserve gainfully employed, but not actually tied down. In other words, the reserve must not be subjected to tasks of a permanent / long term nature. Guard duties and domination patrols are some examples where reserves may be used temporarily to set standards or open up new ground, but should not be tasked in long term basis.

9. Centralized or Decentralized Command Control (C2)?

(a) **The Issue** SOF, being responsible to operate throughout the force footprint, usually will not have exclusive AORs. Although routine C2 is likely to reside at the center, there may not be clarity on the chain of command of SOF deployed in AORs which are the primary responsibility of holding formations and units. In UNAMID, quite rightly, the SOF Unit is under Operational Control (OPCON) of the Force Commander and only elements of it may be temporarily Tactical Control (TACON) of the Sector Commanders.

(b) **Deductions** The C2 relationship of deployed SOF must be pre-determined and clarified to both the SOF and supported formations and units. While decisions on the actual responsibilities may be made on a case by case basis, C2 of SOF is best retained at the highest feasible level. OPCON, TACON or otherwise, the arrangement must be universally understood and complied with. Furthermore, no matter what the agreed relationship, it is best to involve the SOF unit leadership in all related planning.

10. What Liaison Responsibilities?

(a) **The Issue** The SOF units, by virtue of their central base location, usually within the Force HQ itself and responsibility of reaction throughout the force AOR, will lack tactical information, area familiarization and awareness of local languages / culture. Additionally, SOF units rarely have the luxury of time to develop local relations at the grass roots level.

(b) **Deductions** While LOs and Radio Detachments can deploy to the host formations / units from the SOF unit, the holding formations must be responsible for providing local information, LOs for the local area, guides, interpreters and situational updates.

11. Quality or Quantity?

(a) **The Issue** While the relative quality of SOF at the individual level may be a given, SOF units will invariably be small in number. They may lack the equipment and manpower for certain tasks.

(b) **Deductions** In situations where numbers in themselves are part of the required solution, SOF has limited utility. In certain situations, such as mass riots, quantity has a quality of its own, and other more numerous regular forces may be better suited to handle the situation.

12. How to Mitigate Risk?

(a) **The Issue** The quantity consideration raises another issue – that of risk and its mitigation. Once compromised, the odds start to rapidly amass against the numerically inferior SOF who, in the absence of dedicated air support, are often also outgunned, especially in those parts of the world where 12.7mm and 14.5mm vehicle mounted weapons – ‘technicals’ abound.

(b) **Deductions** A realistic and practical reinforcement plan must be soundly worked out. Dedicated enablers such as Air Support or at the least, Light Tactical Helicopters are a must for high risk SOF missions. Additionally, if the threat perception in the mission warrants, there may be a strong case for improving upon the traditional SOF organization and adding a tailor-made Mechanized Element in direct support of the other lighter special operators.

13. What are the Standard Equipment Requirements?

(a) **The Issue** While the long experience of the UN DPKO with standard military Formations and Units have resulted in specific guidelines for Infantry, Engineer and other types of forces, there are still many voids in the case of SOF units.

(b) **Deductions** Although the very nature of special operations makes standardization difficult, certain basic standards may be established as benchmarks to assist the preparations of TCCs. Upgraded scales for night and other optics, Satellite and long range communications, special operations equipment and sanctioning of spare mission specific unit weapons outside the normal equipment table are some examples.

Conclusion

14. The complexity of modern multi-dimensional peacekeeping missions warrants many niche capabilities. Key amongst them is the potential role of the special operations component. SOF elements, by their very nature are versatile and can contribute to a wide variety of missions. They are not, however, suitable for all scenarios and in certain cases, have disadvantages potentially bearing serious consequences if not used in accordance to their capabilities and limitations.



15. All concerned - the headquarters that task them, the host units in whose area they operate and the SOF units themselves need to be clear about their characteristics and implications. Key questions relating to the nature, role, command control, equipment and risk mitigation must be carefully considered.

16. If properly conceptualized, the employment of the SOF component may often yield results above and beyond their actual strength of numbers and contribute significantly to the overall success of the peacekeeping force.

"For all the civilians saved thanks to the presence of peacekeepers, there have been those who were lost – the United Nations personnel who sacrificed their lives for a noble cause. Even as we mourn our fallen colleagues, we are all uplifted by their unflinching commitment and are inspired to strive even harder for the collective cause so eloquently envisaged in the United Nations Charter: a world free from the scourge of war."

- Jan Eliasson (Former President of the UN General Assembly)

प्रकृति संरक्षणमा नेपाली सेना



प्रमुख सेनानी बाबुकृष्ण कार्की

परिचय

१. प्राचीन कालदेखि नेपाली सेना र प्रकृति बीच अन्योन्याश्रित सम्बन्ध रहिआएको छ । नेपाली सेना प्रकृति प्रेमी र वन जङ्गलको सच्चा परहेदार हो भन्ने कुरा यसले परम्परादेखि निर्वाह गर्दै आएको जिम्मेवारी र संरक्षणभावले पुष्टि गर्दछ । नेपाली सेनाले प्रकृति संरक्षणको जिम्मेवारी निर्वाह गरेको आधुनिक ईतिहास साँढे तीन दशक लामो भएता पनि हरियो वन जङ्गलको रक्षा गरेको शताब्दियौं लामो ईतिहास भेटिन्छ । नागार्जुन रानीबनस्थित ऐन डांडामा फेला परेको शिलालेखबाट वन जङ्गलको रक्षा गर्ने जिम्मेवारी परम्पराकालमा समेत नेपाली सेनालाई दिईएको यो एउटा ज्वलन्त उदाहरण हो । नेपाली सेनालाई स्वभावै ले पनि प्रकृति प्रेमी मानिन्छ । नक्शा अध्ययन अथवा हवाई उडान गर्ने हो भने जमीनमा देखिने हरियो बाक्लो जमिनले व्यारेक ईलाकाको प्रतिनिधित्व गरेको हुन सक्दछ भन्ने ठाडो मान्यता राख्ने गरिन्छ र यो सत्य पनि हो । वृक्षारोपण गर्ने, रुख विरुवा हुर्काउने र जोगाउने कामलाई नेपाली सेनाले जहिले र जुनसुकै ठाउमा नियमित पालना गरेको हुन्छ र यसलाई नेपाली सेनाले आफ्नो पहिचानको रूपमा स्थापित गरिसकेको छ । “हरियो वन-नेपालको धन” भन्ने नारालाई हुबहु आत्मसात गरेर शिरोधार्य गर्ने अगुवा संस्थाको रूपमा आजपनि धेरै प्रकृतिविद् तथा संरक्षणविद्हरूले नेपाली सेनाको नाम लिने गर्दछन् । “हरियो वन-नेपालको धन” नारालाई कतिपयले प्राचीन राजा-महाराजाको महान्वाणीको रूपमा मानेपनि यो नारा नेपालको लागि ज्यादै समय सापेक्ष र नेपालको भूगोल सुहाउदो नारा हो भन्ने कुरामा भोलीको नयां नेपालका युवा पुस्ताहरूको समेत विमती रहने ठाउं छैन । विडम्बना नै भन्नुपर्दछ, हरेक राजनीतिक, सामाजिक, आर्थिक क्रान्तिको पहिलो शिकार यही हरियो वन हुन पुगेको यथार्थ छ र हरेक परिवर्तनपछि धावाका साथ आक्रमण गरिदा हिजोको हरियो वन अब ईतिहासका पानामा सीमित हुन पुगेको छ । आज नेपाललाई आफ्नो संरक्षण क्षेत्रको रक्षा गर्ने काम चुनौतिपूर्ण बन्न पुगेको अवस्था छ ।

२. १९७० को दशक राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्ज र बन्यजन्तु आरक्ष घोषणा गर्ने महत्वपूर्ण दशक रह्यो । चितवन राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्ज नेपालको पुरानो निकुञ्ज होस जसलाई १९७३ मा राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्ज घोषणा गरियो । तदनुसार बर्दिया, सगरमाथा, लाङ्गटाङ्ग र रारा राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्ज तथा कोशीटप्पु र शुक्लाफांटा बन्यजन्तु आरक्षले १९७६ मा निकुञ्ज र आरक्ष हुने अवसर प्राप्त गरे । निकुञ्ज/आरक्ष घोषणाको अभियानले १९८० को दशकमा पनि निरन्तरता प्राप्त गर्‍यो । शे-फोक्सुण्डो र खप्तड राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्ज तथा पर्सा बन्यजन्तु आरक्ष र ढोरपाटन शिकार आरक्ष यस दशकका उपहार हुन् । यो महत्वपूर्ण अभियान पूरा गर्न १९९० को दशकपनि महत्वपूर्ण रह्यो । मकालुवरुण र राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्जको अलवा अन्नपूर्ण, मनास्लु र कञ्चनजंघा संरक्षण क्षेत्र यस दशकका उपहार हुन् । मध्यवर्ती क्षेत्रको अवधारणा यसै दशकमा लागू भयो र यसको संख्या हाल ११ पुगिसकेको छ । २००२ मा शिवपुरी जलाधारलाई राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्जमा रूपान्तरण गरियो । नेपाल सरकार मन्त्री परिषदको ऐतिहासिक बैठक बसी अपिनाम्पा र गौरीशंकर संरक्षण क्षेत्रको घोषणा गर्नुका अलवा बर्दिया राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्जलाई करिव दोब्बर बढाएर बाँके हुँदै दाङ्गको लमहीसम्म विस्तार गर्ने महत्वपूर्ण निर्णय गरियो ।

३. राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्ज र बन्यजन्तु आरक्षको घोषणालाई विश्व संरक्षण समुदायले मुक्त कण्ठले तारिफ र प्रशंसा त गर्‍यो तर त्यसको दिगो र भरपर्दो संरक्षणको जिम्मेवारी राज्यको लागि साच्चि कै चुनौतिपूर्ण थियो । तराईका तत्कालीन चारकोसे भ्वाडी, विषम हावापानी र मलेरिया जस्ता ज्यान लिने रोगको प्रकोप, हिंस्रक बन्यजन्तुले ज्यान लिने खतरा र सीमापारीबाट सशस्त्र चोरी शिकारी र तस्करहरूबाट हुन सक्ने संभावित आक्रमणको मुकाविला गर्नु चानचुने र सजिलो कुरा थिएन । यसको लागि एउटा साहसिक, दत्त र योग्य तथा आधुनिक हतियारले सु-सज्जित ईमान्दार फोर्सको पहिचान गर्न आवश्यक थियो र यो जोखिमपूर्ण जिम्मेवारी निर्वाह गर्नको लागि नेपाली सेनाको पहिचान र छनौट भएको हुनुपर्दछ भन्ने अनुमान लगाउन

गाहो छैन ।

संरक्षण क्षेत्रको महत्व

४. नेपाल जस्तो मुलुकको निमित्त संरक्षण क्षेत्रको महत्व र औचित्य सर्वाधिक रहेको हुन्छ । पहिलो, एउटा सानो मुलुकभित्र पाईने यति धेरै जैविक विविधता विश्व कै लागि आकर्षक, अध्ययन र अनुसन्धानको विषयबस्तु होस जसलाई संसारकै प्राकृतिक प्रयोगशाला तथा अनुसन्धान केन्द्र बनाउन सकिन्छ । दोश्रो, नेपाल बर्तमान र भविष्यको समेत विद्युत शक्तिको प्रचुर संभाव्यता बोकेको मुलुक होस दूर दृष्टि र दृढ संकल्पका साथ खेर गईरहेको यो शक्तिको संरक्षण र उपयोग गर्न समय खेर फ्याक्नु हुँदैन । साथै, यसको अलवा नेपाल भविष्यको पिउन योग्य शुद्ध पानीको मुहान र भण्डार पनि हो, त्यसैले यसको उचित संरक्षण गर्न अपरिहार्य छ । तेश्रो, अमूल्य जडिबुटी र खनिज पदार्थको भण्डारलाई तत्काल उत्खनन, प्रयोग र उपयोग गरेर सिध्याउने अथवा नष्ट गर्ने भन्दा पनि यसको संरक्षण र सम्बर्द्धन गरेर राख्ने सोचको दूरगामी प्रतिफल अधिक महत्वको हुन सक्दछ । चौथो, दुर्लभ बन्जन्तुहरुको नमूना संरक्षण भन्ने नेपालको अर्को मौलिक पहिचानलाई जिवन्त राख्न त्यत्तिकै अपरिहार्य छ ।

५. दुई ठूला र महाशक्तिउन्मुख मुलुकका बीच प्राकृतिक सौन्दर्यता र स्वच्छ वातावरण सहितको प्राकृतिक श्रोत साधनको अपार भण्डारणलाई अक्षुण्ण र जस्ताको तस्तै संरक्षित अवस्थामा राखेर मियोको रुपमा स्थापित हुने नेपालको पहल र प्रयास नै दिगो आर्थिक उन्नतीको आधारशीला हुनसक्दछ । जटिल भू-वनावट र विषम हावापानीलाई हामीले विगारेर मानव अनुकूल र विकास अनुकूल बनाउनुभन्दा त्यसको संरक्षण र सम्बर्द्धन मार्फत आकर्षक अवलोकन केन्द्रमा रुपान्तरण गर्ने अद्भूत प्रयासको प्रतिफल राम्रो हुन सक्दछ ।

६. मुलुकको अधिकांश भू-भाग कृषि योग्य, उद्योग योग्य र विकास योग्य छैन । तर यो आफैमा उद्भूत सुन्दर र जैविक विविधताले भरपूर भूमि छ भने त्यसलाई संरक्षण क्षेत्र घोषणा गरेर दिगो संरक्षण गर्नु नै समग्र मुलुक र जनताको हितमा हुनेछ । संरक्षण क्षेत्रले विकास र आय आर्जनका ढोका खोलिरहेको हुन्छ र यसको उचित संरक्षण र व्यवस्थापनबाट मुलुकले आर्थिक फड्को मार्न सक्दछ भन्ने संरक्षणमुखी विकासको नमूना हामीले प्रस्तुत गर्न सक्नुपर्दछ । तसर्थ संरक्षण क्षेत्रभन्दा बाहिर परेको सुन्दर हिमाली क्षेत्रहरु, ठूला र फराकिला उपत्यकाहरु वरिपरी रहेका सुन्दर हरियाली जलाधारहरु, हिमाल, नदी र ताल तलैया एवं उपत्यकाहरुलाई संरक्षण दिने विशाल सुन्दर महाभारत श्रृंखलाहरु तथा तराईलाई संरक्षण दिने चुरे श्रृंखलालाई थप संरक्षण क्षेत्र घोषणा गर्न राज्यले पहलकदमी लिन अझ बान्छनीय हुने छ ।

संरक्षण मोडलहरु

७. जनसहभागितामूलक संरक्षण विश्वको उत्कृष्ट संरक्षण मोडल हो । संरक्षण क्षेत्र निर्वाध रुपमा जनताको भएकोले त्यसको संरक्षण र व्यवस्थापनमा सक्रिय र प्रत्यक्ष जनसहभागिता हुनुपर्दछ भन्ने विश्वव्यापी मान्यता छ । तदनुसार नेपालको कञ्चनजंघा संरक्षण क्षेत्र र मकालुवरुण राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्जको संरक्षण जिम्मेवारी जनसमुदायलाई दिईएको छ । त्यसैगरी अन्नपूर्ण संरक्षण क्षेत्र र मनास्लु संरक्षण क्षेत्रको संरक्षण र व्यवस्थापन जिम्मेवारी राष्ट्रिय प्रकृति संरक्षण कोषले गर्दै आएको छ । राष्ट्रिय प्रकृति संरक्षण कोषले जनसहभागितामूलक संरक्षण मोडल लागु (गरेर यी दुई क्षेत्रको संरक्षण र व्यवस्थापन गरेको हो । ढोरपाटन शिकार आरक्ष र कृष्णासार संरक्षण क्षेत्रको संरक्षण राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्ज तथा बन्जन्तु संरक्षण विभाग आफैले एकलै गर्दै आएको छ । बांकी आठ राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्ज र तीन बन्जन्तु आरक्षको संरक्षण जिम्मेवारी नेपाली सेनालाई दिईएको छ ।

८. विश्वमा विभिन्न किसिमका संरक्षण मोडलहरु छन् । भू-वनावट, संरक्षण क्षेत्रको आकार-प्रकार र संरक्षण दिनुपर्ने बस्तुहरुको संख्या र अवस्था तथा खतराको मूल्याङ्कन संरक्षण मोडल निर्धारण गर्ने एउटा आधार हो भने अर्को महत्वपूर्ण आधार राज्यको आर्थिक अवस्था, लगानी क्षमता, श्रोत-साधनको उपलब्धता र संरक्षणकर्मीको सीप, ज्ञान,

दक्षता र व्यवसायिक क्षमता हो । अफ्रिकाको केन्या राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्जमा सत्तरी जना रेञ्जरले नेपाल भन्दा ठूलो भू-भागको संरक्षण गरेका छन् । यो उनीहरूको उच्च व्यवसायिक क्षमता र अथाह श्रोत साधनको कारण संभव भएको हो । निकुञ्जका आफ्नै ८ दर्जनभन्दा बढी हवाई साधनले प्रदान गर्ने मोविलिटी, आधुनिक मिलापसाधन, अत्याधुनिक हलुका हात-हतियार र फिल्ड ईक्वीपमेण्ट तथा उच्च कोटीको व्यवसायिक शीप र क्षमताले सानो नफ्रीलाई त्यति ठूलो क्षेत्रको संरक्षण गर्न सक्षम बनाएको यो एउटा उदाहरण हो । मध्यम अथवा निम्न कोटीको व्यवसायिक शीप र क्षमता तथा सीमित श्रोत साधनको संरक्षण मोडल फरक हुनसक्दछ । यसको एउटा ज्वलन्त उदाहरण भारतस्थित आसामको काजिरङ्गा राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्जमा देख्न सकिन्छ । करिब १९०० को संख्यामा रहेको एक सिङ्गे दूर्लभ गैंडाको संरक्षणलाई प्रभावकारी बनाउन निकुञ्जको वरिपरी बाक्लो संख्यामा सुरक्षा पोष्टहरू स्थापना गरिएको छ । एउटा गार्ड पोष्टबाट अर्को गार्ड पोष्ट नजिक दुरीमा बनाईएको छ । यसरी हरेक गार्ड पोष्टको एकापसमा नजरी मिलाप कायम राखिएको छ । गार्ड पोष्ट धेरै भएकोले पोष्टमा २ जना मात्र गार्डको व्यवस्था गरिएको छ । सानो नफ्रीलाई राम्रो देखभाल गर्न आवश्यक ईक्वीपमेण्ट र छिटो प्रतिवेदनको लागि बैकल्पिक सहित भरपर्दो मिलाप साधन प्रदान गरिएको छ । त्यहाँ हलुका हतियारले सु-सज्जित रेञ्जरलाई “सुट एट् साईट” को म्याण्डेट पनि दिईएको छ । यो अर्को उदाहरणीय र अनुकरणयोग्य संरक्षण मोडल हो ।

९. प्रश्न यद्यपि जीवित छ, के माथिका संरक्षण मोडलहरू उत्तम र सर्वाधिक सुरक्षित मोडल हुन् त ? सायद होईन भन्ने जवाफसंग हामी सहमति हुनुपर्दछ । काठमाण्डौंमा हालै सम्पन्न भएको बाघ सम्मेलनको दौरान संरक्षणविज्ञले दावीका साथ जानकारी गराए कि अफ्रिकामा चोरी शिकारीहरूले शिकार प्रयोजनको लागि अब हेलिकोप्टरको प्रयोग गर्न थाले । यो जानकारी गराईरहंदा काजिरङ्गा निकुञ्जले गत एक वर्षमा चोरी शिकारीको कारण ३५ वटा एक सिङ्गे गैंडा गुमाउनुपयो । भट्ट हेर्दा संरक्षण व्यवस्थामा सुधार र स्तर वृद्धि गर्ने ठाउँ छैन । यद्यपि चोरी शिकारी र तस्करी पनि रोकिएको छैन ।

१०. अर्को जिज्ञाशा आउदछ, नेपालको संरक्षण मोडल कुन र कस्तो हो ? हामीले ईमान्दारीका साथ भन्नुपर्दा यहाँ विभिन्न मोडलहरूको पर्याप्त अध्ययन, अनुसन्धान र प्रयोग भएको छैन । विडम्बना नै भन्नुपर्दछ, बिना मोडल हामीले संरक्षण गरिरहेका छौं । संरक्षण एउटा व्यवसायिक तालिम र उच्च सुभ्रबुभ्रका साथ जानेर गरिन्छ । अर्को संरक्षण बिना तालिम, बिना ज्ञान र बिना सुभ्रबुभ्र गरिन्छस जसलाई “जवरजस्ती संरक्षण” भनिन्छ । यही पछिल्लो मोडलको संरक्षण प्रविधि हामीले अपनाई रहेका छौंस जुन सत्य र यथार्थ हो ।

११. नेपालका निकुञ्ज, आरक्ष र संरक्षण क्षेत्रहरू आफैमा अद्भूत, अनौठा र विशिष्ट विशेषता बोकेका छन् । “विश्व सम्पदा” मा सूचीकृत निकुञ्ज चितवन राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्ज र सगरमाथा राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्जमा आकाश जमीनको फरक छ । त्यस्तै “गिफ्ट टू द अर्थ” को अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सम्मान पाएका बर्दिया राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्ज र कञ्चनजंघा संरक्षण क्षेत्रको भू-आकृति र जैविक विविधताको विशेषतामा पाईने विभेद अनौठो लाग्दो छ । विश्व रामसारमा सूचीकृत कोशीटप्पु बन्धजन्तु आरक्षको भूगोल र जैविक विविधता अन्य निकुञ्ज र आरक्षसंग पटककै मेल खाँदैन । न त हिमाली निकुञ्जहरू रारा, शे-फोक्सुण्डो र खप्तडले एकै किसिमको समान पहिचान बोकेका छन् । यो विविधता नै हाम्रा निकुञ्ज र आरक्षको विशेषता र आकर्षण हो । त्यसैले नेपालमा हु-बहु कसैको संरक्षण मोडललाई हु-बहु जस्ताको तस्तै लागु गर्न सकिँदैन । आफ्नो निकुञ्जको भू-बनावट, आकार-प्रकार, जैविक विविधताको महत्व र विशेषता, संरक्षण गर्नुपर्ने दूर्लभ बन्धजन्तुको संख्या, अवस्था र तिनीहरू माथिको खतरा आदिको अध्ययन र मूल्याङ्कन गरेर हामीले विभिन्न मोडलहरूको सूत्रपात गर्ने, प्रयोग गर्ने र अन्त्यमा सबैभन्दा श्रेयशकर मोडललाई छनौट र लागु गर्ने उपायको अवलम्बन गर्नुपर्दछ । धेरै जनशक्ति थोरै श्रोतसाधन भएको हाम्रो जस्तो मुलुकले निकुञ्ज/आरक्षहरूलाई सुरक्षा पोष्टहरूबाट मजबुत सिलबन्दी गर्ने र भित्री कोर ईलाकाबाट मजबुत सिलबन्दी गर्ने र भित्री कोर ईलाकालाई निरन्तर सुरक्षा निगरानी राख्ने (Shield- Secure and Monitor) संरक्षण मोडलको पहिचान र अभ्यास गर्न सुझाव योग्य हुन्छ ।

नेपालमा प्रकृति संरक्षणको प्रयास र मूल्याङ्कन

१२. नेपालमा अभ्यास भईरहेको चार वटै तर हरेक मोडलका आ-आफ्नै सकारात्मक पक्षहरू छन् । सबै मोडलहरूको लेखाजोखा गर्नुभन्दा नेपाली सेनाले निकुञ्ज प्रशासनसंग मिलेर संयुक्त रूपमा निर्वाह गर्दै आएको संरक्षण प्रयासको बारेमा समीक्षा गर्न सान्दर्भिक हुन्छ ।

१३. निकुञ्ज प्रशासन भनेको निकुञ्ज र त्यहाँ पाईने जैविक विविधताको विज्ञ छात्रा संगठन हो । निकुञ्ज ऐनको व्याख्याता र पालक पनि निकुञ्ज प्रशासन नै हो । निकुञ्ज संरक्षण र व्यवस्थापनको समग्र जिम्मेवारी निकुञ्ज प्रशासनको हुन्छ । निकुञ्ज प्रशासनलाई संरक्षण जिम्मेवारी सशक्त ढङ्गबाट निर्वाह गर्न सक्षम र सामर्थ्य बनाउन नेपाल सरकारले सशस्त्र सुरक्षा गार्ड फोर्स उपलब्ध गराउदै आएको छ, जुन फोर्स नेपाली सेनाले योगदान गर्दै आएको छ । निकुञ्ज र मध्यवर्ती क्षेत्रको व्यवस्थापन जिम्मेवारी त्यत्तिकै जटिल र चुनौतीपूर्ण छ । त्यसैले संरक्षणको जिम्मेवारी त्यहाँ तैनाथ सुरक्षा फौजको हनुपर्दछ, भन्ने मान्यतालाई हाल हामीले अङ्गीकार गरिसकेका छौं । यसको अर्थ निकुञ्ज प्रशासनलाई व्यवस्थापनको जिम्मेवारी निर्वाह गर्न पर्याप्त समय र अवसर दुवै प्रदान गरेको हो । व्यवस्थापन राम्रो भए संरक्षणलाई टेवा पुग्दछ । व्यवस्थापन र संरक्षण वास्तवमा एक अर्काका पुरक हुन् ।

१४. द्वन्द अगाडि संरक्षण प्रयास केही हदसम्म सन्तोषजनक भएको पाईन्छ । द्वन्दको समयमा प्रकृति संरक्षणको क्षेत्रमा ठूलो क्षति र नोक्सानी भएको यथार्थ घाम जस्तै छर्लङ्ग छ । प्रकृति संरक्षणमा तैनाथ संरक्षणकर्मीहरूलाई आन्तरिक सुरक्षामा परिचालन हुनुपर्ने बाध्यात्मक स्थिति आएपछि स्वभावतः संरक्षण जिम्मेवारी छायांमा पर्न गएको हो । धेरै पोष्टहरू मर्ज भएर फौज एकत्रित हुँदा संरक्षण क्षेत्रको कोर एरिया सुरक्षा निगरानी बाहिर पर्न गयो र सामान्य अनुगमन समेत हुन सकेन । बर्दिया राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्जको बबई उपत्यकामा स्थानान्तरण गरिएका ७० वटा दूर्लभ एक सिङ्गे गैंडा हराउंदा निकुञ्ज प्रशासन र त्यहाँ तैनाथ सुरक्षा युनिट बेखबर रहनुपयो । आज बबई उपत्यकामा गैंडाको बीउ समेत नभएको विडम्बनापूर्ण अवस्था छ ।

१५. निकुञ्ज र आरक्षमा द्वन्दको प्रभाव पर्नु स्वभाविक र सामान्य कुरा हो । द्वन्द चुलिएर बन जङ्गल क्षेत्र जतिसुकै खतरामय हुँदा पनि सुरक्षा युनिटले सीमित पोष्टहरूबाट भए पनि जिम्मेवारी क्षेत्रको संरक्षण गर्ने प्रयास गरेकै हुन् । अफ्रिकास्थित कतिपय मुलुकले द्वन्दबाट गुज्रदा दूर्लभ बन्यजन्तु सखाप भएको र शून्यबाट पुनः संरक्षण शुरु गरी आज संरक्षणको क्षेत्रमा उल्लेखनीय सफलता हांसिल गरिसकेको नजिरबाट हामीले पाठ सिक्नुपर्दछ । एक दशक लामो द्वन्दबाट गुज्रदा नेपालले प्रकृति संरक्षणको क्षेत्रमा निसन्देश धेरै क्षति व्यहोर्नु परे ता पनि कुनै दूर्लभ प्रजाति लोप भई सकेको र हामीले शून्य तहबाट संरक्षण शुरु गर्नुपर्ने अवस्था भने छैन । संरक्षणलाई दिगो र प्रभावकारी बनाउनासाथ धेरैजसो बन्यजन्तु र तिनको बासस्थानको रूपमा रहेको बनजङ्गल दिन दुगुना रात चौगुनाको दरले वृद्धि हुन्छ । यो कुरा गत एक दुई वर्षमा केही निकुञ्ज र आरक्षहरूले सिद्ध समेत गरिसकेका छन् । यो ज्यादै सकारात्मक र आशावादी परिणाम हो । यद्यपि यो परिणामप्रति सन्तुष्टी जनाउने र संरक्षण प्रयासलाई यति मै सीमित राख्न भने पटककै हुँदैन । बरु संरक्षण पहल र प्रयासलाई फरक सिराबाट माथि उठाउन अपरिहार्य भएको छ ।

प्रकृति संरक्षणमा नेपाली सेना किन ?

१६. प्रकृति संरक्षणको जिम्मेवारी नेपाली सेनाको लागि ठीक की बेठीक ? नेपाली सेनालाई यो जिम्मेवारी किन दिईयो ? यी प्रकृति संरक्षणविद्हरूले बेलाबखत उठाउने गरेका जिज्ञासा हुन् । नेपालका अपार र अमूल्य प्राकृतिक श्रोत साधनले राष्ट्रिय र सामरिक महत्व राख्दछन् । यस्तो राष्ट्रिय र सामरिक महत्वको सम्पदाको संरक्षण, संचित र रक्षा गर्नु राष्ट्रिय सेनाको धर्म र कर्तव्य हुन्छ । नेपालका राष्ट्रिय संरक्षण क्षेत्रहरू उत्तरी र दक्षिणी सीमानामा समानान्तर रूपमा फैलिएर रहेका छन् । संरक्षण क्षेत्र र तीसंग आवद्ध नदी प्रणालीको अवस्थिति र वितरण ज्यादै सन्तुलित किसिमको छ । त्यसैले प्रकृति संरक्षणको जिम्मेवारी निर्वाह गर्न तैनाथ हुने फौजको वितरण पनि स्वभावतः

सन्तुलित, व्यवहारिक र बैज्ञानिक हुनुका अतिरिक्त यसले त्यत्तिकै सामरिक महत्व समेत राख्दछ । सीमा सुरक्षा बललाई गहराई प्रदान गर्ने कामदेखि सीमाको अवैध गतिविधि निगरानी राख्न, पूर्व-पश्चिम राष्ट्रिय राजमार्गको सुरक्षा गर्न र सामरिक महत्वका नदी प्रणालीमाथि सुरक्षा निगरानी र नियन्त्रण राख्न समेत प्रकृति संरक्षणमा तैनाथ फौज उपयोग हुनसक्दछ । राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्ज र त्यहाँको जैविक विविधता राष्ट्रिय मात्र नभएर अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सम्पत्ति समेत भएको हुनाले यी कहिल्यै नाश नहुने अपरिवर्तनीय र स्थायी प्रकृतिका सम्पत्ति हुन् र यिनको सुरक्षा पनि स्थायी प्रकृतिको नै हुन्छ । नेपालमा विस्तृत शान्ति सम्झौता लागू भएको विद्यमान अवस्थामा समेत प्रकृति संरक्षणमा तैनाथ युनिटहरूलाई प्राप्त असीमित अधिकारले त्यहाँ तैनाथ फौजको भावी स्वरूप र अधिकार क्षेत्रलाई इङ्गीत गर्दछ । तसर्थ, राष्ट्रिय र सामरिक महत्व बोकेको यी अमूल्य प्राकृतिक सम्पदाको संरक्षण गर्न नेपाली सेनाले सगर्व अग्रसर हुनुपर्दछ । साँढे तीन दशक लामो आफ्नो उल्लेखनीय योगदानको रक्षा गर्न यस क्षेत्रमा नेपाली सेनाले अझ सक्रिय भूमिका निर्वाह गर्नुपर्दछ, भन्ने केहि प्रकृति तथा संरक्षणविद्हरूको भनाईको गाम्भीर्यतालाई कम आंकलन गर्नु हुँदैन । अमेरिकाको “एल्लो स्टोन पार्क” बाट संरक्षणको ईतिहास शुरु हुन्छ । विश्वको यो पहिलो पार्कको संरक्षण शुरुशुरुमा अमेरिकन सेनाले गरेको नजिर फेला पर्दछ । हालै भारतको तीनवटा निकुञ्जबाट पाटे बाघ लोप भएको कुरालाई भारतीय सेनाले दुर्भाग्यपूर्ण भनी दुःख व्यक्त गरेको छ र निकुञ्ज क्षेत्रलाई संकटग्रस्त घोषणा गरेर आवश्यक परेको बखत भारतीय सेनाले निश्चित समयको लागि निकुञ्ज तथा बन्यजन्तु संरक्षणको लागि भारतीय सेनालाई जिम्मेवारी दिने गरेको छ । अस्थायीरूपमा भारतीय सेनाले निकुञ्ज सुरक्षाको जिम्मेवारी लिएर निकुञ्जको अवस्थालाई संकटमुक्त राख्न पहल गर्ने गरेको पाईन्छ । यसबाट पाठ सिकेर पनि नेपाली सेनाले आफ्नो योगदान र राष्ट्रिय पहिचान तथा राष्ट्रिय अस्तित्व बोकेका आफ्ना राष्ट्रिय र सामरिक महत्वका यी सम्पत्तिको रक्षा गर्न हमेशा अग्रसरता देखाउन जरुरी छ । यसबाट राष्ट्रिय र अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय जगतमा समेत नेपाली सेनाको बहुआयामिक र बहुउद्देश्यीय प्रतिभा र क्षमता प्रदर्शन भई समग्र छवि माथि उठाउन मद्दत पुग्दछ । सो जिम्मेवारी व्यक्ति वा समूह विशेषको सेवा र चाकरी पनि किमार्थ होईन, वरु यो ज्यादै धार्मिक र पून्य सेवा होस जसबाट हरेक संरक्षणकर्मीलाई सन्तोष र गर्वको अनुभूती हुने गर्दछ ।

१७. प्रकृति संरक्षणको जिम्मेवारी दिन प्रतिदिन जटिल र चुनौतीपूर्ण हुँदै गएको सत्य र यथार्थलाई हामीले स्वीकार्ने पर्दछ । संरक्षणको क्षेत्रमा देखा परेका बहुआयामिक चुनौतीलाई सामना गर्न प्राचीन र परम्परागत सुरक्षा प्रणालीमा आमूल परिवर्तन ल्याउनै पर्दछ । मानिसको ईच्छा, आकांक्षा र माग बढ्दै गएको सन्दर्भमा चुनौतीहरू थोपरिदै जानु स्वभाविक हो । नेपालको उत्तरमा दूर्लभ बन्यजन्तुको अङ्ग तथा आखेटोपहारको माग आकासिंदो छ । बढ्दो र विकसित अर्थतन्त्रले माग भन् आकासिंदो छ । यसले नेपाल लगायत दक्षिण एसियामा भविष्यमा चोरी शिकारी र बन्यजन्तुको अवैध अङ्ग व्यापार अरु बढ्ने संकेत दिन्छ । अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय र क्षेत्रीय चुनौतिको धेर-थोर सामना गर्ने पर्ने नेपालले आन्तरिक चुनौतिको पनि भविष्यमा त्यत्तिकै सामना गर्नुपर्ने हुन्छ । विज्ञान र प्रविधिको चरम दुरुपयोग तथा द्वन्दकालबाट आयातित विनासकारी मानसिकताले नेपालको प्रकृतिलाई छिट्टै ध्वस्त पार्ने संकेत दिन्छ । सामान्य खर र पाट्को डोरी प्रयोग गरेर पासो थाप्ने चोरी शिकारीहरूले मोटर साईकलमा प्रयोग हुने ब्रेकको तारद्वारा पासो बनाएको प्रमाण फेला परेको छ । हिमाली क्षेत्रमा कस्तुरी मृगको विरुद्ध प्रयोग भएका अधिकांश धराप यस्तै तारबाट बनाईएका छन्स जसमा परेपछि कस्तुरी मृगले भाग्ने अथवा पुर्नजीवन पाउने कुनै गुञ्जायस रहँदैन । त्यसैगरी तराईस्थित निकुञ्ज र आरक्षबाट संकलन गरिएका जाल र पासोहरू अध्ययन गर्दा चोरी शिकारीको माग र महत्वकांक्षाले सीमा नाघिसकेको यथार्थ खुल्दछ । शिकारीलाई १/२ के.जि. मासु र एउटा मृगले नपुग्ने भयो । त्यसै ले ५०० देखि १००० मिटर लामो जालीको पासो बुनेर मृग प्रजातिलाई लक्ष्य गरेर बिछ्याईन थालियोस जसले १ भन्दा बढी र सकेमा ५० औं मृगलाई एउटै धरापमा पारेर मार्न सकियोस् । विषादीको प्रयोग र अभ्यास पनि व्यापक भएर गएको छ । एउटा खोला देखि कोशी र ठूला-ठूला ताल तलैयाका सम्पूर्ण जलचर एकैपटक नष्ट गर्न सक्ने विषादीको पहिचान र प्रयोग भावी चुनौतीको खतरा सूचक हुन् । त्यसैगरी प्राचीन र परम्परागत घरेलु भरुवा बन्दुकको ठाउमा चोरी शिकारीको लागि अत्याधुनिक स्वाचालित हतियारको प्रयोग हुन थालिसकेको छ । भारतमा शिकारीले प्रयोग गरिसकेको ट्याडकुलाईजर र साईले न्सर जडित बन्दुकको प्रयोग छिट्टै नेपालमा भित्रिने केहि संरक्षणविद्हरूको भविष्यवाणी पूर्णरूपमा असत्य छ भन्न सकिँदैन । चोरी शिकारीको संख्या सानो राख्ने परम्परागत मान्यता भङ्ग भईसकेको छ । २ जनाको संख्याबाट बढेर शिकारीहरूले १०जना पुऱ्याएको प्रमाण हालै बर्दिया राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्जस्थित बबई भ्यालीमा भएको दोहोरो मुठभेड् र एकै स्थानबाट ७ नाल बन्दुकको बरामदबाट प्रमाणित भईसकेको छ । माफिया शैलीमा सक्रिय गिरोहले गर्ने चोरी शिकारी र संरक्षण क्षेत्रको अतिक्रमणले

भविष्यमा संरक्षणकर्मीलाई अकल्पनीय प्रकृतिका चुनौती थोपर्ने प्रायः निश्चित छ ।

१८ तसर्थ, यी भावी चुनौतीको दुरुस्त अध्ययन र मूल्याङ्कन गरेर तिनको सामना गर्न उपयुक्त सुरक्षा फौजको पहिचान, छनौट, तालिम, योजना र तयारी गर्न नेपाली सेनाले अविलम्ब कार्य प्रारम्भ गर्नुपर्दछ । प्रकृति संरक्षणको लागि दक्ष फौजको निर्माण र योगदान गर्ने महत्वपूर्ण अभिभारा नेपाली सेनाको कांक्षमा आएको छ र नेपाली सेनाको लागि यो एउटा ऐतिहासिक अवसर पनि हो ।

प्रकृति संरक्षण फर्मसनको परिकल्पना र भावी संरक्षण योजना

१९. प्राचीन र परम्परागत संरक्षण प्रणालीबाट भावी चुनौतीहरूको सामना गर्न संभव छैन । विद्यमान संरक्षण प्रणालीमा संरक्षण प्रणालीका कमी कमजोरीहरू हटाएर आधुनिक, वैज्ञानिक र व्यवहारिक संरक्षण प्रणालीको खोज र प्रयोगमा जोड दिनुपर्ने समय आईसकेको छ । पुरानो स्थायी कार्य विधि र संरक्षण रणनीतिलाई परिमार्जन र परिस्कृत गरेर फिल्टरका बर्तमान समस्यालाई सम्बोधन गर्ने र संरक्षणविद् एवं जन अपेक्षा अनुसारको कार्यविधि एवं रणनीति तर्जुमा र लागू गर्न ढिलाई भईसकेको छ । प्रकृति संरक्षण जिम्मेवारीलाई भविष्यमा अझ प्रभावकारी ढङ्गबाट सम्पादन गरेर नेपाली सेनाले विश्वमा उत्कृष्ट “संरक्षण मोडल” स्थापना गर्न सक्नुपर्दछ ।

२०. प्रकृति संरक्षणमा तैनाथ युनिटहरूको छुट्टै एउटा फर्मसन निर्माण गर्नुपर्ने आवश्यकता देखिन्छ । नेपाली सेनासंग विभिन्न क्षमता र विशेषता बोकेको विविध अङ्गहरू छन् । त्यस्तै अर्को एउटा अङ्ग थप गरी त्यसलाई “जङ्गल गार्ड फर्मसन” अथवा “प्रकृति संरक्षण फर्मसन” नामाकरण गर्न आवश्यक छ । प्रकृति संरक्षण फर्मसनका दुईवटा युनिट हुन्छन्, एउटा तराई र अर्को हिमाली/पहाडी युनिट । फर्मसनलाई पृथनास्तरको बनाउन सकिन्छ । यस्तो फर्मसनलाई जङ्गल सम्बन्धि पेशागत तालिम दिएर चुस्त र व्यवसायिक स्वरूप दिन सकिन्छ । वन तथा वातावरण विज्ञानका विद्यार्थीहरूबाट छनौट भएका अधिकृतहरूलाई यस्तो फर्मसनमा सेवा गर्ने अवसर प्रदान गर्दा उनीहरूको वृत्ति विकास र व्यवसायिक सीप अभिवृद्धि गर्न सजिलो हुन्छ । उनीहरूको योग्यता, क्षमता र अनुभवको आधारमा प्रकृति तथा वातावरण संरक्षण सम्बन्धि उच्च शिक्षाको लागि छात्रवृत्तिको कोटा प्राप्त गरी अध्ययनको लागि पठाउन सकिन्छ । फलस्वरूप, निश्चित समयपछि प्रकृति संरक्षण फर्मसनमा दक्ष व्यवसायिक नेतृत्व वर्ग तयार हुने निश्चित हुन्छ । यसरी तयार गरेको अधिकृत स्तरको जनशक्तिले तराई, पहाड र हिमाली क्षेत्रमा अवस्थित निकुञ्ज र आरक्षमा पालैपालो सेवा र नेतृत्व समेत गर्ने छन् । उनीहरूको अधिकांश सेवा अवधि आफ्नो व्यवसायिक फर्मसनमा बित्ने छ । तर उनीहरूलाई नेपाली सेनाको अन्य अङ्गमा जान र सेवा गर्न पाउने अवसरबाट भने बञ्चित गरिने छैन । फर्मसनमा अन्य दर्जाको हकमा छुट्टै व्यवसायिक तालिम सिलेबसको व्यवस्था गर्न सकिन्छ । अन्य दर्जाको हकमा सैन्य आधार तालिम पुरा गरिसकेका तालिम सिकाहीहरूलाई यस्तो फर्मसनमा सरुवा जाने स्वेच्छिक अवसर प्रदान गर्ने र फर्मसनले युनिट आधार तालिमको ठाउँमा जङ्गल गार्ड आधार तालिमबाट वृत्ति विकास तालिम प्रारम्भ गर्न सकिन्छ । शुरुको फोर्स पुरै नेपाली सेनाका विद्यमान गण गुल्महरूबाट निर्माण गर्ने र रिक्त दरबन्दी सैन्य तालिम केन्द्रबाट पास आउट हुने तालिम सिकाहीहरूबाट पुरा गर्दै जानुपर्ने हुन्छ । वृत्ति विकासका बाँकी तालिमहरू जङ्गल ड्यूटीलाई मध्य नजर राखेर तयार पारेको तालिम सिलेबस अनुसार दिइ जाने सकिन्छ । जङ्गल ड्यूटीलाई चुस्त र दुरुस्तसंग निर्वाह गर्न तालिम सिलेबसमा समावेश गर्न सकिने प्रस्तावित तालिमहरू Visual tracking,Reece and Surveillance,Jungle Health,River Crossing/Rock climbing,Counter poaching, Interrogation, Search and rescue/recovery/destroy, Crime scene investigation, Jungle Junior leadership training, Survival training, Jungle Commando, Jungle intelligence, Wildlife census support Technique, Wildlife monitoring support Technique, Wildlife database, GPS patrolling, Jungle survey, Prey base survey आदि हुन सक्दछन् । यी तालिमहरू प्राप्त गरिसकेपछि फर्मसनका सकल दर्जा जङ्गल ड्यूटीको लागि बढी दक्ष र माहिर हुनेछन् । दर्ज्यानी बनावट (चलप क्तचगअतगचभ) अनुसार यी तालिमहरूलाई गुपिङ्ग गरेर दिइ जाने व्यवस्था मिलाउन सकिन्छ । साथै यस्तो फर्मसनलाई सबलिकरण गर्न एउटा “प्रकृति संरक्षण शिक्षालय” को स्थापना गर्नु श्रेयष्कर हुन्छ । शिक्षालयले फर्मसनको व्यवसायिक क्षमता दक्षता र योग्यता

बढाउन उपयुक्त शैक्षिक अवसर प्रदान गर्ने छ । शिक्षालयले जङ्गल अभिमुखीकरण तालिम, प्राकृतिक प्रकोप नियन्त्रण तालिम, बन्धजन्तु उद्धार तालिम आदि समेत प्रदान गर्ने छ । यस्तो शिक्षालय चितवन राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्जमा स्थापना गर्न बान्छनीय हुन्छ । शिक्षालय स्थापनाको राष्ट्रिय र अन्तराष्ट्रिय प्रकृति तथा संरक्षणविद्हरूले खुलेर प्रशंसा गर्नेछन् र शिक्षालयलाई आवश्यक प्राविधिक र भौतिक सहयोग गर्न विश्व संरक्षण समुदाय र दातृ राष्ट्रहरूलाई आतुर हुने छ । प्रकृति संरक्षणमा नेपाली सेनाले पुऱ्याएको योगदान सांठे तीन दशक भए ता पनि यसबाट उल्लेख्य र अपेक्षाकृत उपलब्धि हांसिल गर्न नसकेको कुरा उपयुक्त तालिम, प्रशिक्षण र अभ्यास कै कमी हो । जङ्गल तालिमको लागि न त कुनै पाठ्य सामाग्री तयार पारिएको छ न शिक्षालय । हाल तालिम एउटा बाध्यकारी भन्दा पनि युनिट कमाण्डरहरूको ईच्छा र मनासरमा भर पर्ने कुरा हो । त्यसैले यो जिम्मेवारीलाई प्रायः विना तालिम अथवा न्यून तालिम र ज्ञानका भरमा पुरा गर्ने गरिन्छ । यो फिल्डको यथार्थ र सत्य कुरा हो र प्रकृति संरक्षण शिक्षालयको स्थापना र संचालन गरेर अनिवार्य तालिम मार्फत यो जिम्मेवारीको लागि दक्ष र गुणस्तरीय जनशक्ति तयार पार्न सकिन्छ ।

२१. यो फर्मेसनको निर्माण गर्दा विद्यमान हतियार प्रणालीलाई समेत पुनरावलोकन गरी उपयुक्त हतियारले फोर्सलाई सु-सज्जित गर्न उपयुक्त हुन्छ । रेगुलर फोर्सको चरित्रलाई अक्षुण्ण राख्न खोज्दा विद्यमान जङ्गल ड्यूटीमा तै नाथ फौजको हतियार प्रणाली भद्दा र अनुपयुक्त छ । जङ्गल ड्यूटीमा ठूला सपोर्ट हतियारहरू तथा स्मल आर्मसमा अटोम्याटिक हतियारको आवश्यकता पर्दैन । साथै, यस्ता घातक हतियारको प्रयोग यो सरल जिम्मेवारीको लागि सुझाव योग्य छैन । एम १६ राईफल भिरेर चरित्रण नियन्त्रणको लागि गाई,भैंसी धपाउने अथवा कुरिलोको जरा खोज्ने निशस्त्र महिलाहरूलाई एस्कर्ट गर्ने विद्यमान परिपाटी अव्यवहारिक र बढी शक्ति प्रयोगको सन्देश दिने जङ्गल अपरेशन हुन् । तर यी अबैध दुबै हर्कतहरू प्रभावकारी संरक्षणका लागि नियन्त्रण गर्नेपर्ने हुन्छ । तसर्थ, जङ्गल अपरेशनको लागि सत्तरी प्रतिशत पिस्तोल र तीस प्रतिशत सिङ्गल सट फायर गर्ने राम्रो राईफलको कम्बिनेसन उपयुक्त हुन्छ ।

२२ फर्मेसन हेडक्वार्टरले युनिटहरूको अदली बदलीलाई बैज्ञानिक र व्यवहारिक ढङ्गबाट व्यवस्थित गर्ने छ । जङ्गल युनिटहरूलाई तिनीहरूको कार्य मूल्याङ्कन र लोकप्रियता जांच गरेर अदली बदली गर्न मनासिब हुने छ । कठोर ड्यूटी, अत्यधिक तनाव र विकट भूगोल तथा विषम र प्रतिकूल मौसममा अहोरात्र खट्टिएर काम गर्ने युनिटलाई रेष्ट, रिलिफ र रिक्पको लागि आवधिकरूपमा अदली बदली गरिनुपर्दछ । जस्तै अत्यधिक पोष्टमा छरिएर सबैभन्दा बढी तनावमा रहेको चितवन राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्जको युनिटलाई तुलनात्मकरूपमा कम तनाव भएका शुक्लाफांटा बन्धजन्तु आरक्ष अथवा शिवपुरी-नागार्जुन राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्जमा तैनाथ गराउन सकिन्छ । त्यसै गरी खप्तड राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्जमा तै नाथ युनिटलाई पर्सा अथवा कोशीमा रोटेशन गराएर मौसमी राहत दिन सकिन्छ । अन्तर निकुञ्जको ढिलो रोटेशनले अब फर्मेसन को स्वरूप बढी स्थायी प्रकृतिको हुने छ । यसो गर्दा जङ्गल देखाउन र चिनारीगराउन २ वर्षको लागि युनिटलाई बिना तालिम निकुञ्जमा लैजाने र जङ्गलको चिनारी पुरा हुंदा नहुँदै फौजलाई विग्रन्छ भन्ने मानसिकताका साथ हतार हतार बाहिर अन्यत्र पठाउने विद्यमान अव्यवहारिक र अनुपयुक्त प्रणालीको अन्त्य हुनेछ । पृतनास्तरको जङ्गल फर्मेसनको फर्मेसन कमाण्डरले आफ्नो फर्मेसनलाई प्रत्यक्ष कमाण्ड कन्ट्रोल गर्नेछन् । फर्मेसन कमाण्डरले दुबै अपरेशन र बन्दोबस्ती कमाण्ड सक्रियरूपमा आफैले गर्न शुरु गरेपछि फर्मेसन र अन्तरगतका जङ्गल युनिटहरूको जवाफदेहिता स्वभावत बढेर जाने छ । यसो गर्दा कार्य क्षेत्र र जिम्मेवारी दायरा सुनिश्चित र स्पष्ट भई संरक्षणकर्मीलाई निर्वाधरूपमा उत्कृष्ट क्षमता प्रदर्शन गर्न सजिलो हुनेछ ।

२३ फिल्डमा भएको संचार प्रणालीको पुनरावलोकन गरी सरल, व्यवहारिक र चुस्त संचार प्रणालीको स्थापना गरिनु पर्दछ । ज्यादै पुराना, महङ्गा र गह्रौँ सैनिक प्रयोजनका मिलाप साधनहरूको ठाँउमा फिल्डमा सि.डि.एम.ए. टेलिफोन, मोबाईल फोन र उपयुक्त रिपिटर स्टेसन र एन्टिना सहितको साधारण ह्याण्ड हेल्ड वाकी टकीको प्रयोग असरदार हुन्छ । वाकी टकी सेटको व्याट्री खपत अवधि सबै ठाँउमा एकनास नगरी उच्च हिमाली भेगमा अवस्थित युनिट र पोष्ट लोकेशनहरूमा कम गर्नु पर्दछ ।

२४ स्नो क्लोदिङ्ग, चुस्ता, बुठ र क्यानभास जुता ज्यादै गुणस्तरीय हुन आवश्यक छ । उच्च हिमाली भागमा वाटर र विण्ड प्रुफ टेण्टहरु उपलब्ध गराउन आवश्यक देखिन्छ । वर्षायाम भरी डुवानमा पर्ने र विषालु सर्पको बिगबिगी हुने तराईका निकुञ्जहरुलाई एक वर्ष क्यानभास र अर्को वर्ष पानीमा लगाउन मिल्ने राम्रो गम बुठ उपलब्ध गराउन मनासिब हुन्छ । साथै, यस्ता अतिआवश्यक क्लोदिङ्ग र ईक्वीपमेण्ट अनिवार्यरूपमा समयमा खरिद, स्टोर दाखिला र वितरण हुन आवश्यक हुन्छ ।

२५. भौगोलिक विकटता तथा समय र दुरीको कारण विरामीहरुको ईभ्याकुएसन उपचार छिटो र सजिलोसंग गर्न संभव छैन । यसको लागि स्थान विशेषमा तालिम र अनुभव प्राप्त दक्ष मेडिकल प्राविधिकहरु आवश्यक औषधी र उपकरणहरु सहित तयारी हालतमा रहन जरुरी देखिन्छ । तराईको हकमा सबैलाई पायक पर्ने गरी चितवन र बर्दियामा सर्पदंश उपचार केन्द्र स्थापना गर्न उयपुक्त देखिन्छ । नयां निर्माण हुने फर्मेसनमा डाक्टर अधिकृत सहितको छुट्टै मेडिकल सेवा र अभ् भेटनरी सेवा समेतको व्यवस्था गर्न बान्छनीय हुने छ । बर्तमान संरक्षण चुनौतीको सामना गर्न मोविलिटी बढाउन अपरिहार्य छ । तराईमा उपयुक्त सवारी साधनको नयां दरवन्दी निर्धारण गर्न र सोही अनुसार आफ्नै वर्कसप सहित पर्याप्त र भरपर्दा सडक साधन जुटाउनु पर्ने टड्कारो आवश्यकता छ, भने हिमाल पहाडमा आवश्यक पर्ने घोडा, खच्चड, जोक्पेको व्यवस्था हुन जरुरी छ । श्रोत साधनले पुग्दा केन्द्रमा फर्मेसनसंग निकुञ्ज आरक्षको सर्भे, रेकी र अनुगमन गर्न तथा बन्धजन्तु गणनाको लागि एउटा आईल्याण्डर जहाज, क्याजईभ्याक र सपोर्ट तथा स्ट्राईकिङ्ग अपरेशनको लागि एउटा हेलिकोप्टर र प्राकृतिक प्रकोप डढेलो नियन्त्रण तथा बन्धजन्तु उद्धारको लागि २ वटा एम.आई. १७ हेलिकोप्टरको एयर सर्भिस सपोर्ट सेल राख्न मनासिब हुन्छ । त्यसैगरी हरेक पोष्टलाई आवश्यक पर्ने जेनेरेटर, सोलार प्यानल, अष्टीकल ईक्वीपमेण्टलाई आवश्यकता अनुसार उपलब्ध गराउन र तिनको राम्रो मरामत, संभार र सदुपयोग गर्न आवश्यक देखिन्छ । उपलब्ध श्रोत-साधनको हिफाजत र सदुपयोग नहुनुमा भरपर्दो र नियमित अनुगमनको अभाव तथा छिटो रोटेसनको प्रक्रिया दोषी देखिन्छ । त्यसैगरी रासनको विद्यमान ठेक्का पट्टा प्रक्रिया माथि पुनरावलोकन हुन र त्यसलाई अविलम्ब सुधार गर्न जरुरी छ । प्रकृति संरक्षण युनिटहरुको ठेक्का बन्दोबस्ती अन्य युनिट र फर्मेसनले गरिदिने, बैकल्पिक ईन्धन मट्टीतेलको दरभाउ बजार दरसंग समायोजन नगरी कम दरको ठेक्का स्वीकृति गरिदिने बर्तमान व्यवस्थाले ठेकेदार युनिट प्रति कर्तव्यनिष्ठ र बफादार हुन बाध्यकारी नहुने, बिकट पोष्टमा राशन डुवानी नगरिदिने, कम दरमा स्वीकृति गराएको बैकल्पिक ईन्धन मट्टीतेल सप्लाई नगरेर उन्मुक्ति खोज्ने टड्कारो समस्या फिल्डमा देखिन्छ । फलस्वरूप, बैकल्पिक ईन्धन मट्टीतेलको सट्टा नचाहेरपनि युनिटहरुले काठ दाउराको व्यापक दुरुपयोग गरेका छन् । जुन संरक्षण सिद्धान्त र एस.ओ.पि. विपरितको गम्भिर अपराध हो । यसबाट समग्र संस्थाको छविमा नकरात्मक असर परेको छ । प्रकृति संरक्षण युनिटहरुलाई आफ्नो राशन ठेक्का बन्दोबस्ती आफै गर्ने अवसर प्रदान गर्ना साथ यो जटिल र संवेदनशील समस्या आफै समाधान हुने छ । यसको अलवा प्रकृति संरक्षण युनिटहरुलाई केन्द्रबाट १५ देखि २५ प्रतिशत स्तरयुक्त आकर्षक एम.आर.ई. तथा ड्राई राशनको व्यवस्था गरिदिनुपर्दछ । यसले गर्दा फिल्ड युनिटहरुलाई लामो जङ्गल अपरेशनहरु संचालन गर्न सजिलो मात्र होईन, त्यो एउटा बाध्यकारी व्यवस्था समेत हुनेछ ।

२६. नयां फर्मेसनको व्यवस्थाले हाल फिल्डमा देखापरेको दोहोरो तेहेरो कमाण्ड र त्यसबाट सृजित द्विधा र अन्यौलतालाई अन्त्य गर्ने छ । प्रकृति संरक्षणमा तैनाथ युनिटहरुको हाल देखापरेको ठुलो समस्या चेन अफ कमाण्ड नै हो । उदाहरणको लागि रारा र खप्तड राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्जलाई जुम्लामा अवस्थित तालुक बाहिनीले अनुगमन र निर्देशित गर्ने कुरा समय र दूरीका कारणले व्यवहारिक र उचित छैन । सुर्खेतमा रहेको तालुक पृतना र जङ्गी अड्डामा रहेको राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्ज तथा बन्धजन्तु आरक्ष निर्देशनालय त भन्ने टाढाका तालुक अड्डा भए । यसले फिल्डमा स्पष्ट कम्युनिकेशन ग्याप र कमाण्ड भ्याकुमको अवस्था सृजना भएको छ । युनिटहरुको अपरेशन कन्ट्रोल निर्देशनालयले गर्ने तर कार्य मूल्याङ्कन र नेकेबदी बाहिनीले तयार गर्ने व्यवस्थाले युनिट कमाण्डरहरु स्वविवेक र स्वनिर्णयमा आफु मनासर काम गर्न बाध्य छन् । तसर्थ, जङ्गल फर्मेसनको निर्माणले यो समस्यालाई स्वत समाधान गर्ने मार्ग खुला गर्ने छ । यस्तो फर्मेसनको कमाण्डर आफु जङ्गी अड्डा प्रति आज्ञाकारी र उत्तरदायी रहनेछन् । तर उनले कमाण्ड गरेको फर्मेसन भने आम तवरमा अनाश्रित रूपमा आफ्नो जङ्गल गार्डको पेशा प्रति व्यवशायिक रूपमा समर्पित रहिरहने छ ।

२७ नेपालमा संरक्षण क्षेत्रको संख्या अब बीस पुगिसकेको छ । जब की नेपाली सेनालाई ८ निकुञ्ज र ३ वन्यजन्तु आरक्षको मात्र संरक्षण जिम्मेवारी दिईएको छ । बाँकी ११ वटा निकुञ्ज, आरक्ष र संरक्षण क्षेत्रको संरक्षण र व्यवस्थापन कहीं निकुञ्ज एकलै, कतै राष्ट्रिय प्रकृति संरक्षण कोष र कहीं जनसमुदायको एकल पहल र प्रयासबाट भईरहेको अवस्था छ । द्वन्दको समयमा नेपाली सेनाको उपस्थिति नरहेको संरक्षण क्षेत्रको सुरक्षा र व्यवस्थापन सबैभन्दा बढी धरापमा परेको र ती क्षेत्रले धेरै क्षति व्यहोर्नुपरेको यथार्थबाट पाठ सिकेर अब सबै संरक्षण क्षेत्रका सुरक्षा जिम्मेवारी नेपाली सेनालाई दिने बन् तथा भू-संरक्षण मन्त्रालयको प्रस्ताव प्रशंसनीय र स्वागतयोग्य छ । तर स्मरण गर्नुपर्ने कुरा के छ भने संरक्षणकर्मीको संख्यात्मक भन्दा गुणात्मक क्षमता अभिवृद्धि गर्ने पहल र प्रयासलाई प्राथमिकता दिनुपर्दछ । बढी संख्यामा संरक्षणकर्मी हुँदा आफै संरक्षण क्षेत्रको बोझ र बासस्थान विनास तथा अवरोधको कारक हुन सक्ने नकरात्मक परिणाम प्रति हामी सचेत र सावधान हुनु पर्दछ । प्रकृति संरक्षणमा यस्तो नयां परिस्कृत व्यवस्था लागू गर्दा समग्र संस्थालाई हुने फाईदाहरु धेरै छन् । पहिलो, प्रकृति संरक्षण प्रति नेपाली सेना सतही रूपमा होईन साच्चिकै मन र कर्मदेखि गम्भिर र सम्वेदनशील छ भन्ने सकारात्मक संदेश प्रवाह हुने छ । दोश्रो, आफ्नो करिव ३५ वर्ष लामो योगदान र अनुभवबाट नेपाली सेनाले आफ्नै पहल र प्रयासबाट एउटा सुधारोन्मुख नयां विधि र प्रयोगको श्रृजना र लागू गरेको ठहर हुने छ । तेश्रो, नेपाली सेनाको रेगुलर फोर्सको मौलिक चरित्र र विशेषता भन्दा छुट्टै प्रकृति र विशेषताको यो फर्मसनले दातृ संघ संस्था र अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय विश्व संरक्षण समुदायसंग घनिष्ट सम्बन्ध स्थापित गर्दै आवश्यक श्रोत साधन सहयोगस्वरूप प्राप्त गर्ने मार्ग प्रशस्त हुनेछ । विद्यमान अवस्थामा कतिपय संघ संस्थाले चाहेर पनि राष्ट्रिय सेना भएको कारण संरक्षण क्षेत्रमा सहयोग विस्तार गर्न सकेका छैनन् । चौथो, जनसम्पर्क र सु-सम्बन्ध स्थापना गरी भरपर्दो सूचना संयन्त्रकासाथ समन्विकृत ढङ्गबाट जिम्मेवारी निर्वाह गर्न यस्तो फर्मसनलाई सजिलो हुने छ । यसबाट विद्यमान सेना-जनताबीचको द्वन्द र त्यसबाट लाग्ने आरोप-प्रत्यारोप तथा लान्छनाबाट सेनालाई सिधा प्रत्यक्ष प्रभाव पर्दैन । यसले नेपाली सेनाको व्यवशायिक शुद्धता र छविलाई जोगाउन मद्दत पुग्दछ । पांचौं, अर्धसैनिक विशेषता बोकेको प्रकृति संरक्षण फर्मसनलाई चोरी शिकारी र तस्करीलाई राज्यको कुनै पनि ठाउसम्म जाने, दोषी र अपराधीलाई पक्राउ गर्ने र अनुसन्धान गर्न पाउने कानुनी अधिकार दिन सकिन्छ । यस्तो वैध र व्यवहारिक व्यवस्थाले नेपाली सेनालाई निकुञ्ज सीमाभित्र मात्र सीमित गर्ने तथा निकुञ्ज बाहिर दूर्लभ गैँडाको चोरी शिकारी भएको मुकदर्शक भएर हेर्नुपर्ने र अपराध अनुसन्धानको लागि अरुलाई गुहार्नु पर्ने समस्यालाई समाधान गर्ने छ । छैठौं, नेपाली सेनाको करिव साढे तीन दशक लामो सेवा र योगदानको रक्षा हुन्छ र अमूल्य प्राकृतिक श्रोत-साधनको दिगो बचाउ र सञ्चित हुन्छ । सातौं, नेपाली सेनाको संगठन विस्तार र विशिष्ट क्षमता अभिवृद्धि भई बहु-आयामिक र बहुउद्देश्यीय चरित्र दुबै राष्ट्रिय र अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय क्षेत्रमा सविस्तार हुन्छ ।

संक्षेप

२८ संरक्षणले एक मिनेट पनि पर्खन सक्दैन । बन्दूकबाट फायर भएको गोली लागेर नेपालको पहिचान बोकेको एक सिङ्गे गैँडाको मृत्यु हुन केही सेकेण्ड पर्याप्त हुन्छ । तसर्थ, विद्यमान संरक्षण प्रणालीका दोष र त्रुटीहरुलाई समयमा पहिचान गरी तिनको तत्काल निराकरण गरेर आधुनिक, वैज्ञानिक र व्यवहारिक संरक्षण प्रणाली अङ्गीकार गर्न तुरुन्त पहलकदमी लिनुपर्दछ । राष्ट्रिय हित र राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा दुबैलाई मद्दत पुऱ्याउने सुधारोन्मुख संरक्षण व्यवस्था र परिस्कृत संरक्षण रणनीतिले अन्ततोगोत्वा नेपाली सेनाको हित र रक्षा गर्ने छ ।

(“प्रकृति संरक्षण टूफी-२०६६” र निरीक्षकहरु सेनानी अरुण के.सी. तथा प्रा.सह.से. सुजन प्रधान समेतको अनुभवबाट साभार)

MULTINATIONAL COMMUNICATION INTEROPERABILITY PROGRAM (MCIP) AND PACIFIC ENDEAVOR 2009

Lt Col Bijay N Rayamajhi



Introduction

1. Multinational Communication Interoperability Program (MCIP) is conducted to provide effective communication between nations involved in Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief (HA/DR) operations. This program enables reliable, secure and continuous communications between ground, air and navy forces of affected nation and friendly nations involved in the HA/DR operations. This program is presently conducted by United States Pacific Command's (USPACOM) Asia Pacific Area Network (APAN).

