# INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR LADAKH STUDIES

# LADAKH STUDIES

# \_ 16, December 2001

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# **EDITORIAL**

I am happy to be able to offer another instalment of *Ladakh Studies* packed with information. This issue contains news items collected from Indian newspapers between August and December 2001. Tashi Morup supplied coverage of an interesting meeting at Leh between Kashmiri activist Shabir Shah and Ladakhi Buddhist and Muslim leaders.

As per tradition after a colloquium, this issue contains a complete set of abstracts of papers presented at the colloquium, as well as a report by John Bray. He has also contributed a particularly rich serving of bibliographic items, including brief descriptions of the contents of more recent issues of *Sheraza/Shes rab zom*, the journal of the Academy of Art, Culture and Languages at Leh. We thank Nawang Tsering Shakspo, the Director of the Academy's Leh branch, for supplying this information.

In addition to a short article about the role of Rahula Sankrtyayana in the establishment of Buddhist social reform organisations in Ladakh, this issue introduces a new feature in Ladakh Studies. In recent years there have been a few contributions which invited or sparked debate among readers. As *LS* wants to be a forum for discussion, we have taken the opportunity provided by a thought-provoking essay by Richard Lee to launch a regular section for "Issues for Debate". We would like to encourage members to engage the debates taken up there, and to contribute short pieces on matters that you feel should be addressed. Issues may be strictly academic or of a more public interest nature; the tone may be polemical, but should invite discussion.

As always, contributions of all sorts are invited from you. At the Oxford colloquium my editorship was extended, and I look forward to receiving many contributions from all of you. Only through your contributions can we continue to develop *Ladakh Studies*, so that it may meet your expectations and serve your needs better.

With best wishes for the water-horse year/2002.

### FROM THE HONORARY SECRETARY

I look back with particular pleasure at the 10th IALS conference in Oxford last September. The overall standard of the papers was high and, as ever, the conference was marked by its friendly, informal atmosphere. It was very encouraging to see a mixture of younger scholars attending their first IALS conference, together with more familiar faces. We owe a particular debt of thanks to my co-convenor, Clare Harris, to Francesca Merritt, and to the staff of Mansfield College. A more detailed conference report appears elsewhere in this issue.

Balwant Thakur (Secretary of the Jammu & Kashmir Cultural Academy) has offered to organise the next conference in Ladakh in 2003, and he will be ably assisted by Nawang Tsering Shakspo. The current proposal is that the main conference should take place in Leh, but that we should arrange a side visit to Kargil with a view to holding some of the sessions there. One of the themes that came up in Oxford was an insistence that Kargil must be recognised as part of Ladakh: it is therefore inappropriate to speak of 'Ladakh and Kargil' as though they were two separate entities. We hope to demonstrate our collective recognition of Ladakh's unity by operating in both towns. All these details will need to be confirmed in due course, and we will keep you informed of developments.

We hope to combine the proceedings of the 1999 Leh conference with the 2001 Oxford conference, possibly in two or more thematic volumes. We are still negotiating with publishers and, again, will let you know what emerges.

The other issues that came up at the conference business meeting included the IALS subscription: we intend to review this in the coming year once our finances are clearer. Martijn van Beek, who has done an excellent job in editing and raising the standards of Ladakh Studies, said that he would welcome assistance. We also plan to improve our website (currently www.uni-bonn.de/centrasia/IALSLS.html). Until now the main burden of the website has fallen on Thierry Dodin and he too would welcome offers of technical and other assistance.

The conference closed a day before the terrorist attacks on New York and Washington, and many participants had to delay their return journeys because of the disruption to flight schedules. The long-term repercussions of the attacks include heightened regional instability in South Asia and, once again, I find myself reading the news with particular concern for Ladakh. Despite these anxieties, I hope that 2002 will prove to be a good year for all our members individually, for the IALS and – in the long run – for Ladakh as a whole.

#### NEWS FROM LADAKH

#### CENTRE APPROVES RS 344 CR SOLAR PROJECT FOR LEH

Union Ministry of Non-Conventional Energy Sources has approved a project costing Rs 344 crore for the use of solar energy for installation of home lighting system in unelectrified villages of Leh district of Jammu and Kashmir in a phased manner. The proposal had been submitted by the Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council, Leh, an official spokesman said here on Monday.

He said the project included installation of home lighting system, solar lanterns for entire households of Ladakh, replacement of existing diesel generating sets with solar power plants, distribution of solar cookers, construction of energy efficient buildings and replacement of incandescent bulbs with compact fluorescent (CFL) for saving power.

In the first phase, he said, the Ministry of Non-Conventional Energy Sources has approved Rs 25 crore for installation of home lighting system and solar lanterns in unelectrified villages of Leh and Kargil district which will cover 7000 households of Leh district and 4000 households of Kargil district, the spokesman said.

#### LAHDC CONTEMPLATING AMBITIOUS PASHMINA PLANT

LEH, Aug 9: The Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council (LAHDC) is contemplating to set up an ambitious Pashmina processing plant in Ladakh which will not only be helpful for manufacturing various types of pashmina products of Changthang Sub Division but also built up a healthy income to the people of the region who are traditionally associated with world famous producing Pashmina wool.

This was stated by the Chief Executive Councillor, LAHDC, Mr Thupstan Chhewang while addressing a day long Pashmina Goat breeders conference held at Himya of Changthang Sub Division on Wednesday. The conference was organised by the Sheep Husbandry Department Leh.

Mr Thupstan stressed upon the Pashmina goat breeders of Changthang to take full advantage of the conference which were aimed to find out solution to the burning problems of the breeders through interactions at the conference. He also stressed to project viable schemes under BADP for transformation and development of Changthang Sub Division.

Addressing the conference, the Executive Councillor (Agriculture) Mr Tsultim Phuntsog sought the cooperation of the people of Changthang to promote and preserve the the traditional Pashmina producing area of Changthang by adopting latest technology for Pashmina processing and manufacturing. [...]

The Chief Executive Councillor, LAHDC also inaugurated the newly constructed community hall of Himya constructed at a cost of Rs four lakh by Rural Development Department. He also inspected the construction work of the Allopathic Dispensary Himya being constructed at a cost of Rs 50 lakh which will be completed by September this year. [...]

# INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATED AT LEH WITH GREAT FERVOUR

The Chairman and Chief Executive Councillor, Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council (LAHDC), Mr Thupstan Chhewang has hoisted the National Flag and took the salute at an impressive parade at the historic Polo-Ground at Leh on the occasion of Independence day celebrations today. Contingents of CRPF, JKP, JK Ladies Police, NCC Boys and Girls cadets, school children of Government and public schools took part in the march past.

Addressing on this occasion, the Chief Executive Councillor has cautioned the people of Ladakh against the external threats to destablize the unity and the integrity of the country. He said

that Ladakh region being a sensitive border area, the people of Ladakh have to take care and responsibility to foil the nefarious design of the country's enemy. He also appreciated for the constructive role played by the people of Ladakh in protecting the country's border during the period of war as well as peace.

Referring to the development of Ladakh, Mr Thupstan said that tremendous progress has been made in all sectors of development after the formation of Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council in 1995 with the active support and cooperation from the state as well as the Central Governments. He also mentioned that this year is being celebrated as Women's Empowerment Year and as such he appealed to the women folk of Ladakh to shoulder their responsibility in nation building activities.

Referring to the Prime Minister's Independence Day address to the nation today, Mr Thupstan welcomed for his speech reference of Ladakh for the assurance in safeguarding the interest of the people of this region. ["Today I wish to tell the people of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh that we feel your pain and agony. We have been making all efforts to remove them. We shall intensify the efforts that we have been making to bring normalcy to the state and to reach the fruits of development to its people," the Chief Minister said, according to a report in the *Daily Excelsior*. Ed.]

He also welcomed Prime Minister's announcement for implementation of special rural development programme and expressed hope that Ladakh will also receive due share under the programme for implementation of rural works in the district. He also thanked the Prime Minister for his assurance to remove the regional imbalances exist, if anywhere in the country.

The chief guest gave away prizes and trophies among the school children for participating in the march past and cultural programme. The Information Department and the Cultural Academy have also presented cultural programme on the occasion. About ten thousand spectators including men, women, school children and foreign tourists also witnessed the Independence day programme. Among those present on the occasion included Deputy Commissioner, Leh Mr Dheeraj Gupta, executive councillors, councillors, MLA, Mr T Dorje, leaders of political parties, community heads and religious organisations.

Independence day was also celebrated with great enthusiasm at Nyoma, Nobra and Khaltsi where the respective Sub-divisional Magistrate hoisted the national flag and took salute at the march past. National flag was also hoisted at Turtuk, Tangtse and Kharu blocks by the respective Naib-Tehsildars and BDOs.

#### STUDENTS STORM CM's PUBLIC MEETING VENUE IN KARGIL

On August 21st, angry school students demanding adequate teaching facilities, stormed the venue of a public meeting to be addressed by Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah in Kargil district and set ablaze the dais forcing him to cancel the engagement. The violence followed police lathi-charge and teargassing on a group of students of a local Government higher secondary school who staged a sit-in in Kargil Chowk to draw Abdullah's attention to their demands, reports reaching here said.

Pitched battles between police and students soon broke out in which three youths and some policemen, including an officer, were injured, the reports said. Tension gripped Kargil town as agitated students supported by locals set afire the venue of the meeting and tore hoardings and banters. The Chief Minister, who had reached Iqbal bridge, a few meters from the venue of the meeting, had to beat a hasty retreat abandoning his engagement, the reports said. Abdullah had gone to Kargil, 204 kms from here, to attend a meeting of the District Development Board.

The reports said police reinforcement had been rushed to the town to bring the situation under control. Thirty youths had been rounded up by police in connection with the violence. A complete shutdown was observed in the town to protest police lathi-charge. At least 10 police personnel including SP and three students were injured in the clashes.

The demonstrators, mostly students, were protesting against the shifting of the Higher Secondary School from Kargil town to the newly constructed school building which was away from the town. Getting the report of violent incidents, police immediately swung into action and resorted to lathicharge to disperse the agitated mob. Nearly 13 persons including the Superintendent of Police and 9 police personnel were injured in the violence.

An official spokesman confirming the incident said the school was shifted to other area due to poor condition of the old school building. The new building was inaugurated by Dr Abdullah last week. However, the students complained that there was no transport facility to the new school and were demanding bus service for the same. The spokesman, however, scotched the rumours that curfew has been imposed on the Kargil town and said the situation was normal and under control.

# CM UPPED KARGIL PLAN BY RS. 7 CRORE

Kargil, Aug 21: An additional outlay of Rs. 7 crore has been approved for development of the Kargil district, stepping up the annual plan for the current year to Rs. 47 crore. The additionality was approved by the joint meeting of the cabinet and the district development board held here today with chief Minister Dr. Farooq Abdullah in the chair.

The Minister for industries and commerce, Dr. Mustafa Kamal, who is the chairman, District Development Board, Kargil, minister for works, Mr. Ali Muhammad Sagar, Minister for health, Mian. Altaf Ahmad, Minister for Rural Development, Mr Ajay Sadhotra, minister of state for works and power, Mr. Qamar Ali Akhoon, member parliament, Mr. Ghulam Hassan Khan, local legislators, chief secretary, Mr. Ashok Jaitly, Financial Commissioner, Planning and Development, Mr. K. B. Pillai and senior officers participated. The meeting reviewed the progress of the development schemes in the district and the decisions taken in the District Development Board meeting held in May last. The meeting had then fixed the annual plan for Rs. 40 crore.

The decisions taken at today's meeting include creation of 5 medical aid centres to augment medical facilities in the district, and construction of a sarai for the attendants of T.B. Hospital patients in the town. The filling of vacant posts of assistant surgeons was also approved. In the education sector, besides creation of 4 posts of senior teachers in the Degree College, Kargil, the up-gradation of the high school Panikhar to a higher secondary institute was also granted. The vacant posts of senior masters would be filled on consolidated pay.

The meeting decided to construct a Kargil Sarai at Delhi for the people of the district visiting the union capital. An amount of Rs. 50 lakhs was sanctioned for the maintenance and replacement of spare parts for the Iqbal micro hydel project. For the reconstruction of the damaged infrastructure due to the shelling from across the border during the recent Kargil war, a sum of Rs. 3 crore would be utilized this year. Under the centrally sponsored border area development scheme, Rs. 3.68 crores would be spent in the district this year. In addition, Rs. 80 lakhs would be expended under the tribal sub plan. To overcome effects of drought conditions, in Kargil district some irrigation schemes would be undertaken while Kargil water supply scheme has already been commissioned

Addressing the meeting, the Chief Minister said that the Government would do everything possible to remove poverty and backwardness of the district and ameliorate the sufferings of the people. He called upon the officers to redouble their efforts to achieve this goal. He said there were difficulties but these could be overcome by commitment to the job and resolution to meet the targets. Dr Abdullah expressed satisfaction over the development activities in the district and said the continued efforts of the Government would bring Kargil at par with other areas of the state in matters of development. Earlier, the District Development Commissioner, Dr. Muhammad Din, giving a brief of the development activities, informed the meeting that three mini hydel projects at Sanjak, Marpochho and Haftal will be commissioned next year. Work on three major irrigation

schemes, targeted to irrigate 140 hectares of land, too will be completed by then. He said steps were underway to have Kargil on the national as well as international tourism map. He said 6 Dak bungalows have been constructed. He said effective steps were taken to boost the apricot trade yielding an annual revenue of Rs. 3 crore.

# LEH GETS ADDITIONAL RS. 12 CRORE FOR CURRENT YEAR'S PLAN

Leh, Aug 22: Chief Minister Dr Farooq Abdullah has asked the Ladakh Autonomous Hill Development Council (LADHDC) to formulate a revised annual plan for Rs 50 crore for the district assuring additional funds of Rs 12 crore over the already fixed allocation for the current year. The plan allocation for the district had earlier been approved at Rs. 38 crore.

