

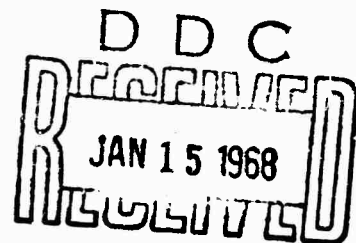
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Semi-Annual Summary Technical Report

HIMALAYAN BORDER COUNTRIES PROJECT
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

JUNE 16 - DECEMBER 31, 1967

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SYNOPSIS OF CONTENTS

The Himalayan Border Countries Project (HBCP) commenced operations under ARPA Contract No. 926 on June 16, 1967. During the first six months period, the following research programs were underway. Dr. Leo E. Rose completed a draft of a monograph-length study on government and politics in Sikkim, and finished two other studies that have been published: (1) The North-East Frontier Agency of India (U. S. Department of State, 1967), and (2) "India, China and the Afro-Asian Bloc" (a chapter in Contemporary China, Washington State University Press, 1967). He left for a three-month program in India, Nepal and Sikkim in December 1967.

Professor Thomas Ballinger joined the HBCP in August and is currently in Nepal working on two research programs: (1) the socialization of Nepali school children, and (2) an investigation of iconology on three important ecclesiastical architecture forms in Kathmandu Valley. Professor Gordon Means held an appointment with the HBCP from June 15 - September 15, 1967 during which time he was in India to initiate and facilitate his projected study of political and social developments in Nagaland. Mr. Mahesh C. Regmi completed the 4th volume of his study of Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal in the summer of 1967 and commenced research on an economic history of Nepal.

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The Himalayan Border Countries Project (HBCP) commenced operations under ARPA Contract No. 926 on June 15, 1967. For various reasons, it had been decided that the HBCP would operate a limited program during academic year 1967/68, and would thereafter expand its activities considerably during the last two years of the contract. This was deemed necessary because most of the prospective participants in the program were already obligated to their home institutions for 1967/68 by the date the ARPA Contract came into effect. Several of them are carrying on research into their specific topics this year, but are not being supported by the HBCP on ARPA funds.

During the first six and one-half months (June 16 - December 31, 1967) of the operation of the HBCP under the ARPA Contract, four members of the program--Dr. Leo E. Rose, Professor Thomas Ballinger, Professor Gordon Means, and Mr. Mahesh C. Regmi--were involved in HBCP research activities, with the assistance of three research assistants on the Berkeley campus and two research assistants and three translators in the Kathmandu (Nepal) office of the Project. Professor Ballinger and Professor Means were newcomers to the HBCP, and were commencing new research programs. Dr. Rose and Mr. Regmi had participated in the HBCP program for several years, and had research projects underway prior to June 16, 1967, which have been continued subsequently.

1. Leo E. Rose: Served as the administrative head of the HBCP program, and was involved in several research projects during the six-month period under review.

- (a) A draft monograph-length study of political and governmental institutions and organizations in Sikkim was completed, entitled: Sikkim: the Politics of a Buffer State. It consists of a Preface

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and six chapters entitled:

- I The Geo-Political and Social Setting
- II Historical Perspective
- III Government and Politics of Sikkim
- IV Political Forces in Sikkim
- V The Administrative System in Sikkim
- VI Sikkim: External Relations and Defense

Copies of the study have been sent to various governmental and political leaders in Sikkim for their comments and criticisms. On the basis of their remarks, and additional field work in Sikkim during early 1968, the draft manuscript will be revised for publication. The study emphasizes internal political and social conditions in Sikkim, and the impact these have had upon the State's role in the Sino-Indian border dispute. Chapter III is primarily concerned with the evolution of governmental and electoral institutions since 1947; Chapter IV analyzes the origin, social and economic base, programs and tactics of political parties and other political organizations; Chapter V is a study in some depth of administrative institutions and their traditional origins; and Chapter VI deals with defense and security questions both from the internal and external viewpoint.

- (b) A chapter on "India, China and the Afro-Asian Bloc" was prepared for a book entitled Contemporary China (Allan Spitz, ed) published by Washington State University Press in October 1967. This consisted of a survey analysis of the changes since 1949 in the Indian perception of China, and particularly of China's role in Asia and in the broader Afro-Asian community. The relationship of

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this factor to general foreign policy principles and the posture assumed by India in specific situations was discussed.