Background

2. After the deadly Tsunami of 26 December 2004 countries like Indonesia, Srilanka, India & Maldives were badly affected which resulted to death of thousands of people as they were swept away by the wave. Many infrastructures were also damaged by the tidal wave because of which all the communications system in those areas was destroyed.

3. On request of the affected nations usually friendly nations send their relief materials only, and in some cases of mega destructed nations friendly nations send their military troops and relief materials for the disaster affected people. As lesson learned from Tsunami many nations involved in the HA/DR operations were unable to communicate with each other because different countries used different types of signal equipments with different radio procedure in different frequencies. Due to this problem it was very difficult to coordinate with nations involved in HA/DR operations.

4. USPACOM visualized to overcome the problem by interoperating all the signal equipments of different nations involved in the HA/DR operations. USPACOM invited the nations from Asia and Pacific region to meet in Hawaiian Island in 2005 to plan and formulate the communications interoperability policy between the nations likely to be involved in HA/DR operation in future in the Asia Pacific region.

Formation of the MCIP

5. Altogether 23 nations from the Asia Pacific Region including the host country USA met in Hawaii in 2005 and formed a Multinational Communications Interoperability Program (MCIP). Till date 15 nations are actively participating in MCIP. Every year 3 planning conferences and 1 table top exercise are held in each member nations under the coordination and guidance of USPACOM. The active participating nations in this program are USA, Australia, Bangladesh, Indonesia, Mongolia, Maldives, Malaysia, Nepal, New Zealand, Philippines, Singapore, Srilanka, South Korea and Thailand. Since 2005 countries like Japan and Germany participated as an observer. Since the formation of the MCIP, Nepalese Army has been participating actively in MCIP.

MCIP Visions and Goals

6. **MCIP Vision** It is communication interoperability that supports Multinational Humanitarian Assistance/Disaster Relief (HADR) operations.

7. MCIP Goals

- (a) Develop and adopt communication procedures and identify/adopt technical standards to enable interoperability.
 - (1) Standard NATO Agreements (STANAGS).
 - (2) Commercial Standards.
- (b) Identify Communication and Information Systems (CIS) requirements to Multinational Forces (MNF) HA/DR operations.
- (c) Validate interoperability through equipment testing and exercises.
- (d) Foster relationship among nations.

Composition of MCIP

8. MCIP is composed with the following bodies.

- (a) **Senior Communicator** This body comprised of the nation's Senior Communicator, is the MCIP Steering Committee. The Senior Communicators comes together once a year to provide strategic guidance to the MCIP Corporate Board members. During their annual session they are briefed on the MCIP activities and discuss a series of issues related to multinational communications.
- (b) **Corporate Board** Each nation designates a representative to be their national delegation chief. Together, these members make up the MCIP Corporate Board. The Corporate Board is responsible for the execution of the MCIP Senior Communicator strategic guidance. They are responsible for the development of the concept paper, identification of the MCIP technical goals to meet the strategic objectives, as well as assuring the execution of the MCIP workshop. Corporate Board is also responsible for nominating chairperson to the Technical Working Group (TWG). Board member will review, validate and release all deliverables. Corporate Board members must keep the Senior Communicators informed of the MCIP's accomplishment.
- (c) **Operation Cell** This cell is responsible for day to day execution of the MCIP work plans. It reports directly to the MCIP Corporate Board. It includes a workshop director, technical director and a program manager.
- (d) **Technical Working Group** They are functional area experts from the participating nations and are responsible for developing the Multinational Communication Interoperability Guide (MCIG) and chapter 6 of MNF SOP. It comprises with Data Network/Information Assurance, Tel switch and Transmission.
- (e) **Spectrum Management** They conduct the spectrum management training and also upload nation's spectrum management information into the MCIG database. They conduct research to find a simple user friendly spectrum management tool to exchange spectrum information virtually.

MCIP activities

9. MCIP conducted planning conferences and trainings every year Signal officers from Nepalese Army has been participating in those conferences since 2005.

- (a) **Concept Development Conference (CDC)** This conference is conducted separately or during the Pacific Endeavor every year. This meeting proposes the main agenda or the task for the next fiscal year it is attended by the Corporate Board Member of each nation only.
- (b) **Senior Communicators Conference (SCC)** This conference is held at the last of the Pacific Endeavor during this conference the senior communicator gives the guidance for the agenda of next fiscal year as proposed by the Corporate Board.
- (c) **Planning Conferences** Every fiscal year MCIP organizes 3 planning conferences and a CDC concluding with a table top exercises with a HA/DR scenario. Initial Planning Conference (IPC) drafts the proposed agenda. The Mid Planning Conference (MPC) works on the technical requirement for the Pacific Endeavor and the Final Planning Conference (FPC) finalizes all the task operational and logistics and remaining technical requirements. The IPC and FPC are attended by only the Corporate Board member as per requirement the TWG may participate in the MPC along with the Corporate Board.
- (d) **Spectrum Management Training** This training is conducted separately or during the Table Top Exercise it is finalized during the MPC. The subject matter expert for the spectrum management will attend this training.
- (e) **Table Top Exercise** A Table Top exercise is conducted during the Pacific Endeavor every year. It is a scenario based exercise between the participating nations, a scenario is created of a disaster affected country and all the multinational troops from different friendly countries deployed in that affected country, and they all perform the given task through an online connection. The Corporate Board member and all the subject matter experts from participating nations take part in this exercise.

Pacific Endeavor 2009

10. PE-09 was held in Big Island Hawaii from 10- 21 Aug 2009 Puhakuloa Training Area in Big Island was the main venue for PE-09. First week of the event was the equipment testing for interoperability and Concept Development Conference (CDC) for fiscal year 2010 between the corporate board members and the next event was the table top exercise and spectrum training and last 2 days of the program were the Senior Communicators briefing and demonstration of Internet Protocol Interoperability Communication System (IPICS) by CISCO company. Nearly 400 interoperability test of various HF, VHF and UHF and data equipments from different member countries were carried out during the PE-09.

Accomplishment of PE-09

- 11. The main accomplishment of PE –09 is the following.
 - (a) Strategic engagement of 15 nations and 165 personnel.
 - (b) Interoperability testing of nearly 400 tests
 - (c) Exercise scenario stressed planning tools and collaboration.
 - (d) Spectrum Training.
 - (e) Corporate Board established Fiscal year 2010 direction.
 - (f) The main focus was to improve HA/DR interoperability.

Future Plans

- 12. In the coming days MCIP will give more emphasis on the following,

- (a) It intends to include International Humanitarian Community and Disaster Management Agencies in its program.
- (b) Validation of tactics, techniques and procedures in field environment.
- (c) Expand collaboration online use.
- (d) Build relationship with partner nations/organizations
- (e) Technology demonstrations during future events.

Participation of Nepalese Army in MCIP

13. Signal officers from Nepalese Army has been participating in MCIP since 2005. The delegation head represents as a Corporate Board Member and other signal officers as subject matter experts for CIS, Spectrum Management and Transmission (Single Channel Radios) are also included in this event every year. In August 2009, signal officers participated in Pacific Endeavor 2009 in Hawaii USA. Director of Signals also participated in the last few days of the event.

14. This year Nepalese Army participated with radio equipment like PRC 1077 and PRC 1099 during the PE- 09 exercise and both HF and VHF radios were tested for interoperability with radios of other friendly countries. Total 30 types of different tests were carried out between radio sets of Nepalese Army and other friendly nations, which was a success. Presently Nepalese Army is participating only with single channel radios where as other nations are participating with data and switchboard (EPABX) as well, it is recommended that in future we should also participate with data and switchboard equipments.

15. It is very much important to consider a spectrum management for any interoperability of equipments, in every MCIP events spectrum management training is carried out but we are in short of spectrum management experts, so more spectrum management courses for signals is needed in future. For each participating nations it is necessary to have a different frequency slots for the HA/DR operations

16. After the participation in MCIP activities it has been observed that most of the countries have their own HA/DR cells which incorporates all the activities in the real need of disaster relief operations. So it is recommended to have communication cell in the proposed HA/DR cell by Directorate of Military operations.

17. Nepalese Army has been actively participating in MCIP events in different countries and it is time for Nepalese Army also to host such event in future which will be beneficial to both the Army and the other agencies involved with the HA/DR activities.

Conclusion

18 The role of MCIP is to support multinational operations by developing communications interoperability between partner nations. The MCIP is a venue to develop the communications chapter of the Multinational Forces SOP (MNF SOP), it also works to create relationships between communications planners by providing online collaboration tools and a forum for senior signal officers to meet and discuss multinational communication exercises. Through the MCIP, planners can document computer information system requirements for multinational force during HA/DR operations by identifying critical communications capabilities, shortfalls and solutions. The MCIP also validates interoperability through training and multilateral exercises.

19. MCIP being the program dedicated for communications in HA/DR operations is very useful for Nepalese Army and Nepal, as we lack technology, resources and means for a smooth execution of relief task during a HA/DR operations.

SIGNIFICANCE OF SUNACHURI EMULSION PLANT IN INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT OF NEPAL



Lt Col Buddha Bahadur Shakya
Factory in Charge
Sunachuri Emulsion Plant

With the increase in human population and development in different aspects of human civilization, there has been increasing demand for different resources related to food, energy and different essential minerals. These needs have caused directly or indirectly increase in constructions of roads and canals for transportation so that the resources available abundantly in one region could be transported to other region not having it thus enhancing trade and exchange of goods, increase in construction of tunnels for transportation and electricity generation so that energy need could be lessened to some extent and increase in excavation works for coal and other essential minerals needed for different industries. Although the beginning was with human hands, huge demand made it impossible to fulfill with bare hands and human brains full of curiosities and intuition were obviously developing new ways to find solutions. New developments, innovations and inventions in explosive technology has helped in all these things and made all these works easier which ultimately have led to increased use of explosives. It would not be exaggerated to say that our world will come to standstill without explosive. Europe and America have used millions and millions of tones of explosive in the past to build their infrastructure which they have now been enjoying. Roads to Wild West in America were constructed two centuries ago with the help of migrant worker from Asia and Africa using millions of tones of explosives. Energy is the key to world's present human civilization and coal is still the main source of energy, the excavation of which needs huge amount of explosives. Mining industry consume huge amount of explosives in ore excavations. Energy generation and almost all the industries will be halted without explosives. Commercial explosive industry thus has had significant role in aiding and maintaining development pace of our present world. It is interesting to know how explosives have developed and changed with time due to introduction of new knowledge and technological developments by different people from time to time.

History of explosives Black Powder

Today's commercial explosives industry has its roots in the discovery and developments of black powder. The first documented mention of saltpeter or 'nitre', the basic ingredient of black powder is to be found in the 13th century writings of the Arabian author Abd Allah. Even before then, the Chinese are thought to have used saltpeter-perhaps as early as the 10th century. Their early work with saltpeter appears to have been limited to fireworks and rockets. It was not until after 1242 when the English friar Roger Bacon published a formula for Black Powder, that this product was considered a blasting agent.

In the beginning of the 17th century "**Black Powder**" was introduced and blasting replaced fire setting as the principal method of loosening rock in the mining industry in Europe. The ancient method of building a wood fire against the face of ore bearing rock and keeping it burning until the rock was heated through and then pouring water on the heated rock to cause it to break by tension was too slow and became too costly as the forest around the mines were clean-cut and transport of wood became a problem.

The introduction of black powder into the mining industry was relatively fast and by the end of the 17th century most of the European miners used black powder to loosen rock. By the turn of the century black powder became widely used in construction work.

Meanwhile the use of black powder as a propellant rapidly expanded in America also, because Americans in the New World depended heavily on hunting game for food. Black powder was consumed in ever increasing quantities as the nineteenth century dawned and America began rapid expansion. As frontiers opened, means to transport settlers and supplies had to be built. Between 1790 and 1850

some 30 canals were dug in the United States. Approximately the same number of rail roads was under construction between 1830 and 1850. Black powder played major roles in these projects blasting out right-of ways and moving rocks and boulders.

The initiation of black powder was hazardous until William Bittford an Englishmen patented the “wired Safety Fuse” in 1831, thus giving the blasters a reliable and safe initiating device for black powder.

Nitroglycerine

The demand for more powerful tool to break rock engaged many in developing new explosives. In 1846 Ascario Sobreno, an Italian discovered **Nitroglycerine** but he considered it too unpredictable and hazardous for anyone to manufacture and use.

The new inventing was tried out in Sweden by Alfred Nobel and his brothers. They found it excellent for blasting the hard Swedish granite. Subsequently Alfred Nobel in 1846 formed his first explosive company “Nitroglycerine Aktienlaget” for the manufacture of Nitroglycerine.

Nitroglycerine conquered the world rapidly and factories were erected all over the world. However disastrous explosions in Europe and America made people aware of the risks in the manufacture and use of the new explosives and subsequently laws were passed against its use in many countries.

DYNAMITE

In his effort to make nitroglycerine safer to handle Alfred Nobel in 1866 discovered that Kieselguhr (a diatomaceous earth) not only absorbed three times its own weight of nitroglycerine but also rendered it less sensitive to shock.

After kneading and shaping it into a cartridge it was wrapped in paper and the **DYNAMITE** was invented. It was an explosive with a brisance of power twenty times greater than that of Black powder.

Blasting Gelatin

The development of dynamite continued and in 1875 Alfred Nobel dissolved **nitrocellulose into nitroglycerine** thus introducing “**Blasting Gelatin**” which is still one of the most powerful explosives.

NG based explosives have high strength, high density, high velocity of detonation, good water resistance and ability to perform well even in cold temperatures. NG is a highly sensitive substance and can be very easily set off due to impact, friction, fire etc. NG also cause very severe headache and after blast fumes are highly toxic. In view of these drawbacks Dynamites and Blasting Gelatin were slowly replaced by “**Slurry**” and more recently “**Emulsion**” explosives which have all the performance characteristics of NG based explosives but with superior safety characteristics as well as low levels of after blast toxic fumes.

ANFO

Many people feel that two disastrous explosions of shipboard of ammonium nitrate in 1940's – one at Brest, France, the other at Texas City, Texas – brought the explosive potential of ammonium nitrate to light. Although considerable attention was focused on these explosions, the widespread use of ammonium nitrate as explosive was furthered by the development of a new manufacturing technique, the prilling process. Essentially this process produces tiny round of pellets of ammonium nitrate to provide an easily handled and relatively free flowing product.

Ammonium Nitrate's economic potential as a blasting agent was not fully exploited until 1955,

when H.B. Lee and R.L. Akre patented the use of Fertilizer Grade Ammonium Nitrate (FGAN) with solid carbonaceous fuel sensitizer and successfully demonstrated its performance. The solid fuel first used, such as coal, was later replaced by fuel oil. And modern **ANFO (Ammonium Nitrate Fuel Oil)** mixture was born.

During 1960's ANFO and its related products replaced dynamite in dry holes because of cost saving, safer handling characteristics and mechanical loading ability. However ANFO has one major weakness. It is very soluble and cannot be used in wet holes without becoming desensitized.

Slurry or Water Gel

Dr. Helvin A. Cook developed "**Slurry**" explosives in 1956. A slurry explosive is a mixture of oxidizers and fuels in an aqueous phase thickened using gums and cross linked using cross linking agent to bind the various ingredients so that they do not separate even on long storage. The final product has a jelly like consistency and the gel can be made soft or rigid depending upon the need. Slurry explosives fill up the entire borehole resulting in maximum transfer of explosive energy into the rock.

Commonly used oxidizers in the manufacture of slurry explosives are Ammonium Nitrate, Sodium Nitrate, Calcium Nitrate and barium nitrate. Fuels used are Sugar, Starch, Sulphur, Wood meal, Aluminum, Ferro Silicon, fuel oil etc. The sensitizers used can be either explosives or non explosive ingredients. During the initial days TNT (Tri Nitro Toluene) based slurry explosives were popular. Subsequently non explosive sensitizers such as Aluminum powder and Mono Methyl Amine Nitrate (MMAN) became popular and both are widely used today. Aluminum imparts both energy and sensitivity to the explosive.

During the mixing of the various ingredients tiny air bubbles get entrapped in the gel which also acts as sensitizers. These air bubbles are called "Bowden Hot Spots". When initiated the shock from a detonator or booster adiabatically compresses these bubbles thus increasing the temperature to several thousand degrees Celsius. This induces a reaction in the explosive medium to produce a detonation. Glass micro balloons of 3-4 microns size and chemical gassing of the gel are alternatives to induction of air bubbles.

Emulsion

The evolution of explosives has shifted to "**Emulsion**" explosive, since their introduction in 1970s. Emulsion explosives are termed as the new generation explosives in view of its inherent superior characteristics. Explosive's costs are often as much as 40% of a typical mining operation and to be competitive, mines optimize their selection of the most energetic and cost efficient explosive that performs under the most difficult conditions. Explosives must be safe, inexpensive, perform under wide range of temperature conditions, function efficiently in water and have a long shelf life. Emulsions meet this criterion, which is why they are the trend line worldwide.

Emulsion explosives are prepared in the form of water-in-oil emulsions. The internal phase is composed of a solution of oxidizer salts suspended as microscopically fine droplets, which are surrounded by a continuous fuel phase. The emulsion thus formed is stabilized against liquid separation by an emulsifying agent. Since each micro cell of the oxidizer is coated with an oily exterior, the emulsion has excellent water resistance and do not rely on a package or glass micro spheres, may be then dispersed throughout the basic emulsion matrix, which provides for density control and sensitivity.

Emulsion explosives are highly efficient explosives due primarily to their microscopic particle size. In contrast, explosives which are granular in makeup with varying particle size, such as **ANFO or Water Gels** will not have a uniform particle burning rates, during detonation and therefore will not be as efficient.

Sunachuri Emulsion Plant

Most of the development projects (road, irrigation, quarry etc.) in Nepal have been using Ammonium nitrate based civil explosive “Nepalit” manufactured at Swayambhu Barood Khana, near Swayambhu, Kathmandu. Nepalit being of powder type is mostly suitable for use in open excavation works. For underground works, tunnels and under-water projects Nepalit because of its powder type nature is less feasible. As Nepalit was not suitable for tunnels, most of the big hydroelectric projects in Nepal therefore had been importing suitable type of waterproof explosive from neighboring countries and abroad.

Seeing the increasing demand for explosives, an idea arose to establish an Emulsion explosive factory in Nepal also. The proposal was presented to higher authority and a positive consent was given. The land at Sunachuri in Makwanpur district was selected and after the completion of construction of factory and other buildings, the installation and commissioning of machinery was started.

There is no argument that Nepal needs to build a huge network of roads in the next few decades to come if it really intends to speed up its pace of development. Construction of Hydro electricity generation plants will be another priority to fulfill the demand for energy not only to lessen load shedding hours but also to improve our living standard as living standard of a country is twined with consumption of energy. With development, every Nepali will aspire to dwell in concrete houses which will boost the demand for cement in coming days. Many new cement factories are already on line to be erected. These cement factories are going to need huge amount of lime stones which is the key ingredient of cement and excavation of limestone again need explosives. Being a mountainous country, in the next phase of our road development works construction of tunnels would gain increasing importance as transportation through tunnel would save time and fuel. All these facts make it clear that explosive is going to be a substance of strategic importance for development of Nepal in near future for which it is essential that Nepal is self reliant in it.

One Kilometer of tunnel for hydro electricity generation requires around 40 tones of explosive. Every hydro project usually has about 4 Kms of tunnel. Every project therefore needs around 200 tones of explosives only for tunnel work. Additional explosives are needed for constructions of access roads. Melamchi project has 30 kms of tunnel in its design which will obviously need around 1500 tones of explosive. Because of difficult terrain, need of explosive in road construction sector is unimaginably huge.

All these works are going to need huge amount of explosives and Sunachuri Emulsion Plant will have opportunity to supply explosives as per demand in all these works being one of the main suppliers of explosive in Nepal. Strategic importance of Sunachuri Emulsion Plant and justification for taking right decision by Nepal Army to establish this factory and invest in explosive industry will be revealed and proved in years to come. Establishment of this factory is one of the most significant contributions of Nepal Army to nation as this is going to have great strategic implication in developmental aspect and finally to economic aspect of our country.

Know your enemy and know yourself and you can fight a hundred battles without disaster.

- Sun Tzu

हाम्रो संस्कृतिमा बागमती नदी एक सर्वेक्षण



पूनम राणा*

“नजिकैको देवतालाई हेला गरिन्छ” भन्ने उखान भैं के हामी हाम्रो नदीलाई अपहेलना गर्दैछैनौ त ?

“वर्षौं वितिसक्यो, वर्षौं वितिरहेको छ
समय बदलिरहेको छ
चूपचाप बग्दै छिन् बागमती
पर्वत, ओडार, बस्ती, कन्दरा
साँझ बिहान राती
प्रदूषित भएपनि
चूपचाप बग्दै छिन् बागमती !”

* उप-प्राध्यापक पूनम राज्य लक्ष्मी राणा हाल त्रि.वि.वि. संस्कृति विभागमा कार्यरत हुनुहुन्छ । उहाँले Sociology Environment / Ecology / Nepalese History Culture and Archaeology मा Master's गर्नु भएको छ । हाल Ph.D. in Culture को लागि अध्ययनरत हुनुहुन्छ ।

- उहाँ नेपाल Heritage Society को Life Member हुनुहुन्छ ।
- उहाँले विभिन्न जनजाति सम्बन्धी अनुसन्धान गर्नु भएको छ ।
- उहाँको लेख, कथा आदि विभिन्न पत्रपत्रिकाहरुमा प्रकाशित भइरहन्छन् ।

नेपाल अति नै सुन्दर मुलुक हो जहाँ संस्कृति, धर्म र पूराना रीति थीतिहरु छन् जसले विदेशी पर्यटकहरुलाई आकर्षित गर्न सक्छन् तर यदि हामीले धेरै पर हैन हाम्रा भत्केका मठ, मन्दिर अनि बहदो जनसँख्या, प्रदूषण, अव्यवस्थित शहरीकरण, अव्यवस्थित ढंगको सफाई र फोहोर फ्याक्ने ठाउँहरु, अनि अव्यवस्थित ढल निकासलाई सिंहावलोकन गर्नु भन्ने मात्र पनि हामीलाई हाम्रो स्थितिको बोध हुन्छ । यो सुन्दर देश पर्यटकको त के कुरा हाम्रै लागि पनि बासस्थान योग्य हुदैन ।

नेपालको नेपाली र अरु हिन्दूहरुको लागि अति नै महत्वपूर्ण धार्मिक स्थल पशुपति क्षेत्र जहाँ अनेकानेक मठ, मन्दिर, घाटहरु छन् । जुन धेरैजसो राणाकालीन हुन् र हिन्दूहरुको अति नै धार्मिक मन्दिर बागमतीको किनारामा अवस्थित छ र काल कालान्तरदेखि यसको निर्मल जलमा यदि आचमानी अथवा नुहाएमा आफूले गरेका पाप शुद्ध धोइने भन्ने विचारधारा अझै पनि प्रचलित छ ।

अर्को क्षेत्र भने टेकु दोभान जहाँ बागमती बग्दै आईपुगिन्छन् यसैका किनारामा हामी संस्कृतिको खुला संग्रहालय भेट्दाउँछौं । यहाँ थापाथली देखि टेकुसम्म विभिन्न घाटहरु भेट्दाउँछौं जस्तै :- टेकु दोभानघाट, मुन्सीघाट, पन्चनारीघाट, पचलीघाट, हनुमानघाट, कालीघाट, जुद्धघाट, चन्द्रघाट, काजीघाट र कालमोचनघाट । यसका साथै विभिन्न सतलहरु मुन्सी, मानन्धर, चौघेरा, लक्ष्मीखट, राजभण्डारी बोम्बीकेटेश्वर, काजी, चौगेरा, त्रिपुरेश्वर आदि अनगिन्ती मात्रामा धर्मशालाहरु बनेका छन् । यी मध्ये धेरैजसो राणाकाल र केही शाहकालमा निर्माण भएका हुन् । यसका साथसाथै १९२० वि.सं. मा निर्मित मन्दिरहरु पनि भेट्दाउँछौं जस्तै राधाकृष्ण, जगन्नाथ, लक्ष्मीश्वर, त्रिपुरेश्वर महादेव आदि । यदि यस क्षेत्रलाई सकारी निकाय र पर्यटन मन्त्रालयबाट केही गरेमा देशको लागि वैदेशिक मुद्राको आयश्रोतको हुन सक्छ ।

बागमतीको इतिहास :

पौराणिक युगदेखि बागमती नेपाल र नेपालीको लागि धार्मिक, सांस्कृतिक, ऐतिहासिक दृष्टिकोणले मात्र महत्वपूर्ण नभई जीवनदाताको रूपमा लिइन्थ्यो । यसको निर्मल स्वच्छ जलले खानेपानी, सिंचाई आदिको काम यस भेगलाई पुऱ्याएको थियो । यसको धार्मिक महत्व बारे पौराणिक ग्रन्थ जस्तै बाराह पुराण, पशुपति पुराण, नेपाल महात्म्यमा कथा गाथाहरु भेटिन्छन् । हिमवत



खण्डमा बाग्मतीको उत्पत्तिबारे उल्लेख भएको थाहा पाइन्छ । भगवान् ब्रह्माले तप गर्दा उहाँ हाँस्दा मुहारबाट धार्मिक नदी बाग्मतीको उत्पत्ति भएको उल्लेख छ ।

कथा गाथा :

केही ग्रन्थहरूमा उल्लेख भए अनुसार यस नदीको उत्पत्ति बारे कथा गाथाको रूपमा प्रचलित भए अनुसार यसको निर्मल जल भगावन शिवको मुहारबाट निस्कियो ।

अर्को गाथा अनुसार त्रेतायुगमा सूर्यवंशी राजा दिलीप नेपाल आए र शिवपुरीमा बसे र तप गर्न थाले यस बेला शिवजीले स्वरूप बदलेर बाघको रूपमा लिए अनि भाइमाथि आक्रमण गर्न थाले, यो देखेर राजा दिलीपले आफ्नो धनुषबाण निकालेर बाघलाई मारन लाग्दा भगवान् शिवले आफ्नो स्वरूप लिए र हाँसे अनि हाँस्दा उनैको मुखारविन्दुबाट निस्केको निर्मल जल बाग्मती हुन गयो भनिन्छ ।

बाग्मती नदी

यस नदीको निस्कने मुहान बागद्वार हो, उचाई २६५० मि. सुन्दरी जलमा आएर यसमा बाग्मती, सालमति मिल्दछिन् र बग्दै पशुपतिमा पुग्दछिन्, टेकु हुँदै चोभारबाट भर्छिन् ।

यहाँको धेरैजसो संस्कारहरू, नदीकै तटमा शुरुभई नदीकै तटमा गएर अन्त हुन्छ । जस्तै मृत्यु संस्कार प्रायःजसो सबै जातिहरूमा मानवको अन्त्येष्टि नदीकै किनारमा गर्ने चलन छ । मृतकलाई घाटमा लगी दाउरामाथि राखी बाग्मतीको जल खुवाउने चलन छ र जलाई सकेपछि खरानी खोलामा बगाउने चलन छ । कथन् र प्रचलित धारणा अनुसार बाग्मतीको जल अचमानी गरे, नुहाए अथवा बिहानै उठी सूर्यनारायणलाई दर्शन गरी बाग्मतीलाई ढोगेमा आफूले गरेका पाप नासिने धारणा छ ।



पौराणिक कथित धारणाहरू जस्तै इन्द्रलोकबाट अप्सराहरू आई यो बाग्मतीको निर्मल जल लिएर जाने कुराहरू किताबका पानाहरूमा सीमित छन् यदि गाथा, कथा, धारणालाई ध्यानमा राखेर विभिन्न समयमा विभिन्न राजा, रजौटा र अरु धार्मिक प्रवृत्तिका व्यक्तिहरूबाट धर्मको नाममा अथवा नामको लागि जे होस् बाग्मतीको किनारमा अनगिन्ती सत्तलपाटी, पौवा, मठ, मन्दिर आदि निर्माण गरे ।

यो नदीको जल पिएमा कथन अनुसार रोग, व्याधि नाश हुने कुरा अब केवल पुराण तस्वीर र किताबको पानाहरूमा मात्र सीमित छ र हाल आएर प्रदूषण यति बढेका छन् कि यो नदी रोग व्याधि किटाणुहरूको घर हुन पुगेको छ । सर्वेक्षणको क्रममा पशुपति तथा टेकु दोभान क्षेत्रबाट ५० जना व्यक्तिहरूलाई प्रश्नावलीहरू, अन्तरवार्ता र छोटो केस स्टडीद्वारा सर्वेक्षण गरियो अनि त्यसवाहेक पुस्तकालयको अध्ययनद्वारा यो लेख तयार गरिएको हो । यो धार्मिक बाग्मती बागद्वारबाट बग्दै विभिन्न क्षेत्र हुँदै चोभार हुँदै बाहिर बग्दछिन् - पानी सर्वेक्षण निम्न क्षेत्रमा गरियो :

बाग्मती गोकर्णेश्वरमा : यहाँ बगिरहेको बाग्मतीको पानी धमिलो तर त्यति फोहोर भने नदेखिने ।

गोकर्णमा बाग्मती : यहा बग्ने पानी फोहोर र पानीमा भएको सल्फेट-सल्फाइडमा परिणत भइसकेको र खोलाको किनारामा पाइने ढुंगाहरूमा कालो दाग देखिन्छ ।

कुमारीगालमा बाग्मती : यहाँ बगिरहेको बाग्मतीका पानी साह्रै नै फोहोर छ र पानी पनि धमिलिएको र बाग्मतीको पानीमा फोहोर धेरै भएकोले यहाँ पानीमा बस्ने जीवजन्तु कम र ब्याक्टेरिया, जर्म्स पनि पानीमा भएका देखिन्छ ।

पशुपति सिनामंगल: यहाँ बग्ने बेलासम्म यहाँका पानी अति नै फोहोर छ । यहाँ फोहोर ढल बाग्मतीमा खन्याएको देखिन्छ, यसो हेर्दा पानीका मात्रा कम र फोहोर मैलाको मात्रा धेरै देखिन्छ । यहाँ पानीमा बस्ने प्राणीको मात्रा कम र ब्याक्टेरिया किटाणुहरु धेरै देखिन्छ ।

तीनकुनेमा बाग्मती : यहाँको पानी अति नै फोहोर छ ।

थापाथलीमा बाग्मती : यहाँको पानी पनि अति नै फोहोर छ ।



कुपण्डोलमा बाग्मती : यहाँको पानी पनि अति नै फोहोर छ । पानी ब्याक्टेरिया किटाणुयुक्त भएसको सल्फर ब्याक्टेरिया किटाणुको मात्रा बढी भई हाइड्रोजन सल्फर ग्यास निस्केको ।

टेकुमा बाग्मती : बाग्मती यहाँ बग्ने बेलासम्म साह्रै नै प्रदूषित पानी नभई फोहोर ढलबाट निस्केको मिश्रित मात्रा बढी देखिन्छ । यहाँका पानीको रंग कालो र पानीमा बस्ने जीवजन्तु नभएको, पानी साह्रै नै गन्हाउने, पौराणिक कथन अनुसार यहाँ नुहाएमा पाप नाश हुन्छ भन्ने धारणा हाल आएर हेर्दा यो बाग्मतीले शायद सबैको पाप धुंदाधुंदै आफ्नै पापको कुण्ड हुन पुगेको देखिन्छ ।

भारतमा धार्मिक नदी गंगा जस्तै यहाँको बाग्मती हो, हाल आएर यस नदीको दुर्दशा साह्रै नै दयनीय अवस्थामा पुगेको छ । यदि अब आएर पनि केही नगरेमा यो रोग व्याधिको भण्डार हुन पुग्नेछ । बागद्वारबाट बग्दा अति नै निर्मल जल यहाँ आइपुग्दासम्म साह्रै नै प्रदूषित अनि फोहोर देखिन्छ ।

यसै सर्वेक्षणको क्रममा मैले धेरै मानिसहरुसंग कुराकानी गर्ने मौका पाएँ - एउटा ७५ वर्षको वृद्ध व्यक्ति जो ५० औं वर्षसम्म बाग्मतीमा आई नुहाउने अनि सूर्य स्तुति गरी जल अर्पण गर्ने गर्थे हातमाथि फैलाउँदै आकाशतिर आँखा गर्दै भन्छन्-

“बाग्मती नदीले सबैको पाप धुंदाधुंदै साह्रै नै मैला भइसकिन्- हेर त त्यो कालो पानी हामीले गरेको काला कुकर्महरु जस्तै यो काली हो घोर काली”

तर यो सबै हामीहरुको आफ्नै अव्यवस्थित ढंगको व्यवस्थापन हुन् जस्तै पुराना कर्मकाण्ड गर्ने तौरतरिका, दाहसंस्कार गर अस्तु खोला नदीमा बगाउने प्रथा, जलेका काठहरु आदिले गर्दा खोला नाला र बाग्मती समेत प्रदूषित भएको हो । त्यसकारण ६५ प्रतिशत बाल मृत्यु दर नेपालमा पानीद्वारा हुने रोगबाट भएको देखिन्छ । यसै सर्वेक्षणका क्रममा छोटो केस स्टडी गर्ने मौका पाएँ -

नं. १ केस स्टडी

टेकुको बाग्मती बगर नजिकैको प्रहरी चौकीको प्रहरी श्री मिन बहादुर गुरुङ: प्रहरी मिन बहादुर गुरुङको भनाई अनुसार “नेपाल सरकार र अरु निकायले सक्रियता देखाएमा र पाइला चालेमा र नयाँ व्यवस्था अपनाएमा र अव्यवस्थित

ढलहरु खोलामा बगाउने व्यवस्था रोकेमा शायद खोलाको प्रदूषण घट्छ होला ।” उनी फेरि भन्छन् “प्रहरी कार्यालय खोल्न भन्दा अगाडि यो टेकुको बागमती बगर नजिकै बसोबास गरेका व्यक्तिहरु दिसा पिसाब र फोहर फ्याक्ने ठाउँको रूपमा प्रयोग गर्थे र शायद रोक्ने व्यवस्था पनि थिएन तर हाल आएर प्रहरी कार्यालय खोलेपछि यहाँको अवस्था बदलियो र प्रहरीको कडा कडाईमा चारैतिर किनारा सफा भयो र हाल खोलाको बगरमा तरकारी रोप्ने गरेका छन् ।”

नं. २ केस स्टडी

त्यही टेकु दोभानको धर्मशालामा बसिरहेकी शिवा नाम गरेकी वृद्ध ब्राह्मणीको भनाइ: यो बागमतीमा वर्षौं वर्षदेखि यहाँ नुहाउन, आचमानी गर्ने, यहाँको पानी पिउने गर्दथिन् तर समय बदलियो अब बागमती खोला, नाला भन्न नै सुहाउँदैन, यहाँको पानी हैन केवल दिशा पिसाब, फोहोर आदि मात्र बगेको देखिन्छ, दुर्गन्ध यति छ कि नजिकै जान सम्भव छैन । यहाँको पानी पिउँथे आज मलाई लिभर र पेटको रोग छ । यदि केही गरिएन भने सबैजाना पीडित हुने छन् । यो त मानिसहरुलाई विस्तारै विस्तारै मृत्युको मुखमा धकेल्नु हो ।

नं. ३ केस स्टडी

यही सर्वेक्षणको क्रममा मैले एउटा वृद्ध व्यक्ति भेटे उनको भनाई : “धेरै धेरै वर्ष अगाडिको कुरा यी वृद्ध व्यक्ति यही बागमतीको सेरोफेरो तिर माछा मारेर आफ्नो जीविका चलाउने गर्दथे, अब नदी खै यहाँको पानी पानी नभई फोहोर दुर्गन्धको भण्डार भइसक्यो म आफ्नो जीविका हुंगा फुटालेर बिताउँदैछु ।” उनी फेरि भन्छन् - मेरो मित्र चोभार नजिकै खेती गर्दछन् उनले यो बगेको नदीको पानी खेतमा प्रयोग गर्दा केही फलेन त्यस पश्चात् उनी पानीका देवतामा निर्भर हुन थाले, यति मात्रै हो र नानी ! कति दशा लाग्यो विचाराको भण्डै १०,०००/- परेको दूध दिने गाइले यो खोलाको पानी के वल एकपटक पिउँदा विरामी परी स्वर्गधाम पुगिन् । यो खोलाका पानी अब पानी छैन, विषाक्त पदार्थमा परिणत भइसक्यो । खै... अब के हुने हो थाहा छैन”

प्रश्नावलीमार्फत मैले सर्वेक्षण गरेको केही नतिजा :

बागमती नेपालको महत्वपूर्ण तथा धार्मिक आस्था गासिएको नदी हो ?

- दुबै पशुपति क्षेत्र तथा टेकु दोभान क्षेत्रको सर्वेक्षण क्रममा १०० प्रतिशत जतिले बागमती प्रदूषित भएतापनि हालसम्म पनि यसको धार्मिक महत्व भने छँदैछ ।

मृत्यु पश्चात् यदि बागमतीको किनारमा किरिया गरेमा स्वर्ग पुग्ने धारणा अझै छ ?

- नेपाल हिन्दू राष्ट्र हो जहाँ अझैसम्म पनि पुराना विचारधारा आफ्नै प्रकारको धर्म संस्कृति, रीतिथिति संस्कारहरु प्रचलित छन् । यस्तै संस्कारहरुमध्ये मृत्यु संस्कार पनि एक हो, प्रचलित धारण अनुसार यदि दाह संस्कार यस नदीको तटमा गरेमा मृतक स्वर्गलोकमा पुग्ने धारणा अझैसम्म प्रचलित छ । यस सम्बन्धमा ४२.५ प्रतिशत पशुपतिका जवाफकर्ताहरुले र ७.५ प्रतिशतले यो धारणा प्रचलित छैन अब युग फेरिसकेको, वैज्ञानिक युगमा यस्तो विचार राख्नु मूर्खता हो र हेर्नुस त यस्तो कालो पानीलेके स्वर्ग पुऱ्याउला त ? यसरी नै टेकु दोभान नजिकैको सर्वेक्षण क्रममा भने ५० प्रतिशतले माथि उल्लेख भएका प्रश्नावलीसंग सहमति जनाएको देखियो । यहाँ मैले अनपठ जवाफकर्ताहरूसंग अन्तर्वार्ता लिए र केही प्रश्न गरेको आधारमा धेरैजसोले यहाँ दाहसंस्कार गरेमा अवश्य नै आत्मा स्वर्गलोक जाने कुरा जनाए ।

के पानी मानवको जिन्दगी हो ?

- करौडौं करोड वर्ष पहिलेको पहिलो जीव पानीमा नै देखा पऱ्यो, पानीकै किनारा नजिकै मिश्र, हुन्दुरस, मेसोपोटामिया जस्ता ठूला ठूला बस्तीहरु नदीको किनारमा नै देखा परे । पानीले करौडौं करोड वर्षदेखि अति नै महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका खेलेको देखिन्छ । नेपालमा पनि बागमती बगरमा नै पहिलो बस्ती बसेको देखिन्छ । यो धार्मिक दृष्टिकोणबाट मात्र नभई दैनिकचर्या, खेतीपाती आदिको लागि प्रयोग गरिन्थ्यो, तर हाल आएर अव्यवस्थित शहरीकरण, जनसंख्या वृद्धि,

अव्यवस्थित ढल, निकास व्यवस्थाले गर्दा बढी प्रदूषित भएको देखिन्छ। प्रदूषणको मात्रा यति बढेको छ कि यो पानीमा केवल ब्याक्टेरियल प्याबजोन किटाणुहरु छन् जसकारण यहाँ पानीद्वारा फैलिने रोगको प्रतिशत बढ्दै गएको देखिन्छ। यस प्रश्न सम्बन्धी ४५ प्रतिशत पशुपति क्षेत्रका जवाफकर्ता सहमत जनाए र ५ प्रतिशतले केही जवाफ दिएनन्। टेकुमा भने ४२.५ प्रतिशत सहमत जनाए भने ७.५ प्रतिशतले जवाफ दिएनन्।

पानी यति प्रदूषित भएको छ कि जनवार पनि यहाको पानी पिउदैनन्।

- बाग्मती नदी अब नदी नभई फोहोर मैला आदिको भण्डारमा परिणत भएको छ। पुरानो कथा सम्झना आउँछ, कुनै समयमा एउटा मान्छेले कुनै बृद्ध व्यक्तिलाई पानी माग्दा पानी पिउन दिएनन् जसका कारण ऊ अर्को जन्ममा काकाकुली भएर जन्मे जसले केवल आकाशको पानी मात्र पिउन सक्थ्यो र बग्ने नदी नालाको पानी लिएमा रगत लिएको देख्दथ्यो। यो कथा आज वास्तविकतामा परिणत भएको छ। नदीमा पानी नबगी फोहोर, दिसा, पिसाब, ढल आदि बगेको देखिन्छ। ४५ प्रतिशत पशुपति क्षेत्र अनि २७.५ प्रतिशत टेकुले सहमत जनाए र १५ प्रतिशत टेकुका जवाफकर्ताले केही जवाफ दिएनन् अनि ५ प्रतिशत पशुपति र ७.५ प्रतिशत टेकुकाले होइन भने र कारण असारमा पानी परेपछि प्रदूषित पानी बग्ने र जनावरले पिउने हुनेपानी हुने जनाए। निष्पक्ष सर्वेक्षणकर्ताको नाताले हाल स्थिति गएगुजेको अवस्था देखा परेको छ।

बाग्मती प्रदूषण हुनुको मुख्य कारण जनसंख्या बढी जथाभावी फोहोर फ्याक्नु र ढल बगाउनु र बढ्दो फ्याक्टी हो ?

- १९५० नेपालले खुल्लाद्वार नीति अपनायो, त्यस पश्चात् यहाँ विदेशीहरुको आगमन हुन थाल्यो, यस स्वर्ग भैं सुन्दर रमणीय मुलुकमा उनीहरुको लागि यो अचम्मको हिममानव यति भएको मुलुक सांग्रिला जहाँ मानिस कहिले बुढो हुँदैनन् भन्ने ठाउँ थियो। जहाँका हावापानी स्वच्छ थियो र नदी नालाको जल निर्मल थियो। वर्षौ पहिलेको कथा भैं लाग्छ। हाल आएर न त पहिलेको जस्तो वातावरण नै छ न त पहिले भैं जल स्वच्छ र निर्मल। आधुनिक विधि अपनाउँदा अपनाउँदा चारैतिर सुख सुविधाका सामग्रीहरु त हाम्रो घरमा आइपुग्यो तर त्यसको साथसाथै बढ्दो जनसंख्या, अव्यवस्थित शहरीकरण, ढल निकास व्यवस्था आदि यस सम्बन्धी प्रश्न गर्दा ४५.५ प्रतिशत पशुपतिका र ५० प्रतिशत टेकुका जवाफकर्ताले सहमति जनाए भने २.५ प्रतिशत पशुपति क्षेत्रका जवाफकर्ताले भने सहमति जनाएनन्।

के सरकारी निकाय तथा एन.जी.ओ. गैरसरकारी निकायहरुले प्रदूषण हटाउन पाइला चाल्दै छन् ?

- धार्मिक नदी बाग्मती पनि अरु संसारका नदी नाला भैं आधुनिकीकरणको शिकार हुन पुगेकी छिन्। हुन त नेपालमा प्रचलित धार्मिक ग्रन्थहरुमा बाग्मती नदीको महत्व जनाएको देखिन्छ। हिन्दूहरुको लागि जस्तो गंगा नदी हो त्यस्तै भूमिका छ बाग्मतीको, यस सम्बन्धी प्रश्नमा गर्दा २० प्रतिशत पशुपति, १५ प्रतिशत टेकुका जवाफकर्ताले सहमति जनाए भने १० प्रतिशत पशुपति, २२.५ प्रतिशत टेकुका जवाफकर्ताले केही जवाफ दिएनन्। २० प्रतिशत पशुपति र १५.५ प्रतिशत टेकुले भने सहमति जनाएनन्। सर्वेक्षणकर्ताको विचारमा भने सरकारी कार्य कहि भएको छैन वा गरेको छैन भन्नु शायद ठिक्क हुँदैन। पाइला भने ढिलो चालेको देखिन्छ र सरकारी निकायले गैरसरकारी निकायलाई र गैरसरकारी निकायले सरकारी निकायलाई दोष दिनुभन्दा आपसी सहमति जनाई बाग्मती प्रदूषण हटाउन सबैले पाइला चालेमा बाग्मतिलाई स्वच्छ बनाउन सकिन्छ।

सफाई सम्बन्धी धारणा बाल्यकालदेखि बसाउनु पर्छ ?

- सफाई आफूमा भरपर्ने कुरा हो, १४ शताब्दीतिर हुइन टी साङ्ग चाइजिन यात्री यहाँ धर्म यात्रा क्रममा आएका थिए। उनको यात्रा वर्णनमा उल्लेख भए अनुसार नेपाल साङ्गै नै चिसो मुलुक र यहाँका मानिस असाध्यै फोहोरी भन्ने वर्णन भेटिन्छ। आज युगौ बितिसक्यो समाज र सामाजिक परिवेशमा कयौ परिवर्तन आइसके तर वास्तविकता हेर्ने हो भने हाल पनि सफाई आफ्नो घर दैलो भित्रसम्म मात्र सीमित छ। आफ्नो चर्पी सफा राखौ र सडकमा दिसा गरौ भन्ने धारणा अबै छ। बाल्यकालदेखि सफाई सम्बन्धी धारणा बसालेन भने पछि के हुने हो समयले बताउला। माथिको भनाइलाई मानिसहरुले बदलेनन् भने चाहिं सरकारी निकाय होस या गैरसरकारी निकाय होस् कसैले गरे पनि सफाई भने हुन सक्दैन। यसबारे दुवै पशुपति र टेकुमा ५० प्रतिशत जवाफकर्ताले सहमति जनाए। यो धारणा अबै पनि मानिसहरुमा देखा परेको छैन।

विचारधारा सम्बन्धमा :

बाग्मती नदी भन्दछिन्
चुपचाप म बगिरहेकी छु
बिहान, साभ्र र राती
पहाड, कन्दरा, खोल्चा खहरे हुँदै
गाउँ, बस्ती, शहर ...
चुपचाप बगीरहेछु
दुखित फोहोर, दुर्गन्धित
धार्मिक नदी कहलाइएको छु
तरै पनि स्वच्छ हुने आसमा
म पर्खिरहेकी छु

केही सुभावहरू यस प्रकार छन् :

- अब सरकारी र गैरसरकारी निकायहरू मिलेर कार्य गरेमा र मानिसहरूको सहभागिता भएमा शायद सफाई कार्यक्रमहरू सफल हुने आशा राख्न सकिन्छ ।
- सरकारले प्रदूषण घटाउने विशेष नियम कानून बनाउन अनिवार्य छ ।
- अव्यवस्थित ढल निकासलाई व्यवस्थित रूप दिनुपर्छ ।
- घर घरमा सेफ्टी ट्यांक निर्माण गर्ने व्यवस्था हुनु अनिवार्य छ ।
- फ्याक्ट्रीहरूले पनि ठूला ठूला absorvert सेफ्टी ट्यांकहरू निर्माण गर्नुपर्ने आवश्यकता छ ।
- ढलहरू खोलातिर हैन आफ्नो घरको सेफ्टी ट्यांकमा बगाउने व्यवस्था गर्नुपर्छ ।
- मानिसहरूलाई सफाई व्यवस्था, प्रदूषण हानि सम्बन्धी तालिम दिनु अनिवार्य देखिन्छ ।
- वातावरण सम्बन्धी पनि तालिम दिनु जरुरी छ ।
- इलेक्ट्रिक Cemetrian बनाइएमा फाइदा हुने छ ।
- सिम्पल ट्रिटमेन्ट प्लान्ट, रिसाइक्लीन प्लान्ट निर्माण भएमा पनि नदी नाला प्रदूषण हुनबाट रोकिन सक्छ ।
- वैज्ञानिक तरिकाहरू अपनाएर फोहोर मैला व्यवस्थित ढंगले डिक्म्पोज गर्ने तरिका र व्यवस्था अपनाउनु अनिवार्य छ ।
- मानिसलाई स्वयं सफाई सम्बन्धी धारणा जगाउन अनिवार्य छ ।
- कार्पेट फ्याक्ट्री र अरु फ्याक्ट्रीहरूले पनि ठूलो absorbert pit सेफ्टी बनाई व्यवस्थित गर्नुपर्छ ।
- नदी नालामा फोहोर मैला फाल्न नदिने व्यवस्था अनिवार्य छ ।
- Squatters हरुलाई नदी किनारामा अव्यवस्थित ढंगले बसोबास गर्न दिनु हुँदैन । आदि ।



PEACEKEEPING AT CROSSROADS

Lt Col Madhukar Singh Karki

In the foreword to the non paper titled “A New Partnership Agenda – Chartering a new Horizon for UN Peacekeeping”, prepared by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and Department of Field Study (DFS), the United Nations (UN) acknowledges that peacekeeping today stands at a crossroads. There is an ongoing discussion on how this core activity of the UN can best serve the interests of global peace.

Today the Nepalese Army (NA) has committed about 5000 troops to the UN for peacekeeping duties. As of 31 Oct 2009 the Nepalese Army had 3451 troops and 58 Military Observers (MILOBS) deployed¹. Since then additional troops have been deployed to Chad, Darfur and additional troops have been pledged for Lebanon. So it would be on the conservative side to estimate 4000 NA troops deployed at present.

On peace keeping missions, each personnel of the NA receives about US \$ 5426.77². This figure does not take into consideration the heavy equipment that the NA has to purchase through its Welfare Fund and the reimbursement it receives for the same. Considering these figures, Nepalese soldiers earn over Rs 3.25 billion per annum, most of which goes directly to the villages of the soldiers. To put this amount into context, in the fiscal year 2009/10, the Government of Nepal intends to spend Rs 2.11 billion to construct 260 Km roads, start the construction of 40 bridges, construct 90 suspension bridges and 104 small infrastructures and 80 water projects.³ Hence the economic importance of the NA participating in peace keeping must be an important factor for the development of Nepal.

Besides the economic importance, the image portrayed by Nepal through such participation is of no less importance. As of October 2009, Nepal was the fifth largest contributor to UN Peacekeeping operations.⁴ The importance of such contribution was praised by Secretary Ban ki Moon himself in his address to the CA on 31 Oct 2008 He said "The United Nations greatly values Nepal's contribution to peacekeeping operations as well as its continued and enhanced support."⁵ Further, the contributions of the Nepalese Army in UN Peacekeeping have earned Nepal a coveted position in the Organizational Committee of the Peace Building Commission (PBC) in the UN.

Today, like peacekeeping operations, the Nepalese Army too stands at a crossroads in its ability to maintain this contribution. In the early days of our involvement with UN Peacekeeping, the

<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Catering (does not include food or water, which are provided separately by the UN.)• Communication<ul style="list-style-type: none">o Vhf/Uhf-Fmo Hi-Frequencyo Telephone• Office• Electrical• Laundry & Cleaning• Tentage• Accomodation• Minor Engineering• Explosive Ordnance Disposal (EOD)• Observation<ul style="list-style-type: none">o Generalo Night Observationo Positioning	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Medical<ul style="list-style-type: none">o Basico Level 1 (Incl. Lab)o Level 1+o Level 2 (Incl. Lab & Dental)o Leve 2+o Level 3o High Risk Epidemiologicalo Blood & Blood Productso Dentalo Laboratory• Field Defense Stores• Miscellaneous<ul style="list-style-type: none">o Beddingo Furnitureo Welfareo Internet Access• Nuclear Biological and Chemical Protection (NBC)• Identification
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Figure 1.1 Showing the requirements of self sustainment support services

¹ www.un-org

² <http://nepalarmy.mil.np/welfare/welfare.pdf>. This figure is based on the calculations of the last fiscal year. The amount received by the individual soldier has since increased.

³ Budget of Nepal 2009/10 paragraph 48.

⁴ http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/contributors/2009/oct09_2.pdf

⁵ Gorkhapatra, 1 Nov 2008.

contributing countries were required to only provide troops and their personal weapons. However, these days the UN insists on “wet lease”. This involves the provision of self support sustainment services from the troop contributing country⁶. Self sustainment support services include the items shown in figure 1.1. Besides these items, the contributing country also has to provide major equipment such as APCs, vehicles for transportation of personnel and goods and maintenance for the same.

The peace keeping missions of today require “... access to new technologies for better situational awareness in the field”.⁷ “Meeting these equipment requirements requires that contributing countries have the resources and the incentive to provide them.”⁸ It is widely argued that the spirit of the peace process in Nepal forbids the procurement of new military hardware. Another obstacle is that the Nepalese Army lacks the resources to procure such hardware. However, the UN recognizes such resource problem and has also scheduled a review of the reimbursement rates for such hardware in 2011. The Government of Nepal can step in and rescue the NA to continue its glorious contribution to global peace.

The argument that the peace process does not permit the Nepalese Army to procure new hardware cannot be taken seriously. The Agreement on the Monitoring of Management of Arms and Armies (AMMAA) signed on 8 December 2006 between the Government of Nepal and the Maoists and witnessed by the UN, clearly permits “Participation in Peacekeeping Operations called for by the United Nations, and all preparations, transport, training, transfer of equipment etc. connected to this.”⁹

Another key area that “A New Partnership Agenda – Chartering a new Horizon for UN Peacekeeping” envisages as requiring to be looked into is rapid deployment. Rapid deployment is often critical to the early establishment of security and consequently the establishment of the credibility of peace keeping missions. The UN depends upon the troop contributing countries like Nepal to be able to rapidly deploy when called upon. To fulfill this requirement of the UN three factors are crucial.

First, Nepal must have the political will to contribute. On 26 September 2009, Prime Minister Madhab Kumar Nepal in his address to the 64th Session of the General Assembly said “Let me recall here that Nepal has been one of the longest continuing partners in the UN peacekeeping missions. Today, we are the fifth largest troop contributing country. Our commitment to international peace remains as strong as ever, and our support to the United Nations in its peacekeeping activities will continue unabated.” Given this level of commitment, it will be safe to conclude that the political will to contribute is very strong.

Second, Nepal must have available trained manpower. Nepal has participated in UN Peacekeeping since 1958 with over 70 000 personnel deployed to date¹⁰. It has an international class Birendra Peace Operations Training Center in Panchkhal. So providing trained manpower at short notice for peace support operations will not pose a big challenge for the Nepalese Army.

Third, Nepal must have resources readily available to deploy at short notice. To date, the Nepalese Army has been able to deploy to UN missions with financial support from the Nepalese Army Welfare Fund. However, this fund is limited and cannot sustain a standby supply of equipment and other resources required for quick deployment. It is here that the Government of Nepal can step in. The reimbursement that the UN will provide from the utility of such resources will make this a profitable debenture for the government of Nepal.

Since 1958, the Nepalese Army has participated in 34 UN missions around the troubled corners of the world¹¹. For over half a century, the Nepalese Army has sustained this effort through its Welfare Fund. Today, when our peacekeeping endeavors stand at crossroads, the Nepalese Army must look towards the Government of Nepal for support in this noble cause.

⁶ <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/sites/coe/about.shtml>

⁷ A New Partnership Agenda – Chartering a new Horizon for UN Peacekeeping, p32

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Agreement on the Monitoring of Management of Arms and Armies (AMMAA), under 4.2.4 Deployment and Concentration of Forces – NA Permitted activities.

¹⁰ http://nepalarmy.mil.np/na_un.php

¹¹ Ibid

KARL MARX: HIS PHILOSOPHY OF HEAVENLY PARADISE

Lt Col Prem Shahi

Communist parties around the world accepted the measures of Marxism during the end of 19th and beginning of the 20th century. Marxism, the idea of class struggle, abolishment of the bourgeois and establishment of communist societies, was considered as an applicable system in the societies. For the first time in history, V.I. Lenin, a lifelong disciple of Marx, put Marxism into practice in the Soviet Union and established a proletarian dictatorship. This was the first event that recognized Marx as a world figure.

Marx's theories of history, philosophy, economy, and revolution have faced lots of controversy throughout the world. Marxism forced Soviet Union to proletarian dictatorship and China under Mao's rule. At some stage in time, in addition to these two big countries, many countries around the world, especially in the third world, have faced communist revolutions of various types. The collapse of Soviet Union, as well as China's adaptation of a free market economy to prevent regime collapse, has shown Marxism as an 'out of place' political theory. Marxism at this point in time has little relevance or none at all to be as an appropriate and stable political philosophy that serves human societies.

This paper presents a brief biography of Karl Marx. Marx, who lived continuously in exile and in poverty, was an intelligent philosopher, thinker and historian. The paper looks into, Marx's work, and analyzes Marxism, its literature, and result experienced. The paper concludes by arguing that Karl Marx misunderstood mankind's history by misunderstanding humans, therefore misinterpreted the history of mankind and misapprehended the destiny of societies by not understanding the flexible nature of societies.

Biography

Marx grew as an unhappy child (Britannica, 2007). His troubled father had to take him to the University of Berlin for further studies. In Berlin Marx joined the young Hegelian circle that was challenging existing institutions and ideas, including religion, philosophy, ethics, and politics (Britannica, 2007). After Marx earned the doctoral degree of Philosophy from Berlin on "Differences between Democritean and Epicurean Natural Philosophy" he wanted to teach in Berlin University; this did not work out. After not getting a proper job that he wanted, he took up journalism and became editor of the liberal Cologne news-paper called "Rheinische Zeitung". Unfortunate for Marx, the paper was suppressed by the Berlin government and Marx was sent into exile because the paper was too provocative. Marx's first exile to France made him give up the idea of philosophy as a life goal; he undertook economics instead.

Once again, at the request of the Prussian government Marx was expelled from France. He spent his second exiled life in Brussels, where he formed the German Workers Party. In Brussels Marx became very active in the Communist League. In 1848 Marx with his friend Engels published the famous "Communist Manifesto" in Brussels. The Belgian government, considering this as a radical act, expelled him, and Karl Marx moved back to his own country, Germany (Simkin, 2007).

In Cologne, once again, he became the editor of 'Neue Rheinische Zeitung', but within a year his paper was banned by the German government and Marx was expelled for the second time from his homeland. As a stateless exile he returned to France, but to his misfortune the French government expelled him again, with not many options left, he settled in London in extreme poverty for the rest of his life (Simkin, 2007).

His Work

Marx had written many articles and reports, but he was able to publish only five books in his lifetime. His writings fall into two general categories, "the polemical-philosophical and the economical-political. The first reflected his Hegelian idealistic period, the second, his revolutionary-political interests" (Britannica, 2007). The first book *Holy Family* written in collaboration with Engel, was a critic of his former teacher and Young Hegelian philosopher Bruno Bauer. His second book written by himself was 'The Poverty of Philosophy' and the third, 'The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte' published in New York in 1852. The other two books are 'Critique of Political Economy' and 'Das Kapital,' the latter being the most famous.

As explained by Tucker, "The central idea in Karl Marx's thought is, that history is growth process of humanity from the primitive beginning to complete maturity and self realization in future communism" (Tucker, 1970, p.9). On the historical and economical aspects Marx sees history in a materialistic concept that involves two basic notions, "that the economic system at any given time determines the prevailing ideas; and that history is an ongoing process regulated-predetermined- by economic institution which evolve in regular stages" (Britannica, 2007).

Marx defined and interpreted history as continuing dialectical process; each stage of development is the product of 'thesis,' 'anti thesis' and 'synthesis.' Thesis corresponds to the ancient stage, when there were no classes. Anti thesis was an era of capitalism and labor, exploitation, whereas synthesis is the final product-communism- a class free society, in his term (Simkin, 2007).

Marx argues that capitalism is the last stage of historical development, before communism overthrows the bourgeois state and establishes a proletarian dictatorship. This, as described by Marx, under dictatorship is the beginning of a classless paradise of human society. Marx failed to elaborate the kind of dictatorship he had visualized in his literature. His message of communism as an earthly paradise has provided millions with hope and new meaning of life around the world. In this regard it may be agreed with the Austrian economist Joseph A Scheipeter that "Marxism is a religion", and Marx is a "prophet" (Gordon, 2009, p31).

To summarize Marx's work, it can be as expressed in 'The Economist': Four things seem crucial in Marxism, ... First, Marx believed that societies follow laws of motion simple and all-encompassing enough to make long-range prediction fruitful. Second, he believed that these laws are exclusively economic in character: what shapes society, the only thing that shapes society, is the "material forces of production". Third, he believed that these laws must invariably express themselves, until the end of history, as a bitter struggle of class against class. Fourth, he believed that at the end of history, classes and the state (whose sole purpose is to represent the interests of the ruling class) must dissolve to yield a heaven on earth. (Anonymous, 2002)

Work Assessed

Abolition of private property is the central idea of Marxism, which is argued not to be his original idea. The biggest failure of Marxism is that his theory does not explain events scientifically; it does not explain how societies would be built under communism and how freedom and communism can coexist under dictatorship. Crook says:

Marx's conception of communism-he defined the idea in these terms-was the abolition of private property. (It was actually Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, not Marx, who said that "property is theft"; Marx loathed Proudhon, needless to say, but approved of that sentiment.) Yet, so far as anyone knows, nowhere in the mountainous archives of Marx's writings is there any discussion of how a society of free people would function without private property. Marx was contemptuous of utopian socialists who lacked a "scientific" theory of how social revolution would come about. But he was no less utopian--and, from a scientific point of view, no less contemptible-in offering no account at all of how his true

communist society could be built or run... He wrote thousands of pages on the social and economic mechanisms that drive capitalism-- many of those pages, for all the flaws, interesting and valuable still. He wrote not one page of proper analysis of the mechanisms that would allow communism and freedom to co-exist. (Crook, 2002)

The Communist Manifesto, the bible of communism, has been criticized by different scholars who argue that the manifesto, instead of serving the societies in harmony, has become an instrument of generating hatred. As Hazlitt argues, "Though the Communist Manifesto, even in its own time, failed completely as an economic guidebook, it did succeed thoroughly in instilling class hatred. This hatred, unfortunately, has been its most permanent contribution" (Hazlitt, 2004, p.63) Furthermore, David Horowitz judged it by saying: Since the 'Manifesto' was written ... 100 million people have been killed in its name. Between 10 and 20 times that number have been condemned to lives of unnecessary misery and human squalor, deprived of the life chances afforded the most humble citizens of the industrial democracies that Marxists set out to destroy...the 'Manifesto' dismally failed to redeem its offer of providing a road map to a more equitable society. (Peet, 2001, p.69)

His Labor and Social Issues

The advocacy of Marxism over working class seems just a slogan to bring about agitation in the working class, so that citizens would eventually be put under ruthless rule. The Russian anarchist Mikhail Bakinin (1814-1876) accused Marx at the most basic level of practice. He blamed Marx for not being in actuality the advocate of 'workers' liberation. "The culmination of Marx's desired socialist revolution would in fact be a brutal dictatorship over the workers" (Gordon, 1986, p10).

The Political and social science theory of Marx had been also been criticized as being irrational and unjust. On the aspect of a 'free and classless' society Bakunin argues that, "Freedom could not exist under a centrally planned and directed economy. If the government owns all the printing press, how could be there freedom of speech" (Gordon, 1986). Peet has given further arguments on the failure of Marxism by quoting Roger Scrutiny's article in 'The Wall Street Journal' by saying, "The theory of history and society put forward by Marx has proved wrong in all its predictions. The attempt to apply it "led to social and economic chaos, as well as the deaths of millions" (Peet, 2001)

Marx's vision of dividing the society into two rivalry (enemy) classes, in which compromise in bargains and adjustment in conflicts has no existing role, is a weird idea. The Marxism, which is not based on human social behavior or coexistence; it suppresses people. Marxism provoked the people of the working classes to eradicate one part of a society without foreseeing the future consequences of disaster. It is hard to imagine and inappropriate to believe that the thoughts, 'only me and my family lives in this world and the rest of the world is our enemy, for our betterment my family should eradicate the rest of the population by all means, if it involves killing also. Marx has focused on a similar kind of philosophy, as he writes:

There are two main classes in the society-"the proletariat,"...and "bourgeoisie" which consists of employers and a few other group who are comfortably well off. The bourgeoisie rule. They hire the proletariat; and because they do, they necessarily "exploit" them. The only way this dreadful situation can be changed is by revolution, in which the proletariat must seize all the property of the bourgeoisie, and, if they object, kill them. (Hazlitt, 2004)

Psychologically, these kinds of thought provoke hatred among people and generate conflicts among the societies. In Communist manifesto he says," Let the ruling class tremble at a communistic revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains....bourgeoisie, indeed must be swept out of the way, and made impossible (Elster, 1985).

The theory of Karl Marx is biased, ruthless, and as philosophical farrago that has caused

suffering to human lives. The Communist Manifesto was voted as the most harmful book of the world. A survey conducted by Human Events asked a panel of 15 conservative scholars and public policy leaders to help compile a list of the 'Ten Most Harmful Books' of the 19th and 20th Centuries. Each panelist nominated a number of titles and then voted on a ballot including all books nominated. "The Communist Manifesto A title received a score of 10 points for being listed No. 1. It has also been argued that there have been similarities between the Nazi and Communists type of dictatorship and similar results can be expected under the socialist regime" (Anonymous, 2005).