Dr Abdullah was speaking at the joint cabinet cum district development board meeting held here today under his chairmanship. The Minister for works, Mr. Ali Mohammad Sagar, Minister for Health, Mian Altaf Ahmad, Minister of State for Rural Development and Panchayats, Mr Ajay Sadhotra, Minister of State for Ladakh affairs and planning, Kushok Tokdan, minister of state for agriculture, Mr. Tsetan Namgyal, members of Parliament Mr. Hassan Khan and Kushok Thiksay, MLA, Mr. T. Dorje, chairman and chief executive councillor, LAHDC, Mr. Thupstan Chhewang, financial commissioner, Mr. K. B. Pillai, divisional commissioner, Kashmir, Mr. Khurshid Ahmad Ganai and other senior officers participated. The meeting discussed various issues of development and administrative affairs relating to the district and took several decisions.

In an important decision regarding development of education in the otherwise backward district, the meeting decided to upgrade 2 primary schools and one middle school each in the 6 blocks of the border district to middle and high schools, respectively during the current year. Responding to the public demand, the high school Durbuk was upgraded to a higher secondary school while the high school Chushot to a special girls higher secondary school. Besides, the science stream for the degree college, Leh was also approved.

The Chief Minister, in reference to the shortage of teachers in various educational institutes, authorized the district recruitment board to recruit local teachers under the Rehbar-i-Taleem scheme in remote and inaccessible areas. He also directed for promotion of local lecturers in higher secondary schools and the degree college in their own pay and grade in case qualified teachers were not available. Dr Abdullah also announced release of Rs.50 lakhs for the construction of boys and girls hostels at Jammu and Srinagar for Ladakhi students. Under the power sector, Rs. 4 crore were sanctioned for purchase of fuel for diesel power generators, besides allotting Rs. 2 crore for completion of Martselang hydel power project. All the under execution power projects in the district would be provided the requisite funds for early completion, the meeting decided.

Earlier, the chief executive councillor, LAHDC and the chief executive officer gave a resume of the development scenario in the district. It was given out that Rs. 36.83 crores were spent under the district plan during the last year against an outlay of Rs. 39.32 crores. Under the border area development in Khaltsi and Nobra blocks, Rs. 131.65 lakhs were spent while another Rs. 1128 lakhs were incurred in the two block of Nyoma and Durbuk for the similar purpose. Besides, Rs. 34.45 lakhs were expended on tribal sub-plan under the special central assistance.

The meeting noted with satisfaction that Leh was the first district in the state to initiate and successfully complete the census operations and the general elections for LAHDC last year. The successful completion of the panchayat elections in the district in June this year also came in for special mention. The meeting was informed about successfully holding of the National Hockey Championship in the district this year upon which it was decided to hold the championship every alternate year at Leh.

About the promotion of tourism, it was disclosed that the tourist influx, particularly domestic, had increased by over 30 percent this year over the previous one. The increase was attributed to the holding of the three national level events like the Ladakh Festival. Sindhu Darshan and Buddha

Mahotsav at Leh. The events, it was said, had a positive impact on the economy of the district giving it a prominent place on the international tourist map.

The chief executive officer, LAHDC, Mr. Dheeraj Gupta spelled out measures to computerize various development schemes and delivery systems, setting up of a district computer network and an interactive website of the district.

#### SHABIR FAVOURS INDO-PAK TALKS AT ISLAMABADS

LEH, Aug 23: Asserting that Agra Summit helped in breaking the ice, Jammu and Kashmir Democratic Freedom Party (JKDFP) president Shabir Ahmad Shah has hoped that the forthcoming talks between India and Pakistan at Islamabad will help in resolving Kashmir dispute between the two nations.

Speaking at a one day seminar "Inter-Kashmir Dialogue "organised by JKDFP here today, Mr Shah said that it was very important that the two nations resolve their disputes for the overall benefit, security and property in South Asia. He, however, asserted that it was the Kashmir dispute that, according to him, was the main hitch in the healthy relationships of the two nations. The JKDFP chief said that after of late realising that lakhs of people were the sufferers in both the nations due to Kashmir dispute, the two nations in the light of the same have decided to meet and find solutions for this vexed problem. This is a healthy trend, Mr Shah said and hoped that the solution will be evolved when Indian Prime Minister A B Vajpayee visits Islamabad on the invitation of that country to carry on further talks.

While reacting to the demand of granting Union Territory status to Ladakh, as the demand was raised by some of the participants during the seminar, Mr Shah asserted that the present time demanded that the people of all the three regions get united, after sinking their differences, so as to resolve Kashmir dispute once for all. He declared that his party was ready to visit Pakistan if allowed by Indian authorities, so as to carry the message of "finding a solution" to Kashmir problem. He said that his party will also hold an international-level seminar on Kashmir in near future in Srinagar in which Kashmiris living across the globe will be invited to put forth their views.

Among others who spoke in the seminar included former Member Parliament P Namgiyal, Leh Hill Council Executive Councilor Mr Jora, Haji Ghulam Hussain of Shia-Sunni Coordination, Anjuman Moin-ul-Islam chief Mohd Shaffi Lassu and chief of Ladakh Buddhist Association (LBA) T Samphel. In his address, Mr Samphel demanded the granting of Union territory status to Ladakh and said that this was the "ultimate solution" to the woes of the people of the region. Some other speakers also put forth their view of diving Jammu and Kashmir. Some, however, spoke against such move.

Meanwhile, Mr Shabir Shah later visited Kargil where he addressed a large public gathering there. Speaking on the occasion, Mr Shah assailed State Government headed by Chief Minister Dr Farooq Abdullah for letting lose reign of terror in the town recently when scores of students, who were protesting in peaceful means, were put behind the bars. The DFP chief asserted that such a move spoke about the frustration on part of the State administration in its failure in meeting the demands of the common people. He claimed that while crores of rupees were being spent on the wards of the higher-ups just for their " entertainment", the students of Kargil who were demanding simple concessions in bus fare, were denied the same. Instead, they were put behind the bars, he regretted. He called upon the people of the town to remain united and not allow the " aggressor" to rule them.

Among others who spoke on the occasion included Syed Saleem Geelani, Aga Syed Abdul Hussain Al-Mousvi, Mohd Shaffi, Syed Iqbal Qazmi and Ch Abdul Razzaq. The speakers assailed the Union Home Minister Lal Krishan Advani and State Administration for extending Disturbed Area Act in the State and ordering granting of general amnesty to Armed force personnel. Such moves have aggrieved the situation in the State, it was alleged.

#### SPECIAL REPORT

#### SEMINAR WITH SHABIR SHAH IN LEH

by Tashi Morup

Leh, August 21:Firm-footed leaders of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh should come together first to solve the core Kashmir issue before coming forth with any separate demands, said Shabir Shah the president of Jammu Kashmir Democratic Freedom Party (JKDFP) in the first-time joint seminar of both Buddhists and Muslim representatives of Leh district in Leh today.

Slightly deviating from his firm stand against division of the state showed in three earlier visits Shah said, once the Kashmir problem is solved demands such as Union Territory status for Ladakh could be considered. However, he reasserted that his wish is to have a clean democratic set up under J&K statehood where all sections of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh enjoy equal rights. However, Shah's high ideals did not match the stand especially of Buddhist leaders.

While appreciating his approach to Kashmir issue Buddhist leaders reaffirmed their common opinion that the solution lies in meeting the separate demands of the three regions. They gave several examples to illustrate that Ladakh has experienced colonial rule under the Kashmiri leadership in the 53 years of India's independence. To take up a recent instance, LBA President Tsering Samphel said, NC government would send a cabinet minister every time to unfurl the national flag on Independent Day function, disallowing the LAHDC chief to do so. While government employees do not get salaries for months, about one and a half lakh rupees is spent on such ministerial power gimmick.

While agreeing on LBA Chief statement of 53 years of injustice against Ladakhi people Haji Ghulam Hussain, President of Shia-Sunni Co-ordination group expressed that he disagreed with respect to the division of the state. Shafi Lassu felt there was a need to have a common slogan irrespective of religious affiliation in the demands of the people of Ladakh, while at the same time giving due consideration to various opinions.

Former Union Minister P. Namgyal lamented the division of Ladakh into Leh and Kargil districts in 1979 under Sheikh Abdullah's regime calling it one of the factors deleterious to the unity of Kashmir, which the leaders had talked of initially. And then in 1987 the unfair election process in Kashmir forced the youth to resort to militancy, he said, adding that such unfortunate developments have left the people with no faith for the State government and that it would be appropriate for the centre to meet the demands of the people of all three regions.

Executive Councilor Rigzin Jora rejected the viability of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh with their different cultures to exist as one politico-administrative structure. Formation of the state was a historical accident, and this gives the basis to demand UT status for Ladakh or re-organisation of the state as per people's wishes. However, he said he appreciated Shabir Shah's role, which provides a much needed common platform to churn out a peaceful solution to the Kashmir problem.

Others who spoke on the occasion were MLA Tsering Dorjay Lakrook, Soufi Ghulam Mohammad, Editor Srinagar Times. Shabir Shah and his colleagues would visit Kargil also to hold a similar seminar.

# GOVT. TO STRENGTHEN HEALTHCARE FACILITIES IN KARGIL

SRINAGAR, Aug 29: Keeping in view the difficult geographic, climate and topographic situation of Kargil, the Government has set up a network of health institution to provide latest diagnostic and treatment facilities to the people at their doorsteps. Over 157 medical institutions are functioning in seven blocks of the district to cater to preventive, promotive and curative health needs of around 1,20,000 population.

Kargil has a district hospital, one sub-district hospital, one TB Centre, one leprosy control unit, one rural family welfare center five primary health centers, 34 sub centers, 30 Amchi centers

(local medical practitioner), eleven allopathic dispensaries and 70 medical aid-centres. Adequate laboratory facilities have also been created throughout the district. These laboratories performed about 5,000 tests for disease detection last year.

A comprehensive project is also being formulated to further strengthen and upgrade healthcare facilities in the district. Under the scheme, a number of health institutions with full backup of clinical laboratories will be produced so that people do not have to cover long distances for want of the services in the area.

To upgrade the skills and update healthcare functionaries with latest and fast changing ailment detection and management techniques, orientation-training course are also organized for them. In all, 317 doctors and para-medical staff were given orientation for 2-days under Reproductive and Child Health Scheme, last year. The trainees included general nurses, public health nurses, pharmacists, basic health workers and community health workers. Besides, teachers and anganwari workers were also provided orientation in different aspects of healthcare, sanitation and hygiene. As elsewhere in the State, Immunization Programme is also being implemented in Kargil district as per a well-chalked out programme to prevent instances of diseases in the area. Cent per cent coverage of children has been ensured under Pulse Polio Immunization Programme. [. . .]

#### JK FORMULATES PLAN FOR MASSIVE APRICOT CULTIVATION

Srinagar, Aug 29: The Jammu and Kashmir Government has drawn up an ambitious plan for establishment of new apricot orchards in view of its great potential in the State. The strategy includes promotion of apricot both by horizontal expansion and intensive management for increased per unit area production.

For the purpose, besides providing technical know how, 50 per cent subsidy on plant material, farm development, pit digging, tools and kits, chemical fertilizers, pesticides and fencing material will also be made available to the farmers. Expenditure on account of subsidy component will be provided to the tune of Rs. 8000 per hectare. An area of 40 hectares is being covered under massive apricot plantation programme, this year.

The area under apricot cultivation has gone up from 3460 hectares in 1997-1998 to 4012 hectares this year, which includes 1800 hectares in Leh and Kargil districts alone. Similarly, the apricot production has almost doubled during this year. In 1997-1998, the apricot production was 3973 metric tones, which now has increased to 7139 metric tonnes, with Leh and Kargil districts contributing as much as 3831 metric tonnes. This has become possible by adopting latest cultivation, production and harvesting techniques.

Apricot is mainly cultivated in Ladakh region besides other temperate areas of Kashmir valley and Jammu region in the State. Apricot is used as a table fruit in dried, frozen, canned, candid and into paste form. Apricot produced in Leh and Kargil districts is famous all over the country, in view of rich taste of its fruit and kernel.

To provide high quality plant material to the farmers, the Hoticulture Department is setting up one apricot nursery in Kargil district. An amount of Rs. 2 lakh is being spent to establish the nursery this year alone. In addition, Rs. 5 lakh are being utilized on apricot development programme during the current financial year.

# KARMAPA IN LEH ON 10-DAY VISIT

From Tashi Morup

LEH, Sept 2: Early morning today in Leh saw thousands of people lined up all along the road from Airport to Jhokhang and to Stakna Labrang to mark a huge reception given to young Karmapa, who arrived today in Leh for his ten-day visit in Ladakh.

85-year-old Kushok Bakula received Karmapa as the flight landed at 6.50 at the Leh Airport while other eminent figures present on the occasion included Kushok Thiksey (MP), Kushok Togdan, Ladakh Affairs Minister, Sogtse Rinpoche, Lama Lobzang, Member of Minority Commission, Thupstan Chhewang Chairman LAHDC. Hordes of delegates representing different religious and community groups were present at the airport where Karmapa and his 12-member entourage briefly stopped for tea. Led by a resonance of daman and religious flageolets then a long cavalcade of vehicles with Karmapa in red Tata Safari moved on slowly through a parallel reception chain of people including traditionally attired common folks from all over carrying phogs (incenses), khataks (traditional white scarf) and flowers. Even the numerous school children in neat and tidy uniform held Khataks in their folded hands along the both sides of the road.

