

CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

The Karbis have experienced domination by neighbouring kingdom before the coming of the British. In the same way, the post-colonial period have bitter experienced by the Karbis and want to have autonomy to protect their culture and identity. The Karbi demand for autonomy was aggravated by the declaration of Karbi Anglong (then Mikir Hills) as '*partially excluded area*' by Government of India Act 1935 and was supplemented with the rules of the Hills Tracts. When the Simon Commission suggested members of legislature from backward areas, the government of Assam said it would not be possible to find out suitable person for nomination. Therefore, it expressed its doubts as to the practicability of the suggestion.²⁴³ The negligence to the hill tribes by the Assam government in the field of administration had a serious impact which showed itself as a widening gap between the Assam Government and the hill tribes for extended years. The first Karbi militancy which emerged in 1972 was a result of different factors like feeling of autonomy, cultural subjugation and economic deprivation. After a gap of twenty two years some Karbi militant organizations appeared in the territory to fight vigorously for separate Karbi Statehood. In the process hundred of lives were sacrifices in the name of statehood by the Karbis. And the present study examines the root cause of the arms movement, their objective, leadership and resources and also investigates the response made by the government towards Karbi militant demand.

India was linguistically reorganized in 1956, over the years since State Re-Organisation took place it had failed to resolve the problems and from time to time demands have been raised for new States in various regions.²⁴⁴ There is a growing feeling that the State Reorganisation Commission (SRC) has lost its relevances in the light of increasing demand for smaller state. Demand for new state in India is not something new. There are people who strongly advocate that small States are economically more viable and can administratively be better managed. History speaks in favour of the small states. The creation of smaller states like Haryana and Himachal Pradesh has shown positive results. Even though a hilly state, the success story of literacy in Himachal Pradesh can largely be credited to the size of the state which made it possible for administration to reach to the people. Haryana would still have remained a neglected underdeveloped Hindi-speaking area within the state of Punjab, if a separate state had not been created.²⁴⁵

²⁴³ Lalthakima (2008), *Insurgency in Mizoram: Study of its Origin, Growth and Dimension*, A Ph.D thesis submitted to Mizoram University, Aizawl.

²⁴⁴ Swaraj Basu, 'Is creation of new states the answer to people's aspiration?' *Mainstream* (Vol. XXXVIII No. 39 September 6, 2000) pp. 9-12

²⁴⁵ Sanjay Kumar, 'Creation of New States: Rationale and Implication', *Economic and Political Weekly* (Vol. XXXVII No.36) September 7-13, 2002, p.3709

The problems in the Northeast India started with the concept of the linguistic states, although the states included areas in which the ethnic and linguistic minorities are indigenous and in absolute majority in their own areas. The ethnic and linguistic majority for the purpose of the reorganization of states in 1956 meant only the simple majority in the total population of the whole state.

The SRC did not bring any change in North East India. The Hill people of Assam, by and large did not accept the recommendations of the Commission.²⁴⁶ In Assam, when SRC took place, the Assamese had little presence in several hills districts, tribal blocks and belts but by tempering the Census of 1951 they managed it which also was a known fact in History. Assam included such districts, and tribal blocks and belts, where respective ethnic and linguistic groups were absolute and those areas never formed parts of Assam before the coming of the British to this part of the region or before the signing of 'Treat of Yandaboo' in 1826. While the British took over the territory, they recognized fully the ethnic, culture and genetic and linguistic identity of the people. Therefore they were given free political identity by the British.

In the present study on demand for autonomy and ultimate proliferation of Karbi militant movement it is clear that various factors were responsible for it. With the influences of pan-Indian culture brought about change in the socio-economic life of the people which troubled their self-sufficiency, self-support and resulting to maladjustment. The government also failed to check the bulk influx of non-tribal to the territory where the indigenous tribals are becoming minority in their own land. To get relief of such conditions they took resort to arms struggles against the established government and held the pan-Indian civilians responsible for their nuisance.