Das Kapital, the famous book written by Karl Marx, has not remained far from criticism. The book is categorized as unscientific and impractical, that forcing, "a round peg of capitalism into a square hole of Marx's materialistic theory of history, portraying capitalism as an ugly phase in the development of human society in which capitalists inevitably and amorally exploit labor by paying the cheapest possible wages to earn the greatest possible profits" (Anonymous' 2005). But the book does not explain how this exploitation is possible and what its extent is.

Marx as a Person

Karl Marx as a person has been accepted with mixed reactions, it is said that Marx did not feel comfortable about his work and did not continue writing for a long time after the publication of Das Kapital. As argued on his work, "Some commentators have summarized saying that Marx had reached an impasse, and could not decide how to continue" (Hazlitt, 2004). After Marx died, Engels completed the rest of three volume of Das Kapital saying these to be his friend's 'unfinished' work.

In 1999 the BBC conducted a series of polls, asking people to name the greatest men and women of the millennium. In October of that year, within a few weeks of the tenth anniversary of the dismantling of the Berlin Wall, the BBC declared the people's choice for "greatest thinker". It was Karl Marx. Einstein was runner-up, Newton and Darwin third and fourth, respectively (Anonymous, 2002).

British journalist Francis Wheen says that, "true, Marx was hardworking and brilliant. But the great man was intellectually vain and a monster of intolerance and self-importance. He craved recognition and envied it bitterly in others. In his domineering way, and out of a pathological love of feud and intrigue, he repelled countless collaborators" (Crook, 2002). Marx was accepted as a scholar, "but he was also a fanatic and a revolutionary. His incapacity for compromise (with comrades, let alone opponents) was pathological (Anonymous, 2002). In addition, Crook comments on Marx by saying: Marx is certainly much misunderstood. For a start, he was a far nastier man than most people realize. Most of those with a notion of his personal history think of him as a penniless scholar, toiling selflessly in the British Museum, neither seeking recognition nor, in his lifetime, receiving any. Another thing many people seem to recall about Marx is that only 11 mourners attended his funeral. How sad-and yet his ideas shook the world. (Crook, 2002)

Hazlitt argues that Marx and his friend Engels both as shrewd psychologists rather than political thinkers, as he says: Marx and Engels were agitators, activists-and shrewd psychologists. They knew that most people who find themselves at the bottom of the economic ladder are tempted to put the blame, not on themselves, but mainly on somebody else. The exploitation theory, however weak as an economic doctrine, was tremendously persuasive psychologically and as a call for action. It was an essential part of their propaganda. (Hazlitt, 2004)

In addition, James K. Glassman, a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute (31 March 1998) offered a generally deprecating review. Marx, he wrote, "has become a cuddly, kitschy, innocuous object of fun, nostalgia and irony ... beloved by the deconstructionist English departments of America's most expensive colleges" (Peet, 2001)- in The Washington Post.

Marxism and his Literature

The literature of Karl Marx seems very convincing, but unscientific. It is a beautiful dream of heavenly paradise, where no one owns anything, where there are no rich to envy and no poor suffering. All are equal, no religion, no god to pray, no temple, no church, or even a peaceful place to share a quiet moment alone in what one believes. The literature reads perfect, but it is all against basic human nature of possessiveness and independence. Communism looks like someone trying to fit in a round peg (Marxism) into a square hole of human society. It does not fit.

Marx's literature has been appreciated by several writers in its content. The language of the Manifesto is said to be as:

Dense with the packed power of high explosives...in the language... This is one beautiful text... abounds with resonant phrases...is well written and bound to last. ... it is impossible to deny its compelling power as literature...a kind of Expressionist lyricism. Every paragraph breaks over us like a wave that leaves us shaking from the impact and wet with thought. This prose evokes breathless momentum, plunging ahead without guides or maps, breaking all boundaries..." (Peet, 2001)

Result of Marxism in Application

"Many claim that the failures of communism in USSR proved the bankruptcy of Marxism" (Gottlieb, 1992, p. xv) Marxism is argued to be unscientific theory as far as real societies are concerned. The result of Marxism, when applied, seems to be as written in 'After Communism', it is argued that, "Communism had tyrannized and impoverished its subjects, and slaughtered them in the tens of millions... in the Soviet Union and its satellite countries, any allusion to the avowed aims of communist doctrine...equality, freedom from exploitation, true justice...had provoked only bitter laughter" (Anonymous 2002). Furthermore Crook (2002) says, Marx was wrong not just in believing that capitalism was approaching its economic limits in the 19th century, but also in failing to see the full extent of its extraordinary social adaptability. Capitalism has changed in ways that make the kind of revolution Marx predicted all but impossible. (Crook, 2002)

The communist rule was observed in many satellite states of former USSR and some other countries around the world. Soviet Union, being an example of adopting Marxism, should have been the idol of 'heavenly paradise', but instead, "the Soviet state became a monstrous instrument of oppression" (Peet,2001). Many other countries of the world, including China, have suffered under communism in a similar manner. A result of communist rule can be further categorized as, "The "ruthless willingness to abrogate rights," the centralization of the means of production, and placing power in the hands of a few planners, was 'a prescription for tyranny.' ...are no less brilliant for being mostly wrong" (Peet, 2001).

Not only were the people of for former USSR suppressed by communism, but so the satellite countries were under vicious suppression from communism. In 1990, after independence from the USSR, the President of Poland, Lech Walesa, addressed the legislators by saying that, 'I promise to shake this nation of 38 million from passivity and discouragement. Nobody, nothing can lessen this fact. The bad time, when the authorities of our state were elected under pressure from aliens or in effect of imposed compromises is coming to an end" (Kaufman, 1991).

Conclusion

Marx seemed to be very strong in his thoughts and perfect in his ability to express them. He made the people, who were under privileged; dream of 'a heavenly paradise' a better destiny where equality prevailed and suffering disappeared.' Who would not want to be there if the heaven is for real? He presented his ideas so thoughtfully that they convinced many political scientists and followers around the world. They convinced working classes and peasants to give it a try; at one time,

one third of the world was under communism.

His theory of communism –heavenly paradise –when applied left the people of many countries including former USSR in chaos; they were suppressed from freedom of speech to freedom of movement and even the freedom of wishes. To possess something in their life was forbidden. Only the leaders in the ruling class enjoyed the power and the resources of the country, which they acquired in the name of communism and kept them to suppress the citizens. But, instead of it being a classless, a heavenly paradise, the Communist rules widened the gap between the haves (rulers) and have not (people). It grew so big that the former had everything and the latter had nothing, except a life to spend under heavy coercion of state power.

Marx did not understand the psychology of an individual who wishes for freedom and want to possess something in life, which eventually represents the psychology of their family, and their expectation in life. In row, the expectation of families represents expectations and views of a society at large. Marx did not come to a logical understanding of human societies. He failed to make it clear what he meant by equal; equality in terms of what? He also failed to explain how that equality would exist in communism under a tyrant dictator? In return Marxism served the citizens equally by suppression and depriving them from opportunities, as if they were subjects of coercion.

The writer hopes that people of the former USSR and Eastern European countries detach themselves from the suffering and shock experienced in a ‘heavenly paradise,’ of communism. The people of the world, especially people from the third world, must learn from the story of horror experienced by the citizens of former communist countries. Knowing and understanding the paradise of Marx would prevent the societies from being dragged into a false hope for a better future into the darkness of close societies ruled by a dictator. The failure of communism proved the bankruptcy of Marxism or communism; hopefully, this ‘bankruptcy’ will not be bailed out.

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THE ACADEMY MEMORIAL

Lt Col Sagar Bahadur Thapa

Historical Background

1. There was an understanding after 2009 B.S. in which Nepalese army officers and other ranks were to be trained with the help from Indian Military Mission to Nepal which was later renamed as Indian Military Liaison Group. **Major General Min Shumsher JBR, Brigadier Ravi Shumsher JBR** and **Colonel Mehar Shumsher JBR** were few officers who under-went the training under those arrangements. As Nepalese army started advancing and became more proficient, need to lead the institution efficaciously and efficiently in all military matters by own competent and well trained officers was felt. To address this 'Army School' was founded in the vicinity of present Chhauni Barrack, Kathmandu in 2009 B.S. Later the school was relocated to Suping, Bhaise in 2019 B.S. and moved to present-day location in Nagarkot in 2023 B.S. Again, the school landed up within the premises of Kharipati in 2029 B.S. It remained in the environs of Bhaktapur till the present 'Military Academy' was established and eventually the school ended its journey back to Nagarkot in 2043 B.S. The prevailing location of the military academy in Kharipati was originally the proposed setting for Tribhuvan University.

2. In the initial years, training officer cadets was the concern of the cadet training wing of the 'Infantry School' (Shahi Nepali Sainik Sikhalaya) in Nagarkot. The first basic of officer cadets with 23 direct entry volunteers got their commission in 2018 B.S. **Brigadier General Chiniya B Basnet** stood first from the intake. A total of 515 direct entry officer cadets were disciplined by the Infantry School in Nagarkot and Kharipati from the first to twenty third basic. The names of officers reaching the highest rank trained by the Infantry School are **Lieutenant General Sushil Raj Karki (1st Basic)**, **Lieutenant General Shanta Kumar Malla** and **Lieutenant General Chhatra Bikram Shah (2nd Basic)**, **Lieutenant General Balananda Sharma (4th Basic)** and **Lieutenant General Amar Pant (7th Basic)**. The Commandant of the school during the training period of first basic was **Colonel Rishi Bikram Rana**. The 'Infantry School' has had thirty well-qualified and devoted Commandants till date.

3. Documentation shows that till 8th - 9th basic (13 direct entry officer cadets in each intake) cadets were trained in Nagarkot and it was only from 10th basic (25 young officer cadets) who initiated their training in Kharipati. The Commandant of the school then was **Colonel Nripa Shumsher JBR**. However, 8th and 9th basic endured last few months of training in Kharipati and jointly exhibited their passing out parade drill on today's very same Academy parade ground which then was a beaten clay turf. The army was also sending cadets abroad for training prior to having own expertise in Nepal.

4. With steadily growing size of the army, compulsion to isolate cadet training from other military activities was sensed. In 2043 B.S., Paush 14, the cadet training wing was detached from the 'Infantry School' and formally functioned independently as an Academy from Kharipati, however, the school functioned in unison for few months. The first Commandant of the self-governing Army School was **Colonel Prajwalla SJB Rana** (Later Chief of Army Staff). The foremost commitment of the Academy was now to train direct entry cadets, pilot officer cadets and junior commissioned officer cadets. The establishment began to train graduate officer cadets from 2057 B.S., technical officer basic course and NCO basic course from 2060 B.S., In 2061 B.S. the existing facilities were further expanded and for the first time lady officer cadets entered the academy gates. 24th basic with 13 direct entry cadets and 30 from 21st JCO cadet course were the first batch to get their commissioning from then 'Royal Nepalese Military Academy' in 2043 B.S. The first Commandant of the academy was **Colonel Pyar Jung Thapa** (Later Chief of Army Staff).

The Facts and Reality

5. With many years of expertise, the Academy now has matured into an admirable establishment for young men and women, delivering distinct military trainings. The Academy aims to be the center of excellence and sincere recognition goes to the Directorate General of Military Training, Army Headquarter and all twelve devoted and proficient commandants of the Academy down the years.

6. Here are some achievements of the academy during its travel so far:-

<u>S.N</u>	<u>School</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Type of Intake</u>	<u>Strength</u>	<u>Gender</u>	<u>Rmks</u>
1	Infantry School	Nagarkot/ Kharipati	Direct Entry	515	Male	Basic 1- 23
2	"	"	JCO Cadets	206	Male	Basic 11-20
3	Nepalese Military Academy	Kharipati	Direct Entry	2599	Male	Basic 24- 50
4	"	"	Direct Entry	127	Female	Basic 46,48,49 (Joint)
5	"	"	Graduate Officer Cadets	12	Male	Basic 1,2
6	"	"	Pilot Officer Cadet Course	16	Male	POBC 1-5
7	"	"	JCO Cadets (Over40)	53	Male	Basic 2-5
8	"	"	JCO Cadets	254	Male	Basic 21 - 32
9	"	"	JCO/NCO Cadets	376	Male	Basic 33-39
10	"	"	Technical Officer Basic Course	279	Male/Female	TOBC 1-9

7. Since the establishment of 'Infantry School', 83 officer cadets down the years received their training from the Indian Military Academy (IMA), Dehradun, of which 45 still are serving and out of 94 sent to the Royal Military Academy (RMA), Sandhurst, 48 still are on active duty . For the first time two officer cadets are training in the Pakistan Military Academy (PMA). A large number of them received their initial preparation on the grounds of Nepalese Military Academy (NMA).

8. Be it while on committed duty or after retirement, the officers who under- went officer cadet training in the army school or the academy here in Nepal have been effective in exemplifying our army/nation in versatile affairs. **Major General Tara Bahadur Thapa (2nd Basic)** after his retirement served the land with capableness and ability of a resident ambassador to the Kingdom of Thailand in B.S 2062. **Lieutenant General Balananda Sharma (4th Basic)** received commendation from the United Nation for his unrivaled service for peace while he was the Force Commander and the Head of Mission for UNDOF from B.S 2062-2064. **Lieutenant Colonel Naresh Bhatt (22nd Basic)**, **Captain Sudhir Mahara (28th Basic)**, **Major Praveen Khadka (34th Basic)**, **Captain Sadaya SJB Rana (35th Basic)** were awarded the 'Cane of Honour' at RMA, Sandhurst for being the overall best foreign student of their intake. **Lieutenant (Tech) Saroj Thapa (44th Basic)** who attended 'Aeronautical Engineering' in Kotelawala Defence Academy, Srilanka received awards for 'Best Student Officer Over all performance in Academic Studies – Engineering Stream', 'Best Student Officer in Aeronautical Engineering' and 'Best Student Officer in Military Studies' from **H.E Mahendra Rajapaksa**, the President of Srilanka in 2065 B.S. **Lieutenant Akriti Pandey (46th Basic)** was the

first Nepalese lady officer cadet to get her commission from Sandhurst and she was later posted as an instructor in the Academy. **Lieutenant Sumitra Lamichhane (46th Basic)** is the first lady officer who was posted to the academy as an instructor.

9. **Brigadier General Bhim Rai (6th Basic), Brigadier General Yam B Thapa (9th Basic), Colonel Binod J. Rana (11th Basic), Major Mohan Shahi (22nd JCO Basic), Major Arjun Bohora (23rd JCO Basic)** represented the national team in football during their period. **Major Basant Gurung (29th Basic)** was a quality for the national football squad in three Asian games. **Major Bikash Rana (10th Basic)** represented Nepal in air rifle shooting and **Brigadier General Bijaya Bikram Khadka (14th Basic), Major Akal B. Chand (18th Basic), Lieutenant Colonel Min Dhoj Khadka (26th Basic), Major Man B Kunwar (23rd JCO Basic)** were the national players in volleyball. The younger generations are also following the heritage of their senior officers. **Lieutenant Bikash Malla (48th Basic)** is the present national goal keeper in football. **Lieutenant Prajwal J. Rana (47th Basic)** and **Lieutenant Sara Devi Tamang (49th Basic)** are showing their skills in national level badminton. **Lieutenant Sabitri G.C (48th Basic)** and **Lieutenant Radhika Bista (48th Basic)** are national players in athletics and Tae-kwan-do.

10. **Major Sunil Singh Rathor (32nd Basic)** succeeded to raise the flag of the 'Nepal Army' in a joint expedition to Mt. Everest in 2003 A.D. **Lieutenant Colonel (Dr.) Prem Singh Basnyat (21st Basic)** was the first serving officer to be awarded Doctor of Philosophy in history. In the field of music, **Major General Rajendra Thapa (5th Basic), Lieutenant Colonel Prakash Jung Karki (22nd Basic), Lieutenant Colonel Sudarshan B Rana (24th Basic), Lieutenant Colonel Anand Adhikari and Lieutenant Colonel Nirman Singh Gurung (25th Basic), Lieutenant Colonel Pankaj Karki (26th Basic), Lieutenant Colonel Ash B. Tamang (27th Basic), Lieutenant Colonel (Pilot) Kailash Gurung (28th Basic), Major (Tech.) Amul Karki Dhali (TOBC-9), Lieutenant (Dr) Poonam Singh (TOBC-10)** are well known in present Nepalese society either for their singing, lyrics, music composer or music arrangements. **Colonel (Pilot) Madan K.C (11th Basic)** in 1996 A.D. was awarded the 'Trimbel Memorial Award of the Best Mountain pilot of the year' by 'Helicopter Association International-USA' for rescuing a mountaineer at an altitude of 23500 feet in the Everest region flying Ecureuil AS350B2 and was also presented with 'Space Technology Laureate -1996' by 'Aviation Week and Space Technology' for his operational flights. He was later decorated with 'Nepal Tara' by the government of Nepal.

11. The Academy has produced battle heroes like **Colonel (Pilot) Pramod Lama (Pilot Basic-1), Major Sudhir Aryal (14th Basic), Lieutenant Colonel Ramesh Thapa (26th Basic), Lieutenant Colonel Hira Lal Joshi (27th Basic), Lieutenant Colonel Nabal Shah (27th Basic), Lieutenant Colonel Anup J. Thapa (28th Basic), Major Binod Chand (36th Basic), Major Biswa Raj Koirala (34th Basic), Major Narayan B. Thapa (37th Basic), Major Biswaraj Thapa (37th Basic), Major Sabindra Nagarkoti (38th Basic) and Captain Suman Karki (42nd Basic)** who were honored with 'Nepal Tara' for their heroic achievements. **Major (Pilot) Subash Chandra Rai (30th Basic), Major (Pilot) Ashok K.C (Pilot Basic-4), Captain Khadga B Ranabhat (26th JCO Basic) and Lieutenant Laxman Adhikari (39th Basic)** were awarded 'Nepal Tara' posthumously for their courageous acts during conflict. It has been a privilege for this Academy to witness 372 of its creations being decorated with 'Prasamsania Patta' and 105 with 'Suprasamsania Patta' from the government of Nepal for their accomplishment during conflict.

12. The Academy trains future leaders to accomplish internal as well as overseas duties. The product from the academy has led their men into triumph, consoled them in personal griefs, displayed courage which others admired, originated ideas in times of difficulties, trained units for challenges, defended the borders, displayed leadership qualities and strongly led the followers. They have accomplished their divine services in many nations around the world as well.

Why did we need the Memorial ?

13. With all these majestic heritage in background, we here at the Academy felt the dire need to honor even those officers whose soul had left us while executing heroic obligations for the nation.

The 35 officers whose names are inscribed on the memorial have displayed the true meaning of a leader, demonstrated us how to lead fearlessly, taught the value and sincerity of commanders order, significance of courage and where that is to be proven, what is sacrifice and what could be the utmost sacrifice for ones organization, people and the nation.

14. Under the vision and guidance of the **Commandant Brigadier General Nara Bahadur Kandel**, the sentiment of constructing an 'Academy Memorial' was developed. The Academy needed a place of solitude where all could display respect and appreciation to those valorous officers who were trained here. This is a school where we train officer cadets. Therefore, they too need to be educated on the proud heritage of the officer core. The memorial is one such place where they all can get inspirations from.

15. Finally the 'Academy Board' decided to construct a memorial. The names to be included in the memorial were resolved based on the following criteria:

(a) To include names of officers who underwent officer cadet course, JCO/NCO basic course, graduate officer cadet course, pilot basic course in Kharipati and even those officer cadets who to begin with trained in the academy and later got their commission from foreign academies.

(b) To include officers who completed technical officer basic course from the academy. Additionally, the following criteria's were needed for the names to have privilege on the memorial:

(1) Who displayed exemplary bravery on operational assignments during conflict at home and abroad and succumbed to his/her injuries.

(2) Who displayed exemplary bravery when assigned with the United Nations and while conducting military operations for the cause of peace gave their life.

(3) Who displayed exemplary bravery while assisting in rescue operations in home and abroad.

(c) Names which were not to be included in the memorial were:

(1) Death due to various other reasons.

(2) Officers who committed suicide.



16. The blessed names in the 'Academy Memorial' are:-

<u>S.N</u>	<u>P. No.</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of Bravery</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>Basic</u>
1	1289	Maj	Shiva K Pun	2051/2/2	UN, Somalia	12
2	1518	Maj	Naresh Upreti	2058/8/9	Ghorahi,Dang	22
3	3059	2nd Lt	Bimal Karki	2058/8/9	Ghorahi, Dang	S.N 1 Grad
4	2965	2nd Lt	Ram K Basnet Chettri	2058/8/16	Ranjha,Nepalgunj	S.N 2 40 over
5	2701	Lt	Kiran Shah	2058/10/13	Kalikot	35
6	2257	Capt	Ramesh S Bohora	2058/11/6	Mangalsen, Acham	30
7	2974	2nd Lt	Bhim B Pyakurel	2058/11/6	Mangalsen, Acham	S.N 2 40 Over
8	2703	Lt	Subash Khadka	2058/12/8	Khandbari, Sankhuwasava	35
9	1639	Maj	Rakesh Shrestha	2058/12/25	Kothighat, Bardia	25
10	1412	Maj	Nilkantha Khadka	2059/1/27	Gam, Rolpa	21
11	2889	Lt	Chitra B Thapa	2059/1/27	Gam, Rolpa	37
12	2615	Capt	Khadga B Ranabhat	2059/2/23	Majhthana, Kaski	JCO 25
13	2630	Capt	Uday B Ra Ma	2059/5/27	Sandhikharka, Arghakhachi	JCO 26
14	2612	Capt	Dinesh Thapa Chettri	2059/7/12	Rumjatar, Okhaldhunga	33
15	1973	Maj	Sudesh Acharya	2059/9/3	Kamdi, Banke	28
16	806	Col	Kiran B Basnyat	2060/5/12	NayaBaneshwar, Ktm.	8
17	3050	Lt	Balkrishna Tamang	2060/9/3	DhanKholo, Dang	38
18	3404	2nd Lt	Subash Thapa	2060/11/5	Kotbada, Kalikot	32
19	3120	Lt	Laxman Adhikari	2061/2/7	Dadeldhura	40
20	3173	Lt	Amrit Medhasi	2061/8/25	Mathuradanda, Arghakhachi	40
21	1867	Maj	Pramod Poudel	2061/9/10	Kanchanpur	27
22	2435	Maj	Upendra B Ranabhat	2061/10/7	Puwakhola, Ilam	32
23	3851	2nd Lt	Shekhar Khadka	2061/10/10	Bheripool, Surkhet	43
24	1793	Maj	Ravi S Gartaula	2061/10/14	Bajung, Parbat	27
25	2722	Capt	Arjun K Palpali	2061/12/8	Kawasoti, Nawalparasi	JCO 27
26	3391	Lt	Rajendra K.C	2062/1/26	Rajapur, Bardia	41
27	3996	Lt	Janardan Raut	2062/2/8	Udaypur	44
28	2416	Maj	Kabindra J Thapa	2062/2/19	UN, DR of Congo	32
29	3492	Lt	Tulasi P Shrestha	2062/4/24 Pili,	Kalikot	JCO 32
30	4071	2nd Lt	Ashish Basnet	2062/10/28	Ramuwapur, Nawalparasi	44
31	3831	Lt	Birod Bantawa	2062/11/22	Gadithumka, Ilam	43
32	2216	Maj (Pilot)	Subash Chandra Rai	2062/12/24	Malangwa, Sarlahi	30
33	2659	Maj (Pilot)	Ashok K.C	2062/12/24	Malangwa, Sarlahi	PB-4
34	3506	Capt (Tech)	Atish Gorkhali	2062/12/24	Malangwa, Sarlahi	TOBC-1
35	4111	2nd Lt	Bhim B Karki	2062/12/24	Surunga, Jhapa	JNCO-35

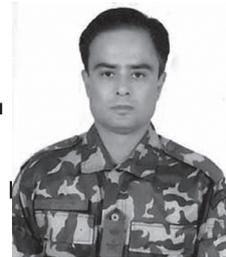
17. The Commandant laid the foundation stone amidst a special function on 19th Jestha, 2066 B.S (2nd June 2009). The memorial based on the concept from 'Malla Kalin' era is the creation of **Mr. Ram Govinda Shrestha** who studied architecture from Rostov On Don, Russia and resides in Bhaktapur. The memorial was to compliment Bhaktapur's finest architecture and the plan was based on a 'Mandala' design.

18. On 23 Shrawan, 2066 B.S. (7th August 2009), then **Chief of the Army Staff, General Rookmangud Katawal** inaugurated the memorial by laying a wreath on behalf of the Nepalese Army at a special function. Past Commandants, Academy professors, senior officers from Army Head Quarter, Division HQ, Army Training School, commanders from neighboring units and other honorable guests attended the solemn service. An honor guard was presented by a section of selected officer cadets from the 'Champion Company' – Nalapani Company. Religious bhajans were sung by 'Mahakali Bhajan Khala' from Bhaktapur.

19. The Academy has decided to observe 23 Shrawan as an '**Academy Memorial Day**'. The Academy has traveled quite a journey and we all are high and mighty members of this marvelous place. We should acknowledge the facts that gone are gone but we need to carry on because these thirty five brave officers who were trained in our Academy have given their lives for our better tomorrow. The future generation should uphold the gallant traditions of the '**Officer Core**'.

THE COMMANDER AS A WARRIOR

Lt Col Nabal Shah



I see many soldiers; could I but see as many warriors!

F.W. Nietzsche, Thus Spake Zarathustra

HISTORICAL ASPECT

1 In the reconstruction of the US Army after the Vietnam war senior commanders called for an officer corps that would exemplify “the warrior spirit” They intended to build an Army leadership that would endure any hardship, stand firm in battle, and “close with the enemy and destroy him” in steadfast pursuit of victory. Unfortunately for their purposes, military literatures and history contained little that distinguished between their idea of the warrior and the barbarian, sacking cities and piling skulls on the steps of Asia. The pragmatists and behaviourists considered it quaint, but useless. Do we have in our mind when extolling the warrior spirit? Perhaps Alexander the great, who bore many battle wounds and scars by the time of his death at thirty three. But know that warrior’s hand to hand combat with the enemy faded as the musket, the machine gun, and now the long range missile separate the combatants. Or perhaps we want to emulate the British subaltern of the nineteenth century, when Army core dictated that the officer’s purpose in war time was to show the troops how to die, And, until late in world war II, there were those strode the parapets in defiance of death, until it was proven that a swagger stick was little comfort in an area of sharpen munitions. Today we no longer use the phrase “show the men how to die” rather we say “Show them how to live” Or perhaps, some see the ultimate warrior in the Japanese Samurai, represented best by Miyamoto Masushi, Who hacked sixty opponents to death. In 1645 he wrote his philosophy of “the way of the sword” advising:-

“ be intent solely upon killing the enemy. If the enemy is less skilful than yourself, if his rhythm is disorganised or he has fallen into evasive or retreating attitudes, we must crush him straight way, without allowing him space for breath. It is essential to crush him all at once”

- Masushi, A Book of Five Rings

2 If we pursue the ethos of the warrior, from the annals of Ghenghis khan and the Mangody, as in Charol’s the Mongol Empire, to the strange biography of Yasuo Kuwahara, one of the Emperor’s suicide pilots, in Kamakaze. We therefore, expect today’s commanders to emulate Alexander’s courage in facing dangers, not only in the close combat of war in the cities and jungles, but against constant artillery and aerial bombardment. We expect commanders to have the aggressive spirit of the samurai, and to expose themselves to the same dangers that beset their troops. Despite the antique, distorted, and romantic views of the warrior, there are still many valid demands on commanders to prepare themselves for warrior roles. They must be personally courageous to function usefully in the hazardous and chaotic conditions of the battlefield. They can not allow fatigue to cloud their minds. They must get their troops to fight. They must wage violence competently. And they must win on the battlefield, regardless of obstacle, bad luck and the incompetence of others. Courage, aggressive leadership, skilful war-waging, and winning are all hallmarks of the warrior in the modern era as well as in the antique past.

ON BECOMING WARRIORS

3 I think freedom and the courage are the values of the good soldier. Because freedom is what makes us fight, and courage keep us from running away. Those who would command soldiers in combat understand both why men fight and why they do not run away. The wellsprings of the warrior

spirit come not only from the aggressive, animalistic depth of man's nature, but also from his most philosophical and idealistic yearnings. An informed dedication to the cause of freedom's triumph over tyranny inspires men to march to the sound of the guns, as much today as in any age of patriotic fervor. Courage, like bravery, has been the first requirement of the soldier since the most primitive days. Good commanders talk easily and thoughtfully on these matters. Not believing in extremes, placed courage in the median between cowardice and rashness. Some thought that courage ranked with wisdom, temperance, moderation and justice among the four chief attributes of the virtuous man. Military biographers tend to mark physical courage as the one human trait whose absence causes soldiers to fail. For the commander, it matters little whether courage is inborn or acquired. More important is how it ebbs and flows in the soldier's breast. Some say courage is achieved by constant struggle against fear, and that when fear takes over, the soldier's habits and conduct undergo major change. Men enter battle with a certain capacity for courage, which is drained through months of great danger, especially that afforded by constant artillery and air bombardment. Within Lord Moran's philosophy one finds an explanation of studies of soldiers who took part in World War I and II, who tended to lose their effectiveness of going beyond six months of unrelieved combat. There are few today who agree with the nineteenth century belief perhaps harboured by Stephen Crane- That courage is increased by continued exposure to fighting and the hazards of the battlefield

4 The seeds of panic are always present in troops so long as they are in the midst of physical danger. In a fire fight, half the men on a firing line are in terror and the other half unnerved, as a result of fear, barely twenty-five percents of infantry soldiers in war fired their weapons when engaged closely with the enemy. In war if our troops are untrained, ill disciplined, and barely organized, we will find them not firing their weapons, retreating and living positions undefended, being physically unfit for their task. Courage could not thrive under these conditions except among the sprinkling of brave junior officers and non-commissioned officers, who suffered inordinate casualties to save the situation until discipline and training could be energized. Instilling the aggressive spirit in one's troops is always necessary but never entirely successful. Some commanders have preached "kill or being killed" and some have embellished that edict with a command to "make their arms and legs fly" whether these displays produced any greater warrior spirit or simply induced more atrocities is debatable. But they left no doubt as to the commander's attitude towards their mission. The fact is soldiers should not be teaching hate, but should be teaching men how to defend themselves and their country. Professionals like Shoup operate with neither hatred nor fear of the enemy. They are little stirred by emotional appeals, and may even be reserved about broadcasting their deep sense of patriotism. They respect their enemy, with whom they often identify themselves- In the same predicaments, with the same goals, fighting the same weather and terrain, and hoping for the same breaks. Across the battlefield they see other individuals very much like themselves. We learn through reading and experience that the best guarantee of the warrior spirit, of courage in combat is the discipline imposed on soldier's minds by a tight military organization, where orders are given and obeyed in a crisp fashion and the habit of carrying tasks and functions is ingrained through constant practice. We have also found the soldier's courage to be fortified by confidence in his ability to complete those chores that are at the very limit of his ability. We also know that soldiers in good physical condition can more easily fight off the fatigue that breeds fear and defeatism. Every age every Army has had its warrior legions, the common denominators of their trade are competence and courage fostered by discipline and camaraderie.

5 Some men and women are born into this warrior role but most have to learn it, many fail this test of courageous character. Mostly, soldiers believe that life is unfair, and that to feel sorry for one self is pointless. Nor was it useful to hate the enemy, or to dwell on arguments over good versus evil or mind versus body. It is only necessary to keep from giving in to the enemy and in the long run to defeat him. Behavioural Scientists have toyed with the contention that only certain

kinds of personalities are capable of the courage and aggressiveness needed by good military commanders. They look for signs of competitiveness, Love of power, toughness in dealing with other people and generally extroverted nature. Of the many challenges to the warrior, the most difficult may be that of restraining the violence that lies within his realm of responsibility. Since war must be measured violence if it is to be effective in the age of mass destruction. The warrior himself must be the measurer. The application of force and the control of force are the same action, viewed from two different perspectives in the mind of single commander. We may think of senior generals as “measures of violence” issuing their Rules of Engagements from their higher headquarters and answering directly to civilian authority. In reality, however, it is the field commander, from their first days on the battlefield, who must make daily judgements about limiting fire on non-combatants, when it might mean casualties to their own troops. How do lieutenants prepare themselves for each decision? Some peoples have reputation for being “Trigger happy” and somewhat a sadist in the treatment of his own men. Junior commanders do not have time to consider carefully many of their combat decisions, especially those involving moral dilemmas between two very good principles, such as protect your troops versus protect non-combatants, military courses in ethics and professionalism teach a lengthy process of decisions of junior commander reflect less of what they have been taught as soldiers and more of the moral characters they brought with them into the Army from their teachers, parents and childhood environments. This is the personal character that called habit, spawned by years of choosing between right or wrong. Sense of justice is as important as a sense of courage in the make up of worthy military commander. We expect today’s commanders to be concerned about the justice that will be achieved for their nation and people if they win the “Just” wars that they fight. In leading their troops, commanders are expected to be just in their distribution of tasks and rewards throughout their command, thus achieving morale and cohesion. When listing justice, wisdom and courage as premier virtues men can undo their best intentions unless they allow temperance to govern their thoughts and actions. Undue pride and the temptation towards arrogance were potential in all humans. They were a special threat to men given power over other men, and the resulting hubris often accounted for the failure of powerful commanders. The seeds of hubris are present in the make up of any man or woman who would undertake the powerful role of warrior in today’s society, with its mass Armies and weapon of great lethality. With the granting of such power, the warrior meets the challenges of being courageous, instilling courage in others and waging war with the violence necessary to win. Success will come to him, however, only to the degree that his aggressiveness and daring produce results that provide justice for the people and the institutions he represents. So to fulfil their roles as warriors future commanders equip themselves for four challenges.

- (a) To be courageous in the face of great adversity.
- (b) To insure that their soldiers will fight with courage and aggressiveness.
- (c) To wage war with the violence necessary to achieve victory.
- (d) To restrain their use of that violence, in order to meet required standards of legality, morality and Justice.

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PUBLIC SENTIMENT IS EVERYTHING. WITH PUBLIC SENTIMENT NOTHING CAN FAIL, WITHOUT IT NOTHING CAN SUCCEED. HE WHO MOLDS PUBLIC SENTIMENT GOES DEEPER THAN HE WHO ENACTS STATUES OR PRONOUNCES DECISIONS. HE MAKES STATUTES OR DECISIONS POSSIBLE OR IMPOSSIBLE TO EXECUTE.

PRESIDENT ABRAHMDM LINCOLN

परिचय

१ सैनिक-जनसम्पर्क, सैनिक-जनसम्बन्ध वा सेनाद्वारा गरिने जनतासँग सम्बन्धित कार्य आदि जे नाम दिइएपनि सेनाद्वारा जनताका सहयोगका लागि र जनताद्वारा सेनालाई गरिने सहयोगको आदान-प्रदान र यसको अपेक्षा नै सैनिक-जनसम्पर्क (Military-Public-Relation) को परिभाषा हो । सेना र जनतासँगको सम्बन्धको विकास नै यसको शाब्दिक अर्थ हो । एउटा कल्याणकारी राज्यको अवधारणाअनुरूप जनताका हित अभिवृद्धि गरी राष्ट्रको भौगोलिक अखण्डता र सार्वभौमसत्तालाई अक्षुण्ण राख्दै अनन्तकालसम्म दीगो राख्ने सुदुर भविष्यको सोचसहित राष्ट्रलाई समृद्धिशाली बनाउन सदा प्रयासरत रहनु राज्यको दायित्व हो । यिनै दायित्व निर्वाह गर्न स्थापना गरिएका राज्य संयन्त्रका सबै निकाय र सार्वजनिक हितका लागि भनेर खडा गरिएका संघ संस्थाहरूको पनि प्रत्यक्ष वा परोक्षरूपमा जनसम्पर्क कार्यालय हुनुपर्दछ । खासगरि जनताको साथ सहयोग र समर्थन नलिइकन राज्यको लक्ष्य हासिल हुन सक्दैनन्; अतः प्रत्येक निकायमा जनसम्पर्क गर्ने ठूला वा सानो Public Relation कार्यालय हुनु पर्दछ तब मात्र वास्तवमै जनहितका कार्य हुन सक्दछन् । यही नै सैनिक-जनसम्पर्कको पनि परिचय हो ।

सैनिक-जनसम्पर्क दर्शन

२. मानव सभ्यताको इतिहासमा ग्रीक र उनीहरूका दर्शन आज पनि मननीय छन् । त्यसताका पनि ग्रीक दार्शनिकहरू राज्य व्यवस्था सञ्चालन गर्न Popular will लाई ठम्याउनु पर्दछ, भन्थे र Polity सँग विचार हुन्छ; राज्यले त्यो विचारको सम्मान गर्नु पर्दछभन्ने दर्शन थियो । त्यसैगरी रोमनहरू जन-आवाज (Vox Populi) लाई सुन्नु पर्दछ, भन्थे । सानो तहबाट उठेर फ्रान्सका सम्राटसमेत बन्न सफल नेपोलियन बोनापार्ट जनताको अभिमत, विचार र खबर लेख्ने एउटा पत्रिकाको प्रकाशन र एउटा विरोधी पत्रिका हजारौं सैनिकका व्युनेट प्रहारभन्दा खतरनाक हुन्छ, भन्थे । अमेरिकीहरू जनमतकै व्यापक प्रचारको बलले बेलायती उपनिवेशबाट छुटेका थिए ।

ऐतिहासिक पृष्ठभूमि

३. आधुनिक नेपालको एकिकरणका प्रणेता श्री ५ पृथ्वी नारायण शाहको जन-सम्पर्कको शैली अनुकरणीय रहेको छ । राज्य सञ्चालनका नियुक्तिहरूमा जनईच्छा बुझ्नेदेखि लिएर राज्यविस्तारमा जनताको सहयोग र समर्थनलाई सर्वोपरि मानेकोले नै एकिकरण सफल भएको इतिहास साक्षी छ । जनताको समर्थन र सहयोगविना गरिएका राज्यका कयौं कार्यक्रम, योजना र कार्यप्रणालीहरू विफल भएका विश्वमा थुप्रै उदाहरण र दृष्टान्तहरू छन् । यिनै कुराहरूलाई हृदयंगम गरी अमेरिकी राष्ट्रपति George Washington को भनाई इतिहाससँगै गासिएको छ । यसको महत्वलाई उनले "AS The structure of the Government gives force to public opinion, it is essential the public opinion be enlightened" भनेका छन् ।

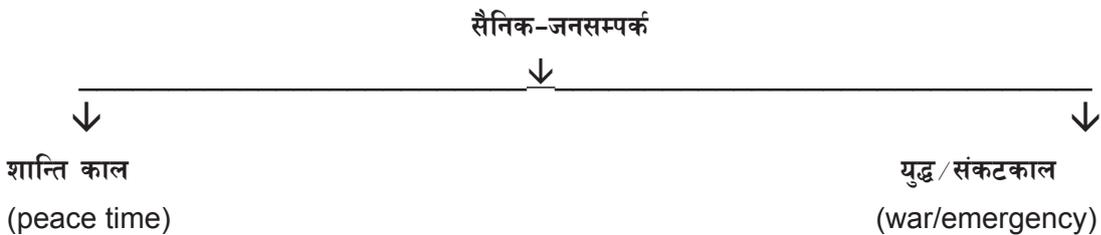
आवश्यकता

४. आजको युग प्रजातान्त्रिक युग हो । आजको समाज बहुलवादी "Plural Society and pluralism" समाज हो । खासगरि प्रजान्तान्त्रिक दुनियाँमा जनताले तिरेको करबाट राज्य संयन्त्र तथा कृयाकलाप सञ्चालन हुने भएकोले सरकार र सरकारी निकायका काम कारबाहीहरू पारदर्शी, जनताप्रति उत्तरदायी र जनहितप्रति लक्षित हुनु पर्दछ । प्रजातान्त्रिक मुलुकको संविधानमा नै यस्तो अधिकारको व्यवस्था गरिएको हुन्छ । जनताको सूचना माग्ने हकलाई प्रजातान्त्रिक सरकार र अन्तर्गतका निकायले अनुसुनी गर्न पाइदैन । स्वतन्त्र प्रेस प्रजातान्त्रिको जननी भएकोले त्यस्तो हक सार्वजनिकरूपमा संचार माध्यममार्फत् संप्रेषण हुने गर्दछ । राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षाका विषय र राष्ट्रिय महत्वको विषयमा समय अगावै सार्वजनिक गर्न नहुनेबाहेक विना रोकतोका र सेन्सर नगरिकन प्रेसलाई उपलब्ध गराउनु पर्दछ, वा संचारकर्मीहरूलाई समाचार संकलन संप्रेषण गर्न प्रवेश दिइनु पर्दछ । यही अधिकार भित्र सेना-जनसम्पर्कको भूमिकासमेत पर्दछ । सैनिक अप्रेशन, मिशन वा सैनिक र तिनका परिवारको सुरक्षाको दृष्टिकोणले दिन नहुनेबाहेक अन्य सबै सूचनाहरू प्रेसलाई उपलब्ध नगराउने हो भने अन्य तत्वले आफ्नो हित अनुकुल हुनेगरि बड्याएर (Distort) समाचार संप्रेषण गर्दछन्, जसले राष्ट्रलाई ठूलो नोक्सान हुने खतरा हुन्छ । राष्ट्रिय सेना राज्यको सबभन्दा विश्वास योग्य संस्था भएकोले जनताको सुसूचित हुने हक अधिकारको संरक्षण गर्न सेना-जनसम्पर्क आवश्यक छ ।

सैनिक-जनसम्पर्कको महत्व

५. सैनिक संगठन के प्रयोजनको निम्ति स्थापना भएको हो ? शान्तिकालमा सैनिकहरू के गरेर बस्दछन् ? र युद्ध तथा द्वन्द्वकालमा तिनीहरूको भूमिका मुख्यतः के के हुन्छ ? भन्नेबारेमा विभिन्न माध्यम र तरिकाबाट नियमित सूचना वा जानकारी उपलब्ध गराई रहनु पर्दछ । यसरी सूचना संप्रेषण गर्ने एउटा प्रभावकारी पब्लिक एफेयर्सले समयमै सत्यतथ्य सूचना दिएको खण्डमा आफ्ना नागरिकहरू, आफ्ना सैनिक र तिनका परिवारबाट सहयोग पाउने हुँदा सत्यतथ्य सूचना संप्रेषणले सशस्त्र फौजको क्षमता अभिवृद्धि गर्नमासमेत ठूलो मद्दत गर्दछ । यसले सैनिक र नागरिक दुवैलाई संस्थाको भूमिकाको बारेमा अवधारणा निर्माण गर्न र तदनुरूप सहयोग गर्ने वातवावरण श्रृजना गर्न मद्दत गर्दछ ।

६. यदि सैनिकहरू युद्धमा होमिएको अवस्था छ वा आन्तरिक द्वन्द्व अन्तर्गत प्रतिकारात्मक कारवाहीको दौरानमा छन् भने कारवाही कसरी सम्पादन भइरहेको छ भन्ने सूचनाको ज्ञानले तिनीहरूलाई बचाउन र विजय हात पार्न सहयोग गर्दछ । आमजनताको सहयोग र सहानुभुतिले लडाइँ भए जित्छ, द्वन्द्व भए समाधान हुन्छ, प्राकृतिक प्रकोपमा खटिरहेको भए नियन्त्रण तथा उद्धार गर्न सजिलो हुन्छ । सेना हाम्रा निम्ति हुन भन्ने बुझाई जनतामा भएन भने र बुझाउन सकिएन भने अविश्वास बढ्छ, र नकारात्मक जनमत निर्माण हुन्छ । ती नकारात्मक जनमतलाई समयमै सकारात्मक बनाउन सकिएन भने त्यो अविश्वास र खाली ठाँउको पूर्ति विद्रोही वा शत्रुका अभियानहरूले भरिदिन्छ, तब मिशन असफल हुन्छ । त्यसकारण सैनिकहरू हाम्रा हुन र हाम्रा भलाईका लागि हुन भन्ने कुराको जानकारी "गराई र भनाइ" बाट निरन्तर संप्रेषण भइरहनु पर्दछ । यही नै सैनिक-जनसम्पर्कको महत्व हो । सैनिक-जनसम्पर्कका दुईवटा आयामहरू छन् ।



शान्तिकालमा सैनिक-जनसम्पर्क

७. सेनाको प्राथमिक भूमिका वाह्य आक्रमणबाट राष्ट्रको प्रतिरक्षा गर्नु हो । सँधैभरि लडाइँ पनि भइराख्दैन र शान्ति पनि भएको देखिदैन । शान्तिकालमा लडाइँको लागि तयारी सबभन्दा ठूलो कुरा हो । त्यसपछि, द्वितीय भूमिकाका निम्ति

सैनिकहरू तयार रहनु पर्दछ। ती द्वितीय भूमिका अन्तर्गत खासगरि नेपाली सेनाले सम्पादन गरिरहेका क्षेत्रहरू हुन् : **प्राकृतिक सम्पदाको संरक्षण**: यसअन्तर्गत राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्ज र वन्यजन्तुहरूको संरक्षण, **राष्ट्रिय विकास निर्माण** : यस अन्तर्गत यो लेख लेख्दासम्म १७ वटा सडक निर्माण गर्ने कार्य सम्पन्न भइसकेको छन्। हाल ६ वटासडक निर्माणाधीन अवस्थामा छन्। **राष्ट्रिय सम्पत्ति संरक्षण**: यस अन्तर्गत ठूला विद्युतगृह तथा आयोजना, दुरसंचार संयन्त्रहरू, राष्ट्रिय संग्रहालय तथा राष्ट्र बैकहरू आदि पर्दछन्। यसैगरी स्थान विशेषमा रहेका नेपाली सेनाका अंगहरूले बाटो-घाटो, पुल-पुलेसा, स्कूल, पानी, धारा, ट्याङ्की निर्माण, मठ मन्दिर निर्माण, जिर्णोद्धार र सरसफाई आदि जनसरोकारका यावत् क्षेत्रमा सहयोग गरिरहेको छ। खासगरी प्राकृतिक प्रकोप तथा मानव श्रृजित प्रकोपका घटनाहरूमा नेपाली सेनाको योगदान अतुलनीय रहेको छ, तथापि प्रचार-प्रसारको अभावमा र यही अभावको 'रिक्त स्थान' राष्ट्रिय हित विरोधी तत्वहरूले नकारात्मक सूचना भरिदिएकोले सारमा राष्ट्र जोखिममा परेको छ। सेनाको यी र यस्तै यावत् भूमिका र योगदानको समुचित सूचना संप्रेषण हुन नसक्नाले जनताका लागि ज्युज्यान अर्पेका र अर्पण गर्न तयार नेपाली सैनिकको मनोबलमा नकारात्मक प्रभाव परेको छ। विविध माध्यम र विभिन्न तरिका र शैलीबाट शान्तिकालमा सूचना संप्रेषण गर्न र जनहितमा व्यापकरूपमा लागू नीति निर्माण तहलाई सूचना उपलब्ध गराउन प्रभावकारी सेना-जनसम्पर्क अपरिहार्य छ।

युद्ध/संकटकालमा सैनिक-जनसम्पर्क (Military-Public Relation in War & Emergency)

८. वाह्य युद्ध तथा आन्तरिक चरम द्वन्द्वको कारण र परिणामले राज्यका सबै संयन्त्रहरू तहसनहस भएका हुन्छन्। युद्ध तथा द्वन्द्वमापि मृत्यु हुनेहरूलाई उद्धार, घाइतेहरूलाई उपचार, विस्थापितहरूलाई गाँस र बासको व्यवस्थापन र संरक्षण, सामान्य जनजीवन अस्तव्यस्त भएका गैरसैनिकहरूको संरक्षण र सुरक्षाको प्रत्याभूति गरिनु पर्ने अवस्थाहरू अत्यन्त जटिल संकटकालहरू हुन्। ती जटिल संकटकालमा व्यापक नागरिक सहयोग लिएर पीडितहरूको उद्धार र सहयोग गर्दै परिस्थितिलाई सामान्य बनाउनु राष्ट्रिय सेनाको दायित्व हो। ती दायित्वहरू पूरा गर्न सेना-जनसम्पर्कको महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका हुन्छ। त्यस्ता अवस्थामा कार्य सम्पादन गर्न निम्न सिद्धान्त तथा अवधारणाहरू छन् :

- (क) मानवीयता, तठस्थता र निस्पक्षता
- (ख) जोखिम भोगिरहेका समुदायमा मानवीय सोचले निर्वाध प्रवेश
- (ग) मानवीय कार्यको बुझाई
- (घ) पूर्ण भेदभावरहित भएर आवश्यक परेकाहरूलाई सहयोग
- (ङ) मानवीय कार्यमा सैनिक गैरसैनिकको छुट्टै पहिचान
- (च) मानवीय कार्यमा कारवाहीको स्वतन्त्रता
- (छ) मानवीय कार्यकर्ताहरूको सुरक्षा
- (ज) कसैलाई पनि नराम्रो नगर्ने
- (झ) अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय कानूनको आदर गर्ने
- (ञ) स्थानीय संस्कार र साँस्कृतिक प्रति सम्मान
- (ट) युद्ध/द्वन्द्वमा सहभागी पार्टीहरूको स्वीकृति
- (ठ) सेनाप्रतिको भरोषा वृद्धि गर्ने

व्यवहारिक सोच

९. जटिल आकस्मिक अवस्था (Emergency) मा सेना-जनसम्पर्क स्टाफले निर्वाह गर्नु पर्ने भूमिकाको व्यवहारिक सोच निर्माणका निम्न तहहरू छन् :

- (क) समन्वय र स्थानको व्यवस्था

- (ख) सूचनाको आदान-प्रदान
- (ग) मानवीय कार्यमा सैनिक संसाधनको प्रयोग
- (घ) मानवीय परिवहन (Convoy) मा सशस्त्र सुरक्षाको व्यवस्था
- (ङ) सैनिक गैरसैनिक सहकार्य
- (च) सैनिकद्वारा गरिने राहत वितरण छुट्याउने
- (छ) मानवीय कार्य गर्ने सबै सैनिकहरूको व्यवहार असल हुनु पर्ने

१०. सामान्यतया परम्परागतरूपमा इमर्जेन्सीमा सैनिक र गैरसैनिकको कार्यक्षेत्र छुट्याइन्छ । खासगरि अन्तराष्ट्रिय मानवीय कानूनअनुरूप नै सशस्त्र समूहद्वारा हुन सक्ने आक्रमणबाट बचाउन लडाकु र गैरसैनिकहरूलाई छुट्याउनु परेको हो । आजकाल सैनिकहरू बढ्दोरूपमा अन्तरदेशीय युद्धभन्दा यस्तै आन्तरिक द्वन्द्वका अप्रेशनमा खटिरहेका छन् । यो क्रम क्यारेबियन राष्ट्र हाईटी, पश्चिम आफ्रिका, मध्य अफ्रिकालगायत दक्षिण एशियामा श्रीलंका र नेपाल यसका भुक्तभोगी छन् । यी कारवाहीहरूमा सैनिक-जनसम्पर्क र समन्वयको क्रम त्यत्तिनै बढेको देखिन्छ । खासगरि आन्तरिक द्वन्द्वमा सैनिकहरू व्यापकबाट निस्केर जनताका घरदैलोमा तथा चौररस्तामासमेत उभिएर कारवाही गर्नु पर्दा जनचासो र गुनासाहरू बढ्ने भएकोले सैनिक कारवाहीको कारणका बारेमा सूचना संप्रेषण गरी गुनासो निरूपण गर्न र जनताकै हितका लागि कार्य गरिरहेको बुझाउन अत्यावश्यक हुन्छ । साथसाथै मानवीय सहयोग प्रदान गरी जनतालाई राहत पुऱ्याउन, राहत वितरण गर्न, उपचार सेवा पुऱ्याउन अन्य सरकारी तथा गैरसरकारी संघ संस्थाहरूसँग सहयोगको अपेक्षा पनि त्यतिकै अपरिहार्य हुन्छ । अतः एउटा कुशल Public Relation Officer ले मात्र सही समन्वय र सही संचार उचित ढंगबाट समझदारीपूर्वक गर्न सक्ने भएकोले सैनिक-जनसम्पर्क कार्य अपरिहार्य देखिन्छ ।

सैनिक-जनसम्पर्क एक दृष्टान्त

११. अमेरिकी स्वतन्त्रताका युद्धदेखिनै Public opinion को महत्व बुझेका अमेरिकीहरूले सन् १९२९ मै Army military Intelligence अन्तर्गत Public information unit स्थापना गर्नुभने सो निकायलाई सन् १९४० मा Deputy Chief of staff अन्तर्गत राखि Public Relation branch कोरूपमा नयाँ नाम दियो । दोश्रो विश्वयुद्ध हुने बेलासम्ममा Secretary of war को अन्तर्गत राखि दोश्रो विश्व युद्धको समाप्तिपछि, Military Public Relation को अर्को नयाँ नामसँगै त्यसपछिका विश्वका विभिन्न अमेरिकी अप्रेशनहरूमा सेनाका सबै अंगमा Public Affairs ले महत्वपूर्णस्थान ओगट्दै आएको दृष्टान्तहरू भेटिएका छन् ।

१२. सन् १९९० मा इराकले कुवेतमाथि आक्रमण गरेर उसको संप्रभुता खोसेपछि फर्काउन हात हालेको अमेरिकाको रक्षा विभागले सञ्चारकर्मीहरूलाई युद्धमैदानमै लगेर Reporting गरायो । यहाँ सम्मकी रिपोर्टहरूले युद्ध मैदानमै गएर समाचार संप्रेषण गरे । उनीहरूले Field को press office देखि पेण्टागनको Public affairs office पनि २४ घण्टा खुला राखे । राजनीतिज्ञहरू वासिङटनमै बसे भने युद्धमैदानका खबरहरू विना राजनीतिक हस्तक्षेप संप्रेषण भइरहे ।

१३. Public affairs का अनेकन माध्यम, तरिका र शैलीहरूको प्रयोगको साथै आफूले गरेका अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय अप्रेशनहरूको पक्षमा विश्व जनमत बनाउन थुप्रै मुलुकहरूले संचार क्षेत्रमा र खासगरी mass communication मा भएका विकासका उपलब्धीहरूलाई चरमरूपमै प्रयोग गर्दै आएका छन् । अमेरिकाकै कुरा गर्ने हो भने Voice of America, Middle East को लागि Radio SAINA, Radio free Europe/Radio Liberty, पूर्वी एसियाका लागि Free Radio-Asia, Radio/TV Marti Cuba, Bureau of internation information Programms, Electronic Journal आदि र अनेकन उदाहरणहरू छन् । त्यसैगरि संसारभरि नै उत्कृष्ट पहिचाहन र पहुँच बनाउन सफल बी.बी.सी., सी.एन.एन, रोयटर्स र ए.एफ.पी.हरूले जे भन्छन् जे देखाउछन् आजको संसारले त्यहीप्रति विश्वास गर्नपर्ने हुन्छ । संसारभरि उनीहरूका Reporter छन् र Reporting को आ-आफ्ना उद्देश्यहरू हुन्छन् अन्यथा करोडौं खर्च गरेर संसारका खबरहरू संप्रेषण गर्न टाउको दुखाउने थिएनन् । विकास र

प्रगतिका दृष्टिले संसारमै उदाहरण प्रस्तुत गर्दै अगुवाको दौडमा प्रतिस्पर्धी हुँदै गएको चीनले पनि वेईजिङबाट नेपाली भाषामा रेडियो प्रसारण गरिरहेको विगतलाई पुनरावलोकन गर्दै नेपालका एफ.एम.स्टेशनबाट चीन र स्वशासित क्षेत्र तिब्बतको राजनीतिक दैनिकी र कम्युनिष्ट शासन अन्तर्गत प्रगतिका कथा सुनाउन थालेको प्रसंगहरु Opinion निर्माणमा सहायक हुन्छ भनेर सामान्य मानिसलेसमेत अडकल गर्न सक्छ। सरकारी नीतिको यस्तो सिलसिला सरकारका विदेश विभाग हेर्ने निकायहुँदै International Affairs कोरुपमा अनेकन शैलीसँगै सञ्चालन हुने गरेको देखिएको छ।

१४. विगत द्वन्द्वकालमा माओवादीहरुले डोके एफ.एम प्रसारणको साथै कृष्ण सेन डटकम Website, print media, TV र Cable network कोसमेत भरपुर प्रयोग गरेर राष्ट्रिय, क्षेत्रीय र अन्तराष्ट्रियस्तरमा मत निर्माण गर्न र ध्यानकार्षण गर्न सक्षम रहेको दृष्टान्त सबैको मन माप्तिकम ताजै हुनु पर्दछ। साथसाथै छिटफुटरुपमा स्थानीय विकास निर्माणमा हातहालेर जनसहानुभुति र समर्थन जुटाउन गरेको प्रयास पनि सम्भवतः सबैको सम्झनामा हुनु पर्दछ।

१५. सैनिक-जनसम्पर्कमा नेपाली सेनाको प्रयास

२०५८ साल मङ्सिर १० गते माओवादीहरुले नेपाली सेनाको दाङ व्यारेकमा आक्रमण गरेपछि तत्कालीन वैधानिक सरकारले विधिवतरुपमा नेपाली सेनालाई प्रतिकारात्मक कारवाही गर्न परिचालन गरेपछि, नेपाली सेना व्यारेकबाट निस्कियो। स्वभाविकरुपमा जनचासोहरु बढेकोले जनताको सुसूचित हुने हक अधिकारको संरक्षण गर्न २०५८ चैत २० गते सैनिक-जनसम्पर्क निर्देशनालयको स्थापना भयो। यही नै नेपाली सेनाको पहिलो Public Relation office हो। स्थापनायताका दिनमा सो निर्देशनालयले प्रभावकारी भूमिका निर्वाह गर्दै जनताको हकअधिकार संरक्षण सम्बर्द्धन तथा प्रवर्द्धनसमेत गर्दै आएको छ। सैनिक-जनसम्पर्क निर्देशनालयले पत्रकार सम्मेलन, विज्ञापित प्रकाशन, खण्डन, आवश्यकताअनुसार Press Breifing कोसाथै अन्तरवार्तामार्फत् समेत सुसूचित गर्ने गरेको छ। चौबीसै घण्टा सञ्चारकर्मीहरु तथा आवश्यकता परेकाहरुलाई प्रवक्ता र Staff officer को Mobile मा Access दिइएको छ।

सैनिक-जनसम्पर्क अधिकृतको भूमिका

१६. सैनिक-जनसम्पर्क निरन्तर प्रक्रिया हो जसले नियमितरुपमा विश्वासपूर्ण र सत्यतथ्य सूचनाको संप्रेषण गरिराख्नु पर्दछ। तीनै विश्वासपूर्ण सूचनाले आमजनतामा GoodWill Account खोल्दछ। यस्ता Good will Account ले वाह्य देशसंगको युद्ध वा आन्तरिक द्वन्द्वमा परिचालन हुँदा जनताको अपार सहयोग र समर्थन प्राप्त हुन्छ। त्यसैगरी प्रकृतिक प्रकोप वा मानव श्रृजित प्रकोपमा सेना परिचालन हुँदा जनसहयोग पाइन्छ, अथवा त्यस्तै प्रतिकुल परिस्थितिमा सेनाले गरेका राम्रा कार्यहरुको बुझाइले आमजनताले सहयोग गर्दछन्।

१७. कुनैपनि योजनाको सफलता त्यसको उद्देश्य, सही निर्णय, अभियानको तरिका र प्रस्तुत गर्ने शैलीमा निर्भर भएजस्तै सेना-जनसम्पर्कको शैली पनि तीनै वस्तुगत आधारभूमिमा हुनु पर्दछ। जनसम्पर्क कमाण्डको क्रियाकलाप भएकोले जनसम्पर्कमा कमाण्डर खुद संलग्न हुनु पर्दछ। कमाण्डरले आफ्नो अप्रेशन र कन्टिन्जेन्सी प्लानमा जनसम्पर्क अधिकृतलाई संलग्न गराउनु पर्दछ।

१८. आन्तरिक खबर वा सूचना कमाण्डरबाट पहिला दिन सक्नु पर्दछ। त्यस्ता खबरहरु, हल्लाहरु वा बतासे गफहरु शत्रु पक्षको, विद्रोहीको वा व्यवसायिक रेडियो वा टीभीबाट सुन्न पायो भने फौजलाई आफ्नो सेवाप्रति अविश्वास पैदा हुन्छ, अतः जनसम्पर्क अधिकृतले आफ्ना मातहतका फौजलाई समसामयिक विषय र अफवाहका बारेमा सु-सूचित गराई राख्नु पर्दछ। तर यसमा ध्यान राख्नै पर्ने कुरा के छ भने जनसम्पर्क अधिकृतहरुको सदैव एकै स्वर हुनु पर्दछ। फरक-फरक खालको सूचना संप्रेषणले आफ्नै फौज र आमजनताको विश्वास गुम्ने खतरा हुन्छ।

१९. जनसम्पर्क अधिकृतले सूचनालाई कसरी संकलन गर्ने, आफ्ना फौज र आम जनतालाई कसरी पुऱ्याउने भन्ने कुरा जान्न आवश्यक छ । यसको लागि जनसम्पर्क-दर्शन र यसको व्यवहारिक पक्षको ज्ञान हुनु नितान्त आवश्यक छ । तर जनसम्पर्क र सूचनाको संप्रेषण गर्दा सैनिक सुरक्षा र सार्वजनिक कानूनअनुरूप हुनु पर्दछ । आफ्ना फौजको हकमा अर्को आन्तरिक च्यानलमार्फत वास्तविक कुराको जानकारी गराउन सक्नु पर्दछ ।

२० सैनिक-जनसम्पर्क अधिकृतले नागरिकको सु-सूचित हुने हक अधिकारको संरक्षण खातिर निकै कम ढिला गरेर विश्वासयोग्य स्रोताबाट सूचना संप्रेषण गर्नु पर्दछ । तर आन्तरिक खबर सबभन्दा पहिला कमाण्डरलाई दिनै पर्दछ ।

२१. आजको सञ्चारको अत्याधुनिक युगमा अत्यन्तै द्रुत गतिमा सैनिक अप्रेसनको बारेमा जनमतहरु बन्ने गरेको देखिएको छ । तसर्थ सेनाको जनसम्पर्क अधिकृतको बुझाई, सञ्चार-सम्पर्क र त्यसलाई ह्याण्डल गर्ने क्षमता उच्चस्तरको हुनु अपरिहार्य देखिन्छ । अर्थात् चुनौतीपूर्ण सूचनाको वातावरणमा फिट हुने खालको क्षमताको विकास हुनु पर्दछ । साथसाथै युद्ध मैदानमा War Correspondents को भूमिका र आवश्यकता, Tactical Commander सँग मिडियाको Access र अन्ततः मिडिया युद्धको एउटा सशक्त औजार हो भन्ने कुराको ज्ञान Policy Formulation देखि फिल्ड कमाण्डरसम्मलाई हुनु पर्दछ । किनकि मिडियाले नीति निर्माण र नीति निर्णयलाई प्रभाव पार्न सक्ने क्षमता राख्दछ ।

नेपाली सेनामा जनसम्पर्क निर्देशनालय

२२. नेपाली सेनाको स्थापनायताका सबै कालखण्डमा कहिल्यैपनि नेपाली सेनाप्रति जनगुनासो रहेनन् । आधुनिक नेपालको सीमा कोर्नेदेखि लिएर राष्ट्रिय हितको संरक्षण सम्बर्द्धनमा प्रतिबद्ध नेपाली सेना राष्ट्रवासीका दुःखसुखमा साथ, सहयोग र एकमात्र भरोशाको केन्द्रविन्दुका रूपमा रहिरह्यो र आफ्नो निष्ठाका कहिल्यै विचलन हुन दिएन । सदा जनताप्रति उत्तरदायी र आफ्ना हरेक क्रियाकलापहरु पारदर्शी रहेको कारण सेनाको बारेमा खासै टिकाटिप्पणी भएको देखिदैन । तथापि, त्यसवखत खासगरि गुनासो आएको खण्डमा जङ्गी अड्डास्थित बलाधिकृत विभाग (सैनिक समाचार) अन्तर्गत प्रतिकार शाखाले जनसम्पर्कको कार्य गर्दथ्यो । सोही विभागको रेडियो शाखाले आदेशानुसार प्रधान सेनापतिको विदेश भ्रमण र विदेशी सेनापतिहरुको नेपाल भ्रमणको विज्ञप्ति र समाचार, राष्ट्रिय समाचार समितिमार्फत् प्रचार प्रसार गर्ने गर्दथ्यो । पछिल्ला दिनमा शान्ति सेना सम्बन्धी गतिविधिहरु पनि त्यही प्रक्रियाबाट नै गरिन्थ्यो । यसबाहेक प्राकृतिक प्रकोप तथा मानवश्रृजित प्रकोपीय घटनाहरुमा राहत, उद्धार र उपचार आदि कार्यमा खटिने टोली प्रमुखले वा सम्बन्धित अधिकारीले जनसम्पर्क तथा समन्वय गरी सञ्चालन गर्ने परिपाटी थियो, जनसम्पर्क अधिकृतको व्यवस्था थिएन ।

