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CONFERENCE ABSTRACTS

Annual Meeting, American Anthropological Association Washington, D.C. November 19-23, 1997

Himalayan Herders

Naomi Bishop
CSU, Northridge

Bishop, John
University of California, Los Angeles

This is a detailed film portrait of a Buddhist temple village in east-central Nepal. It explores the technology, social organization, and religious practice of a community that lives by farming terraced fields, transhumant herding of *zomo* (a cow/yak hybrid), and circular migration to India for wage labor. Based on fieldwork over 25 years, this film is a collaboration of an anthropologist and an ethnographic filmmaker. Shot in 16mm with interviews, narration, local music and live sound, the film presents a complex and multidimensional portrait of culture change and mountain adaptation in the Himalaya today. Residents talk about the changes that have occurred during their lifetimes, as their village has been incorporated into a national park, their children are educated in a government-sponsored school, and more people than ever before spend substantial parts of their lives working in India.

Mountain Development Discourse: People, Parks, and Partnerships. A Case Example of the Makalu Barun National Park Project in Nepal

Nina Bhatt
Yale

Based on ethnographic field material, the author examines the construction of narratives at the international NGO, government, and local levels. Such narratives in the formulation of the Makalu Barun

National Park in Nepal are seen as the constructions of the international NGO and partner government in question. While these narratives seem to agree at the policy level, they mask institutional and programmatic conflict at the implementation phase. Conflicting ideologies are embedded beneath a discourse of concord. Finally, such practices are seen as having a negative impact on community members. Politics and power inform the construction of meta-narratives in the Makalu Barun Project. The author addresses questions such as: how are narratives shaped, informed and changed over time? What differentials of power, economic resources, and education play into such social constructions? How do competing narratives result in situations of conflict accompanied by strategies of negotiations? How are groups segmented along such variables? How does the NGO, the Nepalese government and local people negotiate social change and national identity within the realms of discourse to their benefit?

The Politics of the A-Political: Theravada Buddhism in Modern Nepal

Lauren Leve
Princeton

Theravada Buddhism in Nepal brings politics and piety together on the national landscape. Since it first appeared as a religious revival movement to challenge Hindu nation-making in the late 1920s, Theravada monks and nuns have been exiled twice, their publications seized and banned, and their followers harassed. In recent years, they have organized numerous assemblies and colloquia to promote state secularism, and their supporters passionately insist that Buddhism is not concerned with the temporal worlds. If we take these declarations seriously, how are we to interpret social

action that is avowedly nonpolitical and yet which echoes in the political realm?

Focusing on the apparent contradictions posed by the history of Theravada Buddhism in Nepal, this paper argues for the importance of engaging belief in analysis of religio-political collision and collusion. When ideas and identities are matters of national interest, morality and devotion become potent sites for contests over power and truth. For Buddhist practitioners who strive to embody the sacred, these religious modes of perception both engage and defy secular meaning. When the apolitical becomes politicized, social action is complexly motivated and conventional theories of agency and intention fail to make sense of acts that resonate across superhuman as well as worldly domains. The implications and incongruities between Theravada Buddhism and the Nepalese political field challenges us to reexamine our readings of the religious in the political.

"This Kind of 'Love' I Don't Like Too Much": Women, Pornography, and Consumer Sexuality in Kathmandu, Nepal

Mark Liechty

University of California, Santa Barbara

Hard-core screen pornography has been available in Kathmandu for decades, but with increasing buying power among middle class families and the arrival of VCR technology, viewing video pornography (local, Indian, Western, and East Asian) is becoming a more and more common experience for men and women, young and old. This paper examines three Kathmandu middle class married women's experiences and reactions as consumers of commercial pornography.

While most men have a nonchalant attitude toward pornography, women are both more guarded and more critical. But even though women are more likely to critique the misogyny of most commercial pornography, they often take a relativistic stance that assumes the sexual activities depicted are natural and suitable for foreigners, if not for Nepalis. Pornographic sexuality becomes another dimension of an experience of modernity-as-foreign commodity that Nepali women must struggle to reconcile with their efforts to build modern Nepali lives.

The paper concludes with a discussion of the parallel rise of restaurants, lodges, pornography, and prostitution in Kathmandu. I suggest that these are interdependent forms of public consumption all related to the development of a larger middle-class consumer culture in the city. Consumer sexuality is one manifestation of a new regime of "semblance as commodity." In this new cultural economy, where commodification, gratification, consumption, and desire are increasingly indistinguishable, consumer sexuality emerges as one aspect of a new consumer public.

Mythunderstandings: Ritual Accounting and Accounting for Ritual in the Kathmandu Valley

Bruce McCoy Owens
Wheaton

According to chronicles that tell of its origins, Nepal's largest chariot festival, devoted to Bungadya, has been a field of contestation since its inauguration almost a millennium and a half ago. These various accounts of origin, referred to as myths by foreign scholars and indigenous detractors alike, will be examined in relation to the historical contexts and political implications of their creations. This paper will also consider contemporary debate about recent ritual events and past accounts in order to understand how various pasts have been organized in terms of various presents, and how accounts of ritual origins are selectively deployed to make sense of contemporary ritual practice. Given the unusually conspicuous and important role the king plays in this festival, the recent political transformation of Nepal into a democratic constitutional Hindu monarchy has particularly important implications for understanding this festival, and contemporary discourses that may come to be known as myth are considered with this in mind.

AIDS Aid: Sex as a Development Problem

Stacy Leigh Pigg
Simon Fraser

In the early 1990s, Nepal began attracting international donor attention as a country likely to experience a devastating increase in AIDS cases. Donors thus emphasize prevention through information. This paper examines the role development frameworks play in shaping how AIDS is presented, dealt with, and perceived in Nepal. It focuses on tensions that occur when the AIDS service industry is internationalized via development institutions and then localized in Nepal. These tensions are most evident in the new visibility sex has acquired. Where previously sex figured in development discourse only indirectly via population control, AIDS intervention work generates direct inquiry into prostitution, sexual behaviors, and STDs. NGOs attempting to adapt safe sex messages to the Nepali context grapple with the paradoxes of articulating health information in the near absence of the sort of direct, institutionalized and public discourses about sexual acts that Foucault has associated with the modern self. Conflicting opinions exist among planners about the possibility, let alone the acceptability, of sex education in the service of AIDS intervention even as social transformations bring new forms of involvement with erotic images. AIDS education occurs in a complexly hybridized social field: representations of the sexual conservatism of "Nepali society" bump up against research on sex-related social problems; the new lifestyles of an emergent bourgeoisie coexist with

traditional moral economies of sex; the medicalization of sex in the name of development accompanies an eroticization of public culture in the name of modernization.

A Chinese Lama in the Maharaja's Court: Exotic and Exaggerated Identities in Nepal

Lars Rodseth

Utah

Political leaders often have, or claim to have, exotic origins. They may be divine kings, foreign conquerors, or simply mysterious strangers, but in all such cases they base their claim to authority on some essential difference in identity between themselves and their followers. In a society as ethnically and ecologically diverse as Nepal, political unity has in fact depended on the intervention of outsiders able to transcend local rivalries and mediate between competing factions. The premier example of this is the creation of modern Nepal by Hindu warlords claiming descent from Rajput princes. Yet political intervention and mediation have come not only from the Hindu South but from the Buddhist North. Much of highland Nepal is dominated by putative descendants of the Tibetan nobility, and at least one of these—the King of Mustang—is officially recognized as a vassal of the Nepalese state. This paper explores the interdependence between Hindu and Buddhist elites in Nepal by focusing on the members of one petty dynasty, the descendants of a “Chinese” lama who arrived in Kathmandu in the mid-nineteenth century. In emphasizing their Buddhist origins, on the one hand, and their affiliation with the Hindu state, on the other, the five generations of the so-called Chiniya Lama family have seen fit to invent, inflate, and invert their ethnic and religious identities, depending on the political climate and the cultural audience of the day.

Becoming Not Hindu: A Gurung Community's Move to Buddhism and Ethnic Politics in Nepal

Susan Hangen

University of Wisconsin, Madison

Religious identities are highly politicized in Nepal. In this paper, I explore the political dimensions of a Gurung community's shift from Hinduism to Buddhism in Ilam district, Nepal. This case illustrates the need for an anthropology that examines religion and politics as entangled domains. These Gurungs describe their change of religion as “quitting” Hinduism, a religion that was not really theirs they say, and returning to Buddhism, the religion that their ancestors practiced. This religious transition is as much about becoming not Hindu as it is about becoming Buddhist, and has more to do with politics than with piety.

I discuss three moments in which this movement to Buddhism is infused with political meaning. First,

becoming not Hindu entails changes in religious practices that have political implications. Gurungs stopped employing Brahman priests, began training boys from their own community to serve as lamas, and quit following national Hindu holidays. Second, the district government forcibly closed a new Gurung monastery, interpreting the Gurungs' shift to Buddhism as a political act. Finally, the Gurung move to Buddhism enabled the subsequent success of a radical ethnic political party, the Mongol National Organization (MNO), in this area. The MNO asserts that Hinduism is the primary way that high-caste Hindus have oppressed Gurungs and other ethnic groups for centuries, and employs a “not Hindu” identity to politically unite these ethnic groups as “Mongols.” The “not Hindu” identity became the basis for ethnic political mobilization, illuminating the enmeshed nature of religious and political identities in Nepal.

Model for Modernity: Tharu Perceptions of a Brahmin in Contemporary Nepal

Arjun Guneratne

Macalester

I describe in this paper what modernity means to Tharus, an ethnic group in Nepal's district of Chitwan. The status of individuals in the caste system has been linked in the anthropological literature to the system of ritual ranking, based on various attributes of purity and pollution, that characterize different groups; individuals are identified primarily as members of particular caste groups with all the attendant disabilities or advantages such an identification might imply. Tharus in contemporary Chitwan however attribute their relatively low status in the caste system not to ritual inferiority but to their ignorance of modern practices and to their inability as a community to take advantage of everything that a market-based economy has to offer. They explain their “backwardness” in terms of their lack of education, which they see as the fundamental attribute of modernity. “Backwardness” has come to be the modern equivalent of “impurity,” serving to index an inferior social status. However, Tharus also believe that they can change their status only through collective effort as a group. Thus, new ideas regarding caste status, predicated on attributes of modernity, are nevertheless being formulated in terms of the older paradigm that links individual status to that of the group. This paper discusses this indigenous understanding of modernization and social status, and the way in which Tharus have configured the Brahmin as an exemplar of the modern.

Gender, Caste, and Forest Rights in Uttarkhand Himalayas, India

Shubhra Gururani, York University

(abstract not available)

Annual Meeting, American Academy of Religion
San Francisco, Ca, November 22-25, 1997

Tibetan "Buddhification" of the
Kalacakratantra

Jensine Andresen
Harvard University

The Sri Kalacakratantra and commentarial Vimalaprabhatika, two prototypical examples of Buddhist Tantra, were probably composed during the 60-year cycle from 967 C.E. to 1026 C.E. The centrality of 36 occupational castes provides evidence supporting my supposition that these texts were authored in Bengal. The pervasive interaction between Buddhist and Hindu communities in Pala-period Bengal, however, provided ample opportunity for the syncretic aggregation of ritual elements into these Kalackra texts, elements not inherently "Buddhist," though definitely "tantric," if not in their origin then certainly in their function. Ritual actions and patterned descriptions of the mandala construction are shared with the earlier non-Buddhist sources. Having noted these non-Buddhist undertones to the Kalacakra literature, this paper will address the Buddhist transmutation of the Kalacakra cult in Tibet, focusing specifically on Bo dong Pan chen's (1375-1471) commentary on the Sri Kalacakratantra. Layers of commentarial accretion are described to evidence the Tibetan appropriation of Hatha yogic techniques for Buddhist ends.

The Ge-khod Cycle and Mt. Kailash

Nathan S. Cutler
California Institute of Integral Studies

The Ge-khod Cycle of Bon teachings is at first mentioned by Tucci who made an early visit to Kailasa/Gangs Rin-po-che (1935). Although Nebesky-Wojkowitz also refers to this early group of Bon deities, it is Samten Karmay who clarifies the issue by connecting these teachings to the original Bon sage, A-ti Mu-wer, and the Three Protectors of Tise/Gangs Rin-po-che: A-ti Mu-wer, Ku-byi Mang-ke, and dBal-chen Ge-khod.