The security men could not hold on for long the hustle at Jhokhang where monks from all 18 monasteries of different sects in Ladakh performed the 'Mandal Stensum' prayer for world peace and for the long life and flourishing of the Karmapa's Buddha activity. Seated on a high throne with Cho Rinpoche statue behind 16-year-old Orgyan Thrinley Dorje 17th Karmapa in his brief address to the monks and other delegates including Muslim and Christian members described Ladakh as a flourishing center of complete Tibetan Buddhism. Karmapa expressed his happiness to get the opportunity to visit among others some of the monasteries in Ladakh of Dugpa Kargyud Sect, which is one of the high sects in Ladakh. And finally he wished that all other religion existing in Ladakh prosper.

Earlier in his address LBA President Tsering Samphel termed the Karmapa's visit to Ladakh as a historic moment for which entire Ladakh have been aspiring for ever since His Holiness arrival in India leaving Tibet. Later talking to EXCELSIOR Samphel said, here in Ladakh there is no two-opinion about the genuineness of 17th Karmapa Orgyan Thrinley Dorje even among the various monastic communities. Nevertheless there is no monastery of Karmapa Sect in Ladakh (except for a few newly established Tibetan monasteries) that hardly matters in our one-mind reverence for Karmapa and the popular controversy has no influence in Ladakh, he added.

The Jhokang assemblage followed Karmapa retiring for the day to a kilometer-away Stakna Labrang where his stay throughout the pilgrimage has been organized. Again devotees irrespective of any religion stood along the road till the end. At the Labrang the entourage members asked for a slight change in the security passes issued by the police to restrict the number of regular visitors in the specially renovated building. Except for a blessing to a representing group in the afternoon Karmapa rests for the day to follow a busy schedule fixed for the coming nine days.

The main events to ensue include visits to Tibetan settlement in Choglamsar, monasteries of Nyingma, Kargyud, Gelug and Saskya sects, Initiation of Avalokisteshvara Empowerment Sermon at Jivetsal (on Monday), Lamdon School and dinners organized by LBA and LAHDC. Orgyan Thrinley Dorje, the Seventeenth Karmapa, fled Tibet for the safety of exile in India on December 28, 1999 at the age of 14 with a small party of monks in complete secrecy, his departure unknown even to his own family. He left his historic monastery, Tsurphu, northwest of Lhasa, and travelled with his party over the winter passes of the Himalayas to freedom. They arrived in Dharamsala, India on January 5, 2000, where he was warmly welcomed by His Holiness the Dalai Lama.

#### GEN THAPLIYAL INAUGURATES TRISHUL INFORMATION INSTITUTE

LEH, Sept 2: Major General S Thapliyal, General Officer Commanding, 3 Infantry Division inaugurated Trishul Institute of Information Technology (TIIT) at Karu in the presence of top Army brass of the Division on Saturday.

In the wake of increasing use of computers at official and clerical level within army the need to have an institute to train the users in basics to start with was felt by Major General Thapliyal immediately after his posting here. "IT Road Map 2008" as the term the vision to bring about Information Technology revolution in remote Ladakh has been an achievement of the key result

areas the General felt to develop. Vacancies for civilians too (under the Sadbhavna spirit) are reserved in this computer-training institute TIIT, which awaits recognition by Ministry of Information and Technology.

Already under the popular Sadbhavna Operation led by Lt. General Arjun Ray 14 Corps Commander many vocational centers including computer-training have been opened in Leh and Kargil and more to come up soon including one in Karu and Chushot. Sophisticated Sadbhavna school at Karu too has computer facility for the 250 children from remote villages. [...]

# GOVERNOR RELEASES AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF KUSHOK BAKULA

Srinagar, Sept. 17: The Governor, Mr. Girish Chandra Saxena has said that the State is confronted with the problem of proxy war thrusted upon us across the border in which not only the common people but the political leaders, para-military forces and police personnel have also fell victims of it during the past over twelve years.

Addressing a function organized by the Baqula Foundation to release a book titled "An Autobiography of Kushok Bakula" at Leh Auditorium today, the Governor said that our State is facing manifold challenges due to cross-border terrorism and the whole nation should be ready to face these challenges boldly. He said at this crucial juncture, it was the duty of all the sections of the society to maintain peace and communal harmony and help to take the State to new heights of development and prosperity. The Governor also cautioned the people against the nefarious designs of subversive elements who are bent upon to create wedge between various section of society for their vested interests.

Reacting to the contribution of K. G. Bakula, the Governor said Mr. Bakula is an asset not only for Ladakh but for whole nation. He said his long services and contributions rendered by him for the well being of State and its people will be long remembered. He said its autobiography released today will inspire and guide young generation in nation building.

Speaking on the occasion, Mr. Bakula sought the people's cooperation for maintaining old aged [sic] traditions of communal amity and brotherhood. He also complemented the people of Ladakh for exhibiting always utmost restraint, discipline and communal amity even at the hour of provocation. The Chief Executive Councillor, LAHDC, Sh. Thupstan Chhewang, Former Union Minister, Mr. P. Namgyal heads of various religions organisations and Gonpa Association also addressed on this occasion and highlighted the contribution and services of K. G. Bakula. [...]

# ARMY OPENS ANOTHER VTC IN LADAKH

LEH, Oct 2: To provide training facility to women in computer literacy, tailoring, knitting and carpentry Lt Gen. Arjun Ray, 14 Core Commander today inaugurated a Vocational Training Center (VTC) at Karu, 14 kilometers from here.

This is the 10th Vocational Training Center installed by the army in a short span of two years period after the Operation Sadbhavana was taken up in hand. The sole aim of the Operation is the empowerment of women so that they can seek the jobs in the far flung and remote areas of Ladakh region and to inculcate among the women and youth a sense of self reliance. [...] So far 500 girls have been imparted the training under various trades in these training centers and about 40 girls will be trained at the Karu Center.

The army intends to open another such center at Leh in near future. The welfare programmes taken up in hand by army under the operation Sadbhavana has generated a confidence among the local people living in the far flung areas of the region. But some citizens are sceptical whether these centers will sustain in future or not especially after the transfer of Lt. Gen Arjun Ray.

#### SPANISH TECHNOLOGY FOR BOOSTING HORTICULTURE IN LADAKH

SRINAGAR, Oct 17: To give boost to the Horticulture Industry in the cold desert region of Ladakh the Government contemplates to import latest technology from Spain and other developed countries for processing, packaging and drying the world famous Ladakh apricots, which has a readymade market, both at national and international levels. Ladakh region produces apricots worth Rs. 3 to 4 crore annually.

This was stated at a meeting of officers of Agriculture, Horticulture and Cooperative Department of Leh and Kargil districts held here today to review the progress registered under various sectors in the region. [...] The meeting decided to set up an Integrated Pest Management Laboratory in the region to produce Trychogama Parasite for controlling codling moth pest prevalent in the region. For this purpose Rs 15 lakhs have been earmarked for the current year. The meeting also decided to earmark Rs 40 lakhs under Macro management for Leh and Kargil districts for the current year for giving thrust on vegetable cultivation, nursery development, establishment of green houses, increasing agriculture productivity besides setting up solar energy irrigation pumps.

Under the National Horticulture Development Board (NHB) 1000 plastic cartoons each for Leh and Kargil districts are being provided to the growers for harvesting fruit on 50 per cent subsidy. The Horticulture department also envisages to set up 2000 poly green houses in the region during the current year itself. In Kargil district the fruit production has been estimated around 1679 MTs of which the apricot production alone is 1295 MTs. The area under horticulture account for 1396 hectares.

Discussing the working of the Cooperative Department in the region, the meeting was told that the cooperative outlets sold essential goods worth Rs. 16.04 crore in Leh district during the last three years. By the end of September this year, essential goods worth Rs. 2.91 crore were sold by these outlets. It also marketed agriculture produce valuing at Rs. 4.33 crore during this period. The local transporters earned a revenue of Rs. 30.17 crore on account of transportation of goods on carriage contract basis during the past three years. In addition, the cooperative department has despatched 8640 MTs of chemical fertilizers to Ladakh region during the current year so far while the remaining quantity is being despatched within a weeks time.

Speaking on the occasion, the Agriculture Minister laid stress on cultivation of vegetables in a big way as it has a ready made market available in the district itself. Leh district alone supplies vegetables worth Rs 3 to 4 crore to Army annually. He said thrust should be laid to tap all the available resources to boost vegetable and fruit production for which funds could be arranged from NABARD and other financial institutions.

Mr Qamar Ali Akhoon and Mr T Namgiyal pleaded for allocation of liberal funds under agriculture sector to the border districts of Ladakh region in view of its backwardness.

#### SADBHAVNA WOMEN'S HOSTEL INAUGURATED AT LEH

From Tashi Morup

Leh, Oct 16: A grand function attended by Army and Civilian dignitaries marked the opening of Sadbhavna Women"s Hostel in Leh today following the Saturday"s inaugural of Vocational Training Center (VTC) at Chushot village under the Lt. Gen. Arjun Ray led 14 Corps" 14-months-old Operation Sadbhavna.

Thupstan Chhewang Chairman LAHDC inaugurated the 25-bed hostel adorned with a great sophistication. Councilor Spalzes Angmo Supervisor Managing Committee of the hostel while thanking the Army said that this accommodation facility for the women is a dream-come-true. Now women from all walks of life especially coming from remote areas seeking further studies, jobs etc. in Leh city can stay here paying minimal 450 rupees a month fees that includes both boarding and

lodging. Five seats are reserved for minority community, she said. But for now they have selected 25 girl students from Nubra, Changthang and other far off places to start with. Once the capacity is increased to 100 as they have a plan other women too would be included. The elegant touch to this home-like hostel is to give a rub to the women"s ambitious nature.

And just two-days ago a VTC at Chushot came into being. On the occasion Gen. Ray reiterated the women -empowerment connotation attached to such centers in Ladakh unlike other such centers in India. Besides skills such as knitting, weaving, sewing women would also be given computer education while providing arrangement to finish unfinished schooling through National Open School. Begum Khalida Bari President Ladakh Women Center in her address expressed her joy over realization of such a center, which was an urgent need in a place like Chushot. Meanwhile popular artist Phonsok Ladakhi is making a documentary film on Sadbhavna Operation titled Dastane Sadbhavna, which, he said, should be ready by in a month's time. ''Sadbhavna is an ancient Indian word for goodwill because goodwill is the key to harmony" with this theme the film has a wide coverage of the success stories of Operation Sadbhavna." [...]

#### CONGRESS CONVENTION IN LEH

From Tashi Morup

Leh, Oct 15: After a year of its formation Regional Congress Committee (RCC) led by Haji Mohammad Hassan Commander held a huge daylong convention that was attended by over a thousand people from all over Ladakh including both Leh and Kargil districts today at Kangri Hotel in Leh city.

First of this sort the convention aimed towards strengthening Indian National Congress (INC) with its secular credential in Ladakh also witnessed the presence of 32 representatives from Kargil including senior Congress members besides top Congress leaders of both Muslim and Buddhist communities. The whole day debate and speeches by various representatives ended with the passing of three-point resolution. The RCC resolved to fight against anti-Jammu and anti-Ladakh policies of NC government while strongly demanding just and equitable share of development programmes and also rightful place for Ladakh where its people could survive with dignity. This was moved by Thupstan Chhewang, Chairman LAHDC and seconded by Hassan Commander, former MP.

Chering Dorje MLA moved the second resolution seconded by Mohammad Yaqoob, Senior Vice-President DCC Leh condemns and resolves to fight against the recent enactment of Roshni bill. It stated that the bill seeks to vest land legally and formally in those occupants who had occupied such land prior to 1990 after realizing money from such people at market rate.

Finally the District Congress Committee Kargil resolved to approach the Government of India through this forum to request for enhancement of BADP fund for Indo-Pak border areas of Ladakh region in the wake of irreparable loss and damage to the lives and properties in these areas. Nasirullah, President DCC Kargil moved this resolution and Raza General Secretary RCC Ladakh seconded it. All the three resolutions were unanimously adopted in the convention.

Earlier in his address former Union Minister P Namgyal reiterated DCC separation from J&K PCC a year ago when the members met Sonia Gandhi in Delhi and asked for the approval to form a territorial Committee like the one in Bombay within Maharastra. However, such a case for Ladakh being against the Congress constitutional parameter she rather told the members from Ladakh to go ahead with a regional committee for Leh and Kargil that would be directly under AICC.

And today"s convention marked the first meeting between leaders of Kargil and Leh after a long gap. Speakers raised many issues including Kargil-Leh rift in the post-division of the region into two districts, Roshni bill, discriminatory stance against Ladakh by NC government, basic need crisis such as power and water and so on. Thupstan Chhewang in his address at the end lamented the rift developed between Kargil and Leh in both political and administrative domains and

described the RCC objective as to annihilate that misunderstanding and revive the good old relations to bring in back the common identity of "Ladakhiat". [...]

#### NEW ROUTE TO MANSAROVAR RULED OUT

LHASA, Oct 21: China has virtually turned down India's request for opening a new and safer pilgrimage route to Kailash-Mansarovar in Tibet and urged New Delhi to improve road conditions on its side so as to meet the needs of the pilgrims.

"We express our understanding to India's request to open a new pilgrimage route. But the route mentioned by the Indian side is far from Kailash-Mansarovar and the climate and road conditions along the route are quite poor," a top Tibetan leader said. "We do not think it is advisable to open it at the moment," the Chairman of the People's Congress of Tibet Autonomous Region, Raidi, said. "We hope both sides continue to utilise the existing route of Qiangla Mountain Pass," Raidi, who is also Vice Chairman of the Sino-Indian friendship committee of the Chinese Parliament, the National People's Congress, said. He stated that the Indian request for a new pilgrimage route to Kailash-Mansarovar has risen because pilgrims from the country complain about the poor road of Qiangla Mountain Pass on their side.