२३. २०५८ सालमा द्वन्द्वको कारण शान्ति सुरक्षाको स्थिति विग्रिएपछि शान्ति सुरक्षा तथा अमनचयन कायम राख्न सरकारद्वारा नेपाली सेनालाई परिचालन गरियो । परिणामस्वरूप सैनिक कारवाहीका बारेमा जनचासोहरु पनि बढे । जनताको सुसूचित हुने हक अधिकारको सुनिश्चित गर्न, आफ्ना कामकारवाहीहरुप्रति पारदर्शी हुन, जनउत्तरदायी चरित्रको प्रत्याभूति दिन र सेनाको छवि प्रबर्द्धन गर्ने उद्देश्यले वि.सं. २०५८ चैत्र २० गते नेपाली सेनामा सैनिक-जनसम्पर्क निर्देशनालयको स्थापना भई निर्देशकलाई नै प्रवक्ताको कार्यभार दिइयो ।

२४. सैनिक-जनसम्पर्क निर्देशनालय स्थापना गर्ने सिलसिलामा प्रारम्भमा निर्देशकको पद सहायक रथीको दरबन्दी राखिएपनि निर्देशक पद खाली राखि सह-निर्देशकको रूपमा महा-सेनानीलाई सैनिक प्रवक्ताकोरूपमा नियुक्त गरिएको थियो । उक्त समयमा सो निर्देशनालय बलाधिकृत विभाग (व्य.यु.) अन्तर्गत रहेको थियो । वि.सं. २०६० सालदेखि निर्देशनालयलाई प्रधान सेनापतिको सैनिक सहायक अड्डाअन्तर्गत राखी सहायक रथीलाई निर्देशक र प्रवक्ताको जिम्मेवारी दिइदै आएको छ । उक्त निर्देशनालयमा समाचार शाखा, बन्दोवस्ती शाखा, तालिम शाखा, अनुगमन शाखा र मिडिया सपोर्ट शाखाहरु रहेका छन् ।

२५. स्थापनायता यस निर्देशनालयले प्रेस विज्ञप्ति संप्रेषण गर्ने, आवश्यकताअनुसार प्रेस त्रिफिङ्ग तथा पत्रकार सम्मेलन गर्ने गरेको छ । सैनिक-जनसम्पर्क जनशक्ति उत्पादन गर्ने उद्देश्यले सकलदर्जालाई मिडिया व्यवस्थापन सम्बन्धी तालिम प्रदान गर्ने, नेपाली सेना सहभागी भएका संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय विभिन्न शान्ति मिशनरुमा सञ्चारकर्मीहरूलाई स्थलगत भ्रमण गराउने कार्य गर्दछ । साथै फ्रान्सेली भाषा केन्द्रको संयोजकत्वमा अधिकृतहरूलाई फ्रेन्च भाषाको ज्ञानसमेत प्रदान गर्ने गरेको छ । यसैगरि विश्व शान्ति स्थापना कार्यमा ५० वर्ष नेपाली सेना नामक डीभीडी, नेपाली सेनाको संक्षिप्त इतिहाससहित वर्तमानसम्मको विविध जानकारीमूलक नेपाली र अंग्रेजी भाषामा 'कफि टेबल बुक', राष्ट्रिय र अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय सेवामा नेपाली सेनानामक बुकलेट, प्रकृति संरक्षण र राष्ट्रिय सेवादल सम्बन्धी डीभीडी उत्पादन गरी स्वदेश तथा विदेशमासमेत वितरण गरेको छ । यसैगरी संचारकर्मीहरूको मागअनुसार यही २०६६ पुस महिनामा साताव्यापी रक्षा संवाददाता अभिमुखीकरण कार्यक्रम (Defence Correspondent Orientation Programme) सञ्चालन गरेको छ ।

२६. सैनिक-जनसम्पर्क कार्यलाई प्रभावकारीरूपमा विस्तार गर्न सबै पृतना, वाहिनी तथा गणस्तरमा जनसम्पर्क अधिकृत नियुक्त गरिएको छ भने अनाश्रित गुल्मस्तरमा गुल्मतिले जनसम्पर्क अधिकृतको जिम्मेवारी निर्वाह गर्ने व्यवस्था गरिएको छ ।

२७. उक्त निर्देशनालयलाई चरणबद्धरूपमा विस्तार गर्ने क्रममा श्री बला.वि. (सै.स.) अन्तर्गत रहेको प्रचार प्रसार शाखा, तस्वीर शाखा र छापाखाना शाखालाई वि.सं. २०५९ सालमा उक्त सै.ज.नि. अन्तर्गत रहने गरी तीनवटै शाखाको समन्वय र व्यवस्थापनको लागि श्रव्यदृश्य महाशाखाको स्थापना गरी त्यी शाखाहरू कार्यरत छन् :

(क) **प्रचार प्रसार शाखा** सैनिक, सैनिकका परिवार तथा आम नागरिहरूलाई सैनिक विषयसँग सम्बन्धित जानकारी तथा मनोरञ्जन प्रदान गर्ने उद्देश्यले यस शाखाले रेडियो नेपाल मार्फत् 'नेपाली सैनिक रेडियो कार्यक्रम' सञ्चालन गर्दछ, यो कार्यक्रम २००८ सालबाट प्रसारण हुन थालेको हो । हप्ताको २ पटक १५/१५ मिनेट प्रसारण गर्ने गरेकोमा यही आर्थिक वर्ष ०६६/६७ बाट हप्ताको एकपटक ३० मिनेट प्रसारण गर्दछ । उक्त शाखाले सम्पादन प्रकाशन गर्दै आएको २०२५ सालबाट आरम्भ भएको नेपाली सेनाको वार्षिक मुखपत्र 'सिपाही' वार्षिक उक्त शाखा सै.ज.नि. मा स्थानान्तरण भएयता सो जिम्मेवारी पनि सरेको छ । यसैगरी २०५० असोज १ गतेबाट मासिकको रूपमा ४ पृष्ठे स्यामश्वेतमा सिपाही पत्रिका प्रकाशन गर्दै आएकोमा २०६२ भदौ १ गतेबाट पाक्षिकको रूपमा प्रकाशन गर्न थालिएको थियो । यसैगरी यसलाई समयानुकुल परिमार्जन गर्दै लैजाने लक्ष्यअनुरूप श्यामस्वेतबाट स्तरोन्नति गरी २०६५ भदौ १ गतेबाट रंगीन कलेबरमा प्रकाशन गर्न थालिएकोमा पाठकहरूको चाहना तथा यस भित्र समेटिने विषयवस्तुहरूको क्षेत्र फराकिलो हुँदै गएकोले ४ पृष्ठलाई थपगरी २०६५ पुस १५ गतेबाट ८ पृष्ठमा प्रकाशन हुन थालेको छ । जसमध्ये ४ पृष्ठ रंगीन र ४ पृष्ठ श्यामस्वेत हुने गरेको छ । यसैबीच, नेपाली सेनाका युनिट/सबयुनिटहरूको चाहनाअनुरूप युनिटहरूले स्थापनाकालदेखि हालसम्म राष्ट्रिय तथा अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय क्षेत्रलगायत स्थान विशेषमा रहेर पुऱ्याएका जनहित, कल्याणकारी कार्य, युनिटको इतिहास आदि समेटिएको अतिरिक्ताङ्क समेत प्रकाशन गर्दै आइरहेको छ । युनिटको आफ्नै खर्चमा प्रकाशन हुने यस्ता विशेषाङ्क वि.सं. २०६५ साल भदौ १५ गते सैनिक प्रहरी गणले पहिलोपटक प्रकाशनगरी शुरुवात भएको हो । यस्ता अतिरिक्ताङ्कको प्रकाशन, सम्पादन, डिजाईनिङ्ग तथा वितरण समेत उक्त शाखाबाट हुँदै आएको छ । यसक्रममा उक्त शाखाले एकै अङ्कमा ३ वटा युनिटहरूसम्मको अतिरिक्ताङ्क प्रकाशन गरी आफ्नो कार्यक्षमता प्रदर्शन गरिसकेको छ भने अतिरिक्ताङ्कको लोकप्रियतालाई मुल्याङ्कन गर्दा यो क्रमले भविष्यमासमेत निरन्तरता पाउने कुरामा शंका गर्ने ठाउँ छैन ।

(ख) **तस्वीर शाखा** यस शाखाले फोटो खिच्ने, भिडियो खिच्ने, न्युज-क्लिप संप्रेषण, वृत्तचित्र निर्माण, नेपालमा सञ्चालित टेलिभिजन च्यानलहरूसँग सहकार्य गर्नेजस्ता कार्यहरू गर्दै आएको छ ।

(ग) **छापाखाना शाखा** नेपाली सेनाबाट वार्षिक एवं पाक्षिक पत्रिका सिपाही तथा सेनाका विभिन्न निकायहरूबाट छपाइने प्रेसी, विभिन्न किसिमका फाराम, प्याड तथा अन्य छपाई सम्बन्धी सामग्रीहरू छापिन्छ ।

सारसङ्क्षेप

२८. प्रजातान्त्रिक राज्य व्यवस्था भएको मुलुकमा सेना जनताद्वारा निर्वाचित जनप्रतिनिधिहरूको नियन्त्रण (Civil Supremacy) मा रहन्छ। जनताद्वारा लिखित संविधान, ऐन, नियम कानूनअनुरूप राज्य संयन्त्र सञ्चालन हुने भएकाले स्वभाविकरूपमा सेना पनि लोकतान्त्रिकरण अर्थात लोकद्वारा प्रदत्त सत्तानुरूप क्रियाशील हुन्छ। यीनै धरातलमा टेकेर सेनाको विशिष्ट पदीय सोपान शैली Chain of Command मा सेना क्रियान्वित रहन्छ। नेपाली सेनाको सांगठनिक कार्यशैली त्यही आधारभूमिमा रहेको छ। जनताको सु-सूचित हुने हक अधिकारको संरक्षण गर्न नेपाली सेनामा २०५८ सालयता, सैनिक-जनसम्पर्क निर्देशनालय स्थापितभई कार्य सम्पादन गरिरहेकोछ भने सेनाका क्रियाकलाप तथा गतिविधिहरू विभिन्न माध्यममार्फत सार्वजनिक गरिदै आएको छ; यस कार्यको लागि प्रवक्ताको नियुक्ति लगायत सूचना संप्रेषण तथा गुनासाहरूको निरुपणको लागि चौबीसै घण्टा प्रवक्ता तथा जनसम्पर्क अधिकृतहरूको मोबाईल फोन खुल्ला राखिएको छ। मानव अधिकारको संरक्षण गर्न मानवअधिकार निर्देशनालय, सेना र सेनासँग सम्बन्धित जनताका मुद्दा मामिला हेर्ने सेना प्राड विवाक, अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय शान्ति स्थापना व्यवस्थापन गर्न शान्ति सेना सञ्चालन निर्देशनालय, सेना कल्याणकारी कार्य सम्पादन गर्न कल्याणकारी योजना निर्देशनालयको व्यवस्था लगायत नेपाली सेनाको काम कारवाही प्रजातान्त्रिक मूल्य मान्यता अनुरूप पारदर्शी र जनताप्रति उत्तरदायी रहेका छन्। नेपाली सेनाका कार्य व्यवहारहरू जनतामाझ पारदर्शित छन्; यस प्रयोजनार्थ सैनिक-जनसम्पर्क निर्देशनालयले सार्वजनिक गर्दै आएको कुरा सबैका सामु छर्लङ्ग भएकै छ।

२९. सैनिक-जनसम्पर्क शान्ति कालमा नियमित र युद्ध तथा संकटकालमा अभै बढी क्रियाशील हुनु पर्ने भएकोले यो नियमित प्रक्रिया हो। जनताका करवाट सञ्चालन हुने भएकोले सदा जनताप्रति उत्तरदायी हुने सवालमा सेनामा जनसम्पर्क गर्न एउटा छुट्टै निकायको आवश्यकता अपरिहार्य हुन्छ। जनसम्पर्क एउटा विशिष्ट कला हो। यसका लागि परिस्थिति अनुसार सेनाको संलग्नता, गैरसैनिक तथा विभिन्न संघ संस्थासँग समन्वय, सञ्चारकर्मीहरूसँग सुमधुर सम्बन्धको विकास, सञ्चार माध्यमप्रतिको ज्ञान, भूमिका र आधुनिक सञ्चार संयन्त्र परिचालन गर्ने ज्ञान, सीप, धारण बुझेको, जानेको दक्ष जनसम्पर्क सैनिक अधिकृतको आवश्यकता पर्दछ। यी तालिम र अनुभवबाट ग्रहण गर्दै जाने कुराहरू हुन्। त्यसर्थ जनसम्पर्क कार्यमा लामो अनुभव हासिल गरेको व्यक्तिलेनै यी सबै कुरा गर्न सक्ने भएकोले सेनाको विभिन्न ट्रेड तथा सर्भिसेजजस्तै यो पनी एउटा विशिष्ट ट्रेड हो, जो कोही लाई पोष्टिङ गरेर पदस्थापन गर्नाले सेनाले गरेको सबै कार्यको जस दलाउने यो विशिष्ट पाटोको उद्देश्य हासिल हुँदैन, जति मरिमेटर कार्य सम्पादन गरेपनि आम जनमानस अनभिज्ञ हुने भएकाले सेनाको छवि सँधै ओभ्केलमा पर्ने खतरा रहिरहन्छ, त्यसैले जनसम्पर्कको बहुआयमिक भूमिका सम्पादन गर्न यस सम्बन्धी स्कुलको स्थापना गरी जनशक्ति उत्पादन र यसको महत्वलाई अभि प्राथमिकता दिन पर्ने देखिन्छ।

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NEPALESE ARMY IN MODERN PEACEKEEPING

Lt Col Hira Lal Joshi



Introduction

The current context in which UN peacekeeping operates has changed fundamentally, particularly after the emergence of intra-state conflicts in the post-Cold War era. As a result, over the years, peacekeeping has evolved from the traditional, primarily military, model to incorporate a multi-dimensional model. This multi-dimensional model of peacekeeping is inherently complex in nature where usually there is a direct role in the political efforts to resolve the conflict,¹ and the military, though in support, has challenging tasks to create a safe and secure environment whereby the political process is facilitated.

UN Peacekeeping continues to be a major duty of the Nepalese Army as it has been since 1958. This task is being undertaken in accordance with national policy which aims to contribute to international peace and security. Over a period of more than 50 years, Nepalese Army has established itself as an experienced and professional contributor of troops.

Yet, in the present context, if peacekeeping is to continue serving as a tool of our national policy, our long history and experience may not be sufficient. In order to meet the challenges posed by present-day peacekeeping, there is a need to understand the requirements of modern peacekeeping and upgrade existing capacities and capabilities accordingly. This paper will examine these requirements and suggest measures that will assist the Nepalese Army to be a potential contributor in contemporary UN peacekeeping.

Present Day Peacekeeping

The 2000 Brahimi report, known after its chair, Algerian diplomat Lakhdar Brahimi, was a turning point in setting out a renewed vision for UN peacekeeping and putting in motion major reforms to make peacekeeping faster, more capable, and more effective.² Noting that earlier missions floundered in the face of challenges, Brahimi urged that UN peacekeepers 'must be able to carry out their mandate professionally and successfully'.³ The structure of mission design, planning, and management from an earlier era of peacekeeping, where missions were planned to uphold peace agreements that signaled the end of conflict, no longer worked.⁴ The Brahimi report was followed by reform programs that continue. A Capstone Doctrine, "United Nations Peacekeeping Operations: Principles and Guidelines," published in 2008 by the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, is the first attempt in over a decade to codify the major lessons learned from the past six decades of United Nations peacekeeping experience. Likewise, a consultation document published in Jul 2009, "A New Partnership Agenda: Charting a New Horizon for UN Peacekeeping," jointly prepared by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and the Department of Field Support (DFS), is the latest contribution to an ongoing discussion about the future direction of UN peacekeeping and how this unique instrument can continue to serve the international community and the millions of people who look to it for support.

The implementation of these reforms remains a great challenge, though effort is ongoing to improve the existing capabilities, keeping in view of the scale and complexities of peacekeeping today. In fact, there is a need for more predictable, professional, and adaptable resources. This is primarily because the contemporary peacekeeping operation includes a wide range of activities that lead to "political and military overstretch."⁵ These activities facilitate the political process through

¹ "Introduction to the United Nations Peacekeeping Pre-Deployment Training Standards," Core Integrated Training (2009-2010), 7.

² "A New Partnership Agenda, Charting a New Horizon for UN Peacekeeping," a paper prepared by the DPKO and the DFS, UN, New York, Jul 2009, 3.

³ "Report of the Panel on United Nations Peace Operations," A/55/305-S/2000/809 of 21 August 2009 (Brahimi Report).

⁴ Holt, Victoria and Taylor, Glyn. Protecting Civilians in the Context of UN Peacekeeping Operations, UN, New York, 2009, 64.

⁵ Jean-Marie Guéhenno, Former U.N. Undersecretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations, during his speech on, "Key Challenges in Today's UN Peacekeeping Operations," at Council on Foreign Relations, Washington, DC on May 18, 2006.

the promotion of national dialogue and reconciliation; protect civilians; assist in the disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) of combatants; support the organization of elections; protect and promote human rights; and assist in restoring the rule of law. In addition, the UN emphasizes the capability-driven approach keeping in view the current and future demands for UN peacekeeping. A capability-driven approach moves away from a 'number-intensive' strategy to one that focuses on the skills, capacity, and willingness of personnel, as well as materiel, to deliver results on the ground.⁶

In the present context of peacekeeping, the military effort is no more intended as small foot-print or low profile posture. The military is expected to perform multiple, interdependent, and, sometimes, new tasks in harsh and remote operating environments that require good mobility, strong supply chains, durable equipment, and greater self-sustainability. At times, the situation might demand a robust peacekeeping by the military or even enforcement action under Chapter 7 of the UN Charter.

The need to create a safe and secure environment has become challenging, and this is possible only through the highly mobile, rapid, and persistent presence of the Force. Likewise, prompt reaction by a credible force has been widely recognized, particularly after the failure by the UN to react in Rwanda in 1994 and in Ituri, Congo in 2003. The UN learned a lesson that it must not lose the confidence of the people who trust it. The UN could not have its own standing military peacekeeping force, and the developed countries were always reluctant to contribute their own troops to UN peacekeeping. Notwithstanding that forces were generally from the developing countries, UN peacekeeping required a capable, impartial, and credible force that could respond to emerging and evolving crises.

This can be accomplished only with better trained and well equipped forces specifically oriented to missions in complex and dangerous environments. Hence, there is a requirement to match personnel and equipment to the tasks the present day military peacekeepers are required to perform.⁷ The former Under-Secretary General for Peacekeeping Operations, Jean-Marie Guehenno, mentioned that the present day military capabilities would surprise observers of peacekeeping ten or fifteen years ago, as there would be a need for new equipment beyond that in the inventory for such enhanced military capabilities.⁸

In the present day missions, there normally are three phases: transition, stabilization, and draw-down. In the initial transitional stage, the challenge is to avoid a security vacuum, and this requires an early deployment of troops. Credibility of the mission is a major challenge, particularly in the initial stage, because there is nothing more difficult than to recover from an initial perception of weakness. This leads to a need for a robust military presence from the initial stages of peacekeeping operations. As an illustration, by Nov 2009, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and five international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) suspended their activities in eastern Chad after they were attacked by armed elements. This deprived thousands from getting aid. Elizabeth Byrs of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) stressed an urgent need to reinforce the capacities of the Government and the UN Mission in Chad and the Central African Republic (MINURCAT).⁹ This raised the need for a mission to undertake operational activities at the earliest.

In order to evaluate the success of the mission in achieving its mandate, several benchmarks are established at the different levels for all mission phases. There will be deadlines in a set period of time to accomplish results. The deployment timelines are expressed in terms of initial operating capacity (IOC) and full operating capacity (FOC). Other benchmarks would be disarming the rebels, return of refugees and internally displaced persons, conduct of elections, and other key functions outlined in the mandate. This requires the ability and timely delivery on the ground.

Prospects for Nepalese Army's Contribution

Nepalese Army's new deployment in Chad and Sudan evidences that Nepal is still a potential contributor of peacekeepers. There are several reasons for this. One of them is Nepal has continued

⁶ "A New Partnership Agenda, Charting a New Horizon for UN Peacekeeping," 29.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Jean-Marie Guehenno, Under-Secretary General for Peacekeeping Operations, "Challenges in UN Peacekeeping Operations." December 7, 2004 <http://www.cceia.org/resources/transcripts/5068.html>. Accessed on Nov 15, 2009.

⁹ "Banditry jeopardizing humanitarian work in eastern Chad, warns UN,"

to respond positively to the UN's calls for troops in different parts of the world, even though the missions are complex and the risks are high. This continuity was maintained during the decade-long Maoist insurgency, even though internal troop requirements were pressing.

Another is that Nepal deploys assets with no national caveat, a formal written restriction that most nations place on the use of their forces, thereby restricting the military commander's operational flexibility. In the past, Nepal has deployed troops beyond its Area of Responsibility where other countries have been reluctant, thus providing flexibility to the mission leadership in handling the crises. In the United Nations Organization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC), in 2004, when the other contingents were reluctant to deploy in Goma and Kindu, Nepalese Battalion acted promptly by deploying its elements when called upon.

These have been the cases with the Nepalese contingents in other missions as well. Nepalese contingents have taken the risks and subsequently won the admiration of the menaced local population. Such gestures have been welcomed by the mission leadership that was under pressure to act and has helped the mission to gain credibility amongst the local populace. Furthermore, the Nepalese peacekeepers are considered highly disciplined, dedicated, and professional. They do not hesitate to serve in high-threat environments; at times even going in harm's way and risking own lives.

Despite Nepal's high prospects for peacekeeping at the moment, tough competition is underway amongst troop contributors. In fact, the competition for Nepal starts in South Asia, which altogether contributes nearly half of UN peacekeepers around the world.¹⁰ In addition, the UN has been quite specific in its approach and has repeatedly emphasized that it does not want to rely heavily on a small number of significant contributors. Rather, it wants to expand its base and look for new capable contributors. As a result, there is an ongoing UN effort to develop new contributors from African nations, with the UN assisting the African Union in capability-building, and from elsewhere around the world. Thus, presently the UN may not have much choice for contributors, but later the situation could well be quite different.

In fact, there have been difficulties in raising the numbers of troops authorized by the Security Council. However, this has been mostly the case with support units such as aviation, engineers, transport, and signals, and not combat units. Nepal has deployed one Engineer Company (175 personnel) in Congo and two MP units in Chad (50 personnel) and Liberia (15 personnel). The rest have been combat units. There are many emerging countries that are eager to deploy combat troops. When Malawi failed to meet the standard due to significant shortages of equipment during the Pre-Deployment Visit (PDV) conducted on 6 Aug 2009, leading to the cancellation of its bid, Mongolia immediately volunteered to contribute. Mongolia was ready for PDV after just one month. It was carried out from 7-12 Sep 2009, and the advance party was deployed in the third week of November. This indicates the preparedness of emerging countries to challenge the traditional contributing countries such as Nepal, Ghana, Fiji, and others.

Maintenance has also been a big challenge for the Nepalese Army, as it has been onerous to sustain the required levels of capability in the field, particularly in difficult environments such as Chad and Sudan. In other missions, where troops are deployed, Nepal faces difficulty in resupply due to complex transit across India to the sea and the long distances thereafter to deployments as far away as the Middle-East, Africa, and Haiti in the Caribbean. Deployment of additional major equipment to serve as maintenance stock, 10% above the authorized number in the Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), is not in practice.¹¹ Though not subject to monthly reimbursement, it can be the practice to allocate such in replacement of non-serviceable equipment.

The common practice seen amongst the Troops Contributing Countries (TCCs) is to have National Support Elements (NSE), a small team of 3-4 members stationed in the rear inside the mission, at the expenditure of the country but having legal status of UN peacekeepers. This team

<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=32949>. Accessed on Nov 16, 2009.

¹⁰ "Nepal's Participation in UN Peacekeeping for 50 Years is Shining Example," Press Release by the Department of Public Information, NY on 12 June, 2008, <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2008/sgsm11638.doc.htm>. Accessed on Nov 18, 2009.

¹¹ Contingent Owned Equipment Manual, 2008.

can assist in acquiring the spares, facilitating the maintenance, arranging the recreational activities, and providing other administrative and logistical support to the unit, so that the unit can focus on the operational role.

Personnel management also remains a challenge for the same reasons that support of equipment is challenging. The most difficult deployments are in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, and Chad due to their remote locations.¹² There, the UN is called upon to protect civilians and provide stability, often without critical capabilities at hand,¹³ creating great difficulty to the peacekeepers and exposing them to severe risks. Troops are already under stress due to the new and complex environment, far away from home. Lack of welfare activities eventually reduces the efficiency of the troops. Recreational Leave Allowance is USD 73.5 for six months, which is inadequate. Deprivation and build-up of psychological pressure can stretch troops to the breaking point. Particularly unsettling is that it is developing countries, such as Nepal, which bear the brunt, because developed countries are serviced by their normal support capabilities, equipped with their rear link and other recreational facilities that cannot be matched.

Requirements

Clear political strategy and direction are hence necessary if peacekeeping is to continue to work as an important diplomatic tool for Nepal, as a means of reaching out to the international community. The clear national strategy on peacekeeping should be accompanied with the resources necessary for implementation. With over 4,000 troops deployed across 11 missions, peacekeeping is a major undertaking for the Nepalese Army. In addition, according to the agreement between the government and the UN, Nepal can provide up to 5,000 peacekeepers at one time.¹⁴ This means another 5,000 troops should be under peacekeeping training ready for replacement. For the moment, there is no sign that the demand for Nepal's participation will diminish or that the requirement for global peacekeeping effort will lessen. Consequently, it is imperative to take advantage of these temporary propitious circumstances. Willingness to provide more Nepalese peacekeepers is raised by almost all the Heads of Government when they address the UN General Assembly. In such a context, keeping in view of the Nepalese Army's other roles, the issue of downsizing the military seems contrary to the commitment made for the peacekeeping effort.

A national willingness to increase the number of Nepalese peacekeepers has to be matched with improvement in capacities, equipment, and training. The Birendra Peace Operations Training Centre (BPOTC) is developing a training network with the regional peacekeeping training centers and has been closely working with the Integrated Training Service (ITS) at the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) and the Global Peace Operations Initiative (GPOI) program of the US Asia-Pacific Command. This has highlighted the need to develop training doctrine that focuses on the clear or standardized concept of Nepalese Army's role in the UN peacekeeping. Such doctrine should be based on experience gained so far, whether by the UN itself or Nepalese units specifically. The collection and analysis of feedbacks will be useful to improve and develop the syllabi at Training Centre and the training doctrine itself. In addition, recently released Pre-Deployment Standards training documents¹⁵ are relevant guidelines.

Equipment development should be an ongoing process in terms of requirements foreseen and the anticipated maintenance requirements in the field. The UN expects all nations to reinvest earnings to the extent necessary to build a capable and more efficient force as a part of the ongoing transformation.

For other missions the reimbursement procedure is the same. In addition, the countries earmarked for rapid deployment under the UN Standby Arrangements System (UNSAS) are given some compensation for the fact that they are kept under a high state of readiness.¹⁶ Nepal has committed to UNSAS. Further, since Nepalese Army runs various welfare activities using UN

¹² "A New Partnership Agenda," 28.

¹³ Ibid; iii.

¹⁴ <http://beacononline.wordpress.com/2008/10/16/more-nepal-army-personnel-for-un-peace-keeping-operations/>. Accessed on Nov 14, 2009.

¹⁵ "Core Business of UN Peacekeeping and its Key Actors, UN Peacekeeping Pre-Deployment Training Standards, UNDPKO, 2009.

remissions, particularly those for health and education, the amount to reinvest in peacekeeping may not be sufficient. This challenge will require solution. For delay in equipment delivery and lack of resources for subsequent maintenance not only questions the contributor's credibility but also delays the reimbursement.

At the same time, it is important to implement a modern logistics system and streamline procurement procedures so that the units receive what they need, when they need it. Any mismatch between the requirement of modern peacekeeping and the resources required will only overstretch and weaken the peacekeeping effort. To be effective, procurement and contracting need to be subject to appropriate transparency, rigorous accountability, and independent oversight accompanied by investigatory capabilities.

Selecting, training, and equipping personnel require sound planning and coordination between the concerned departments. There is a need for internal restructuring within the departments to handle increased peace operations activities, monitor COE reimbursement, and plan for new deployments. Likewise, the Military Advisor's Office at the Nepal's Permanent Mission at the UN HQ needs to be beefed up with adequate staff and resources. Similarly, the establishment of NSE has been increasingly a common practice amongst the contributing countries, and this would be effective, particularly in complex missions such as in Congo, Chad, and Darfur, hence to open the maintenance line at the rear and organize welfare-related activities for the troops.

MOU with TCCs is an agreement outlining the responsibilities and mechanisms for the UN to reimburse countries for their contributions of troops and contingent-owned equipment. However, MOU negotiation should take into consideration not only the reimbursement but also the deployment of effective equipments to carry out the missions. Initial draft MOU largely decides as to what equipment the troops will have during the deployment. Hence, a detailed work-out is necessary in the first MOU negotiation as it becomes difficult, once deployment has been carried out, to change the MOU and provide the troops with the new equipment required to carry out the mission. Only limited amounts of UN-owned equipment can be made available from the mission pool. Hence, there is a need to constantly engage the Secretariat on the equipment and self-sustainment requirements for peacekeeping and timely reimbursement.

Dialogue on the future direction for peacekeeping is already underway among Member States.¹⁷ Nepal, being a major TCC, needs to redesign its peacekeeping approach if it wants to compete with the other emerging new contributing countries. Nepalese Army needs to review what it can deliver as a military force in UN peacekeeping. There is a need to be more judicious in selecting operations, which should be primarily in support of the national interest. At the same time, mission mandate, nature of task, risk factor, timely deployment, cost-benefit analysis, and sustainability of the mission must be considered. Prospects of continuity of contribution should be ensured before pledging troops in a particular role, such as in high profile operations. A Reliability, Availability, Maintainability, and Durability (RAM-D) assessment is important before a selection of particular equipment is made.¹⁸ The overall sustainability of a force will be influenced significantly by the ability of the Equipment Support (ES) system to maintain equipment.

Even when the mission is selected keeping these factors in view, there should be an arrangement of national caveats, particularly in relation to safety and security of own troops. Without this, there might be a temptation of over-use of force without due consideration to safety. Though the UN prefers not to have national caveats, in order to provide operational flexibility to mission commanders, there are few countries that do without these.

Conclusion

The United Nations is looking for a new and comprehensive way of doing peacekeeping business.¹⁹ The UN calls for a renewed peacekeeping effort to help configure UN peacekeeping to

¹⁶ Jean-Marie Guehenno, *Challenges in UN Peacekeeping Operations*.

¹⁷ "A New Partnership Agenda," ii.

¹⁸ *Combat Service Support Manual, Sustainability Statement, Chapter 2, 7.*

¹⁹ *A New Partnership Agenda*, iii.

meet the challenges of today and tomorrow. It expects the same from troop contributors.

As a consequence, as outlined in details above, there is a need to reform our own peacekeeping with new thinking and new capabilities. Peacekeeping in the modern times is a complex affair and is hampered by linear thinking and compartmentalization. What is urgent is consideration of the matters raised. Nepalese Army needs to move ahead from the crossroads where its stands and take a definitive approach to build its capacity to continue projection as a potential peacekeeper. Reform will consume time and resources, but it will greatly serve to strengthen peacekeeping in the future.

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"UN peacekeeping operations are now increasingly complex and multi-dimensional, going beyond monitoring a ceasefire to actually bringing failed States back to life, often after decades of conflict. The blue helmets and their civilian colleagues work together to organize elections, enact police and judicial reform, promote and protect human rights, conduct mine-clearance, advance gender equality, achieve the voluntary disarmament of former combatants, and support the return of refugees and displaced people to their homes."

= Kofi Annan

TEMPEST EXPRESS-17, A DISASTER MANAGEMENT WORKSHOP

Lt Col Naresh Subba



Introduction

1. When I first got to see the copy of the correspondence written to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by ODC, US Embassy, seeking approval from the Government of Nepal to co-sponsor TEMPEST EXPRESS-17 Workshop event in Nepal through Nepalese Army (NA), the first thing that came into my mind was it could be some kind of a military exercise (eg EX - BAKER NEPTUNE, Ex- HOLD FAST etc) which the Nepalese army had conducted together with the US Army in the past. Later on, when I finished reading the whole text of the correspondence, then only I realized that it had something to do with managing disaster and related to one of the MPAT Programs.

What is MPAT?

2. MPAT stands for **Multinational Planning Augmentation Team**. It is a cadre of Military planners from some of the Asia-Pacific countries which is capable of augmenting a Multinational Force (MNF) Headquarters (HQ) established to plan and execute coalition operations in response to military operations other than war (MOOTW)/Small Scale Contingencies (SSC), particularly in the field of response during the time of any kind of Mega scale disaster in any member countries.

3. It is a multinational programme which maintains a cadre of MNF planners who are skilled in the common crises action planning procedures and is available to rapidly augment a Coalition/Combine Task Force (CTF) during a crisis. Through this program, a habitual relationship is developed amongst the MPAT cadres who meet periodically to share information and develop CTF HQ procedures (MNF SOP) and practice CTF HQ activation, formation and planning processes. This program includes interested nations, International Organizations (IOs), Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and United Nations (UN) agencies. MPAT secretariat is located in Hawaii, USA.

Objectives and Methods of MPAT Program

4. The objectives of this program are to:-

- (a) Improve speed of Multinational Response
- (b) Improve Multinational Force Interoperability
- (c) Increase CTF Mission effectiveness
- (d) Unity of effort amongst the various agencies working in the field of disaster management
- (e) To enhance Civil-Military cooperation

5. The Methods basically followed for this program are as under:-

- (a) Strengthen and practice common Crises Action Planning Procedure.
- (b) Develop and become familiar with common Standing Operating Procedure (SOP)

MPAT Member nations

6. There are altogether 31 MPAT member nations as under:-

Australia	Combdia	France
India	Japan	Maldives
New Zealand	Singapore	Thailand
United Kingdom	Vietnam	Bangladesh
Canada	Fiji	Indonesia

Korea	Mongolia	Papua New Guinea
Solomon Island	Tonga	US
Brunei	East Timor	Germany
Italy	Malaysia	Nepal
Philippines	Sri Lanka	Tuvalu
Vanuatu		

Numbering of the Workshop as -17

7. I was wondering around as to why this particular workshop has been numbered as 17, not knowing that this was the 17th workshop of its kind going to be held here in Kathmandu, basically co-sponsored by the Multinational Planning Augmentation Team (MPAT) Secretariat of United States Pacific Command (USPACOM) and Nepalese Army. The first one i.e. TEMPEST EXPRESS (TE)-1 workshop was held in Philippines in the year 2000 where 19 countries had participated. TE-2 to TE-16 were held in other member countries between 2001 to March 2009. The seventeenth workshop was held at Yak & Yeti hotel, Kathmandu from 26th August to 04 September 2009.

Why TE-17 Workshop was held in Kathmandu

8. Nepal is identified as one of the most hazard prone country in South Asia from the possible natural disaster perspective. As per one of the reports of UNDP, Nepal is ranked as the 11th most at risk country to earthquake and 30th for flood risk and 6th in Climate change risk.

9. In case of recurrence of a Mega Scale earthquake which struck Kathmandu, valley in 1990 B S (1934 A D), one of the leading agencies working in Nepal in the fields of Earthquake studies, **National Society for Earthquake Technology (NSET) Nepal**, has estimated (as per the Earthquake Risk Management Project in 1997) the possible impact as under:-

Impact	Extent
(a) Death	more than 40,000
(b) Injuries	more than 95,000
(c) Building Destroy/Collapse	more than 60%
(d) Homeless Population	more than 600,000
(e) Bridge Impassable	more than 50%
(f) Road Length damage	more than 10%
(g) Water supply pipes damage	more than 95%
(i) Telephone exchange Buildings	Most
(J) Telephone Lines	more than 60%
(k) Electric Substations	Most
(l) Electric Lines	40%

10. Looking at the extent of damage that could occur in case of a Mega Scale earthquake in Kathmandu city, the crises of this nature would definitely require International assistance to manage the crises as the national response capacity will not be able to handle the situations. This is the juncture where the workshop of its kind, if conducted in time and at the right place will help better coordinate and mobilize the international assistance, particularly from the Military side of the MPAT member Nations, with all the related National as well as International agencies involved. This is the Main rationale behind holding TE-17 workshop in Kathmandu.

Framing of the Workshop

11. For framing and putting the entire jigsaw in place for the workshop, an 11 member Coordinating Team was formed under the supervision of the Director General of Military Operations Major General Gaurav SJB Rana and under the leadership of Director of Military Operations Brigadier General Mahesh Bikram Karki to deal with all the possible issues. Similarly from the MPAT Secretariat's side, a team lead by Mr. Scott A Weide was there to coordinate the entire essentials for the workshop.

The Initial Planning Conference (IPC) was held at Army Headquarter (AHQ) wherein the venue of the workshop, participants, responsibilities of Nepalese Army and MPAT Secretariat were sorted out. Keeping in mind the significant roles of all the related line Ministries, NGOs, Community Based Organizations (CBOs) and Humanitarian agencies, both National and International (based in Nepal) during the time of Mega disaster, it was mandatory to involve them during the workshop to make the most of it.

12. The responsibility of coordinating with the government agencies, national NGOS, other security agencies was given to NA whereas MPAT Secretariat Team took the responsibility of coordinating with the INGOs, International Humanitarian agencies and UN agencies both at national and regional level. In order to coordinate better with all the related government agencies, national NGOs and the other Security agencies, a coordinating meeting was held with the entire representatives after the IPC at AHQ which gave us the estimation of national participants. NA Coordinating Team continued to coordinate with the MPAT Team in relation to the framing and conduct of the workshop till the Final Planning Conference (FPC) was held at the AHQ about a month prior to the actual event.

Participants

13. There were altogether 112 national participants from the related line Ministries, Security forces, related NGOs and CBOs, whereas there were 108 participants from 24 MPAT Nations, UN agencies, ICRC and other Humanitarian agencies.

Achievements

14. The greatest achievement of this workshop is that it provided a common platform for all the stakeholders who will be directly involved in managing the response activities during the time of crisis. All the international participants could understand the existing overall response system and mechanism of the government of Nepal which will certainly contribute in their planning, coordination and execution of response activities, should the need arise for them to extend their assistance in managing crisis in Nepal as a result of any Mega scale disaster.

15. On the other hand, the Nepalese counterpart could also understand the response system and mechanism provided by the International Humanitarian, UN agencies and particularly the MPAT member nation's Military. It also provided a very good opportunity for all the National Stakeholders to come one step closer and share their expertise, experience and limitations in dealing with the crisis. It generated a thought of materializing the human resources which the CBOs can provide in dealing with chaotic situation, be it 500 traffic volunteers from a Traffic Volunteer Organization or an able manpower from Rotary Club or Lion's Club, which may not be of significant value during normal situation but will definitely prove to be a great asset during the time of crisis.

16. One of the main objectives of this workshop was to practice the MNF SOP which was practiced to some extent, if not thoroughly, due to the time constraints, mainly focusing on the co-ordination of military assistance which will be provided to Nepal by the MPAT member Nation's in the time of crisis. Lot of issues, which probably some of us would not have visualized till then, came into the surface like management of suitable parking space for a large number of military as well as civilian aircrafts coming into Nepal with relief goods, storing facilities for tons of relief materials, management for the hundreds of Search and Rescue Team, Medical and Technical personnel, management of fuel, water supply, electricity supply, Internally Displace persons Management etc. which need to be categorically earmarked and planned for. The related line Ministries, NGOs, CBOs and Humanitarian agencies must have taken home with them the various lessons learnt and integrate them into their plans and policies as regards the disaster management.

17. In short, the workshop has acted as a catalyst in the field of disaster response system and mechanism of our nation. Nepalese Army has surely taken the lessons from this workshop and is in the process of integrating the related lesson into its Disaster Management working procedures.

Conclusion

18. All of us are aware that natural disasters can not be stopped but, it can certainly be managed in a proficient manner once it occurs. To manage the crisis as a result of a Mega scale disaster in an efficient manner, no single agency or for that matter, even the whole national effort, will not be sufficient enough to manage the crisis and perforce, international assistance has to be called upon or rather will be involved. Therefore, the workshop of this nature will definitely provide an opportunity for all the stakeholders, both national and international, to understand the whole process and will provide guidance for everyone to do their role without any ambiguity during the time of crisis.



The Chief of the Army Staff General Chatraman Singh Gurung delivering the closing remarks during the Closing Ceremony



The Director General of Military Operations Maj Gen Gaurav SJB Rana delivering a speech during the Closing Ceremony



Participants of TE-17 Workshop with the Chief Guest & other distinguished guests after the Opening Ceremony



Defence Secretary Mr Navin Ghimire delivering opening remarks during the Opening Ceremony of TE-17 Workshop



A glimpse of participants during a course of presentation in the Workshop



Visit of the workshop activities by DGMO Maj Gen Gaurav SJB Rana & COS, US Pacific Command Maj Gen Stephen D Tom



Foreign Participants taken to Nagarkot during the cultural event

INTELLIGENCE OPERATION IN COUNTER INSURGENCY (REALITY AND EXPERIENCE)

Lt Col Niranjan Kumar Shrestha
Int Corps HQ



Introduction

1. Having involved in decade long Counter Insurgency operations we are one of the few armies who have had such a sustained exposure. In the early years, our approach to fighting insurgency had been theoretical, trying to transplant conventional technique to an entirely different environment. Naturally these efforts didn't yield the desired results. However, over the years we have realized one thing, the importance of intelligence as an essential component of success in these operations which are basically against miss guided though well organized groups of our own population.

2. Though theoretically much had been written about intelligence and its functioning in counter insurgency operations, yet the intelligence man was frequently considered a "necessary evil"; while successes were attributed to some other branch, failures generally found intelligence as the scapegoat.

3. I would like to share with the readers some of the features that struck me in our intelligence functioning in the insurgency environment.

Whose business is Intelligence?

4. As successes are not immediate in counter intelligence operations, the question of whose business is intelligence comes up in the mind of troops very often. In fighting with the insurgents, intelligence is everybody's business and that includes the infantry, other arms, the police, the armed police force and the civil administration. The riflemen are as much the eyes and the ears of the army as any source of civil or military intelligence agencies.

5. Of course qualitatively, the types of intelligence acquired will vary at different levels. While the infantry patrol on a search operation will seek information of the hideout of insurgents, the intelligence man tries to find out the motives behind insurgent activity in the particular region. Friction between the different agencies due of overlapping responsibilities and divergent objectives is not uncommon. In practice we have found such jealousies are usually based on lack of comprehension of the roles of different agencies. These factors have to be resolved to achieve real success.

Integration at Functional level

6. The ideal way of fighting insurgents is to have a totally integrated set-up operating under a single unified command for all civil administration, civil police, armed police force and military activities. However in our country this has been practiced principally but complete co-ordination at functional level is yet an ideal beyond the horizon In day to day practice even today in need. The Army operating in insurgent areas is subjected to many pulls and counter pulls. The populist moves of the government, the hierarchical approach of the central interests and the short term objectives of intelligence agencies make the army man chaos and demoralized.

7. But we have to recognize the fact that our successes have to be achieved in this environment for which integration at a functional level assumes importance. This has to be evolved through an intimate understanding of each other's plus and minus points and evolving a functional arrangement to avoid trampling on each other's toes.

8. I can illustrate this with an example. In the 1 brigade sector; 'A' and 'B' battalions are carrying our cordon and search operations. Maj 'X' and capt 'Y' from division MISG carrying out as series of joint interrogations. During these interrogations Maj 'X' learns about the details of three close

collaborators of insurgents located in the neighboring 2 brigade sector. Immediately Maj 'X' passes the information to 1 and 2 Brigades and also to the controlling divisional headquarters. 2 brigade, in collaboration with police, rounds up the culprits who are promptly interrogated. They in turn gave out information pertaining to hostile hideouts in 'B' battalion area. This information immediately acted upon by 2 brigade and top leaders of insurgents are apprehended. Though this chain of events appears cumbersome it can produce results if all the agencies co-operate. But unless there is an integration at functional levels at all times, it is not possible to take quick follow-up action on information of this kind. Of course, information knows no barriers of brigade sectors or civil and military areas of responsibility. Often we have to remind ourselves that the end goals of all agencies - the troops, the staffs and the civil forces are the same, that of fighting the insurgents.

Interrogation

9. Interrogation, to my mind is the major source of information in counter insurgency operations. And interrogation, like intelligence, is everybody's baby in an insurgent environment. Due to the large number of suspects required to be put through the process of interrogation, expertise of intelligence corps interrogators have to be used selectively. Hence the responsibility of the unit level interrogator to spot suitable cases for expert interrogator is more in case of counter insurgency operations.

10. True fact about the interrogator. The intelligence corps interrogator is no magician who can be asked to use his magic wand to produce results out of his hat. He has to put in a lot of home work to be useful. He should be very much involved in the day to day intelligence process keeping fully abreast with all political and military developments. He has to have an intimate understanding of history of the area of operation. He has to have an uncanny eye to sift grain from the chaff during the course of his interrogation. As time is at a premium, he should be quick to perceive any angle on which further information should be obtained and act on it. Needless to say, the interrogator has to be given freedom of action to progress the interrogation. Then only he can evolve his own strategy and gain maximum results.

11. In counter insurgency operations debriefing, screening and interrogation are everyday occurrences involving almost all intelligence personal. Therefore knowledge of interrogation technique is an essential pre-requisite for intelligence personal. Though the interrogation is largely carried out by officers, we have found that JCOs and NCOs with aptitude to be performing equally well. Only their confidence in themselves has to be nurtured carefully. This can be done by assigning increasing responsibilities to them and having periodically a critique on their performance.

Instant Response

12. Immediate response to changing situations is another essential aspect of counter insurgency operations. This is more so in respect of intelligence operation and the process is mental rather than physical. Intelligence assessments are often required to be made on the spot and put into immediate operation. The result, negative or otherwise, follow soon after. Hence the intelligence officer has to learn to carry out a continuous process of assessment. Of course, he must have the mental fortitude and moral courage to face failure and accept errors of judgment. Then only his mental faculties can react quickly.

13. Generally, troops respond promptly to information. But often due to frustration based on past experiences, their response may be one of doubt and inaction. Hence the intelligence officer initially has to create a climate of confidence. This can be achieved by a result oriented quest for intelligence by the intelligence officer. He must be clear about what he is looking for. Once this is clear, as in any human endeavor, he has to put in hard work for achieving success. The intelligence officer often acts alone. He has to be bold enough to act rather than passively accept the present situation. As there is saying "success comes to those who dare and act, it seldom goes to the timid". It has more relevance to the intelligence officer than others.

Other Aspects

14. There are number of other aspects which are of interest. We have found that courage in action has no other substitute. While the intelligence officer has to maintain a low profile he should have no hesitation to act in times of need.

15. Intelligence officers of the Army are usually tasked on military matters. But in an insurgency situation, It is essential that they also understand the political and social environment in which they operate, This understanding not only helps them to avoid any faux pas but to draw realistic assessments. After all, military aspect is only one of the manifestations of the entire gamut of insurgency.

16. Lastly, as in every operation, team work is a must. The wheel of intelligence process has many cogs, each one as essential as the other. So strictly speaking there is no room for the "lone wolf". We have found that a 'buddy' system of JCOs and other ranks having an understanding and respect for each other can produce excellent results. An enthusiastic and vigorous leadership can motivate even a motley crowd of mediocre men into action. Hence junior leadership at the officer level should be pushing and rearing for action rather than looking for small comforts and easy pickings.

Conclusions

17. Intelligence operations in counter insurgency are perhaps the most challenging. Our experience during decade long conflict has highlighted some aspects of these operations. There are:-

(a) All Personnel have to realize that intelligence is everybody's business and is not confined only to the small number of intelligence personnel. An understanding of capabilities and limitations of the different agencies will go long way in achieving success.

(b) Integration of the diverse agencies at the functional level is essential in Counter Intelligence operations. Certain amount of overlap in the responsibilities and activities of different agencies is inevitable.

(c) Interrogation is one of the most useful sources of information. The interrogators have to keep themselves abreast of developments in political and military spheres. They have to react fast and be alert to find fresh avenues for gleaning information.

(d) Responses to changing situations in counter insurgency operations should be instantaneous. This is more so in the case of intelligence officers who should develop the ability to make a deliberate effort to establish their credibility among the troops so that they respond positively to information.

(e) Some other important aspects to include personal courage, an understanding of the political and social environment and team work and lastly,

"Insurgencies never die, they only simmer"

"I am not bound to win, but I am bound to be true. I am not bound to succeed, but I am bound to live by the light that I have. I must stand with anybody that stands right, stand with him while he is right, and part with him when he goes wrong."

- Abraham Lincoln

नागरिक उड्डयन कार्यमा सैनिक हवाई सेवा (ARMY AIR SERVICE IN CIVILIAN AVIATION SECTOR)



चा.प्र.से. कैलाश गुरुङ

१. राज्यका सम्पूर्ण निकायहरू नागरिक सेवामा समर्पित रहनु पर्दछ । सरकारको मुख्य लक्ष्य नै जनचाहना अनुरूप आफ्नो नीति निर्माण गरी कुशल तवरले जनहित कार्य कार्यान्वयन गराउनु हो । सरकारका विभिन्न अङ्गहरूमध्ये नेपाली सेना सुरक्षा क्षेत्रमा समर्पित सबै भन्दा महत्वपूर्ण र संवेदनशील अङ्ग हो । कुनै पनि राष्ट्रका हरेक नागरिकले शान्तिसुरक्षा पाउने अधिकार विश्वव्यापि रूपमा स्थापित भै सकेको मान्यता हो । गांस, वांस, कपासका साथै शान्तिसुरक्षा मानवजीवनको अपरिहार्य आवश्यकताहरू भएकोमा मतैक्य नै होला । सुरक्षा विना विकास वास्तवमा असम्भव जस्तै रहेको तथ्य हामीमाझ प्रमाणीत भइसकेको छ । राज्यको सम्पूर्ण सुरक्षाको जिम्मेवारी लिएको नेपाली सेनाले नागरिक हितका लागि महत्वपूर्ण कार्यहरू जस्तै शान्ति, सुरक्षा, विकास निर्माण, प्राकृतिक प्रकोपमा उद्धार, राहत वितरण, स्वास्थ्य उपचार, खाद्यान्न ढुवानी कार्यहरू गर्दै आइरहेको विदितै छ । यहां विवेचना गर्न लागिएको पक्ष नेपाली सेनाको हवाई अंगले नागरिक उड्डयन क्षेत्रमा पुऱ्याएका महत्वपूर्ण योगदानहरूबारे चर्चा गर्नु रहेको छ ।



२. नेपाली सेनाको हवाई अंग (Air Component) को स्थापना वि.सं. २०२२ सालमा भएको हो । स्थापनाकाल देखि नै यसले सैनिक उडानका अतिरिक्त नागरिक उडान कार्यहरू पनि गर्दै आइरहेको छ । यसको मुख्य जिम्मेवारी नेपाली सेनाको हवाई आवश्यकतालाई परिपुर्ति गर्नु हो यद्यपि अन्तरमन्त्रालय (Inter Ministries) सहयोग अन्तर्गत नेपाल सरकारका अन्य मन्त्रालयहरूलाई चाहिएको हवाई सहयोग, सल्लाह सुझाव समेत प्रदान गर्दै आइरहेको छ । सेना र नागरिकबीच जहिले पनि सुमधुर सम्बन्ध, समन्वय र सहयोग रहनु पर्दछ । जनताका मौलिक हक हितको पूर्ण प्रत्याभूति प्रदान गर्नु राज्यको मुख्य कर्तव्य हुन आउंदछ । जनताका आधारभुत आवश्यकताको परिपुर्ति र आपतकालीन अवस्थामा जनतालाई संरक्षण प्रदान गर्नु पर्ने सरकारको अभिभावकीय दायित्वलाई नेपाली सेनाले भरमरदुर रूपमा सम्पादन गर्दै आइरहेको छ । सेना-नागरिक (Civil Military) बीचको अन्तरसम्बन्धलाई प्रगाढ बनाउन नेपाली सेनाको यो अंगले ज्यादै महत्वपूर्ण कार्यहरू गर्दै आइरहेको छ । जसमध्ये केही मुख्य कार्यहरू यस प्रकार रहेका छन् ।

(क) **खोज तथा उद्धार उडान (Search and Rescue)** यस कार्य अन्तर्गत विशेषगरी प्राकृतिक विपत्तिमा परेका व्यक्तिहरूलाई खोज्ने तथा उद्धार गरी ल्याउने कार्यहरू मुख्य रहेका छन् । नेपालको भौगोलिक बनावट प्राकृतिक विपत्तिको दृष्टिकोणबाट ज्यादै जोखिम क्षेत्रमा पर्दछ । बाढी, पहिरो भूकम्प, आंधिवेरी जस्ता

अकस्मात आइपर्ने आपतकालीन अवस्थामा जनतालाई तुरुन्तै उद्धार गरी सुरक्षा प्रदान गर्नु राज्यको मुख्य अभिभारा रहेको हुन्छ । उक्त दायित्वलाई यस हवाई अंगले पूर्ण रूपमा निर्वाह गरी प्रमाणित गरिसकेको छ । वि.स. २०४५ सालको भूकम्प, वि.स. २०६५ सालमा कोशी बाढीपीडित उद्धार र सूदूर पश्चिमको कैलाली क्षेत्रमा गरेको बाढी पीडित उद्धार कार्य आदि उल्लेखनीय उद्धार उडानहरू हुन, जसमा कोशी बाढी पीडित उद्धारको लागि १२० घण्टा भन्दा बढी र कैलाली क्षेत्रमा गएको बाढी पीडित कार्यमा ६० घण्टा भन्दा बढी उद्धार उडान कार्यहरू गरिएको थियो । त्यस्तै रसूवा जिल्लाको घ्याङफेदीमा भएको थाई एअरलाईन्स दुर्घटना, ताप्लेजुङ जिल्लाको घुन्सामा भएको हवाई दुर्घटनामा समेत अत्यन्तै महत्वपूर्ण योगदान पुऱ्याएको थियो । घुन्सामा अतिविशिष्ट व्यक्तिहरू दुर्घटनामा पर्दा सिंगो राष्ट्र नै शोकमग्न भएको बेला अमेरिकन स्याटलाईटवाट समेत पत्ता लाग्न नसकिरहेको अवस्थामा यस अंगको व्यापक खोजीबाट उक्त खोज तथा उदार कार्य सम्पन्न भएको थियो । उक्त खोज कार्य यदि त्यस समयमा गर्न नसकेको भए सम्पूर्ण राष्ट्र कै बेइज्जत हुन गई बिदेशी सैन्य सहयोग समेत लिनु पर्ने अवस्था आउन सक्दथ्यो । त्यसैले खोज तथा उद्धार कार्य नागरिक हितको क्षेत्रमा गरिआएको ज्यादै महत्वपूर्ण कार्य हो ।

(ख) **विकास निर्माण सामाग्री ढुवानी** नेपाल जस्तो कठिन भौगोलिक क्षेत्रमा विकास निर्माण कार्य गर्न ज्यादै गाह्रो अवस्था छ । उक्त कठिन कार्य पूरा गर्नुको लागि यस अंगबाट विभिन्न औजारहरू, डोजर, गाडी लगायतका गह्रौ सामाग्रीहरू विकट पहाडी इलाकामा ढुवानी गर्दै आइरहेको छ । नेपालको पहाडी भूभागको उचाई बढी हुनुको साथै सांगुरो गल्छिहरू रहेकाले उक्त स्थानमा सामाग्रीहरूको ढुवानी गर्नु अवश्य पनि कम चुनौतिपूर्ण कार्य होईन । तर उक्त सामानहरूको ढुवानी नभएको खण्डमा त्यस स्थानमा बाटो पुल निर्माण कार्य सम्भव हुन सक्तैन । अत यस अंगबाट विभिन्न जोखिमपूर्ण उडानहरू समेत संचालन गरी विकट पहाडी इलाकामा विकास निर्माण सामग्रीहरू ढुवानी गरी देश विकास कार्यमा महत्वपूर्ण टेवा प्रदान गर्दै आएको छ ।

(ग) **ग्रामिण विद्युतीकरण तथा सञ्चार उपकरणको ढुवानी** ग्रामीण क्षेत्रमा साना जलविद्युत स्थापना गरी सम्पूर्ण देशभरी विजुली पुऱ्याउने सरकारको लक्ष्य साकार पार्न यस निकायबाट मोटर बाटो नपुगेका विभिन्न स्थानमा विद्युतीय जडान उपकरणहरू ढुवानी गर्दै आइरहेको छ । यसैगरि सम्पूर्ण क्षेत्र र जनतालाई एक आपसमा जोड्नको लागि सञ्चार ज्यादै महत्वपूर्ण साधन हो । उक्त लक्ष्य परिपूर्तिको लागि विभिन्न विकट स्थानमा सञ्चार सामाग्रीको ढुवानी कार्यबाट स्थानीय जनताहरू प्रत्यक्ष रूपमा लाभान्वित भइरहेका छन् ।

(घ) **मेडिकल टिम, औषधी तथा स्वास्थ्य उपकरण ढुवानी** जनताका प्रत्यक्ष सरोकार राख्ने स्वास्थ्य सेवालालाई टेवा प्रदान गर्न विभिन्न विकट स्थानमा औषधि वितरण तथा ढुवानी कार्य, स्वास्थ्य उपकरण ढुवानी कार्य, लगायत चिकित्सक टोलीहरू आपतकालीन अवस्थामा विभिन्न स्थानमा पुऱ्याउने कार्य गरिदै आएको छ । उदाहरण स्वरूप यस वर्षको शुरुमा मध्यपश्चिम क्षेत्रको जाजरकोट एरियामा फैलिएको भ्राडापखाला नियन्त्रणको लागि यस निकायबाट लगभग ५,००० के.जी. भन्दा बढी औषधी पुऱ्याउनको साथै २०० जना डाक्टर तथा स्वास्थ्यकर्मीहरू प्रभावित स्थानमा पुऱ्याउने कार्य गरिएको थियो । यो कार्यको लागि यस अंगको विभिन्न हवाई साधनहरूले २३१ घण्टा हवाई उडानहरू गरिएका थियो ।

(ङ) **खाद्यान्न ढुवानी** विशेषगरि कर्णाली क्षेत्रका अति दूर्गम तथा मोटर बाटो नपुगेका विकट इलाकाहरूमा स्थानीय जनताको माग बमोजिम दैनिक उपभोग्य सामानहरू चामल, नून लगायत लत्ता कपडा ढुवानी कार्यबाट प्रत्यक्ष रूपमा त्यस क्षेत्रका जनता लाभान्वित भइरहेका छन् ।

(च) **पर्वतीय उडानहरू** यस कार्य अन्तर्गत उच्च हिमाली क्षेत्रमा खोज तथा उद्धार कार्य सञ्चालन गरिदै आएको छ । पर्यटन उद्योगलाई टेवा प्रदान गर्न पर्यटक सेवा सुरक्षालाई ध्यान दिनु आवश्यक छ । उक्त

चुनौतिपूर्ण कार्यको लागि नीजी क्षेत्र सक्षम नरहेको वर्तमान अवस्थामा यस निकायबाट ऐतिहासिक उद्धार उडान कार्यहरू गरिदै आएको छ । जसबाट जोखिममा परेका सयौं पर्यटकहरूको जीवनोद्धार भएकोले उनीहरूले सुरक्षित महसुस गरी पर्यटन उद्योगलाई समेत टेवा पुगेको छ ।

(छ) **भी.भी.आई.पि. उडान कार्य** स्वदेश तथा विदेशका विशिष्ट व्यक्तिहरूको हवाई यात्रा संचालन गर्ने कार्य ज्यादै चुनौतिपूर्ण र राजकीय कार्य हो । उक्त कार्य अन्तर्गत सुरक्षात्मक उडान सञ्चालन गरी विभिन्न स्थानमा लाने ल्याउने कार्य गर्नुको साथै पर्वतीय दृश्यावलोकन उडान पनि गरिदै आएको छ । यो कार्य देशको प्रतिष्ठा र कुटनैतिकतासंग सिधै जोडिएको विषय पनि भएकोले यसको संवेदनशीलतामा पूर्ण ध्यान दिई जिम्मेवारीपूर्वक उडान सम्पन्न गरिदै आएको छ ।

(ज) **राजस्व आर्जन** यस अंगबाट नेपाल सरकारको व्यापारीक उडान विकास समितिको नीति नियम भित्र रहेर विकास निर्माण, आकस्मिक उद्धार तथा अन्य उडान कार्यहरू सञ्चालन गरिदै आएको छ । यस उडानको मुख्य उद्देश्य नाफा कमाउनु नभई जनतालाई प्रत्यक्ष रूपमा सहयोग प्रदान गर्नु हो । तथापि उक्त उडान कार्य गर्दा राज्यलाई निर्धारित शुल्क पनि तिनु पर्ने हुन्छ । उक्त शुल्कबाट राज्यलाई करोडौं रूपैयां राजश्व प्राप्त भइरहेको छ । विगत १० वर्षदेखि आ.व. २०६५/६६ सम्मको आर्जित राजस्व विवरण यस प्रकार छ ।

१० वर्षको राजश्व आय विवरण

सि.नं.	आर्थिक वर्ष	राजस्व रकम (ने.रु.मा)	कैफियत
१	आ.व. ०५६/५७	३,०६,१३,१९०।४५	
२	आ.व. ०५७/५८	४,३१,७८,६१३।८९	
३	आ.व. ०५८/५९	७९,१९,४६७।०८	
४	आ.व. ०५९/६०	१,७८,१३,०९३।४७	
५	आ.व. ०६०/६१	२,२७,१२,८७२।५८	
६	आ.व. ०६१/६२	३,६६,३६,२५६।४७	
७	आ.व. ०६२/६३	३,११,८०,७३०।८३	
८	आ.व. ०६३/६४	७,४३,३१०।७९।४	
९	आ.व. ०६४/६५	५,५१,३९,६७५।५९	
१०	आ.व. ०६५/६६	१०,४०,८५,७६९।७५	
कूल जम्मा		४२,३६,१०,७४८।०५ (बयालीस करोड छत्तीस लाख दश हजार सात सय अडचालिस रूपैया पांच पैशा ।)	

(झ) **सरकारलाई एभिएन विशेषज्ञ सेवा प्रदान गर्नु** नेपाल सरकारलाई चाहिने हवाई सेवा सम्बन्धी सम्पूर्ण विशेषज्ञ सेवा प्रदान गर्न यो निकाय सक्षम छ । सोही मुताविक सरकारको आवश्यकता बमोजिम विभिन्न समयमा नेपाल नागरिक उडड्यन कार्यालयसंग समन्वय गरी आवश्यक पर्ने विशेषज्ञ सेवा (Technical Expertise) हरू समेत उपलब्ध गराईदै आइरहेको छ । जस्तै विभिन्न हवाई दुर्घटना जांच कार्य, राष्ट्रिय नागरिक सुरक्षा समितिलाई हवाई सुरक्षासंग सरोकार राख्ने विषयहरूमा प्राविधिक राय, सल्लाहसहित विशेषज्ञहरूको सेवा, खोज तथा उद्धार समन्वयमा विशेषज्ञ सेवाहरू आदि प्रदान गरिदै आएको छ ।

(ञ) **अन्य उडान कार्यहरू** यी माथि उल्लेखित कार्यहरूको अतिरिक्त जनताका प्रत्यक्ष जीवनसंग सरोकार राख्ने आपतकालीन उडान कार्य तथा हवाई उडान संचालनका लागि आवश्यक पर्ने सेवाहरू समेत प्रदान गरिदै आएको छ । जसमा नाईटभिजन उडान कार्यहरू विशेष उल्लेखनीय रहेका छन् । विभिन्न निजी विमान कम्पनीहरूले हडताल तथा सरकारलाई असहयोग गरेको खण्डमा गैरसैनिक व्यक्तिहरूको यात्रा

सुचारु गर्नको लागि यस निकायबाट बेला बेलामा विभिन्न उडानहरू समेत सम्पन्न गरिदै आएको छ ।



३. यस सैनिक हवाई अंगले नेपाली सेनाको लागि आवश्यक पर्ने सम्पूर्ण सैनिक उडान कार्यको अतिरिक्त नागरीक उड्डयन कार्य समेत लामो समयदेखि सम्पन्न गर्दै आइरहेको छ । वर्तमान समयमा असल शासन (Good Governance) अन्तर्गत जनहितका हरेक पक्षहरूलाई जनताकै सहभागीतामा जनता कै सल्लाह बमोजिम सम्पन्न गर्न नागरिक र सेनाबीच सुमधुर सम्बन्ध कायम राख्न यस अंगले ज्यादै महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका निर्वाह गरेको छ । त्यस्तै यहाँबाट सञ्चालन गरिने हरेक उडानहरू विश्वव्यापि मान्यता बमोजिम सुरक्षाका सम्पूर्ण प्रक्रियाहरू अवलम्बन गरी सञ्चालन गरिने गरिन्छ । त्यस्तै नेपाल नागरिक उड्डयन प्राधिकरणसंग समन्वय गरी उडान कार्य सञ्चालन र सहकार्य गरिदै आएको छ ।

४. सम्माननीय प्रधानमन्त्री माधव कुमार नेपालज्युबाट हालसालै यस अंगको निरिक्षण भ्रमण कार्य सम्पन्न हुंदा सैनिक हवाई साधनहरूलाई जतिसक्दो शान्तिको समयमा नागरिक उडान कार्यमा उपयोगमा ल्याउनु भनी दिएको निर्देशनबाट यसको महत्व स्पष्ट भल्किन जान्छ । हाल भइरहेको नागरिक उडान कार्यलाई अझ सर्वसुलभ बनाउनलाई समयमा नै अझ विकसित कार्यक्रमहरू ल्याई सर्वसाधारणको पहुँच योग्य बनाएको खण्डमा सेना नागरिकबीचको अन्तरसम्बन्धलाई घनिष्ट बनाउन कोशेढुङ्गा सावित हुने कुरामा कसैको दुईमत हुने छैन ।

तिरस्कार देखाउने सर्वोत्तम तरिका मौनता हो ।

- जर्ज बर्नार्ड शा

SHOULD WOMEN JOIN COMBAT THE ASSOCIATED DEBATES

Maj Jagdish Khadka



Military Culture, Feminism and the Gender Battle: The Debates

The famous military strategist Karl Von Clausewitz stated that 'War is the continuation of state policy by other means'.¹ If war is for the state; if it is a 'fated fact of Universe'; if it is a 'product of man's inherited biology' where he is 'naturally aggressive or naturally territorial'² and if it is something inevitable; then the armed forces of a nation is the most valued, wishfully desired superior instrument to fulfill the political will of the state. Moreover, the ancient military thinker Sun Zu claimed that to understand peace we must understand war. To add on further, some moralists have advocated war 'as a means to support, or secure peace'.³ As such, mostly it has been used as a means of securing national or corporate identity, territorial integrity or for national glory. If war is justified as such a vital thing, then obviously the instruments of war machine- the soldiers, should be vital and able as well.