A further complication that is only now being sorted out by the work of scholars such as Per Kvaerne in his recent *The Bon Religion of Tibet* is the similarity of the two deities dBal-chen Ge-khod and Zhang-Zhuing Me-ri. Since this particular problem crops up in a complex visualization that I have studied in the Bon *Ti se'i dKar chag* written by dKar-ru Grub-dBang bsTan-'dzin Rin-chen, I wish to clarify the iconography both of this deity dBal-chen Ge-khod and the representation of certain aspects of the mountain itself which relate it to the volcano of wisdom (*ye shes kyi me ri*) or blazing

volcano (*me ri 'bar ba*). In the visionary language of this text in particular, there is a constant tension between the mythical and religious dimensions of not only the mGon-po rNam-gsum or Three Protectors and their role in the origin of the world, particularly dBal-chen Ge-khod, but also Gangs Rin-po-che's sanctity relative to its position as the World Mountain which has existed from the very beginning of time.

The argument here is sort of a chicken and egg question of whether or not the teaching of Ge-khod preceded the sanctity of the mountain or simply complemented it. In considering this, is it really so important to look at them separately? And if they are considered together and complimentary, does sacred place become subordinated to the sacred teaching? Why go to the mountain on pilgrimage at all if this is the case, just stay at home and meditate on Me-ri or Ge-khod! It would be a lot simpler.

Through this sort of argument, I would like to clarify issues around sacred place within the practices and teachings of both Bon and Buddhists (who certainly share Gangs Rin-po-che in common). Also, I propose to look at the visionary content of what is called the Secret Circle (*gsang skor*) of Gangs Rin-po-che. By exploring its contents, not only will the importance of combining place and practice be revealed, but hopefully, further light will be thrown on the complexity of dBal-chen Ge-khod and the closely related deity, Zhang-Zhuing Me-ri.

Avalokita (Isvara)?
Bryan Phillips
University of Virginia

The patron divinity of Tibet, Avalokitesvara, has been called the 'pivotal personality' in understanding semblances between Hindu and Buddhist myth and practice. This study will peel back some of the layers of appropriation, from both Saivite and Epic sources, which have cloaked the cult of Avalokitesvara in Tibet, particularly as it is articulated from the 14th century repository-text, the *Mani bka' 'bum*. Moreover, from the 15th century at least, the special station of Avalokitesvara has been linked (rhetorically, if not historically) to the political legitimization of both the early royal dynasty and of their eventual successors in central Tibet, the Dalai Lamas. Hence we will be trying to shed some light on the extent to which Tibetan elite are indebted, for their predominant (and dominating) model of political authority, to the mythic corpus of classical India.

The Attainment of Immortality: A Natha Teaching in India, a Buddhist Teaching in Tibet

Kurtis R. Schaeffer
Harvard University

Recently a bi-lingual Tibetan and Sanskrit manuscript was discovered entitled *The Attainment of Immortality (Amrtasiddhi'Chi med grub pa)*, authored by one Avadhutacandra. An apocryphal work in Tibet, Avadhutacandra's work can nevertheless be located within a larger corpus in the Tibetan Canon, works from the Shangs pa Bka' brgyud tradition, and several Indic manuscripts, all devoted to *Amrtasiddhi*, tracing themselves back to Virupaksanatha. Avadhutacandra's *Amrtasiddhi* is a syncretic work which styles itself as a teaching of Buddhist origin, and yet draws most of its discussion of yogic praxis from the hatha yoga teachings of the Natha Siddhas. Generally, the Tibetan literature pays homage to the Buddha himself or a typical Buddhist tantric deity such as Vajradhara, while the Indic literature gives no hint of any Buddhist affiliation, but rather counts Virupaksanatha among the founding masters of the Nathas. Though probably far less unusual than normally thought, the *Amrtasiddhi* presents an intriguing case of inter-traditional appropriation, from Natha in India to Buddhism in Tibet.

The Scapula in Tibetan Divination and Religion

Michael Walter
Indiana University

There are few natural objects in Tibetan culture more meaningful than the sheep scapula. It is at once a microcosmic model, a mirror in time and space, and a reflection of the sacredness of an important pastoral-nomadic animal. Charles Bawden, William Rockhill, and others have studied documents from both local traditions and early Western travelers which attest to the widespread popularity of scapulamancy.

Scapula reading can also be studied as an example of how a "popular" divinatory technique might be included in the "normative" religious practices of a people. When faced with such a popular method for acquiring useful knowledge, how would Bon and Buddhist thinkers and encyclopedists rationalize and include this practice and its powers, and which older values ascribed to scapulae would survive, and which would not?

Questions such as the above will be approached on the basis of various documents of both the Bon and Buddhist traditions dating from the 13th to the 20th centuries, providing a degree of both breadth and depth to this study.

Magical Warfare among Tibetans (panel)

David Germano, presiding
University of Virginia

One important aspect of Tibetan religion is the propitiation of protectors. In recent years this practice, particularly in relation to one of these protectors, Dorje Shukden, has become the focus of a controversy that has agitated the Tibetan community, at times quite violently. Dorje Shukden has been for some time quite popular among some Gelukbas, who consider him as the main protector of their group. At times, their attachment to this protector has gone further and they have presented Dorje Shukden as the embodiment of a strong Geluk sectarian attitude. Because of this sectarian connotation, other Gelukbas have viewed Dorje Shukden with suspicion. At first confined to the exchange of pamphlets written by traditional intellectuals, this difference of views has broadened into a full blown quarrel. In recent years, the dispute has extended to include Western converts, the use of the internet by both sides to spread their views, the multiplication of public interventions, and the possible use of violence in attempting to settle the dispute. This panel deploys various scholarly methods to describe and try to understand the different angles of this controversy. Culturally, the propitiation of protectors such as Dorje Shukden is one of the most interesting, but also most difficult to understand from a modern perspective of motives in Tibetan culture. Who are these protectors? How can we understand them from our modern scholarly perspective? Moreover, the case of Dorje Shukden is also interesting in that it underlines the pervasive link between religion and politics in Tibetan society. For, the controversy surrounding this deity is also to a large extent a political question and hence needs to be explored as such. Through examining such issues, this panel will air useful information about a question that often has been considered too controversial even for exploration, as well as provide some means to analyze a topic that has puzzled many scholars.

The Rhetoric of Nonduality in Later Tibetan Interpretations of Indian Yogacara

Joe Wilson
University of North Carolina, Wilmington

This paper addresses two issues central to Mahayana Buddhism in general and Yogacara specifically: the pervasive rhetoric of nonduality and the problematic role that karma (and, thus, mind) plays in the construction of the world as perceived. The dominant Tibetan understanding of Indian Yogacara Buddhism is based on the writings of Asanga, Vasubandhu, and their commentators, and on those of Dignaga, Dharmakirti, and their commentators. A number of passages from these authors, taken at face value, would seem to admit no interpretation apart from an unqualified rejection of

the existence of external objects. This paper presents some of the more nuanced interpretations made by Tibetan commentators writing in the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries on the meaning of such pivotal terms as *vijnapti* ('percept' or 'information'), *cittamatra* ('mind only'), *bahyartha* ('external object'), and foundational consciousness (*alayavijnana*).

An Umbrella Above, a Throne Below, and His Lips Ever Dipped in Butter Tea: Conflicting Views on the Religious Merit of Wealth in Tibet

Janet Gyatso
Amherst College

The distinctively Tibetan Buddhist notion of the conjunction of secular and religious powers, personified most notably by the figure of the Dalai Lama, is enabled both by old Tibetan association of royal charisma with divine pedigree, and by the elaborate

images of riches and adornment in Indic Mahayana texts associated with the pure lands and "enjoyment body" buddhas. The possession of wealth and worldly power is thus seen as a natural manifestation of religious insight and attainment, even if it apparently requires regular reinforcement by the performance of wealth-accumulating rituals and the propitiation of certain worldly deities, not to mention the actual collection of revenues from manorial estates and individual devotees. At the same time, however, a forceful Buddhist rhetoric criticizing wealth in favor of asceticism and poverty retains a central presence in Tibetan religious discourse. Some insights on how these two seemingly conflicting views of wealth operate harmoniously and in tandem may be had from examining Tibetan autobiographical accounts by individual religious practitioners. Several telling passages from that literature, concerning especially kinds of practices to "accumulate merit" and the expectations regarding the effects of such practices, will be considered in the latter portion of this paper.

**Annual Meeting, Association of Asian Studies
Washington, D.C. March 26-29, 1998**

Beyond the Deadlock: Rethinking the Conflict in Kashmir

Patricia Ann Gossman, organizer
Human Rights Watch

Paula R. Newberg, chair
Georgetown University

Mustapha Kamal Pasha, discussant
American University;

Gowher Rizvi, discussant
Ford Foundation

For fifty years, thinking on Kashmir has been held hostage to India and Pakistan's cold war and the zero-sum game that has been played out in the Kashmir Valley. This panel brings together activists and academics to propose new ways of looking at the conflict in Kashmir and suggest steps necessary for any resolution of the problems that have led to the conflict. The first paper examines the conflict in Kashmir together with the war in Afghanistan as two seemingly endless conflicts that have defined Indo-Pakistan relations over the past decades, and discusses how their very intractability has shaped the way policymakers and politicians see the future of their regions. The second paper proposes an alternative gradualist approach to the conflict aimed at generating broad agreement on the creation of genuine representative institutions in Kashmir and the institutionalization of a multi-tiered framework of substantive self-rule for the region. The third discusses the prospects for community activists

and community-based organizations in Kashmir and in South Asia more generally to play a role in addressing problems that have fueled the insurgency in the Kashmir valley, and proposes measures that could be taken to reclaim public space from both the state and the militants in order to create institutions that have genuine popular support. The final paper examines obstacles to information flow in Kashmir and how press coverage of the conflict has shaped the way it has been viewed by policymakers in South Asia and beyond.

Millenarianism in the Hindu Kush

Paul R. Newberg
Georgetown University

Wars in Afghanistan and Kashmir—together and separately—now define significantly the strategic and political environments of South and Central Asia. What are the consequences of these political-military imbroglios for regional relationships and, equally important, for the ways that policymakers and politicians see the future of their regions?

These two wars are treated as fixtures in Asia: each is the locus for insurgency, fragmented political alliances, terrorisms and violent movements that challenge state authority, particularly in Pakistan and India. Moreover, the relationships between fighting in Kashmir and Afghanistan—guerrilla movements and gun trafficking, local instabilities and regional uncertainties—have led observers to believe that neither can be fully resolved unless both are solved. Over time, however, resolutions seem increasingly distant.

The seeming intractability of both conflicts has created a sense of timelessness about both conflicts, in the halls of power as much as in the mountain passes that are home to protagonists and victims alike. Although neither conflict has been permanent—the war in Afghanistan is of some twenty years duration, and the conflict in Kashmir has alternatively surfaced and submerged over the past five decades—governments in the region have fixed on their stubborn continuation, allowing them to dictate Indo-Pakistan relations, south-central Asian relations, and the politics of energy and ethnicity from the Bosphorus to the Bay of Bengal.

This paper/presentation will address the contours of this policy environment.

Reframing the Kashmir Question: A Non-Nationalist Conception of the Meaning of Self-Determination

Sumantra Bose
Columbia University

The Kashmir problem is conventionally viewed in the framework of three contending claims to its territory and population—the nation-state ideologies of India and Pakistan, and the position of the Kashmiri independentist movement, which aspires to create a new nation-state encompassing all the territories of the pre-1947 princely state. This paper argues that these three positions—which share an essentially identical nation-state framework—are inherently incompatible and irreconcilable with each other, involving as they do conflicting claims to absolute sovereignty over the same territory and citizenry. As a result, this zero-sum framework has absolutely no room for progress towards a substantive solution to the Kashmir conflict based on dialogue and negotiations between the threeparties concerned.

The impasse can only be broken if the Kashmir question is reframed in alternative terms, which avoids the dead-end of competing and irreconcilable nationalist claims.

Obstacles to Constructing Civil Society in Kashmir

Patricia Ann Gossman
John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation

This paper discusses the significance of the 1996 election of the National Conference government in Kashmir and analyzes how the changes that have taken place since then are likely to affect the insurgency and the prospects for a peaceful resolution to the conflict.