India has proposed opening a new route from the picturesque Hanle area in Eastern Ladakh bordering Himachal Pradesh's Kinnaur region as an addition to the traditional pilgrim route across the Lipulekh Pass in Pithoragarh district of Uttar Pradesh. (PTI)

#### LADAKHIS HOLD RALLY FOR UT

LEH, Nov 19: Thousands of Ladakhis today held a rally here demanding carving out of Ladakh province from Jammu and Kashmir as a separate Union Territory to end "colonial rule of Kashmir" over them. Addressing the rally, organised by Ladakh Buddhist Association (LBA), its President Tsering Samphel said reorganisation of the State was the "only lasting solution" to the Kashmir problem. He alleged that Ladakhis had throughout been "discriminated against in all developmental works purely on the grounds that we belong to a miniscule and distinct religious, ethical and cultural background".

"From the very outset, Ladakh's political merger with Jammu and Kashmir did not form any natural cohesion and proved to be a folly throughout," Samphel said. He alleged that over the years, "the successive Governments of the State have adopted a policy of discrimination and subversion towards the (Ladakh) region with the sole objective of stifling its people and marginalising its historical, religious and cultural identity." Samphel regretted that Ladakh's problems had never been analysed from a "nationalistic and political perspective". He demanded an administration in Ladakh to be controlled directly by the Central Government. (PTI)

# WORLD'S HIGHEST AIRFIELD AT LEH BECOMES OPERATIONAL

LEH, Nov 19: The world's highest airfield here has become operational for the Indian Air Forces frontline fighters MiG-29's with the Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Western Air Command Air Marshal Vinod Bhatia declaring it would give New Delhi a "far greater reach towards Central Asia". Bhatia, speaking to a visiting group of newsmen in the backdrop of four MiG-29's codenamed fulcrum by NATO, performing live battle manoeuvres said the air forces most lethal air superiority fighters becoming operational at Leh would mean, "we are closer to threats to the security of the country".

For the first time, the AOC-in-C of Western Air Command said the IAF had been successful in making fighters operational from Leh, having failed earlier with fighters like MiG-21 and Jaguar deep penetrations strike aircraft. Air force experts said making fighters that too frontline warplanes like MiG-29 operational from Leh was significant as the airbase flying distance wise was just 660 kms embattled Afghan capital of Kabul, 1080 kms from Kirghistan capital of alamaty, 445 km from Pakistani capital Islamabad and also near to Chinese mainland towns including capital Beijing. Labelling as "significant", Leh airfield becoming operational to the MiG-29s, Bhatia said it was important because of the "proximity of the base to threats facing the country." He said though IAF had stationed MiG-29S at Leh since 1998, it was only now that they had become operational from the base. Bhatia said though other fighter aircraft like MiG-21 and Jaguars were using the Leh airbase it had been difficult to operationalise these fighter aircraft from the area, "MiG-21 and Jaguars would also continue to operate in spells from the base", he added.

Air Force officials cited the downslide in the runway and its short take-off and landing, as factors which had hampered the airbase becoming operational for MiG-21 and Jaguars. "The short take off and landing of the MiG-29 fighters is ideally suited for operation from Leh", they said. Four MiG-29s put up a breath-taking live battle manoeuvres for a distinguished audience which included Defence Minister George Fernandes and senior Army and Air Force officers. (PTI)

#### KARGIL DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST GOVERNMENT APATHY

SRINAGAR, Dec 1: Demonstrations were held at Kargil yesterday in protest against the " apathy of the state government towards the demands of the people" there. Reports said thousands of people took to streets at the border township after Friday prayers. Leaders from various political, religious and social organisations also joined them. The demonstrators raised slogans against the state government and strongly condemned its indifferent attitude towards them.

The people of Kargil have been demanding air service, extension of air strip and better supply of power. They threatened to launch an agitation in case their demands were not settled at the earliest. The people had observed a strike on November 3 and 15 and held demonstrations against the state government's apathy towards their demands.

# SLIPPERY LOSAR AND EID CELEBRATION

From Tashi Morup

Leh, Dec 19: It has been a slippery Losar and Eid celebration this year in Leh. Nearly continuous snowfall since Friday made it tricky especially for the car riders to drive on snow-coated roads. For the amusement of the onlookers several vehicles helplessly either bumped into each other or skidded off the road causing small and big dents. Nevertheless police did not receive any report of injury or casualty.

It was tougher to scale the road towards upper town area due to more snow as compared to lower parts. Thus quite restricting the exchange of Losar and Eid greetings in Gangles, Gonpa and Khagshal areas on the first days. Only for the dejection of those who hit their cars snowfall on Losar eve is a blessing for Ladakh that witnessed a drought-like situation in the last couple of years.

Even while snowing the usual gentle radiance of illuminated mountains and houses in Leh town on Namgang evening spelled joy. The tradition of swinging fireballs (metho) carried by youth in the marketplace, which was originally King's main field (ma-zhing), marked the celebration.

Next day after greeting LBA's President T Samphel hundreds of youth gathered at main market to enjoy the music concert by Positive Heart Band, AWA group and C-4. Popular singers Tashi Chospel, Paldan Boto and others from a stage thrilled the crowd all in traditional red-goncha with their Ladakhi, Hindi, Tibetan and English songs. During the show LBA Youth Wing President

Lobzang Nyantak in his address thanked for co-operation in successfully banning the crackers in Leh for its polluting effect.

For Muslims the holy month of Ramzan during which Muslims observe Roza (fasting) ends with emanation of holy crescent moon that marks the celebration of Eid-ul-fitir the next day.

# **NEWS FROM MEMBERS**

- \* On December 28, Clare Harris gave birth to a son, Luke. Parents and child are well.
- \* Thierry Dodin has taken a leave of absence from his academic work to serve as director of Tibet Information Network.

# Rāhula Sānkṛtyāyana and the History of Buddhist Organisation in Ladakh

# Martijn van Beek

Although there is now quite a substantial literature on early twentieth century Buddhist organisation in Ladakh, there are a number of issues that remain sources of confusion. This brief note addresses a persistent inaccuracy regarding the founding of the Young Men's Buddhist Association (YMBA), and seeks to clarify the timing and circumstances of the founding of its predecessor, the Ladakh Buddhist Education Society (LBES). In addition, some questions will be raised about the role of outsiders in the mobilization of Buddhist activists in the 1930s, particularly that of the renowned activist-scholar

Rahula Sankıtyayana. 1

Several contemporary Ladakhi and Western scholars give 1934 as the year in which the Young Men's Buddhist Association was founded, but this date is certainly wrong. The "minute book" of

<sup>1.</sup> I thank Kristoffer Brix Bertelsen, John Bray, Jamyang Gyaltsen, and Martin Sökefeld for help in gaining access to some of the material referred to in this article. John Bray also provided helpful comments on an earlier draft and Ravina Aggarwal clarified some point of translation. Both Kristoffer Brix Bertelsen and I have written about these topics previously in our Ph.D. theses and subsequent articles (especially Bertelsen 1997a and b).

<sup>2.</sup> These include Tashi Rabgias (1984), and Nawang Tsering Shakspo (1988; 1993). Recent texts that give this date include Dodin (1997; 1994), Riaboff (1997:237) and Sonam Phuntsog (2001:217). Sonam Phuntsog writes that the LBA was founded in 1934, registered in 1937, and that the first meeting of the *registered* association took place on 17 July 1938. This is closer to the truth, but still incorrect. The YMBA minute book shows that it was decided at the founding meeting that the YMBA should seek official recognition ("as has been done in the case of the Anjuman-e Imamia", it adds).

the YMBA, a record of the meetings of the association kept until 1956, shows that the first meeting of the association took place on the 5th Sawan 1995 (Samvat), or 17 July 1938. Ganhar and Ganhar (1956:224) in their study of Buddhism in Kashmir correctly stated that the association had been in existence "since 1938 or so", and it is not entirely clear what has caused the "standard error" of 1934 to creep into Ladakhi historiography. The earliest publication of which I am aware that suggests 1934 is Tashi Rabgias' *History of Ladakh* (1984: 472). In November 1985, a short history of the organisation giving 1934 as the year of foundation was submitted by the LBA to the World Fellowship of Buddhists General Secretary. Nawang Tsering Shakspo's important and influential article on the revival of Buddhism in modern Ladakh from 1988, which presumably draws on Tashi Rabgias' account as the source of the 1934 date. Since Shakspo's is the text that most western scholars have relied on, the error has been perpetuated.

Part of the confusion is undoubtedly due to the fact that the YMBA was not the first Buddhist reformist organisation of a modern kind in Ladakh. Already in 1933 the Ladakh Buddhist Education Society was founded by a small group of Ladakhis. On 15 July 1933, during his second stay in Ladakh, Rahula Sankṛtyayana wrote a letter to his brother Anand, in which he mentions that "today a small organisation was created called Ladakh-Bauddh-Shiksha-Samiti [...]" (Sankıtyayana 1952:270). Its main office bearers were Raja Jigmed Dadul (President), Kalon Lobzang Tsewang (Vice-president), Nono Tsetan Phuntsog (Secretary), Munshi Sonam Tsewang (Asst. secretary), Master Morup Gyaltsen (Asst. Secretary), and Nono Skalzang Shah (Treasurer).3 With the exceptions of Nono Tsetan Phuntsog and Kalon Lobzang Tsewang (whose position was filled by Kalon Tsewang Rigzin), all of these are mentioned as office bearers when the Young Men's Buddhist Association was founded in July 1938.4 The continuity between LBES and YMBA is, of course, notable, and should not be downplayed, but the much broader agenda of the new organisation as well as its explicit linking with a wider national and international activist environment mark a very significant development in Buddhist organisation in Ladakh. For example, already in August 1938 a decision was taken to seek affiliation with the Mahabodhi Society of India. Contacts with this organisation went back to the early 1930s, when the journal of the society, The Mahabodhi regularly published articles on the situation of the Buddhists in Ladakh, although communications then flowed through the Srinagar-based Kashmir-Raj Bodhi Maha Sabha (KRBMS).5

The Ganhars and later authors, such as Dodin, Rabgyas and Shakspo, have stressed the role of the KRBMS and particularly its founding member Shridhar Kaul, also known as Shri Dullu, as catalysts of Buddhist organisation in Ladakh. As is well known, Shridhar Kaul was posted to Ladakh in 1939 as Assistant Inspector of Schools and he was an untiring advocate of Ladakh's cause. After independence he became a close associate of Kushok Bakula when the latter embarked on his political career as a member of the Assembly and later Minister of State in the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. The important contributions of Kaul are well known. His towering presence has, however, threatened to eclipse the role of others. Bertelsen (1997b) has described the role of

3. Together with twenty other notables, they were among the signatories of a petition to the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir and Tibet [sic], undated but recorded on 9 September 1933 (file no. 50/C-35 of 1932, J&K State Archives Repository, Jammu).

<sup>4.</sup> Nono Tsetan Phuntsog did participate in meetings of the YMBA, but did not hold office. He had converted to Christianity in September 1934 (Bray 1994).

<sup>5.</sup> See Bertelsen (1997a; 1997b) for a detailed discussion of the links between KRBMS and the Mahabodhi Society.

Gobind Lal Shah, a headmaster of the Leh Middle School, who was actively involved in mobilizing efforts and probably drafted the petition for the abolition of polyandrous marriages submitted to the Government by king Jigmed Dadul. Most accounts of the history of Buddhist organisation acknowledge Sankıtyayana's work on the first series of Tibetan readers and a grammar, which he compiled at the request of Ladakhi activists during his stay in Leh in July-September 1933. But this was not his first visit to Ladakh, and his influence may have been greater than hitherto acknowledged.

Already in July-August 1926, Sankṛtyayana came to Ladakh in connection with his association with the Arya Samaj. Unfortunately, the record of this trip contained in the first volume of his travel writings is very summary, in marked contrast with the much more detailed descriptions of his visit in 1933.6 With respect to the later trip, there is also the collection of letters, *Yatra ke panne*, from which I have already quoted and which contains almost 80 pages dealing with his visit to Ladakh. Regarding the 1926 visit, he himself notes that since he has published an account of his visit in a separate volume, *Merī ladakh yatra* (1939),7 there is no need to reiterate everything. Despite its brevity, the account offers interesting insights into his activities, most importantly his contacts with leading religious and secular figures. Sankṛtyayana's visit to Leh was facilitated by prominent members of the Indian community in Leh, including Kashmiri Pandits and Punjabi traders through whom he obtained an introduction to Hemis Skushok Stagtsang Raspa. He spent a couple of days at Hemis as a guest of the Skushok, and apparently they got along splendidly, as Stagtsang Raspa provided him with a helper and a *lam yig* (*parvā-na*) for food, horses and lodging for his onward journey to Lahul, Spiti and Kinnaur. While on a short trip to Nubra, Sankṛtyayana met Sras Rinpoche of Ridzong and reports:

I told the lama about some reforms among Ladakhis, which I had also put before Hemis Skushok; the main ones were: Men should cut off their dirty long locks for the sake of cleanliness; because they cannot find husbands on account of polyandry, Ladakhi women marry followers of other religions, hence their number in Ladakh is dwindling, and therefore polyandry should be ended and the practice should be introduced that each brother marries separately; the education of monks should be properly organized. Ridzong welcomed my proposals and said he felt the same way about these matters (Sankṛtyayana 1951:410).

<sup>6.</sup> Sankṛtyayana, R. (1951). *Merī jī van-yatra*, vol 1. Kalakatta, Adhuniya Pustak Bhavan. Sankṛtyayana, R. (1950). *Merī jī van-yatra*, vol. 2. Ilahabad, Kitab Mahal.

<sup>7.</sup> I have thus far not been able to locate a copy of Merī ladākh vatrā.