As a result the ethnic tribes living in the region have a feeling of negligence and deprivation. To provide the smaller tribes and nationalities a local self-rule and to sustain it resources the government may bring work out a viable structure of extensive autonomy that will decentralize governance. Negotiation with the militant groups may be started not for the sake of it. But only when the government is clear about the bottom line and the kind of concession it can make. The government needs to realise that if the peace process is not taken forward, it gives the armed groups an opportunity to collect more taxes for generating more resources to buy more arms. The process of negotiation must be transparent; otherwise violent situations are likely to recur as happened after the extensions of ceasefire with some of the militant groups in North-East India. Peace process should become a tool for achieving peace in the territory and not an instrument for delaying divergence. Utmost care can be taken in finalizing the negotiation otherwise

²⁴⁶ B.B. Kumar, *Tension and Conflict in North-East India*, Cosmo Publications: New Delhi, 1995 p.86

splitting of militant groups can be predicted as experienced. The UPDS have signed Memorandum of Settlement (MoS) with the Government in November 2011 but bulk of the people are opposed to it and not satisfied with the Accord. The opposition was of the opinion that the UPDS leaders never discussed the matter with the intellectual class of society before the accord was signed. Only few members of Negotiating Team took the lead in aligned with the government representatives led to the signing of accord and the accord is not people's aspiration. The accord was rather considered by the people to be a political gimmick of the government to deceive the Karbis as was similarly done to other militant organisation in the region. The accord need to be signed considering the contemplation on the demand and prevent further proliferation of new faction. A detailed exercise about possible Constitution amendments may be initiated by the Union Government in consultation with the State Government and the Law Ministry on the demand made by the militant leaders for lasting peace and normalcy in the territory.

The Peace Accord or Memorandum of Settlement may not sign for the sake of signing. But the basic agenda for which the movement was given birth need to be considered. Where an accord have provided with statehood, peace generally sustained, as reflected in the cases of Nagaland and Mizoram. By contrast, the autonomous districts seem to suspend the conflicts in some nether-world.²⁴⁷ The success of the peace accord lies in the ability of an agreement to facilitate a dynamic of peace-building and reconciliation.

7.2 Testing of the Hypotheses

The study intended to test four hypotheses which includes (i) Non fulfillment of Statehood demand has led to the genesis of Karbi Militant Movement (ii) Cultural and socio-economic exploitation led to the growth of Karbi Militant Movement (iii) Mismanagement of resources (material and human) has weakens the Karbi Militant Movement and (iv) Ineffective mobilization of resources (moral and social) contributed for the failure of Karbi Militant Movement

. The first hypothesis is concerned with the non fulfillment of Statehood demand made by the Karbis has led to the genesis of Karbi Militant Movement. The Karbi have been demanding for statehood since 1960 along with the leaders of APHLC in the then Assam. In the process, the Meghalaya was given a state in 1972 but the Karbis was given 'option' whether to join with Meghalaya or to remain with Assam. Ultimate the then Karbi leaders choose to stay with Assam on the assurance of all round development promised by the Assamese leaders. To satisfy the people of the two hill districts of

²⁴⁷ Swarna Rajagoplan, *Peace Accords in the Northeast India: Journey over Milestones*, Washington: East-West Centre, 2008, p. 44

Assam, provision to create an Autonomous State within the state of Assam in future has been inserted in Article 244 (A) of Indian Constitution. The people of Karbi Anglong, basing on the historical facts and constitutional provision for several decades they demanded for statehood democratically. But all the effort seems to be futile and the government failed to meet the aspiration of the hill people. And section of the people adopted militant tactic to pressurize the government on Karbi demand. Thus the non-fulfilment of statehood demand made by the Karbis has led to the birth of militant movement in Karbi Anglong. Thus the first hypothesis is found to be valid.

