There seems to be not so much an encompassment of the opposite of purity but a more direct and at the same time more independent, reciprocal balancing relationship between the two. For example, how is modern education influencing the perspective on traditional knowledge?

NEWS

Conferences

Human Rights Violations in the Himalaya - The Domination of Elites
6-10 December 1991, Kathmandu

As a result of democratisation in Nepal and the newly gained freedom of speech, it is now permitted to discuss potentially explosive topics in public. Between the 6th and 10th December 1991 in the Hotel Vaja (Kathmandu), about 100 human-rights activists, environmentalists, politicians, journalists and scientists from all over Nepal, as well as from Ladakh, Garwhal, Sikkim, Bhutan (refugees), Tibet (refugees), Germany, England and the Netherlands met to examine critically human rights problems and the dominance of elites: the meeting was organized by NGOs such as Nepal Watch (Berlin) and the Peace Movement Nepal, Lalitpur.

In an unusually free atmosphere there were discussions on human rights and human rights violations connected with the following topics: environment, health, peace, education, language, access to information, freedom of speech, political participation, women, children, bonded labour, religion, culture, rights of ethnic minorities, land conflicts, racism, aid foreign aid, foreign media and tourism. From the discussion it became obvious, how much ethnic minorities (who in some cases are not 'minorities' at all) in the Himalaya feel politically, economically and culturally oppressed. Above all, religious elites and centralist governments in Delhi, Kathmandu, Thimphu and Beijing were held responsible for transforming ethnic groups into aliens. As to Nepal, it is not even known how many ethnic groups there are exactly, and what percentage of the total national population the members of these groups represent. Tamang spokesmen, for example, estimated that they represented 17% of the total population, and non-Hindus altogether about 75%. In the conference they stressed that as long as the Nepalese constitution proclaimed Hinduism a state-religion, many people would not reveal that they actually belonged to another religion: the disadvantages would be too great.

Massive human rights violations were reported anew from Tibet and Bhutan. In both cases there was no reaction from India or Nepal. In the case of Bhutan there has even been no reaction worldwide. About 70,000 Nepalese Bhutanese people here had to flee Bhutan, and it is said that 300 come each day to seek help in the refugee-camps in eastern Nepal. From Tibet also about 300 people escape monthly to Nepal, there often being maltreated, extorted and robbed.

The participants at the meeting agreed upon the following statement (interestingly the demands in connection with the situation in Tibet were not reported on by the government).

We call on the Governments concerned to ensure equality of all ethnic, social, religious and linguistic groups, and to take appropriate measures to enable members of all these groups to participate fully in society and in decision-making processes. Surveys should be conducted to determine the size and living conditions of the various ethnic groups in the region.

The constitution of any country should not promote, safeguard, or grant preferential treatment to any particular religion.

The right to a healthy environment is the most fundamental of human rights. Governments concerned should take appropriate measures to prevent the further destruction of the environment. We strongly urge Governments to set up environment protection units and proper laws.

Governments should ensure that education is available in the mother tongue of different ethnic groups, at least at primary level. They should make available existing resources, including teachers and materials, to enable this to take place.

Governments in the Himalayan region that do not have a language policy and planning should initiate such measures.

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child should be implemented. Special measures should be taken to improve the lives of women and to prevent their continued exploitation.

Communication through the media of announcements, reports and official Government statements should be in the languages of the people.

We call for the increased awareness of, and support for, the plight of the Tibetan people in their struggle for the restoration of their human rights, including the right to self-determination.

The world community should extend support and solidarity to the ongoing movement for human rights, justice and democracy in Bhutan, and should provide relief measures and protection to the refugees in India and Nepal.

The protection and rights of all refugees in the region should be guaranteed under the international laws concerned.

Finally, it was proposed and accepted that a Himalayan Network be established to monitor, promote and document the human rights situation in the Himalayan region. It will be called "Peace Himalaya" with its headquarters in Kathmandu.