As a guard of sovereignty, protector of civil society and liberator from external power, the ultimate rationale of armed forces is to win wars. Accordingly, as a nation relies on its military, so does the military on its dedicated and capable soldiers who secure the fate of the country and the people. The soldiers are the ones who support the leadership and accomplish tasks as part of the team; fight, kill and die for the country. Murray while emphasizing the importance of military culture opined that 'military culture comprises the ethos and professional attributes, derived from both experience and intellectual study, that contribute to military organizations' core, common understanding of the nature of war'.⁴ Even some sectors of civil society believe that the carnage and violence is necessary if it serves a legitimate cause.⁵ As military's prime job is fighting and wining the war, combat is its core activity which qualifies its existence. American Army defined direct combat as:

Engaging an enemy with individual or crew-served weapons while being exposed to direct enemy fire, a high probability of direct physical contact with the enemy's personnel, and a substantial risk of capture. Direct combat takes place while closing with the enemy by fire, maneuver, or shock effect in order to destroy or capture, or while repelling assault by fire, close combat or counterattack.⁶

Almost all structures and activities are organized around this combat role- 'ground combat divisions, fighter air wings, and naval aircraft carrier battle groups', 'distinguishing between combat arms and support activities' and as such all training is 'preparation for the conduct of war'.⁷ Consequently, the icon of the military represents the reflection of combat. Youngman quoted Feld as, 'combat branches of the armed forces are traditionally the strategic node of conventional stereotypes of masculine superiority, as well as the focus of civic rights. Those who have access to it is commonly assumed, are men and citizens, in the fullest sense of these words'⁸. The masculine culture, lifestyle, norms and values have been deeply entrenched in military institutions around the world and this culture initially originated as part of the national culture, geography and how society evolved.⁹

In view of the above, the military training necessarily involves conditioning of masculinity. Gerard DeGroot commented that 'the recruit is encouraged to develop strength and aggression,

¹ Antulio J. Echevarria II, *War and Politics: The Revolution in military Affairs and the Continued Relevance of Clausewitz* Clausewitz Homepage < <http://www.clausewitz.com/CWZHOME/ECHVAR/ECHJFQ.htm> > at 1st January 2008. See also, General Karl Von Clausewitz *On The Nature of War* 24 (Translated into English by Colonel J.J Graham).

² Alexander Moseley, *The Philosophy of War* (2006) The Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy < <http://www.iep.utm.edu/w/war.htm> > at 1st January 2008.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Williamson Murray, *Military Culture Does Matter* (1999) 7(2) Foreign Policy Research Institute Wire < <http://www.fpri.org/fpriwire/0702.199901.murray.militaryculturedoesmatter.html> > at 2nd January 2008.

⁵ Judith A. Youngman, 'The Warrior Ethic' in Kathryn Spurking and Elizabeth Greenhalgh (ed), *Women in Uniform Perceptions and Pathways* (2000) 19 52.

⁶ Shirley Sagawa and Nancy Duff Campbell, *Women in Combat* (Report, National Women's Law Center, Washington, D.C, 1992) 2.

⁷ Karen O Dunivin, 'Military Culture: Change and Continuity (1994) 20(4) *Armed Forces and Society*

⁸ Youngman, above n 77, 27.

⁹ See, Henrik R. Kanstrup, *An Examination of Gender Diversity in 21st Century Royal Danish Armed Force- Can the US Experience Contribute to The Future Danish Forces?* (Research Report, Maxwell Air force Base Alabama, 2001) 12; Murray, above n 76; Dunivin, above n 79.

while riding himself of stereotypical female attributes like sensitivity and compassion. A well-trained soldier is hungry for battle because it is in battle that he asserts his dominance'.¹⁰ The traditionalists, conservatives and acute military thinkers strongly believe in the warrior culture and warrior ethos that is required to win the war. Accordingly, they claimed combat as the military's core activity, and defended military from being a social laboratory to conduct social experiment. They further concluded that 'both the military and nation will lose if sweeping social change subsequently destroys the military's cohesion and readiness to fight and win'¹¹. Former Commandant of Marine Corps of the USA, General Robert H. Barrow testified before American Congress that 'war is man's work....you have to protect the manliness of war'¹² Defensively, feminist like Lucinda Peach argued that 'Ideological identification of the military as masculine makes males the standard by which females are assessed. The male standard operates, sometimes explicitly, but more often implicitly, in shaping interpretations of a number of considerations.'¹³

The shift of norms and values in society has definitely influenced the socially stagnant military culture although sluggishly. With time, the only-male military has transformed to heterogeneous force with new trends, norms and values. The pressure from some feminist and equal rights activists included the women in military. The proponents of equal rights forwarded the paradigm of military effectiveness and social equality for the inclusion of women in military.¹⁴ Furthermore, they not only advocated military to be reflecting demographical representation of society rather promoted the idea that exclusion of women would loose the 'pool of talents available for nation's defense'. They promoted the ideology that if the military institution does not represent the social change and the of society's core norms and values, it will diverse from the society they are protecting and will lose their respect. It was viewed that if military training can shape a normal man to be a warrior, then it can do the same to a woman.

At one hand, some feminists generalized the minority of women and framed the debate to be men versus women. They seemed to have neglected the issues of obvious biological and physical difference by considering the gender variation as total social construction. Similarly, the voice of those women who do not want to join the combat and voice of those male who support the integration of man are muted.¹⁵ On the other hand, the traditionalists are neither willing to conduct a social experiment that they claim to be fatal for country and people nor change attitudes and beliefs that has become military legacy. They have proved to be socially stagnant and disregarded the technological improvement that could enhance combat effectiveness in bisexual army. They argue that if women are vulnerable to sexual assault from their friend in peace time how can they protect themselves in hand-to-hand combat with foe during war situation.¹⁶ They allege that the presence of women in combat would not only degrade 'military's mission readiness and war fighting capability' rather destroy the mutual bond and trust that construct the structure of army.¹⁷ Stephanie Gutmann concluded in her book how kinder and gentler the army is becoming in the pretext of being politically correct. She added further that, this phenomenon has not only forced many hardcore officers to resign military rather it 'feminized and trivialized military culture'.¹⁸ Likewise, Joseph Farah commented that women are benefited rather than discriminated by the exclusion from combat compared to those soldiers who shed blood in battlefield. Furthermore, he cited examples of police force and fire departments where standards were compromised with the integration of women.¹⁹

It is seen that the polarization of traditionalists and right activists have their own explanations. Traditionalists and conservatives base their debate on warrior culture, warrior ethos, male bonding

¹⁰ Gerard J. DeGroot, 'Women as Peacekeepers' (1999) *The Toronto Star* (Available at < <http://www.militarywoman.org/academic.htm> > at 2nd January 2008)

¹¹ Dunivin, above n 79.

¹² Kenneth L. Karst, *Law's promise, Law's expression: Visions of power in the Politics of Race, Gender and Religion* 120; See also, Youngman, above n 77, 41.

¹³ Lucinda J. Peach, 'Women at War: The Ethics of Women in Combat' (1999) 15 *Hamline Journal of Public Law and Policy* 199 208.

¹⁴ Dunivin, above n 79.

¹⁵ Laura L Miller, 'Feminism and the Exclusion of Army Women from Combat' (1998) *Gender Issues* 16(3)

¹⁶ See especially, Dunivin, above n 79; Miller, above n 87.

¹⁷ See, Kanstrup, above n 81, 114; Gerald L. Atkinson, 'The Military is There to Win' (1999) *The Washington Times* part B B5.

¹⁸ Stephaine Gutmann *The Kinder, Gentler Military, Can America's Gender-Neutral Fighting Force Still Win Wars?* (2000) 276-285; Marian T Horvart, *A Kinder, Gentler Military: Good Thesis, Faulty Conclusion* (2001) Tradition in Action < http://www.traditioninaction.org/bkreviews/A_010br_KinderMilitary.htm > at 5th January 2008.

¹⁹ Joseph Farah, *No More Women Near Combat* (2003) WorldNet Daily < http://worldnetdaily.com/news/article.asp?ARTICLE_ID=35476

and the combat effectiveness whereas feminists and activists base their arguments on ground for equal rights claiming positive effects of integration. The issue is obviously interwoven with legend of male-female nature and nurture; stereotypes and suppositions; military necessity and belief; 'gender equality and justice; and family and citizenship responsibility'²⁰. The discourse of various concern regarding the pros and cons of women in combat will be analyzed in the subsequent heading. The ultimate aim of military is to safeguard the national interest and protect the civil society and this should not be compromised.

Analyzing the Debate: Why and Why not?

To date this paper has analyzed the experience of women throughout the major wars in history. It is observed that, though not in combat, women became the integral part of war supporting men directly or indirectly. However, the battle that exists between the traditional and conservative ideology on one side and equal-right and evolutionist ideology on other side seems to be never ending. Is it just an opinion or a fact? With the background of existing dilemma, this portion of paper will analyze the debate categorizing it into four concerns: physiological, psychological, tactical and social.

Physiological Concern

As discussed earlier, combat is the core of military mission and warrior ethos is the core of combat. The warrior ethos not only demands tough physical and mental fitness but it exposes a soldier to an intense physical training and battlefield environment of intense physical and mental pressure. It not only optimizes readiness to kill rather increases chances of being killed at war while closing to kill enemy. Apart from a few exceptional myths, fighting and war has been related with men throughout the human history. Pease and Pease claimed that "Men and women have evolved differently because they had to. Men hunted, women gathered. Men protected, women nurtured. As a result, their bodies and brains evolved accordingly."²¹ In those days of simple life and early evolution, it is obviously because of differences of biological function and capability they had to evolve like that. Although the physiological differences between men and women are obvious to human eyes, its implications needs to be verified.

In general, most men are physically stronger than women.²² A scientific review conducted by reviewing more than 100 studies was summarized as follow:

Anatomical and physiological factors disadvantage women in most aspects of physical performance. Male attributes of greater height, weight, fat free mass and lower body fat are associated with better performance in military tasks such as lifting and carrying weights, and marching with a load. Muscle strength, endurance and power are 30-60% lower in women, and only 1% of women match the mean level of these attributes in men. Similarly in aerobic fitness, only the fittest 1% of women reaches the level of fitness of the average man. Thus women have a lower overall work capacity and must exert themselves 25-30% more than a man to achieve the same output. By operating closer to their maximum level more of the time, endurance is reduced.²³

The report further clarified the feminist claim that training gives them same physical standard. Accordingly, although the fitness gains are similar, the overall potentiality makes a difference. This is partly due to lower level of testosterone hormone in women and 'lower capacity for increasing muscle bulk' which is instrumental factor in increasing performance.²⁴ However, a 140,000 dollar research conducted to access the consequence of painstaking training on women found that after conditioning the capability of women to do 'very heavy army job' stepped up from 28 percent to 78 percent.²⁵ Research and experiment proved that female are more injured than man; have lower

> at 3rd January, 2008.

²⁰ Peach, above n 85, 200.

²¹ Pease and Pease, above n 1, 5; See also, Azat Gat, 'Female Participation in War: Bio-Cultural Interactions' (2000) 23(4) *The Journal of Strategic Studies* 21 22.

²² See, Gat, above n 93, 21; Peach, above n 85, 215; Youngman, above n 77, 41; Bradley Gerber, *Women in Military and Combat* (1998) < <http://www.militarywoman.org/academic.htm> > at 4th January 2008.

²³ 'Women in Armed Forces' (2002) (A Paper submitted by the Employment of women in armed forces steering group) 4.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Gerber, above n 94.

muscular weight and bone mass; less upper body mass and leg strength; have special hygiene requirements and less cardiovascular strength.²⁶ Moreover, the research evidenced that the lower level of testosterone hormone makes women less aggressive than man where aggressiveness is an important factor in war. In the same manner, the Canadian force experienced a higher rate of (32.2 percent) women dropout compared to that of man (11.9 percent) in-between 1989 to 1996.²⁷

The analysis of women's experience in various wars supports the fact. Firstly, women hardly had any combat experience. Secondly, women participations in other support roles were far-reaching and traumatic. As Martin Van Creveld cited the voice of a woman from WWII "we are all sick...all of us are still [c.1980] sick...the female body is not built for such hardships... the war not only robbed us of our youth, it has also kept many of us from having children as the greatest female happiness of all."²⁸ Similarly, a test of army officer candidates conducted at American Military Academy-West Point indicated that "only one woman out of 100 could meet a physical standard achieved by 60 out of 100 men."²⁹ In addition, Laura L. Miller quoted the interview of a woman who served in Iraq as

I believe women should be kept out of direct combat units such as the infantry and armor. Combat support units are fine. I served in a combat support unit during the war for 6 months and there were many more problems for the female soldiers out there than there were for the males (physically speaking). If the Army approved women in direct combat units it would only cause the unit to become less efficient.³⁰

The implication of weaker physical strength might have a far-reaching effect in the day to day military activities as in the outcome of war. Although women have not participated in combat in considerable number, much effect has already been pointed. The work which required 4 men had to be reassigned to mixed male- female group of six.³¹ This not only demands more human resources and more cost, rather make it tactically impossible. They not only had difficulty managing Pe-2 bomber, but even oozed more blood compared to men.³² In many training academy, the standards of training for women have been lowered or modified³³. Some women have experienced the adverse impact of menstruation cycle while some had increased level of performance. Likewise, meeting the previous standard of physical fitness after child birth is another equally prominent aspect with women soldiers.

It is obvious that comparably women are physically weaker than men. However, this fact cannot be generalized to all women. There are women who are stronger than men and can perform better than men as well.³⁴ Although generally less aggressive than men, women are aggressive in time of necessity especially in defense of threat.³⁵ Moreover, the advent of so called 'push button warfare' as a result of modern technology needs to be considered which not only lightened weapons and equipments rather changed the modus-operandi of warfare.³⁶ Since a considerable number of women have not participated in infantry or in combat, it is yet to be seen how they perform and how their aggressiveness functions. On the other hand, although some women met the required standard and trained themselves successfully, an increased tendency of choosing other arms, where there is less physical demand, has been observed.³⁷ Whatsoever are the arguments, there is no harm in allowing the women who meets the required combat standard, if the impediment is just the physiological issue. Instead, it will be a due regard to equal dignity of every human beings regardless of sex.

²⁶ See, Gat, above n 93, 21; 'Women in Armed Forces' (2002) (A Paper submitted by the Employment of women in armed forces steering group) 4; Peach, above n 85, 216; Adam N. Wojack, 'Integrating Women into the Infantry' (2002) *Military Review* 67 68.

²⁷ Julie Demers, *Looking for Able Women: The Canadian Army's Female Recruitment Campaign* < <http://www.geocities.com/Wellesley/3321/win10c.htm> > at 4th January 2008.

²⁸ Creveld, above n 29, 142.

²⁹ Gerber, above n 94.

³⁰ Laura L Miller, 'Feminism and the Exclusion of Army Women from Combat' (1998) *Gender Issues* 16(3)

³¹ Bradley Gerber, *Women in Military and Combat* (1998) < <http://www.militarywoman.org/academic.htm> > at 4th January 2008.

³² Creveld, above n 29, 144-145.

³³ See, Creveld, above n 29, 193; Gutmann, above n 90, 55-62; John Barrett III, *Gender Equality has Weakened, Paralyzed the Military* (2002) *Defence Watch* < <http://www.bible-researcher.com/women/barrett.html> > at 4th January 2008; Mark Thompson and Fort Leonard Wood, *Boot Camp Goes Soft* (2001) *Time* < <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1101970804-138095,00.html> > at 4th January 2008.

³⁴ Peach, above n 85, 216.

³⁵ Gat, above n 93, 24.

³⁶ Christopher Dandeker, *Women in the Military* Answers.com < <http://www.answers.com/topic/women-in-the-military> > at 4th January 2008.

³⁷ 'Women in Armed Forces' (2002) (A Paper submitted by the Employment of women in armed forces steering group) 9.

³⁸ Wilson and Dunn, above n 10, 645.

Psychological Concern

It has been observed from the above analysis that physiologically men and women are different and that these differences have some significance on military operation. However, there are women who meet the physical standard and can do better than men. Yet, other factors that play significant role need to be evaluated. Psychological concern is another big issue that has heated the debate. The psychology of every person and the society as a whole is influenced by the traditional norms, values, myth and the evolution of society. The continuous social change, education and finding in research impact the thinking and understanding as well. Throughout the history, women have been seen as a mother, sister or a symbol of peace. For a long time, the social construction and social evolution took place on that foundation. Winslow and Dunn quoted Lamerson as, "the negative attitudes of men towards women entering non-traditional roles can be attributed to a lack of information about women's abilities in the new role."³⁸ They further added the findings of SWINTER Land Trail as "men's negative reactions to women were based on unfamiliarity in working with women in field units; failure to prepare men for the introduction of women into their unit; and hesitancy of men in accepting women as potential combatants" The issue of proving masculinity by marginalizing women, nevertheless, might reflect minority of traditionalist's view. The statement from a British paratrooper verifies how deep-rooted is the notion of being a soldier with becoming a man.³⁹

A research concluded that even though the army as an organization is improving in equal opportunity policy, the entrenched mentality of males in military are struggling the adjustment.⁴⁰ Similarly, another research illustrated that the presence of mixed and contradictory opinion regarding women in combat within a group affected the team effectiveness, group dynamics and cohesiveness of organization as a whole.⁴¹ Furthermore, the masculine culture of military was made in the absence of women and working with mixed group might violate those norms which might impact the overall performance. The chemistry that is universal between the opposite sexes while working closely further becomes fragile in the military environment. Especially when the relation makes up and breaks up, anxiety and jealousies mount problems in manifold.⁴² Likewise, the presence of women could initiate the quest of proving manhood among men, making them rivals.⁴³ Another aspect that might produce resentment among male counterparts is that small numbers of women get separate privilege compared to larger numbers of men assigned to small facility, especially onboard in Navy.⁴⁴

As discussed earlier, military's ultimate mission is to win the war. The presence of women is argued to affect the combat effectiveness of male fighters. It is claimed that at one hand male soldiers tend to safeguard the female soldiers diverting their attention from enemy. On the other hand, the enemy gains morale from the fact that they are fighting with a weaker army composing of female soldier.⁴⁵ One of the reasons for the withdrawal of Israeli women from battle line, during 1948 war with Arab countries, was the assumption that the Arab soldiers fought with increased determination.⁴⁶ Mean while, the morale of Israeli soldiers suffered heavily on account of assassination of their female counterparts. Furthermore, female prisoners of war have a greater probability of being sexually abused, raped or molested, whereas such humiliations are rare in male tortures.⁴⁷ In addition, women are claimed to be emotionally and psychologically weaker to handle rigors of war and such incidents.

Social and cultural change is a very slow process and it definitely takes time before the hesitancy and indifference to the male counterparts are abolished. With time women will become a part of the military culture as well. It took so much of effort and struggle to liberate women from the boundaries of private sphere to public domain and today the younger generation of developed country can hardly guess that women were ever deprived of those rights. The integration of women in military has some bright side as well. Miller cited an experience of heavy equipment maintenance division

³⁹ Woodward and Winter, above n 27, 61.

⁴⁰ Newcastle University, 'Is Army Sexist' (Press Release, 5 February 2003) < <http://www.ncl.ac.uk/press.office/press.release/content.phtml?ref=1044447730> > at 5th January 2008; Wilson and Dunn, above n 10, 663.

⁴¹ 'Women in Armed Forces' (2002) (A Paper submitted by the Employment of women in armed forces steering group) 5.

⁴² See, Gerber, above n 94; 'Women in Armed Forces' (2002) (A Paper submitted by the Employment of women in armed forces steering group) 5.

⁴³ Youngman, above n 77, 41.

⁴⁴ Gerber, above n 114.

⁴⁵ Peach, above n 11, 43.

⁴⁶ 'Women in Armed Forces' (2002) (A Paper submitted by the Employment of women in armed forces steering group) 12.

⁴⁷ Peach, above n 117, 223; Gerber, above n 114.

where the female soldiers not only better took care of equipments and maintained clean and safe working environment rather even influenced male counterparts to do so.⁴⁸ She further mentioned the research findings of parallel trades that 'women are valuable asset in non-traditional field'. Similarly, a study of the Persian Gulf War and limited studies done under simulated combat units hinted that combat effectiveness is not affected in gender-integrated units.⁴⁹ Mostly, psychological issues are hypothetical assumptions and generalized from a small sample. With a shift in societal norms and values and as necessitated by the modern trend, men and women have become a part of common working place where the outcomes are outstanding. Military stereotype as a part of hardcore culture might take longer but will definitely succumb to reflect societal values that it protects.

Military and the Tactical Concern

Physiological as well as psychological domain often intersects the overall military and tactical concerns. Some issues specific to military and tactical concern are analyzed here. Born to win a war, for military these issues are of paramount concern. Issues such as combat effectiveness, unit cohesion, combat mission and deployability of women are analyzed in this section.

Combat effectiveness or combat readiness is the most contested issue in the discourse of women in combat as it is directly linked with the fulfilling of military mission. It is defined as 'the ability of a unit/formation/ship, weapon system or equipment to carry out its assigned mission, role or function'⁵⁰ and unit cohesion is its instrumental factor. Similarly, unit cohesion is described as 'the ability of a unit to remain committed towards the same goal utilizing the unit members, shared standards and support for each other'⁵¹. This means that each member in a mission should not only be equally qualified rather interdependent for the overall success of the mission, the failure of which could question their survival. The skills required need to be complementing each other and every action performed.

Both the combat effectiveness as well as the unit cohesion is indeed a resultant of several physiological and psychological factors making a unit effective of accomplishing its mission. Traditionalists and opponents of women in combat argued that presence of women would undermine unit cohesion and disrupt command and control system in unrelenting pressure of battlefield ultimately disrupting the combat effectiveness. They contested that women's low physical performance and romantic bonding coupled with sexual attraction, hatred, jealousy, misconduct and allegation would render the unit ineffective.⁵² Men are not ready to believe that they will be evacuated by a female counterpart lifting their heavier weight amidst combat situation. Physical strength at such moments could be a life saver. Similarly, in case of hit of ship, among other factors, strength in crew members to lift heavy things could be a survival factor.⁵³ As discussed earlier, the tactical unsuitability of more female crews in place of less number of male crews can be linked here. Another issue that jeopardizes the combat effectiveness is the tendency of male fighters to either outrage or demoralize them. Israeli Defense Force experienced the effect of women in combat as their Islamic enemy hardly surrendered before female soldiers⁵⁴. Moreover, due to the double standard that followed presence of women, it affected the morale and performance⁵⁵ of the unit. Even the interoperability⁵⁵ of the unit is staked.⁵⁶ All these factors become more important and more fragile as the severity of the combat increases. Some proponents of exclusion of women in combat claim that unit cohesion and combat effectiveness is

⁴⁸ ; Laura L Miller, 'Feminism and the Exclusion of Army Women from Combat' (1998) *Gender Issues* 16(3)

⁴⁹ Youngman, above n 77, 42.

⁵⁰ 'Women in Armed Forces' (2002) (A Paper submitted by the Employment of women in armed forces steering group) 2.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² See, J. David Galland, *A Women's Place is not Combat* (2002) Defense Watch < <http://www.bible-researcher.com/women/galland.html> > at 9th January 2008; Peach, above n 117, 212; Eilane Donnelly, 'Army Betraying is Women and Man' (2005) Center for Military Readiness < <http://web.archive.org/web/20050205151604/http://cmrlink.org/WomenInCombat.asp?DocID=243> > at 9th January 2008; Gerber, above n 94.

⁵³ John Barrett III, *Gender Equality has Weakened, Paralyzed the Military* (2002) Defense Watch < <http://www.bible-researcher.com/women/barrett.html> > at 9th January 2008.

⁵⁴ Judith Stiehm *Its Our Military Too!: Women in the US Military* (1996) 185.

⁵⁵ According to the report by the Employment of Women in the Armed Forces Steering Group, Interoperability is the ability of an individual to carry out a range of tasks within his or her unit, without extra training. Units involved in direct combat have a greater requirement for interoperability because the need for immediate replacement of casualties is greater. Thus in an infantry unit all soldiers must possess the skills, and be at the required standard, for inclusion in a combat team.

⁵⁶ Mackubin Thomas Owens, *A Man's Job* (2005) National Review Online < <http://www.nationalreview.com/owens/owens200505120814.asp> > at 9th January 2008.

better achieved in a homogeneous group. Dunivin quoted a former Commandant of Marine Corps, United States as 'If you want to make a combat unit ineffective, assign women to it'.⁵⁷

Deployability and quick turnover of female soldiers to and from the war zone is yet another issue of military and tactical nature. On the one hand, due to pregnancy, women are not always to be deployable to combat zone; require quick turnover to safer zone and only limited task can be assigned to them.⁵⁸ These actions obviously affect the readiness of the unit. On the other hand, the tendency of getting pregnant to avoid the combat assignments or onboard ship has been identified. This action definitely ignites the psychological disturbances within male counterpart.⁵⁹ Writer and editor of Issues and Views magazine, Elizabeth Wright quoted the findings of a research, according to which "At any given time, up to 18 percent of Navy women are pregnant and a study of two ships showed a pregnancy rate as high as one in three. That's nearly 8,423 women, or enough to crew almost two aircraft carriers." Similarly she added "During Desert Storm, 1,145 women on ships needed to be reassigned because of pregnancies, at an average of 95 per month"⁶⁰ Likewise, Bradley cited the Newsweek report that "about once every three days a woman has to be evacuated from Bosnia to Germany because she's pregnant. That rate is less than half of the 'Love Boat', the repair ship Arcadia that lost 36 of its 360 women sailors to pregnancy during the Gulf War."⁶¹ These evidences reiterate the legitimacy of excluding women from the military as a valid reason. Pregnancy affected not only the readiness and deployability, rather the effectiveness of the mission as well. The logistical need and special care that is necessary for a pregnant woman will not be cost effective and efficient in terms of man management.

In contrast, some feminists and the proponents of women in combat have their own arguments. Countering the issues of unit cohesion, Coppola et al mentioned that, although the initial days of integration will suffer decreased performances and stress, it will subside over time, as team building takes place and adjustment will be achieved for optimal unit cohesion⁶². Wojack compared the case with the situation of Blacks and Whites when Blacks were first initially integrated in American army. Although, initially, Whites blamed Blacks to be less trustworthy and reckless and Blacks countered alleging Whites to be exhibiting racism, with time, both unit cohesion and combat effectiveness improved.⁶³ He further went on adding that once women comprise one fifth of the total strength in any unit, they will not be viewed as a woman rather as an individual soldier. What is really interesting to note here is the finding of RAND research 1997 as sponsored by department of defense in the US which indicated command function in unit to be more responsible to emphasize importance of each individual to strengthen unit cohesion rather than gender-integration affecting the cohesion⁶⁴. Moreover, the same report discovered the notion that too much of unit cohesion is detrimental for the effective functioning as unit member prioritize emotions like 'friendship and social activities' to their duties. Furthermore, it was learnt from the gender- integration trials of Canada that gender-mixed units have performed with higher efficiency and better capability than homogeneous units.⁶⁵

Military institution has always been the matter of pride and the ultimate defense of the nation. As brought out in the summary of Presidential Commission Findings, 'Civil society protects individual rights, but the military, which protects civil society, must be governed by different rules'.⁶⁶ This obviously does not mean that military should be devoid of rights and human dignity. However, when it comes to saving nation and its lawful existence, military necessities of combat effectiveness through unit cohesion and readiness have to be prioritized above all. On the other hand, military should try and balance the military necessity and rightful need of the civil society. Issue like pregnancy affects

⁵⁷ Karen O Dunivin, 'Military Culture: Change and Continuity (1994) 20(4) *Armed Forces and Society*

⁵⁸ See, Gerber, above n 94; Peach, above n 6, 218.

⁵⁹ See, Elizabeth Wright, *Feminism and Demoralization of Enemy* (2007) Global Politician < <http://www.globalpolitician.com/articledes.asp?ID=3735&cid=1&sid=119> > at 10th January 2008; Barrett III, above n 125; Peach, above n 6, 218

⁶⁰ Wright, above n 131.

⁶¹ See, Gerber, above n 94.

⁶² M. Nicholas Coppola, Kevin G Lafrance and Henry J. Carretta 'The Female Infantryman: A Possibility?' (2002) November – December *Military Review* 55, 57.

⁶³ See, Kenneth L. Karst, *Law's promise, Law's expression: Visions of power in the Politics of Race, Gender and Religion* 113; Adam N Wojack, 'Integrating Women into the Infantry' (2002) November- December *Military Review* 67 71.

⁶⁴ Kim Field and John Nagl, 'Combat Roles For Women: A Modest Proposal' (2001) 31(2) *Parameters*.

⁶⁵ Wojack, above n 135, 72.

⁶⁶ See, *Women in Combat: Selected Findings – 1992 Presidential Commission* (2004) Center for Military Readiness < <http://cmrlink.org/WomenInCombat.asp?docID=233> > at 13th January 2008.

deployment as well as combat effectiveness. However, it can not be generalized that all women will choose to be pregnant. Even the pregnancy issue can be well planned and better managed. The fact is that it has never been tried this way.

Social Concern

The social concern of integrating women in combat carries a greater weight. This is because society forms a nation and military guards the same society. The norms, values and perception of society directly affect the military way. In a civilized democratic society civilian control of military has been a norm.⁶⁷ So, the perception and demand of civil society deliberately shapes the military. At one hand, neither the civil society is ready to accept women to see in body bags nor are they ready to change women's image as carer and nurturer and accept them in contrasting role of masculine warrior ferociously killing people.⁶⁸ On the other hand, the issue of sexual harassment, consensual or forced sexual relationship befalls heavy on societal balance in a civilized society. Moreover, turning women to morals and values adopted by men would be demeaning the social value of feminism and disregarding the specialties of being a woman.

As discussed earlier, the socio-psychological image of women as carer, nurturer and weak, has deeply engraved into the attitude of much of civil society and many military personnel. These beliefs eventually aided to forbade women in military and especially into the combat, compared to actual issues of physiological difference. At one hand, the social integration of women into military culture, in spite of legal integration has been an issue, as experienced by the Canadian Force.⁶⁹ On the other hand the civil society itself is not ready to see women in a contrasting role. Creveld quoted a Congressman Somers as "A Women's army to defend the United States of America! Think of the humiliation. What has become of the manhood of America that we have to call on our women to do what has ever been the duty of men?"⁷⁰ This clearly exhibits the perception of the society as the representative of citizen articulated the impression. A further instance of this is the conclusion of Canadian Human Rights Tribunal would be interesting to produce here as it noted:

Cohesion and the physical and environmental elements are susceptible to management. Integration policies and practices can be designed and applied. We agree.... that attitude is a major factor in making integration work. . . . Behaviour can to some extent be mandated, with sanctions and rewards as inducements but attitudinal change may not keep pace, and it is this element that must accompany the implementation of an integration policy. Leadership and commitment to integration are essential at the mid and upper levels of command because it is in the operational units that integration must take place.⁷¹

It can be observed that neither the civil society was ready nor the military was ready to integrate the women in combat. Much research and writings on these issues have concluded that public is not ready to accept women casualties and thus not prepared to send them in combat.⁷² The survey done for the Presidential Commission on the Assignment of Women in Armed Forces, 1992 and a survey of attitudes towards the employment of army, 2002 indicated the lack of readiness of public⁷³. The role of women as a mother, care taker and the bearer of future generation are equally emphasized by the social scientists. They fear that diversion of the natural role of women might destabilize the social harmony.

Another prominent social concern is the issue of sexual harassment, consensual and the exploitative consensual sexual harassment that grew rampant with the integration of women

⁶⁷ Michael C. Desch, *Civilian Control of the Military, The Changing Security Environment* (1999) 5.

⁶⁸ Youngman, above n 77, 43.

⁶⁹ Wilson and Dunn, above n 10, 643.

⁷⁰ Creveld, above n 8, 135.

⁷¹ Wilson and Dunn, above n 10, 654.

⁷² See, Mackubin T. Owens, 'Mothers in Combat boots' (1997) 23 (1) *The Human Life Review* 35, 44; Peach, above n 6, 224; *Female General: U.S. Not Ready For Women Combat* (1996) < <http://scholar.lib.vt.edu/VA-news/VA-Pilot/issues/1996/vp960328/03280403.htm> > at 4th February 2008

⁷³ See, United States General Accounting office, *Gender Issues: Information on DOD's Assignment Policy and Direct Ground Combat Definition* (1998) Defense Technical Information Center < <http://stinet.dtic.mil/oai/oai?verb=getRecord&metadataPrefix=html&identifier=ADA354970> > at 4th February 2008; 'Women in Armed Forces' (2002) (A Paper submitted by the Employment of women in armed forces steering group) 14.

in military. Combat being more intense and requiring close physical intimacy under uncontrolled situations and extended period of time, the vulnerability for sexual relationship is more increased. US Army Sergeant Mary Reader revealed how the men and women warmed each other and how inter-rank affairs prevailed during her service in Desert Storm.⁷⁴ On the other hand, the threat of being accused as a matter of jealousy, revenge or misconception to ruin the career has antagonized the working environment within gender-integrated units.⁷⁵ The presence of women in military served as morale boosters 'bringing touch of home in otherwise cold military' environment⁷⁶. During the initial days, they were considered as the trophies for the best person in Israeli Defense force.⁷⁷ In a short duration of women's integration in military, the world witnessed thousands of evidences of sexual harassments, misconducts and accusations. The cases of sexual harassments are in continuous rise in US Army.⁷⁸ Almost every servicewoman is reported to have experienced some form of sexual harassment in British Army.⁷⁹ The case is no different for Canadian Army, Israeli Army, Russian Army or any other army where gender integrated unit exists.⁸⁰

The cohabitation of men and women has been problematic not only within the military premises but partners of both the sexes waiting at home are equally restless and worried. Suzanne Fields quoted a wife of a non-commissioned officer as "The shock of my spouse sleeping in the same room with the opposite sex morally outraged me," she says. "My husband and I are proud to be in service for our country. This policy may cause us to change how we uphold our freedoms and earn our living."⁸¹ Bradley mentioned the notion of a military man who would feel the same and unsecured if their wives would serve in such a confined situation.⁸²

However, social norms and perceptions are all human constructs and are subjected to continuous change. At one hand, sexual harassment of women is being continuously battled and on the other hand the emerging trend of male soldier being sexually harassed and forced to prostitution has blurred the distinction of sexual harassment.⁸³ In lesser numbers, male being sexually assaulted by women have also been the headlines of the news. The fact of male being bullied by the superior male inside the army is not new to anyone.⁸⁴ These statements draw the notion of weaker being harassed by the stronger rather than women by men. It is a mere coincidence that majority of women are nurtured weaker. Even the public views and opinions regarding women participation in combat are changing with no distinction between male and female casualties.⁸⁵ In the same manner, the role of media in influencing the public perceptions is equally strong. In her interview Kelly Oliver critiqued media as "...these examples [from media] have inflamed public sentiment and emotions and replaced the realities of war with the fantasies of women as virgins or whores who either need protection or threaten with their dangerous sexuality"⁸⁶. Moreover, if Charles Darwin's Theory of Natural Selection holds good, future generation female would definitely born stronger provided their parent generation acquires that character. Then if a woman is nurtured to qualify for combat, she would outwit the average. Societal and cultural change is a gradual process and it takes time to get the social acceptance. However, once it is accepted it becomes a norm.

⁷⁴ Suzanne Fields, *Self Discipline or Cohabitation- Which is Military Fantasy?* (1995) BNET < http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1571/is_n7_v11/ai_16679996 > at 14th January 2008.

⁷⁵ See, Donnelly, above n 47, 823-833; *Sex, Lies and Rape*' (2006) Center for Military Readiness < <http://cmrlink.org/social.asp?docID=276> > at 13th January 2008.

⁷⁶ Dafna N. Israeli, 'Gendering Military Service in Israel Defense Forces' Gerard J DeGroot and Corinna Peniston-Bird (ed) *A Soldier and A Woman: Sexual Integration in Military* 256 268-269.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ See, R. Jeffrey Smith, 'Sexual Assault in Army on Rise' (2004) *Washington Post* A01; Sara Corbett, 'The Women's War' (2007) *The New York's Time Magazine* 42 46.

⁷⁹ Jacqueline Maley, *Sexual Harassment Rife in Armed Forces* (2006) The Guardian Unlimited < http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk_news/story/0,,1783461,00.html > at 14th January 2008.

⁸⁰ Julie Demers, *Looking for Able Women: The Canadian Army's Female Recruitment Campaign* < <http://www.geocities.com/Wellesley/3321/win10c.htm> > at 14th January 2008.

⁸¹ Fields, above n 146.

⁸² See, Gerber, above n 94.

⁸³ Wilson O, *Sex Slavery And Male Prostitution Plaguing Russian Army* (2007) Culture and Traditions < <http://cultrad.blogspot.com/2007/03/sex-slavery-and-male-prostitution.html> > at 14th January 2008.

⁸⁴ James K. Wither, *Battling Bullying in British Army 1987-2004* (2004) The Journal of Power Institutions in Post-Soviet Societies < <http://www.pipss.org/document46.html> > at 14th January 2008.

⁸⁵ Martha Mc Sally, 'Women in Combat: Is the Current Policy Obsolete?' (2007) 14 *Duke Journal of Gender Law and Policy* 1011 1043-1044.

⁸⁶ Tyler Zimmer, Interview with Kelley Oliver, author of *Women as Weapon of War: Iraq, Sex and the Media* (11 July 2007) < <http://media.vanderbiltorbis.com/media/storage/paper983/news/2007/11/07/MediaAndBookReviews/Women.As.Weapons.Of.War.Iraq.Sex.And.The.Media-3085285.shtml> > at 20 January 2008.

Conclusion

It has been demonstrated throughout the paper that the issue of women in military and especially in combat has been extensively debated and argued. At one hand, women are gradually integrated to more and more occupations and positions and on the other hand the controversy of women joining the combat has equally been sensationalized. Combat, being the central- the crown of military function, has been the core of argument. Traditionalists and conservatives argued that women should not join the combat because of its direct impact in combat effectiveness and cohesion of the unit owing to various physiological, psychological, social and tactical concerns. In contrast, various feminists and advocates of equal opportunity claim the women in combat as their right and argued that all issues are merely a social construct that can be bridged.

An analysis of discourse reflected that the issue of women in combat has led to universalize the category 'women' without looking at subgroups within that category. The demand for gender equality has taken the form of virtual war between men and women. In words of Professor Schwartz, "the feminists' holy war against 'toxic man' is as ferocious in its way as the Muslim holy war against the west."⁸⁷ However, the reality is different. There are service women who are against women joining combat⁸⁸; there are pacifist women who emphasize on the role of women as ambassador of peace and women who are neutral. Likewise, there are service men who support women joining the combat and those who exclusively think of it as a male domain. It is of utmost necessity that diverse voices should be considered before analyzing the issue of women joining the combat. The feminists claim of right to fight without accounting the views of different women and just as a token of equality would be an effort to honor killing rather than empowering them to address women's issues. The race to militarize would be valuing war and losing human values and pacific nature that distinguish human beings from animals.

Military culture, as discussed, is constructed on the foundation of traditional beliefs and practices and is naturally defiant to social changes. Even though it is argued that 'civil society protects individual right but the military who protects civil society must be governed by different rules,'⁸⁹ the military should not remain aloof from the societal norms, values and emerging trend. For an organization which has taken the responsibility of safeguarding the national interest and sovereignty of nation and its people, mission accomplishment and thus combat effectiveness and unit cohesion are of paramount necessity and nonnegotiable. However, the claim that gender integration will degrade the combat effectiveness and unit cohesion is basically based on scant empirical evidence⁹⁰ and more on philosophical positions. If any effect is to be evaluated, it has to be tried in larger scale and for a longer period of time. Only this can show whether the feminist claim of equal opportunity is genuine or an ideal dream fantasized in times of perfection.

A common argument against women's involvement is that, physiologically men and women are different with men having lot of physical advantage. But there are women who are physically on par with men and sometimes are even stronger. Tactically, there is no harm in allowing these women to join combat if they meet the predetermined standard to meet their combat effectiveness. They should be well aware of the possible consequences and be mentally prepared. Likewise, it is demonstrated that the psychological and social concerns are embedded in myth, beliefs and attitudes. With time and practice they are subjected to change. The beginning is definitely turbulent and demands the best women to establish themselves. But once established, then it becomes the norm and disintegration rather than integration of women will degrade the combat effectiveness.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Paul Craig Roberts, 'Criminalizing Masculinity' (2001) Bible Research < <http://www.bible-researcher.com/women/roberts2.html> > at 14th January 2008.

⁸⁸ Eilane Donnelly, 'Army Betraying its Women.. and Man' (2005) Center for Military Readiness < <http://www.cmrlink.org/WomenInCombat.asp?docID=243> > at 9th January 2008.

⁸⁹ *Selected Findings- 1992 Presidential Commission* (2004) Center for Military Readiness < <http://cmrlink.org/WomenInCombat.asp?docID=233> > at 14th January 2008.

⁹⁰ Mackubin T. Owens, 'Mothers in Combat boots' (1997) 23 (1) *The Human Life Review* 35, 36.

⁹¹ *Ibid* 44.

A wide range of research is done in this contentious issue of women in combat. Overwhelming views and opinions have accumulated around the debate. However, based on the findings of this paper, the personal qualifications and not the gender or sex, should be the criteria for women in combat. Historically, although women had minimal experience in combat, they have been an inevitable part of war and complementary to men's endeavour. With transformation in social spectrum and public perceptions, women's participation in military has escalated widely and in extensive positions and occupations. The analysis of contemporary policies indicates that the core issue of women in combat has been approached differently in different countries. In countries where combat is open to all, women participation is less and the tendency to shift to non-combat branch is high. It is observed that the category 'women' has been universalized although all women do not want to join combat or even support women in military. On the other hand, the military culture which evolved in the absence of women in military essentially demands for masculinities and portrays values of warrior ethics. They are essential to meet the military objective of a nation; however, it is never proved that women's participation will affect combat effectiveness and unit cohesion. The debate is interwoven with legend of male-female nature and nurture; stereotypes and suppositions; military necessity and belief; gender equality and justice; and family and citizenship responsibility⁹². Equating the pros and cons its elicited that although in general term, women are physiologically weaker, all women are not weak; although there are psychological concern, they can be bridged with time and practice; although there are military and tactical concern, they are based on assumptions and social concerns change with social transformation.

Thus, it can be elicited that provided women meet the predetermined standard for combat, they should be allowed to join the combat ensuring equal opportunity. Rather than generalizing and judging as men and women, the selection criteria should be based on a personal capability. Combat effectiveness should not be compromised whereas the ways and means of achieving them should definitely be flexible to emerging societal trends and values. This paper further argued that if the present generations of women are allowed to join combat, it may be that the future generation of women will biologically inherit the character. However, this conclusion is limited to the scope of this paper.

(The article is a extracted from the research paper submitted by the author to Law faculty, University of Melbourne while pursuing his Post Graduate study)

⁹² See above n 93.



Woman must not accept; she must challenge.

She must not be awed by that which has been built up around her;

she must reverence that woman in her which struggles for expression.

~ Margaret Sanger ~

PEACEKEEPING: A TOOL TO PROMOTE NEPALESE FOREIGN POLICY

Pilot Lt Col Man Bahadur Karki
No. 11 Brigade



Foreign Policy is a lifeline for smooth functioning of every state. Its effective planning, implication and proper utilization support a lot to run the country and build up balance relation with the international community. When its uses are correctly employed country reaps the opportunity to promote and attain the foreign policy goals. Normally, country focuses on how it's vital and major interests can be achieved through the foreign policy tools. Nepal's foreign policy is basically based on the United Nations Charter, Non Aligned Movement, commitment to international covenants and obligations, peaceful co-existence of the country and so on. Nepal can gain significant progress for the promotion of Nepal's foreign policy by contributing continuous and quality peacekeeper at the UN request.

The magnitude of the United Nations peacekeeping mission is rising on the horizon ever than before. Until the cold war, peacekeeping missions was mainly concentrated in achieving the classical role of monitoring ceasefire and showed presence in buffer zone. However, the low intensity conflict, globalization, marginalization, ethnic cleansing, disintegration of the countries, terrorism, border conflict, good governance, anarchism, humanitarian affairs and global warming are the major security challenges of the contemporary world. Comparatively, during the post-Cold war period the number of the UN missions increased dramatically. Until 1990, total number of the peacekeeping missions was eighteen and sixty three till to date. This shows that the UN role has been concurrently sought to attain its core objective of maintaining world peace and security.

Peacekeeping is one of the paramount activities of the UN. The traditional role of keeping peace has been transformed to robust nature including enforcement under the UN Chapter-VII. Normally, peacekeeping is considered as Chapter six and half in absence of clear provision in the charter. Nepal is contributing peacekeepers both in the non-combat (engineering, cease-fire monitoring, mentoring) and combat nature peacekeeping mission (use of force like in Somalia and Congo). Peace operation includes but not limited to peacekeeping, peacemaking, peace monitoring and peace building. Thanks to Canadian Foreign Minister, Mr Pierson to envisage this concept of peacekeeping to tackle and prevent the conflict to further escalates. Nepal commenced its peacekeeping march since 1958 June 12 with small Nepalese Army Military Observer assignment in the Middle East. According to the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the UN and Government of Nepal (GoN), Nepal pledged five thousand troops i.e. one Brigade for UN Standby Arrangement System (UNSAS). It lauds our long term commitment and true sincerity for peace as main agenda since its very first participation which makes proud of decades of professional, capable and trustworthy service for the noble cause of keeping peace anywhere in the world, be it in Africa or Asia or Europe or Caribbean region.

Peacekeeping is not sole means to achieve the peace. Still some missions are in operation more than forty years or even more. Demand for the peacekeeping is rising, but it has also some constraints in consensus, political goal and financial resources. Despite global financial recession US \$ 8 billion is allocated for this year global peacekeeping mission and the USA, Japan and European countries are the major donors. In order to deploy swiftly and harmonizing the peace support, the UN has started to draw involvement of regional organization like European Union, Economic Commission of West African States (ECOWAS) and African Union under Chapter-VIII.

Peacekeeping is challenging in nature. It involves myriad of risk and vulnerability of life as peacekeeper has to work in unknown hostile and harsh place which may stand on and off at the edge of regular and irregular force. Nepal has its participation in thirteen missions out of the sixteen running peace operation across the world. Despite challenges and hazard, more than seventy thousands soldiers have already served for the benevolent cause of peace and more than seventy courageous sons of Nepal sacrificed their lives as blue helmeted peacekeepers. There is no strategic gain for Nepal directly; however, country has to recognize it as main tool of our foreign policy to promote

Nepal and Nepali in the world. Nepalese Peacekeepers are the peace ambassador of Nepal who propagates Nepal's strong commitment of peace vocally in the world. Like Mount Everest, natural heritage (flora and fauna), Gurkha soldiers, Gautam Buddha, Nepali peacekeepers valued service is no less than these ornaments to recognize Nepal in the world arena. According to the standing table, Nepal stands at the fifth out of one hundred sixteen peacekeeping contributing countries. As of 31 October 2009, the current top ten standing table is as follows:

Ranking	Troop Contributing Country	Strength
1	Pakistan	10,605
2	Bangladesh	10,282
3	India	8,759
4	Nigeria	5,905
5	Nepal	4,348
6	Egypt	4,140
7	Rwanda	3,683
8	Jordan	3,669
9	Ghana	3,398
10	Italy	2,666
Source: http://www.un.org/peace		

By contributing Army and Police (Nepal Police and Armed Force) personnel, Nepal has shown its capacity, courage and competence in the world. It is a rare occasions that Nepal, where UN monitored peace process underway after a decade long insurgency has been contributing for the global peace. This is a true appreciation for Nepalese peacekeepers and acknowledgement of our working principle, behavior and professionalism especially for the neutral, credible and impartial apolitical peacekeepers. Therefore, the government and stakeholders shall require in focusing ways to strengthen, expand and explore more contribution as the Nepal has comparative advantage in this field.

Presently, Nepal is contributing Infantry, Military Police, Engineers, Military Observers, Staff Officers from the Nepalese Army and Formed Police Unit, Police Advisor, UN Police from the Nepal Police and Armed Police Force. This peacekeeping contribution in the troubled region is multi dimensional with multifaceted roles as enshrined in the mandate of respective UN mission and Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the UN. In multi-dimensional platform, the civil, police and military people work jointly to achieve the mission goal. Every peacekeeper gets important formal lecture on rules of engagement, human rights, culture, religion, local custom, traffic lessons, AIDS and so forth knowledge in order to work in a team or individual basis. And the participation in the mission is based on self-sustainment basis which requires troops to be relying on their Contingent Owned Equipment (COE), manpower and logistical arrangement.

Day by day, peacekeeping participation competition is being increased among the third world countries. Nepal's participation in numerous fields has already proved that Nepal can contribute professional peacekeepers in the multi fields at the UN request. Moreover, this also proves Nepal's considerable contribution for the global peace. In order to maintain the same legacy and vital position in this peacekeeping field, Nepal needs to give the top priority in fulfilling the requirement and standard before the deadline. If country fails to meet the requirement and UN standard in the stipulated time frame, our previous legacy and laurel will be jeopardized and same rhythm can't be maintained in one hand. On the other hand, few Nepalese got an enviable position in the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operation (DPKO) such as Military Advisor and Secondment offers in the UN Head Quarter and Force Commander in the field mission. However, it is not enough, balance and fair recognition for the capable, dedicated, disciplined and professional Nepalese peacekeepers. The government can best utilize the diplomatic front to lobby for the reputed post both in the UN Head Quarters and field mission so that peacekeeping tool be effectively capitalized to promote Nepal's Foreign policy across the world.

RESTRUCTURING OUR ARMY ; AN ANGLE OF NOTION

Lt Col Sudarshan Silwal



Introduction

1. The End of cold war marked a basic paradigm shift with respect to warfare trend. More recently the wars were mostly waged by mighty coalitions against weaker opponents. States capable of producing and fielding the most advanced military technology were hardly engaged in full-scale conventional war. The most important single reason of not taking place such war is a nuclear factor. Nuclear deterrence is one of the major causes which is preventing such war to take place and making it less likely in future as well. Newer trend is a war fueled by ethnic and religious intolerance, political and economic instability and ideological differences. The majority of conflict in the 21st century seems to occur in the form of low intensity conflict.

2. In front of nuclear powers, any conventional armies and weapon systems are largely useless, a fact which itself induced most of the nuclear nations to acquire nuclear weapons. It also means that nuclear weapon is a most prominent deterrence against mighty armies. So the weaker states would always try to acquire nuclear weapons to neutralize the threat. We as a nation with poor economy should analyze the threat properly and set our priorities in making investments in such an area.

3. Our country is adopting federal national structure, along with this proposed system security challenges have surfaced in pretext of various demands. In a way the fundamental norms and values are seriously hindered which are key to bind us as a nation state and sovereign citizen. So, strengthening our national defense should be a key factor in our restructuring drive of the national army. And this effort should guarantee for safeguarding our national interest by building a professional army in an all-round way.

4. Nepal needs to work on over defence review to provide appropriate guidelines for the restructuring. In the absence of that, national security policy can be the source for the fundamental reorganization and reform of all its military structures to build a viable capability for the security of the nation. In addition to that, restructuring should also focus in our role of international peace and security, develop inter-operability for the joint operation and training on an appropriate scale.

Threats to National Security

5. There are factors most important compared any other factors which is to be considered in each and every efforts of restructuring.

(a) **External** There are so many factors to determine the threat coming from outside, noticeably; Increasing military power of neighbors, nuclear neighborhood, Regional instability, Trans- border crimes, Globalization, Climate change, Terrorism are the major threat to challenge our national security.

(b) **Internal** The ground reality factors to boost fragile internal security are; Political instability, Illegal armed group activities, Small arms proliferations, Ethnic and caste conflict, While collar crimes, Crimes and violence, Migration (internal and external), Insurgency or separatists movement, Domestic terrorism, Religious extremism, Poverty and socio-economic disparity, Cultural violence, Natural and man-made disasters, Drugs and HIV/AIDS, Brain

drain, activities of foreign intelligence agencies and Refugees.

Defence Review

6. A team of experts should work on reviewing our defence, with mandate to analyse over all security threats as mentioned earlier (external and internal), our current capacity and equivalent standard required. Appropriate government body with executive authority is desired be the part of entire process of defence review so that it gains legitimacy and importance. The followings can be an approach to conduct defence review.

- (a) Define objectives and organize appropriately for conduct of defence review.
- (b) Conduct Threat Assessment.
- (c) Develop a strategy to counter such threats.
- (d) Develop defence review.
- (e) Develop implementation plan for defence review.

Army Restructuring

7. We need to ensure that the professional capability exists to conduct the necessary restructuring in line with the outcomes of the overall national defence review with regards to each of the arms and services. It is also essential to develop the necessary policies related to human resources and its various aspects involving personnel management, salaries and social conditions in order to build a viable personnel base for the armed forces. There are so many fundamental issues to deal with restructuring, issues can vary along with approaches.

- (a) Enact necessary legislation in military man management, state procurement, military service and status of military personnel.
- (b) Reorganize and restructure existing force structure, chain of command, deployment and authority delegation.
- (c) Make an effort to raise Air Force, a viable deterrence to the threat.
- (d) Reorganize and restructure Armed police force as a sister organization and raise industrial and border security forces.
- (e) Establishment of modern air surveillance system along with other electronic and surveillance units.
- (f) Development of modern ground-based air defence capability.
- (g) Establish reserve system and new mobilization concepts.

8. Along with above mentioned areas, there are certain sectors which need special consideration in the restructuring efforts. Some of them are as mentioned in subsequent headings.

(a) **Human resources for armed force** Human resources are the most important resources to run any organization. Enrollment, training and retaining quality man power is always challenging for any armies in the world. These manpower are not prepared over night which needs years of dedication and hard work, so the motivating factor always plays greater role. The following areas are noticed to work in the human resource aspects;

- (1) Develop and implement a concrete personnel management system to retain trained man power and encourage new members.
- (2) Train MOD civilian staff in current responsibilities and develop a long term training program compatible to responsibility.

- (3) Implement pays and allowances system appropriate to SAARC standard.
- (4) Draw an attractive career plan based on performance, professionalism and contribution.

(b) **Military and interoperability issues** Us as a professional force should regard interoperability as essential key to modernization. That intends to establish training management policies/ procedures and their correspondent institutions as related to the development of overall armed forces standards and practices. This will enhance our forces capability to operate in an international environment. Develop individual and small unit training standards in parallel, review neighboring army doctrines, tactics, techniques and procedures. This helps to maintain our forces in international standard and will have positive implications in working with UN and other friendly armies in a joint exercise scenario.

(c) **Defence economics** Nepal requires improving the efficiency and monitoring of its defence expenditure and defence budgeting processes in order to develop affordable and sustainable defence capabilities. It needs to adopt a coherent and long-term plan of addressing the economic implications of army modernization drive. We may even need to think in the line of establishing defence industries with consumable items, it is of paramount importance especially for the country like our geopolitics reality.

(d) **Peacekeeping** National Peacekeeping Force is recommended to be established as a strong, permanent organisation with its own infra-structure for administration, training, command control and separate budget. Forces have to be catered standby with proper training, equipment and logistic to be able to deploy within any given frame of time.

Conclusion

9. The objectives of strong national army are to foresee and eliminate all the possible areas of the danger arising internally or externally to the national security. Every nation depending upon its threat and resources, leadership formulates national security polices and prepare their element of national powers for the possible eventualities. This is not the question weather we need to fight or not but we should stand above all that and prepare our army to be able to deal the frequent changing pattern of security threats. We can't predict the exact nature of future war but more of that will be in the form of unconventional wars. We can at least try and strive to put together our efforts and resources, use it efficiently and manage wisely by drawing appropriate restructuring plan.

10. The need of the strong security force for the country is highly relevant in the context of the present day threats. We need not necessarily think in terms of comparison with our neighboring military powers and their sophisticated war machinery. But we can be complacent about such realities and their inherent consequences being wise and working towards goal. It may be not practical to desire sophisticated army with our available means and resources, "Rome was not build on one day", we can at least set our goals on priorities to be achieved within the laid down time frame.

"Mankind must put an end to war, or war will put an end to mankind. War will exist until that distant day when the conscientious objector enjoys the same reputation and prestige that the warrior does today."

- John F. Kennedy



1. Pre –United Nations Era

Palestine, which had been part of the Ottoman Empire since 1517, came under the domination of Great Britain at the end of the First World War. The last years before 1914 had witnessed a growth of Arab national sentiment demanding the decentralization of the Ottoman State and the establishment of Arab autonomy. When the Ottoman Empire entered the First World War on the side of the Central Powers, the British feared that the prestige of the Caliphate might be used in an attempt to raise all Islam against the Allies in a *Jihad* or Holy War. To meet this danger, negotiations were undertaken by the British with Hussein, the Sheriff and Emir of Mecca, who occupied a position of great prestige in the Arab World. In 1915, Sir Henry McMahon, British High Commissioner in Egypt, and Sheriff Hussein entered into an agreement for Arab co-operation against the Turks in return for certain British guarantees of Arab independence. In one of his letters Sheriff Hussein asked for British acknowledgement of Arab independence in the whole Arabian peninsula, except Aden, and roughly all of what is now Iraq, Israel, the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Syria and Lebanon. On 24 October 1915, Sir Henry McMahon replied delimiting the area in which Great Britain would agree to recognize Arab independence. While the Arabs claimed that Palestine had been included in the promise by the British for recognition of independence, Winston Churchill, then Secretary of State for Colonies asserted that "the whole of Palestine west of the Jordan was... excluded from Sir Henry McMahon's pledge". Sir Henry McMahon also declared later that he had meant to exclude Palestine from the terms of his pledge and had every reason to believe that Sheriff Hussein had understood this at the time of negotiations. At the same time Zionist settlers also laid the foundations of modern urban development in Tel Aviv. Mean while, there were also secret exchanges between Great Britain and France, which culminated in the Sykes-Picot Agreement of 16 May 1916 under which the area between the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf was divided into five distinct regions. Part of the area was to be under British control, part under French, part to be a British sphere of influence and part a French sphere of influence, and Palestine was to fall into a special category, its special regime to be determined by agreement between Russia, France and Great Britain.

1.1 Balfour Declaration

This, for the Arabs, meant a complete negation of the understanding arrived at between Sherif Hussein and Sir Henry McMahon. What is more, besides this secret agreement, Great Britain also entered into a promise to the Zionists concerning the future of Palestine. Arthur James Balfour, the British Foreign Secretary, issued a statement of policy on 2 November 1917, which contained, what has been generally referred to as, the Balfour Declaration. This Declaration read:

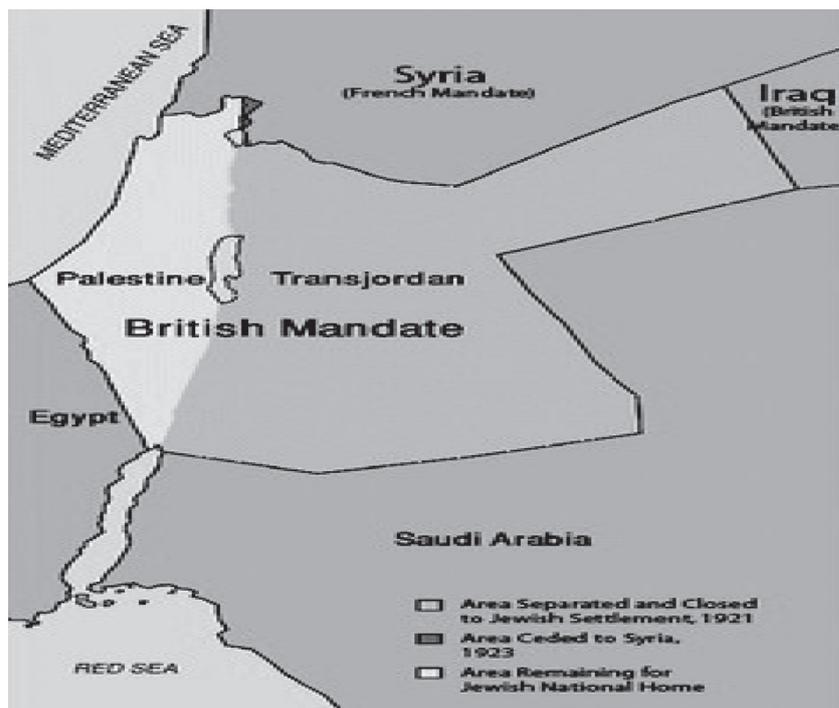
"His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

The Principal Allied powers, especially the United States, endorsed this Declaration. Its terms were, however, vague and permitted conflicting interpretations. The British had insisted from the beginning that there was no case for creating a Jewish State or Commonwealth in Palestine at that time since 90 per cent of the inhabitants were Arab speaking peoples who demanded national status and self-determination. Even Lloyd George, who was Prime Minister at that time, acknowledged that the Balfour Declaration was prompted by "propagandist reasons." Winston Churchill, as British Colonial Secretary, also denied in a white Paper, that the aim of the Declaration was to create a wholly Jewish Palestine. The Declaration, according to the White Paper, "did not contemplate that the Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a Home should be founded in Palestine." Zionists however insisted that the Declaration unequivocally recognized "the principle of recognizing Palestine as the national home of Jewish people". While the Zionists

thus misrepresented the British undertaking, the Arabs feared that, what ever the verbal limitations continuous Jewish immigration with its great economic strength must ultimately lead to the creation of a Jewish majority and the relegation of the Arabs to a subordinate place in Palestine. British policy to reconcile both was rebuffed by both.

1.2 British Mandate for Palestine

In April 1920, the conference of the Allied Powers, in San Remo, Italy considered the fate of the disremembered Ottoman Empire. The Allied Supreme Council assigned the Mandate for Palestine to Great Britain, providing therein that the Mandatory should, inter alia, be responsible for implementing the Balfour Declaration. The Mandate was officially endorsed by the Council of the League of Nations on 24 July 1922 and entered into force on 29 September 1923. The Mandate received an official interpretation in the British statement of policy issued by Winston Churchill as Colonial Secretary in June 1922. It rejected the suggestion that the Arabic population, language or culture might be subordinated to that of the Zionist. The latter, however, were in Palestine "as of right and not on sufferance" and might exhibit their capacities in the "free development" of the national home" in order that it may become a centre in which the Jewish people as a whole may take...an interest and a pride".¹ While the Zionist organization accepted this interpretation, the Arabs rejected it and proclaimed a policy of non co-operation with the government so long as the latter adhered to the Balfour Declaration. An Arab delegation to London, elected in 1921, comprising Muslims and Christians, denounced the British Government as having placed itself "in the position of a partisan in Palestine of a certain policy which the Arab cannot accept because it means has extinction sooner or latter." In 1929, they demanded that "after 10 years of absolute colonial rule in Palestine", a democratic system of government should be granted "in accordance with the Covenant of the League of Nations and pledges and declarations made to the Arabs by the Allies."



British Mandate for Palestine

Meanwhile the foundations of the Jewish national home were firmly established during the first years of the Mandate. From 1920 to 1929, the net immigration of Jews into Palestine amounted to 77,063.² Following serious Arab riots in 1929 on the matter of Jewish and Muslim rites concerning the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem a British Commission of Inquiry reported that Arab fears of Jewish immigration and Jewish land purchase had formed the fundamental cause of the riots and suggested closer control of Jewish immigration, and protection for the Arab peasants and tenants. These recommendations were accepted by the British in a white paper of May 1930. This provoked violent protests from the Zionists.

Following Hitler's rise to power, the wave of violent anti – Semitism which swept over Germany and Poland augmented Jewish immigration from central and Eastern Europe. Thus, while in 1931, Jews formed 17 percent of the population of Palestine, in 1940, it was about 30 percent. According to immigration statistics the total legal number of Jewish immigrants was 4,12,389, which was considered to be lower than the actual figures, since there was a large amount of clandestine Jewish immigration, estimated in the aggregate at 30,000 to 40,000 in 1939.