The paper also discusses the prospects for community activists and community-based organizations in Kashmir and in South Asia more generally to play a role in addressing problems that have fueled the insurgency in the Kashmir Valley and

providing alternative leadership controlled neither by the state nor by the militant factions. Efforts to identify persons capable of representing various segments of the Kashmiri public and of entering into negotiations toward a settlement of the conflict have generally not looked beyond established political and religious figures to identify the organization behind resistance to both India and the militants at the popular level, and to bring community-based groups into the political dialogue. Repressive tactics employed by both Indian security forces and militant groups and individuals in Kashmir have made it difficult for anyone not controlled by one side or the other to be heard and to create a safe opening for political activity in Kashmir. The paper concludes with a series of proposals for steps that could be taken to widen that opening and create institutions that have genuine popular support, are seen as legitimate, and that can provide some alternative to state and militant violence.

The Press in Kashmir: Between the Barrels of Two Guns

Vikram Parekh
Human Rights Watch

This paper examines obstacles to information flow in Kashmir posed by the Indian government, Kashmiri militants, and state-sponsored counter-insurgency militias. It examines how legal devices, such as press gags and detention laws, as well as extra-legal measures, such as threats, kidnappings and assassinations, have deterred the press from carrying out objective, investigative reporting on disputes related to the conflict in the Kashmir Valley. It also discusses avenues available for mediating disputes affecting the press between rival militant groups, and between militants and the Indian government. The second part of the paper analyzes coverage of the Kashmir conflict in the Kashmiri, Indian, and international press, and how this coverage has in turn shaped the way it has been viewed by policymakers in South Asia and beyond.

The Kumari-Taleju Equation: Refocusing the Hindu-Buddhist Relationship in the Kathmandu Valley

Barbara Kelly
University of Colorado

A Hindu Kingdom, Nepal is ostensibly the last repository of Mahayan Buddhism as it existed in Northeast India in the twelfth century in tandem with its Hindu counterpart. The relationship between these Indian traditions, historically labeled Buddhist and Hindu, has produced a Newari religious system with unique characteristics manifest in truly ecumenical worship patterns. Yet, scholarly interpretation of this accommodation, which treats the traditions as separate, suggests various degrees of antagonism or historical

subordination. Many indicate that Newari Buddhism is in fact, merely another form of Hinduism.

By examining patterns of worship relating to the cult of the virgin goddess Kumari, this paper demonstrates that Buddhism and Hinduism were never two distinct religious traditions in India, but related in much the same manner apparent in Nepal today. Their unique accommodation in the Kathmandu Valley mirrors the seamless fabric of Indian religious tradition over the centuries.

The living goddess Kumari is a particularly appropriate study for this examination of the larger relationship of religious traditions in the Kathmandu Valley because her cult appears to be a syncretic one. Worship patterns within her microcosm reflect the same relationships and structures found in Newari society at large. Thus we find a deity selected from the Sakya caste whose roots seem to place her within Brahmanical context. She is portrayed as a virgin goddess, bestower of fertility, world power and prosperity and worshipped with pure substances. At the same time, she is also the incarnation of the blood-thirsty Hindu Taleju, tutelary deity of the Hindu monarchy, as well as the fierce Vajrayogini, partner of Cakrasambara, and can be worshipped with animal sacrifice. She is propitiated daily by tantric specialists, the Acahju and Vajracarya, of the Hindu and Buddhist traditions respectively and her devotees come from all segments of society.

An examination of her cult in terms of its legendary and mythical origins, its ritual and devotional practices, and its shared common heritage will explore the role of the Vajracarya, the monk-householder-priest, and the character of Newari Buddhism. It will reveal that the distinctions between Hinduism and Buddhism are not the most significant ways to describe Newari religion. Rather this analysis will indicate that it is the inheritance of a common Indian pantheon and practice which weaves a basic fabric of one piece uniquely Newari in its design.

Symbolic Identities of Newar Buddhism: Svayambhu Mahacaitya and the Dharmadhatu Mandala

Dina Bangdel
Ohio State University

In over 500 Buddhist monasteries of the Kathmandu Valley in Nepal, two themes recur consistently in art, that are also significant in the religious practices of Newar Buddhism. These are the Svayambhu Mahacaitya and the Dharmadhatu Mandala. Svayambhu is the most sacred monument in the Newar Buddhist community and serves as the ontological source of the religion, as indicated by textual evidence and ritual practices. The presence of a secondary surrogate of Svayambhu, found in the courtyards of virtually every monastery, further suggests that Svayambhu Mahacaitya is the generating source of the Buddhist environment of the Valley.

The second recurrent imagery is the iconographic theme of the Dharmadhatu Vagisvara Manjughosa Mandala. As the root mandala of Newar Buddhism, it appears as complete freestanding mandalas in the courtyards, in the iconography of the strut figures on the shrine facade, or the torana iconography over the shrine door.

Although Svayambhu and Dharmadhatu Mandala are major features of Newar Buddhist art and religion, their combined significance has been overlooked in previous scholarship. The ubiquitous visual references and inscriptional evidence point to a symbolic relationship between these two symbol systems, which, I argue, is one of the fundamental premises of Newar Buddhism. The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate how the religious imagery defines and reiterates this symbolic identity. The buddalogical and doctrinal implications of this identity will also be discussed. An understanding of this sacred identity provides a framework to construct an iconology of Newar Buddhist imagery.

Domestic and External Dimensions of the Kashmir Dispute

Sumit Ganguly
Hunter College

There are two segments to this proposed paper. The first deals with the domestic determinants of the current crisis in Kashmir. The second demonstrates how external involvement expanded the scope, intensity and duration of the insurgency. It shows that external involvement raised the stakes involved in 1989 because domestic conditions were conducive.

The first portion of the paper addresses a number of explanations for the origins of the Kashmir insurgency. They range from the Indian denial of self-determination to the Kashmiris, Pakistan's attempts to foment an Islamic rebellion, the revolt of a newly-emergent middle class against inadequate economic opportunities, and the breakdown of a syncretic Kashmiri identity. The paper demonstrates the inadequacy of all these arguments and proposes an alternative explanation for the origins of the crisis.

Specifically, it traces the origins of the crisis to the related processes of political mobilization and institutional decay. The central contention of this paper is that the expansion of basic literacy, primary and higher education and media exposure had the unintended consequence of generating increased political awareness. Simultaneously, the national government in New Delhi, fearful of incipient separatist proclivities, frequently subverted political institutions in the state. The new politically conscious generation of Kashmiris—unlike their predecessors—proved unwilling to tolerate various forms of political machinations. Eventually they resorted to violence, when all institutional pathways for the expression of dissent were effectively blocked.

The second part of the paper compares the 1964 agitation in Kashmir in the wake of the first Hazratbal crisis and the 1989 outbreak of the insurgency following the kidnapping of Rubiya Sayeed. In both cases, an external actor, Pakistan, sought to exploit existing discontent within the state. However, Pakistani efforts failed in 1964 and met with some success in 1989 because of the markedly different political conditions that existed in the state. The generation of the early sixties, though unhappy with Indian rule, did not, for the most part, share a secessionist agenda. In 1989, because of the processes of institutional decay and widespread political mobilization, a new generation of Kashmiris proved willing to accept external assistance to pursue a violent insurrection.

Gender and Schooling: Examining Non-formal Education in Nepal

Mary Ann Maslak
Pennsylvania State University

This paper focuses on the educational system of one developing country in South Asia, Nepal, in order to explore the relationship between policy and practice. In particular, the paper examines the Nepali non-formal and formal educational programs attended by girls in an attempt to determine the extent to which the goals of these programs reflect and cohere with those of national education. Moreover, this study seeks to identify the degree to which girls actually take advantage of the non-formal and formal education opportunities, and to examine the rates of completion or graduation for those programs. What factors account for the success of some participants and explain the failure of others? What are the inherent and systemic socio-cultural obstacles that may inhibit optimal capitalization on the existing programs by girls? How do current discourses and theories on gender help us understand the specific educational developments in Nepal? In light of such understanding, how may we proffer some answers to the problems that beset the existing well-meaning but often ineffective policies of educating girls?

By embarking on a case study of a particular region and population group, this study may serve not only to highlight the implications for future policy development regarding girls' education in Nepal itself, but it may also shed light on the general question of gender and its relation to policy planning and implementation in other developing South Asian nations.

Military Ethnography in British India

Mary Des Chene
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Kathmandu*

The Indian army was foundational to the Raj—without it the comparatively tiny British population could not have carried out its other imperialist projects. Ensuring the loyalty of "native" troops and arranging them to maximum advantage required continuous readjustment and serious study. Therefore, some British officers became amateur practical ethnographers, producing documents ranging from internal reports, through army "handbooks" for other officers, to ethnographies of the jats of their own regiment.

One such officer was Eden Vansittart of the 5th Gurkha Rifles, whose career spanned the late 19th and early 20th centuries. He wrote the first ethnographic army handbook, which became a model through the jats-based regiments. His government correspondence and published work provide a picture of a meticulous colonial ethnographer, someone who sought to understand the social bases of behavior in order to harness that knowledge for imperial ends. His portrait of the Gurkhas has origins in sources stretching back to the first British encounter in 1815, supplemented by his own personal experience and investigations. Its influence extends forward through the end of the Raj to today.

In this paper I trace the construction of this portrait, its relation to contemporary ethnographic theories, and the routes by which it moved up the military and administrative hierarchy to influence decisions about regimental organization and deployment. The paper has two agendas: to examine the process of creating ethnographic portraits and to track the channels by which they became influential in colonial projects of control.

Newar Culture in Nepali Society

Katharine N. Rankin, organizer
Cornell University

Lauren Leve, chair
Princeton University

A. W. van den Hoek, discussant
Leiden University

Newars occupy a complex position in the Nepal nation, and in relation to academic scholarship on it. Though they comprise just one of the many ethnic peoples who make up the country today, Newars were once the independent rulers of the wealthy Kathmandu Valley, which is now the capital of modern Nepal. For many Western scholars and visitors, from the British Resident, Brian Hodgson, to the many tourists who visit Kathmandu each year, Newar culture is perceived to offer a precious glimpse into an archaic world that no longer exists outside of the remote Himalayas. With its many gods, goddesses, castes, and rituals, understanding the richly coherent aspects of Newar culture long proved a fascinating and rewarding task. But recent interest in the politics of representation, combined with increasing

ethnic and political unrest in Nepal, have led to new moves to integrate this dominant trend in scholarship with critical questions about how these worlds have been constituted. The papers on this panel continue to draw on long-standing interests in Newar studies such as kingship, religion, ritual, and characteristically Newar *guthi* associations, but they are newly attuned to questions of power and historical agency, and to Newar life today as the product of a dialogue between inherited tradition and modern influences, local forms of order and the Nepal state. Together, they constitute an argument for bringing diachronic interests to the study of ritual, meaning and society in Nepal and offer a glimpse into recent scholarship on Newar culture.

The Ritual Composition of Sankhu, an Ancient Newar Town in Nepal

Bal Gopal Shrestha
Leiden University

Sankhu is an ancient Newar town situated about twenty kilometers northeast of Kathmandu, whose people (about 10,000) mainly live from agriculture and from employment in greater Kathmandu. This study of Sankhu focuses on the ritual composition of the town as the key to its system of values. The main hypothesis of this study is that the distinct entities in this urban oriented society are not defined by socio-economic features but by their ritual composition. Royalty played the most important part in turning a settlement into a cultural center. The legendary history of Sankhu also starts with its establishment as a kingdom, comprising the town and the valley surrounding it. The foundation of that kingdom is attributed to the goddess Vajrayogini, whose shrine is located in the forest above Sankhu.

The temple of Vajrayogini is an important pilgrimage site for Buddhists and Hindus alike. The yearly festival of the goddess is also the main event in Sankhu's ritual cycle. It can be viewed as a re-enactment of the town's foundation. The study takes into account the complete festival cycle of the town and its connection with the network of ritual relations in the Kathmandu Valley at large. This new perspective on Sankhu's ritual composition ultimately deals with the relation between Hinduism and Buddhism, with the interrelationships between the town's 17 castes, and above all with the myriad of socio-religious associations (*guthis*) which uphold its ritual life.