The second hypothesis concern with the cultural and socio-economic exploitation of the Karbi tribe and contributed for the growth of Karbi militant movement. The study found that, culturally the Karbi tribe was assimilated by the dominant culture of the state. The Karbis began to forget weaving their traditional attire due to waning of traditional knowledge. Instead they prefer clothes which are found available in the marketplace. They began to lose their food habit and practices and also influenced by other belief system. Many of the Karbis disowned their traditional religious practices and adopted Hinduism which is an age-old Indian belief system. The Karbis are not Hindus by religion. They donot worship idols and never built temple or shrine. The imposition of larger Hindu religion on the minority Karbi tribal was viewed as a threat to religious identity. Many of the rituals, festivities and traditional ethics were not known to the new generation of the Karbis with the intercourse of modern technology, social development and other cultures which were soaring around. All these have brought distorted society of the Karbis. Economically, the Karbis are exploited by the state government. There is no mechanism to solve the unemployment issues in the hill districts of Assam. No large industry can set up in the hill districts; provision was made by the state to established only small industries. Small industries lead to small employment as such larger of the economic condition can never improve. Maximum of the government jobs holder are from outside Karbi Anglong and the indigenous tribal were deprived on several grounds. The Hydro power project which constructed on the river Karbi Langpi is also depicts the exploitation made by state government. The project has enough power to give light in the district but only 9 percent of the villages are electrified. There are several incidents of systematic marginalisation carried out by the state government of the Karbis. All these as has contributed for the proliferation of Karbi militancy. Thus the second hypothesis of the study is also found to be valid.

The third hypothesis seeks to test that weakening Karbi Militant Movement was due to mismanagement of resources both human and material. The Karbi militant fails to utilize the ability of the cadres and leaders in the right direction. They lack in imparting training on the roles and responsibility of the members to attained the specified objectives. Good leaders and cadres were eliminated for silly reason which led to lack of

human resources. Materially the militant fails to utilize resources which they have collected. The funds were used for egotism and personal benefit. They utilized it for buying luxury car and construction of private bungalow. All these mismanagement of resources and deviating from targeted goal has led to the weakening of Karbi militant movement. Thus the third hypothesis of the study is also found to be valid.

The fourth hypothesis was initiated to test that, ineffective mobilization of resources (moral and social) contributed for the failure of Karbi Militant Movement. The militant leader fails to draw support from all section of tribes and communities living in the territory. The solidarity among the peoples living in the territory to support the movement's goal was seen deficient. And relationship with other like minded movement and strategies for fulfilling the organizational objective was not strengthened. Recruitment of members were not properly examined which has led to the leaking of all information to state machineries. Proper observation and interrogation for new recruitment was not done. Some of the members are joining in the movement for personal advantage and not for larger aspiration of the society. Thus the fourth hypothesis of the study is also found to be valid.

7.3 Summary of the Findings

The activities of the militant movement posed major peace and tranquility in the territory. The militants engage in various activities ranging from the act of violence, killing, kidnapping and ethnic violence with different tribes and communities. Their activities have driven fear in the spines of innocent and unarmed villagers. And they have to live in perpetual fear of the militants causing severe loss in social, political, economic and human cost. The activities of militant in Karbi Anglong have gradually turned the light into shadows; where ethnic violence, killing and other crime related are on the rise. The people were not know when the next bandh will be called, who will be the next victim in the hands of the militants and to who they are going to kidnapped for ransom. There were uncertainty and fear which brought about by the unpleasant actions of the Karbi militants.

The series of crises and militant attacks are enough to scare away the investors in launching any business enterprise in the territory. This has also brought economic challenges to the peoples due to the presence of militants. Those investors who already on the ground now want to move to outside the territory where they feel their investments are safe and secure. Lack of employment opportunity has frustrated the youth and obligated them to leave home in search of their living. Numbers of youths are thrown out of job and they become readymade tools for the use of militant groups in the territory. The activities of the Karbi militants have resulted huge loss in agriculture and

horticulture products, as the buyers don't dare to take the risk. The earning of the farmers has dropped and thereby affecting the living standard of the people by promoting unemployment which in turn can lead to an increase in the number of anti-social activities in the territory.