In 1933, after he had left the Arya Samaj and had converted to Buddhism, Sankṛṭyayana returned to Ladakh once more, partly to escape the summer heat so he could get a lot of work done.8 Soon after his arrival, he mentions in a letter to his brother that a Buddhist Education Society (he uses the English term here) is being founded, and that he has been asked by some local Buddhists to do some work for them (Sankṛṭyayana 1952:266). Specifically, he compiled three Tibetan readers and a grammar, assisted in some degree by Tsetan Phuntsog. When the LBES was founded in July, he appears to have been involved not only in coining suitable Tibetan titles for the various posts in the association (1952:270), but also in drafting a petition to the Maharaja. This petition to the Maharaja included four major demands: that Urdu should be made optional in Ladakh up to the fifth grade and Bodhi be used as medium of instruction up to that level; that special scholarships be provided for Buddhist pupils; that a Buddhist Assistant Inspector of Schools be appointed; that a Sanskrit teacher be appointed for Leh Middle School; and that Bodhi (Tibetan) teachers may be brought in from outside if not available in Ladakh.9

One might speculate whether the relatively minor place given to Sankṛtyayana in Ladakhi accounts of their early organisational efforts is due to his critical view of the local elite. He rails repeatedly and with colourful detail against the corruption of the monastic community, particularly in the account contained in *Merī jīvan-yatra* (1950:188, 191), where he refers to the *chagdzod* (*phyag.mdzod*) of Hemis as an "utter fool" (*nira bail*) and a "complete animal" (*nira janvar*). He also is very pessimistic about the efforts of the reformists themselves. Whereas in 1926 his account reflects hope that with guidance and support the decline of the Buddhist community may be stopped and ultimately reversed, his involvement with the reformers in 1933 led him to conclude that there was little ground for optimism. He felt that the LBES initiators lacked any sense of what kind of work such an organisation should be doing, and more generally that Ladakh's elite were lethargic and ignored the threats to the continued existence of their community. "Therefore I have very little hope that 100 years from now any Buddhists will remain here" (Sankṛtyayana 1952:282). His conclusion after a summer in Leh was that he was happy with the work he had done—his own, that is. But that otherwise, his efforts towards consciousness-raising in Ladakh had been a waste of time (283). With regard to the LBES, he drew hope from the fact that "barring two or three men, all are

<sup>8.</sup> On this trip he was accompanied by the well-known German monk, Anagarika Govinda.

<sup>9.</sup> In July 1938, an almost verbatim copy of this petition was re-submitted by the YMBA. Many of the same demands were already submitted in 1931 to the Glancy Commission of Enquiry (Buddhists 1932).

from India", so some work might get done. In fact, the only local people to receive unmitigated praise were Joseph Gergan and Nono Tsetan Phuntsog.10 The latter had helped Sankṛtyayana with the work on the readers and the grammar: "The Ladakhi Buddhists may derive hope from Nono Tsetan Phuntsog. He writes well, although [...] he is not so skilled at writing Bodhi yet" (Sankṛtya yana 1952:289). With Gergan, whom he had already met in 1926, he felt a strong bond because of their shared interest in history and culture. Clearly, Sankṛtyayana admired the way in which Gergan, despite or perhaps because of his conversion to Christianity, had dedicated himself to the study of his people's history and culture.

10. For further details on their lives, see Bray (1994).

Many questions remain about the precise links between activists in Ladakh, Tibet, Kashmir and other parts of India, as well as the links between them and Europeans engaged with Buddhism.11 It is striking that Sankṛtyayana's 1933 accounts make no reference to Kashmiri Buddhist organisations, although he does write that while he was in Srinagar he was invited by some Kashmiris who were interested in Buddhism to give a lecture (1950:182). Presumably this was an invitation from the KRBMS, who mention his lecture in their triennial report (KRBMS 1935; Ganhar and Ganhar 1956:217). But he is silent on the organisation and its activities. His reference to the role of Indians in the reformist work in Leh does confirm once more how outsiders such as himself, Pandit Nila Kanth, headmaster of Leh Middle School Gobind Lal Shah, and Shridhar Kaul served as catalysts. Possibly, Sankṛtyayana's Merī ladakh yatra can provide further insight into his activities in Ladakh. Meanwhile it should be established now that the Ladakh Buddhist Education Society was founded in 1933, and the Young Men's Buddhist Association only in 1938. And despite Sankṛtyayana's skepticism, these moments mark the growing engagement of Ladakhi Buddhists themselves, lay people as well as clergy, in efforts to protect their religion and culture.

<sup>11.</sup> These are very numerous, e.g. Tsetan Phuntsog later worked with Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark and visited Kalimpong, where a Young Men's Buddhist Association was active in the early 1950s. Sankṛṭyayana knew some of these people, as did Yeshe Dondrup, and they had contacts with Tibetan reformers, including Gendun Choephel.

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#### ISSUES FOR DEBATE

# DOING GOOD BADLY

# Richard V. Lee, M.D.

Juniper smoke softly enveloped the chanting Tibetan Buddhist monks. Small eddies of fragrance formed and dissipated about their heads as their voices for compassion and peace rhythmically rose and fell in the morning mountain air. About the periphery in the Dukhang, in a variety of postures from rigid lotus to slouch, was a collection of foreigners: curious trekkers, buddhophiles, and volunteers to various projects in the village and the Gompa. Lingshed Gompa was crowded. The seeming serenity was fractured by a series of camera flashes, eliciting noisy frowns and "tsk-tsks" from the purists and a suppressed smile from some of the monks, who turned to shush the protestors. They had given permission for us to take photographs. Even in the midst of prayers sides were being drawn between the romantics and the realists.

Lingshed has, because of Geshe Ngawang Jangchup's efforts, become a focal point for spiritual and philanthropic interests by European and American individuals and organizations. Money, volunteers, and people of spiritual teaching have been flowing into the Gompa, the Nunnery and the village in steadily increasing numbers. During our short stay in July 2001, there were 14 different nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) or individual volunteers "working" there, oft-times at cross-purposes or in duplication.

I have been struck by the lack of factual knowledge of local circumstances among the NGOs and their staffs working in Ladakh. Admittedly, such information is hard to come by. In remote mountain villages there are no vital statistics, no birth and death certificates, no diagnostic codes regularly and uniformly recorded and stored. Information of this type can be acquired only by careful household surveys (methodology that requires patience and tolerance for participant bias and failing memories). It is easy, I reckon, for the outsider to be charmed by the institutions of Tibetan Buddhism and the seeming serenity of village life, and then to focus on the institutions, not the villagers. Efforts and money to preserve and strengthen institutional and ritual life can overlook the status and needs of the villagers under the assumption that existing structures of spiritual and secular activity, with their long history and traditional status, provide for all of the villagers' requirements. If Ladakh was in fact a Shangri La, then preserving the status quo with passion would be sensible and desirable. But it is not.

Many foreign traditional medicine enthusiasts are fascinated with the mysteries and mysticism of Tibetan Buddhism and its traditional healing practices and have become fervent devotees, passionate about preserving this aspect of Tibetan Buddhist culture. It seems that the emphasis on the purity of amchi medicine is, in large part, a Western idea. The foreign enthusiasts' resistance to change, in the face of the local peoples' wishes, came across in dramatic fashion in the following incident.

My team and I were visiting Lingshed at the request and invitation of Geshe Ngawang Jangchup in July 2001. On this, our third visit, he asked that we teach the local amchis how to take blood pressures and temperatures; two simple measurements taught to the pupils at the traditional Tibetan Amchi school in Dharmasala sponsored by the Dalai Lama's Tibetan administration in exile. The day we arrived in Lingshed, the Geshe and I met with a dozen or more of the amchis from Lingshed and the surrounding villages. He told them he wanted us to do the teaching during our stay. Two Europeans were present during the Geshe's and my comments and witnessed the approval of the amchis for learning these techniques and acquiring the equipment by donation.

According to others present, after the Geshe and I had spoken and had left, the Europeans expressed their opposition, saying that learning and using these Western techniques would damage the status and the integrity of traditional amchi medicine. They said that because the amchis do not

keep records, the information gained by their taking temperatures and blood pressures would be lost. Teaching the local amchis these techniques would be a waste of time. No consideration appears to have been given to teaching the amchis to keep records, to giving the amchis the enhanced ability to identify conditions that might be better managed by scientific medicine, such as toxemia of pregnancy or serious infectious disease with high fever. The notion of closer integration of traditional Tibetan and Western medicine was never even raised.

The traditional humbleness of Ladakhi villagers has been well described by John Crook and others. Villagers are very likely to accede to the recommendations of outsiders as a mark of their respect and of their own humility. So, under the influence of the Western foreigners, the amchis canceled our teaching sessions to both my and the Geshe's embarrassment. A day or so later, one of the apprentice amchis who was present at the first meeting came to our camp seeking care for a skin rash on his face. It was classic impetigo, with a positive screening test for group A streptococci. His child had impetigo, and we had seen half a dozen school children with impetigo when we screened the school children. The apprentice amchi was treated topically and with oral penicillin. His thanks were mixed with chagrin at the change of heart of the amchis for our plans to teach them how to measure temperature and blood pressure. Later that day, one of our opponents came to camp. When asked about our failed attempt to teach, she said the amchis were opposed to degradation of traditional amchi medicine and then proceeded to ask me for 5,000 rupees to pay for an eye operation for one of the amchis! I demurred and declined.

More interested in ethnobotany, the mysteries of amchi medicine, and the legitimization of traditional amchi medicine, outsiders have established amchi-only clinics and quasi-insurance payment schemes that charge families 100 rupees a year to cover the costs of the amchis' services and the acquisition and preparation of herbs. This is a complex and costly scheme for villages of poor subsistence farmers and pastoralists and does not address some of the acute and continuing health problems of the people; amchis traditionally are not consulted for maternal morbidity and mortality and childhood death rates as high as 20 to 50 percent.

The effect of the decision to cancel the blood pressure and temperature taking session limits the potential of the traditional medicine practitioners in advancing and managing the health problems of the community. Constricting their practice because of outsiders' passion for preserving the presumed purity of traditional Tibetan medicine not only ignores the Buddhist requirement for compassion for all sentient beings, but flies in the face of attempts to place the management of health care in the remote villages in the hands and the hearts of the local populace. Amchi clinics and payment schemes are a Western experiment which has been undertaken without the informed or written consent of the villagers who are being asked to pay their money for a health care scheme which may do nothing about some of the most serious health problems the villagers suffer.

The objective of my work in these villages has been to utilize all of the health resources: the amchis, medical assistants, school teachers, traditional birth attendants, and the Sangha of the Gompa and Nunnery in efforts to improve the health status of the villagers. There is only one medical assistant in Lingshed who serves the entire region, and none in the surrounding villages and hamlets. There are no trained traditional birth attendants and no trained midwives. However, most of the villages have an amchi. The local amchis, therefore, represent an important resource for their communities: a resource that goes well beyond their traditional boundaries of practice. The failure to integrate systems of medicine may preserve traditional amchi medicine but it may also prolong serious health problems in the remote mountain villages.

The Ladakh Studies Colloquium in Oxford in September 2001 introduced me to many good-hearted scholars and field workers. It seems to me that the numerous issues that surround "doing good" need to be discussed and debated openly and with good nature. Preservation is important! Improving health and subsistence is important! One of our tasks surely must be to integrate passion, preservation, protection, and progress for the benefit of the Ladakhi people.

#### CONFERENCE REPORT

# LADAKH IN REGIONAL PERSPECTIVE

# Mansfield College, Oxford, 7-10 September 2001

The 10th IALS conference took place in the congenial surroundings of Mansfield College, Oxford. Its success can be gauged by the wide range of participants and papers: more than 70 people from 11 countries came to listen to a total of 36 papers on subjects ranging from theatre to nomads, pre-1947 trade, nuns' education, and the village politics of Ladakh.

Mansfield is one of the more modern Oxford colleges, having been founded as recently as the 19th century. The stone buildings around the quadrangle nonetheless convey an atmosphere of scholarly gravit s — ideal for an academic conference. The only mild disappointment was that no one found time for croquet on the college lawn: we were all far too busy.

The first Recent Research on Ladakh conference took place in Konstanz (Germany) in 1981, and the IALS was formerly established in 1987 after the third colloquium in Herrnhut (in the then East Germany). Twenty years on, it is gratifying to find as much life as ever in the field of Ladakh studies, with new avenues for research still opening up. We were particular pleased to welcome both veteran and younger participants from South Asia, including 11 from Ladakh itself and one from Baltistan.

This year we chose a broad regional theme, encouraging paper-givers to present their topics in a wider perspective rather than looking at Ladakh in isolation. Participants responded in a variety of different ways. Some papers were explicitly comparative. Others focussed on Ladakh's political and economic links with its neighbours. Still others discussed specific aspects of the cultural and economic life of neighbouring regions such as Spiti, Paldar and Baltistan. In a short review, it is difficult to give full justice to the richness of the topics: the following is a selection of some of the main themes

After introductory talks by John Bray and Clare Harris (the two conference convenors), Abdul Ghani Sheikh gave an overview of Ladakh's historical links with its neighbours. Abdul Ghani Sheikh is renowned in Ladakh for his fiction as well as his historical research. His paper was followed by the official launch of his latest book, *Forsaking Paradise*, a collection of short stories translated from the Urdu by Ravina Aggarwal.

Philip Denwood continued the comparative theme with a discussion of Ladakh's linguistic links with eastern and north-eastern Tibet. He suggested that these could be partially explained by migrations of people across regions in northern Tibet which may have been more accessible in earlier times before the process of desertification set in.

Ladakh's trade relations with neighbouring regions in India and Central Asia emerged as a key topic in several papers. Jacqueline Fewkes and Abdul Nasir Khan told of their researches on a set of trade records from the first half of the 20th century. The documents had been kept in private ownership, and were written in a variety of different languages and scripts, reflecting the diverse international nature of Ladakh's commercial contacts. Even more graphically, Gulzar Hussain Munshi showed slides of trade goods which had been lying forgotten in a store in Kargil since the closure of the Central Asian trade in the 1940s. He hopes that these will eventually be put on display in a Kargil museum.