Vajrayogini and the Kingdom of Kathmandu: Constructing Polity in Seventeenth-Century Nepal

Bronwen Bledsoe
University of Chicago

So rich is the cultural wealth of the Newars of the Kathmandu Valley that scholarship to date has largely

confined itself to documenting the traditions that live on there with a continuity unmatched elsewhere in South Asia. Such studies have, however, largely ignored history as such, looking past the ways in which real historical agents have knowingly ordered their world.

This paper examines the late medieval annexation of the territorially disjunct township of Sankhu by the kingdom of Kathmandu, a move initially impelled by economic advantage; but consistently articulated as participation in encompassing cosmo-political order. Texts from both the center and the periphery of the emergent polity construed the move in terms of a special relationship between Sankhu's premier deity, the goddess Vajrayogini, and the king of Kathmandu.

Most notably, the Poet-King Pratap Malla celebrated Sankhu's integration into his realm in an elaborate Sanskrit inscription of devotion and patronage, likening the local goddess to the supreme deity at the heart of his theist polity. Pratap ordered the social world on the principle of "participation"—sharing, deference, and devotion—to create the paradigmatic Hindu kingdom of his times. Vajrayogini's liturgy was, however, in the hands of Buddhists. These religious specialists independently recorded the terms of Sankhu's participation, royal deference to and support of their own knowledges and procedures for maintaining political and cosmic order.

Neoliberalism and the Cultural Politics of Newar Guthis

Katharine N. Rankin
Cornell University

Ethnography of Newar society has commonly evoked *guthis*, the core Newar social institutions that regulate religious and social life, as the key mechanism through which Newar social organization has been preserved for centuries unchanged. In contrast, by examining competing representations of Newar *guthis* in national and local discourses and practices, this paper argues for an understanding of Newar society as constituted in articulation with national processes of state building and governance.

In the wake of neoliberal reforms, for instance, state planners have evoked *guthis*, among other ethnically-based "cooperative" social institutions, as paradigmatic of "Nepali" qualities of local self-reliance and community solidarity. Such representations figure directly in the state's justifications of the recent shift from state-led to market-led approaches to development. More specifically, *guthis* are said to demonstrate a degree of local capacity that warrants devolution of responsibility for economic development from the state to autonomous local institutions.

Within Newari communities, the paper argues, not only do *guthis* on the contrary play a functional role in regulating inequality, but also their communal role

within hierarchically ordered social groups has in fact been undermined by commodification and other processes associated with the new neoliberalism. In Sankhu, for instance, struggles over Guthi capital endowments and the growing space for individual economic gain in Guthi ideology not only belie the state's normative claims about Nepali culture as harmonious and self-sustaining, but also demonstrate that even the most "traditional" of social institutions are constituted in relation to the national political economy.

**What is a Theravada Buddhist in Nepal?:
Ethics and Identity in Modern Newar
Buddhism**

Lauren Leve
Princeton University

What is a Theravada Buddhist in Nepal and how has this 20th-century Buddhist reform affected Newar Buddhist life? Among ethnographers of Nepal, the Newars who live in the Kathmandu Valley are famous for their rich symbolic order, and the way in which they have traditionally incorporated both Buddhism and

Hinduism into a seamless web that invests social life with deep religious meaning. But since its emergence in the late 1920s, Theravada has challenged the ostensibly "Hindu" underpinnings of customary Newar Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhist thought, and actively contributed to the formation of a new, self-consciously Buddhist Newar identity.

Beginning with the question, how is Theravada different from Newar Buddhism as customarily taught in the Valley, this paper examines the impact of the Theravada reform on traditional concepts of personhood, community, religious duty and nationhood. By teaching a Buddhist ethics that locates moral agency in individual intention, as opposed to social connection, Theravada offers a new and different way of configuring relations between self and society among Newar Buddhists, and a corresponding identity shift. In a meaningful world that has been built upon the ritual and literal presence of a Hindu king, and which continues to rely on this integrating trope, this change carries political as well as spiritual consequences. This paper will explore this transformation in modern Newar ethics and identity, and its far-reaching implications at the level of the community and the state.

**South Asian Language Analysis XVIII Roundtable
New Delhi, January 6-8, 1997**

LIST OF PRESENTATIONS

/A/--Glide in Sino-Tibetan

Martine Mazaudon
CNRS, Paris

**A Morphophonological Alternation and Its
Origin: The Case of Limbu R and L**

Boyd Michailovsky
LACITO, CNRS, Paris

Reduplication in Kachari

Madhumita Barbora
Tezpur University

**On the Typology of Comp in South Asian
Languages**

Manideepa Patnaik
University of Delhi

Relativization in Tibeto-Burman Languages

Chungkham Yashawanta Singh
Manipur University

**PF-Constraints on Syntactic Output:
Bangani Aux-raising, Negation and
Optionality**

Ayesha Kidwai, Sunia Singh & B.P. Sridevi
Jawaharlal Nehru University

**Language Policy in Education for Nagaland:
Sociolinguistic Inputs**

Rajesh Sachdeva
North Eastern Hill University

Some Aspects of Sylheti

Awadhesh K. Mishra
Silchar

Nagamese--A Case of Language in Contact

Ajit Kumar Baishya
Assam University

V-2 and V in Kashmiri

Peter Edwin Hook & Omkar N. Koul
*University of Michigan & Central Institute of Indian
Languages, Mysore*

**Clause-Internal Scrambling in Two Varieties
of Pakhto**

Taylor Roberts
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Spec-head Relation in Mizo and Hmar
B. Lalitha Murthy

**The Significance of Topic in V-2: Evidence
from Kashmiri**

Kashi Wali, O.N. Koul & Ashok Koul
*Syracuse and Central Institute of Indian languages,
Mysore*

Eighth Colloquium of the International Association for Ladakh Studies University of Aarhus Moesgaard, Denmark June 5-8, 1997

In recent years the mountainous region of Ladakh (northwest India) has attracted growing interest from scholars representing a range of different disciplines. Much of the attraction of the area derives from its status as one of the most accessible regions where Tibetan Buddhism is still dominant. However, recent research has emphasized the distinctive characteristics of Ladakh's popular culture, and there is growing interest in its large Shia and Sunni Muslim minorities.

This conference was the eighth in a series dating back to 1981. It was organized by Drs Martijn van Beek, Kristoffer Brix Bertelsen and Poul Pedersen of Aarhus University. The conference benefited from generous grants from the Danish Research Council for the Humanities (SHF), the Development Research Council (RUF), the Humanities Research Fund of Aarhus University, and the Department of Ethnography and Social Anthropology. The participants included scholars from Denmark, Germany, Austria, Britain, France, Hungary, Norway, Sweden and the US as well as eleven Ladakhis and five scholars from other parts of India. For the first time, the Ladakhi contingent included three representatives from Kargil, the mainly Muslim region in western Ladakh. The papers reflected the breadth as well as the depth of current research. The conference opened with a session on archaeology and early history. Subsequent sessions focused on modern history, rural livelihoods, new directions in anthropological research, community and belonging, new directions in development, women's issues, education, and language and literature. Among others, David Pinault analyzed the Shia community's Muharram rituals, a source of some bewilderment for Buddhist Ladakhis as well as Westerners; Martin S=F6kefeld broadened our horizons by examining the process of identity formation in the areas of northern Pakistan which border on Ladakh; and Monisha Ahmed discussed the local salt trade on the Rupshu plateau, a region which until recently has been closed to foreigners.

Among the Ladakhis, Sonam Phuntsog, Nawang Tsering Shakspo and Abdul Ghani Sheikh gave historical papers. The other Ladakhi participants concentrated on contemporary political and economic developments, including the prospects for the Hill Council, which since 1995, has provided for a degree of local administrative autonomy.

Alongside the more formal presentations, the colloquium provided an opportunity for other forms of cultural exchange including performances of Danish folk songs (mainly about Vikings) and Ladakhi dancing. One of the Ladakhis remarked that Denmark reminded him of Kashmir: this was presumably a reference to the greenery of its countryside rather than the height of its mountains.

The International Association of Ladakh Studies (IALS) was formally established in 1987 at the third international colloquium, held in Herrnhut (Germany). Members receive discounts on conference publications as well as copies of the Ladakh Studies newsletter which includes news, short articles and a regular bibliographical update. Three volumes of conference proceedings are currently in print: *Recent Research on Ladakh 4 & 5*, edited by Henry Osmaston and Philip Denwood (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1995); *Recent Research on Ladakh 6*, edited by Henry Osmaston and Nawang Tsering (Bristol University, 1996); and *Recent Research on Ladakh 7*, edited by Thierry Dodin and Heinz R=E4ther (Ulm: Ulmer Kulturanthropologische Schriften Band 9, 1997).

At the Aarhus conference Henry Osmaston was elected IALS President, and John Bray succeeded him as Honorary Secretary. The next conference will take place in 1999, possibly in Leh, Ladakh.

John Bray

Note: Not all presenters submitted abstracts. Where available e-mail addresses have been provided. Further contact information is available from: Martijn van Beek, Dept. of Ethnography and Social Anthropology, Aarhus University, Moesgaard, DK-8270 Hoejbjerg, Denmark. E-mail: etnomvb@moes.hum.aau.dk

The Salt Trade - Rupshu's Annual Trek to Tso Kar

Monisha Ahmed
Bombay

Until the 1950s Tibet supplied most of the Himalayan region with salt. The trade in salt in Ladakh was such that Tibetan Changpas would bring it to Ladakh, or the Changpas within Ladakh, from places such as Rupshu, would go to Tibet to collect salt. After the Chinese occupation of Tibet this trade ceased, and Ladakh had to turn to salt lakes within its own boundaries or rely on government sea salt.

One of the main salt lakes in Ladakh is Tso Kar and this lies within Rupshu. After the border with Tibet closed, Rupshu continued to supply salt to most of Ladakh and Zaskar. However, with the increasing availability of government sea salt this trade has also dwindled and the salt from Tso Kar is now seldom traded outside Rupshu. However, though the prominence and profitability of Rupshu's salt trade has declined, their annual collection of salt from Tso Kar still continues. Most Rupshupa attribute this to the fact that they still prefer the taste of the local salt, and say that as long as that does not stop they will carry on taking out salt from Tso Kar.

This paper presents Rupshu's yearly trek to Tso Kar and describes the method by which the removal of salt is organized. It examines the former status of the salt trade in Rupshu, and looks at the transformation that have occurred after the entrance of government sea salt in Ladakh. Finally it looks at why the salt trade in Rupshu persists when, in the wider context of the Himalayas, the trade has been marginalized or discontinued in most other regions.

August Herman Francke's Letters From Ladakh 1896-1906: The Making of a Missionary Scholar

John Bray
London

August Herman Francke (1870-1930) was one of the greatest missionary scholars of the Moravian church (Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine) to work in the Himalayan region. This paper analyses the context in which Francke's early work was written, exploring the links between his dual vocation as a missionary and a researcher. The paper is divided into five sections: first an outline of Francke's education and his career in Ladakh; secondly an analysis of his various research activities; thirdly a discussion of the emerging missionary view of Ladakhi culture; and fourthly a review of the beginnings of the Khalatse Christian community. The epilogue summarises Francke's career after he left Ladakh.

The paper is based on two main sources. The first is the biographical material which is included—albeit incidentally—in Francke's published academic work and missionary reports. The second and more important source is the collection of letters and annual reports which he sent from Ladakh to his superiors in Herrnhut between 1896 and 1906. Francke's principal correspondent in the Mission Board (Missionsdirektion) was Bishop Benjamin La Trope, an English Moravian of Huguenot descent, and the two men appear to have had a particularly warm relationship. Francke's letters, which are preserved in the archive of the Moravian Unity in Herrnhut, have not been used in any previous study. They offer an insight into his personal concerns and aspirations which is not available from any other source. (N.b. this paper will appear elsewhere, NOT in the proceedings of IALS 8)

Eco-Management and Sustainable Development in Ladakh

P.G. Dhar Chakrabarti
Jammu

The unique ecological harmony of Ladakh is founded on a very delicate symbiosis of society with nature, animals, plants and their environment, that has developed through the proven experience of hundreds of years. This rare symbiosis has imparted to the system a distinct identity, a rhythm, a harmony, which modern

man, alienated from nature, and his fellow social beings, finds so satisfying and unique.