- (c) A report on the "North-East Frontier Agency of India" prepared (with Dr. Margaret Fisher) for the U. S. Department of State in 1964, was revised in the spring and summer of 1967 to incorporate additional data collected during Dr. Rose's tour of NEFA in 1966. The 95 page report, as revised, was published by the Office of External Research, Bureau of Intelligence and Research, Department of State in November 1967. Primary emphasis in the Report is placed upon the development of administrative and political institutions in NEFA and on a critical evaluation of the economic development programs in that area. Some consideration is also given to defense and security questions and to the problem of integrating the NEFA tribespeople into the broader Indian community
- (d) A chapter on the Nepal Communist Party, entitled "Communism under High Atmospheric Conditions: The Party in Nepal" in The Communist Revolution in Asia ((Robert A. Scalapino, ed.) Practice-Hall, 1965, pp. 343-372) is currently being revised for the next edition of the book. In the revisions, additional data on the social base of the Communist movement and upon developments within the party since 1965 will be included.

In December, Dr. Rose left for a three-month trip to South Asia, with stopovers in Washington, D.C. and London en route. The primary purpose of the trip is to discuss the HBCP field research program projected for the 1968/69 and 1969/70 academic years with the relevant officials in the ministries of External Affairs, Education, Home and Defence of the Government of India, the Foreign Office of the Government of Nepal and the

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authorities of Tribhuvan University in Kathmandu, the Secretariat and Palace officials in Sikkim and, if time and circumstances permit, the North-East Frontier Agency Secretariat at Shillong and the Nagaland Secretariat in Kohima.

He will also be involved in some short-term research programs directly connected with work underway. He hopes to be able to contact Nepali Communist leaders in Nepal as well as those in exile in India--primarily in Banaras--to discuss the revision of the chapter on the Party in the Scalapino book as well as recent developments. In Nepal, he plans to interview several Foreign Office and Palace officials with respect to a paper to be presented at the 1968 Conference of the Association for Asian Studies on "The Role of Nepal in South Asia: the Perspective from Kathmandu." In Sikkim, Dr. Rose will meet with Palace and Secretariat officials and political party leaders to discuss the study of Sikkimese politics which has been completed in draft form and sent to them for their comments.

2. Thomas Ballinger: Professor Ballinger's appointment with the HBCP commenced on August 15, 1967. After two weeks at Berkeley utilizing the Project's resource materials, he left for South Asia and will be in Kathmandu throughout the 1967/68 academic year. He has two research projects underway, both of which developed out of his work in Nepal in the 1956-58 period when he served as an advisor to the Education College in Kathmandu under the USOM Aid program.

- (a) A study of the socialization of Nepali school children with particular respect to the effect of indigenous cultural factors on the development of creative and innovationist capacities. In this study, he is collaborating with a colleague in the Department of Psychology of the University of Oregon, Professor Norman Sundberg,

and with a Professor of Psychology at Tribhuvan University, Dr. Poona Lal Pradhan. Professor Ballinger has prepared a draft version of an article entitled: "Drawings by Nepalese Children: Notes on Content, Symbolism and Spatial Concepts-- A Cross-Cultural Consideration" which will be submitted for publication.

- (b) The second research project reflects Professor Ballinger's interest in archaeological and cultural studies, and in particular the relationship of the traditional visual arts to other art forms--music, architecture and the dance. As the starting point of this study, he will make a detailed investigation of the ecclesiastical architectural forms in Kathmandu valley. In this project, he is working with one of Nepal's most prominent art and cultural experts, Shri Purna Harsha Bajracharya, and several Nepali historians.

3. Gordon P. Means: Professor Means' appointment with the HBCP commenced on June 16, 1967, and continued to September 15, 1967, when he returned to his new teaching duties in the Department of Political Science at McMaster's University in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada. During most of this period, he was in India discussing his research program on Nagaland projected for 1968/69 with the relevant officials in New Delhi and with government and political leaders of various persuasions in Nagaland.

In view of the extreme sensitivity which the Government of India displays on the question of access to Nagaland--especially for scholarly research--it was very encouraging for future research prospects that Professor Means was given a permit to make a brief visit to Nagaland while he was in India. He used this opportunity primarily to expand his already excellent contacts

with Naga governmental and political leaders and to discuss his research interests. The response from the Naga leaders was uniformly favorable and their interest in his research program was made clearly evident. While the Indian government may not share this enthusiasm, it has been cooperative and helpful beyond our expectations in the early stages of the program.