In recent years a number of Indian and international scholars have been working in the nomadic regions of Changthang. Recent reports have been mixed. On the one hand we now know more of the nomad's way of life. On the other, we are more aware of the economic and social pressures they face. Ajit Chaudhuri discussed the Changpas' social system and governance, while Sarah Goodall presented a paper on the pressures on nomads to leave Changthang for a more

settled life in and around Leh. Alka Sabharwal analysed the Changpas' trade relations with settled communities in Zangskar, Lahul and Spiti.

The pressures of modernity came up in several ways. Thierry Dodin gave an overview of the ways that Buddhist institutions had responded to social and political change in the 19th and 20th centuries. Ani Palmo, a practising nun, gave an insider's view of the contemporary educational needs of Ladakhi nuns. Emily Hyde compared the impact of tourism on Ladakh and Nepal. Gitanjali Chaturvedi reviewed the key issues in contemporary Ladakhi politics. More painfully, Kaneez Fatima gave us a frontline report on the impact of the 1999 Kargil war on development in her home region.

One of the challenges facing modern Ladakh is the preservation of its many ancient monuments. Reinhard Sander gave an overview of the dilemmas and challenges of architectural conservation. Sunder Paul discussed the Archaeological Survey of India's restoration work on the Tisseru Stupa, near Leh. The restoration project raises the question how far one can or should go in restoring a monument whose original design remains uncertain.

Other papers focussed on different aspects of history and biography, anthropology, medicine, material culture and ritual, theatre and performance. We look forward to sharing all these with a wider audience in the conference proceedings. Stephen Brigdale and Patrick Sutherland complemented the various papers with photographic exhibitions of Ladakh and Spiti, and these were on display in the entrance hall and registration areas.

We benefited from Oxford hospitality in several different ways within Mansfield and beyond. After the opening session on Friday 7th September, we moved to a reception at the Pitt Rivers Museum, where Clare Harris had set up an exhibition of Ladakh photographs taken by Col RCF Schomberg in 1947. On the Saturday evening, we sat down to a formal dinner in the college dining hall. Immediately before and after the conference, there were guided tours of the Himalayan material in the Bodleian Library, and the Pitt Rivers and Ashmolean Museums.

We had first discussed plans for the Oxford conference in 1998, and the late Michael Aris — who was then at St Antony's College — promised his support. Sadly, Michael died in March 1999. We are therefore all the more grateful for financial support from the Michael Aris Memorial Trust for Tibetan and Himalayan Studies, which was set up in his memory. We feel sure that Michael would have approved of the colloquium. We also received financial and other support from the British Academy, the Society for South Asian Studies, the Oxford University Committee for South Asian Studies, the Pitt Rivers Museum and the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Oxford. We thank all these organisations for helping make the conference possible.

Finally, we all owe particular thanks to Clare Harris, who did so much to co-ordinate the conference planning in Oxford itself; to Francesca Merritt (IALS treasurer); and to the staff of Mansfield College. Without their hard work, the conference truly would have been impossible.

# ABSTRACTS

# Tenth Colloquium of the IALS Mansfield College

Oxford, 7 - 9 September 2001

Aggarwal, Ravina – Dance of the Marksmen: The Argon Dartses of Leh

Cultural performances can provide insights into the symbolic, social, and political dimensions of culture. In this paper, I present an analysis of the Argon Dartses, a carnival of dance, music, drama, and sport that was immensely popular in Leh at one time. The history and organization of

this archery festival sheds light on the construction of masculinity, social status, political power, and inter-religious relations in Ladakh.

Ahmed, Monisha - Carpet weaving in Ladakh and the influence of Sonam Paljor

Marco Pallis, one of the few writers on Ladakh in the first part of the twentieth century who looked at material culture, made a passing reference in his book 'Peaks and Lamas' that has long interested me, 'at Kalatze [Khalatse], lived the only man with any reputation for weaving rugs.' Who was this man, albeit nameless, and why did Pallis single him out?

Carpets are a ubiquitous sight in almost all houses and tents in Ladakh, as well as monasteries and mosques. Woven from wool, with a thick pile, their deep colours and simple geometric designs give them their own appeal. This paper examines traditional weaving systems in Ladakh, with a specific focus on carpet making. It looks at the history of carpet weaving in the region, as well as the trade in carpets. The role and influence of Sonam Paljor, who worked first in Khalatse and then taught at the Industrial School started by the Moravian Missionaries is also discussed.

Allan, Nigel - Transhimalayan migrations in the late period, Northwestern India

The publication in 1878 of the six-volume set of 'Routes in Asia' under the general editorship of Gen. Roberts effectively ended the 'Great Game' between Tsarist Russia and imperial India. Volumes Two and Six relate specifically to the Indian cultural region in the western Hindukush-Himalaya. An analysis of the detailed travel routes, passes and maps enumerated in the volumes demonstrates that all the pathways through the marchlands into India were known by 1878. The victory of Gladstone in the British general election of 1880 solidified the new policy of withdrawal from the 'Scientific Frontier' into the lower altitude Indus River tracts. An examination of regional movements of the last four centuries indicates the shifting nature of the marchlands and the continual role of Central Asia in this area.

Chaturvedi, Gitanjali -- Key issues in contemporary Ladakhi politics

My paper focuses on politics in Ladakh at two levels. At the regional level, I examine the evolution of the Ladakh Autonomous Council as a culmination of the demands raised by Ladakhis to recognise cultural and linguistic differences between Jammu and Kashmir and Ladakh. Also, obvious economic imbalances and the absence of basic sanitation and education prompted such demands. Politically, Ladakh can be seen as distancing itself from the national question of Kashmir. The formation of the Council has brought Ladakh under direct assistance of the Centre. Thus, Ladakh on the one hand has direct access to the material resources of the State; on the other, is also a player in national politics. Here I shall attempt to examine how Ladakh is part of the nationalistic agenda of inclusion and of unifying India into a composite whole.

Chaudhuri, Ajit – Social systems and governance among the Changpas of Ladakh The Changthang is a unique part of Ladakh. Its high altitude, extreme climate and remoteness render the region unsuitable for agriculture, which is otherwise Ladakh's predominant occupation. Pastoralism, practised in various forms, is the only form of livelihood here. It is eminently suited to the region; the extreme cold, exacerbated by strong winds that blow across wide valleys, and the low precipitation make this region a natural habitat of the pashmina goat, sheep and yak. The Changpas, have adjusted to the elements and successfully eked out an existence for thousands of years. They are a nomadic pastoral community who rear these animals - moving from place to place across the Changthang, staying in yak wool tents (rebos) at altitudes ranging from 14,500' to 18,500' and temperatures which go to -45 in winter.

The social systems that have evolved among the Changpas draw from Tibetan Buddhism and therefore have similarities with Buddhist communities all over Ladakh. Yet they are distinct, as they have been adapted to the requirements of each Changpa community's specific livelihood strategies. This paper looks at social systems and institutions of governance amongst the Changpa communities in Rupshu-Kharnak and examines the suitability of these to the livelihood strategies that they adopt through a description of the two main social institutions of the Changpas, the family and the village.

Chin, Nancy – Women's life histories: linking maternal status with Buddhist ideology

A variety of indicators of women's status correlate strongly with specific health outcomes in their children. Demographic variables such as years of maternal education, social class, religion, age, and work status show strong associations with a variety of child health outcomes, including: incidence of diarrhoea, acute respiratory illness, malnutrition, and under-five mortality. Religion in particular seems to mediate woman's status such that Buddhist communities appear to grant women greater latitude in house-hold decision-making than do those of any other religion. While these correlates have been repeatedly demonstrated in studies of women in Latin America, Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, it is still not yet well understood how these variables translate into good (or poor) child health. What are the exact mechanisms by which high maternal status translates into better child health? This summer I will be collecting a series of life history narratives from women the community has identified as exemplary Buddhist householders in order to explore this association between women's status and child health. These data will be used towards the development of theoretical models that would explain the role of religion in mediating gender categories and the consequences this has for the status of women and the health of their children. The central theoretical questions of this project are:

- \* How does the system of religious thought and practices impact the operation of gender categories in Himalayan Buddhist Villages?
- \* What are the consequences for maternal and child health?

Cook, Robert - Ladakh and sustainability

This paper is based on my PhD research in Ladakh in 1998 and 2000 which focused on the villages of Umla and Stagmo and the work of the development agencies, both governmental and NGO. The purpose of the work was to build on the theories of sustainable development by analysing the problems of creating and preserving 'sustainable' systems in Ladakh.

There is a wide range of definitions of sustainable development, but community, social equity, and the preservation of resources for the future are its key principles. These principles, as one might expect, are to be found most obviously in self-reliant communities such as those found in Ladakh. As "needs" and desires change, however, "sustainability" tends to become concerned with marrying together the two ostensibly contradictory systems of local socio-economic structures and global economic processes. This is central to the problem of sustainability in Ladakh today, as it is across the world. Although in many respects Ladakh may be seen as being far nearer the attainment of such a balance than are most countries, the present processes of change are making its fulfilment increasingly problematic.

The field research was focused on interviews and observation amongst villagers, development agencies, and government officials. This is complemented by a review of sustainable development theory. Recommendations are made for a re-appraisal of the objectives and purposes of development in Ladakh with particular emphasis on the crucial role of local NGOs.

Denwood, Philip - Ladakhi dialects in their regional perspective

Publications in Tibetan dialectology of recent decades have placed Ladakhi and its neighbour Balti among the better-studied of Tibetan regional dialects. At the same time research has progressed into Lhasa Tibetan and into a number of other dialects particularly from Eastern Tibet and Bhutan. The time is ripe for using these studies in a reappraisal of Tibetan dialects which goes beyond that of the traditional phonological/orthographic comparison of syllable initial consonant clusters and the traditional Tibetan spelling system, with its rather crude classification of 'archaic', 'transitional' and 'non-archaic' dialects, assumed to have evolved separately from an 'original' Tibetan represented by the spelling system.

A more sophisticated analysis will allow for the possibility of population movements at various times in history, and inter-dialectal influences. An example would be the case of the so-called Washul dialects of Eastern Tibet, whose ultimate origin is sometimes traced to the western parts of the Tibetan-speaking region, perhaps including Ladakh. It will also take into account grammatical comparison, largely neglected by earlier scholars, as well as phonological.

Possibilities of interconnection in a different direction are raised by recent studies of Indo-Aryan languages, including Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, which have revealed an ever-more complex linguistic situation in ancient South Asia in which early dialects of the western parts of the Tibetan-speaking world might have played some part. In view of the paucity of historical and archaeological information, such linguistic studies should have an important part to play in reconstructing the history and settlement of the Tibetan-speaking peoples.

Dodin, Thierry - Buddhism and society in modern Ladakh

Up to the middle of the nineteenth century Buddhist religious institutions were intimately connected and functioned with the support of the political structures of Ladakh. With the loss of independence, however, this traditional frame broke apart and Buddhism had to define anew its position within the Ladakhi society. This paper will retrace the process of adaption of Buddhism within this new context. Particular attention will be given to the different phases of the process and the seemingly contradictory moments of creativity and conservatism on the backdrop of the long-term development of Ladakhi culture.

Dollfus, Pascale – The Great sons of Thang stong rgyal po : the Buchen of the Pin valley, Spiti (Himachal Pradesh)

Though the dGe lugs pa are the most prominent religious group in Spiti, the Pin valley, in the south-western corner of the tehsil (sub-district), shelters the only monastery belonging to the rNying ma pa order. In that area, alongside the monks, nuns and a large number of married priests or lamas who perform a range of ritual functions for the community, there are the so-called bu chen or 'great sons'. In fact, these hereditary religious specialists claim to be the sons - in Tibetan bu- of the great siddha Thang stong rgyal po, conceived as their former preceptor whose teachings were handed down orally from generation to generation, from father to son, or uncle to nephew. They wander from village to village telling edifying stories and performing an impressive ritual known in Tibetan as 'breaking a stone on the body' in which a heavy stone is crushed upon the chest of a man in order to destroy a demon who has taken its abode there. As this 'strange ceremonial' apparently peculiar to the Buchen has been dealt with in detail by others this paper will only give a general overview of its main sequences. The emphasis will be more on the social and economic context and on raising questions such as: who are the Buchen, how numerous are they, how do they make a living, what are their religious functions, how is their identity and status defined, how are they recruited and trained?

# Fatima, Kaneez - The impact of the Kargil war on development

In the summer of 1999 Kargil was attacked by intruders from Pakistan. From positions high in the local mountain ranges, the intruders also were able to threaten the national highway connecting Srinagar and Leh. In Kargil 30 people were killed and large numbers were injured. This paper discusses the impact of the war on local development, with particular reference to the role of women in post-war rehabilitation.

Fewkes, Jacqueline and Abdul Nasir Khan – Re-evaluating the sources: construction of local/global identity in Ladakh

This study of ethnohistory is based on fieldwork carried out in Leh (2000-2001) and incorporates a theoretical discussion concerning globalisation and identity. We studied the personal records of two former caravan route officials in Leh dating from 1904 to 1948. These memos, letters, receipts, account books, export permits, and telegrams written mainly in patawari Urdu and Farsi, with a few in Ladakhi and English, trace the movement of a variety of goods to and from China, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan and India. Many address the unique problems of traders who suddenly found that they could no longer cross newly closed boundaries between China, India, and Pakistan. They reflect the varying political status of Ladakh, as a subject of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, in relation to the British colonial system, and finally as part of the independent nation of India. They portray the Leh community's role as a trade stop, creating an alternative view of the relationship between local identification and globalisation which does not rely on an urban setting or late 20th century technology.