Anthropologists are yet to study the dynamics of this system of Ladakh, the interrelationships of their components, their structures and functions or dysfunctions, and adaptations in various geographical and cultural sub-regions of Ladakh. There are five distinct geo-cultural sub-regions in Ladakh, namely, Changthang Plateau, Indus Valley, Nubra Valley, Suru Valley and Zaskar. All these regions present striking diversity in terms of climate, vegetation, ethnic characteristics, social system and religious practices, yet the region as a whole has a unique system which is quite distinct from others. Each sub-region of Ladakh has adapted to this ecosystem in its own way, according to its native talent, but the broad experiences of adjustments and adaptations, despite the underlying differences have been similar.

Holistically, the ecosystem of Ladakh has four broad or sub-systems: geo-physical, techno-economic, social and cultural. Geo-physically, Ladakh is a trans-Himalayan cold desert which has few parallels elsewhere on the earth. The geographical and climatic conditions have laid down the ground rules of the agronomic practices. Agricultural operations ARE limited to three or four months a year, glacial water has to be channelized for agricultural operations, a large animal stock has to be maintained for food, fibre and transportation, fodders have to be cultivated for stall-feeding the animals and agro products have to be stored and preserved for consumption in wintermonths. Within the framework of these ground rules Ladakhis, through their native ingenuity, have developed appropriate technology for harnessing the forces of nature while causing least violence to it.

This process of harmonious and sustainable co-existence with the ecosystem has been facilitated by the unique social system and philosophy of life in Ladakh. For centuries Ladakhis limited the size of their population to a level that could be sustained by the fragile and delicate eco-system. The practice of fraternal polyandry, the right of primogeniture, Lamaism, the existence of *Khanbu* or little house, the practice of *Langde* and *Rares*, are some of the elements of the social system of Ladakh which has created a strong bond of community where social stratification in terms of caste, class or religion was absent. The society learnt to devise ways and means to live and work together for survival against harsh climatic and economic conditions.

This bond of community has been re-inforced by the religious beliefs and rituals of Ladakh. The tranquility and balance of Ladakhi character can be traced to the cosmic system of Buddhism, where individual existence merges with the cosmic. A common Ladakhi may not appreciate all the complexities of this cosmic system, but the central ideal of compassion for all living things, and lack of value set on the self as an entity have

definitely had a bearing on his psyche. He does not see himself in isolation of his surroundings, but as a part of a cosmic system, where his salvation lies in performance of duties towards all living beings in his environment.

Rapid changes in Ladakh since mid the 1970s have seriously disturbed this harmony and placed severe stress on the ecosystem of Ladakh. Unless the changes are properly managed and a new system of sustainable development is adopted in accordance with the changed situation, Ladakh shall surely be heading for an all round disaster which will be a sad development in the history of this trans-Himalayan Civilization.

Buddhism in Modern Ladakh: A General Appraisal

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Since the loss of her independence in the middle of the XIX century, Ladakh has been confronted with deep social and political changes. Buddhism, which played a major role in local culture, could not but become affected by these changes too. This presentation will focus on the development within both Buddhist doctrine and institutions in Ladakh since that time and work out the reciprocal relationship between social and religious developments. (N.b. the paper was not presented, but is expected to be included in the proceedings.)

Mountain Cults among the Kharnak-pa, a Nomadic Community of Eastern Ladakh

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This paper deals with local cults to mountain deities. The area considered lies at an average elevation of 4350m on the Chang-thang plateau near the Tibetan border. It is inhabited by the people of Kharnak (mKhar nag) whose income and much of the food domestically consumed is derived from herds of sheep, goats and yaks. Because of their peripheral location and their distinctive lifestyle, these nomads have remained isolated from the centralization process which took place elsewhere in the Kingdom of Ladakh during the royal dynasty. These protective deities are clearly associated with snow-capped summits or remarkably shaped peaks known as their palace (*pho brang*) or tent (*gur*). Male or female, individuals or groups of deities, they rule over geographically delineated territories on which these mountains are located.

Gzungs Skad (Literary Language) and the Ladakhi Speech: A Continuity

Anandamayee Ghosh

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A controversy occasionally arises about the language of the *Ge sar sgrung*, whether its language is *chos-skad* (scriptural language) or *phal (s)Kad* (common speech). Where as Ladakh, a standard form of written language in Tibetan script is still invogue in Ladakh, it is not always Buddhistic. *Gzungs skad* (literary language) may be an appropriate term to refer to the language used in texts belonging to the Buddhists and non-Buddhists. In the cultural scenario of Ladakh, the Buddhists, the followers of Islam and those of Christianity are socially integrated.

Gzungs skad therefore, is not always *chos-skad* (scriptural language). In Ladakh the continuity of *Gzungs skad* in the common speech and in the written language prevails. An attempt is made in this paper to examine that continuity from the linguistic point of view.

Sanyukta Koshal in her Ladakhi Grammar devoted herself to the colloquial speech in different parts of Ladakh. The present paper deals with the written language from the printed editions of *kesar dung* and the Ladakhi translation of the Bible and the *Kha che pha lu* in Ladakhi.

Linguistically, some dictions and their phonetic, morphological changes are mentioned to justify the continuity. For instance, *zam* in Kesar suggests a small measurement of time, and intensity; while Tibetan lexicon: succession, continuity, line. In the literary language (*gzungs skad*) *zam* is phonetically changed to *tsam* which means measurement of time, etc. Tibetan lexicon: *tsam* means as much as, only, etc. Many other instances are discussed in the paper with observances.

Twin Peaks: Factionalism and Millenarianism in the Suru Valley

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This paper looks at the two main Shi'ite religious groups in the upper Suru valley of Kargil *tehsil*. These factions, known as the *yokmapa* and *gomapa* respectively, have been in opposition for several decades. In the 1970s, Agha Hyder, leader of the *yokmapa*, preached that the coming of the Imam Mehdi (the Twelfth or Hidden Imam) was imminent, and that Jesus Christ (Hazrat Isa) would also descend to earth - their arrival presaging the Day of Judgement and the end of the world. This millenarian prophesy was bitterly contested by Agha Raza, the leader of the *gomapa*. Although the millenarianism is much more muted nowadays, the belief that the Imam Mehdi will come soon remains common in the area. (N.b. this paper was not presented, but will appear in the proceedings)

The Smyung Gnas Fast in Zangskar: How Liminality Depends on Structure

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This essay examines a lay fasting rite known as *smyung gnas* which is performed in Zangskar Northwest India. This devotional rite dedicated to the 11-Faced Avalokitesvara was founded by the 9th century Kashmiri nun, *dge long ma dpal mo*. The rite is known throughout the Himalayan region where Tibetan Buddhism is practiced as a popular lay practice for removing defilements and making merit. The fast is described from the perspectives of the practitioner and the organizers at both the nunnery and monastery of one Zangskari village. An analysis of the rite sheds new light on Turner's theory of liminality. Contrary to Turner's notion that the liminal moment is temporarily and spatially opposed to the normative and structural frames of society, I suggest that an experience of liminality simultaneously denies and affirms structure. Liminality may be seen to both destroy and create structure, depending on whether one speaks of the practitioners or the organizers of the fast. While practitioners experience an abolition of normative frames and mundane duties, this release into the liquified state of *communitas* symbiotically depends on the solidification of reciprocity, mutuality, and hospitality, by those who organize the rite.

Gender, Modernization, and Change in Ladakh, India

Katherine E. Hay
Copenhagen

The central question addressed in this paper is how Ladakh's modernization is affecting the household structure and, specifically, women's lives. The work is grounded in postmodern feminist theory (particularly gender and development theory). Standpoint theory was the methodological foundation for the research. Many of the themes emerging from participant's accounts can be best understood as hypothesis generated from life stories of Ladakhi women. These accounts point to the importance of more critical examinations of the gender dimension of modernization in Ladakh.

While the experience of modernization varied greatly among participants, the majority of women in subsistence agriculture report that their work burden is increasing with the shifts in male labour to paid employment, and the extraction of children through formal education. The loss in status of farming means that while women's work is increasing, their perceived contribution is decreasing, thus diminishing their bargaining power and access to household resources. Generally the benefits participants described from modernization are material, while the negatives tend to

be a loss in traditional benevolent values. As changes in the socioeconomic system threaten the traditional hierarchy, its members are trying to reassert their strength through patriarchal controls over gender and age groups, particularly through new gender norms. Women's mobility is becoming restricted to the home. They are becoming more subject to ideals of beauty and domesticity and are being pressured to remain traditional. This evolution in gender norms is occurring via both internal and external patriarchal structures.

The paper is based on fieldwork undertaken over a period of eight months in the summers of 1995 and 1996, and is based primarily on interviews with 65 participants (mostly female, Buddhist farmers over the age of thirty).

The Village Yangthang in West-Ladakh - An Analysis of the Spatial Arrangement of Architectural, Economic and Social-Cultural Structures

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The small village of Yangthang is situated in West Ladakh. From Uletokpo (*u-lu-grog-po*) on the Indus river it is about a three-hour climb up a side valley facing north. Initially there were eight main houses (*khang-pa*) or eight 'families' in the village—two were added later.

The architectural structure of the densely built-up area is marked by the shape of a big rectangle, a central square between the village temple (*yul-gi-dgon-pa*) and the dominant building of the labrang as well as the merely symbolic gate in the northwest. The temple has a *skor-ba*. In about 1841, the village was founded simultaneously with the *ri-rdzong* monastery and holds a key position among all the villages/households which are assigned to this *dge-lugs-pa* monastery. Social units are small (one *pha-spin*, etc.) Today's ten main houses are in accordance with the usual size of the *bcu-tshogs*.

The late date of the homogeneous foundation of the village results in very particular economic and social-religious features, which were reconfirmed by interviews and demographic data of each *khang-pa*. The unusual formula "the whole village stands symbolically for the house" is in some cases confirmed in house rites and in the positions of house/village shrines. The irrigation system was also investigated. The connection between topography, function and specific social arrangement is also confirmed during significant celebrations in the public square.

The close connection to the monastery with its strict school leads to greater dependencies and strongly influences the social fabric. Yangthang is an example of the smallest possible structure of a village community from the corresponding historical period.

The study was carried out in Ladakh in November and December 1996.

Ancient Forts—Ancient Pottery

Neil Howard
Birmingham

The Rev. A H Francke's pioneering work in the archaeology of Ladakh is acknowledged and his finds of a distinctive type of ancient painted pottery discussed; but his conclusion that this pottery was made by a pre-Tibetan population of "Dards" is challenged and the weakness of his evidence demonstrated.

The author describes his own pottery finds: similar to Francke's in Lower Ladakh; but both similar and different in Upper Ladakh where Francke apparently found no pottery. All this pottery is then considered in the light of the author's studies of the forts of Ladakh (including some as yet unpublished results), as well as other evidence, and a new dating is proposed.

The Scope of Tourism in the Kargil District of Ladakh Region

Jaffar Akhoo Mohd.
Kargil

In the past, the Kargil District—with the exception of Zangskar—has not been a popular destination for tourists to Ladakh. This is partly a result of the lack of literature on the area, as compared to Leh District, and partly because domestic and foreign tourists have tended to show a greater interest in the predominantly Buddhist, rather than the Muslim regions. Therefore, the main purpose of this paper is to put Kargil on the tourist map by pointing out important highlights of the District, such as the extensive possibilities for mountaineering and trekking, and the great cultural variation characteristic of Kargil District.

The Wrath of Rahu: Remarks on the Observation of Solar and Lunar Eclipses in Ladakh

Michael Khoo
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Boulder, CO

Tsering Norbu Martsepa
Leh

In Ladakhi cosmology, solar and lunar eclipses are attributed to the activities of Rahu, the enemy of the sun and moon. Rahu also represents the mathematical and astronomical concepts associated with the calculation of eclipses. In this matter, as is generally the case with the celestial sciences, Ladakh follows the Tibetan system of calculation, known as *skar risis*.

Skar tsis is used in many situations in which the world of humans has to be brought into harmony with

the wider cosmos. It identifies auspicious or inauspicious times, dates and directions for a wide range of activities; and it can also, in the form of the annual almanac known as the *lo tho*, provide a wealth of information regarding the many cosmological cycles which flow through each day. The movements and stages of these cycles can be interpreted, and prognostications and diagnoses made, regarding many aspects of life, such as births, marriages, deaths, auspicious times to move house, plough a field, go on a journey, and so on. The *lo tho* will also carry other cosmological information, for instance the position of the sun and moon in relation to the stars, and when an eclipse is forecast for the coming year, the *lo tho* will describe when that eclipse will occur. I will provide three examples of such predictions, one from a *lo tho* published in Leh, and two from *lo thos* published in Lahaul.