1.3 Great Arab Revolt (1936–1939)

In the late 1920s and early 1930s several factions of Arab society became impatient with the internecine divisions and ineffectiveness of the Arab elite and engaged in grass-roots anti-British and anti-Zionist activism organized by groups such as the Young Men's Muslim Association.. The death of the preacher Shaykh Izz ad-Din al-Qassam at the hands of the British police near Jenin in November 1935 generated widespread outrage and huge crowds accompanied Qassam's body to his grave in Haifa. A few months later a spontaneous Arab national general strike broke out. This lasted until October 1936. During this period from 1936–1939, known as the Great Arab Revolt or the "Great Uprising", British forces, supported by 6,000 armed Jewish auxiliary police, suppressed the widespread riots with overwhelming force. This resulted in the deaths of 5,000 Palestinian Arabs and the wounding of 10,000. In total 10 percent of the adult male population was killed, wounded, imprisoned, or exiled. The Jewish population had 400 killed; the British 200. In another significant development during this time the British officer Charles Orde Wingate (who supported a Zionist revival for religious reasons) organized Special Night Squads composed of British soldiers and Haganah mercenaries, which "scored significant successes against the Arab rebels in the lower Galilee and in the Jezreel valley" by conducting raids on Arab villages. Significantly, from 1936 to 1945, while establishing collaborative security arrangements with the Jewish Agency ,the British confiscated 13,200 firearms from Arabs and 521 weapons from Jews.

The attacks on the Jewish population by Arabs had three lasting effects: First, they led to the further development of Jewish underground militias, primarily the Haganah ("The Defense"), which were to prove decisive in 1948. Secondly, the attacks solidified general sentiment that the two communities could not be reconciled, and the idea of partition was born. Thirdly, the British responded to Arab opposition with the White Paper of 1939, which severely restricted Jewish immigration. However, with the advent of World War II, even this reduced immigration quota was not reached. The White Paper policy also radicalized segments of the Jewish population, who after the war would no longer cooperate with the British.

1.4 The British Mandate administration and training of local Arabs and Jews

From 1936 onward the British government facilitated the training, arming, recruitment and funding of a range of security and intelligence forces in collaboration with the Jewish Agency. These included the *Guards* (Notrim), which were divided into the 6,000 to 14,000-strong Jewish Supernumerary Police, the élite and highly mobile 6,000–8,000 strong Jewish Settlement Police and the Special Night Squads, the forerunner of Britain's Special Air Service regiments. There was also an élite strike force known as the FOSH, or *Field Companies*, with around 1,500 members, which were replaced by the larger HISH or *Field Force* in 1939.

The British had enlisted 6,000 Palestinian Arabs during the Second World War and 1,700 Palestinian Arabs were recruited into the Trans-Jordanian Frontier Force or T.J.F.F. . In addition the British supplied officers, such as John Bagot Glubb Pasha for the Jordan's Arab Legion, and supplied the Egyptian army with trucks, rifles and airplanes. The British army therefore was intimately involved, ironically, in the training of both sides for the coming conflict.

1.5 Lord Peel Commission

The evolution to independence of a number of Arab countries in the region e.g. Iraq, Syria and Egypt, increased the tension in Palestine, the Arabs claiming independence and democratic self-government, the prohibition of transfer of Arabs lands to Jews, and the stoppage of Jewish immigration.

These demands were, however, rejected. Armed bands of Arabs, thereupon, engaged British military detachments in battle and they were soon joined by Arabs from Syria and Iraq. The rulers and leaders of Iraq, Egypt and Saudi Arabia became actively interested in their cause. A Royal Commission appointed by the British government, with Lord Peel as its head reported in 1937, that the Arab and Jewish positions were irreconcilable and that the only hope of a solution lay in a partition of the country. The mandate should be terminated as in Iraq and Syria, and Great Britain should conclude treaties with an independent Arab state consisting of Transjordan and the hill country of Palestine, and the independent Jewish state, consisting of the maritime plain and Galilee while Jerusalem and Bethlehem and a narrow corridor connecting them with the sea should remain mandated territory. A transitional period was foreseen. The British government endorsed the findings of the commission. While one section of the Zionists was prepared to accept this scheme, at least as a temporary measure and with an extension of the area suggested for the Jewish state, the Arabs rejected any scheme of partition.³ The permanent mandates commission also opposed the immediate creation of two new independent states. Various measures were, thereafter, adopted by the British government against the Arab leaders responsible for the resistance activities, but proved unsuccessful. Large parts of the country, save a few Jewish settlements and the more important cities, came under the control of the Arabs.



Partition Scheme of Peel Commission, July, 1937

1.6 Sir John Woodhead Commission

Strong military reinforcements, however, succeeded by the spring of 1939, in putting down the worst of the rebellion. Meanwhile the Palestine partition commission under Sir John Woodhead had in November 1938 set out three possible principles on which partition might theoretically be effected with suggested boundaries in each case, but had concluded by emphasizing the great political, economic and security objections inherent in any conceivable scheme. By this time Hitler's first dismemberment of Czechoslovakia had brought Europe to the brink of a general war, and the British government, with its vital strategic communications and other interests in the middle east, could not contemplate the prospect of continuing, indeed growing, hostility in the Arab countries, which the axis was able to exploit on the Palestine issue. In the light of the Woodhead report, Great Britain decided that the creation of independent Arab and Jewish states in Palestine was impracticable and that an effort should be made to promote a direct understanding between the Arabs and the Jews. With this end in view Great Britain invited representatives of the Palestinian Arabs and of the neighboring Arab States on the one hand, and of the Jewish agency, on the other, to meet in London early in 1939.⁴

1.7 Macdonald White Paper

Since neither party was prepared to abate its extreme demands, the British government proposed its own solution in the Macdonald White Paper of May 1939. It asserted:

- (a) that the Balfour declaration given in 1917 meant a "National home" for the Jews in Palestine and not a "Jewish State". This National Home, the White Paper explained, had already existed;
- (b) that Jewish immigration to Palestine should therefore cease after admitting a further quota of 75,000 Jewish immigrants;
- (c) that the inhabitants of Palestine, consisting at that time of 1,250,000 Arabs and 650,000 Jews, should enjoy self determination and become independent within a period of ten years.

These British proposals did not satisfy either party, the reaction of the Zionists, to whom the paper was without any moral basic and "contrary to international law", being specially violent; and the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, to which they now appealed, ruled by a majority of four to three that the White Paper was not in conformity with the Mandate. A decision by the Council of the League was, however, prevented by the outbreak of the war. While the Palestine Arabs, their extremist leaders being now in exile, maintained and innocuous neutrality in the World War II, the Zionist co-operated fully with the Allies, both because of their intense hatred of Nazi Germany and because of their desire to build up political credit with the allies.

1.8 Biltmore Program

In 1940 Ben Gurion went to the United States in his capacity as Chairman of the Zionist Executive and sought to impress on the Zionist organization of America the urgency of political campaigning, of formulating a political programme and mobilizing American Jewry (about 53 lakhs) toward its end. His plan was based on three things: opposition to the policy of the White Paper, the formation of a Jewish army, and the conversion of Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth after the war. In May 1942, a congress of American Zionists unanimously endorsed the proposals, under the title of the Biltmore Program.⁵ A fortnight after the end of the war in Europe, the Zionists requested the immediate acceptance by the British Government of the full Biltmore Program. Equal pressure was exerted on behalf of the Arab cause by the Muslim States of the Middle East. A protocol of 1943 establishing the Arab League consisting of Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Saudi Arabia, Transjordan and Yemen outlined their attitude towards Palestine, declaring their support for the achievement of the legitimate aims and the protection of the just rights of the Palestine Arabs. The British Labor party, which had previously uncritically committed itself to Zionism, now came into power and realized Britain's vital interests in the Arab world. The Labour government endeavored, therefore, to gain the co-operation of the United States in reaching and carrying out a jointly agreed policy for Palestine, if possible one acceptable to both Jews and Arabs. The Zionists, thereupon, embarked on a Jewish Resistance Movement. Following British counter measures, the Jewish agency modified the Biltmore Program in favour of "a viable Jewish State in a adequate area of Palestine". The British having failed to bring about a compromise between the Jews and the Arabs, resolved to refer the Palestine problem to the United Nations.

2. Post –United Nations Era

On 2 April 1947, the United Kingdom asked that a special session of the General Assembly be called to examine the question of Palestine, and to constitute and instruct a Special Committee to prepare for the consideration of the question.⁶ A special session was, thereupon, convened on 28 April. Certain other States including Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Saudi Arabia suggested to the General Committee of the Assembly the inclusion of an additional item on the agenda, namely, "the termination of the mandate over Palestine and the declaration of its independence," to be considered along with the United Kingdom's proposal. The reasons put forward by the Arab States in support of their request clearly reflected their basic attitudes towards the Palestine question. They maintained that all that was necessary in Palestine was not setting up of a Committee but the application of the

principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and the declaration of an independent Palestine along democratic lines with equal rights for all citizens. They also held the view that the problem of the Jews people was separate from the Palestine problem.⁷ The Arab proposal was put to vote but was rejected by the General Committee. Efforts to raise the issue of putting the item on the agenda were again made in the General Assembly itself, but proved unsuccessful.

2.1 UN Partition Plan (1947)

On 29 November 1947 the United Nations General Assembly approved a plan, UN General Assembly Resolution 181, to resolve the Arab-Jewish conflict by partitioning Palestine into two states, one Jewish and one Arab. Each state would comprise three major sections, linked by extraterritorial crossroads; the Arab state would also have an enclave at Jaffa. With about 32% of the population, the Jews would get 56% of the territory, an area that then contained 499,000 Jews and 438,000 Palestinians, though this included the inhospitable Negev Desert in the south. The Palestinians would get 42% of the land, which then had a population of 818,000 Palestinians and 10,000 Jews. In consideration of its religious significance, the Jerusalem area, including Bethlehem, with 100,000 Jews and an equal number of Palestinians, was to become a *Corpus Separatum*, to be administered by the UN.



UN Partition Plan 1947

Although some Jews criticized aspects of the plan, the resolution was welcomed by most of the Jewish population. The Jewish leadership accepted the partition plan as "the indispensable minimum," glad as they were with the international recognition. Arguing that the partition plan was unfair to the Arabs with regard to the population balance at that time, the representatives of the Palestinian Arabs and the Arab League firmly opposed the UN action and even rejected its authority to involve itself in the entire matter. They upheld "that the rule of Palestine should revert to its inhabitants, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations." According to Article 73 b of the Charter, the UN should develop self-government of the people in a territory under its administration.

2.2 Civil War in Mandatory Palestine (1947-48)

In the immediate aftermath of the United Nations' approval of the Partition Plan, the explosions of joy amongst the Jewish community were counter balanced by the expression of discontent amongst

the Arab community. Soon thereafter, violence broke out and became more prevalent. Murders, reprisals, and counter-reprisals came one after the other, killing dozens of victims on both sides in the process. During the period beginning in December 1947 and ending in January 1948, it was estimated that nearly 1,000 people were killed and 2,000 people were injured. By the end of March, the figure had risen to 2,000 dead and 4,000 wounded. These figures correspond to an average of more than 100 deaths and 200 casualties per week; in a population of 2,000,000.

From January onwards operations became more militaristic, with the intervention into Palestine of a number of Arab Liberation Army regiments who divided up around the different coastal towns and reinforced Galilee and Samaria. Abd al-Qadir al-Husayni came from Egypt with several hundred men of the Army of Holy War. Having recruited a few thousand volunteers, Al-Husayni organized the blockade of the 100,000 Jewish residents of Jerusalem. To counter this, the Yishuv authorities tried to supply the city with convoys of up to 100 armoured vehicles, but the operation became more and more impractical and more and more died in this process. By March, Al-Husayni's tactic had paid off. Almost the entirety of Haganah's armoured vehicles had been destroyed, the blockade was in full operation, and hundreds of the Haganah members who tried to bring supplies to the city were killed. The situation for those who dwelt in the Jewish settlements in the highly-isolated Negev and northern Galilee was even more critical. Since the Jewish population was under strict orders obliging them to hold their dominions at all costs, the situation of insecurity across the country affected the Arab population more visibly. Up to 100,000 Palestinians, chiefly those from the upper classes, left the country to seek refuge abroad or in Samaria.

This situation caused the U.S. to retract their support for the Partition Plan, thus encouraging the Arab League to believe that the Palestinians, reinforced by the Arab Liberation Army, could put an end to the Partition plan. The British, on the other hand, decided on 7 February 1948 to support the annexation of the Arab part of Palestine by Transjordan. Although a certain level of doubt took hold amongst Yishuv supporters, their apparent defeats were due more to their wait-and-see policy than to weakness. Ben-Gurion reorganized the Haganah and made conscription obligatory. Every Jewish man and woman in the country had to receive military training. Due to funds gathered by Golda Meir from sympathizers in the United States, and assisted by Stalin's support for the Zionist cause at the time, the Jewish representatives of Palestine were able to sign very important armament contracts in the East. Other Haganah agents retrieved stockpiles from the Second World War, which helped equip the army further. Operation Balak allowed arms and other equipment to be transported for the first time by the end of March.

The British had, at that time, essentially withdrawn their troops. The situation pushed the leaders of the neighbouring Arab states to intervene, but their preparation was not finalized, and they could not assemble forces that would be able to turn the tide of the war. The majority of Palestinian hopes lay with the Arab Legion of Transjordan's monarch, King Abdullah I, but he had no intention of creating a Palestinian-run state, instead hoping to annex as much of the territory of the British Mandate of Palestine as he could. He was playing a double-game, being just as much in contact with the Jewish authorities as with the Arab League.

On 14 May 1948, David Ben-Gurion declared the independence of the state of Israel, and the 1948 Palestine war entered its second phase, with the intervention of several Arab states' armies the following day

Strategy without tactics is the slowest route to victory. Tactics without strategy is the noise before defeat.

- Sun Tzu

नेपालमा राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीतिको अपरिहार्यता: एक अवधारणा

म.से. तारा बहादुर कार्की



साधारण

१. ठूलो ऐतिहासिक परिवर्तनपछि, मुलुक अहिले संघीय लोकतान्त्रिक गणतन्त्र नेपाल बनिसकेको छ। देशमा संविधान सभाको निर्वाचन सम्पन्न भई सिंगो राष्ट्र अहिले नयाँ नेपालको नयाँ संविधान बनाउने प्रक्रियाको करिब करिब अन्तिम अवस्थामा रहेको छ। नयाँ संविधानमा नयाँ नेपालको स्वरूप निर्धारण गर्ने थुप्रै विषयवस्तुहरूमाथि छलफल, बहस, गोष्ठी तथा अन्तरक्रियाहरू भइरहेका छन्। त्यस्ता थुप्रै विषयवस्तुहरूमध्ये नेपाल राष्ट्रको **राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीतिको** स्वरूप तथा अवधारणा पनि एउटा मुख्य बहसको विषय बनेको छ। यति लामो इतिहास बोकेको राष्ट्रको हालसम्म पनि एउटा ठोस सुरक्षा रणनीति नबन्नु बिडम्बनाको पक्ष आफ्नै ठाउँमा भएतापनि अहिले यसले व्यापक चर्चा र महत्व पाउनु सन्तोषको विषय मान्नु पर्दछ। **राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति** सम्बन्धी विगतका केही अपूरा दस्तावेजहरू समयसापेक्ष र परिवर्तित अवस्थामा सान्दर्भिक नभएकोले गणतन्त्र नेपालमा नयाँ **राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीतिको** स्वरूप र अवधारणाको आवश्यकता सबैले महसुस गरेको अवस्था रहेको छ। बदलिँदो राजनैतिक र संघीय लोकतान्त्रिक राज्यको सैद्धान्तिक दिशामा नेपालले परम्परागत **राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति**लाई पुनः परिभाषित गर्नु आवश्यक छ। (“बदलिँदो परिवेशमा नेपालमा सुरक्षा अवधारणा”-राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति र राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा परिषदको भूमिका-गोजा शर्मा वाग्ले, पेज. ८५)

२. राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीतिको अवधारणा र स्वरूपको बारेमा विभिन्न राष्ट्रिय तथा अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय संघ संस्थाहरूले आयोजना गर्ने गरेका विभिन्न बहस, गोष्ठी तथा अन्तरक्रियाहरूमा राष्ट्रिय तथा अन्तर्राष्ट्रियस्तरका विभिन्न विज्ञहरूबाट आ-आफ्नै तरिकाका व्याख्याहरू तथा फरक फरक धारणाहरू व्यक्त गर्ने गरेकोले अझैसम्म यसले आम सहमति कायम गर्न नसकेको अनुभूति हामी सबैले गरेको अवस्था छ। विचार, धारणा तथा अभिव्यक्तिहरू फरकफरक भएतापनि राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति निर्माण प्रक्रिया सम्बन्धी आधारभूत सिद्धान्तहरू प्रायः सबै राष्ट्रहरूको एकै हुने बारे हामी सबैले मनन गर्नुपर्ने हुन्छ। राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा जस्तो गम्भीर र संवेदनशील विषयमा हामी सबैले आ-आफ्नो स्वार्थ भन्दापनि राष्ट्र, जनता र राष्ट्रको सम्पदाको सुरक्षाको लागि निस्वार्थरूपमा सतहमा भन्दा त्यसको गहिराईमा पुगेर आ-आफ्ना धारणा तथा विचारहरू अभिव्यक्त गर्न सकेमा मात्र आफ्नो मौलिकतामा आधारित राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति तर्जुमा गर्न सकिने हुन्छ। यस लेखमा लेखकले माथि उल्लेखित विषयवस्तुहरू र हालसम्मको आफ्नो अनुभवलाई समेटेर अहिले बहसको विषयमा रहेको राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीतिको बारे सबैको एउटै धारणा बन्न मद्दत पुगोस्भन्ने अभिलासाकासाथ यो लेख प्रस्तुत गर्ने प्रयास गरेको छ।

उद्देश्य

३. यो लेखको मुख्य उद्देश्य राष्ट्रलाई **राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीतिको** अपरिहार्यता तथा तत्सम्बन्धी एक अवधारणा प्रस्तुत गर्नु हो।

क्षेत्र

४. यस लेखमा विशेषतः **राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीतिको** मूल्य, मान्यता र यसको आधारभूत सिद्धान्तहरूको लेखाजोखा गरी नेपालमा सुहाउँदो **राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीतिको** अवधारणा सम्बन्धी रोडम्याप कोर्ने प्रयास गरिएको छ।

सुरक्षा नीति निर्माणका आधारहरू

५. निर्धारित राष्ट्रिय आकांक्षाहरूलाई आन्तरिक वा बाह्य चुनौतिहरूबाट सुरक्षित गर्नु, तिनको प्रवर्द्धन गर्नु र वैज्ञानिक ढङ्गले व्यवस्थापन गर्नुलाई नै आजको संदर्भमा राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा भन्न सकिन्छ। अर्थात् हरेक राष्ट्रहरूको आफैमा सुदृढ, विकसित र समृद्ध हुने जुन चाहना हुन्छ, त्यसको सुनिश्चताको निम्ति देशले अवलम्बन गर्ने समग्र नीतिलाई **राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति** भन्न सकिन्छ। त्यसैले कुनै पनि राष्ट्रको **राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति** तर्जुमा गर्नुभन्दा पहिला हामीले सुरक्षा नीतिका आधारहरू के के हुन ? कसरी बन्छ सुरक्षा नीति ? यसको तार्किक तर्तित्व (Logical Sequence) के हो ? यो बनाउने जिम्मेवारी कस्को हो

? भन्ने बारेमा गहिरो अध्ययन र जानकारी राख्नु आवश्यक हुन्छ। साथै यसबारे राष्ट्रिय तथा अन्तराष्ट्रिय अभ्यासहरु र आधारभूत सिद्धान्तहरुलाई पनि मध्यनजर राख्नु पर्ने नितान्त जरुरी देखिन्छ।

६. हरेक राष्ट्रहरुको आ-आफ्नै एउटा मौलिक मूल्य र मान्यताहरु स्थापित भएका हुन्छन भने त्यसैगरी आ-आफ्नै राष्ट्रिय स्वार्थ/हितहरु (National Interests) पहिचान गरिएको हुन्छ, जस्को आधारमा राष्ट्रले आफ्नो राष्ट्रिय लक्ष्य (National Objectives) निर्धारण गरेको हुन्छ, जस्ले राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति र रणनीति बनाउन निर्देशित गर्दछ। यसैले राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति तर्जुमा गर्नुभन्दा पहिला तल उल्लेखित निम्न आधारहरुलाई राम्रोसँग पहिचान, अध्ययन र विश्लेषण गरिनु आवश्यक हुन्छ।

मूलभूत मूल्य र मान्यता (Core Values)

७. माथि भनिए भै कुनैपनि राष्ट्रको मूलभूत मान्यता त्यो देशको मौलिकतामा आधारित भएर आफ्नै Cultural Norms बाट निकालिएको हुन्छ। त्यसैले कुनैपनि राष्ट्रको मूलभूत मान्यता भनेको त्यसको राजनैतिक स्वतन्त्रता र भौगोलिक अखण्डता (Political Independence & Territorial Integrity), सामाजिक सद्भाव (Social Harmony), राजनैतिक स्थायित्व (Political Stability) राष्ट्रिय एकता (National Unity), आर्थिक सुरक्षा (Economic Security) र सुरक्षित वातावरण (Safe Environment) हरु पर्न आउँदछन्। (Geneson In Alagappa, 1999, P. 17)

राष्ट्रिय हित/स्वार्थ (National Interest)

८. राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीतिको तर्जुमा गर्दा सर्वप्रथम राष्ट्रको हितहरुको स्पष्ट पहिचान हुनु आवश्यक हुन्छ। त्यसैले राष्ट्रिय हितको सुरक्षा गर्न र राष्ट्रिय लक्ष्य प्राप्तिको लागि राज्यशक्तिहरुका सबै संयन्त्रलाई परिचालन गर्न राष्ट्रिय चाहना (National Will) को आवश्यकता पर्दछ। साधारणतया राष्ट्रिय हित/स्वार्थलाई प्राथमिकताअनुसार चार तहमा (Four-tier scale) वर्गीकृत (Graded) गरेको पाइन्छ। (NDC Pakistan, PP.18–20)

(क) प्रमुख स्वार्थ (Vital Interests) यो राष्ट्रिय स्वार्थहरुमध्ये प्रमुख आधारभूत स्वार्थ हो। यदि कुनैपनि राष्ट्रको Vital Interests threatened भएमा राष्ट्र युद्धको लागि तयार हुनु पर्दछ।

(ख) अति महत्वपूर्ण स्वार्थ (Most Important Interests) यसले राष्ट्रको सुरक्षा र समुन्नत प्रगतिको विषयबस्तुहरुलाई समेट्दछ। जस्तै सामाजिक सद्भाव, आर्थिक उन्नति तथा राष्ट्रको एकता र छिमेकी राष्ट्रहरूसँग हुन सक्ने विवादहरुका विषयहरु पर्दछन्।

(ग) महत्वपूर्ण स्वार्थ (Important Interests) महत्वपूर्ण स्वार्थ भित्र राष्ट्रको सम्पन्नतालाई असर गर्ने विषयबस्तुहरु पर्दछन्। यस्ता विषयबस्तुहरु परिपूर्ति नभएमा राष्ट्रको Vital Interests लाइनै असर पर्न सक्दछ।

(घ) थोरै महत्वको स्वार्थ (Peripheral Interests) राष्ट्रको सार्वभौमिकतालाई खतरा नहुने खालको विषयबस्तुहरु तर यी पनि आवश्यकताअनुसार परिपूर्ति नभएमा Vital Interests लाई असर गर्दछ।

९. कुनैकुनै राष्ट्रले राष्ट्रिय हितलाई Vital Interests (मातृभूमिको सुरक्षा), Critical Interests (अप्रत्यक्ष रुपमा मातृभूमिमाथिको खतरा) र Serious Interests (मातृभूमि माथिको गम्भिर खतरा) को रुपमा पनि वर्गीकरण गरेको पाइन्छ। (Sarkerian, John – Stephan, 2002, PP. 5–6)

१०. राष्ट्रिय स्वार्थलाई जसले जसरी वर्गीकरण गरेतापनि सबै राष्ट्रहरुले चार वटा मूलभूत/आधारभूत मान्यताहरुलाई राष्ट्रिय स्वार्थको रुपमा (National Interests) समान दृष्टिकोण राखेको पाइन्छ।

- (क) मातृभूमिको प्रतिरक्षा (Defence of Homeland)
- (ख) आर्थिक सम्पन्नता (Economic Well-being)
- (ग) सुहाउँदो क्षेत्रीय तथा अन्तराष्ट्रिय परिस्थिति (Favorable Regional / World Order)
- (घ) मूल्य मान्यताको प्रवर्द्धन (Promotion of Values)

११. माथि उल्लेखित विभिन्न Core National Interests को विभिन्न विज्ञहरुबाट भएका छलफल तथा अन्तरक्रियाहरुको दौरान निकलिएका निष्कर्षहरुको आधारमा नेपालको राष्ट्रिय हित/स्वार्थ (National Interests) निम्नअनुसार हुन सक्ने देखिएको । (NI & NS Theory & practice in Nepal,- Dr Susil R Pandey)

- (क) राष्ट्रको जर्गेना र यसको सुरक्षा (Preservation & Security of the State).
- (ख) राज्यको कानून र आदेशका पालना कायम गराउनु (Maintaining Law & Order in the State)
- (ग) प्रजातन्त्र, मानवअधिकार तथा सार्वभौमिकता को जर्गेना (Preserve Democracy, Human Rights & Sovereignty of the People)
- (घ) नेपाली जनताको उन्नति तथा राष्ट्रिय सम्पदाको हेरचाह र सही सदुपयोग (Well being of Nepali People & Proper Exploitation of Natural Resources)
- (ङ) अन्तराष्ट्रिय शान्ति र सद्भावमा योगदान (Contribute to Peace & Harmony at the Global Level)

राष्ट्रिय लक्ष्य (National Objectives)

१२. कुनै पनि राष्ट्रको मूलभूत मान्यता र राष्ट्रिय स्वार्थ/हितको सहि पहिचान हुनु नै राष्ट्रको लक्ष्य (Objectives) प्राप्तीको बाटो पहिचान हुनु हो । राष्ट्रलाई त्यही लक्ष्यअनुसार राष्ट्रिय स्वार्थको आधारमा अगाडी बढाउन सकियोस् । राष्ट्रले तय गर्ने राष्ट्रिय लक्ष्य (National Objectives) राष्ट्रका बहुसंख्यक जनसमुदायबाट अनुमोदित भएको हुने हुँदा राष्ट्रिय स्वार्थ र लक्ष्यले राष्ट्रको रणनीतिक आवश्यकतालाई स्थापित गरेको हुन्छ । कुनै पनि राष्ट्रको Core National Security Objectives निम्नअनुसार हुन सक्दछ ।

- (क) भौगोलिक अखण्डताको रक्षा गर्नु (Protect Territorial Integrity)
- (ख) राजनैतिक स्वतन्त्रता र सार्वभौमिकताको जर्गेना गर्नु (Preserve Political Independence & Sovereignty)
- (ग) आर्थिक विकासको प्राप्ती (Achieve Economic Development)
- (घ) प्रजातन्त्रको रक्षा र विकास गर्दै मानव सुरक्षाको सुनिश्चता गर्नु (Protect/ Promote Democracy & ensure Human Security)

१३. राष्ट्रले तय गरेको लक्ष्यहरु (Objectives) प्रभावकारीरूपमा कार्यान्वयन हुने किसिमको र यसलाई सजिलै प्राप्त गर्न सकिने खालको हुनु पर्दछ । यस्ता Objectives राज्यको अधिकतम हित/स्वार्थलाई सुरक्षित गर्ने खालको हुनु पर्दछ । नेपालको अन्तरिम संविधान २०६३ को निर्देशिका सिद्धान्तको दफा ३४ मा निम्नअनुसारको National Objectives राखिएका छन् ।

- (क) सार्वभौमिकता, भौगोलिक अखण्डता र स्वतन्त्रतालाई बचाई राख्ने ।
- (ख) प्रजातन्त्रको संस्थागत विकास गर्ने ।
- (ग) जनताको जिउ धन, समानता र स्वतन्त्रतालाई जोगाई राख्ने ।
- (घ) विभिन्न जात, जाति, धर्म, भाषा तथा समुदायबीच सामाजिक सद्भाव कायम गरी स्वस्थ समाजको स्थापना र विकास गर्ने ।
- (ङ) आर्थिक विकासको प्राप्ती गर्ने ।
- (च) मानव अधिकारको जर्गेना र संरक्षण गर्दै शान्ति र सद्भाव कायम राख्ने ।

राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा सम्बन्धी सम्भावित खतराहरू (Threats to National Security)

१४. मुलुकको सार्वभौमिकता, भौगोलिक अखण्डता तथा राष्ट्रिय स्वतन्त्रतालाई बचाई राख्न कुनैपनि राष्ट्रको मूल लक्ष्य हुन्छ। त्यसैले हरेक राष्ट्रले अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय तथा राष्ट्रिय परिवर्तित परिवेशअनुसार आफ्नो सुरक्षा नीतिलाई समयसापेक्ष परिमार्जित र समायानुकूल बनाउनुपर्दछ। राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीतिलाई परिमार्जित र समायानुकूल बनाउन बाह्य र आन्तरिक सुरक्षा खतराको निरन्तर आंकलन गर्नुपर्दछ। सुरक्षा खतराको सही विश्लेषण र आंकलनको आधारमा मात्र सही सुरक्षा नीति बन्न सक्दछ।

(क) **बाह्य खतराहरू:** कुनैपनि राष्ट्रको बाह्य खतराको रूपमा उसका छिमेकी राष्ट्रहरू हुन सक्ने कुरालाई मनन गरी खतराको आंकलन गर्नुपर्ने हुन्छ। नेपालको मुख्य बाह्य खतराको रूपमा छिमेकी राष्ट्रहरू पनि संभावित खतराको रूपमा देखा पर्न सक्दछन्।

(ख) **आन्तरिक खतराहरू:** कुनैपनि राष्ट्र बाह्य खतराभन्दा पनि आन्तरिक खतराबाट बढी पीडित भएको तथ्य हाम्रा सामु रहेका छन्। सम्भावित साम्प्रदायिक समस्या, आतङ्कवाद, बाह्य तथा आन्तरिक शरणार्थी समस्या, जनसंख्या वृद्धि, बेरोजगारी, गरिबी तथा पछ्यौटेपनजस्ता समस्याहरू विकराल हुँदै गएमा **National Interests** लाई नै खतरा हुन सक्ने हुन्छ।

राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा/वृहत रणनीति (National Security/ Grand Strategy)

१५. माथि उल्लेखित Croe Values, National Interests र National Objectives को सहि पहिचान हुनुनै National Security को जग बन्नु हो। भ्रष्टहेर्दा National Security भनेको प्रतिरक्षा रणनीति (Defence Strategy) होकी भन्ने भान पर्नु स्वभाविकनै हो। तर बुझ्नु पर्ने कुरा के छ भने राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा भनेको केवल सेना वा हतियारले मात्र गर्ने सुरक्षा होईन। यो त National Security Strategy अर्थात् वृहत राष्ट्रिय रणनीति हो। जसमा राष्ट्रका चौतर्फी अङ्गहरूलाई समेटिएको हुन्छ। जस्तै: सामाजिक, आर्थिक, भौगोलिक, धार्मिक एवम् सांस्कृतिक, औद्योगिक, प्राकृतिक श्रोत र सम्पदा राष्ट्रिय एकता र भौगोलिक अखण्डताको सुरक्षाहरूलाई समेटेर बुझ्नु पर्दछ। अर्थात् राष्ट्रको Living र Non Living वस्तुहरू सबैको सामूहिक सुरक्षा हुनु नै National Security Strategy हो। यो राष्ट्रको वृहत् दृष्टिकोण वा परिकल्पना हो, यस्तो परिकल्पनालाई साकार तुल्याउनको लागि बहुआयमिक सर्पोटको आवश्यकता हुन्छ। यस्ता सर्पोट राष्ट्र निर्माताहरूले तय गरेका विभिन्न नीतिहरू नै हुन् जस्तै: Economic, Foreign, Defence, Domestic, Education तथा Media सम्बन्धी नीतिहरू हुन आउँछन्।

राष्ट्रिय प्रतिरक्षा नीति (National Defence Policy)

१६. माथि उल्लेखित वृहत् राष्ट्रिय रणनीतिअनुरूप राष्ट्रले तय गरेका अन्य नीतिहरूमध्ये Defence Policy पनि एक हो। तुलनात्मकरूपमा Defence Policy ले National Strategy लाई स्वतः अरु Policy ले भन्दा बढी सर्पोट गर्दछ। सेनाको लागि चाहिने Doctrine यही Policy ले निर्देशित गर्दछ। यही Doctrine ले आन्ततोगत्वा त्यो देशको सैन्यकला (Tactics) निर्धारण गर्दछ। जस्तै राष्ट्र Offensive, Defensive वा Neutral Posture मा जाने भन्ने कुरालाई निर्देशित गर्दछ।

राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति निर्माणको लागि हाल सामू गरिएका प्रयासहरू

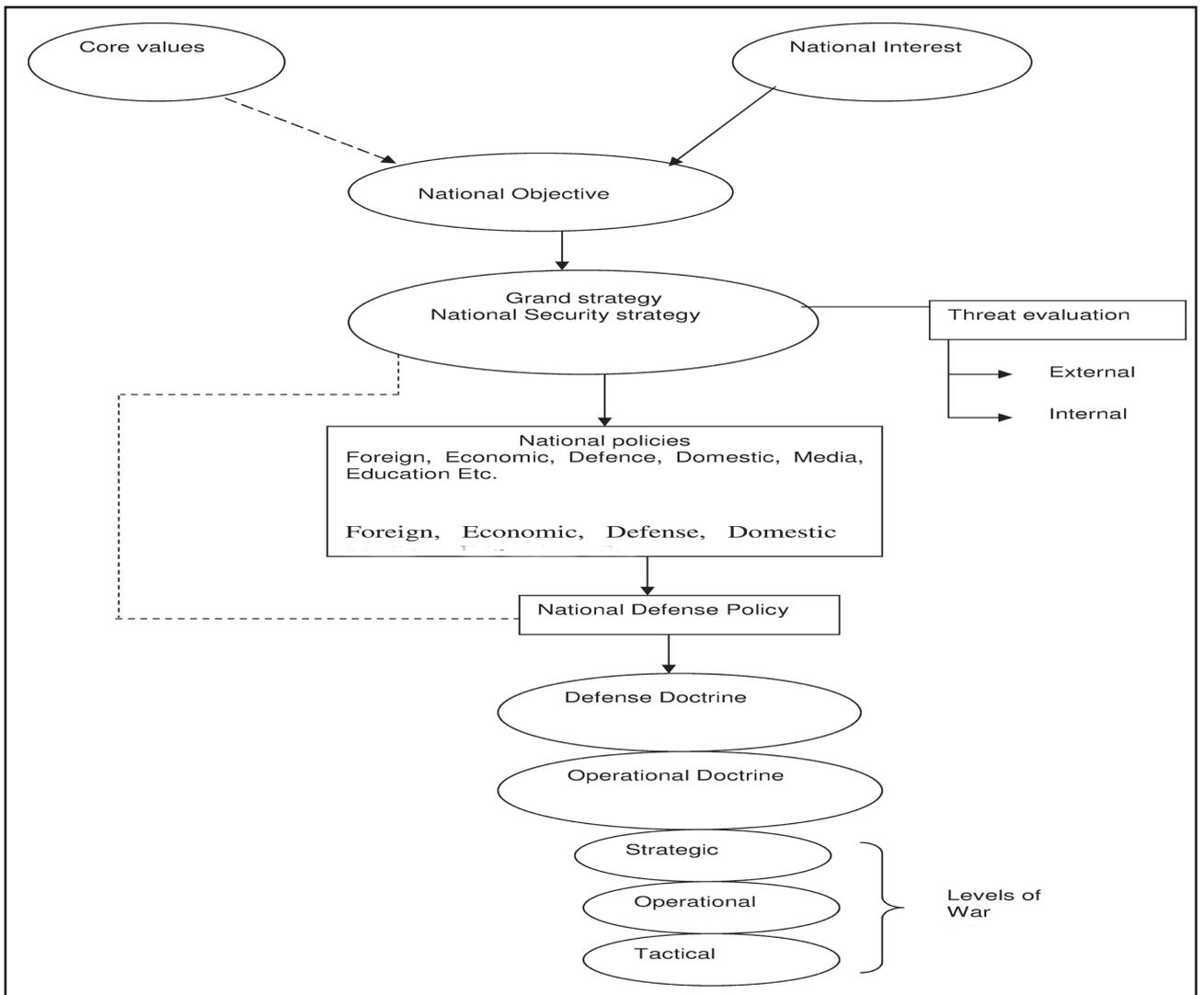
१७. राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति सम्बन्धी विषयवस्तुलाई इतिहासका विभिन्न कालखण्डहरूमा आ-आफ्नै किसिमले व्याख्या गरी लागू गरेको पाइन्छ। श्री ५ बडा महाराजधिराज पृथ्वीनारायण शाहले “नेपाललाई दुई ढुङ्गाबीचको तरुल” हो भनि यसको संवेदनशिलतालाई उजगार गरी मुलुकको विभिन्न नीतिहरू प्रतिपादन गरेको पाइन्छ। त्यसैगरी सन् १९८५ मा त्यसबेलाको पंचायती व्यवस्थाले “राष्ट्रिय मूलनीति”को रूपमा राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति तयार गरेको थियो। जसमा राजनैतिक, धार्मिक, सामाजिक, आर्थिक, जनसंख्या, सूचना, विकेन्द्रीकरण, बैदेशिक र प्रतिरक्षा सम्बन्धी नीतिहरू तर्जुमा गरेको पाइन्छ। नेपालमा सन् १९९० को संविधानमा राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा परिषदको गठन गर्ने व्यवस्था भएअनुरूप सन् २००१ मा राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा परिषदको

सचिवालयको स्थापना भई सोही सुरक्षा परिषद वृहत् अध्ययन र छलफल गरी राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीतिको ड्राफ्ट तयार गरेको भन्ने कुरा अनौपचारिक रूपमा सुन्नमा आएको छ। ऐले नेपाल सरकारको मन्त्री परिषदको निर्णयअनुसार नेपाल सरकारको रक्षा मन्त्रीको अध्यक्षतामा नेपाली सेनालाई लोकतान्त्रिक गर्नेबारे एउटा आयोग गठन भएको र यसले राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति बारे पनि आवश्यक कारवाही अगाडि बढाउने भन्ने बुझिन आएको छ।

१८. यसरी विगतदेखि हालसम्म सरसर्ती हेर्दा एकातिर राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति निर्माणको लागि विभिन्न समयमा साना ठूला प्रयासहरू भएको भएतापनि यसलाई कार्यान्वयन पक्षमा उतार्ने कुनै पहल तथा कोसिस गरेको देखिदैन भने अर्कातिर वृहत् छलफल र सहमति विना नै यस्ता नीतिहरू बन्दा पटकपटक विवादमा आइरहने कुराहरूलाई पनि मनन गरी राष्ट्रको साधान श्रोतलाई मध्यनजर राखी राष्ट्रले धान्न सक्ने किसिमको राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति बनाउनु पर्ने देखिन्छ। त्यसैले राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति भनेको कुनैपनि राजनैतिक पार्टीविशेषको विचारधारा र निर्देशनबाट होइन यो त सबै नेपालीहरूको साझा सहमती, साझा प्रयास र साझा विचारको आधारमा पहिला National Security Strategy तय गरेर मात्र National Security Policy निर्धारण गरिएमा पटकपटक फेरबदल नभै दिगोरूपमा रहिरहने देखिन्छ।

नीति निर्माण प्रक्रिया: सुझावको रूपमा एक नमूना

१९. माथि उल्लेखित सुरक्षा नीति निर्माणका आधारहरू र राष्ट्रिय तथा अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय स्थापित मूल्य, मान्यता र सिद्धान्तहरूको आधारमा कसरी राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति बन्दछ र यसको निर्माण प्रक्रियाको तर्तिव (Sequance) कस्तो हुन्छ भन्ने बारे निम्नअनुसारको नमूना एउटा सुझावको रूपमा प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ।



Suggested Model for Policy making process

२०. नेपालको लागि **राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति** अपरिहार्य भएको छ । त्यसमा पनि परिवर्तित राजनैतिक परिवेशमा राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षामा आउन सक्ने सम्भावित चुनौतिहरूलाई मध्यनजर राखी राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा अवधारणा तथा नीतिको तर्जुमा गर्नुपर्ने आवश्यकता रहेको छ । **राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति** समग्ररूपमा राष्ट्रिय हितमा केन्द्रित रहने अत्यन्त गम्भिर र महत्वपूर्ण पनि भएको ले यसको निर्माण गर्न राज्यका सबै अङ्गहरूको सहभागीता र वृहत् राष्ट्रिय सहमतिको अत्यन्तै आवश्यक हुन्छ । नेपालको सन्दर्भमा राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा स्थितिको अध्ययन, **राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीतिको** प्रतिपादन गर्ने कार्यको लागि एक जिम्मेवारी निकायको आवश्यक देखिन्छ । जसले सुरक्षा सम्बन्धी आधारभूत मान्य, मूल्यता र सिद्धान्तहरूको आधारमा वृहत् राष्ट्रिय सहमति जुटाई सुरक्षा नीतिको तर्जुमा गर्न सकोस् ।

२१. वृहत् राष्ट्रिय रणनीतिमा आधारित भई अन्य नीतिहरू जस्तै अर्थनीति, परराष्ट्र नीति, तथा राष्ट्रिय विकास सम्बन्धी अरु नीतिहरूको एउटा मुख्य आधारस्तम्भको रूपमा **राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति** रहेको हुन्छ । वास्तवमा वृहत् राष्ट्रिय रणनीतिको (**Grand National Strategy**) मुटुको रूपमा रहेको **राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीतिको** उद्देश्य र भावनालाई केन्द्र विन्दुमा राखी राष्ट्रिय नीतिहरू निर्माण गरिएको हुन्छ । त्यसैले विभिन्न अन्तरक्रिया, बहस, तथा गोष्ठीहरूमा सैनिक पृष्ठभूमिका तथा गैरसैनिक पृष्ठभूमिका सुरक्षा विज्ञहरूबाट त्यस्ता विषयबस्तुहरूलाई खाली बहसको लागि बहस मात्र नवनाई यसको स्थापित राष्ट्रिय तथा अन्तराष्ट्रिय सिद्धान्त र मान्य मूल्यतामा आधारित भई छलफल हुन जरुरी देखिन्छ । अन्तमा ऐले बहसको मुख्य विषय बनेको “**राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षा नीति**” को सम्बन्धमा एउटा वृहत् राष्ट्रिय सहमति जुटाई समयसापेक्ष देश सुहाउँदो कार्यान्वयन गर्न सक्ने प्रभावकारी दस्तावेज बनोस् भन्ने शुभकामना दिन चाहान्छु ।

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भूमिका एक समूहमा एक विशिष्ट पदसँग सम्बन्धित सामाजिक, ब्यवहारको एउटा योग हो ।

- ओगवर्न एण्ड निमकोफा

TECHNOVATION

T/Capt Kamal Keshar Khadka



The best way to predict future is to invent it. This is one of the best sayings I have ever gone through. Extrapolation has been one of the vagaries of savvy human mind. A series of inextricable problems have always waylaid us but the chastened intelligence and the eclectic philosophy have always been efficacious for subdual. Of late, we face humongous problem on fast depleting fossil fuel and the gigantic carbon dioxide accumulation on the atmosphere. Inexorably, the behavior of the nature is grotesque too with bizarre rainfall, snowfall and most grimly; rising sea level has come to a head

With the countries on derby for development, sky is the limit for the consumption of coal & gasoline for industries, power plants, automobiles & households; proportionately so is the release of carbon dioxide. Carbon dioxide is one of the criminal greenhouse gases responsible for global warming, popularly know as climate change. More than 7,000 metric tones of CO_2 are emitted in a year and it's been expected to colossal 10,000 metric tones by 2020. Plants use CO_2 for photosynthesis, a very useful process of food manufacturing which absorbs carbon dioxide to release oxygen. However, the high rate of global clopping of trees for fuel & creating homes for galloping population has hamstrung the cycle and put it in complete disarray.

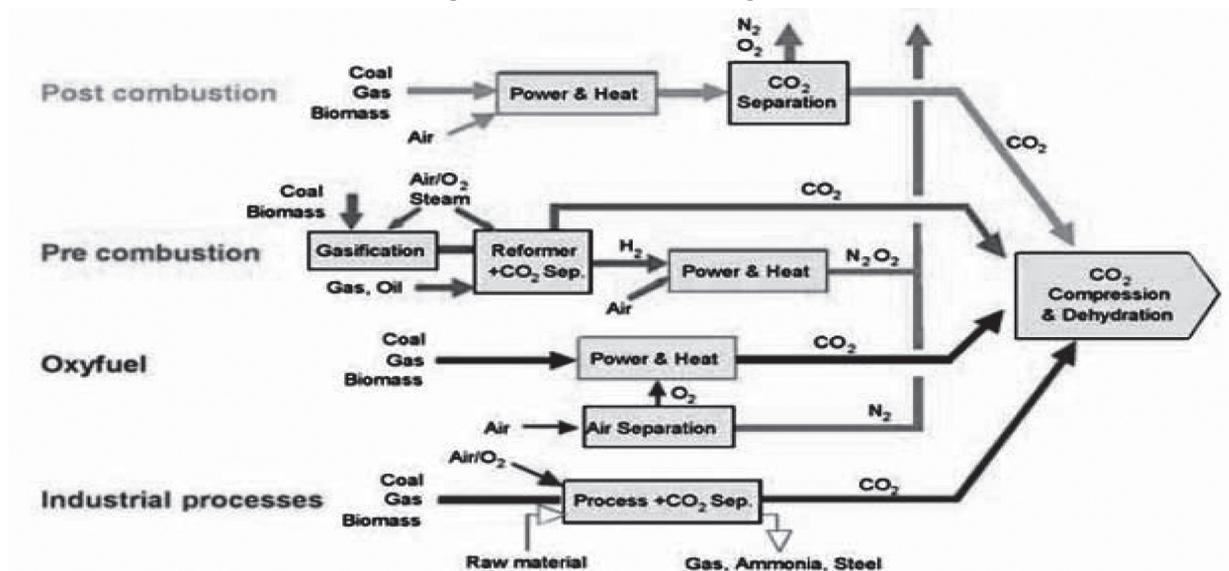
World demand for energy is projected to rise by about 50% by 2030 and to nearly double by 2050. With the escalating demand and skyrocketing price in hand, addiction to the fossil fuel will come to the end as the sources will dry up before long. That said, fossil fuel cannot be any longer lifeblood of power plants, industries and automobiles. The ubiquitous problem of rising global temperature and its vicious effects on climate change is the major challenge today. Melting of glaciers in the Himalayas and large ice sheets in the Arctic and Antarctic region has pushed the islands down. Change in the magnitude and frequency of rainfall with the reduced amount of snow could have sustained impact on the availability of water. The result is catastrophic for the food production. Moreover, calamities such as floods, famines, heat waves and tornadoes are probable. Rising carbon dioxide will acidify the natural carbon sinks such as oceans and seas that will eventually destroy the coral reef annihilating the marine ecosystem. There have been umpteen conundrums that have accentuated ad hoc and quintessential approaches to be made in order to novate fossil fuel and its global exacerbation. The crises are inevitable and dire but we have to innovate before late for the smooth legacy.

Carbon Capture and storage

It's a unique bailout technique to reduce carbon which involves catching and storing of CO_2 and methane (another green house gas) produces from industries and power plants underground and underwater at the empty or depleting oil and gas reservoirs, deep saline formation and unminable coal. Methane is reformed into hydrogen and carbon dioxide which is separated by a newly designed membrane and is stored inside the earth using corrosion resistant pipeline. Carbon catching method has been divided into three ways.

- (a) **Post combustion:** CO₂ is grabbed after the fossil fuel is burnt. Flue gas contains water vapour, sulfur dioxide and nitrous oxide. A solvent filter traps CO₂. It can prevent 80-90% of carbon emission entering the atmosphere.
- (b) **Precombustion:** CO₂ is trapped before combustion. Coal, oil or natural gas is heated in air or oxygen resulting in a mixture of carbon monoxide and hydrogen. This mix is then treated with catalytic converter with steam which produces more hydrogen along with carbon monoxide. These gases are fed to the flask and amine is poured in to the top. Hydrogen continues to rise up and gets out of the flask. Again amine and CO₂ is heated, CO₂ rises up and is collected where amine falls down and can be reused. It can capture 80-90% of CO₂.
- (c) **Oxyfuel Combustion:** It uses pure oxygen to give CO₂ and steam which are separated by cooling and compressing the gas stream. It cuts CO₂ by 90%. This method is currently in demonstration phase.

Figure: Carbon catching method



It is estimated that 10 trillion tones of CO₂ can be stored underground. It could play a key role in reducing total well-to-wheel CO₂ emissions.

Since the marriage of fossil fuel and the IC engine some hundred years ago, the fortunes of energy and the automotive industries have been tied together. Today there are 6.7 billion people using more than 228 million of barrel of oil equivalent a day of primary energy. By the mid of the century, the figure will rise to 9 billion people using twice as much as energy. The bottom line is we need cleaner, safer, efficient energy system and that requires huge amount of engineering, money and patience into it.

Hybrid vehicle

Any vehicle that combines two or more power sources that can directly or indirectly provide propulsion is called a hybrid vehicle. A hybrid electric vehicle (HEV) is very much popular which combines a conventional IC engine and an electric motor with battery. It is also called as the 'Car of the Era'. A hybrid car has better fuel economy, less pollution and better performance as the electric motor

can replace gasoline during starting, idling at traffic and during peak power. It also uses regenerative braking to charge the battery during braking.

Tribid Vehicle

These are the third generation vehicle with extra enhancement has been put forward with the installment of solar panel, windmill or sail to obtain additional power in the hybrid vehicles. These help to provide extra lifeline when the fuel level or electricity go low. It's a conceptual car and expected to hit markets soon.

Flex Fuel vehicle

These vehicle run with biofuels; ethanol and biodiesel, which are derived from plants and animals waste. Ethanol has high octane number ideal for high compression engines and can be mixed with normal gasoline. The percentage of mix depends on ambient working temperature as it can be E15 in Russia or E100 in Brazil. Biodiesel is made by reacting alcohol with lipids. Biodiesels are not the environmental silver bullet once they seemed. As the demand rise, more land will be occupied for fuel reducing land for cultivation.

Hydrogen Fuel Cell Vehicle

It was the ingenuity of Welsh scientist Sir W.R. Grove who generated electricity and water from hydrogen reversing the electrolysis process of water. The system was further explored by Francis Bacon which pioneered the path for the next generation fuel for the automobiles. It's really encouraging as the system uses pure hydrogen which occurs plenty in atmosphere as fuel to give distilled water as the end product. It generates electricity by stripping electron from the proton and using electrons to create a pure stream of electricity. The ionized hydrogen then combines with oxygen to form water.

The system looks pretty simple but production of hydrogen is also cunning as the electrolysis process can manufacture minuscule amount. Today's vehicle use hydrogen reformed form fossil fuel but which is not the panacea. Hydrogen leaks through steel tank and carbon composite tank has to be used and the use of platinum as the catalyst in fuel cell makes it more expensive.

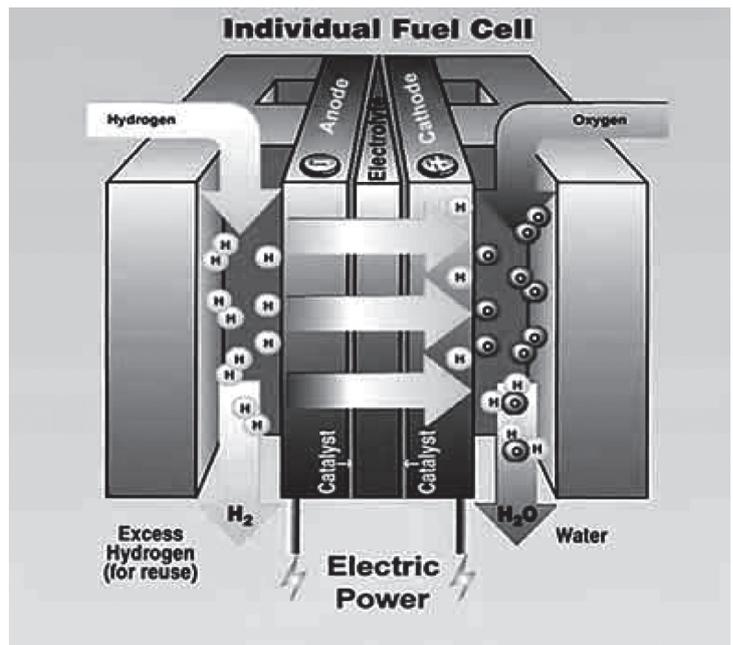


Figure: A single Hydrogen Fuel Cell

Air powered Cars

It's not a reverie that cars powered with air would be on the road in the days to come. Thanks to Newton's third law which explains how an inflated balloon would behave if a hole is made on it. The first prototype was developed in January 2009 by French Company, Motor development International (MDI). It has got a huge tank which is filled with compressed air which pushes piston to rotate the crankshaft. It can achieve maximum of 35 miles/hr speed and the distance to cover is governed by the capacity of the tank. At present the price looks quite high but to bear the palm of all the problems of fossil fuel and environmental disaster, we have no choice.

Future sources

Harnessing energy from sun, wind, tide, nuclear, geothermal and hydro have already been inchoated which has got promising harbinger for the future sources of energy.

- (a) Solar energy: Earth receives as much as energy from sunlight in 20 days as the planets entire reserves of fossil fuel contain. It uses high tech Photovoltaic cells to capture photons in the sunlight to produce electricity.
- (b) Wind energy: Wind rotates blades around the hub which is connected to the shaft to spin the generator for production of electricity.
- (c) Tidal energy: This uses large underground turbines placed in the area with high tidal movements and are designed to capture the kinetic motion of the ebbing and surging of tides in seas, oceans to produce electricity.
- (d) Hydropower: It uses flow of water collected at the dam to rotate the turbine for electricity generation. Today it includes 14% of world electricity. Countries like Nepal which has huge potential could be benefited.
- (e) Geothermal: It is produced from naturally occurring steam and hot water by drilling 3-5 km underground where volcanoes and hot springs are present. The heat extracted rotates the steam turbine to generate electricity and in other ways it can also be used to heat the buildings.
- (f) Nuclear: The sun and stars are seemingly inexhaustible sources of energy due to nuclear reaction in which matter is converted into energy. One ton of Uranium produces more energy than is produced by several million tons of coal or several million barrels of oil. Today it has catered for 16% of world electricity. However, deep ratiocination is required as it is not immaculate source posing high security and health threats if not handled properly.

There have been certain amounts of flak, skepticism or even cynicism among people on climate change who quote it as 'razzmatazz', if not gallimaufry on brinkmanship on carbon cutting. But before we become deer on headlights and major gaffer run on us, we must technovate the innocuous source of energy for the next generation. Sometimes a crisis leads to the opportunity and it does open windows for beautiful landscape. Together we stand, divided we fall. All the haves and have-nots must muster together for the cleaner, safer and efficient energy. Towards that goal we try and may fail but let's not fail to try.

AIRCRAFT FLEET MANAGEMENT IN NEPALESE ARMY

Lt Col Dipak Prasad Bastola,
Rotor wing Engineering In charge, No 11 Brigade



Introduction

Aircraft fleet means the type of aircraft utilization within the organization. Nepalese Army at present operating more than 8 different types of helicopters and 3 types of fixed wing aircrafts. This data shows how difficult to manage it and organization like our financial background even difficult to withstand the problems due to various fleets. In this I personally like to shear valuable suggestion, recommendation and problems solving techniques to minimized this fleet management difficulties in our Nepalese army (No.11 Brigade)

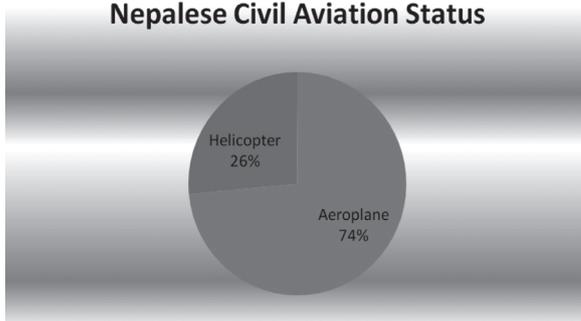
Historical background

Nepalese army aviation started 1966 with 2 twin pioneer fixed wing aircraft donated to king of Nepal from United Kingdom and then after some Eurocopter helicopters Alouette II and Alouette III and support for that helicopter operation and maintenance. First Nepali helicopter services started from Nepalese army and with the help of Aerospatiale now known as Eurocopter Company under EADS. After restoration of democracy in Nepal in 1990, Government allow private operator to operate helicopter services in Nepal and since 1990 onwards helicopter operation in civil sector began. Hence Nepalese have long historical back ground in aviation field. Now there are more than 9 fixed wing aircraft operators and 7 rotor craft operators in Nepal. Total 68 registered civil aero plane including helicopter .There are 18 civil helicopter are in operations. In military sector more than 20 helicopters are in operations.

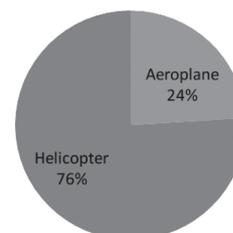
Nepalese transport system is depend on road and aviation mainly helicopter in remote places. Total 13,223 Km road and only 4,073 km is paved remaining 9,150 is unpaved condition shows that road transport is not sufficient for transportation. Only way of transport in remote places are aviation based, and at present there is only one International Airport Tribhuvan international Airport at Kathmandu, and there are 9 paved runway and other 36 small unpaved run way are exist in Nepal. These airport and operation of fixed wing aircraft could not cover the Nepalese all remote areas and there is compulsion for helicopter transport although it is consider slightly expansive than fixed wing transport.

Nepalese aviation started since 1957. In 1957, the Department of civil aviation was formally established under the ministry of work, communications and transport of the Government of Nepal. The statutory regulations regarding civil aviation were introduced under the civil aviation act, 1959 (2015BS). Nepal obtained the membership of Internal Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) in 1960.

Nepalese Civil Aviation Status



Nepalese Army Aviation Status

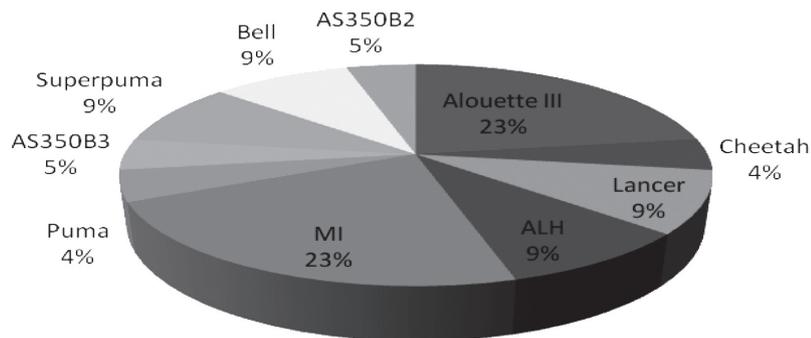


There are 26% market shear of Helicopter services in Nepal, and growing with higher percentage than fixed wing operations in recent years. Similarly, Helicopters are the dominant transport in Army

sectors. Below graph shows the percentage of helicopters and fixed wing aircraft in Nepalese army

What is the trend of fleet management?

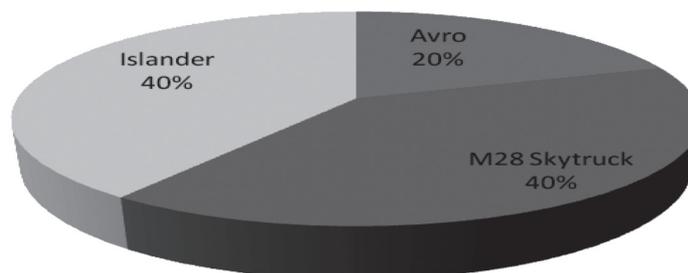
Fleet management is very simple managerial tool to select the correct number of type of helicopters and fixed wing aircrafts within the organization. As our present fleet of helicopter and fixed wing aircraft are due to unavoidable situation mainly due to operational requirements. With that situation number of fleet (type of aircraft) are reached to 11 types. You can imagine that how No.11 Brigade is managing such complex situation. For example, aircraft operation does not mean that only flying to destination, but foremost important is managing maintenance, store inventory of parts for spares, crew trainings etc.



Nepalese Army Helicopters Fleet

Current trends of fleet management are based on requirements, political and geographical location of the country, financial background and now environmental requirements. Nepalese army aviation 's requirements are mainly 3 types heavy medium category helicopters , light medium 10 to 15 passengers helicopter and small helicopter. We have 3 such category of helicopter; there is no doubt that our fleet is perfectly balance in term of capacity. But as per type of helicopter based on its manufacture and commonality we have almost more than 10 types of helicopter which is very bad condition as per good fleet management practices. We can refer our neighboring country India and china, where they have less than 7 types of helicopters in their Army and airforce. So this fleet data shows that it's a high time to renew our policy to minimized fleet type by utilizing phase-out plan.

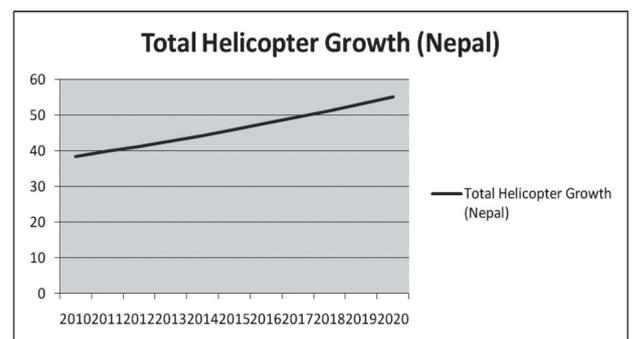
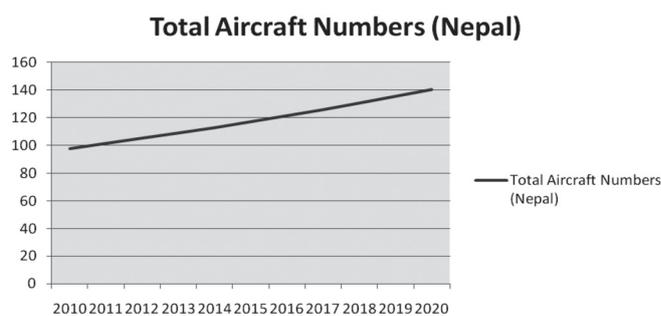
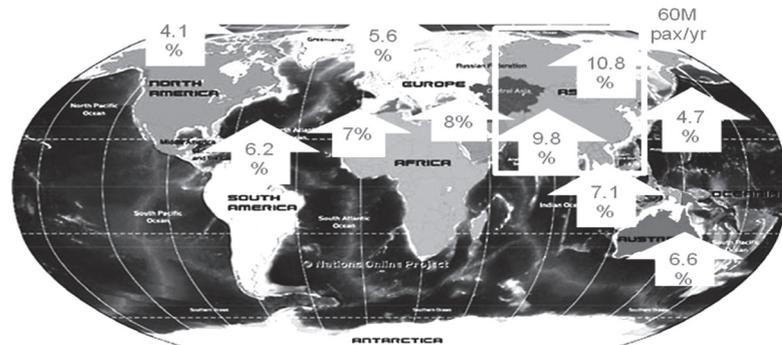
Nepalese Army Fixed wing Fleet



Fixed wing aircraft fleet is 3 based on type and categories, it's an ideal situation ,but percentage of fixed wing aircrafts are very less in our army compare to helicopter fleet. At present out of total number of helicopter and fixed wing aircraft only 24% are helicopters, which is very less number. Fixed wing aircraft are very cheap in operation compare to helicopter. There should be 40% fixed wing aircraft and 60 % helicopter fleet ratio in our Nepalese army.

Aviation growth rate is another criteria to meet growing requirement of our army. Below picture shows that there is a constant growth of aviation worldwide and aviation growth rate in Nepalese sky. So we need to increase our fleet size at a level of 40 helicopters and 15 fixed wing aircraft for comfortable support to our army operational and routine needs. Therefore, there are two major problems in our situation they are how to minimize the fleet type and mean time how to increase number of aircrafts both fixed and rotor. We need to make on policy and planning to overcome these difficulties. You can refer recommendation later on. Growth rate of Nepalese Aircrafts are shown as below up to 2020.