The process of finding and working with translators became a lesson in history and identity itself and in the process of fieldwork several issues became important: the variables of authorship of documents, the choice of sources, the medium of translation, and the question of how to contextualise fragmented pieces of knowledge.

Goodall, Sarah – "Sedentarisation: change and adaptation among the nomadic communities of Rupshu/Kharnak"

The primary focus of my research has been to document and investigate the trend of sedentarisation among the nomadic pastoralist communities of Rupshu, Kharnak and Korzok. Although this migration from a transhumant existence on the high altitude plateau of Changthang to a settled life in and around Leh has been traced back to the early 1960's, the rate of settlement has increased dramatically over the past 10 to 15 years. This movement has serious social, cultural and economic implications for the nomadic communities, the destination towns and villages and the individual migrants. As in most developing regions of the world, rural to urban migration is an increasingly important issue facing Ladakh and the sedentarisation of Ladakhi nomads can be viewed as part of this process. However, at a broader level, the trend of sedentarisation among nomadic pastoral groups around the world has been widely documented as a feature of the late 20th Century. The most common cause is forced settlement (which is not the case in Ladakh), followed by external economic, social and environmental pressures. The overriding question this paper will address is: if sedentarisation of nomadic communities is a feature of the late 20th Century, will these external and internally driven changes signal the end for the nomadic culture of Ladakh; or rather, will they engender adaptations which may alter the character, yet allow for the continuation of this resilient group of people? The phenomenon of out-migration may, in fact, not be as final and uni-directional the term 'sedentarisation' implies.

Harris, Clare – The missionary turns ethnographer: Walter Asboe's collecting strategies in Ladakh and Lahul

Amongst the 270,000 object in the Pitt Rivers Museum there are several hundred whose regional provenance is given as Ladakh, Lahul or Kyelang. On closer examination it seems that the majority of these objects was collected by the Moravian missionary Walter Asboe. Over the course of twenty five years in the region, Asboe carried out many of the duties of a missionary, reestablished Francke's newspaper, managed 'The Gospel Inn' and oversaw agricultural projects. These activities have been noted by John Bray but Asboe's other activities as an amateur anthropologist and collector of ethnographic objects are less well documented. This paper examines these aspects of his career and considers his collection in the light of recent research on colonialism and material culture.

Herdick, Reinhard – Structural development of sacred buildings and historical ensembles in Ladakh exemplified by Lamayuru: is the regional concept of preservation of cultural monuments by global guidelines desirable?

The starting point for this paper is the dramatic change in the structure of buildings caused by modernisation. Ladakh is about to lose its appearance and cultural identity - a process of which most Ladakhis are not conscious - and this is happening on a different level to that of Tibet. "Time does not stand still". Architecture also submits itself to a process of modification free of any value judgement. Architecture is the expression of society subjected to change at a faster pace then ever before. The questions at hand are: whether the building tradition should remain visible as a cultural root in its unaltered form; whether Ancient and Modern can exist side by side; and whether we should scrutinize recent development in a critical way, for example when structural climatic defects are exhibited or if it leads to the whole-scale loss of cultural appearance.

After a short definition of the basic character of the Ladakhi building tradition the topic of this contribution is the structural development process, the various opinions of the renewal of building traditions and a "better" implementation approach to preservation. Some solutions are demonstrated using Lamayuru as an example: here, the structure of the (allegedly) most ancient Ladakhi monastery has been changed considerably and the structure of the village has altered. Its ancient core has become dominated by the new road which influences every new structure in the village.

In conclusion, the question is whether the principles of protection for listed historic buildings and monuments, as they are applied in western countries, can be applied to Ladakh. Traditional building can be more costly and modernization does not necessarily contradict tradition.

Howard, Neil – The development of the boundary between Jammu and Kashmir and British India on the Lingti plain of south-east Zanskar and Ladakh

The present boundary between the Indian states of Jummu and Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh is substantially the same as that established between J&K and British India by the boundary commissioners of the mid-19th century. The boundary permanently separated the administrations of Lahul and Spiti from that of Zanskar and Ladakh despite their close and longstanding cultural connections. Yet this boundary was not created for the first time in the mid-19th century; it was at least 150 years older. There are indications that earlier still it followed a somewhat different line; and behind these considerations there is the question of to what extent, and when, Lahul belonged to the kings of Ladakh. Such evidence as we have will be reviewed. The Lingti Plain is significant because it is where the old trade route from the eastern Panjab to Leh and Yarkand entered Ladakhi territory and because there is a surprising amount of confusion in the maps about the actual line of the boundary there.

My paper will be illustrated by slides from my fieldwork surveys which will also, as a by-product, demonstrate the remarkable accuracy of William Moorcroft's topographical observations on this part of his journey to Leh.

Hyde, Emily and Richard V. Lee – Tourism in different settings: the examples of towns of the Indus valley and remote villages of Zanskar

The impact of tourism on communities is determined in part by the state of development and access to categories of transportation: pedestrians, wheeled vehicles, motorized vehicles. Remote villages with a smaller burden of tourist traffic have a different pattern of ecologic, economic, and cultural impact compared to communities accessible to large flows of tourists and motorized vehicular traffic. This is not to say that there is less impact in remote as opposed to accessible communities; the effect of tourism can be just as profound in both settings, but has very different content.

Lee, Richard – Differing patterns of goitre prevalence in the Northwestern Himalaya

Iodine deficiency goitre and endemic cretinism, first described in the Gilgit region of the Northwestern Himalayan Mountains, are common health problems in the Himalayan region. Continuing studies on the health status of remote mountain villages in the Warwan River Valley of Kashmir and the Zanskar region of Ladakh have revealed a distinct difference in the prevalence and severity of iodine deficient thyroid disease. The difference may be related to the geology of the two regions. The Zanskar mountain ridge is composed of uplifted sedimentary rock containing marine fossils, suggesting that the rarity of clinically detectable goitre among the Zanskar villagers is related to available iodine in soil and water. The Warwan River flows between the Pir Panjal, a volcanic mountain range, and the northwestern slopes of the Great Himalaya Range. Villagers in the Warwan Valley have a high prevalence of clinically detectable goitre which may reflect inadequate amounts of iodine in the soil and water. Natural availability of iodine as well as culturally and geographically determined dietary practices and food items contribute to the prevalence of iodine deficiency diseases.

Marczell, Peter - Dr. James G. Gerard's projected trips to Ladakh: 1821-22, 1826, 1832

James Gilbert Gerard (1793?-1835) served throughout his career in Gurkha detachments in the Himalayas where his duties enabled him to undertake topographic explorations and climatic observations and initiate programmes of public education. Unpublished records show that Dr. Gerard made repeated attempts to visit Ladakh. At first he tried to join William Moorcroft, in May 1826 he planned to call on Csoma Kórösi in Zanskar and take him on a tour to Bokhara to recover Moorcroft's lost papers and property and in October 1832 he sought from Meshed, capital of Korassan, permission to return to India through Ladakh.

None of these projects was undertaken but the idea of the second was realised six years later by Alexander Burnes whom Dr. Gerard was allowed to accompany. Publicised by a best-selling travelogue, the feat made 'India Burnes'/Bokhara Burnes' rich and famous without any credit to the man who had the idea in the first place. This paper explores the details of the projects and demonstrates Dr. Gerard's love for the Himalayas and contemporary fascination with Tibet and Central Asia and the concomitant admiration for Moorcroft's personality and tragic enterprise. It also illustrates the workings of the East India Company in a strategic zone bordering western Tibet in the 2nd and 3rd decades of the 19th century.

Mills, Martin – The riderless horse? Possession, medicine and landscape in Ladakh

Whilst considerable ambiguity still attends the precise vocabulary of possession in Himalayan communities, two distinct trends attend Western analyses of this phenomenon at an individual level: the tendency to translate indigenous representations through late-Christian notions of demonic possession, and to interpret the events themselves through biomedically-dominated idioms of psychiatry. In either case, however, the Cartesian dichotomy of mental versus physical events

remains paradigmatic. In this paper, I argue that this paradigm ignores the strongly chthonic and bodily nature of possession found both within accounts of possession given by lhapa, and indigenous constructions of personhood within the medical and ritual context.

Munshi, Gulzar Hussain - Munshi Abdul Aziz Bhat and the central Asian trade in Kargil

My paper outlines the life of a Kargili merchant and the cultural artifacts recovered from his shop with the aim of throwing light upon the history of trade in Kargil. Kargil has been an important trading centre, on a network of national and international routes linking India, Central Asia, Tibet, and Baltistan. The traders ranged from foreign merchants, ordinary peasants, nomads, porters, and princes. Punjabi Sikhs and Hoshiapuri Lalas controlled a substantial portion of the trade from the mid-inneteent to the mid-twentieth centuries. One of these entrepreneurs was Munshi Abdul Aziz Bhat (1866-1948). Besides serving as Patwari, he was one of the first petition writers from the region in the court of Maharaja Hari Singh and the first to open a serai in the area. This serai, known as the Aziz Bhat Serai functioned as a boarding and trading centre. We are now in the process of establishing a museum from the artifacts that date from this period for the future generations of Kargil.

Nawang Tsering Shakspo – Historical perspectives of Saboo

Saboo, now a small village, was once a royal place with a castle and a stupa containing relics of Buddha's disciple Arhat Majhantika. It is said that Lhachen-Shesrab, the ruler of Ladakh between 1350-1375 built the castle of sPyang-mkhar in 1350 on the rock of Hangrtsema and settled in the Saboo village. According to historical records, the original founders of Saboo village were a group of Me-nag people from Eastern Tibet. The original name 'Safut' changed over time to Saboo, apparently derived from two words: sa meaning soil, and phud meaning the top quality or a thing presentable to gods. One king of Ladakh is said to have offered the village to his root teacher.

Saboo is a relatively large village, 8kms from Leh, composed of five distinct hamlets, each having more than 150 families: Saboo phu, Saboo, Meyak or Me-nyang, Yok-mos and Ayu or A-yum. Each of these hamlets has its own gods, associated with the most secret spots. Saboo's population of about two thousand people also venerates the family gods, pha-lha on the occasion of New Year and on other auspicious days. On the basis of pha-lhas the population is divided into a number of family groups called pha-spun which play an important role in sharing the work-load of a family at times of celebration and mourning. If a person dies the members of the pha-spun will take care of all agricultural tasks while the family grieves. Membership of a pha-spun group is voluntary and members are not necessarily connected through descent.

# Ani Palmo – The change in nuns' education in Ladakh

For a thousand years our nuns have had no any education program and we are now really in great need. I have been working to promulgate the need for proper education for the nuns in Ladakh since 1995. Education is like a lamp that we can use at any time when are in need. It is the key to both knowledge and greater possibilities in the modern world. The nuns who join nunneries today do so in the hope of receiving a modern education in addition to their monastic education. I have worked to provide secular

education for the younger nuns, which has opened their eyes to science, geography, maths and so on. The nuns also need English language skills, both oral and written. Even nuns of 70 years take a great interest in learning all the subjects that have been taught to them. Educational facilities and modern technology such as computers will give nuns the ability to do many things and will change their lives in years to come. A few nuns are now teaching in different places: some are in the nuns' schools, a few of them are in the government schools, and elsewhere. They have the skill to teach women outside their nunneries. In traditional times nuns were treated as domestic slaves or servants

to monks so their life was spent in a very sad way. Even with monastic education there is an urgent need for secular education. For the last four years the Ladakhi Nuns Association has worked very hard to promote education for the nuns in Ladakh. Most of the younger nuns who have completed 9th and 10th class have been sent for further studies by the LNA outside Ladakh. Education can open the eyes but without it they remain blind.

# Paul, Sunder - The Tisseru Stupa: its history and reconstruction

The Tisseru Stupa is the largest stupa in Ladakh with a base diameter of 55m and height of 26m. It is situated to the north west of Samker village, 2kms north of Leh town, surrounded by fields on three sides and mountains to the west. The actual name of the stupa is Tashi Otsal meaning 'eternal flame' but it is popularly known as 'Tisseru'. This is a distortion of the Ladakhi word Tigu-seru meaning 'yellow-coloured mule' and it is said that a big mule-shaped yellow rock formerly existed there. However, one day the queen of looked at it and fell ill so the rock was regarded as ominous and covered with the big stupa. In fact, the Ladakhi king Tagspa BumLde built the stupa at the end of the 14th or beginning of the 15th century. A halo of mysteries surrounds the stupa. Popular tradition says that king Tagspa BumLde imprisoned a devil inside it. According to some elders there are 108 small chapels inside.

In 1909 A.H. Francke tried to excavate the stupa but some men working in the fields were terrified and told him not to do anything to the stupa as it would bring incalculable misfortune to the country. At that time Dr. Francke believed that the stupa had something to do with the ancient graves in the proximity. The Ladakhi Chronicle only records that it was built because of some fatality in Leh.

The Archaeological Survey of India has declared the stupa a monument of National importance and has carried out restoration work. First, in the early 1980's scientific clearance of the debris was made to find evidence of its architecture drawings were prepared. The Stupa has two circular stone tiers on which are two square mud brick structures. These are four entrances but the cave of the stupa is inaccessible. The top is domed shaped. Almost 60% of the restoration work is complete.

# Pedersen, Poul – Prince Peter, polyandry and psychoanalysis

In 1938 Prince Peter went to Ladakh as the first professional anthropologist to study polyandry. The results of this study (and studies of other polyandrous societies in India and Ceylon) were included in his monograph 'A Study of Polyandry' (1963), which was strongly influenced by the functionalist anthropology of his teacher in the 1930s, Bronislaw Malinowski. What is little known, however, is that originally Prince Peter had planned his study as a contribution to psychoanalysis and the discussion about the universality of the Oedipus complex. In my paper I give an account of Prince Peter's engagement with polyandry and psychoanalysis.