Ludmilla Titing

SOAS Conference Review


Since 1981, four meetings on Ladakh have been held in Europe, more recently in connection with the International Association for Ladakh Studies. The fifth, to have been held in Ladakh, was postponed, but another opportunity for a meeting of Ladakh scholars was recently provided by a commemorative event to mark the 150th anniversary of the death of the Hungarian scholar Alexander Csoma de Kórös. Csoma compiled a Tibetan-English dictionary, a Tibetan grammar and a Tibetan-Sanskrit dictionary of Buddhist terminology, and he is considered to be one of the early founders of Tibetan studies in the west. Some of his work was carried out during the 1820s from the monasteries of Zangla and Phuktal in Zanskar.

This two-day conference held at SOAS and organised by Philip Denwood, drew scholars from several countries in Europe including Hungary, Csoma's homeland. The theme of Csoma's life and work provided a focus for examining anew Ladakhi history and its sources, and it was this fresh, yet critical, historical perspective that characterised the spirit of the conference.

In 1819 Csoma, with 14 languages already at his command, set out on an epic journey across Asia with hopes of discovering the ancient homeland of the Hungarian people and the origins of their language. This he failed to achieve, but by 1822 he had reached Ladakh. At Dras he encountered William Moorcroft, a veterinary surgeon working for the East India Company, whose official mission it then was to procure horses from Central Asia and improve the Company stud. Moorcroft was concerned to further scholarship in the field of Tibetan language and literature because of its potential value in establishing commercial and political relations, and he recommended that Csoma study Tibetan and secured him financial assistance for this task.
In 1823 Csoma set off for Zanskar, equipped with a gift of Moorcroft's copy of the Alphabetum Tibetanum, a voluminous work compiled in 1762 by the Augustinian, A Giorgi. This important work which was to form one of Csoma's few sources, was discussed in a paper by Elisabeth Toth (Budapest). With the assistance of Sanye Phuntsog, the head lama of Zangla monastery, Csoma thus began his study of Tibetan language and literature.

Two conference papers highlighted the significance of Moorcroft's contribution to Tibetan scholarship, and to Ladakh studies in particular. In a colourful account of some of the rivalries among the scholars engaged in Tibetan studies at that time, Geza Bethenyfalvy (Budapest) suggested that Moorcroft's role has been generally underestimated.

HH Wilson, secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, edited Moorcroft's journals and letters, and these were published in 1837 as Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Panjub; in Ladakh and Kashmir; in the Panjub, Kabul, Kunduz, and Bokhara'. Nicola Grist (London) concentrated on Moorcroft's Travels', as a historical source. Its value derives from being one of the only accounts of Ladakh as it was prior to the Dogra invasions of the 1830s, but also from a genuine interest in the local economy, agricultural practices, and political relations. This interest emerges in the attention to detail: the account abounds in rich anecdotal material gleaned from encounters with named individuals.

However, an examination of the style in which the book is written, reveals an 'orientalist' discourse which underlies much 19th century writing. Moorcroft's fondness for Ladakhis is expressed in familiar stereotypes. He is sympathetic to the Buddhists but is more condescending about the Muslims and this anticipates the prejudiced and uncritical attitudes of some later western writers on Ladakh.

The emergence of the Sikh power in the Punjab in the early part of the 19th century and the extension of British rule after the Anglo-Nepalese war of 1814-6, brought about a period of upheaval and change in the North West Himalaya. The political alliances of petty chieftains and kingdoms were shifting. In 1820 the Dogras from Jammu had conquered Kishwar and reached Ladakh's southern border, whilst in the upper Sutlej valley there was a British presence. Moorcroft's arrival in Ladakh was believed to be linked to an attempt to divert the trade in shawl wool from Ladakh to British territories. In fact Moorcroft tried, unsuccessfully, to obtain British protection for Ladakh.

The fragile weave of political allegiance and tension linking and dividing neighbouring territories at that time is described in a paper by Bernard Le Calloc'h (Paris). He traces the footsteps of Csoma's journey through Ladakh and into Zanskar, where he stayed for a year, and graphically describes the political situation of the various regions Csoma traversed when he left Zanskar in 1824. Csoma had agreed to pass the winter in Kulu with his teacher Sanye Phuntsog. When the lama failed to appear, he proceeded through Mandi to British-Indian territory at Sabathu.

With Moorcroft's letters of recommendation he hoped to be well received, but was only treated with suspicion and delayed further. Once he had obtained the monthly allowance he needed to continue his work, he journeyed back to Zanskar and resumed his studies at Phuktal monastery.