Regional aviation growth

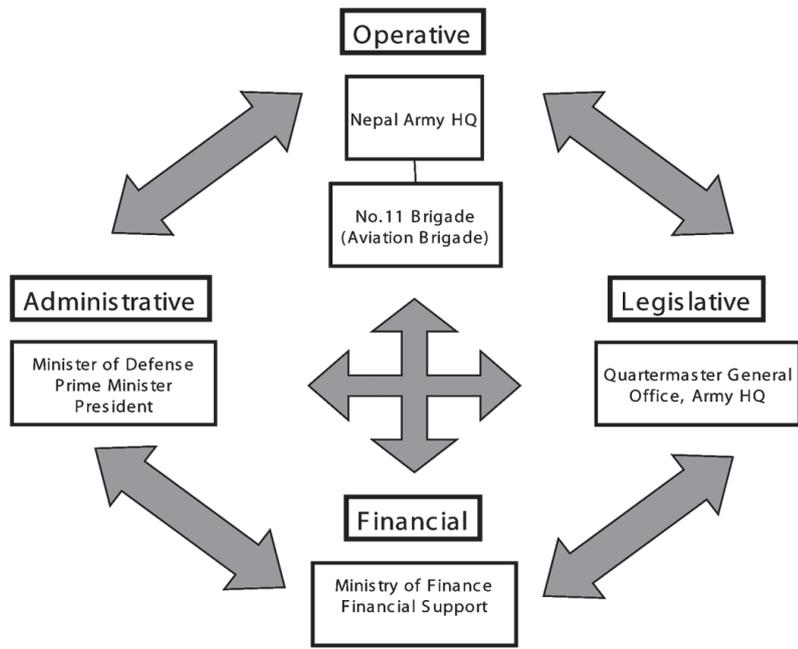


Air transport sustainability and Nepalese Army contribution for sustainable development

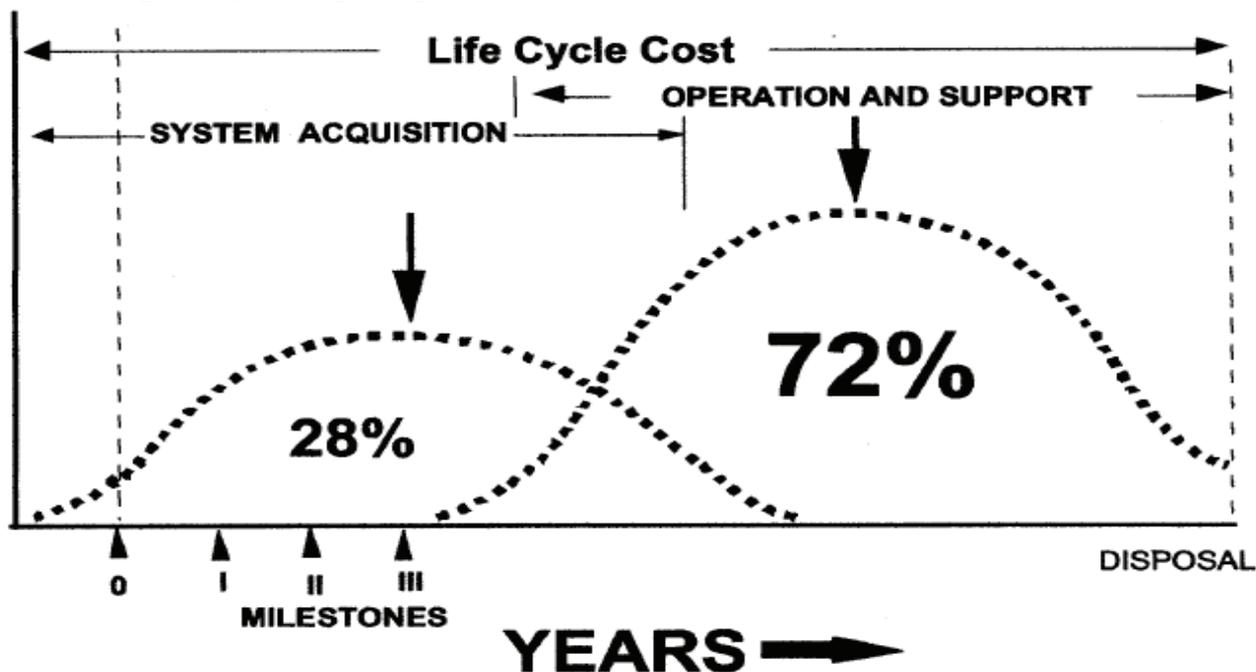
This century is for technological developments and mean time we should think about sustainability of air transport. There is a prediction that after 100 years there is a 50% less production of fuel and demand will be just opposite i.e. Demand will be very high. So its big question and challenge for all aviation scientists that how and when we can make alternate fuels, present trend of new generation aircraft have less fuel consumption and less noise production. Like global warming issues, now it's already started that sound pollution and CO2 emission from Aircraft is big issues and already CO2 trading scheme started in Europe and we as third old country also need to follow these scheme within few years. In such case old aircraft operator like us need to pay more tax while purchasing spares, and doing overhaul of such parts and aircrafts. It will be very costly business, hence lets think our self in time so that we will convert our fleet as new fleet of aircraft both rotor and fixed and will not be effected more.

What Nepalese Army needs to do for our requirements by using correct fleet management?

Nepalese army first need to decide and plan a correct fleet as per growing trend of fixed wing and rotor wing aircraft. With out seeing globalization and current market it's very hard to decide. Hence we can make one committee comprising high level authorities from Army HQ and Aviation experts from No.11 Brigade. There should be a need of excellent coordination between Defense ministry, Finance Ministry and even some time need of coordination between higher authorities than Ministry level. This Coordination can be represented as below;



Disadvantage of operating old generation aircrafts:



Aircraft life cycle cost is defined as the total cost that particular aircraft need to operate during her total life. If we examine the trend of worldwide aircraft life cycle cost we can draw the graph as below in which 28 % is for purchasing cost and nearly 72 % is for operating cost. In our old generation aircraft like Avro and Puma this operating cost is very high and serviceability rate is also very less due to high maintenance in their old age. Therefore we need to phase out such old generation aircraft. I would like to give one example that there is always a profit to operate new generation aircraft than old generation aircraft. Singapore airlines never utilized aircraft older than 5 years and they are the one of the most profitable airlines in the old. It is not possible for us to utilize only new aircraft like Singapore airlines but at least we can make one policy to operate aircraft not older than 20 years.



Phase out plan for old generation aircrafts

Phase out plan can save huge amount of money by doing correct decision in time. Such as if you phase out Puma and Avro still there is little market to sell them, but if we do this after few years may be there will not be any market. So we Nepalese army can make one old aircraft phase out plan and policy so that it will save time and money.

Recommendation

It's nice to operate maximum 3 different fleets in rotor aircraft and 3 different fleets in fixed wing sector. We need to remember that "Aviation is a global business and need to think globally". So I would like to recommend that while making the policy of phase out and fleet management we need to consider our geo political, economical and global trend of aviation markets. It's a high time to think about our suitable helicopter and fixed wing aircraft fleets.

Conclusion

It is a fact that Nepalese army is one of the best army in the world in terms of army human ranking not in total strength. Like wise our army aviation is also one of the best aircraft operators ranking based on its maintenance and mainly high number of fleets (Type of aircrafts) operator within minimum human and financial resources. But, problem of managing and operating high number of fleets is a complicated and hard and costly business so we need to minimized fleet as per our suitability that is maximum 3 fleets in rotor wing and 3 fleets in fixed wing.



Lets Know Each Other

Sudeep Bartaula
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Twenty one years ago, I was a two and a half years old child in a school uniform who was afraid to say "toilet" to his teacher. Then, my toilet would be my bench I was sitting on. Everyone freaked out at me. As I grew older, I didn't do that but I was that same child who would keep things to himself and didn't trouble others. To keep to myself, I began to read books days and night .I was reading "Kumari Shova" at five and when I was at seventh grade I had finished reading Nancy drew, Hardy boys, books of Shaw, Agatha Christie, Charles Dickens and the list goes on. Then was the time to write. Slowly my friends and teacher began to smile at me and that was that. I began to master the ceremonies and speak up whatever good or bad propped up in my head.

During my bachelors, I always wondered at my past. Why was me like that? I was always afraid of myself than the rest of world. Why do I need to be the centre of attraction? I learnt about personality traits from a managerial perspective during my graduating years.

My end semester exams were on the hallway, when my girlfriend gave me the book "personality plus" by Florence litteur. After exams, I was reading the book and I realized why I was behaving that way. These days, I feel better about who I am. I felt the need to write this and am starting with the lines from a letter by Tim la haye to Florence:-

"I am more convinced now than when I wrote the book that the four temperament theory is the best possible explanation of human behavior there is".
Florence was inspired to write by Tim la haye and I am inspired from her write this article although I've never met her or seen her.

The first lesson: It helped me realize that everyone wants to claim to have a better personality. We do not want to be ignored. We want to fit ourselves in group we like, every moment we fantasize. But nobody is same, although traits can be similar. If all these fingers of our hands would be the same, we would never bother to recall a finger with its specialty. we could put an engagement ring in any instead of the middle finger.

We all are born with our own set of temperaments, traits. These are the raw material. The society where we live since childhood tries to mold us. The schools, customs, traditions, do's and don'ts, rules, regulations law to shape us into a finished product that can sell, that can attract so that they can take pride in what we become.

Some of us are alluvial soil that can be processed into fine dusts of gold and some are those that can be turned into brick. Some still are believed to be the sand of Thar or Sahara where nothing happens. Is it true? Do you still believe that these deserts can play no significant role in making up this beautiful planet where we live? I am sure it is not because we know the mystifying beauty of oasis in the desert. The qualities that we inherit from birth are molded and influenced by the experience and the knowledge we acquire from society. However the basic intergradient of the soil is the same. We look different from the use of the fertilizers that mask us. The mask is the personality we put on.

These temperaments help us understand ourselves. We know who we are and why we act the way we do. we can improve ourselves and learn to understand and respect other for what they are. Each of us knows we are unique in our own way. We possess attributes both physical and mental which makes us different from others.

Let us examine and understand the groupings of four temperaments that originated with Hippocrates four hundred years before Christ was born or twenty eight hundred years ago from the time i am writing. I hope you will find one like you among them.

The temperaments:

Popular sanguine personality

The extrovert, the talker.

Their Emotions

Appealing personality	Good on stage
Always a child	Good sense of humor or
Life of the party	Enthusiast and expressive
Sincere at heart	Always a child
Emotional and demonstrative	Memory for color
Changeable disposition	Talkative, storyteller

At work

- Creative, imagination, colorful
- Has energy and enthusiasm
- Volunteers for jobs
- Starts in flashy way

As a parent

- Makes home fun
- Is liked by children's friends.
- Turns disaster into humor

As a friend

- Makes friends easily
- Loves people.
- Seems exciting
- Envied by others
- Thrives on gifts, compliments.
- Prevents dull moments.
- Likes spontaneous activities.

Are you one of those?

If you are still confused, these are your assets, your strengths. Let me bring them together in a person.

Our first and second semesters were the best periods of my BBA. Dr. Thaneshwor Gautam was the head of the faculty and he taught us management. There was a flash in his eyes and his face glowed when he began to speak. He was a great motivator and he taught us to be optimistic.

Dr. Gautam spoke openly about himself and he expected the same from his students. He was always with a smile although he could never hide his feelings. One could know when he was in a hurry, when he was in a good mood. He was such a demonstrative person.

It was in those semesters when we did a lot of case studies, presentations, talk shop, work shop and many volunteering works. We had lot of talk shops with people from government bureaucracy, banking industry, chartered accountants, and case study specialists. They all were his good friends and well wishers.

When he left, it was never the same and never such a learning experience.

Yes, Dr. Gautam was a popular sanguine. He made us dream. He always had stories to share and pride to recollect. But sadly, nothing is perfect. The weaknesses of Dr. Gautam became a life taking episode of rejection for him.

He worked with management colleges and students who never understood him.

He always came up with new ideas and projects but he hardly did a follow through. As a result, we began to loose interest in his lecture. We didn't believe his words. It was also because he was exaggerative. Moreover, he was doing multiple things outside when he was inside the college. And yes, three months after he left college when we saw him we found that he could hardly remember any of us. We were so taken by surprise when he asked our names.

He was our popular sanguine teacher. We always missed his learning attitude.

Perfect melancholy personality

- The introvert
- The thinker
- The pessimist

The Emotions

- Deep and thoughtful
- analytical
- Serious and purposeful
- sensitive to other
- Genius prone
- Philosophical
- Conscientious
- Creative/artistic
- Self sacrificing
- Idealistic

As a friend

- Avoids causing attention

As a parent

- Keeps home in good order

- Stays in background
- Listens to compliments
- Can solve other's problem
- Moved to tears with compassion
- Seek ideal matter
- Make friends cautiously
- Faithful and devoted
- Wants everything done right
- Sets arts
- Sacrifice own will for others
- Picks up after children
- Encourage talent

At work

- Perfectionist
- Interested in graphs, figures, charts, lists
- Come up with creative solutions
- Orderly and organized
- Lives on schedules
- Involves into the problems
- Completes what is started
- Neat and tidy

Before I read about the temperaments, I never understood Reeti. I always wondered at how she did complaint about people, events and even herself. I haven't yet met another person who had a time table for herself, then for a date. Then for her friends and a fixed time for shopping with her mom with, what she wanted to buy. She carries in her bag the list of work to be completed the next day..

Reeti is a perfect melancholic girl. She had once gone for a party and she called up to talk with me for half an hour. She said that it was a great party and people having fun. But she felt alone and lonely. Have you ever felt the same?

The best part about her is that she is a beautiful singer. The worst part is that she finds herself an ungly duckling. She is very comfortable with numbers and graphs and at the same time she's lost in thoughts.

A depressed girl, pessimistic towards life always has a precise analysis of reality. Reeti therefore is always well prepared to face the problems. I often find myself wondering at the way she handles things with perfection. She is a perfectionist.

I'd never thought that there are so many people around with very good jobs and sad with tears in their eyes until I read about temperaments.

One first needs to see her face book; she is a philosopher who lives on ideals.

Powerful choleric personality

- The extrovert
- The doer
- The optimist

Emotions

- Born leader
- Strong willed and decisive
- Independent a self sufficient
- Exudes confidence
- Capable of running anything.

- Optimistic
- Unemotional
- Dynamic and active

As a friend

- Is usually right
- Works for group activity
- Leads and organize
- Excels in emergencies
- Little needs of friend

As a parents

- Exerts sound leadership
- Establishes goal
- Motivates family to action
- Knows the right answer
- Organizes household

At work

- Goal oriented
- Organizes well
- Gives practical solutions
- Thrives on opposition
- Looks pre end results
- Acts as a catalyst to work

The politicians, bankers, industrialists are powerful choleric. They share the targets achieves them and are successful people. They believe in their qualities to lead and they expect stress to follow.

One such person is Arun K.C. We studied in same batch in Birendra Sainik. Nobody liked him because of his powerful choleric personality. He could not believe that he was wrong. He could never praise other fully for their talents. He always wanted to prove that he had the best ideas and everyone in the batch should appreciate him for that.

Although, he was good at heart. He was treating rest of the friends like dummies. When he walked or when he talked, he sounded like a king of the jungle. He felt that he was the friend of the batch, caretaker of the batch. He did put all the efforts to be that but guys always had complaints against him behind his back.

Arun has been in states for more than four years. I hope that he has learnt to believe in other as much as he believes in himself.

By hook or crook, by playing or changing the rules they believe in winning. They are 24*7 people who are on their toes. Who will teach them to relax?

Peaceful phlegmatic personality

- The introvert
- The watcher
- The pessimist

Emotions

- Cool and collected
- Quiet but withy
- Cow key personality
- Happily reconciled to life
- Easy going relaxed

- Consistent life
- All purpose person

As a parent.

- Makes good parents
- Takes time for children
- Never in a hurry
- Isn't upset easily

At work

- Competent and steady
- Has administrative ability
- Mediates problems
- Avoids conflicts
- Good under pressure

As a friend

- Pleasant and enjoyable
- Inoffensive
- Good listener
- Dry sense of humors
- Have many friends

I have one such friend, Anil Koirala. We studied BBA together. He is one person whom nobody can forget.

There was a 'Bhasan' of the Maoist leaders at Tundikhel. If i remember, series of small blasts took place in Kathmandu that day. The next day; guys were telling that they were at Tundikhel to pass time. After hearing the blast, crowd took the form of a mob rushing to and fro to escape the terror. They were also doing the same but this guy had nothing to worry. He was at his own pace.

What if he had become the victim? Instead he said that if he had fallen down while running, there's no escape from death. So, this peaceful phlegmatic decided to move at his own pace.

Would you do the same? If I hadn't read about the temperaments, I would have always believed him to be a fool.

Doses of motivating words aren't enough to make him work. One should persevere and push him all the time.

And yes! Popular sanguines can always share their stories with him. He is ready to listen to you. But be careful of his sense of humour, that can be embarrassing at moments.

Since I am writing in an army magazine, I should not forget to tell that peaceful phlegmatics make good army personnels.

Time for me to end

It is high time that people understand each other. I regret to tell that management institutions and the so called experts lack the understanding of temperaments. If they had the understanding, Dr. Gautam wouldn't die because of mere depression. The popular sanguine was always mistaken by his students, the colleges and the persons he worked with. His stories were mistaken for exaggeration. His requirement for flexibility was taken as an excuse to reprimand him.

I hope this wouldn't happen again.

NUMERICAL SIMULATION OF REAL SLOPES FOR MORE RELIABLE LANDSLIDE HAZARD PREPAREDNESS PRACTICES

T/Maj Ram Chandra Tiwari



Abstract: This paper analyzes the different slope sections with the consideration of water profile, surcharge effect, stratification and various vegetation effects with the help of new numerical scheme under nonlinear finite element method along with mesh free technique applying suitable convergence criteria. Computations shows that water profile, surcharge effect, stratification and vegetation all have significant role on stability factor. Hence, the simulation based on the more reliable understanding of the various parameters affecting the real soil slopes can give the reliable results thus enabling the more accurate way for landslide hazard preparedness and also helps to design the structurally safe and economic slopes as well.

Key words: Nonlinear analysis, stability factor, various effects, landslide hazard preparedness.

1 Introduction

With the consideration of linear behavior of problem domain under loading will no longer perform linear situation therefore, nonlinear analysis is needed that can address some form of nonlinear behavior of a problem domain. Few practical phenomena as plasticity, creep or complex constitutive relations supersede the simple linear elasticity assumptions. In linear problems, the solution is always unique, however there is no longer the case in many nonlinear situation and involves huge iterations. The basic iteration process should be selected in such a way that the solution will remain unchanged. There are, of course, the simulation under nonlinear analysis exhibits high computational cost. Nonlinear finite element method with mesh free technique is being used which dramatically reduces the processing time so that it is easier to accommodate complex problem. The Newton-Raphson method is considered as most rapidly convergent process for the solution of non-linear problems, however it might be expensive and inconvenient [7]. The nonlinear finite element method is ideally suited to handle the slope stability analysis because there is no need to make any assumptions regarding the shape and geometry of failure surface as well as its searching procedures.

Based on above numerical procedure, simulation is carried out for the real slope. The chosen site is of Nepal Medical College at Gokarna, Kathmandu. The analysis was already carried out by STABL6 software which is based on limit equilibrium approach with the consideration of failure surface in trial basis. Assuming ten most critical failure surfaces, factor of safety has been computed thus concluding the slope is safe enough or not required for further treatment [1]. The result from numerical computation is then tallied to draw respective conclusion.

2 Numerical Procedure

2.1 Mathematical formulation

The Energy functional corresponding to the governing equation (1).

$$I(u) = \int_{\Omega} (\sigma_{ij}\epsilon_{ij} + \bar{\rho}\ddot{u}_i u) dV - \oint_{\Omega} f_i u_i dV - \oint_{\partial\Omega(t)} \hat{t}_i u_i dS \quad (1)$$

Where,

σ_{ij} = Stress tensor and

ϵ_{ij} = Strain tensor

Now, the first variation of the functional $I(u)$ is obtained as

$$\delta I(u) = \int_{\Omega} (\sigma_{ij}\delta\epsilon_{ij} + \bar{\rho}\ddot{u}_i\delta u_i) dV - \oint_{\Omega} f_i\delta u_i dV - \oint_{\partial\Omega(t)} \hat{t}_i\delta u_i dS \quad (2)$$

The functional $I(u)$ is minimized equating δI to zero to obtain the governing equation as follow:

$$\begin{cases} (\bar{C}_{ijkl}u_{k,l}(\mathbf{x},t))_{,j} + f_i(\mathbf{x},t) = \bar{\rho}\ddot{u}_i(\mathbf{x},t) & \text{in } \Omega \\ u_i(\mathbf{x},t) = \hat{u}_i(\mathbf{x},t) & \text{on } \partial\Omega_1(t) \\ \sigma_{ij}(\mathbf{x},t)n_j(\mathbf{x},t) = \hat{t}_i(\mathbf{x},t) & \text{on } \partial\Omega_2(t) \end{cases} \quad (3)$$

Where,

$\bar{C}_{ijkl} = \sum_m W_m (C_{ijkl})_m = W_r (C_{ijkl})_r + W_s (C_{ijkl})_s = r (C_{ijkl})_r + (1-r) (C_{ijkl})_s =$
Average Elasticity tensor for linearly elastic isotropic material including roots

$\bar{\rho} = \sum_i W_i \rho_i = W_r \rho_r + W_s \rho_s = r \rho_r + (1-r) \rho_s =$

Average mass density of the material including roots.

Where,

W_r = Weight function of roots

W_s = Weight function of soils

ρ_s = Density of soils and

r = Root area ratio.

Similarly,

$\sigma_{ij} = C_{ijkl}\epsilon_{kl}$ Generalized Hook's Law

$\epsilon_{ij} = \frac{1}{2}(u_{ij} + u_{ji})$ For infinitesimal deformation.

Where,

n_j = Unit normal in the direction of j .

The nonlinearity of the problem can be addressed with the evolution of C_{ijkl}^{ep} , which is expressed as

$$C_{ijkl}^{ep} = C_{ijmn} \left(I_{mnkl} - \frac{(C_{mnpq}\delta f_{pq})(C_{klrs}\delta f_{rs})}{\delta f_{pq} C_{pqrs} \delta f_{rs}} \right) \quad (4)$$

Where,

C_{ijkl}^{ep} = Stochastic instantaneous (or elasto-plastic) moduli

f = Yield function depending on the stochastic stress state and the past stress history, and

δf_{ij} = Gradient of f with respect to the stress component σ_{ij} .

To solve the equation (3), first we discretize the displacement field with the approximation (5).

$$u_i(\mathbf{x}) = \sum_{\alpha} u_i^{\alpha} \phi^{\alpha} \quad (5)$$

where,

ϕ^{α} satisfies the orthonormal condition

$$\phi^{\alpha}(\mathbf{x}^{\beta}) = \delta^{\alpha\beta} \quad (6)$$

Using equation (5) and (6) weak form of the equation (3) can be expressed as (7). For this the functional $I(u)$ can be minimised equating $\delta I(u)$ to 0.

$$\sum_{\beta} M^{\alpha\beta} \ddot{u}_i^{\beta}(\mathbf{x},t) + \sum_{\beta,j} K_{ij}^{\alpha\beta} u_j^{\beta} = F_i^{\alpha} \quad (7)$$

where, In equation (7).

The term shown in(8)is Mass matrix.

$$M^{\alpha\beta} = \int_{\Omega} \phi^{\alpha} \phi^{\beta} dV \quad (8)$$

Similarly, The term shown in(9) is Stiffness matrix.

$$K_{ij}^{\alpha\beta} = \int_{\Omega} \sum_{k,l} c_{ijkl} \phi_{,k}^{\alpha} \phi_{,l}^{\beta} dV \quad (9)$$

Similarly, The term shown in (10) is Force matrix.

$$F_i^{\alpha} = \int_{\Omega} \phi^{\alpha} f_i dV + \oint_{\partial\Omega} \phi^{\alpha} t_i dS \quad (10)$$

2.2 Model material properties

The soil profile at the site comprises of loose to medium dense sandy strata with thin layer of low to medium plastic clayey silty layers inter-bedded in the sandy strata and the slope is partially saturated. Therefore, considering the presence of vegetation, slope is most general comprising most relevant complexities. The real material properties and their corresponding notations are given below (See table 1 and 2), which excludes the vegetation effects. For the better understanding of real slopes and various vegetation effects, few parameters regarding vegetation are considered. The theoretical model vegetation properties are tabulated (See table 3 and 4) and its corresponding notation are also included here with. For this, it is considered that 6 m. tall matured trees are existed at a spacing of 2 m. horizontal distance, and penetrated to a depth of vegetation 3 m. [2].

These notations are:

- γ = Unit weight of dry soil or soil density (KN/m^3)
- c = Soil cohesion (KN/m^2)
- ϕ = Angle of internal friction of soil material ($^{\circ}$)
- c_R = Root cohesion (KN/m^2)
- c_S = Cohesion due to evapotranspiration (KN/m^2)
- E = Young's modulus of soil (KN/m^2)
- ν = Poisson's ratio (*fraction*)
- ψ = Dilation angle ($^{\circ}$)
- S_W = Surcharge due to vegetation ($KN/m/pertree$)
- D = Disturbing force due to wind ($KN/m/pertree$)
- P_R = Soil arching ($KN/m/pertree$), and
- Q = Hydrostatic pressure (KN/m).

Material properties	Layer 1	Layer 2	Layer 3
γ	18.60	18.10	19.00
γ_s	18.70	18.20	19.10
c	0.00	100.00	0.00
ϕ	29.00	0.00	31.00

Table 1: Material properties of soil slope (section I) at Gokarna [1].

Material properties	Layer 1	Layer 2	Layer 3	Layer 4	Layer 5
γ	18.60	18.10	19.00	18.10	20.00
γ_s	18.70	18.20	19.10	18.20	20.10
c	0.00	100.00	0.00	100.00	0.00
ϕ	29.00	0.00	31.00	0.00	33.00

2.3 Geometry of real slope

For the computation the real slope without vegetation layer (See Figure 1) and with certain depth of vegetation (See Figure 2) considered of section IV. Slope is then discretized including all the complexities (See Figure 3). For this particular case, Fixed boundary at the bottom and left, and partially Fixed and movable at the right are appropriate to the slope (See Figure 4).

Material properties	Dry soil with vegetation	Dry soil without vegetation
c_R	5.00	0.00
c_S	10.00	0.00
S_W	4.00	0.00
P_R	38.00	0.00
Q	0.00	0.00
D	2.00 – 3.70	0.00

Table 3: Model material properties due to vegetation of dry soil Slope [2].

Material properties	Sat. soil with vegetation	Sat. soil without vegetation
c_R	2.00	0.00
c_S	0.00	0.00
S_W	4.00	0.00
P_R	38.00	0.00
Q	0.00	0.00
D	2.00 – 3.70	0.00

Table 4: Model material properties due to vegetation of saturated soil Slope [2].

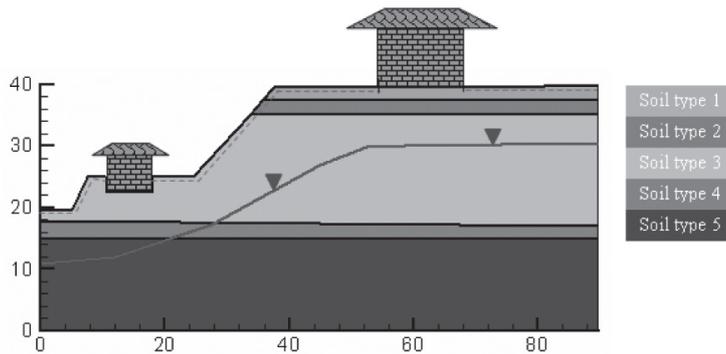


Fig. 1: Geometry of real slope of section IV.

The other two considered sections are slightly modified to resemble the case v under limit equilibrium method.

3 Result

The results obtained from aforesaid numerical computation found to be incomparable with the result as mentioned by soil test lab [1]. The results obtained by numerical computation suggests that there is again stability problem with the construction of structures as mentioned during fully saturated condition, without adopting any stabilization measures. However, we have to review our work and try

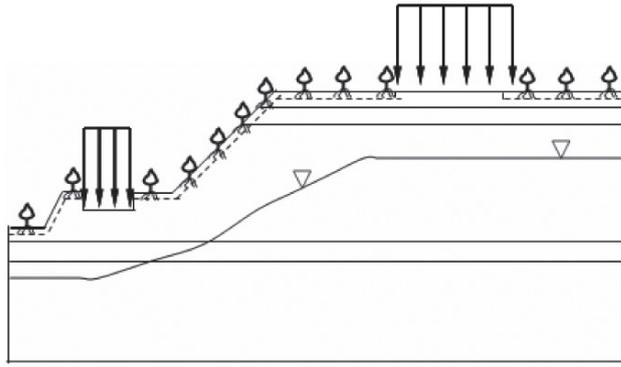


Fig. 2: Geometry of real slope including 3.0 m. vegetative cover of section IV.

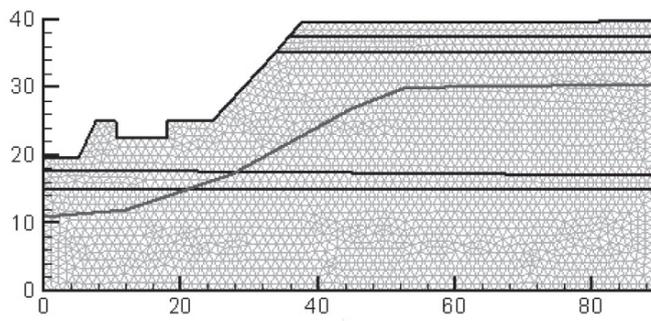


Fig. 3: Discretization of real slope of section IV.

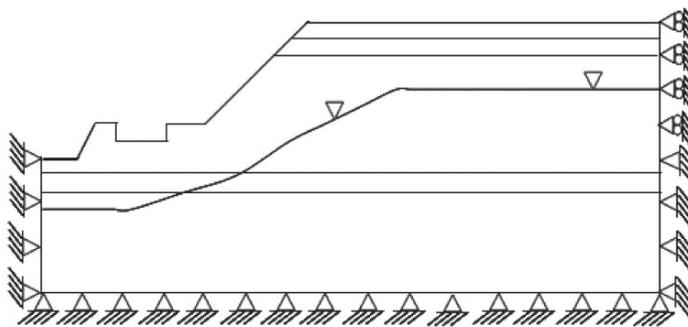


Fig. 4: Boundary of real slope of section IV.

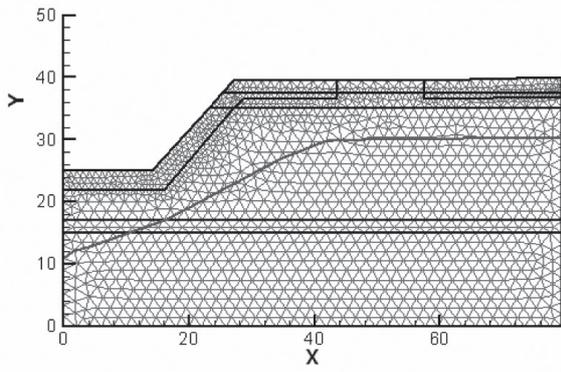


Fig. 5: Discretization of major slope of section I.

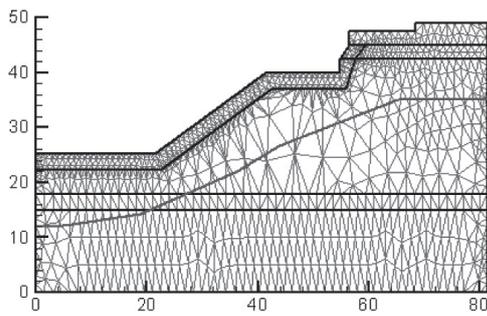


Fig. 6: Discretization of real slope of section III.

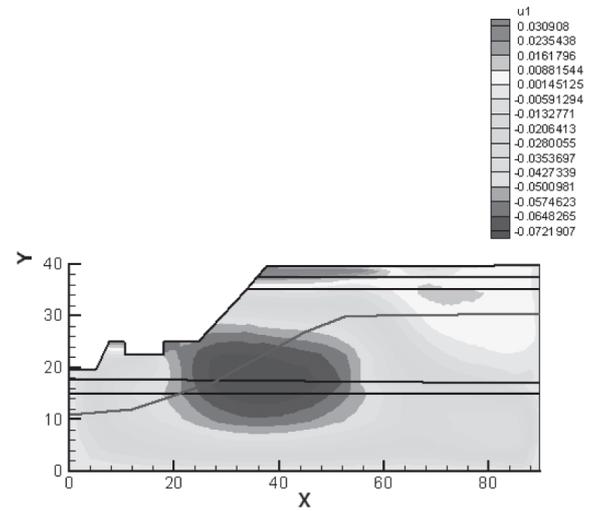


Fig. 7: Displacement along X axis of section IV.

for the rest of the cross section. As per numerical computation, few results in the form of displacement Fields (See Figure 7 to 9) and stress Fields (See Figure 10 to 12) are obtained.

The factor of safety of each slope section with limit equilibrium method and new numerical method are tabulated below (See table 5 and 6).

Sections	Partially sat.soil slope without veg.
I	0.59
III	1.03
IV	1.20

Table 5: Factor of safety (FOS) range of different slope sections with limit equilibrium computation [1].

Where,

I= Partially saturated soil slope without vegetation similar to previous case (See table 5)

II= Partially saturated soil slope with vegetation

III= Dry soil slope without vegetation, and

IV= Dry soil slope with vegetation.

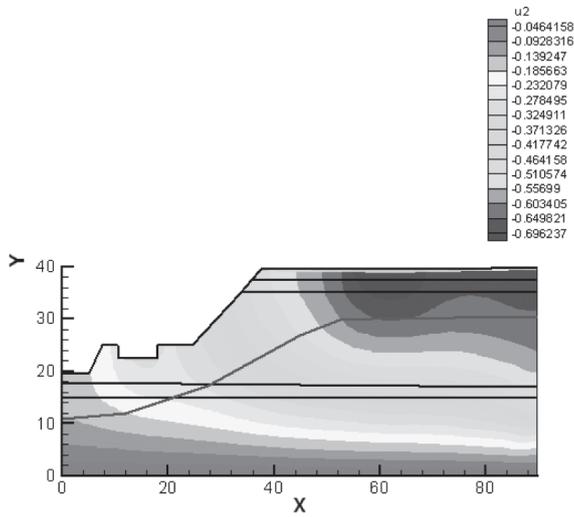


Fig. 8: Displacement along Y axis of section IV.

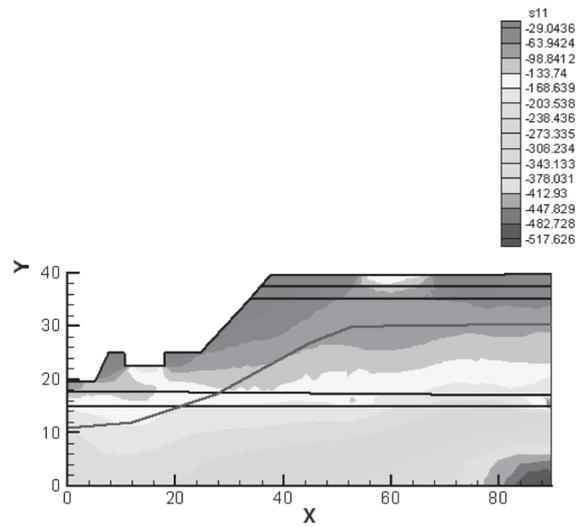


Fig. 10: Major principal stress (σ_{11}) plot of section IV.

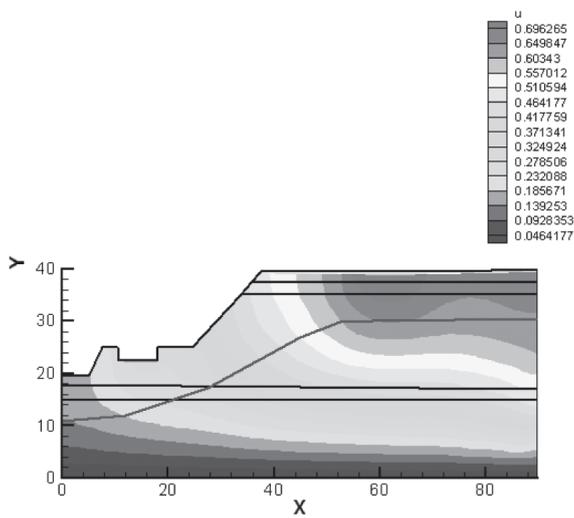


Fig. 9: Total displacement of section IV.

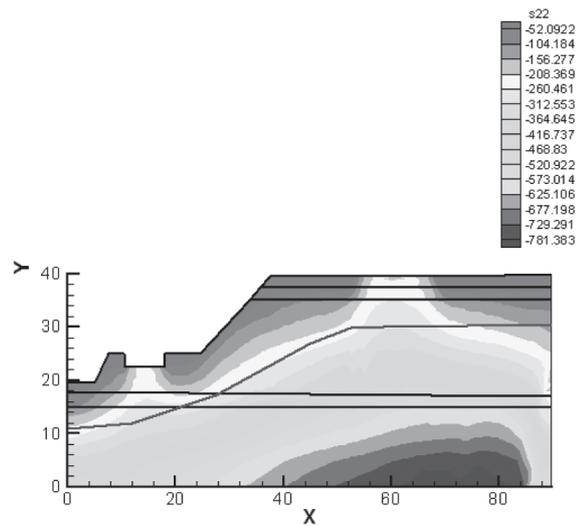


Fig. 11: Minor principal stress (σ_{22}) plot of section IV.

Sections	I case	II case	III case	IV case
I	0.60	0.80	-	0.85
III	0.50	0.60	-	-
IV	0.70	0.80	0.80	1.00

The numerical computation has been carried out under seismic condition for both soil slope and soil-bioengineering slopes with different saturation condition. The horizontal and vertical seismic coefficient is taken as $0:1 \alpha g$. The overall results obtained from aforesaid numerical computation found to be lower than the results obtained by using STABL6 software as implemented in technical report submitted by soil test lab [1]. This may be due to the fact that, the soil mass below the trial failure surface is not considered for the computation of safety factor under the the limit equilibrium method. So, there might be the chances of over estimating the safety factor because, the soil stratification and ground water profile below the trial failure surfaces are not considered, where as in numerical computation the overall effects given by soil stratification, ground water profile etc. are

considered. Thus, numerical approach reflects the true stability factor rather than limit equilibrium method, however limit equilibrium approach can be used for the preliminary evaluation of safety factor. Numerical computation suggests that there is again stability problems with the construction of structures which required both flattening the existing slopes as well as construction of toe walls along with suitable bio-engineering measures. The main causes of slope instability are due to the existing ground water profile and the surcharge load as estimated and soil stratification.

4 Conclusion

A nonlinear numerical computation reliably simulated the complex behavior of soil bioengineering slope with the consideration of homogenization approach of root-soil interaction. Result shows that with the consideration of all probable effects of vegetation on real slope enhanced the stability factor to significant amount, where, small contribution of vegetation on big slope seems to be meaningless, however it also imparts to increase the stability factor to some extent. The key factors that cause the slope failure are due to the presence of ground water profile, weak soil layers and surcharge load and seismic load delivered during an occurrence of earthquake event. Though, this model is based on 2-dimensional domain and consideration of limited functions of root contributed to soil, however it can effectively be applied to simulate the real slope. It provides an estimation of factor of safety, information about the progressive failure surface and deformation as well as stress field of the slope and such information may be very useful to analyze the slope itself, to make more realistic design and to assess the landslide risk for potentially landslide prone slopes.

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All men can see these tactics whereby I conquer, but what none can see is the strategy out of which victory is evolved.

- Sun Tzu

AN INTRODUCTION TO GLOBAL WARMING

Maj Padam Budha Magar



Background

1. Global warming refers to an increase in the Earth's average surface air temperature. Global warming and cooling in themselves are not necessarily bad, since the Earth has gone through cycles of temperature change many times in its 4.5 billion years. However, as used today, global warming usually means a fastest, unnatural increase in temperature that is enough to cause the expected climate conditions to change rapidly and often cataclysmically (Braasch, 2006). The earth's atmosphere plays an important role in keeping its surface warm enough, so that it can sustain biological life. This temperature is so unique that water can exist here in all the three states, viz. solid, liquid and vapor. In the absence of the atmosphere, the average temperature of the earth's surface would have been only minus 18 degree Celsius (Lal & Subbaraya, 1992:p.37). Our planet is warmed by radiant energy from the sun that reaches the surface through the atmosphere. As the surface warms, heat energy reflects back toward space; meanwhile, gases in the atmosphere absorb some of this energy and reradiate it near the surface. This is often called the greenhouse effect, named for the way heat increases inside a glass enclosure. In the greenhouse effect, the atmosphere can be visualized as a blanket that is made thicker by the action of a small amount of water vapor, carbon dioxide, methane, ozone, nitrous oxide, other gases, and soot; it thus holds in more heat, forcing air temperature higher.

2. During the Industrial Revolution, people began to use coal and, later, petroleum, to heat cities and run machines. Carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, a by-product of burning both coal and oil, began to increase. Since then, levels of carbon dioxide have risen by almost 30 percent, methane concentrations have gone up by about 15 percent. Some chemicals invented by humans, like chlorofluorocarbons, are also gases. Increased gases mean more heat is kept in the atmosphere, which led in the late 1800s to a rise in both ocean and air temperature.

3. Climate model projections summarized in the latest Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) report indicate that the global surface temperature will probably rise a further 1.1 to 6.4 Celsius during the twenty-first century. Most studies focus on the period up to the year 2100. However, warming is expected to continue beyond 2100 even if emissions stop, because of the large heat capacity of the oceans and the long lifetime of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere.

4. Various studies carried out by scientists across the world over the last four or five decades have clearly pointed out to a gradual increase in global temperatures. Climate scientists are unanimous in tracing its causes to increased human economic activities especially the burning of fossil fuels and deforestation. This recent phenomenon of increasing average global temperatures is called global warming and this, in turn, is causing a slow but gradual change of climatic conditions. Changes in seasonal temperatures, rainfall pattern, wind and humidity and others are the most common indicators of global warming (Bhattacharya, 2007:pp.1-2).

Causes of Global Warming

5. Causes of global warming are as under:-

(a) **Natural Causes** Natural causes are causes that are created by nature. One natural cause is a release of methane gas from arctic tundra and wetlands. Methane is a greenhouse gas (GHG) and a very dangerous gas to our environment. Another natural cause is that the earth goes through a cycle of climate change. This climate change usually lasts about 40,000 years.

(b) **Man-made Causes** There are many man-made causes of global warming namely pollution and deforestation. Details about facts of man-made causes are as elaborated below:-

(1) **Carbon Dioxide from Power Plant** In 2002 about 40 percent of USA carbon dioxide emissions stem from the burning of fossil fuels for the purpose of electricity generation. Coal accounts for 93 percent of the emissions from the electric utility industry. Coal emits around 1.7 times as much carbon per unit of energy when burned as does natural gas and 1.25 times as much as oil. Natural gas gives off 50 percent of the carbon dioxide, the principal gas, released by coal and 25 percent less carbon dioxide than oil, for the same amount of energy produced. Coal contains about 80 percent more carbon per unit of energy than gas does, and oil contains about 40 percent more.

(2) **Carbon Dioxide Emitted from Cars** About 33 percent of USA carbon dioxide

emissions come from the burning of gasoline in internal-combustion engines of cars and light trucks. Vehicles with poor gas mileage contribute the most to global warming.

(3) **Carbon Dioxide from Airplanes** The UN's IPCC estimates that aviation causes 3.5 percent of global warming, and that the figure could rise to 15 percent by 2050.

(4) **Carbon Dioxide from Buildings.** Buildings structure account for about 12 percent of carbon dioxide emissions.

(5) **Methane** While carbon dioxide is the principal GHG, methane is second most important. According to the IPCC, Methane is more than 20 times as effective as CO₂ at trapping heat in the atmosphere. Levels of atmospheric methane have risen 145 percent in the last 100 years. Methane is derived from sources such as rice paddies, bovine flatulence, bacteria in bogs and fossil fuel production.

(6) **Water Vapor** In the Atmosphere increasing water vapor is the most prevalent and most powerful GHG on the planet, but its increasing presence is the result of warming caused by carbon dioxide, methane and other gases. Water vapor holds onto two-thirds of the heat trapped by all the gases. As the Earth heats up relative humidity is able to increase, allowing the planet's atmosphere to hold more water vapor, causing even more warming, thus a positive feedback scenario.

(7) **Nitrous Oxide** Nitrous oxide is naturally produced by oceans and rainforests. Man-made sources of nitrous oxide include nylon and nitric acid production, the use of fertilisers in agriculture, cars with catalytic converters and the burning of organic matter.

(8) **Deforestation** Deforestation is the second principle cause of atmospheric carbon dioxide. Deforestation is responsible for 20-25 percent of all carbon emissions entering the atmosphere, by the burning and cutting of about 34 million acres of trees each year.

(9) **City Gridlock** In 1996 according to an annual study by traffic engineers (as reported in the San Francisco Chronicle December 10, 1996) from Texas A and M University, it was found that drivers in Los Angeles and New York City alone wasted 600 million gallons of gas annually while just sitting in traffic. The 600 million gallons of gas translates to about 7.5 million tons of carbon dioxide in just those two cities.

Impacts of Global Warming in the Himalayas

6. According to a UN climate report, the Himalayan glaciers that are the principal dry-season water sources of Asia's biggest rivers - Ganges, Indus, Brahmaputra, Yangtze, Mekong, Salween and Yellow - could disappear by 2035 as temperatures rise. India, China, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and Myanmar could experience floods followed by severe droughts in coming decades. In India alone, the Ganges provides water for drinking and farming for more than 500 million people (www.wikipedia.org).

7. Climate change is affecting people and the environment around the globe and this is especially evident in the Himalayas. The greater Himalayan region has the largest concentration of snow and ice outside the two poles. Although the Himalayan people contribute little to global warming, they experience some of the most severe impacts (www.icimod.org). Warming in the Himalayan region has been much greater than the global average. Weather patterns are becoming more unpredictable and extreme with prolonged dry spells and very strong storm events. This phenomenon is causing concern over the long-term reduction in total water supply, affecting the lives and livelihoods of the Himalayan people, especially in agriculture practices and long-term food security. Global warming is likely to have far reaching consequences on water, agriculture, biodiversity, and the many other factors that provide a basis for people to survive. The ten river systems originating in the Himalayas serve around 1.3 billion people. The footprint of food and energy production of the Himalayan river basins reaches up to 3 billion people (*ibid.*).

Effects of Global Warming

8. Some of the effects of global warming are as under:

(a) **Shrinking Glaciers** As CO₂ emissions increase, global temperatures rise. As a result of this global warming, the Gangotri glacier, the birth place of river Ganges, is shrinking at the rate of 34 metres per year.

(b) **Rising Sea Levels** New studies are predicting sea level rises of over a metre or more by the end of this century, more than double the predictions made in 2007.

(c) **Acidic Oceans** CO₂ emissions are acidifying the oceans, with potentially disastrous

consequences for marine life. The oceans currently absorb one third of all carbon emissions, but they're reaching a saturation point. It could lead to a disaster to the marine life and consequently adversely affecting us.

(d) **Typhoons, Cyclones and Drought** If global temperatures keep rising, such extreme weather events will only increase in frequency and intensity.

(e) **Human Health.** Global warming will also affect human health. There may be more heat-related illnesses in hotter summers, and increased breathing problems as higher temperatures increase air pollution in cities, reducing air quality. The malaria mosquito may also be able to spread to other regions of the world where it is currently too cold to survive and breed. Disease like dengue is only a dress-rehearsal for the kind of viral diseases that are to come. As the planet gets hotter, ancient species of viruses will run rampant through thickly populated urban areas.

(f) **Endangering Species** The speed at which global warming is expected to occur in the 21st century is faster than most plant and animal species will be able to cope with. Some will adapt but others will suffer and may become extinct.

(g) **Affecting Ecosystem** Clearly, if such ecological changes are now being detected when the globe has warmed by an estimated average of only 1 degree F (0.6 degree Celsius) over the past 100 years, then many more far-reaching effects on species and ecosystems will probably occur by 2100, when temperatures could increase as much as 11 F (6 degree Celsius).

(h) **No Food Security** Already, farmers are suffering from failed crops due to erratic monsoons and increasing droughts in large parts of India as well as other country. Because of this, there will be serious threat in food security in the world.

(j) **Low Agricultural Yields** Low agricultural yields are due to the fact that increase in temperatures causes the ground to dry up very quickly. This act leaves behind crops wilting out before they mature. Sometimes due to heavy downpours, land degradation takes place where the fertile soil is eroded. The consequence of this effect is that it can cause famine, lack of income low production industries that use agricultural raw materials. Since hungry man is an angry man, the effect is likely to cause intra and inter-conflicts on the global.

(k) **Heat Waves and Periods of Unusually Warm Weather** The heat waves and periods of unusual warm weather will further affect the ecological niche. Several animals will die due to this change. If many herbivores will die, a number of carnivores will miss food and thus will perish in order to maintain the natural balance. In other words, the changing climatic condition may affect vegetation that specifically required temperate climatic condition. The consequence of this is desertification. Animals that were depending on this type of vegetation for feeding and habitat will perish. As a result, rainfall will cease. Due to excessive heat, draught occurs and dry grass accidentally catches wild fires which by then causes land degradation.

(l) **Ocean Warming and Coastal Flooding** What happens now in the Earth's surface is that icebergs in the Arctic and Antarctic are heated; melts and waters flow towards the sea. This water disturbs the equilibrium in the sea by causing rise in height of sea water. As a result coastal areas and some islands are submerged. Nearly one third of the population living within 60 km of the coast could be lost due to rise in sea level. Tsunami floods are likely to be more frequent and more devastating due to high sea levels. By 2010 higher sea level along coastal areas could lead to the disappearance of Sundarbans of India & Bangladesh.

(m) **Heavy Downpours and Floods** Heavy down pours are caused by very high and extraordinary evapo-transpiration due to high temperatures. This forms rainfall after condensation and cause heavy downpours that result into floods. Floods become more disastrous since no enough vegetation. Floods cause fatal to human being, animals and destruction of crops. This situation in turn causes famine and deteriorating economy of individuals and the nation at large.

Measures Required to Contain Threat of Global Warming

9. **Micro Measures** The various micro measures that can be undertaken to contain the threat of global warming are given as under:-

- (a) **Sustainable Development** Sustainable development has become part of all climate change policy discussions at the global level. Sustainable development has become an integrating concept embracing economic, social and environmental issues. Three critical components in promoting sustainable development are economic growth, social equity and environmental sustainability.
- (b) **Balancing Economic Growth with Energy Efficient Technology** The emission of GHG will increase due to the booming economic growth and increasing energy requirements hence there is a need to balance the economic growth with energy efficient technology.
- (c) **Greater Use of Renewable Sources of Energy and Mass Transport System** There is a need to increase the use of renewable sources of energy and support mass transport system.
- (d) **Green Drive** Need for forestation and conservation of our forests.
- (e) **Anticipatory Research on Rise in Sea Level** This will prove fruitful in the long run.
- (f) **Need to Reduce GHG Emissions** There is an urgent need for the governments to take actions to reduce GHG emissions.
- (g) **More Countries to Join Kyoto Protocol** More countries mainly US should join the Kyoto Protocol which is main plan for cutting down GHG emissions.
- (h) **Cleaner Alternative Sources of Energy** There is an urgent need for alternative sources of energy, which are cleaner and safer for the environment like Solar, Wind and tidal energy, hydrogen fuelled transport system and fusion power plants.
- (j) **New International Need Agreements** The first commitment period of the Kyoto Protocol expires in 2012. By then, a new international framework needs to have been negotiated and ratified which can deliver the stringent emission reductions.
- (k) **Need for Transfer of Technology** Developed countries need to transfer science and technological advances to the developing countries to address the problem in a collective manner.

10. **Macro Measures** Some macro measures are as under:-

- (a) **Investing in Renewable Energy** By investing in renewable energy and energy efficiency, and increasing the efficiency of the cars we drive, we can take essential steps toward reducing our dependence on oil and other fossil fuels that cause global warming. Using energy more efficiently and moving to renewable energy (wind, solar, geothermal, and bio-energy) would significantly reduce our emissions of heat-trapping gases.
- (b) **Creating New Free Energy** By creating new “free energy” sources like wind power or electric cars. We can slow down the effects of global warming. What we really need is a new engine for cars that would take no gasoline whatsoever or any other type of fuel that creates carbon dioxide.
- (c) **Planting More Trees** Another way to stop global warming is to plant more trees. We have cut down way too many trees in the past, and we are still doing it. Much of the tropical rainforests have been cut down, rainforests create a lot of oxygen for us to breathe. Many people are already planting more trees, but we need much more people getting into it around the world. The best solution to global warming is to plant more trees a lot more and we need to replace our current destructive technologies with more efficient technologies that don't pollute the air we breathe.
- (d) **Reducing Pollution** By investing in renewable energy and energy efficiency, and increasing the efficiency of the cars we drive, we can take essential steps toward reducing our dependence on oil and other fossil fuels that cause global warming. Using energy more efficiently and moving to renewable energy would significantly reduce our emissions of heat-trapping gases.
- (e) **Encouraging Dialogue** What is needed is not only a dialogue among environmental experts, NGOs, and governments, but also the engagement of individuals around the world who are concerned about the potential global and local effects of climate change. Only through broad participation and cooperation will we be able to find innovative solutions.

Conclusion

11. We know that nature provides us with 'services' such as clean air, pure water, fertile soil and a healthy environment which sustains us (Bhattacharya, 2007:p.88). Our Planet is warming rapidly, and changes are spreading faster than we realize. For ten thousand years the earth nurtured human life and fostered the development of civilization, but it is now becoming less hospitable. Everyone, in every nation, will feel the effects of climate change. This profound global change is caused by how we get and use energy. We must overhaul our energy base, and in a very short time, to prevent accelerating climate disruptions. Fortunately, tools already exist to change our sources and curb our waste of energy-a transition that will also benefit many other parts of our lives. What is most lacking, at this point, is the will to change (Braasch, 2006). Creating a safer, cleaner-and cooler-world is the direction for change. The world's nations will recognize in global warming a common danger to their people, their cultures, and the earth that supports them all. The United States, the European Union, China, India, Russia, Japan, Canada, and the rest of the industrialized world must work in concert with the many smaller countries, provinces, states, cities, and corporations already showing the way(ibid.p.214).

13. "Developed countries need to realise that their selfish reasoning will be self-destructive in the long run. And all developing countries need to assume their responsibility by adopting ways of sustainable development." Ugandan president Museveni said, "There is a simple thing all of us can do to mitigate the impact of climate change; planting trees. In Uganda, we should treat tree planting as a culture, planting them on birthdays, weddings and other functions, as a gift our children can benefit from in the future." (<http://www.newvision.co.ug/>)

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नेपाले ! त्रे वियाँ

प्र.से. आश बहादुर तामाङ



१. “नेपालले ! त्रे वियाँ” (फ्रेञ्च भाषामा— नेपाली अति राम्रो) । यो वाक्य वीर गोर्खालीको शान्ति प्रिय बुद्धको देश नेपाल, सगरमाथाको देश नेपाल, हिमाल पहाड तराईको मनोरम प्रकृतिको उपहारले सम्पन्न देश नेपाल, बहुल भाषा संस्कृति र जनजातिको देश नेपालका सहनशील, फरासिला र फुर्तिला नेपाली देखेर कुनै फ्रेञ्च भाषी पर्यटकले आत्मविभोर भई प्रशंसा गर्दै नेपालमा भनेको होइन । यो त प्रजातान्त्रिक गणतन्त्र कङ्गो (DRC) को अति संवेदनशील संकटग्रस्त क्षेत्रमा एक मिलिसियाले सैनिक पर्यवेक्षक (Military Observer) को हैसियतले कार्यसम्पादन गर्न जाँदा अत्याधुनिक हतियार ak-47 मेरो छातीमा तेर्स्योएर उत्तेजित हुँदै पटक पटक “आई विल किल यु ! मुजुङ्गो ” (गोरा, म तँलाई मार्छु) भनि धम्क्याउँदा मैले मेरो बाँया पाखुरामा नेपाली भण्डाको कुम व्याच देखाउँदै “ज स्वी नेपाले” (फ्रेञ्च भाषामा —म नेपाली हुँ अर्थात् तत्कालीन अर्थमा म नेपाली सेना हुँ) भने पछि रमाउँदै, सद्भाव देखाउँदै, सम्मान गरी ताकेको हतियार हटाउँदै बोलेको वाक्य हो “नेपालले ! त्रे वियाँ ।” विश्वमै सानो र अविकसीत देश नेपाल भए पनि विश्व शान्ति सुरक्षा कायम गर्न विगत ५० वर्षदेखि नेपाली सेनाले पुऱ्याएको योगदान विश्व समुदायले नै अति सराहना गरेको पाएको छु । United Nations Organization Mission in Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUC) अन्तर्गत DRC (कङ्गो) मै अति संवेदनशील मानिएको सेक्टर ६ बुनियाँमा सैनिक पर्यवेक्षकको रूपमा खटिँदा एक वर्षे कार्यकालमा अविस्मरणीय मुख्य एउटा घटनामा आधारित नेपाली सेनाको योगदान, यसको छवि साथै स्थानीय भाषाको ज्ञानको महत्त्व सम्बन्धमा विवरणात्मक—संस्मरण प्रस्तुत गर्ने जमर्को गरेको छु ।

२. नेपालले १३ फ्रेबुअरी, १९४९ मा निवेदन दिएको भए पनि १४ डिसेम्बर, १९५५ मा मात्र संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघ (UN) को सदस्य पाउन सफल भएको थियो । UN को सदस्य भएदेखि नै संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघीय शान्ति सेनामा विश्व शान्ति सुरक्षा गर्ने उद्देश्य प्राप्तिको लागि नेपालले सक्रिय भूमिका निर्वाह गर्दै आएको कुरा सर्वविदितै छ । UN को बडापत्र स्वीकार्दै नेपालको परराष्ट्र नीति मुताविक नेपालका निजामती कर्मचारी, नेपाली सेना, नेपाल प्रहरी तथा सशस्त्र प्रहरी बलले UN को उद्देश्य हासिल गर्न विभिन्न ओहोदा र कार्यमा रही जिम्मेवारीपूर्ण भूमिका निर्वाह गर्दै आएका छन् । जसमा नेपाली सेनाले विश्व शान्ति स्थापना कार्यमा सन् १९५८ देखि हालसम्मको अवधिमा निर्वाह गरेको भूमिका अतुलनीय र गर्व योग्य छ । ३४ वटा भन्दा बढि UN मिशनहरूमा ७० हजार भन्दा बढि नेपाली सेनाको सकलदर्जाले विश्व शान्ति कार्यमा योगदान पुऱ्याउनु चानचुने कुरा होइन । मैले पनि सन् १९९४ मा पुर्व युगोस्लाभियाको United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) मा नेपब्याट—चौथोको हे.क्वा. पुस्तारामा अपरेशन ड्युटी अधिकृतको हैसियतले ४ महिना र पुसुन्जे—राजकोभाच पोष्टको पोष्टपति भई २ महिना तोकिएको जिम्मेवारी निर्वाह गरेको थिए । त्यस समयको “साभा” घटनामा नेपब्याटले प्रशंसनीय भूमिका निर्वाह गरेको थियो भने उक्त अवधिमा नेपब्याटलाई सर्भियन तथा क्रोशियनहरूले त्यस इलाकामा जहाँ भेटे पनि “नेपाल—सुपेर दोब्रो” (सर्भियन भाषामा—नेपाल अति राम्रो) भनि नेपब्याटको प्रशंसा गर्थे । करिव १० वर्षपछि मलाई दोस्रो पटक विश्व शान्ति कायम गर्ने पवित्र कार्यमा २३ नोभेम्बर, २००३ देखि २३ नोभेम्बर, २००४ सम्म सैनिक पर्यवेक्षकको रूपमा कार्य गर्ने अवसर प्राप्त भएको थियो । MONUC मा सैनिक पर्यवेक्षकको हैसियतले ईटूरी जिल्लाको बुनियाँ सहरमा ड्युटीमा खटिँदा अधिकांश कंगोलीहरूले मात्र हैन उक्त मिसनमा खटिँने अन्य देशका सदस्यहरूले समेत भन्ने गर्दथे,— “नेपाले !—त्रे वियाँ” ।

३. MONUC मा सैनिक पर्यवेक्षकको रूपमा छनाट हुने वित्तिकै मैले स्कूल जीवनमा अफ्रिका महादेश तथा कङ्गो सम्बन्धी पढेको “कालो महादेश”, “भूमध्यरेखामा पर्ने देश”, “प्रचण्ड गर्मी र मुसलधारे वर्षाको देश”, विश्वमै सबवभन्दा ठूलो नदी “कङ्गोको देश”, “वनमान्छेहरू पाइने देश”, “प्राकृतिक स्रोत सम्पदा र आदिम संस्कृतिले सम्पन्न देश”लाई प्रत्यक्ष देख्ने, बुझ्ने र महशुस गर्ने मौका समेत पाईने भयो भन्ने उत्सुकता जागेको थियो । त्यसै गरी टि.भि. तथा अन्य संचारका माध्यमबाट सुनें, देखे र पढेकोले म मा रुवाण्डाको हुतु—तुत्सी जाति, र कङ्गोको हेमा—लेन्दु जाति बीचको नरसंहार,

गोमा ताल वरिपरि विस्थापितहरूको विजोग, सोमालियको भोकमरी, ईथियोपिया, ईरिट्रिया, अङ्गोला, लाईवेरिया, सियरालियो न, सुडान, पश्चिम साहारा, आदि देशको गृहयुद्ध तथा संघर्षपूर्ण घटनाहरूले अफ्रिकी देशहरू प्रति मेरो चासो भन्नु बढाएको थियो । प्रतिशोध स्वरूप मान्छेले मान्छेको मासु खान पनि पछि नपर्ने घटना लगायत एड्स, एवोला, मलेरिया जस्ता संसारकै खतरनाक रोगहरूबाट संक्रमित देश कङ्गो जान म बढी संयमित एवं सर्तक समेत भएको थिए ।

४. ३० जून, १९६० मा वेल्जीयमबाट स्वतन्त्र भएको अफ्रिककै तेस्रो ठूलो देश, विश्वकै प्राकृतिक स्रोतमा दशौं धनी देश कङ्गोको राजनैतिक, सामाजिक, आर्थिक तथा सैनिक जानकारी समेत लिएको थिए । ५ करोड १० लाख (सन् २००१ अनुसार) जनसंख्या रहेको कङ्गोको अफिसियल भाषा फ्रेञ्च रहेछ भने मुख्य बोलिने भाषामा लिङ्गाला र सोहेली रहेछन् । मुख्य धर्म क्रिश्चियन भएपनि मुसलमान र अन्य धर्म मान्ने करिब २०० जनजातीहरू कङ्गोमा बसोबास गर्दा रहेछन् । त्यहाँको मुख्य खाना कासाबा (सिमल तरुल) हो भने कम्मर मर्काएर नाचिने कङ्गोली नाच संसारमै प्रसिद्ध रहेको छ । हुनपनि त्यहाँका मानिसहरू संगीत सुन्नासाथ जिउ मर्काउन थाल्छन् भने सम्पन्न परिवारका नभए पनि खासगरि लोग्ने मानिसले ३/४ जना श्रीमती ल्याउनु, वियर पिई मामा (कङ्गोली भाषामा छोरी मान्छे) साथमा राखी म्युजिक सुन्नु यिनीहरूको मुख्य शौक नै हो कि जस्तो भान हुन्थ्यो । जमिन तथा प्राकृतिक स्रोतको बाडफाडमा कङ्गोको छिमेकी राष्ट्रहरू खासगरि युगाण्डा, रुवाण्डा र बुरुण्डीबाट समर्थन प्राप्त हतियारधारी मिलिसियको प्रभुत्व रहेकोले यो देश सन् १९८० देखि नराम्रो गृहयुद्धमा फसेको रहेछ । एकताका अमेरिकी डलरको दांजोमा बलियो रहेको यहाँको फ्राङ्क अर्थतन्त्र गिरावट भई एक अमेरिकी डलर बराबर करिब ३५०-४०० फ्राङ्क हुन पुगेछ । सन् १९६५ देखि ३२ वर्ष मोवुतुसेसेले शासन गरेपछि छिमेकी देश खासगरि युगाण्डा, रुवाण्डा तथा बुरुण्डीले आफ्नो स्वार्थको लागि प्रत्यक्ष तथा अप्रत्यक्षरूपमा हतियारधारी संगठनलाई समर्थन गरी लरेण्ट काविलालाई कङ्गोको सत्ता कब्जा गराए तापनि सन् २००१ मा आफ्नै अङ्गरक्षकबाट उहाँको हत्या भए पछि उनैका छोरा जोसेफ काविला कङ्गोका राष्ट्रपति भएका थिए । सन् १९६०-१९६४ मा United Nations Mission in the Congo (ONUC) ले कार्य सम्पादन गरेको भएतापनि पछि स्थितीमा सुधार नभएको हुँदा “अफ्रिकाको विश्व युद्ध” हुनबाट जोगाउन १० जुलाई, १९९९ को Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement अनुसार MONUC Mission को स्थापना भई २४ फेब्रुअरी, २००० मा UN को Security Council को Resolution १२९१ अनुसार खासगरि ईडुरी वृगेडमा विभिन्न ४८ देशका १६००० भन्दा बढी फौज र करिब ७३५ सैनिक पर्यवेक्षकहरू कङ्गो भरि नै तैनाथ रहेका छन् । MONUC हे.क्वा. कङ्गोको राजधानी किन्सासामा रहेको छ । उक्त मिशन अनुसार छ, फेजमा कार्य गरी सन् २००७ मा कार्यसम्पादन गर्ने योजना रहे तापनि उक्त कार्यक्रम अनुरूप ढिलै भए पनि सन् १९६० पछि पहिलो पटक जुलाई २००६ मा बहुदलीय निर्वाचन सम्पन्न भई हाल जेसेफ काविला कङ्गोका राष्ट्रपति निर्वाचित हुनु भएको छ । हाल UN Peacekeeping Operation को सबैभन्दा मंहङ्गो यो MONUC मिशन सफलतातिर उन्मुख भएको देखिन्छ । अक्टुबर, २००३ देखि नेपाली सेनाको गण, गुल्म सैनिक पर्यवेक्षक तथा स्टाफहरू कङ्गोको विभिन्न स्थान लगायत खासगरी ईटूरी वृगेडमा कार्यरत रहदै MONUC को सफलतामा मुख्य हिस्सेदारी बन्दै आएका छन् ।