The political prospect of the territory is being susceptible by the activities of these militants groups because the various ethnic tribes who are once vocally demand for statehood has created suspicion and doubt in their mind. Mutual trust and age old relationship were broken down with the extreme activities of the ethnic militants.

The past ethnic history of the Karbis and Constitutional provision has made them for demanding their rights. The claim of the Karbi militants is simple as the claim for their birthright to live freely in their parental house undisturbed by any stranger. The amount of their claim is nothing more than what the government of India can afford and it is Constitutional commitment. As the tribe has been living independently in the region before the British came to India. The rights are fully justified on the basis of the past and present history of the state. Whether they are narrated from Karbi perspective or other, facts are facts. Such facts prove that claim made by the Karbis militants' leaders for self-rule or separate statehood is genuine and legitimate.

In many occasion negotiations on the demands made by the armed militants are not fully solved instead delaying tactics has followed by the authority as seen in the case to many militant groups of North-Eastern states of India. The longer the negotiations the easier it is to wear down the militant leaders by partly dishonouring them and partly by infusing a sense of complacency amongst the guerillas.

The Karbi who considered themselves as suppressed and showed their dissatisfaction with the present status of Autonomous Council. The power which conferred to the council was not enough to promote and protect the identity of the Karbis. The unabated influx to the territory has led to demographic imbalance between the indigenous and outsiders. It is therefore necessary on the part of the Government to find amicable and lasting solutions to the problems of the Karbis. Otherwise, it would be easy to re-experience the frustrations of the Karbis as a militancy movement on account of the protracted disapproval of the Karbis which was a result of an accumulation of a long course of history.

The MoS which were signed between the UPDS leaders and the Government does not portray the larger aspiration of the Karbis tribe. As the people's demand is neither MoS nor Territorial Council but a Separate State or atleast Autonomous State under Article 244 (A) of the Indian Constitution. The people of Karbi Anglong were surprised

to learn that the decade long of arms movement by UPDS with sweat, lives, blood and death was just mesmerized with mere MoS. Moreover, the MoS was signed with numerous loopholes and inadequacy which will only invite more confusion and perplexity. In Sub-Para 2.1 of the memorandum says that,

'A Committee, as envisaged in the Article 371B of the Constitution, in the Assam Legislative Assembly will be constituted to deal with the matters relating to the Sixth Schedule Councils. The Sixth Schedule Councils will submit their Annual Report once a year to the Committee of the Assam Legislative Assembly along with a copy to the Governor. The Annual Report should include the Audited Annual accounts of the preceding year, together with the observation and Action taken by the council on the comments of the Audit'.²⁴⁸

It stipulates the formation of a committee of Assam Legislative Assembly under Article 371(B) of the Constitution, to which the KAATC will submit its annual reports and audited annual accounts of the preceding year. While Article 244(A) provides for the formation of an Autonomous State - the highest measure of autonomy within a state, Article 371(B) is meant to ensure accountability of the Autonomous Council and institutional coordination between the Legislative Assembly and the Autonomous Council.

Therefore, if a Committee of the Legislative Assembly is constituted under Article 371(B) of the Constitution, the autonomous power of the Council will again be reduced, as it will have to work under both the State Government and the Committee. At present, the Legislative Assembly have no power over the Autonomous Council but if the Committee under Article 371(B) is constituted, although 50% of the MLAs may be from Schedule Tribes, other 50% or more members of the Committee may be from non-Schedule Tribes. Moreover, if the unrepresented communities which means non-Schedule Tribes are given same rights, privileges and voting power in the Sixth Schedule areas then it will negate the intentions and objectives of framing of the Sixth Schedule proclaimed on January 26, 1950. By insisting on the Council's accountability to the State Assembly without granting the reciprocal autonomy to the Sixth Schedule areas, MoS has in fact violated the spirit and upset the Sixth Schedule. It can be mentioned that, both Article 244(A) and Article 371(B) owed their origin to the Constitution (Twenty-Second Amendment) Act, 1969.