The Dogras of Jammu were a feudatory of the Sikh rulers of the Punjab. Their eventual penetration of Ladakh was partly linked to the control of important trade routes. By 1842, they had established a decisive presence in the region which formed a watershed in Ladakhi history. The power of the monasteries weakened, trade underwent a short period of upheaval, the king was deposed, and Ladakh lost its independence once and for all. What we know of Ladakh dates largely from that time.

Accounts of the Dogra campaigns of the 1830s are few and not wholly reliable. By combining the three main existing accounts, and drawing on additional source material which has made it possible to fill in some of the gaps, Neil Howard (Warwick) presented a fuller and more coherent account of the Dogra campaign into Ladakh between 1834-39, illustrating the routes and strategies used. One of the points to emerge from his research, is that Ladakhi resistance to the Dogra invasions was probably greater than previously thought.

In 1842 the Dogras finally annexed Ladakh and signed a treaty with the Tibetans concerning the border between Ladakh and West Tibet, which the Dogras had tried, unsuccessfully, to invade. The border was restored to its previous position and old trading arrangements were resumed. From 1846, Ladakh's external relations were supervised by the British. Whilst no large-scale confrontations over the border were to occur for more than 100 years, the uncertainties surrounding it were evident at a local level, and disputes flared up from time to time.

Some of the disputes that occurred between 1890 and 1940 formed the subject of a paper by John Bray (London). These concerned the boundary near Pangong lake; the grazing rights of the communities living nearby; the status of Tibetan subjects in Ladakh territory; and entitlements in trade. The British, Kashmiri and Tibetan authorities failed to properly settle these disputes because of ignorance of local custom, and also because of cultural differences which led to different expectations of diplomacy.

Most accounts of Ladakh date from sometime after the Dogra invasion. One of the most prolific writers on Ladakhi culture was the Moravian missionary, AH Francke, described in a paper by Gudrun Meier (Dresden) as "a brother in spirit to Csoma". In the late 19th century work on the Chronicles of the Ladakhi kings had already begun, but was still incomplete. Interested as he was in Ladakhi history and literature Francke translated the Chronicles and carried out extensive work on the folk tradition; collecting and translating songs and stories.

He also worked on the documentation of rock carvings and other antiquities, commissioned by the Archaeological Survey of India.

As Gudrun Meier suggests, Ladakhi rock carvings are 'an open history book'. To read them correctly, however, is another matter. Among the more problematic legacies of Francke's work are his speculations about the early history of Ladakh, and its indigenous population. Here, Philip Denwood (London) suggests in his paper on The Tibetisation of Ladakh, we are in a realm of shadowy populations and languages. The Chronicles trace the history of the Ladakhi kings to the westward migration of descendants of the Tibetan monarch and aristocracy in the 10th century. The Tibetisation of Ladakh's culture is assumed to date from then. Recent work by Philip Denwood and Neil Howard on the very inscriptions that Francke examined, suggests that the influx of Tibetan influence was possibly as far back as the 7th century. Thus whilst the fact of Tibetisation is uncontroversial, its dating and a precise understanding of the process that actually occurred, have yet to be firmly established.

Another contribution relating to Ladakh's early history was the paper by Rohit Vohra (Luxembourg) on the Arabic inscriptions of the late first millennium engraved on boulders at Tangtse in east Ladakh.

A number of presentations about contemporary Ladakh illustrated its regional and ethnic diversity and some of the changes it is currently undergoing. Visitors will be aware of the deepening Buddhist-Muslim polarisation of recent years, but like some of the writers of the 19th century, their perceptions of this rift - and of the communities it separates - may be overly simple and objectifying. Pascale Dollfius (Paris) gave an account of the ethnohistory of Ladakhi Muslims, which provided a valuable corrective to some existing stereotypes, and highlighted the diversity of the Muslim communities of Ladakh, and their histories.