Professor Means has projected a multifaceted research program on various aspects of political development in Nagaland, all of which may be pursued concurrently if field work in the area for an extensive period proves feasible in 1968/69. These projects fall into three general categories:

- (a) A political socialization study of primary and secondary school children in a select number of communities in Nagaland.
- (b) A study of the development of political parties and political leadership in Nagaland, based on interviews with key individuals in the Nagaland Legislative Assembly, the collection of biographical data on Naga leaders, the examination of political recruitment patterns, and an analysis of the basic issues which activate Nagaland politics.
- (c) An investigation of elite communication patterns in Nagaland, and particularly between the "underground" (i.e. rebel Naga leaders) and the "overground" (official Naga leaders).

Obviously, there is considerable variation in the sensitivity of these three programs, and the present plan is to proceed with the first and then undertake the other two only if and when these seem feasible.

Professor Means published an article (with Ingunn N. Means) entitled "Nagaland: the Agony of Ending a Guerrilla War" in the Fall/Winter 1966/67 issue of Pacific Affairs. He analyzed the origins of the Naga

uprising and the long series of attempts to settle this conflict, both through direct negotiations between the participants and through mediation by outsiders enjoying some degree of confidence from both sides.

4. Mahesh C. Regmi: Mr. Regmi has been a member of the HBCP virtually since its inception in 1960, and heads the Project's research and translation office at Kathmandu. His own research program has centered around a comprehensive analysis of the land tenure and revenue system in Nepal. Both the historical and cultural origins of the land tenure system and the efforts of the Nepal government to reform the system have been discussed in great detail. The first three volumes of this study of Land Tenure and Taxation in Nepal have been published in the Research Series of The Institute of International Studies, University of California, Berkeley. These were:

Vol. I; "The State as Landlord, Raikar Tenure"

Vol. II: "The Land Grant System, Birta Tenure"

Vol. III: "The Jagir, Rakam and Kipat Tenure Systems"

The draft manuscript of Volume IV, on the Guthi (religious and philanthropical grant) tenure system was completed in the summer of 1967 and will be published in the Institute's Research Series in 1968.

Mr. Regmi is currently conducting research on the evolution of the Government of Nepal's economic policy in the modern period, which will form part of his projected economic history of Nepal. He also supervises and administers an extensive translation program under which virtually all Nepali publications of possible relevance to Social Science research is translated into English to facilitate and expedite its utilization by HBCP participants and other scholars. Part of this translation program is supported through a contract with the U.S. Embassy in

Kathmandu; other relevant Nepali publications that do not fall into the above category are translated as part of the HBCP program. The Kathmandu office also assists in the collection of data and published materials for the HBCP. For several years, for instance, research assistants have worked in the files of the Nepal Foreign Office department, the Jaisi Kotha (which traditionally handles relations with Tibet and China), in support of Dr. Rose's study of the role of Nepal and Tibet in Sino-Indian relations.

Several prospective participants in the HBCP, who do not hold appointments for 1967/68 in the Project, have commenced work on their research programs at their own institutions. Professor Bhuwan Lal Joshi (Psychology Department, University of California, Santa Cruz) has been engaged in the collection of basic biographical data for his Nepali political elite study with the assistance of two Nepali students currently at the University of California, Berkeley, who are advanced graduate students in the Ph. D. program at Denver University (Mr. Kunjar Mani Sharma) and the University of Pennsylvania (Mr. Jagdish Sharma). Both of Professor Joshi's research assistants plan to return to Nepal in mid-1968 and will assist him while he is conducting field research in 1968/69. Professor Robert A. Huttenbach (History Department, California Institute of Technology) is continuing his research into modern Kashmiri history and Professor Lawrence Shrader (Political Science, Mills College) is working with University of California resource materials for his study of post-1947 Kashmiri politics. Both plan to conduct field research in India and Pakistan during 1968/69. Professor John Hitchcock (Anthropology, University of Wisconsin) has been conducting field work in Nepal under other sponsorship since the winters of 1966, primarily in the western and northwestern hill areas.

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