²⁴⁸ See, the Memorandum of Settlement (MoS) signed between the UPDS leaders and the State and Central Government representatives in Sub-Para 2.1.

Entrusting the State Election Commission for conducting of election to the Karbi Anglong Autonomous Territorial Council (KAATC) as per Sub-Para 2.5 of the Accord is nothing but surrendering autonomous power of the Council to the State Government. It says, ‘The responsibility of conducting elections to the KAATC will entrust to the State Election commission’.²⁴⁹ The State Election Commission is an agent of the State Government which is outside the purview of the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution of India. The voters list for the Council election must be different from the electoral roll for the Assembly and Parliamentary election. The Assembly and Parliamentary election are conducted under the People’s Representation Act, 1951 whereas the Council’s elections are not. It is necessary because the non-Schedule Tribes who came before 1939 or 12 years before the commencement of the Autonomous Council are not entitled to be enrolled in the voter list for election to the Autonomous District Council. Again in the memorandum Sub-Para 6.2 says that,

*“Appropriate amendment will be proposed in the provisions of the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution to facilitate and ensure devolution of administrative powers and stimulate development activity at the grass roots level by constituting village level local governance unit e.g. Village Council/Gram Sabhas”.*²⁵⁰

The tribal peoples people living in Karbi Anglong feels that it is anti-Sixth Schedule and anti-Tribal. Because all the Schedule Tribes in Karbi Anglong, Dima Hasao, Meghalaya and Tripura have their own traditional village council, regional council and apex council. Paragraph 4 of the Sixth Schedule has empowered the autonomous council and also the state government to legalize and formalize these traditional councils. Therefore, creating another village council, regional council and village development committee in place of the existing traditional village council, regional council and village development committee is repugnant to the Sixth Schedule. The Karbis have their own *Rong Amei* or *Ser Van Kep* (Village Council) having ten members including village headman, *Havar Amei* (Regional Council) and *Pinpomar Amei* (Apex Council) and demand its recognition by the government. The Karbis further attached that the village headman of the *Ser Van Kep* be retained hereditary president and other nine members including one or two women members be elected in all category of the council. The *Habe* and *Habe Riso* be nominated by concerned clans and elected by adult suffrage and all other *Habes* be elected by adult suffrage for the *Havar Amei*. The Karbi Richo and the *Pinpomar Amei* be elected by adult suffrage but the *Karbi Richo* (Karbi King) be nominated by the Ronghang clan. Since India is a democratic country the

²⁴⁹ *Ibid*, Sub-para 2.5 of Memorandum of Settlement

²⁵⁰ See, the Memorandum of Settlement (MoS) signed between the UPDS leaders and the State and Central Government representatives in Sub-Para 6.2.

Pinpomar Amei may be made as Advisory Council which shall advise the Autonomous Territorial Council, *Havar Amei* and *Rong Amei or Ser Van Kep*.

The traditional village council and authorities were undermined and the promise of the Constitution remains unfulfilled. The result of avoiding the traditional village council has been the growth of a system of political patronage- funds being given in exchange for narrow political support which will led to the appearance of a few corrupt Karbis. But Karbi nationalism and legitimate demand of Karbi statehood cannot be crushed. The Government response was insensitive to the deep feeling of resentment and anger of the Karbi people. The Government thought it could through political manipulation and a Whiteman's policy of divide and rule to buy up Karbi militants' demand. But now it is a failure of all political parties that the challenge has not been met politically. Betraying the hopes and aspiration of the hills people, the Union Government did not conceded the demand made by the UPDS for self-rule or Separate Statehood instead agreed the MoS in the same pattern of MoU. How far the promises made in the Accord will remain realistic? By going the past track record of the government it is just derision to the legitimate demand of the Karbis. The MoS on close scrutiny seen that it will not bring better changes to the existing administrative system in Karbi Anglong Autonomous Council instead it has opened a hole to concealed the powers of Sixth Schedule as enshrined in the Constitution of India.