Kim Gutschow (Harvard) presented an
analysis of idioms and practices of residence and descent in Zanskar. James Crowden (UK) portrayed two very different aspects of contemporary Zanskar. He showed examples of its rich artistic heritage; ranging from early rock carvings to traditional Buddhist wall paintings. He also discussed some of the changes that have occurred in the region since the building of the road, a project which began in the 1960s. Its completion has made possible the supply of government food rations and reduced the likelihood of food shortages. At the same time it has increased surpluses in local produce that can be traded and generated other sources of income, especially tourism.

However tourism and development can also take their toll. Over the last ten years the art and architecture of the temple complex at Alchi have begun to show signs of serious decay. With the help of the Archaeological Survey of India, 'Projekt Save Alchi' led by Professor Roger Goeppe and Professor Jaroslav Poncar aims to preserve the murals of Alchi by weatherproofing the building and fixing the flaking paint surface. Professor Goeppe (Köln) talked about Stupa at Alchi, an important but neglected monument with a remarkable interior which evokes the image of a stupa suspended above the ground.

In his paper on variants of Ladaki song, Mark Trewin (London) discussed the elements of continuity and change which form part of the ongoing process of cultural life. Focusing on a song about the last independent pre-Dogra king of Ladakh, he was able to show that whilst the texts of certain categories of song display an extraordinary continuity thereby preserving central cultural values, there is a greater tendency to variation in the poetic through which such songs are interpreted, indicating changes in the emotional meanings attached to those values.

To return, finally, to the theme of Csoma's life. Whilst his work and its value, remain undisputed, how that is expressed and what meanings are attached to it, is a more complex matter. In his fascinating paper Peter Marczell (Geneva) discussed the issue of Csoma's bodhisattva status. In February 1933, the Hungarian Oriental Society presented Tokyo's Taisho University with a small statue of Alexander Csoma de Koros. The statue, made by the Hungarian Géza Csorba, represented the scholar sitting like an Amitabha Buddha and it was inscribed with the words, 'Körösi Csoma Sandor, Bodhisattva of the Western world'. It was on this occasion that the Japanese, according to the representative of the Hungarian Oriental Society, embarked on a rite of sanctification of the statue itself. Peter Marczell addressed the intriguing question of how this might have been understood at the time by the various parties concerned, and in doing so shed new light on Csoma's 'canonisation'.

Maria Phylactou

Structure and Transition: Society, Poverty and Politics in Nepal
4-6 September 1992, Kathmandu

After a break of several years this was the first time after the democratic changes that the Sociological/Anthropological Society of Nepal (founded in 1985) met "to show their potential in contributing to nation-building" (as pointed out by the president Kailash Nath Pyakurel) and discuss their role in society. It became clear that most of the researchers conceived their role as that of "social engineers" whose studies supply information for the planning of social and economic development, but there were also other more sceptical voices. In his keynote address on the first day Gopal Sinha of Nepal stressed that poverty, inequality, discrimination etc have to be studied as social processes within their specific cultural contexts. The process of modernization dominated the first panel on "Gender, Age and Identity", where a whole range of problems arising from the downfall and transformation of traditional sys-
their identity, and he thus criticized those
who thought that they could "remain dry
above the water." The following panel on
indigenous management of resources was
largely descriptive, presenting local systems of
forest, water, and land distribution from
different parts of Nepal. It was stressed that
such systems were drafted on the social
structure (e.g. Olivia Aubriot), and were
dependent on historical and political
circumstances (e.g. L.P. Upreti).

With "Development and Change" in
focus, some papers of the last session were
addressing pertinent issues of the contempo-
rary process in Nepalese society (social
change in the Terai; urban development in
the Kathmandu Valley; forms of adaptation
among Tibetan refugees in Pokhara), as well
as the role of social anthropology in
observing societal changes. In his well-
argued note on "State, Development and
Transformation" Chaitanya Mishra pointed
to the overwhelming "dominance of global
affairs over state affairs, and of state affairs
over societal affairs". As a counter-current,
he advocated the emergence of various
voices "effectively collaboratively by
scattered, small-scale, non-state end non-
capitalist and, therefore, relatively power-
less individuals and groups." Two
contributions directly focussed on the role of
social anthropology in view of the crucial
changes and problems within contemporary
Nepalese society: Padam Lal Devkota
presented an interesting and witty paper in
which he critically dealt with the current
state of social anthropology involved in
development issues in Nepal at the "grass-
root"-level. His verdict on the "state of the
art" was harsh: instead of being used to
facilitate the process of development, an-
thropology in Nepal is stagnating, as Nepa-
lese anthropologists have no time to do field-
work because there is too much work for
them as well-paid consultants. Devkota
addressed his critical remarks basically to
his own colleagues; Dilli Ram Dahal, on the
other hand, made Western
anthropologists the target of his critical re-
marks, accusing them of concentrating on
remote, "exotic tribes" and their culture,
instead of paying sufficient attention to
to pertinent problems.