Csoma Körösi's Guides in Tibetan Learning from rDzong-khul dGgon-pa, Zangs-dkar

P. J. Marczell
Genève

In the title of his Tibetan-English Dictionary, Alexander Csoma Körösi (1784?-1842) specified that it had been "prepared, with the assistance of Banda Sangs-rgyas Phun-tshogs, a learned lama of Zangskar, during a residence at Kanam, in the Himalaya Mountains, on the confines of India and Tibet. 1827-1830."

Biographers have established, among other things, that (1) Csoma had also benefited of the assistance of two other lamas, *Kun-dgah-chos-legs* and *Tshul-khrims-rgya-mtsho*; (2) all three had written treatises for him upon his expressed request [between June 1823 - October 1824]; (3) *Kun-dgah-chos-legs* had been the abbot of *rDzong-khul dGon-pa* but the third could not be identified beyond his name, quality (*rab-hbyams-pa*= doctor of philosophy who had spent 25 years at Lhasa) and age (65). There is still much confusion about the lamaistic status of *Sang-rgyas-phun-thsogs*, the religious order of *Kun-dgah-chos-legs* and Csoma's monastic indebtedness in *Zangs-dkar*.

Focusing on the so called Alexander Books and their authors, the lecture identifies the mysterious third author, explains his place in the *hBrug-pa bKah-brgyud* lineage of *rDzong-khul* abbots shining forth with great intellectual and spiritual prestige and presents slides of his statue among those of his *Zangs-dkari* peers. It is based on research on the spot in 1993 and on texts unknown to specialists, obtained from *blonpo Bsod-nams dBang-phyug, dKar-sha*.

Ritual and Communal Identity Among the Shi'a Population of Leh Township, Ladakh

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This paper will examine the ways in which the annual Muharram rituals celebrated in Leh Township, Ladakh have functioned in recent years to mediate communal relations among Shiç, Sunni, and Buddhist populations of the region. I will draw on my personal observation from fieldwork done in Leh during three Muharram seasons (1995, 96, and 97) recording what I myself witnessed and describing interviews I had with Leh's residents from among the Muslim and non-Muslim populations.

The origin of Leh's present communal situation can be traced to the 1830s, when the independent Buddhist kingdom of Ladakh was conquered by the Dogra forces of the Raja of Jammu. Subsequently, during the paramountcy of the British Raj, Ladakh was made part of the 'native state' of Jammu and Kashmir. As Crossette pointed out in a recent publication, this has meant that since Indian Independence, Ladakhi Buddhists have come to be a "minority within a minority," ruled from Muslim-majority Srinagar, which in turn is administered by Hindu-majority Delhi. Van Beek and Bertelsen have described how Ladakhi aspirations for autonomy from Jammu and Kashmir came to be communalised, with the implicit equation: Ladakhi equals Buddhist, thereby leaving out of consideration long-term Muslim residents of Ladakh. Communal tensions rose during the 1970s and 1980s as Ladakh was gradually opened to tourism and increasing numbers of Kashmiri Muslim entrepreneurs arrived to develop Leh's hotel business and other tourist-related trades. Matters came to a head in 1989 when communal riots broke out in Leh; thereafter the Ladakhi Buddhist Association declared a "social boycott" against Muslim residents in Leh.

My paper will investigate how communal tensions have affected Leh's annual Muharram observances. According to my informants in Leh, until 1989 very few Sunnis participated in the 'Ashura jalus (the public procession held in honor of the Karbala Martyrs); but with the imposition of the "social boycott" Sunnis joined the jalus in vastly increased numbers. Nevertheless, in part because of a history of Sunni-Shi'a tension within the local Muslim population, Leh's Sunnis have insisted on participating in Muharram in a way that distinguishes them from their Shi'a neighbors (the difference in ritual performance are concerned partly with matam, gestures of mourning/self-mortification). Since the end of the social boycott in 1992, Sunni-Shi'a collaboration in Muharram has continued; but I was impressed to see, during my fieldwork, that Leh's Shia's have begun inviting members of the Ladakh Buddhist

Association to their Muharram majalis (lamentation-assemblies). My paper discusses how Leh's Muharram rituals function: as a means of self-definition and reconciliation both within the Muslim population and across the boundaries of Muslim-Buddhist communitarianism.

Balawaristan—Imagining a Nation in the Northern Areas of Pakistan

Martin Sökefeld
Hamburg

The purpose of this paper is to analyse the nationalist imagination that has emerged in the Northern Areas of Pakistan and to put it into historical and political perspective.

Since the late 1980s a number of local political parties have been engaged in developing and disseminating nationalist imaginations that represent the people of the Northern Areas as a nation defined by territory, common historical experience and certain cultural markers. This nation is imagined as essentially different and separate from Pakistan (by which the region is presently administrated) and Kashmir (to which the region is said to have formerly belonged). The political parties pursuing this national imagination put themselves into the historical continuity of the "freedom fighters" of 1947 who revolted successfully against the rule of Kashmir in the then Gilgit Agency and achieved its provisional accession to Pakistan. Due to the unresolved Kashmir dispute, this provisional accession has hitherto not been turned into complete merger with Pakistan. Consequently, the inhabitants of the Northern Areas suffer from a number of political discriminations: they are subjected to a special administration with very limited rights for political participation and they are denied access to casting the vote for constitutional institutions of Pakistan like the Supreme Court and the National Assembly.

The continuous struggle since 1947 for equal rights within Pakistan has been turned into a demand for self-determination and (by some groups) for separation from Pakistan. This demand is expressed and legitimated by national imaginations. One of these imaginations calls the nation "Balawar" (from Persian "bala," high, i.e. "the people of the heights") and its country "Balawaristan." It is an attempt to construct a homogeneity of a diverse population or better, in the logics of the imagination, to dig out an essential homogeneity covered by a mass of heterogenous identities that have partially been imposed on the people by dominating foreign powers. Thus, the project has to be analysed in a field of contested identities.

Hanu Village: A Symbol of Dard Resistance

Sonam Phuntsog
Achinathang

This paper outlines the history of political relations between the village of Hanu and the state of Ladakh. Based on several years of research and residence in Hanu, it presents an ethnographic and archival account of social, religious and political processes of identity formation, modes of resistance to dominant ideologies, and the impact of these struggles on the contemporary culture of this region.

Population and Economy in High Altitude Regions of Ladakh, Spiti and Lahaul: Comparative Study of Three Villages.

Harjit Singh (harjit@jnuv.ernet.in)
New Delhi

Many Himalayan and trans-Himalayan regions remained in relative isolation for a long time. They evolved their own cultures and modes of sustenance in tune with local environmental needs and compulsions. Ladakh, Spiti and Lahaul are among such regions where people lived under difficult environmental conditions and developed their socio-demographic and economic set up, which shows strong regional specificities. Though a number of trade routes of ancient and medieval Asia passed through these areas linking them with adjacent territories, they did not have corrupting influence on the society to any significant extent. Major cultural influences on these areas has come from Lamaistic Buddhism of Tibet. However, there have been tremendous external influences in the recent past originating from variety of sources. Realisation of strategic significance of these border areas after 1962 and as a consequence, the building up of infra-structure especially for transport and introduction of tourism after 1974, have been important factors of change which had major impact on population and on the economy. Ladakh came into limelight after the Indo-China border dispute of 1962 resulting in the movement of a large contingency of the Indian Army. Ladakh was opened to tourism in 1974 and has become a major foreign tourist destination since then. Spiti remained more isolated and was opened to tourism only in 1992. Like Ladakh, Spiti retains its strong Lamaistic Buddhist tradition. It started undergoing some change after it was linked by two roads in the 1970s—one through Rohtang Pass and other from Kinnaur. Lahaul underwent major changes with construction of Manali - Keylong road across Rohtang pass in early 1970's which has recently been extended up to Leh in Ladakh. This brought about major changes in agricultural land-use and Lahaul has become an important producer of seed-potatoes for commercial purposes. Recently, hop cultivation has been introduced. Three villages, one each from these

areas were chosen for detailed study. These include Sabu from Ladakh, Rangnik from Spiti and Goshal from Lahaul. All three villages are situated close to the main administrative centres of the respective regions and are economically better off. The study is based on household level data collected through field survey covering 21 households of Sabu (Ladakh), 55 of Rangnik (Spiti) and 42 households of Goshal (Lahaul). Analysis has been done of family size and pattern, age and sex composition, literacy and education levels. The economic parameters studied include land ownership and inequalities therein, cropping patterns and livestock resources. Inter-village and inter-household disparities have been seen and correlation indices calculated to explain the variations. An attempt has also been made to comprehend the perception of the inhabitants regarding change and to estimate their aspirations from recent development.

Borrowed Language: Mimicry or Integration of Modern Concepts

Bettina Zeisler, *Berlin*

Well educated Ladakhis might be illiterate in their own language. Loanwords sneak into everyday conversation: *tem* (time) for *tus*, *magar* and *lekin* (Urdu) for *inang* (but), happy for *skitpo*, table for *choktse*, *let* (light, electricity) for *ot* and *hlok*, *on-coces*, *ban-coces* for to turn on or off. Left unattended, this might lead to a complete language shift, as it happened for the first Dardic inhabitants of Ladakh colonized by the Tibetans. Today, only few Dardic speakers are left.

Cultural novelties, however, might be integrated into the language by using its inner devices. Ladakhi has the possibility to produce compound words offering quite a speaking description of the entity they refer to. This technique was already used for translating Buddhist texts from Sanskrit.

Education in the native language is indispensable for a small speech community. However the medium should be Ladakhi not Classical Tibetan, which is no longer spoken for lay purposes. Ladakhi has had its own development. Differences can be seen in semantics, phonology and grammar, cf. the formation of verb stems for Classical Tibetan and Ladakh "to give":

	present	past	future	imperative
CT		gtong-ba	btang gtang	thong
L		tang-ces tang	--	tong

As long as there is a choice between passive mimicry of western life and integrating the modern concepts actively into the own culture, the second alternative should be chosen. To a certain degree it is possible to revert the process of assimilation and to substitute loanwords that have been used for a long time. But these efforts will only show fruits if many Ladakhis become devoted to it.

In addition to these papers, the following for which no abstracts are available, were presented:

Foremost Teachers of Successive Kings of Ladakh

Nawang Tsering Shakspo

Leh

Revisiting the Golden Past: Economic conditions during the Dogra regime, 1838-1947

Abdul Ghani Sheikh

Leh

Hill Council and the Prospects for Sustainable Development in Leh District

Sonam Dawa

Leh

Development Issues in Kargil District

Raza Mohd.

Kargil

Power Development through Non-conventional Energy Sources

Jigmet Namgyal

Leh

Women's Development and Education in Kargil District

Kaneez Fatima

Kargil

Women's Development in Ladakh

Spalzes Angmo

Leh

Problems of Education in Leh District

David Sonam Dawa

Leh

**Conference on Fertility Transition in Nepal: Changing Context and Dynamics
Kathmandu November 25-26, 1997**

*Organised by the Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University and Family Health International
Sponsored by the U.S. Agency for International Development*

Dr. Shyam Thapa, senior scientist at Family Health International, welcoming prominent demographers and social scientists from around the world and highlighting the objectives of the conference, said that the changes in fertility are a major social transformation in Nepal making family planning programmes more effective. Director of the Health Transition Centre at Australian National University, Professor John C. Caldwell in his keynote address mentioned that well-designed family planning programmes play an instrumental role as facilitator of the mass transition to lower fertility in a society. He further suggested that the changes in childbearing be examined in the context of ongoing changes in social, cultural and economic and political aspects of a society. Dr. Kalyan R. Pandey, Director of General Health Services, Ministry of Health (HMG), pointed out that progress brings new challenges and demands. He added that after many years of efforts, the population and family planning programmes have a significant impact, which must be taken as a success. Dr. Glen Post, Chief of the Office of Health and Family Planning, USAID, remarked that on the basis of periodic evaluation, the momentum gained in providing services to couples needs to be expanded. He also pointed out that the studies in Nepal and elsewhere have established that family planning significantly contributes to reducing maternal mortality and improving child survival. Speaking from Chair, Dr. Kamal K. Joshi, Vice Chancellor of Tribhuvan University, said that social and economic changes have important effects on birth rates and population growth. He pointed out that therefore the university timely established Central Department of Population Studies to combat population

explosion in Nepal. Dr. Prem K. Khattry, Executive Director of CNAS highlighted the recent social and cultural changes in Nepal.