The crux of the argument is that, the accords that the Union Government has signed with the Karbi militant have not resolved the substantive issue- they have merely capitalized on the conflict fatigue of the militants and the people who have supported these movements. The case was that due to longer period of struggle and the realization about the futility of a never ending fight with the Indian State, leaders come to a negotiated settlement that also paves the way for capturing of power of their respective states. But the Union Government should realize the fact that this will never take away the merit of the case and even if one group of elites leading the movement is satisfied another batch of new leaders will emerged and they will come with more vigorous battle and thus it virtually becomes vicious circle if it is not genuinely deal with.

It is easy to deploy para-military and army personnel to combat militancy but armed action is not the solution. The basic task of the authority is to bring confidence in the hearts and minds of the people and to protect the ethnic and cultural identity. When the state government pursued a policy of '*assimilation*' the government failed to protect the cultural identities of the minorities or the tribal living in the state. The concept of linguistic minority policy and cultural assimilation formulated by the dominant group was seen as another significance root of unrest in the hills districts of Assam. Cultural policy may be aim at '*integration*' not '*assimilation*' as this country was never uni-

culture but multiplicity of cultures. A long term perspective plan covering the politico-economic and socio-cultural measures is to be drawn for curbing militancy in the region. In the middle of nineteen eighties a political solution was evolved for the solution of militancy in Mizoram and as fact appear today peace and normalcy are restored in the state. After twenty years of violent conflict, which saw progressive strategies like the 'villages grouping' strategy on the part of the state and extensive peace negotiations between the Union Government and the MNF, the Mizo conflict was resolved in 1986 with the signing of the Mizo Peace Accord and the subsequent formation of the Mizo state in 1987 within the Indian Union.²⁵¹ As also in the case of Karbi militant's demand, the State and Union Government need pragmatic leadership with political will for solution to the age-old problems of the Karbis and implementation of their constitutional right enshrined in Article 244 (A) of the Indian Constitution.

The Karbi Militants are not fighting for sovereignty or complete secession from India unlike the NSCN and ULFA but it's a fighting for separate statehood for the Karbis within the framework of Indian constitution. Separation from Assam is not mere political aspiration but Historical obligation and Constitutional commitment. These demands do come in because the Karbis are ethnically and linguistically different from the dominant Assamese communities. The Karbis have a feeling that the dominant ethnic or linguistic groups in the state who are majority in the government are discriminating in every field and their identity is in jeopardy. The Karbis feels neglect and deprivation to their socio-economic rights. The nation-state policies had served the national security purpose instead of giving some room to various ethnic tribes to flourish peacefully. As smaller group they do not expect to get justice through democratic movement. Such movement are easily crushed and trampled by the dominant group by use of political power and state machinery. And militancy has been adopted by the Karbis as the tactical method of giving pressure on the authorities for the long standing Statehood demand and for protection of their rights and identity.

Instead of solving the long pending core issues of Karbis and thus paving the way for enduring peace in the territory, the authority has chosen to play its characteristic game of 'divide, dither, deceive and rule'. Negotiation and Accords are made with selective organization on selective issues without addressing the core agenda. The Karbis are the victim of this cynical politics which has led to a relentless proliferation of armed militants' movement punctuated by periodic 'cease-fire' 'negotiation' and 'empty peace deals'.

It is undeniable fact that over all political situations, the ultimate solution and political goodwill is required in tackling the problems. Problems of militancy in Karbi

²⁵¹ A.K. Agarwal and Bharten Singh, (ed.), *op.cit.*, 2011 p. 97

Anglong can be solve amicably if all the political parties of the state sit together and take definite resolution. It has to be solved politically and not by money and muscles power. And the demand of the people cannot be ignored or overlooked as it has rooted historically.