On the whole, SASON's conference
was a successful presentation of the scope
of issues to be dealt with by the social sciences
in Nepal. It is one of the important
achievements of the conference that the
relationship between the social sciences and
the development process was repeatedly
brought into discussion, showing deficiencies
in the present orientation and discourse.
By and large, the conference was well-
organized. One may ask, however, whether
the chosen form of plenary sessions, without
a division into more specialised panels, was
best suited to initiate thorough debate. Still,
it is hoped that SASON's effort will be re-
peated and such gatherings will become a
more regular institution.

Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka,
Martin Gaensle

The Anthropology of Nepal: People,
Problems and Processes
7-14 September 1992, Kathmandu.

The conference was the sequel to the
seminar on the anthropology of Tibet and the
Himalaya held in Zürich in 1990. The
meeting was sponsored jointly by the Centre
for Nepal and Asian Studies, Kirtipur, and
by the Department of Anthropology, University of Sydney. Financial support was
provided by CNAS and by the Wenner-Gren
Foundation, and the task of organisation was
admirably handled by Michael Allen and
Nirmal Tuladhar.

Sessions were held concurrently in two
theatres, but a number of late cancellations
made it possible to reorganise presentations
into plenary gatherings. As it was, the
genius length of time allotted to speakers and
the organisers' idea of arranging tea-
breaks between papers permitted ample time
for questions and discussion.

Of the 68 papers scheduled, 51 were
presented under the following six rubrics:
urbanism in Nepal (10 papers), general
anthropology (10), women and develop-
ment (4), medical anthropology (6), the
state and the people (5) and the anthro-
polgy of resource management (16). The
last category contained the largest number
of papers scheduled, cancelled and actu-
ally presented. However, the imaginative
subject of the session by several speakers, as well as the wide range of other
categories, provided welcome assurance
that the anthropology of Nepal is not
dsynchronous with resource management
research.

A major difference between this
conference and its Swiss antecedent was
the near-absence of presentations
concerning Tibet (and even Tibetan-
speaking groups) and Himalayan regions
outside Nepal. If (as the popular vote
inclined) the sequel to this colloquium is
also held in Nepal, the geographical scope
might be widened again to include these
other regions. However, just as Nepal is not
identical with the Himalaya, the Himalaya
does not cover Nepal in its entirety. A
designation along the lines of "Nepal, Tibet
and the Himalaya" might allow suffi-
cient geographical latitude without
becoming too unwieldy.

The political changes that have taken
place in Nepal within the last two years
permitted both papers and discussions of a
freedom that probably has few precedents
in scholarly gatherings in the kingdom. As
an anthropological conference, the
meeting provided a natural forum for
exchanges concerning the oppression and
aspirations of Nepal's ethnic groups. A
discussion of Nepalese nationalism in
which all contributors stand on an equal
footing is certainly overdue, but some may
regret the tendency for the debate to be
stretched between two opposed poles: on
the one hand, the condemnation of Nepal's
high-caste rulers for their long oppression
of the nation's ethnic groups and, on the
other, accusations that the vindication of
ethnic identity is a divisive trend in modern
Nepal. Thus a reference in the welcome
address by Prof. D.P. Bhandari, executive
director of CNAS, to "nascent ethnic
gotism," elicited a sharply-worded
circular from the (unfortunately anony-

Foreigners tend easily to side with
oppressed groups in search of a voice, and
one sometimes feels - especially, perhaps,
since the publication of D.B. Bista's
Fatalism and Development - that an open
season has been declared on Brahmins. It
is certainly encouraging to see the anthro-
pology of Nepal occupying a corner of the
international "market-place of ideas"; it
should not be too much to hope that this
particular market will gradually cease to be
characterised by the barter of inventive
between individuals, and mature into a
commerce where exchanges are regulated by
the forces of the national - if not the
international - economy.