Speaking to the press, Dr. Robert D. Retherford, Professor at the East-West Center, said that periodic national surveys over the last two decades signalled that smaller family size is underway and that the data confirmed that decline in fertility has started in Nepal. Professor John Cleland of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine remarked that changes in childbearing needs to be examined in the context of ongoing social, cultural, economic and political changes in society. He went on to comment that diffusion of ideas and motivation to control fertility are important ingredients of change in childbearing patterns.

INAUGURAL SESSION

Welcome and Objectives of the Conference

Shyam Thapa

Senior Scientist at Family Health International

Remarks

Prem K. Khattry

Executive Director, Centre for Nepal and Asian Studies

Remarks

Glenn Post

Chief, Office of Health and Family Planning, USAID

Remarks

Kalyan R. Pandey

Director General of Health Services, Ministry of Health, HMG

Keynote Address

John C. Caldwell

Closing Remarks from Chair

Kamal K. Joshi

Vice Chancellor of Tribhuvan University

Vote of Thanks

Ram Hari Aryal

SESSION I: FERTILITY LEVELS AND TRENDS

Fertility Trends in Nepal: An Analysis Based on Censored Cohort Parity Progression Ratio
Ajit Pradhan
Fertility Trends in Nepal, 1977-1995
Robert D. Retherford and Shyam Thapa

SESSION II: MACRO AND MICRO LEVELS PERSPECTIVES ON CHANGES IN FERTILITY

Tamang Transitions: Transformations in the Culture of Childbearing and Fertility among Nepal's Tamang
Dilli R. Dahal and Thomas E. Fricke
The Onset of Fertility Decline in Urban Nepal: A Comparative Case of Kathmandu City
Ram H. Aryal
Socioeconomic Determinants of Fertility: A Comparative Analysis of the Data from 1976 and 1996
Laxmi Bilas Acharya

SESSION III: DETERMINANTS OF FERTILITY

Geographic Patterns of General Fertility Ratio in Nepal: Change and Implications
Bhim P. Subedi

Effects of Child Loss on Subsequent Fertility in Nepal
Prakash D. Pant
Social and Economic Change, Women's Autonomy and Timing of First Birth in a Semi-urban Community in Nepal
Devendra P. Shrestha

SESSION IV: WOMEN'S STATUS AND REPRODUCTIVE BEHAVIOUR

Women's Autonomy and Reproductive Behaviour in Urban Nepal: Insights from a Micro Study
Bhanu Niraula and Dovan Lawati
Understanding Fertility Transition: Back to Basics
S. Philip Morgan, Bhanu Niraula, Shara Neidell and John Cleland

PANEL DISCUSSION

Towards Understanding of the Pace and Dynamics of Fertility Transition in Nepal and Need for Future Research

All the Papers presented at the conference will be published in the forthcoming special issue of *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*.

**The Linguistic Society of Nepal, 18th Annual Conference
Kathmandu, Nepal November 26-27, 1997**

INAUGURAL SESSION

Welcome and Highlight of the conference

Bijay K. Rauniyar, Secretary/Treasurer

Inauguration and inaugural address

Kamal K. Joshi, Vice Chancellor

Tribhuvan University

Presidential Address

Tej Ratna Kansakar

Presentation of *Nepalese Linguistics* to

Chief Guest

Remarks

Krishna B. Thapa, Chairman,
University Grants Commission

Vote of Thanks

Sundar Krishna Joshi, Vice President

Remarks of Chair

Triratna Manadhar, Dean

Institute of Humanities & Social Sciences, Tribhuvan University

SESSION I: PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMATICAL SYSTEMS

Chair: Ramawatar Yadav

Preliminary Study of Prosody in Dzongkha

Stephen A. Watters

The Phonological and Grammatical Features of Chamling Language

Bishnu Singh Rai

Honorific Verb Terminology in the Dolakha Dialect of Nepal Bhasa

Rudra Laxmi Shrestha

SESSION II: LANGUAGE CONTACT AND LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE

Chair: J. Prabhakar Rao

Sagarmatha: The Linguistic Conquest of Mt. Everest

Kamal P. Malla

Simplification and Mystification: The Cultural Context of the Development of Nepal Bhasa

Bert van den Hoek

Thangmi and Mahakiranti Hypothesis

Mark Turin

A Preliminary Sociolinguistic Survey of Sunuwar

Lal P. Rapacha

SESSION III: GRAMMAR AND DISCOURSE

Chair: Tej Ratna Kansakar

Proximate and Distant Past in Nepal Bhasa

Sunder Krishna Joshi

Epistemic Verbal Categories in Dzongkha

George van Driem
**Information-Flow Marking and Discourse
Considerations in Chepang**
Ross Caughley
Reciprocity in Kiranti
Madhav P. Pokharel

**SESSION IV: THEORETICAL AND
TYPOLOGICAL STUDIES**

Chair: Madhav P. Pokharel

**Linguistic Determinism and Social
Causation**

J. Prabhakar Rao
Markers of (In)Definiteness in Maithili
Ramawatar Yadav
Sense Relations
Shishir K. Thapit
**Where does the Nepali Complementizer -ki
come from?**
Sueyoshi Toba

PANEL DISCUSSION

Current Issues in Nepalese Linguistics

OTHER CONFERENCES

Himal Conference on South Asian Mediocrity

Kathmandu, Nepal
May 2-3, 1998

This conference was organised by Himal, the South Asian Magazine. The conference sought to identify and explain the levels of mediocrity found in all aspects of South Asian life, from scholarship, business, politics to media, architecture and public health. The gathering strove to survey the levels of mediocrity and understand why South Asians lag ever-further behind in terms of our economies, culture(s), intellectualism and self-image.

Scholars, specialists and generalists from across disciplines and national boundaries came together in Kathmandu to present papers that were not necessarily restricted by theme, country or philosophical orientation. All discussions were held in plenary, with a panel reacting to paper presentations followed by audience participation.

To know more, check Himal magazine or our web site. You may direct enquiries to:

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website: www.himalmag.com

Workshop on Techniques for Conflict Resolution Organised by RACHNA-SBMA

Dehradun, India
May 18 - 24, 1998.

Case Study I: Van Panchayats

Members of the SBMA office at Gairsain began the first case study by showing a film, "Jungle aur Jan-Vivad", that focused on a specific dispute between two Garhwali villages, Malsi and Sirhana, over the use of common 'civil land'. The dispute centred around a difference between owner rights (traditionally with Malsi) and user rights (traditionally with Sirhana). Participants learned that as Sirhana stopped paying traditional dues to Malsi, the latter village attempted to reclaim user rights--an impasse that made itself felt as a breakdown of traditional marital and other kinship relations between the two villages. Both decisions were taken by the respective Van Panchayats of Sirhana and Malsi. This initiated a discussion on Van Panchayats that was enhanced by the presence of the Sirhana Pradhan and members of the Sirhana Van Panchayat (representatives from Malsi were invited but did not attend).

As described by these participants, the roots of the conflict lie in policies that were first created by the colonial State, which instituted Van Panchayats in 1931, and then extended by the Government of India in 1976. The particular boundary dispute over a patch of civil land was exacerbated by confusion about (a) the classification of van panchayats, civil land and reserve forests, and (b) how to define the rights of local people for each of these categories. Such problems of classification are extended by the fact that the State operates here through two agencies--the Forest Department and the Revenue Department.

Case Study II: Rajaji National Park

The questions of the breakdown of traditional relations between the forest and people thanks to development policies; the need for a more flexible policy of 'participation' between State and local people arose again during our study of Rajaji National Park. The conflict, as it was presented to participants, centred around the marginalised people of the Park who were being resettled outside the protected area by the government, apparently for conservation purposes. These include the nomadic Van Gujjars as well as Tongias, Gothias and others.

Workshop participants were divided into three groups which examined different aspects of the case. One group visited a small Van Gujjar settlement within the Park which works closely with RLEK, a Dehradun-based NGO. Another visited the government resettlement programme of Gujjars (around 120 families) at Pathri, in Haridwar district. The third group was taken by another group, Garh Majdoor Sangharsh Samiti, to see peripheral villages that include Tongia as well as Van Gujjar settlements.

While discussing the visits the next day, participants found that the groups had radically different interpretations of the whole issue:

The Van Gujjars within Rajaji National Park were adamant that the traditional, nomadic, forest-based existence was their natural habitat. While certain aspects of development such as education, allopathic health-care, and active political engagement (including voting rights) seemed important benefits, they rejected a settled urban, semi-urban or farming lifestyle.

The Gujjars in Pathri were equally vocal in their support of the Forest Department's settlement program (particularly praising one dedicated head of the program). They told participants that the forest existence had denied them fruits of modernity that they now enjoyed, such as electricity, running water, stable livelihoods, upward mobility and an integration into the social mainstream.

The third group, who visited Buggawala, were told that Gujjars were a small fragment of the total population that was sustained by Rajaji National Park, and far from seeming to have an 'organic' relationship with the forest, they were seen by Tongia villagers as encroachers who had unfairly benefited from government policies, to the detriment of others.

Members of the Pathri community reiterated their argument while attending the workshop on May 19, remaining committed to the government policy of resettlement even though their faith hinged on one forest officer that they found trustworthy.

Case Study III : Tehri Dam

The conflict over the Tehri Dam issue, one that has historically been a far more visible and politically volatile issue than the previous two case studies, also hinges around resettlement. In this case, the construction of the dam, projected to be the highest in the world, will submerge 24 villages and one bustling town in the area, displacing inhabitants. Critics of the project also point to possible ecological calamities such as large-scale siltation, and the build-up of seismic activity that would in turn break the dam, inundating hundreds of villages and important cities along the Ganga. Another important criticism centres around the quality control of the dam.

Workshop participants visited the site of the Tehri Dam twice and spoke to proponents of different positions on the dam: the veteran Gandhian environmentalist, Sunderlal Bahuguna, and representatives of the THDC (Tehri Hydro Development Corporation) which oversees work on the dam. They also visited Sirain, one of the villages that will be submerged.

Bahuguna and those associated with him believe that the construction of the Tehri Dam would mean the effacement of local culture; that ecological catastrophe would arise from such a large-scale project; that patterns of development should not be centralized and elitist; and fundamentally, that development should not take place at the expense of anybody. They point at discrepancies between the government-sanctioned geological survey and others to bolster the point that the Tehri Dam is extremely risky. The THDC, on the other hand, uses its own scientific reports to assert that the dam is safe from earthquakes up to 8 points on the Richter scale. The agency also highlights the huge economic benefits of the Tehri project. It also points out the success of the resettlement policy, particularly in New Tehri.

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International Convention of Asia Scholars (ICAS)

Noordwijkerhout, The Netherlands

June 25-28, 1998

This convention was a joint venture of the AAS and the Asia Committee of the European Science Foundation (ESF), in cooperation with the six major European Asian studies associations. The International Institute of Asian Studies (IIAS) in Leiden, which serves as the secretariat of the Asia Committee, organized the conference, working with the AAS.

For more information, visit the URL: <http://iias.leidenuniv.nl:80/conferences/icas>

The Hackneyed G-word: Governance and Democratisation in Nepal

Gambhir Bhatta

National University of Singapore

There was much to cheer about in Nepal in 1990. The ever-expanding global phenomenon of democratisation and pluralism had finally impacted Nepal, and a multi-party system replaced the absolute monarchy. Political structures and processes underwent fundamental alterations, and "democracy" had been born again. Eight years later, however, the euphoria has soured. The common perception is that the emergence of 'democracy' has not necessarily resulted in good governance, or for that matter, in economic development. The public is sceptical of the parties that have come to power, and the common citizen has not felt that life under the multi-party system has seen any improvements. What is the genesis of this transformation in public opinion? Why have not good governance practices been sustained? Why have the traditional political parties not been able to seize the initiative and foster an appropriate political culture and development in the country? This paper analyses these issues and argues that public accountability—one of the main pillars of good governance—is lacking. It also argues that mechanisms need to be put in place that will ensure political and bureaucratic accountability on the part of the politico-administrative establishment. In this regard, the paper will draw from some of the experiences of good governance practices in East Asia and assess their suitability for application in the South Asian context.