The leaders who are the key players in militancy are also human being. They have their own emotion and ethic for which they are adopting this violent movement. It can also be painful historical memories, discrimination, cultural subjugation and assertion of identity. And the government should consider all variables while tackling with the militant. Although some of the Karbi Militants have given up militancy, one can still see the unrest in the sleepy hills of Assam. How far the peace effort will succeed depends on how effectively the government understands the root cause of each of the militant movements and finds pragmatic solution through political, economic and social intervention. The strong-arm tactics of the authorities sometime complicated the situation further and eventually bounce back into breeding new problems. One should try to solve the problem by understanding the causes of the problems otherwise the problem will continue for the time to come.

Looking at the way the Union Government is dealing with the pro-statehood and autonomy struggles whether in the hills of West Bengal and Assam or for the matter with the long-standing demand for revocation of AFSPA from Manipur or Kashmir, one is reminded of Gandhi's famous response to 1942 Cripps Mission offer of Dominion Status to India at the end of the Second World War. Describing the Dominion Status offer as a "*post-dated cheque on a crashing bank*", Gandhi had gone on to launch the Quit India agitation for complete independence. What the government is offering today is nothing but post-dated 'compensation' for paltry amount, and such post-dated cheques can only evoke a similar reaction among people who have been fighting for justice, dignity and democracy for years and decades together. The aggrieved and disillusioned people will move on to a decisive battle for a resolution of their long pending demands and secure peace with justice and development with dignity.

7.4 Theoretical Implications of the Study

For the purpose of the present study, existing theories explaining the phenomenon of movement are considered and a brief overview of these theories is given below:

An examination of different theories like relative deprivation, revitalization theory, competition theory, collective behavior theory, strain theory and fluid theory explain the causes of movement highlighting the factors like deprivation of a group of people in economic, political, educational, cultural, unequal distribution of resources of a

society, dissatisfaction by a group over the system, the strain leading to frustration and alienation of a group in society leads to emergence of a movement.

In the case of Karbi militant movement above theories and factors highlighted by these theories so far as the factors responsible for the emergence a movement are found to be true and relevant. Karbis militant movement is the result of relative and continuous deprivation of the Karbis in the spheres of language, cultural and religious, traditional administrative system (customary law), economic, land, population, etc.

So far as factors responsible for the success and failure of the militant movement are concerns, the inability of the movement leaders to mobilize resources effectively can be the main factor responsible for the failure of the movement. From the study of Karbi militant movement it was found that misutilisation and mismanagement of human, material, moral, cultural and social resources by the Karbi militant leaders led to the weakening and failure of the movement. Thus, resource mobilization theory is quite relevant for understanding Karbi militant movement.

However, several other factors like factional and internal conflict within the militant organization, egoism of the militant leaders, lack of confidence and unity among the leaders, lack of vision and farsightedness, treacherous activities within the organization contributed to the weakening/failure of Karbi militant movement. Apart from these factors, the existence of fluid militancy, fighting among different ethnic militant groups operating in Karbi Anglong are some of the factors weakening Karbi Militant movement which are not covered in the above examined theories. Thus, study of Karbi militancy contributes to the emergence of new theoretical understanding on what condition brings the failure of a militant movement.

7.5 Conclusion and Recommendation

The main objective of the present study has been carried out to study the genesis and growth of Karbi militancy from 1972-2012 and its impact on statehood movement. The study also analysed on the organizational structure, leadership, resources and mass base of the Karbi Militant movement and response of the government. Despite, the Karbi having own Autonomous Council one may think that it is enough to protect the rights and privileges of the people. The fact is that, the council authority became powerless when the state interference is too much. In spite of special provision given to the hill districts of Assam, state aggressiveness attitude towards the hill districts still remain the same. Powers of the autonomous council remain only with pen and paper and there is no scope to develop and uplift the poor indigenous tribes in the territory.