Charles Ramble

The Himalayan Forum at the London
School of Oriental & African Studies,
Autumn Term, 1992

In the autumn seminar series the following
papers were presented and discussed.

October 19 - Jane Carter (ODA): "Indige-
nous environmental knowledge: a case-
study from Dolakha district, Nepal."

November 2 - Lobsang Delek (China
Centre for Tibetan Studies, Beiing): "The
social organisation of nomads in
eastern Tibet."

November 9 - Joanna Pfaff-Czarnecka
(Zürich): "Lotteries as social order:
Nepalese peasants as night-watch-
men in Bangalore, South India."

November 23 - Michael Hutt (SOAS):
Obituary

It is with great sadness that we record the death of Martin Hofun and his collaborator Bill Raper in the Thai Airways' Airbus crash in Langtang, Nepal, on Friday 31st July 1992. Martin was completing his doctorate on Nepalese politics in the 1950s and 60s at the University of Oxford under Terence Ranger. The book he and Bill had written together on recent events in Nepal, entitled _Spring Awakening: the Nepali Revolution of 1990_, is currently in press with Penguin in Delhi. They planned further books on events in Bhutan and on the Shangri-la syndrome. Martin, a quadriplegic, never allowed his disability to impede his travel or his research. A Martin Hofun Fund has been set up by his friends, which his family hope will be used to help disabled students at his college and in Nepal. Anyone wishing to contribute should send cheques, made payable to Wadham College, to The Bursar, Wadham College, Oxford OX1 3PN, UK.

David Gellner

SYMPOSIA

Bhutan:
A traditional order and the forces of change

A Conference at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 22 - 23 March 1993

Bhutan is still one of the world's most secretive and least accessible countries. Although the Bhutanese government has taken various steps to modernize and develop the kingdom's economy and liberalize its administrative system, Bhutan remains cautious and somewhat aloof from the rest of the world. The only foreigners permitted into the country are a small number of aid personnel and a small quota of high-paying tourists. As a consequence, Bhutan's history, culture, demography and politics are still poorly documented. Even the size of the total population has not been established satisfactorily: up until 1988 the official government figure was over 1 million. The national census of 1998 came up with a figure of 600,000. There can be few countries where such uncertainty surrounds such basic matters.

As a remote Himalayan kingdom, Bhutan has inevitably been characterized in most westerners' accounts as 'the last Shangri-la'. But its reputation has been tarnished during the past three years by reports of human rights abuses committed among the substantial community of Nepali origin which resides in the southern foothills. According to official statistics, Bhutanese citizens of Nepali origin constitute about one third of the total population. The Bhutanese government therefore appears to believe that its unique cultural heritage is under threat. During the late 1980s, it revised its attitude to the Nepali minority and introduced a series of controversial integrative measures, while expelling large numbers of Nepalis whom it had identified as illegal immigrants. The Nepalis launched a movement which rapidly became politicized, calling not only for recognition of their communal rights, but also for radical changes in Bhutan's political system.

Views on this issue have become highly polarized and facts are hard to come by. There is a serious need for dispassionate analysis and constructive discussion, not just of the southern issue, but of every aspect of the traditional order of Bhutan which is currently under pressure from various forces of change. This conference is intended to provide a forum for such discussions. Each contributor to the conference will address him or herself to a description and analysis of some aspects of Bhutanese culture and society and to an assessment of the ways in which this is changing or might change in the future. The topics covered will include: Buddhist values and institutions; the status and role of the monarchy; nationalism and national values; relations with the outside world; the effects of tourism; views on conservation; language and literature; inter-ethnic-relations; traditional political processes; the role of national and international media; art and architecture, etc.

Probable and confirmed contributors, as of 1st October 1992, include:
Leo Rose (University of California): inter national aspects of the pressure on cultural policy OR the status and role of monarchy Nick Nugent (BBC World Service): on the difficulties of reporting Bhutan (provisional)
Françoise Pommaret (CNRS, Paris): the impact of Western ideas of tourism and conservation...