Autonomous Councils in India: Contesting the Liberal Nation-State

Selma K. Sonntag

Humboldt State University

Abstract: The paper begins by exposing the genealogy of autonomous councils in India. The origins of autonomous councils can be traced to the "excluded" and "partially excluded" areas of the British colonial state. Upon independence, a palimpsest of Nehruvian liberalism and nationalism was applied to these colonial border imaginings, resulting in the adoption of the Fifth and Sixth Schedules of the Indian Constitution. The Sixth Schedule provided for autonomous councils in the Assam region of the new Indian nation-state. I argue that this provision was based on a process of "Othering." By allowing for an anomalous institutional structure, i.e., that of autonomous councils, in the borderland, the "we" of the new Indian nation-state was refined. In the late 1980s, the concept of autonomous councils was extended beyond the Assam region to Darjeeling and then to Jharkhand. Now an autonomous council is being contemplated for Uttarakhand. Whereas previously the autonomous councils in Assam represented an anomaly to a spatially defined Indian nation-state, now these new autonomous councils represent the aporia of liberalism. Contestations of liberal understandings of citizenship in Darjeeling, of tribes in Jharkhand and of caste in Uttarakhand underlie their establishment. By tracing the conceptualization of autonomous councils in the Indian Constituent Assembly debates through to the debates over establishment (or contemplated establishment) of autonomous councils in Darjeeling, Jharkhand and Uttarakhand, I postulate that autonomous councils illustrate the contingency of the Indian nation-state and the non-totality of its supporting theoretical foundation.

Paradoxes of Recognition: Ladakh's Movement for Regional Autonomy

Martijn van Beek

Aarhus University

In recent years, regional autonomous councils have been set up in different parts of India, offering limited administrative and political control to local populations. In 1995, the Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Councils Act was passed in recognition of the "distinct regional identity" of the area. Taking into account also the declaration of Scheduled Tribe status for almost all people in Ladakh in 1989, the central government's policies towards the people of the area appear to recognize an already existing 'cultural diversity.' Using Ladakh as an example, I will argue that the structure of the Hill Council and ST status are aspects of a domestication of difference and institutionalisation of a communalist/culturalist logic that fetishizes 'cultural identity'. For Ladakh's political actors, interpreting their experience of central and state political practice, communalism came to be seen as a necessary strategy in order for a 'community' (Buddhists) to become recognizable, and the demand for autonomy justifiable. Despite the positive decentralisation of power, the justificatory discourse and institutional codification of 'identity politics' in the regional autonomy approach assume a singularity of cultural identity that is in fact their product. Consequently, they disallow the multiple, fluid, overlapping identifications that characterize the social, and foster the objectification of singular identities that is a prerequisite for 'ethnic' or 'communal' violence.

FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES

International Conference on Sustainable Tourism in the Next Millennium

Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal

September 7-10, 1998

The main objectives of this conference is to promote 'sustainable tourism' as a viable alternative in the major tourist destinations worldwide. More specifically, it aims to draw attention to the issues, opportunities and means to effectively deal with the complexities of sustainable tourism.

This international conference aims to bring in academics, entrepreneurs and government representatives from tourism and related disciplines to participate in a discourse on tourism processes, experience and prognoses. Sensitizing and creating awareness of the pros and cons of tourism at the local, national, regional, and international scale is one of the main objectives. It is hoped that drawing upon experience from various countries, the deliberations made in the conference will benefit the participants and their respective countries in effectively dealing with the complexities of emerging trends in domestic, regional and international tourism. Timely and adequate preparations and adjustments should become possible for the desired and undesired consequences of tourism in the next millennium.

This forum will also be one of the means to bring forward the perspectives on tourism from the academic and intellectual circle and will be a venue to interact with the business community, government, and non-government representatives. It will pave the way for conceptualizing, researching, and monitoring and evaluating future tourism projects nationally and internationally. The congregation of various tourism related professionals and discourses made therein will, indeed, have a positive impact in strengthening the tourism industry worldwide.

Conference Theme: **Process, Experience, Prognosis**

Topics:

Sustainable Tourism: Theoretical Considerations
Institutional Dimensions for Sustainable Tourism
Tourism Impacts: Development Environment Interface
Tourism Impacts: Economy and Culture
Mountain Tourism
Planning Sustainable Tourism in the Next Millennium
Synthesis, Prospects and Resolutions

Registration fees are due by 15 August 1998.

US \$100 (For International Participants from Countries other than SAARC)
NRS 2000 (For SAARC Member Countries)
NRS 500 (For Local Participants)

For further information please contact:

Conference Secretariat
Central Department of Geography
Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Kathmandu, Nepal
Tel: (977-1) 330329
Fax: (977-1) 331319
E-mail: cdg@wlink.com.np
<http://www.south-asia.com/icimod.htm>

15th European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies

Charles University, Prague

September 8-12, 1998

The conference is organized by the Institute of Indian Studies, Charles University, in cooperation with the Oriental Institute of the Czech Academy of Sciences,

the Institute of International Relations, the Naprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures and other institutions.

Relevant conference panels:

The First Century of British Rule in South Asia
Regional Development at the End of Empire
Regional Cooperation in South Asia/ Politic and Economic
Domestic Problems and Foreign Policy in South Asia
Rural Development in South Asia
Environment and Water Resources in South Asia
Democracy in South Asia / Multi-Party System
Decision Making at the Local Level
Human Rights
Gender Issues and Social Change
Hindu Art and Buddhist Art: Mutual Dependence and Common Legacy
Linguistics of South Asia

Details concerning accommodation, registration fees etc. are found on the WWW page
<http://www.ruk.cuni.cz/~dvorakj/southasia.html>.

Sustainable Tourism in the Next Millenium—Implications on the Environment, Economy, and Culture
Central Dept. of Geography (CDG), Tribhuvan University
September 7-10, 1998

For further info and flyer, contact:

Prof. Mangal Siddhi Manandhar
Central Dept. of Geography
Tribhuvan University
Kathamndu, Nepal
Fax: 977 1 331 319
email: cdg@wlink.com.np

A World Wide Web page detailing the conference program is in process.

1998 WAL's International Spin, Weave & Dye Workshop
Ladakh, India
September 11- October 2, 1998

The primary objective of this workshop is to bring together experienced spinners, weavers and dyers in a skill sharing exercise. Participants from Ladakh and our team members will come together during a seven day practical workshop. Sharing common interests and skills, this unique inter-cultural exchange of traditional and modern creative crafts through full "hands-on" participation, overcomes language and cultural differences.

The workshop will be run by experienced spinners, weavers and dyers who are members of the Women's Alliance in Ladakh (WAL). The WAL will be supported by Ladakh Ecological Development Group (LEDeG), a local organisation which was founded in 1984. LEDeG runs a wide-ranging programme of activities from agriculture to appropriate technology, handicrafts to village drama. The 1998 International Spin, Weave and Dye Workshop is the first of its kind in Ladakh, and we hope to make it an annual event.

For further information contact:

Emma Price
Ladakh 98
East Chase Farm
Chase Lane
Kenilworth, Warwickshire
CV8 1PR
United Kingdom

Representation of the Self and Representation of the Other in the Himalayas: Space, History, Culture. The First Annual Workshop of the European Network on Himalayan Studies
September 25-27, 1998
Meudon, France

Workshop is open to subscribers of the European Bulletin of Himalayan Research only.

For further information contact:

EBHR
UPR 299
CNRS
1 pl. A
Briand
92195 Meudon
France
email: himal.res@cnsr-bellevue.fr.

Mountain Meet '98: International Symposium on Environmental Management in Mountainous Regions
Rishikesh, Dehradun, India
October 4-7, 1998

Organised by the Department of Botany, Government Post Graduate Collage, Rishikesh, India

Contact:

Dr. Aravind Kumar
Organising Secretary
Department of Botany
Government Post Graduate College
Rishikesh 249210, India
TEL 0135 430495

**First International Conference Seminar on
Skanda-Murukan**
Madras, India
December 28-30, 1998

Sholinganallur Madras 600 119 India
E-mail: ias@xlweb.com
Fax: 91-44-496-0959

Conference home page:
<http://xlweb.com/heritage/murukan/index.htm>

For more information, contact:
Dr. G. John Samuel, Director of Research Programmes
Institute of Asian Studies

or:

Patrick Harrigan, Secretary
Murukan Conference Working Committee
Institute of Asian Studies, Madras
E-mail: harrigan@xlweb.com

**27th Annual Conference on South Asia
Madison. Wisconsin October 16-18, 1998**

(abstracts will appear in the next issue of Himalayan Research Bulletin)

Panel Topics

De-Scribing Travel in South Asia

The Politics of Difference in the Himalayan Region
Organized by Susan I Hangen, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*

Identifying Ladakh: People, Practices, Politics
Organised by Martijn van Beek, *Aarhus University*, and Kim Gutschow, *Harvard University*

Paper Titles:

Making Mongols in a National and Transnational Context: The Politics of Difference in Eastern Nepal
Susan I. Hangen, *University of Wisconsin-Madison*

Shifting Loads: Re-positioning Narratives of Travel
Ken MacDonald, *University of Toronto*

Nepali Nation-State in the Era of "Tribalism"
Pramod Mishra, *Duke University*

With and Against the Flow: The Varied Attractions of Pilgrimage to Trikuta, Jammu
Mark Rohe, *University of Chicago*

Liberal Narratives in the Himalayas
Selma K. Sonntag, *Humboldt State University*

Shopping for Legitimacy: Environment, Indigenosity, and the Hill People of Uttar Pradesh
Dave Stuligross, *University of California at Berkeley*

The Politics of Hill Council in a Marginal Place
Kim Gutschow, *Harvard University*

A Uniquely Marginal Place: Relocating Ladakh
Martijn van Beek, *Aarhus University*

Controversies Surrounding Shia Self-Mortification Practices in Leh Township, Ladakh
David Pinault, *Santa Clara University*

Searching for Ladakh: The GIGO Principle and Gossip from the Electronic Bazaar
Michael J. Khoo, *University of Colorado at Boulder*

Association of Asian Studies Meeting
 Boston, MA
 March 11-14, 1999.

Organizer and Chair: William F. Fisher, Harvard University

Participants: David Gellner, *Brunel University*, Susan Hagen, *University of Wisconsin, Madison*, Karl-Heinz Kramer, *University of Heidelberg*, Lauren Leve, *Princeton University*, Kathryn March, *Cornell University*, Mukta Singh Tamang, *Tribhuvan University*

Roundtable Abstract: The Politics of Culture and Identity in Contemporary Nepal

In the wake of the 1990 "restoration" of democracy, ethnic activism has become a prominent and, for some, an alarming part of Nepal's political arena. The "janajati" movement is composed of a mosaic of social organizations and political parties dominated by groups of peoples who have historically spoken Tibeto-Burman languages. This movement has reshaped political discourse in Nepal by persistently challenging the previously-accepted dominant view of national culture, religion, and language, and by presenting a potentially revolutionary vision of Nepal as a multi-cultural, multi-linguistic, and multi-religious nation. This conflict pits anger and resentment about the two-hundred-year-

history of economic, political, and cultural dominance of Nepal by high-caste hill Hindus against fears that Nepal is on the verge of violent disintegration that would make it another Sri Lanka or Yugoslavia.

This roundtable brings together scholars who have conducted extensive research on different dimensions of the janajati movement to share their perspectives, explore the divergent and sometimes contradictory modes of activism in the janajati movement, and to discuss the changes that are occurring as new organizations emerge, actors reposition themselves, and new issues arise. The roundtable has two goals: first and most immediately, to explore in some depth the complex and changing nature of relationships among various actors, social organizations, political parties, and local populations involved in and affected by the janajati movement in Nepal; and secondly, to seek a framework for analyzing this and similar movements in South and Southeast Asia.

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ANNUAL CONFERENCES CALENDAR

CONFERENCE	APPROXIMATE DATES	ABSTRACT DEADLINE
American Academy of Religion	Weekend before Thanksgiving	1 March
American Anthropological Association	Early December	1 April
Association of American Geographers	Early April	1 September
Association for Asian Studies	Early April	1 August
South Asian Conference	3rd Weekend October	15 May

We ask scholars who plan to present papers or organize panels for conferences to notify HRB sufficiently early to allow us to include your plans in the HRB.