The birth of Karbi Militant Movement in Assam is rooted in the identity question. To protect their overall identity of the Karbis the militants' leaders are demanding for self-rule or at least Statehood within the structure of the Constitution. Therefore sincerity of the government in dealing the issues is the need of the hour. High handed approach to management of ethnicity may be softening. The government has to re-manuever a way for containing and repressing these manifestations to positive engagement of the organization in an open discussion and dialogue. All movements whether democratic or recourse to militant tactic are aimed at transforming the existing structure which have an ideology of its own. The plan of liberty and equality are common to all major movements. The authority may therefore come up with solemn solution, solution that has a mechanism to last and prevent a new militant outfit from budding. Unless that happen, Assam have to live with militancy for all time to come.

In the modern day, full self-determination or self-rule is unlikely to be supported but some considetations and arrangements within the existing framework of the Constitution may be conceded to the Karbi's demand like Separate Statehood. Otherwise, the problems of militancy will remain unabated in the territory.

And it is also true that, there has been a constant flow of huge amount of money into the region for the ostensible purpose of containing militancy but in actual much of it was misappropriated by the corrupt officials and politicians. Some political leaders and security establishment wishes that problems of militancy should linger on and do not come to an end because of the very question of money and perk. If the state ceased to be a '*disturbed area*' soon the huge flow of money from the centre will be stopped immediately. Therefore the change of mindset of our political leaders and bureaucrat is the need of the hour.

In order to involve the youth and make them busy certain programmes and schemes may be launch by the government. Utilization of their energy from violence and militancy, livelihood mission and other vocational training can be imparted. Education is the bedrock of any society that wants to leap into future greatness; this is because education breads enlightened citizenry with bright ideas and initiatives to develop the country, run the future government and create self-empowerment. Such empowerment creates a multiplier effect in the country economy. Knowledge and empowerment will save the youths from social vices and unnecessary manipulations by the politicians for conflicts and to settle bitter-political animosity as a result of joblessness. Government and authorities may organize awareness programmes on the threat of militancy in the region and a step can be taken up for establishing better educational institution. A team consisting of experts from industries, universities, research institutes and legal fields may be constituted to formulate policies on consultancy, patent and technological

development on the basis of local needs and available resources. Tourism, sector can be improve, venture certain new industry or factory to build livelihood mission to attract the unemployed youth. Professional education need to impart to the youth in the territory as it is the passport to opportunity and prosperity. It will enable individuals to become academics, entrepreneurs, and business and government leaders.

The propensity of the government towards arresting and accusing the militant leaders as in the case of UPDS and KLNLF leaders has not solved the problems, instead it has shoot up ethnic conflict and further radicalized the groups. Killing the militants is not the solution. It would only create more hostilities in the region. Time bound programme can be taken up by the government to give scope to the surrendered militants for proper rehabilitation and other financial benefits with the good intention of absorbing them into the mainstream. Otherwise splinter group may come up in a very short interval (which is experiencing in northeast India) to create more havoc and disorder in the region. The present problems of Karbi militancy are based on an ideology and that cannot be countered or killed through legal action. The ideology of peace and prosperity can counter the ideology of violence and disturbances. And the authority may resolve the long-drawn Statehood demand of the Karbis 'once and for all' if it will not affect the country's integrity or fall within the framework of Indian Constitution. Like other tribes and communities in the region, the Karbi militant want to see their ancestor's land advancing with 'growth with equity'. Cordial atmosphere and mutual respect can be initiated by both the government and militants leaders. This is necessary because the history of ethnic movement which most often has come with trail of loss of lives has continued to expose and remind the manager of the state, its gross hypocrisy. This is more pertinent so as to ensure that a process is created to give ethnic tribes sufficient opportunity to express their unique culture and hoping for self-rule as a way of generating national harmony which is presently lacking in the country.

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