५. MONUC मा सैनिक पर्यवेक्षकको रूपमा सेनानी हिरालाल जोशी म र बुनियाँमा वृगेड स्टाफ कार्यको लागि जम.क. मुक्ति श्रेष्ठ २१ नोभेम्बर, २००३ को बेलुकाको त्रिभुवन अन्तराष्ट्रिय विमानस्थल काठमाण्डौ देखि मस्कट—दारे सलाम —नैरोबी —मोगादिसु—ब्राजिभिल्ला हुँदै किन्सासा करिब २ दिन लगाएर पुग्यौ । किन्सासा एयरपोर्टमा हामीलाई सैनिक पर्यवेक्षकको रूपमा खट्टिनु भएका सेनानी (हाल प्र.से.) श्री सन्तोष ढकाल र सेनानी (हाल प्र.से.) श्री सहदेव खड्का सरले रिसिभ गर्न आउनु भएको थियो । एयरपोर्टमा ओर्लन साथ हप्प गर्मी भएको महशुस भए पनि त्यस दिन पानी परेकोले मैले सोचेको जत्तिको गर्मी चैं पाइन । हामी करिब १ घण्टाको ड्राईभिङ्ग पछि मेम्लिङ्ग होटल नजिकै रहेको Nephouse (किन्सासामा नेपाली सेनाबाट खट्टिएका पर्यवेक्षकहरूले भाडामा लिएको फल्याट) पुग्दा बाटोमा अति विकसित किन्सासा शहर तर मानिसको उपस्थिती अत्यन्त कम भएकोले सुनसान जस्तो पायौ । वहाँहरूले पैदल तथा गाडीमा किन्सासाको विभिन्न स्थानहरूमा परिचय गराउनु भएको थियो । गेटको दुवै तिर सिंहको मूर्ति भएको अग्लो स्थानमा अवस्थित बलियो कम्पाउण्ड भएको दरवार, सायद संसारकै सबभन्दा नजिक रहेको दुई देशको राजधानी शहर किन्सासा र ब्राजिभिल्ला (गणतान्त्रिक कङ्गोको राजधानी) कङ्गो नदीको किनारामा रहेछ । विगतका युद्धहरूले राजधानी किन्सासालाई ठूलो क्षती पुऱ्याएको नदेखिए

तापनि खासगरि धनी व्यापारी तथा वेल्जियनहरु डर, त्रासको कारणबाट विस्थापित भएको बुझिन्थ्यो । MONUC को सक्रियतासंगै राजधानी किन्सासामा आवादि बढ्दै गएको कुरा त्यहाँका १२/१५ वटा डिस्को तथा नाइट क्लबहरुको चहल पहलबाट नै स्पष्ट हुन्थ्यो । MONUC हे.क्वा.बाट संचालित परिचय-पत्र बनाउने, डाईभिङ्ग परीक्षा तथा अन्य तालिम गराउने जस्ता Femilarigation कार्यक्रममा सहभागी भइसकेपछि DDR कै सबभन्दा खतरनाक क्षेत्र तर धेरै नेपालीहरु कार्यरत रहेको सेक्टर ६ वुनियांको टिम साईट ६०६ मा खटिए ।

६. वुनियां जाने अन्य देशका साथीहरूसँग किन्सासा-किसाइघानी-एन्टेभे (Uganda) को बहु चर्चित एयरपोर्ट) हुँदै जहाजबाट बाक्लो घना जंगल, प्राय जसो धमिलो देखिने कङ्गो नदि र ठुला ठुला हरिया फांटहरुमा नितान्त पातला बस्तीहरुको दृष्यको आनन्द लिदै करिब ७ घण्टाको Flight मा वुनिया एयरपोर्टमा पुग्यौं । कालोपत्रे भएपनि ठाउँ ठाउँमा माटोले टालेर क्षतविक्षत भएको वूनियाँ एयरपोर्टमा जहाज ल्याण्ड गर्दा भने हाम्रो निकै सातो भएको थियो । एयरपोर्टमा सेनानी (हाल प्र.से.) श्री रघुनाथ रानाभाट मलाई रिसिभ गर्न आउनु भएको थियो । जहाजबाट ओर्लेर वरिपरि हेर्दा नेपालको पहाडी भुभागजस्तो हरियो घाँसे फाट, ठाउँ ठाउँमा बुट्यान पोलेको धुवाँको मुस्तो उडेको, उबड खाबड डाँडा, पातलो खरका भूपडी देखिन्थ्यो भने ईटुरी जिल्लाको सदरमुकाम वुनियांमा भने टिनले छाएका पक्की घरसहित बाक्लो बस्ती देखिन्थ्यो । त्यस शहरमा कुनै पनि कालोपत्रे बाटो नभएकोले हामी UN को प्रचलित फार रनर टोयोटा गाडीमा Right hand drive गरी धुलो उडाउदै International Displaced Person (IDP) क्याम्प, ओकापि (कङ्गोको दुर्लभ जेब्रा जस्तो जनवार) मुर्ति रहेको वुनियां शहर- हुँदै ईटुरी वृगेड हे.क्वा. नजिक रहेको वुनियाँको नेपहाउसमा करिब आधा घण्टामा पुग्यौं । त्यो नेपहाउस पुरानो विमा संस्थानको अफिस भांडामा लिइएको रहेछ । म रानाभाट सर र जम.क मूक्ति श्रेष्ठ (हाल सू.क.) त्यस घरमा एक जना काम गर्ने लोग्ने मानिस, निजको परिवार (श्रीमती र दुई छोरा) संगै थियौं । नेपहाउस भएपनि NDROMO मा नेपव्याट तथा नेप ईन्जिनियर समेत स्टाफ अधिकृतहरु सहित रहनु भएकोले ड्युटी बाहेकको अधिकांस समय त्यहाँ रहेका नेपाली साथीहरूसंग नै विताईयो । वृगेड हे.क्वा.मा शुरुका तीन दिन त्यहाँका विभिन्न शाखाहरुबाट ईटुरी वृगेडको वस्तुस्थितीबारे जानकारी लियौं ।

७. कंगोको १० Province (प्रान्त) मध्ये Orientale Province को ईटुरी जिल्लामा ५ वटा क्षेत्रहरु रहेछन् जस्को सदरमुकाम वुनियाँ रहेछ । करिब ४५ लाख जनसंख्या भएको ईटुरी प्रान्तमा १५ भन्दा बढी हतियारधारी गुप कार्यरत रहेछन् । कङ्गोको इतिहास मै सबभन्दा बढी नरसंहर भएको यस जिल्लाको Djugu मा सन् १९९९ मा हेमा र लेन्दु जातिबीच भएको द्वन्द्वमा करिब ५० हजार कङ्गोलीको ज्यान गएको रहछ । सन् १९९४ को रुवाण्डाको हुतु-तुत्सीबीचको द्वन्द्वले गर्दा त्यहाँका विस्थापीतहरु कङ्गोको पूर्वी अल्बर्ट ताल सिमाना क्षेत्रमा आई बसेकोले सो क्षेत्र अत्यन्त प्रभावित भएको रहेछ । युगाण्डा र रुवाण्डाबाट सर्भथन प्राप्त धनी तथा व्यापारी हेमा जातिको कब्जामा धेरै जमिन, खानी तथा स्थानीय सरकारमा बढी प्रतिनिधित्व हुनु र गरीब किसान जाती लेन्दु तथा अन्य आदिवासी जातीहरुले हेमाको शोषण दमनमा परेको महशुस गरी द्वन्द्व चरम स्थितीमा पुगेको रहेछ । कङ्गोको राजधानी किस्सासाबाट सुदूरपूर्वमा रहेको यस जिल्लामा विश्वकै सबभन्दा बढी सुन खानी रहेको भन्ने मान्यता रहेछ । हुनपनि त्यस क्षेत्रको नदि किनारमा सुन खोज्ने क्रममा खाल्डै खाल्डा पारेको देखिन्थ्यो । जसले गर्दा वुनियांमा युगाण्डा, रुवाण्डा र बुरुण्डीको समर्थनमा विभिन्न गुटका हतियारधारी, व्यापारी तथा दलालीहरु सक्रिय हुने रहेछन् । वुनियां शहरमा मात्र करिब २०० जनाको मृत्यु भए पछि तत्काल समस्याको समाधान गर्न सन् २००१ मा फ्रेन्च आर्मीको कमाण्डमा Interim Emergency Multinational Force (IEMF) वुनियांमा तैनाथ भई थप रक्तपात हुनबाट रोक्नको साथै स्थानिय सरकार चलाउन तथा मानविय सहयोग संचालन गर्न मद्दत गरेको रहेछ । यस शहरमा बढी हेमा सर्भथक Union des Patriotes Congolagis (UPC) हतियारधारी समूहको बढी बाहुल्यता रहेछ जसमध्ये Gegere Hema / Hema Sud मा विभाजित रहेछन् ।

८. यस वृगेडमा डाईरेक्टर अफ अपरेशन डोमेनिक म्याक्डम (महिला) रहनु भएको थियो भने यस वृगेडमा संचालित हुने सम्पूर्ण कारवाहीलाई नियालेर हेर्दा सिभिल डोमिनेशन बढी देखियो । यस वृगेडमा सैनिक तर्फ शुरुमा पाकिस्तानी वृगेड कमाण्डर भए पनि उहाँको कार्यकाल सकिएपछि सन् २००४ को अन्त्यतिर नेपाली सेनाका स.र. (हाल

अवकास प्राप्त) श्री देव बहादुर घले वृगेड कमाण्ड हुनु भएको थियो । बाहिनीपतिबाट त्यहाँ खट्टिएका पाकव्याट, मोरव्याट, व्यान व्याट, नेप व्याट, आई.ए.सि. (भारत) बंगलादेशी हवाई सेवा नेप र ईण्डो ईन्जिनियर, साउथ अफ्रिकाको सैनिक प्रहरी, बाहिनी स्टाफहरु परिचालन लगायत त्यस क्षेत्रमा कार्यरत NGO INGO, स्थानिय प्रशासन, सैनिक पर्यवेक्षक, United Nations Volunteers (UNV), मानव अधिकारीसंग सम्बन्धित संघ संस्था आदिसंग आवश्यक समन्वय गरी कार्य सम्पादन गर्न ठूलो जिम्मेवारी निर्वाह भएको थियो । FARDC Bde (भर्खर स्थापित कङ्गोली आर्मी) सक्षम बनाउन आवश्यक अनुसार परिचालित भएको थियो । कङ्गोमा सबैभन्दा संवेदनशील मानिएको यस जिल्लामा हत्या, लुटपाट, बलात्कार, अपहरण, कै दीहरु भाग्नु तथा मानव अधिकारको हनन सम्बन्धी घटना हुनु दिनचर्या जस्तै थियो । त्यहाँ खट्टिएका फौजको विभिन्न कारवाहीहरुले गर्दा शान्ति सुरक्षाको स्थितिमा सुधार भए तापनि कुन बेला कस्तो घटना घट्ने हो भन्ने बारेमा भन्न नसकिने हुँदा सधैं सर्तकतामा रहनुपर्ने स्थिति थियो ।

९. त्यसताका वाहिनीपति, लगायत विभिन्न विभागमा स्टाफ अधिकृत तथा अन्य दर्जाका वाहिनी स्टाफहरु, सैनिक पर्यवेक्षक, नेप व्याट, नेप ईन्जिनियर कम्पनीमा खट्टिएका नेपाली सेनाका सकल दर्जा तथा UNV मा खट्टिएका नेपाली समेतगरि करिब १२५० नेपालीहरु यस जिल्लामा कार्यरत थियौं । खासगरि बुनीया शहर नेपालमय नै भएको अनुभूति हुन्थ्यो । बुनियां बसाइको करिब १ वर्ष अवधिमा सैनिक पर्यवेक्षक तथा अपरेशन ड्यूटी अधिकृतको गर्नु पर्ने ड्यूटीलाई प्राथमिकताकासाथ सम्पन्न गरेपछि, विदाको समयमा साथीहरूसंग समय समयमा साँभ नाचगान गरी रमाइलो गर्नु, रेडियो ओकापी र नेपाली गीतहरु सुन्दै नेपव्याटका पोष्टमा घुम्न जानु, भलिवल, टेबुल टेनिस खेलेर, दौडेर पसिना बगाउनु, विदामा किन्सासा, युगाण्डा घुम्न जानु, सामान्य नै भयो । विदामा नेपव्याट दोस्रोका गणपति प्र.से. श्री प्रभुराम शर्माको विशेष सहयोगमा नेपव्याट हे.क्वा. माहागीबाट युगाण्डाको मचेसन फल र पार्क साथीहरूसंग हेर्न जाने अवसर समेत जुरेको थियो । नाइल नदि नै भरनाको रुपमा भरेका मनोरम दृष्य लगायत ताडिको सिक्रे रुख भएका ठूलो घाँसे मैदानमा जेब्रा, हात्ती, मृग, अर्ना, वंदेल जस्ता जन्तूहरु प्रत्यक्ष नजिकबाट देख्न पाउँदाको मज्जा नै अर्को हुने रहेछ । यसैगरि विदामा किन्दु घुम्नको साथै कङ्गो गएको ९ महिना पछि एक पटक काठमाण्डौ समेत विदा मान्न आइयो । म बुनियामा रहँदा प्र.से. श्री धर्म बहादुर बानियां गणपति रहनु भएका श्री फष्ट राईफल गण (नेपव्याट पहिलो) ले बुनिया गण हे.क्वा.मा सांस्कृतिक कार्यक्रम अयोजना गरेको थियो । जसमा MONUC मिसनमा फोर्स कमाण्डर नाईजेरिया मेजर जनरल Samaila Iliya मुख्य पाहुना हुनुहुन्थ्यो । मैले Nep house मा कार्य सघाउने ९ वर्षका छोरालाई फुर्सदको समयमा नेपाली लोक गीतमा नाच्न सिकाएको थिएँ । कङ्गोलीलाई नाच्न पाएपछि, के चाहियो ? केही दिनमै नेपाली लोक गीतको तालमा नेपाली जस्तै नाच्ने भयो त्यो फुच्चे त ! नेपाली संस्कृति र कङ्गोली संस्कृतिबीचको नाचको ताल समायोजन गरी उक्त सांस्कृतिक कार्यक्रममा म र कङ्गोली फुच्चे नेपाली लोक भाकामा नाच्यौं । दुवैजनाले नेपाली ढाका टोपी लगाएर नाचको अन्त्यमा उसलाई काखमा लिएपछि, उसले दर्शकलाई नमस्कार गरी अभिवादन गर्‍यो । यो दृश्य नेपव्याट लगायत दर्शकहरुको लागि पनि अप्रत्यासित नै थियो । किनभने विना रिहर्सल सो स्टेजमा कङ्गोली बच्चाले त्यति राम्रो तालमा नाचेको देखेर विभिन्न देशका सेना, सैनिक पर्यवेक्षक, स्टाफ, स्थानीय दोभाषे, कर्मचारीहरुले निकै रमाएका देखिन्थे । अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय मञ्चमा नेपाली संस्कृतिको माध्यमबाट नेपाल नेपाली र नेपालको संस्कृतिलाई यसरी चिनाउन पाएकोमा मलाई अत्यन्तै गर्वको अनुभूति भएको थियो । उक्त सांस्कृतिक सांभले गर्दा पनि नेपव्याले सबैतिरबाट भन् प्रसंसा बटुल्न मद्दत मिलेको थियो । नेपाली सेनाले तोकिएको जिम्मेवारी गहनतापूर्वक निर्वाह गरी अनुशासन र बहादुरी प्रदर्शन मात्र गर्दै आफ्नो संस्कृति र परम्परालाई संसार भर फैलाउन अतिरिक्त क्रियालाप पनि गर्दछ, भन्ने सन्देश मिलेको देखिन्थ्यो । सो सांस्कृतिक कार्यक्रमको अन्त्यमा फोर्स कमाण्डरबाट नेपाली सेनाले पुर्‍याएको महत्वपूर्ण योगदानको कदर गर्नुका साथै स्थानीय जनता तथा अन्य कन्टीन्जेन्टसंग घुलमिल हुने क्षमताको समेत प्रशंसा गर्नु भएको थियो ।

१०. जुनसुकै आहोदा र जिम्मेवारीमा रहेपनि खासगरि त्यहाँ खट्टिएका नेपाली सेनाहरुबीचको आवश्यक समन्वय, सहयोग तथा कार्यदक्षताले गर्दा नेपाली सेनालाई कङ्गोली तथा त्यहाँ कार्यरत अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय समुदायले उत्कृष्ट कोटीमा राखेका पाइन्थे । कङ्गोमा खट्टिने नेपव्याट पहिलोले शुरुमा अपरिचित स्थान तथा प्रतिकुल सुरक्षा स्थितिमा MPV मोबिलिटीको समस्या, अधिकांश अफिस तथा बासस्थान पालमा भएको कारण ३-४ जना नेपाली सेनाका सदस्य घाइते र लाखौं क्षति हुने गरी वर्ष सहितको हावाहुरीले बनाएको विजोग जस्ता केही समस्याहरुका बावजुद MONUC को Disarmament

Dimobilization Repatriation and Reintegration (DDDR), Disarmament Community Reintegration (DCR) कार्यक्रममा महत्वपूर्ण भूमिका खेल्नुको साथै गाभू, बुकाबू, चोमिया, क्वान्द्रोमा, जाकान्जा, जलसीगा, एन्द्रेले, माहागी, बुनियां, अरु आदि स्थानमा FNI, FAPC, UPC मिलिसिया विरुद्ध प्रभावकारी कारवाही गरि उत्कृष्ट कार्यदक्षता प्रदर्शन गरेको थियो। MONUC फोर्स कमाण्डको समय समयमा भिजिट हुंदा र अन्य VIP हरु भिजिट हुंदा स्कर्टको रुपमा नेप व्याटकै माग हुन्थ्यो। २५ अक्टुबर, २००४ मा SRSG, W swing को बुनियां इलाकाको भिजिट हुंदा अधिकांश समय नेप व्याटकै एस्कर्ट टोली माग भई खट्टीनु, अति संवेदनशिल अपरेशनमा अन्य व्याटहरु खट्टिनलाई आनाकानी गरेको अवस्थामा नेपव्याटले सहर्ष स्वीकार गरी कार्य सम्पादन गर्नु र इटुरी वृगेडको स्टाण्डवाई फोर्सको रुपमा १ X कम्पनी रहनुले नेपाली सेनाको विश्वसनीयता स्पष्ट हुन्थ्यो। नेप ईन्जिनियर कम्पनीले बुनियां—बोगोरो—चोमीया, ईकावारियार—फताकि—कान्द्रोमा— फताकी सडक, DCR क्याम्पको तथा हेलिप्याडहरुको निर्माणमा देखाएको चुस्त कार्यदक्षताले निकै प्रशंसा बटुलेको थियो। त्यसैगरि वृगेड हे.क्वा. स्टाफ तथा सैनिक पर्यवेक्षकहरुबाट समेत उच्च कार्यदक्षता प्रदर्शन गरी तोकिएको जिम्मेवारी गहतापूर्वक निर्वाह भएको देखिन्थ्यो।

११. बुनियांमा रहँदा हामीलाई नेपालको पहाडी हावापानी मिल्दोजुल्दो (कुनै समय ज्याकेट समेत लगाउनु पर्ने) भएकोले हामी नेपालीहरुलाई कहिलेकाँही कङ्गोजस्तो प्रचण्ड गर्मी र मलेरिया लाग्ने देशमा छु भन्ने भान हुँदैनथ्यो पनि। मलेरियाबाट बच्न अनिवार्य खानुपर्ने औषधी “मेफ्लोक्वीन” खाने नखाने दोधार हुनु, मोजा लगाएर घांटी र हातमा ओडोमस दल्दै भुल भित्रै समय बिताउनु, पसिना बगाउनु बुनिया एयरपोर्टको तातो वाफमा दौड्नु तथा कसैकसैले “नाईल” वियरको समेत बढी खपत गर्ने गरेको थिए। बुनियांको Sunday Market मा चाहे लेक अल्वर्टको स्वादिलो माछा, कुखुराको भाले या बोका किन्दा होस् चाहे सेन्टेभ र बुनियांको अन्य गाउँमा स्थानीयबासीसंग फुटबल खेल्दा होस्, चाहे नेपव्याटको पेरिमिटर आसपास डुल्दा होस् अन्य देशको फौजभन्दा नेपाली सेनाको कार्यदक्षता, बहादुरी, दया, मिलनसार र जस्तोसुकै परिस्थितिमा घुलमेल हुने बानीबाट स्थानीय जनताहरु निकै प्रभावित देखिन्थे। सेन्टेभका पोष्टपति सह-से. श्री सिजर गुरुङ्गले स्थानियबासीहरुलाई गरेको सहयोगले प्रभावित भई उक्त ईलाकामा निजलाई “चाना” को नामले बोलाउँथे। जहाँसुकै पनि नेपाली सेनाको उपस्थितीलाई सहजरुपमा स्वीकारी नेपालीलाई देखेबितिकै कङ्गोलीहरु भन्ने गर्दथे “नेपाल त्रे वियां” ! “ने पाले मुजुरी साना” ! (फेञ्च, सोहेली भाषामा (नेपाली अति राम्रो)।

१२. नेपाली सेना ईटुरी वृगेडमा मिलिशियाहरुको खासै तार्गेट नबने तापनि UN फौजमाथिको हत्या तथा अपहरण भने समय समयमा हुने गर्दथ्यो। UN को च्याप्टर ७ अनुसार आवश्यक परेको बेलामा ए—२५ समेत फायर गरी कारवाही गर्ने अधिकार भएको यस क्षेत्रमा हतियारधारी फौजलाई भन्दा बिना हतियारमा खट्टिने सैनिक पर्यवेक्षकलाई समय समयमा हत्या अपहरण भइरहन्थ्यो। कोम्बुकाभो मिशनमा नेपाली सेना घाईते हुनका साथै इकाभारियर ईलाकामा मिलिसियाको फायरबाट MPV को सिसा समेत फुटेको थियो। UN को गाडिलाई निशाना बनाउने क्रममा भने एकपटक बुनियांको बाटो हुँदै ने पहाउस फर्कने क्रममा बुनियां बजारमा अप्रत्याशित निस्केको एक हुलले दुङ्गा हानी म चढेको गाडीको दाहिनीपट्टीको सिसा समेत फुटेको थियो। म वायांपट्टि रहेकोले सामान्य सिसा फुटे पनि कुनै चोटपटक नलागी जोगिएको थिए। ईटुरी जिल्लामा मात्र १० वटा भन्दा बढी टिम साईटहरु विभिन्न देशका सैनिक पर्यवेक्षक मिश्रीत भएको, प्रत्येक टिममा ६ जनाको नफ्रीमा खट्टिएका थिए। हामी जानु भन्दा करिब डेढ वर्ष अगाडि विकट स्थानमा रहेको Mongwalu इलाकामा तीन जना सैनिक पर्यवेक्षकलाई अपहरण गरी कलेजो समेत भिकी त्यहाँका मिलिसियाहरुले खाएका थिए रे। हामी जस्तै ईटुरी जिल्लामा खट्टिएका केन्याका सैनिक पर्यवेक्षक भेरीफिकेशन मिशनमा जांदा मिलिसियाको एम्बुसमापरि वीरगति प्राप्त गरेका थिए। कर्तव्य निर्वाह गर्ने सिलसिलामा संकटग्रस्त क्षेत्रमा ज्यान जाने कुराको त भैरै नहुने रहेछ। निजको बुनियां एयरपोर्टमा भएको अन्त्येष्टी कार्यक्रममा मैले समेत कफिन बोकी श्रद्धाञ्जलीको सलामी चढाएको थिए। पछि विभिन्न स्रोतबाट के खबर बुझिन आयो भने उक्त कन्भोयमा रसियन (गोरा) सैनिक पर्यवेक्षकलाई मार्ने उद्देश्यले एम्बुस गरिएकोमा भुल बस केन्याका सैनिक पर्यवेक्षकको मृत्यु भएछ भनि मिलिसियाहरुले स्वीकारेका थिए।

१३. मेरो टिम साईट सुरक्षाको दृष्टिकोणले तारको बारसहित कम्पाउण्ड लगाएको ईटुरी वृगेड हे.क्वा.बाट करिब ५ मिनेटको मोटरबाटोमा एउटा सिभिल घर भाडामा लिई स्थापना भएको थियो। हाम्रो टिम साईट दुईओटा कम्प्युटर सेट,

दुईओटा जेनेरेटर, दुईओटा फोर रनर गाडी, सिग्नल उपकरण, ईमर्जेन्सीको लागि खाना तथा पानी लगायत आवश्यक स्टेशनरी सामानहरु समेत राखेर अफिस खडा गरेका थियौं । टिमका सदस्यहरुले सामान्यता एकै ठाउँमा बस्नु खानुपर्ने भए तापनि समय समयमा टिमका सदस्यहरु अदली-बदली भइरहने र बुनियाँमा अन्यत्रभन्दा केही सुविधा भएको हुँदा खाना तथा बस्न समेत टिमका सदस्यहरुले आ-आफ्नो तजविजमा मिलाएका थिए । बुनियाँमा यसरी व्यवस्थापन गर्ने क्रममा अक्टुबर, २००४ ताका ठूलो सिभिल घर (नेपहाउस) भाडामा लिई इटुरी वाहिनीका वाहिनीपति स.र. (हाल अवकास प्राप्त) श्री देव बहादुर घले लगायत सेनानी श्री (हाल प्र.से.) निरज पौडेल, म, सेनानी (हाल प्र.से.) उत्तम रुपाखेती, सह से. (हाल सेनानी) डा. सुधासेन मल्ल, सह-से. (हाल सेनानी) अर्जुन, जम.क. मूक्ति श्रेष्ठ (हाल सु.क.) रहेका थियौं । हाम्रो उक्त नेप हाउसलाई नेपव्याट, नेप ईन्जिनियर कम्पनी र वाहिनी स्टाफहरुबाट पुर्‍याईको सहयोग अत्यन्त प्रशंसनीय थियो । सुरक्षा तथा सुविधाको दृष्टिकोणले उपयुक्त हुने घर पाउनु निकै सास्ती खेप्नु परे तापनि बुनियाँको यो नेप हाउस खोज्न मात्र नभई किन्सासाको लाईब्रेरी भवनको २२ तलाको फ्ल्याटको नेपहाउस खोज्नमा समेत मेरो काम चलाउ फ्रेञ्च तथा सोहेली भाषा सिकेकोले निकै मद्दत पुगेको जस्तो लाग्दथ्यो ।

१४. सैनिक पर्यवेक्षकको मुख्य काम MONUC को म्यान्डेट अनुसार सम्झौताको अनुगमन गर्नु, पालैपालो बुनियाँ तोकिएको सेक्टरमा गाडीबाट पट्रोल गई विभिन्न हतियारधारी गुप तथा अन्य गतिविधि सम्बन्धी खबर हासिल गर्नु, स्थानको रेकी गर्नु र ईटुरी वृगेड हे.क्वा.मा तथा आवश्यकता अनुसार MONUC हे.क्वा. किन्सासामा रिपोर्टिङ्ग गर्नु थियो । यसको अलावा समयसमयमा ईटुरी वृगेडसंगको समन्वयमा कुनै घटेका घटना तथा परिस्थितिको जाँचबुझ गरी सत्य-तथ्य जानकारी हासिल गर्न, एयर तथा ग्राउण्ड भेरिफिकेशन मिसनमा तोकिएका कन्टिनेन्टका फौजको साथ गई कार्य सम्पादन गर्नु पर्दथ्यो । करिब २ महिना सैनिक पर्यवेक्षकको रूपमा टिम साईटमा रही कार्य गर्दा मैले भेरिफिकेशन कार्यमा नेपव्याट, मोरव्याट, पाकव्याट र व्यानव्याटसंग चोमिया, लोपा, लाक्वा, मान्द्रो आदि स्थानहरुमा संलग्न रही कार्य सम्पादन गरेको थिएँ ।

१५. मेरो टिममा टिम लिडर पेरुका लेफ्टिनेन्ट कर्नेल गोन्जालो राफेल, मालीकी क्याप्टेन दियालो फातु, अल्जेरियाका मेजर अब्दुल रज्जाक, वेनिनका मेजर सोग्नी जस्टीन र इण्डोनेसियाका सेनानी हरियादी अगुस सहित ६ जना थियौं । मैले टिम साईटमा करिब २ महिना र ईटुरी वृगेड हे.क्वा.मा अपरेशन डियुटी अफिशरको रूपमा बांकी समय कार्य सम्पादन गर्ने मौका पाएको थिएँ । उक्त अवधिमा मलाई इटुरी वृगेड कमाण्डरबाट ईटुरी वृगेड हे.क्वा. बुनियाँमा रहेका कम्प्युटर, विभिन्न सिग्नल उपकरण सहित १०० भन्दा बढी मूल्यवान आईटमको रेखदेख तथा जिम्मेवारीको लागि “वृगेड प्रोपर्टी अफिसर” मा चयन गरिएको थियो । डियुटी अधिकृत हुँदा बुनिया तथा ईटुरी वृगेडको जिम्मेवारी इलाकामा फायरिङ्गको घटना घट्नु, मिलिसियाबाट सिभिलियन तथा विरोधी गुपको हत्या अपहरण, महिला बालिकालाई बलात्कार हुनु, लुटपाट हुनु, जेलबाट कैदी भाग्नु, IDP क्याम्पमा यौनशोषणको घटना घट्नु, जस्ता घटना हुनु कुनै नौलो कुरो हुन्थेन । एक पटक म ड्युटी बसेको साँझ ८ बजे तिर वृगेड हे.क्वा. बुनियाँकै प्रिफेभमा गोलि लागि MONUC हे.क्वा.को सुरक्षामा समेत विशेष व्यवस्था अपनाई स्टाण्ड वाई फौज परिचालन गर्नु परेको थियो । ड्युटीमा रहँदा अन्तर्गत तथा माथिल्लो निकायबाट खबर तथा आदेश लिनु, अवाश्यकता अनुसार खबरको वितरण तथा भेरिफिकेशनको लागि फौज परिचालन गर्नु, अपरेशन अधिकृत, वाहिनीपति तथा सम्बन्धितलाई रिपोर्टिङ्ग गर्नु नै मुख्य कार्य थियो । ड्युटीको कारवाही गर्दा स्थानिय जनता, MONUC स्टाफहरु, ईन्टर्पेटरहरु, NGO INGO आदिहरूसंग समेत आवश्यक समन्वय र सहयोग समेत गर्नुपर्दथ्यो । साथै दैनिक बेलुकी ८ बजे र विहान ७ बजे रेडियो चेक गरी हे.क्वा.को कार्यसम्पादन गर्न खटिने सम्बन्धित महत्वपूर्ण व्यक्तिहरूसंगको सिग्नल मिलाप भएको एकिन गर्नु पनि थियो । ड्युटी अधिकृतको कार्यसम्पादन क्रममा समेत फ्रेञ्च भाषामा कुराकानी हुँदा “नेपाले त्रे विया” भनि वारम्बार स्थानिय जनता, खटिने ईन्टरपेटर तथा विभिन्न कार्यमा खटिने अरु कर्मचारीहरुले भन्दा नेपाली सेनाको भएको नाताले नेपाली सेनाले त्यस क्षेत्रमा पुर्‍याएको योगदानलाई कदर गरेको सम्झी आत्मगौरवको अनुभूति हुन्थ्यो । कङ्गोमा सैनिक पर्यवेक्षक तथा ड्युटी अधिकृतको हैसियतले कार्यसम्पादन गर्दा र १ वर्ष कङ्गो बसाइको क्रममा विभिन्न किसिमका उल्लेख्य घटनाहरु भए पनि व्यान ब्याटको जिम्मेवारी इलाकामा रहेको बोगोरो नजिकको Lakwa गाउँमा Nationalist and Intergrationist Front (FNI) (लेन्दु सर्मथक मिलिसिया गुप) र ले Pusic (हेमा सर्मथक मिलिसिया गुप) बीचको लुटपाट गरेको घटनालाई भेरिफिकेशन गर्न जाँदा घटेको अविश्रमणीय घटना छोटकरीमा उल्लेख गर्ने कोशिस गरेको छु ।

१६. मार्च २००४ को समय जसमा ईटुरी जिल्लाका विभिन्न स्थानमा हत्या, हिंसा र लुटपाटका घटनाहरु बढेको र खासगरि विना हतियारमा विभिन्न टिम साईटमा खटिने सैनिक पर्यवेक्षकहरुलाई बढी खतराको स्थिति रहेको थियो र केही टिम साईटहरु बुनियातमा विथड्कल समेत गराइएको थियो । यसै महिनामा ईटुरी वृगड हे.क्वा.को अपरेशन योजना अनुसार व्यान व्याटको जिम्मेवारी इलाका बोगोरो नजिकको Lakwa गाउँमा FNI का मिलिसियाले Pusic इलाकाको उक्त गाउँमा लुटपाटको घटनालाई भेरिफिकेशन गर्नु पर्ने थियो । सो दिन विहानै ८ बजे तिर फल्याङ्ग ज्याकेट र हेलमेट लगाई आवश्यक पानी र सिग्नल सेट तयार गरी म र अल्जेरीयाका मेजर अब्दुल रज्जाक सैनिक पर्यवेक्षकको हैसियतमा बोगोरोतर्फ लाग्यौं । करिब डेढ घण्टाको धुलो उडाउंदै डाईभिङ्गपछि व्यान व्याटको कम्पनी भएको स्थान बोगोरोमा पुग्यौं । हाम्रो व्यान व्याटका गुल्मपति अधिकृतसंग परिचय तथा भेरिफिकेशन गर्ने घटनाबारे कुराकानी भयो । उक्त गुल्म अग्लो स्थान रहेकोले बोगोरो देखिपूर्व चोमियासम्म नेप ईन्जिनियरले बनाएको बाटो तथा अल्वर्ट लेकको निलो सफा पानी साथै लेक वरिपरिका समथर



कङ्गोलीबीच लेखक

खेतीयोग्य जमिनहरु रमणीय देखिन्थ्यो भने कहिले काहीं लाग्दथ्यो नेपालको चुरे डांडाबाट तराइको मैदान हेरे जस्तो । लेक अल्वर्टको पारिपट्टि रुवाण्डा भएकोले लेक अल्वर्ट हुँदै चोमालिया—बोगोरो बाटोको व्यापारिक तथा सामारिक महत्व देखिन्थ्यो । हामी लेक अल्वर्टको स्वादिलो माछा सहित गुल्ममा नै लञ्च खाएर करिब ११ बजेतिर घटना स्थल Lakwa तर्फ गयौं । क्याप्टेन कमाण्डर रहेको उक्त से.मु.को फौजमा सबभन्दा अगाडि एउटा APC, म र अब्दुल चढेको गाडी र पछाडी अन्य दुईओटा APC थियो । करिब २५ मिनेटको उक्त बाटोमा APC सजिलै गुडे पनि उवड खावड तथा लामोलामो भाडी पलाएको हुँदा हाम्रो गाडीलाई भने ३/४ ठाउँमा बाटो मरामत गर्दै धकल्दै लानु परेको थियो । किनभने उक्त बाटोमा महिनौं सम्म कुनै पनि गाडी नचलेर बाटो विग्रिएको हालतमा रहेको देखिन्थ्यो । बाटोमा कुनै पनि स्थानीय व्यक्तिहरु भेट नभएकोले त्यस इलाकामा बस्तीहरु निकै कम रहेको र भए पनि विभिन्न मिलिसिया गुपको दिन रातको डर, त्रासमा बाँच्नु पर्ने स्थिति सहजै अनुमान गर्न सकिन्थ्यो । घटना भएको गाउँमा पुग्नुभन्दा करीब आधा किलोमिटर वरै दोबाटोमा अगाडिको APC अचानक रोकियो र APC बाहिर रहेका जवान पनि हत न पत्त APC भित्र छिरेको देखें । खास घटना भएको स्थान पुग्न अझै पैदल २०—२५ मिनेट हिड्नु पर्दथ्यो । के भएछ ? भनि व्यान व्याटको से.मु. पतिलाई बुझ्दा मिलिसियाले अगाडि बड्न नदिएकोले मिलिसिया र उक्त से.मु.बीच दोहोरो फायरिङ हुन सक्ने देखिएको भनि सचेत गरायो । हाम्रो गाडी त फायर भए पनि बुलेट प्रुफ थिएन तर बुलेट प्रुफ ज्याकेट र UN लेखेको नीलो हेलमेट भनें लगाएका थियौं । अब्दुलले चैं फेन्च भाषा राम्रोसंग बोल्ने र म भनें काम चलाउको रुपमा केही वाक्यहरु बोल्न सक्ने भएकाले अब के गर्ने भनी गाडिभित्रै बसेर सल्लाह गर्थौं । यसरी गाडिभित्र मात्र बसि राख्नुभन्दा कार्य सम्पादन गर्न ज्यानलाई खतरा मोलेर भएपनि वाहिर निस्क्यौं ।

१७. करिब २० गज जति अगाडि बढेर हेर्दा दोबाटोको अग्लो ठाउँमा २ वटा घोचा गाडि अस्थाई छाप्रो र छाप्रोमाथि दुईवटा रातो भ्रण्डा टांगेर बसेका लेन्दु वा वीरा जातिजस्ता देखिने होचा र काला करिब १५—१६ वर्षको मिलिसिया देखें । मादक पदार्थले टिल्ल परेका, वायां पाखुरामा बुटी बाने जस्तोगरि ड्रगको पोको धागोले बानेको केटाहरुले AK-47 हामीलाई ताक्दै आफ्नै भाषामा अनुहार अझ कालो पादै गालि गर्दै थियो । घुंगुरिएको कपाल जिडिगिडिग परेको, अङ्गार जस्तो कालो पसिना छुटेको अनुहार र रातो रुमाल टाउकोमा बाँधेको, कम्मरमा चक्कु भिरेको, बाहिरबाटै फाटेको मोजा देखिने, माटे

माटो भएको कुहिएको बूट लगाएको हाफ बाहुला भएको, मैला, फाटेको र भित्री गन्जी नलगाई अगाडिको टांक खुलाएर सर्त लाएको थियो । दुईवटा म्याग्जिन जोडेर खियानै खिया लागको देखिने थोत्रो AK-47 एलर्टमा बोकेकोले सायद उनीहरु गाउँको सुरक्षार्थ सेन्ट्रीका रुपमा रहेको देखिन्थ्यो । MONUC को फौजले उनीहरुको इलाकामा हमला गर्न आएको ठानी बढी उत्तेजित भएको अनुमान हुन्थ्यो । “मुख देखेर दैव डराउनु” भने भै आखिर उनीहरुलाई भटेरै तथ्य बुझ्न पर्ने भएकोले हामी सतर्कताका साथ अघि बढी उनीहरुको करिब १० गज नजिक पुग्यौ । उनीहरुले फायर गर्ला जस्तो गरी आफ्नै भाषामा हामीलाई गाली गरिरहे । “हामी सैनिक पर्यवेक्षक हौं, तिमीहरुलाई हमला गर्न वा पक्रन आएको होईनौ” भनि सम्झाउँदै अझ अघि बढ्यौ । अब्दुलले फ्रेञ्च भाषामा हामी त्यहाँ आएको कारण बताएर सम्झाउँदै थिए । दुईजना मध्ये अलि कम उमेरको देखिने मिलिसियाले हाम्रो कुरै नसुनी अझ उत्तेजित हुँदै थियो भने अर्को मिलिसिया हतियार एलर्टमा राख्दै हाम्रो कुरा सुन्ने को शिस गरेको देखिन्थ्यो । जब म तिनीहरुको ५ गज जति नजिक के मात्र पुगेको थिएँ, अप्रत्यासित रुपमा त्यो फुच्चे मिलिसिया म तिर भ्रम्टेर मेरा छातीतर्फ AK-47 ताक्रे ट्रेगरमा हात राखेर चिच्यायो— “मुजुङ्गो (कङ्गोलीहरु गोरा जातीलाई मुजुङ्गो भन्ने गर्दछन्) आई वील किल यु !” (गोरा ! म तलाई मारुँ) “बोंजुर, जाम्वो पापा” (फ्रेञ्च र सोहेली भाषामा नमस्कार) भनि निजलाई अभिवादन गरे पनि म प्रति कुनै वास्ता नगरेकोले त्यति खेर म बिलख बन्दनमा परें र भगवान सम्भ्रं अब वांच्ने यति नै रहेछ क्यारे ! मग्वालु र कातोतोको घटना सम्भ्रं, अब्दुल चाहिँ अर्को मिलिसियालाई सम्झाउँदै थिए भने, व्यान व्याटका फौज चाहिँ असहज स्थिति हुनसाथ फायर गर्नको लागि तयारी हालतमा APC भित्र रहेका थिए । मैले कति पनि समय न गुमाई नम्र भई नडराएको भैँ गरी, हंसिलो स्वरमा वायां पाखुरामा लगाएको नेपालको भण्डा भएको कुम व्याच देखाउँदै कनीकुथी फ्रेञ्च भाषामा भनें “ओ, मोनअमी ! ज स्वी नेपाले” (फ्रेञ्च भाषामा— “ए साथी ! म नेपाली हु”) उ एकछिन अक्मकियो र मेरो पाखुरा तर्फ एक टकले हेच्यो र भन्यो “आ ! नेपाले ! मैले भनें “वी, वी” (फ्रेञ्च भाषामा— हो हो) ।

उसले उत्साहित हुँदै चिच्याएर भन्यो “ओ ! नेपाले ! — त्रे विंयां !”

उसले ताकेको हतियार तल भादै कांधमा भिरेर भन्यो— “नेपाले ! पादे प्रोव्लम” “हाकुना सिदा” फ्रेञ्च र सोहेली भाषामा— नेपाली हौं भने कुनै समस्या छैन) मैले जोसिदै भनें—“मेसी बकु” (फ्रेञ्च भाषामा—धेरै धन्यवाद) अब ज्यान बच्ने भयो भनि अझ उत्साहित हुँदै मैले जानेको फ्रेञ्च र सोहेली भाषाको उपयोग गर्दै गएँ —“को मा सावा ?” हावारी याको ? (फ्रेञ्च र सोहेली भाषामा— के छ हालखबर ?) अनि उसले मैले उनीहरुको भाषा बोलेको सुनेर अनौठो मान्दै भन्यो— “मुजुरी साना” (सोहेली भाषामा— वेश छ ।) हतियार ताकेर मारुँ भन्ने मिलिसिया उति खेरै हात मिलाएर अंगालो मार्दै मित्रमा परिणत भएको देखेर म अचम्मित हुँदै नेपाली हुनु र भाषाले बनाएको सामिप्यतामा म धन्य भएँ । उसले समय खेरा नफाली आफ्नो औकात देखाउँदै हात पसारेर भन्यो —

“दोने मोआं आं सिगरेत ?” फ्रेञ्च भाषामा—“मलाई एउटा सिगरेट लेउ”)

मैले पनि आफु धुम्रपान नगर्ने भए पनि के पछि के पर्देन भनि एक प्याकेट सिखर चुराट र एक खल्ली चकलेट साथमा राखेको थिएँ । एक प्याकेट चुरोट दिन मलाई कुनै गाह्रो भएन, तुरुन्त दिएँ । ऊ साह्रै खुसी भयो । गोजीबाट भिकेर एक मुठी मिठाई पनि दुवै जनालाई दिएँ । व्यान व्याटको फौजलाई त्यहाँ नै रहने गरी अब्दुल र म तीं दुइ जना मिलिसिया सहित Lakwa गाउँतिर लाग्यौ । करिब २० मिनेट पैदल बाटो हिड्ने क्रममा तीन चार ठाउँमा थोत्रा हतियार सहितका हेर्दा ११—१२ वर्षका बालक देखिने “दिन खाएका तर जुंगा नआएका” जस्ता मिलिसियाहरु भेटिए । उसले मिलिसियाहरुलाई मैले दिएको चुरोटहरु बाढ्दै अगाडि बढ्यो । उसले बाढ्दा फालेको खिली टिप्न पनि मिलिसियावीच ठुलै हान थाप भएको देखियो । कोही मिलिसियाहरु हामीलाई उत्सुकता साथ हेरेका थिए भने कोही चाहिँ हामीतर्फ जाइलाग्न खोजे पनि उसले नै लात्ताले हानेर लडाई हाम्रो अगाडि ऊ कमाण्डरको कमाण्ड कन्ट्रोल देखाए भैँ लाग्थ्यो । आधुनिक हतियार बोकेकोले अरुको अगाडि निकै शक्तिशाली भएको देखाउन भेटे जती मिलिसियालाई विभिन्न आदेश पनि गरेको देखिन्थ्यो ।

१८. सो लाक्वा गाउँमा पुग्दा खरले छाएका गोलाकार साना साना भुपडी छरिएर रहेको देखिन्थ्यो भने, बाहिरीपट्टी दुई चारवटा कुखुरा र कसै कसैको लामा लामा सिङ्ग भएको चार पांचवटा गाई गोरु पालेको देखियो । धेरै बारी बांभै भएपनि घर आसपासका बारीमा अबुकाडो, आंप लटरम्म फलेको देखिन्थ्यो भने बारीमा कासावा (सिमल तरुल), सखरखण्ड, बदाम, कालो मलिलो माटोमा हलक्क मौलाएको देखिन्थ्यो । कसैको आंगनमा प्लाष्टिकमाथि सेतै कासावा सुकाएको देखिन्थ्यो । एउटा

घरमा ८-९ बच्चाहरु र आमा जम्मा भएर एउटै कसाडीमा कासावा र गोरुको मासु मुछेर हात चाट्दै खाएको देखिन्थ्यो । एउटै भुपडीमा एउटै उमेरका देखिने टाउको र पेट मात्र ठुलो भएका नाकभरि सिंगान र लाज मात्र छोप्ने थोत्रा लुगा लगाएका आठ नौ जना भन्ट्याड भुन्टुड देखिन्थे । ५० वर्ष उमेर कटेका बुढा बुढी भने विरलै देखियो र भएका बुढा बुढी पनि मलेरिया, एड्स जस्ता रोगले आक्रान्त परेका जस्ता देखिन्थे । ती गाउंलेहरु हतियारधारी मिलिसियाहरु केही दिन अगाडि भएको दोहोरो भिडन्त तथा लुटपाटले त्रसित बनेको देखिन्थे । उनीहरुको मुजै मुजा परेका ख्याउटै आंखा मात्र ट्वाल् ट्वालती देखिने तर सेता दांत भएका अनुहारले शान्ति र चैन खोजेको देखिन्थ्यो । बुनियां र किन्सासाका अधिकांश आईमाई केटीले लगाए जस्तो । जम्मा जम्मी ५०-६० जना जति गाउंले उपस्थित भई उत्सुकताकासाथ हामीलाई हेर्न थाले, यिनीहरूसंग पक्कै केही खानेकुरा छ भनेर होला । हामीलाई देख्न साथ हातले पेट ठोक्दै दुवै हात अगाडि पसारन थाले । तिनिहरुले यस ईसाराको मतलब यो बुझिन्थ्यो- “मलाई भोक लागेको छ, खानेकुरा देउन ?” मेरो एक खल्ती मिठाई त “हातीको मुखमा जिरा” नै भयो । तर जति त्यहां उपस्थित थिए सबैले हामीसंग कुनै न कुनै रुपमा केही न केही माग्ने चेष्टा गरेकै देखिन्थे । हामीले सबैलाई खानेकुरा दिएर सन्तुष्टि दिन नसकेपनि उनीहरुप्रति हाम्रो व्यवहारले सन्तुष्टि र आसावादी भनं देखिन्थे । मैले त्यहांका गाउंले केटी बुढापाकासंग फ्रेञ्च र सोहेली भाषा मिसाएर जानीनजानी बोलेकोले हामीबीच तुरुन्तै समिप्यता बढेको महशुस गरें र हात हल्लाउदै गाउंलेबाट फर्कन लाग्दा गाउंलेहरुले एकै स्वरमा भने “नेपाले ! त्रे-वियां”,

मुजुरीसाना” नेपाली प्रतिको मिलिसिया र गाउंलेको यो व्यवहार देखेर अब्दुल पनि छक्क पर्दै भन्यो, “नेपाले ! त्रे वियां” ।

१९. आवश्यक खबर तथा सत्यतथ्य बुझी करीब १ घण्टा उक्त गाउंमा बसेर बिना कुनै अप्रिय घटना ब्यान ब्याटको फौजसंगै वोगोरो फर्कियो । हामीसंगै गएका ब्यान ब्याटको क्याप्टेन पनि त्यस्तो असहज परिस्थिति पनि सहज बनेर कार्यसम्पादन भएकोमा हामीसंग खुसी व्यक्त गरें । वोगोरोमा खाजा खाएर करिब सांभ ४ बजेतिर हामी बुनियां फर्की ईटुरी वृगेड हे.क्वा.मा रिपार्ट बुझायौं । नेप हाउस आएर लामो सास फेरें मैल नेपाल, नेपाली र नेपाली सेनालाई संभें । खासगरि मेरो परिवार र दमको रोगले हस्पिटल भर्ना भई रहनु पर्ने “म फर्कि छिट्टै आउंछु” भनि मैले बाचा गरेको ७५ वर्षिय मेरी आमालाई सम्भिएं । कङ्गो बसाइको एक वर्ष पुग्नासाथ किन्सासा-मम्वासा- व्याङ्क हुदै काठमाण्डौ फर्की उक्त घटना सम्बन्धी बुढी आमा र श्रीमतीलाई यो घटनाबारे सुनाउंदा भक्कानो छुटेकोबारे म बयान गर्न सकिदैन । स्थानीय भाषा फ्रेञ्च र सोहेली बोलेर नेपाली सेना भएको कारणले नै ज्यान जानसक्ने खतराबाट बचेको त्यस घटनाले मलाई अबै पनि भकभककाई राखेको हुन्छ ।

२०. बुनियांमसो घटनाबारे मेरो केही साथीहरुलाई सुनाएं पनि । त्यसताकाको बुनियाको लागि सो घटना गौण नै मानिन्थ्यो तर सो दिनको घटनाको अर्को मोडले मड्वाल् तथा कातोतो घटनाको निरन्तरता हुन के बेर थियो र ? विश्व शान्ति कायम गर्न तैनाथ हुने फौजको जिम्मेवारी, कार्यक्षेत्रमा हुने घटना परिस्थिति लगभग यस्तै प्रकारको नै हुन्छ । पछि सेनानी कविन्द्र जंग थापाको पनि यही संकटग्रस्त खतरनाक क्षेत्रमा कार्तव्यपालना गर्दा गर्दै मिलिसियाको फायरबाट वीरगति प्राप्त गर्नु भएको थियो । संकटग्रस्त भएर नै शान्ति स्थापना गर्न सेना परिचालन हुने भएकोले कुन मिसनमा कसलाई कस्तो परिस्थिति आइपुग्यो त्यो भाग्य दुर्भाग्यको खेल पनि हुनसक्छ । यस प्रकारका घटनालाई मनन गरी विश्व शान्ति कायम गर्ने कार्यमा संगकटग्रस्त विभिन्न देशमा नेपाली सेनाको महत्वपूर्ण योगदान गरेको ५२ वर्ष पुगेको शुभअवसरमा यस कार्यमा सम्पूर्ण सकलदर्जाले पुग्याएको योगदानको कदर गर्नुका साथै यस क्रममा वीरगति प्राप्त गर्ने सबैलाई श्रद्धाञ्जली अर्पण गरी घाइतेहरुको शीघ्र स्वास्थ्यलाभको कामना गर्नु हामी सबैको कर्तव्य तथा जिम्मेवारी सम्भन्छु । उहाँहरु सबैको योगदान र समर्पणले गर्दा नेपाली र नेपाली सेना संसार मै सगरमाथा भैं उच्च शिर गरी बुद्धको शान्ति फैलाउदै संसारका उत्कृष्ट शान्तिस्थापक सेनामाथि सगर्व जिउन पाएको छौं । त्यसैले यो नेपाल कै इतिहासको यस शुभअवसरमा हामी सबै मिलेर भनौं-“नेपाले ! त्रे-वियां”

यस अङ्कमा समाविष्ट लेख/रचनाहरू लेखक स्वयंकै निजी विचारहरू हुन् । तत्सम्बन्धी कुनै दायित्व 'सिपाही' तथा नेपाली सेनाको रहने छैन ।

- स.मं.

पूर्व स्वीकृतिविना यो पत्रिकामा प्रकाशित कुनैपनि रचनाहरू वा तिनीहरूको कुनै हिस्सा अरु पत्रपत्रिकामा प्रकाशन गर्न निषेध गरिएको छ ।

- स.मं.

विशेष सहयोगी

म.से. श्री ताराबहादुर कार्की
सेनानी श्री दिपेश जंग शाह

सहयोगी

उ.से. श्री बुद्ध कुमारी थेबे

तस्विर संयोजन

प्रा. सह-से. श्री विष्णु कुमार रा.म.
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कभर डिजाइन/कम्प्युटर ले-आउट

प्रा. जम. सुनिल सिवाकोटी



सिपाही वार्षिक २०६६

‘सेना दिवस २०६६’ को सुखद अवसरमा देशभक्त तथा कर्तव्यपरायण सकलदर्जा सेना परिवारको सुख, शान्ति, समृद्धि एवम् उत्तरोत्तर प्रगतिको कामनासहित राष्ट्र र राष्ट्रवासीप्रतिको समर्पणलाई संस्मरण गर्दै नेपाली सेना अटुट निष्ठाको प्रण गर्दछ ।

इतिहासको कुनैपनि कालखण्डमा राष्ट्रको प्रतिरक्षा गर्न नचुकेको, आफूभन्दा कयौं गुणा शक्तिसम्पन्न शत्रुसँग नभुकेको, जीवनकै आहुति दिएर भएपनि आफ्नो मातृभूमिलाई स्वाधिन, स्वतन्त्र र अक्षुण्ण राख्न सक्षम राष्ट्रिय सुरक्षाको अभेद्य किल्लाको रूपमा नेपाली सेना ‘राष्ट्र गौरव’ भएको छ । आफ्ना त्यस्ता धीर, वीर, पराक्रमी पूर्वजहरूको पराक्रमलाई यस अवसरमा सुखद स्मरण गर्दै श्रद्धार्पण गर्नु आफ्नो कर्तव्य ठान्दछ ।

नेपाली सेना हिमालदेखि तराई र मेचीदेखि महाकालीसम्मका सबै जात, जाति, भाषा भाषी, क्षेत्र, वर्ग र भेगबाट स्वेच्छाले मातृभूमिको सेवा गर्न लालायित भएर पनि प्रतिस्पर्धामा खरो उत्रेर सेवामा जुटेका वीरहरूका पनि वीरहरूको संगठन हो । वीरहरू स्वभावैले सुखमा मात्तिदैनन्, दुखमा आत्तिदैनन् र चुनौतीलाई सहजरूपमा स्वीकार गर्दै बुद्धि, विवेक, बल, सीप, विचार र धारणाले पराजित गर्छन्, नेपाली सेनाले आजपर्यन्त त्यही अनुपम गुण कायम गरेको छ ।

नेपाली सेना विशुद्ध गैरराजनीतिक, राष्ट्रिय निष्ठाका अविचलित, स्वार्थरहित, तटस्थ र निष्पक्षरूपमा सेवारत रहेको छ । विधिको शासनमा आस्था र विश्वास राख्दै प्रजातान्त्रिक नियन्त्रणमा रही जनउत्तरदायी हुने संस्कार भएको उच्च अनुशासनयुक्त संगठन भएकोले नेपाली सेना पूर्णरूपमा पेशावर र व्यवसायिक रहेको छ । सम्भावित चुनौतीहरूको सामना गर्न आवश्यक प्रशिक्षण, ज्ञान तथा सीपको विकास गर्नुपर्ने भएकोले यस वर्ष २०६६ लाई “तालिम वर्ष” को रूपमा घोषणा गरी योजनाबद्ध प्रशिक्षणमा व्यस्त रहेको छ । आफूमा भएको सीप उजागर गर्न भौतिक सुविधाहरूको अपरिहार्यतालाई दृष्टिगत गरी बदलिँदो परिप्रेक्ष्यमा समयसापेक्ष हुने गरी आधुनिकीकरणको दिशामा पनि त्यत्तिकै प्रयासरत रहेको छ ।

राष्ट्रवासीको नेपाली सेनामाथि रहेको आस्था र विश्वासलाई जगेर्ना गर्न नेपाली सेना सदा प्रतिवद्ध रहेको छ । मुलुकमा दीगो एवं भरपर्दो शान्ति र नेपाली जनताको हक अधिकारको सुरक्षा र स्वतन्त्रताको रक्षा नै नेपाली सेनाको अभिष्ट लक्ष्य भएकोले जनचाहनालाई सर्वोपरि ठान्दछ । मानव अधिकारको संरक्षण, सम्बर्द्धन गर्दै मानव अधिकार तथा अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय मानवीय कानूनको पालनामा प्रतिवद्ध रहेको छ ।

नेपाली सेना आफ्नो प्राथमिक भूमिकाका निमित्त सदा सक्षम रहँदै समानान्तररूपमा द्वितीय भूमिका निर्वाहमा समेत उच्चकोटीको सावित भएको छ । यस परिप्रेक्ष्यमा राष्ट्र निर्माणमा आवश्यक पूर्वाधारहरू निर्माण गर्ने राष्ट्रिय अठोट र प्राथमिकताका योजनाहरूमा नेपाली सेनाले आफ्नो क्षमता प्रदर्शन गर्दै नविन आयाम थपेको छ । हालसम्म १७ वटा साना ठूला सडक निर्माण सम्पन्न गरी ७३४ कि.मि. पुऱ्याएको छ भने वर्तमानमा उत्तर-दक्षिण राजमार्ग अन्तर्गत बहुचर्चित काठमाण्डौ-तराई द्रुतमार्ग सहित ६ वटा सडक निर्माणमा संलग्न रहेको छ ।

नेपाली सेनाले प्रारम्भबाट प्राकृतिक सम्पदाको संरक्षणमा महत्वपूर्ण योगदान पुऱ्याउँदै आएको छ । यस अन्तर्गत राष्ट्रिय निकुञ्ज तथा वन्यजन्तु आरक्षसहित १२ ओटा क्षेत्रको संरक्षणमा कटिबद्ध रहेको छ । यसैगरी राष्ट्रिय सम्पत्ति, महत्वपूर्ण संरचना तथा व्यक्तिहरूको सुरक्षामा पनि त्यत्तिकै योगदान पुऱ्याउँदै आएको छ । समयसमयमा भएका राष्ट्रिय निर्वाचनहरूमा पनि महत्वपूर्ण योगदान रहि आएको छ । त्यस्तै देशको भौगोलिक अवस्थितिका

कारण वर्षेनिजसो भइरहने बाढी, पहिरो, हिमपहिरो, डुवान कटान, भूकम्पजस्ता प्राकृतिक प्रकोप तथा मानव श्रृजित दुर्घटनाहरुमा उद्धार, राहत, उपचार र पुनःनिर्माणमा नेपाली सेनाले आफ्ना जनशक्ति तथा उपलब्ध भौतिक श्रोतसाधन प्रयोग गरी जनताको सेवा र सहयोग पुऱ्याइरहेको छ ।

नेपाली सेनाले बहुआयामिक राष्ट्रिय जिम्मेवारीहरुको साथै संयुक्त राष्ट्र संघको अनुरोधमा विगत लामो समयदेखि विश्व शान्तिमा पुऱ्याएको योगदानले यस कालखण्डकै एउटा विशिष्ट इतिहास रचन सक्षम भएको छ । विश्व शान्तिजस्तो महायज्ञका थुप्रै मिशनहरुमा ७५ हजार भन्दाबढि शान्ति सैनिकहरुले विशिष्ट सेवा पुऱ्याएर विश्वमा उत्कृष्ट दशौं स्थान भित्र पर्न सफल भएकोले अन्तर्राष्ट्रिय जगतमा छुट्टै पहिचान बनेको छ । नेपाली सेनाको सक्षमताकै कारण यसवर्ष United Nations Mission In Central African Republic and Chad (MINURCAT) मा Sector Reserve र Force Reserve मा एक/एक गुल्म, United Nations African Union Hybrid Operation In Darfur, Sudan मा एक गणसहित दुईवटा थप मिशनमा भाग लिएको छ । यो सम्पादकीय लेखका बखत विश्वका विभिन्न ११ मिशनसहित १३ ठाउँमा ३५०८ शान्ति सैनिकहरु कार्यरत रहनु व्यवसायिक कार्य कुशलताको परिणाम भएकोले यो प्रसङ्ग सुखद र गौरवपूर्ण रहेको छ । हालसालै क्यारेवियन राष्ट्र हाइटीमा गएको महाभूकम्पले पुऱ्याएको अपुरणीय धनजनको क्षतिप्रति गहिरो समवेदना प्रकट गर्दै शोक सन्तप्त परिवारमा धैर्यधारण गर्ने शक्ति प्राप्त होस भनि ईश्वरसँग प्रार्थना गर्दछ । त्यहाँ कार्यरत नेपाली शान्ति सैनिकहरुले पुऱ्याई रहेको उद्धार सहयोगप्रति सन्तोष प्रकट गर्दै हाइटीको पुनः निर्माणमा संसारको सहयोग मिलोस्भन्ने कामना समेत गर्दछ ।

राष्ट्र र राष्ट्रवासीको सेवामा चौवीसै घण्टा खटिने सैनिक र तीनका परिवारको कल्याण गर्नु राज्यको दायित्व हो । तथापि यस परिप्रेक्ष्यमा सैनिक श्रीमती संघले पुऱ्याएको योगदानको उच्च कदर गर्दै यस अवसरमा संघप्रति सकल सेना आभार प्रकट गर्दछ ।

यसैगरि नेपाली सेनालाई विभिन्न क्षेत्रबाट निरन्तर प्राप्त भइरहेका मार्ग निर्देशन तथा न्यानो संरक्षकत्वको निमित्त नेपाल सरकार, रक्षा मन्त्रालय र सुम्पिएको जिम्मेवारी निर्वाह गर्ने क्रममा नेपाली जनता, निजामती प्रशासन, नागरिक समाज, नेपाल प्रहरी, सशस्त्र प्रहरी बल, राष्ट्रिय अनुसन्धान आयोग, सञ्चार जगत, मित्रराष्ट्रका सेनाबाट प्राप्त नैतिक/भौतिक सहयोग र समर्थनका लागि नेपाली सेना कृतज्ञता ज्ञापन गर्दछ । नेपाली सेनालाई भविष्यमा पनि सबै क्षेत्रबाट यथोचित सहयोग, सुझाव एवं सत्प्रेरणा प्राप्त भइरहने कुरामा 'सिपाही' विश्वस्तता प्रकट गर्दछ ।

नेपाली सेनाको इतिहास भनेको सेवा, सघर्ष, शौर्य र बलिदानको इतिहास हो । त्यसैगरि अनुशासन, निष्ठा, कर्तव्यपरायणता, तठस्तता, निष्पक्षता, गैरराजनीतिक र अन्ततः समावेसी रहँदै राष्ट्रिय हितमा समर्पण गर्नेहरुको अजर गाथा हो । यस अवसरमा पुन ती गाथा रचन आफ्नो प्राणोत्सर्ग गर्ने ती महान श्रद्धेय सपूतहरुको दिवंगत आत्माको चीरशान्तिको कामना गर्दै श्रद्धाञ्जली अर्पण गर्दछ ।

वर्षमा एकपटक प्रकाशन हुने 'सिपाही वार्षिक' सेनाका बारेमा जिज्ञसा राख्ने पाठकहरुका लागि उपयोगी होस्भन्ने लक्ष्यका साथै यस वर्षपनि 'सिपाही' लाई विविध विषयका 'सन्दर्भ पत्रिका' को रूपमा विकास गर्ने प्रयास गरिएको छ । प्रकाशित विषयवस्तुहरु शोध तथा अनुसन्धानमूलक होओस् भन्ने प्रयत्नसमेत गरिएको छ ।

अन्त्यमा वर्ष ४२, अङ्क ४३ मा प्रवेश गरेको यस 'सिपाही वार्षिक' मा आफ्नो अमूल्य लेख तथा रचनाहरु प्रदान गरी सहयोग गर्नुहुने प्राज्ञ, विद्वान्, लेखक, रथीवृन्द तथा सकलदर्जालाई सैनिक-जनसम्पर्क निर्देशनालय हार्दिक कृतज्ञतासहित धन्यवाद ज्ञापन गर्दछ । प्रकाशन तथा मुद्रण सम्बन्धी कार्यलगायत अन्य विभिन्न क्षेत्रबाट प्रत्यक्ष एवं अप्रत्यक्षरूपमा सहयोग पुऱ्याउनु हुने महानुभावहरुप्रति धन्यवाद ज्ञापन गर्दै भविष्यमा पनि यस्तै सहयोग एवं शुभेच्छाको अपेक्षा गर्दछ ।

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सर्वप्रथम सदा जान धर्म कर्म सिपाहीको
सुविस्ता मान हेरचाह गर्न पर्छ विशेषतः
अधीनस्थ रही बस्ने साराका सुख खातिर
रक्षा आनन्द आराम आफ्नो निम्ति सधैं पछि
यही सेना महामन्त्र यही सत्य सधैंभरी