Pirie, Fernanda - The impermanence of power: village politics in Ladakh, Nepal and Tibet

One of the organising principles of Ladakhi village politics is equality, a fact often obscured by the apparent importance of social stratification. This paper will describe how power is exercised by an undifferentiated, inclusive group of 'yulpa' whose activities are legitimated by an ideology of unity and agreement and how positions of responsibility are rotated evenly between them. Remarkably similar features are found throughout the vast Tibetan region, from Amdo to Mustang and even to

the Dalai Lama's regime in Tibet where the use of lots and other forms of 'chance' were the preferred methods of selecting leaders.

Turning to the distribution of power during Ladakhi history, I will suggest that the great economic and political power of the Kings and their ministers was accompanied by administrative control which only lightly penetrated village affairs and the villagers never recognised an internal ruling class or allowed a local hierarchy to develop. Following the decline in aristocratic power the egalitarian principles and the resistance to the concentration of power have become apparent in the new autonomous village structures.

Pordié, Laurent - The logics of Legitimisation: a case study of amchi medicine

Ladakh is characterised by new social values in which indigenous medical practices are being modified. Both development and institutionalisation of amchi medicine, directed by regional modernisation, accelerate the speed of change and bring new perspectives to the amchi community. The contemporary transition shows a decline in the traditional structures and a rise of new powers, which requires legitimation issues to be addressed. The amchis find their social place in a complex system which combines both tradition and modernity. They bring coherent answers to the rationalist exigencies of modernity, mobilising several agendas that can be understood as new legitimating factors.

This survey explores both rural and urban areas in order to understand the diverse logics operated by the amchi to claim their social identity and the validity of their medical art. Amchi medicine, renowned because of great physicians lineages and its overlap with religion in the villages, is today characterised by a rise of naturalistic thought and new institutionalised educational modalities in Leh. Therefore, this study reveals a relationship between social power and the way of acquisition of medical knowledge; correlated to the acceptance of biomedical cultural authority and the change of religious expression within medical practice.

Nevertheless, contemporary changes are not entirely structural but can be seen as an adjustment mechanism: the dominant traditional medical elite still has a major influence, with a different mode of legitimation and a more pragmatic and conciliatory orientation. It is within this process that we will find some of the answers to the questions raised by the transformation of the amchi legitimation logics and their new forms of expression.

Riaboff, Isabelle – Zanskar and its South-Western Tibetan-speaking neighbours: an insight into the Bod communities of Paldar and Pangi regions

Beyond the Great Himalayan range situated south-west of Zanskar are the regions of Paldar (Jammu & Kashmir) and Pangi (Himachal Pradesh), cut across by the Chenab river. Whereas the Chenab's banks are populated by Paharis (Hindu), a number of high altitude valleys - which lie along the tributaries of the Chenab - are mainly inhabited by Tibetan-speaking Buddhist communities, whose members call themselves Bod / Pn (in Paldar), one can state that these relationships rely on three cornerstones. 1. Filiation: many Bod households are descended from Zanskari ancestors (while several others have been founded by Lahuli newcomers). 2. Trade: the Bod have been acting for long as intermediaries between the Zanskarpa and the Paharis (here again, the well-known transhimalayan trade pattern used to be current). 3. Monastic affiliation: several Bod Buddhist sanctuaries belong to Bardan's religious territory (mnga'og).

Rizvi, Janet – Trade & migrant labour: inflow of resources at the grassroots

Trade and migrant labour were the two modes in which villagers from many different parts of Ladakh interacted with a wider world and contributed to their region's economy.

The Shamma, trekking every year deep into western Tibet to buy pashm and wool, are only the most notable example of Ladakh's village traders. Salt brought from Tibet by the Chang-pa and bartered against grain grown in the valleys, was the basis of one segment of the Shamma trade, and also of a complex series of commercial transactions involving the villagers of Zanskar and the Suru valley, and those of Padar (Kishtwar), Kashmir and Baltistan. Some village traders spent up to 10 months on the road, distributing the products of their own and distant areas. Whatever they brought from outside they paid for in the value they added to various commodities by shifting them from where they were plentiful to where they were scarce.

The villagers of Zanskar and the Suru valley had something else to sell-their labour. From the Suru valley hundreds went off every winter to the Punjab (including what is now Himachal Pradesh) and western UP to work on the construction of dams, buildings, roads and bridges. This is an old tradition, established at least as early as the mid 19th century. The Zanskaris preferred to cross the Shingo-la to Manali; sometimes whole families migrated during winter. Returning in time for the summer field-work, these migrant labourers brought the cash that made, for their families, all the difference between starvation and subsistence, and that added substantially to the country's resources.

Sabharwal, Alka – Trade exchange as a means to sustainable development

This paper is about the interdependence of different communities of the high Himalayan region. The Himalayan pastoralists and settled cultivators have developed systems of mutual support which have facilitated sustainable resource use in the varying ecological niches of a region characterised by scarce resources. The Changpas have adapted to nomadic pastoralism in the Chang Tang plains which allows herding throughout the year whereas successful agriculture is not possible. But they sustain nomadic pastoralism only through the support from neighbouring communities of settle cultivators in Zanskar, Spiti and Lahaul who provide them with food grains. Similarly, the settled cultivators are dependent on the Changpas for animal produce like wood and meat which are essential commodities for high mountain dwellers. These reciprocal relations have remained significant in those regions of the Himalayas which are otherwise resource poor. Currently, however, the Changpas are facing an alteration in their trade relations. State interventions have been inconsiderate to the interdependence of the local communities, treating them as isolated units. As a result, there are signs of reduced nomadic movement and changes in herd size and composition. This has been detrimental to the practice of nomadic pastoralism and has also increased the uncertainties and risks of Changpas' life in the Chang Tang plain.

Schmidt, Matthias – Land use and property rights in Shigar/Baltistan

Shigar, located in the central Karakorum is one of the main valleys in Baltistan. Traditionally, the mixed mountain agriculture, a combination of animal husbandry and agriculture based on canal irrigation, forms the main element of the subsistence economy of almost all households in Shigar. Apart from water, which is essential in this arid region, land can be seen as the fundamental resource for economic activities. Consequently, ownership of land has always been linked with social status and political influence. Before 1842, Shigar, including the side valleys Basha and Braldo, was one of the most important principalities of Baltistan. For centuries the Raja of Shigar ruled autocratically and defined all land within his territory as his personal property giving land to the farmer population only in exchange for services and taxes. A few years after the Dogras took control over Baltistan the region became part of the Princely State

few years after the Dogras took control over Baltistan the region became part of the Princely State of Jammu and Kashmir. In connection with a full land settlement at the beginning of the 20th century all cultivated land was measured and classified according to its soil quality, forming the base for a new land revenue system. For the first time the local landholders were given defined

titles on land in the form of occupancy or property rights. After 1948, when Pakistan took over the administration in Baltistan, the revenue system remained unchanged until 1974 when the taxation of land was abolished. Recent changes including a considerable population growth, new mobility patterns and opportunities for non-agricultural occupations require new strategies to secure the livelihood of the local population that are not necessarily connected with land. However, the understanding of land use and property rights offers a deep insight into the sociopolitical and economic system of Shigar.

Sheikh, Abdul Ghani – Ladakh in Regional Perspective: Past and Present

Ladakh's strategic importance has long been recognised, but has brought it both advantages and disadvantages. This paper gives a historical overview of Ladakh's relationships with its neighbours.

Sonam Joldan - Tibet's cultural ties with Ladakh

The term 'cultural relations' can be interpreted to include a number of aspects but my emphasis is on religious and spiritual ties. The Tibetan polity and culture have been decisively shaped by Buddhism, which was founded by Gautama Buddha around 2500 years ago in India. Buddhism came to Tibet from India in the 5th century, and during its long history it has brought tremendous changes in Tibetan society. All the four major traditions of Tibetan Buddhism were well-established as Tibet became a leading Mahayana Buddhist centre, headed politically and spiritually by the Dalai Lamas from the 14th century.

In Ladakh, the real influence of Buddhism came from Tibet. The arrival of lama missionaries, the education of Ladakhi lamas in Tibet and trade played a major role. By 1000 AD. Tibetan language and culture had spread throughout Ladakh. In the past, there has been a tendency to think that the trans-Himalayan states with cultural ties to and political significance for Tibet have been subordinate to the latter. This summary argues otherwise. This is in keeping with the contemporary views of Ladakhis and others. The fact is that there have been considerable developments from the earlier traditional relations. Firstly, there has been a steady growth of local identity in the Lamaist areas in the trans-Himalaya which is a new social fact that needs to be recognised and considered when studying the cultural ties. Second, there has been unprecedented modern historical development which has transformed South Asia into an engine of change. Economic growth, education, etc., have pulled the Lamaist-areas indirectly, invisibly away from Buddhist Tibet towards South Asia.

Thakur. Balwant - The theatre movement in Ladakh

Drama, Zosgar, is an important art in Ladakh. A theatre movement was started in sixties by Tashi Rabgias and the Venerable Yeshe Tondup of Stog. Tashi Rabgias had seen modern dramas and cinema pictures during his college education in Srinagar and had talent as a poet and writer in the local language. The learned Geshe was not only a doctor of Buddhist logic and philosophy but had studied the Snyang-ngage-Melong-ma, the Sanskrit poetical book of Kavaya-darsh written by Dande.

A stage was built near the site of the old Devi temple. The long text of Namthar was reduced to modern dramas and new songs were composed. Morup Namgail, a young clerk in the LBA with a melodious voice rose as a talented drama artist and singer. Another young man of talent was the late Phuntsog Tsering Roupa who could sing, play the flute, table, daman, harip, rebab and harmonium. Initially, Tashi Rabgias worked as the composer of songs and drama director. Then gradually, Morup Namgail and Phuntsog Tsering became directors and staged many dramas, mostly using the texts written by the Ven. Yeshe Tondup and Tashi Rabgias.

Morup Namgail later became the director of the Lamdon dramatic club and in the meantime another dramatic club, the Nyamtsos, came into being with Tashi Rabgais as President. But after many years and with the death of Phuntsog Tsering the Nyamtsos club came to its end and after 1971 when Morup Namgail joined the Leh Radio the Lamdon dramatic club also declined.

Trewin, Mark – The music of Ladakh and Baltistan in Regional Perspective

Ladakh's musical tradition has been influenced by neighbouring Baltistan. This paper draws on the author's research in both regions to identify similarities and points of contact.

Warikoo, K.S. – Political linkages between Ladakh and Eastern Turkestan under the Dogras during the nineteenth century

Due to the geographical contiguity with Eastern Turkestan and existence of active overland trade routes and socio-cultural links between the two regions, Ladakh and Kashmir played in important role in the process of Central Asia's intercourse with India in political, commercial and cultural spheres since ancient times. However, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the extent and pattern of these exchanges was conditioned on the one hand by the state of diplomatic relations existing between the three empires of the world- Britain, Russia and China, and on the other hand by the level of influence maintained by the Dogra rulers of Jammu and Kashmir State in the adjoining territories of Eastern Turkestan (also called as Xinjiang) and Tibet. This paper seeks to explore the trans-Himalayan contacts between Ladakh and Eastern Turkestan offering new insights into Ladakh's links with the Chinese part of Central Asia, presently known as Xinjiang, under the Dogras. This assumes importance particularly because the Dogra rulers were keen not only to retain but also to promote these linkages notwithstanding the increasing British interference in Jammu and Kashmir affairs.

This paper also throws light on the traditional border between Ladakh and Eastern Turkestan during this period.

### **NEW FILM**

## A QUESTION OF TOMORROW - THE BROGPAS OF LADAKH

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In a crowded kitchen, dank with the smell of fermented barley beer, Nawang Tsewang narrates the story of how the Brogpas migrated from Gilgit to their present homeland in the upper reaches of the Himalayas in north-western Ladakh. At one time the Brogpas inhabited several villages, stretching from Khalatse in the north to Dras in the south. But gradually they were divided along linguistic and religious lines, and assimilated into the larger Ladakhi society. Today, the Brogpas number no more than a few thousand, and the survival of their distinct culture clings by a tenuous thread.

This film explores the vulnerability of the Brogpas as they confront the process of transformation, and raises questions for the community as they contemplate their future. In a world where indigenous peoples and their environments are vanishing at an alarming rate, this film resolutely explores the Brogpa worldview and their perceptions of their fragility in the question of tomorrow.

Mohi-ud-Din Mirza is from Kashmir, and makes films on social and economic issues concerning the Indian Diaspora. One of his best ethnographic films is "Lolaab", which won both the President of India's National award and the Commonwealth award in 1993 for best documentary film. Lolaab is a village, in district Kupwara, situated near the Line of Control in Kashmir. The film explores the ethnic distinctions that remain only in the memories of people living there, as well as the adversities facing marginalized communities.

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### BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LADAKH SUPPLEMENT NO. 13

by John Bray

This supplement lists additions to updates in previous editions of *Ladakh Studies* and in my *Bibliography of Ladakh* (Warminister: Aris & Phillips, 1988). Entries marked with an asterisk have not been seen by the compiler. Please send new references and suggested annotations to John Bray (Central Lodge, 55B Central Hill, LONDON SE19 1BS; e-mail: JNBray@aol.com). A new edition of the bibliography is to be published by Orchid Press, Bangkok, in 2002.

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### NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

- Martijn van Beek <etnomvb@hum.au.dk> is hon. editor of Ladakh Studies and Associate Professor in the Department of Ethnography and Social Anthropology at the University of Aarhus in Denmark.
- Richard V. Lee is Professor of Medicine, Pediatrics, and Obstetrics and Adjunct Professor of Anthropology at the State University of New York at Buffalo. He has been interested in the health of isolated populations all of his professional life and has worked in the Brazilian Amazon, the Southern Andes (Chile), the Northern Frontier District of Kenya, and the Northwestern Himalaya (Kashmir and Ladakh).