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Special
Focus
on
Himalayas

Mewar University
Knowledge to Wisdom

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Editor, Journal of Indian Research
Mewar University
Sector-4C, Vasundhara, Delhi-Gzb. Link Road, Ghaziabad-201012 (U.P.)
Phone : 0120-4758300
E-mail: jir@mewaruniversity.org, Website : http://mujournal.mewaruniversity.in

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Design & Production

Samvad Media Pvt. Ltd.
E-mail:media.samvad@gmail.com
Ph: 011-23517803

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MISCELLANEOUS

CHAIRPERSON'S MESSAGE

The Himalayas are not merely the highest and youngest mountain system separating Indian subcontinent from the Asian mainland. Profound significance of Himalayas for the people of South Asia goes much beyond the geopolitical divide and extends deeply into climatological, geological, hydrological, ecological, ethnological, cultural and religious realms. Fortunately the much neglected field of Himalayan studies has received a boost by the decision of the new government at the centre for allocating hundred crore rupees for creation of a national centre for Himalayan studies in its first budget.

It is a matter of great pride for Mewar University that *Journal of Indian Research* has come out with an excellent issue centered on Himalayas and thus becoming the pioneering contributor in the great task of rejuvenation of this project of national and international importance. Binod Singh reviews the ancient literature tracing the depiction of sacred mountains of Kailash Mansarovar in Indian classical literature and mythology. George van Driem's paper presents Eastern Himalayas as a cradle of ethnogenesis while exposing the Mongoloid myth and Sino Tibetan language family. Dr Alana Golmei uses oral history to examine the theories regarding the origin and migration of Zeliangrong ethnic group of Manipur. Glenn Mullin and Suchandana Chatterjee in their articles explore the various aspects of Trans- Himalayan Buddhism as it meets the challenge of existential crisis. Niraj Kumar and Chingngaih Biak argue for reading history of the region through deciphering textile patterns. Geo-strategic aspects of Himalayas have been well covered by Ambassador P. Stobdan, and Professor K. Warikoo. Nitin Gokhale critiques the voices of demilitarization of Siachen glacier. Iftikar Gilani makes a case for regional development of Kashmir region through devolution of political power as a panacea for lasting peace. Buddhist identity politics in Nepal since 1990s has been traced by Tsering Choldan and Raju Thapa analyses the case of Kamaiya emancipation in Nepal. Syed Asghar Mehdi and Balmukund Sharma make out a case for rural tourism in Uttarakhand. River Ganga also finds a place in a paper on ecological impact of flood on fish assemblage.

Our esteemed editor deserves accolades for presenting before us papers of great academic depth contributed by the leading scholars in their respective areas of specialization doing full justice to the great range of subareas constituting the Himalayan studies. As usual, the international nature of JIR can be easily witnessed through the nationalities of our leading contributors.

Like the spread of Himalayas from the Kashmir Valley to the Seven Sisters of North East, Mewar University is spreading its wings and attracting students in large numbers from Kashmir, Ladakh and north- eastern parts of India to contribute in the great task of national integration. A new batch of 300 students from North East has recently become a part of Mewar family. Mewar University's vision encompasses spreading higher education in the Trans-Himalayan region, the bridge of major powers in the coming decades.

Dr. Ashok Kumar Gadiya

On a relief map, the Himalayas appear as a majestic crescent over India. If one places Mt. Kailash as a dot, the *Chandra-bindu* of Sanskrit alphabet gets manifest over the physical landscape. *Chandra-bindu* is always placed at the crown position, and so do the Himalayas occupy the crown position in shaping Indian civilization. Throughout the ages, the Himalayas have been a refuge for the rebels against the social and political orders. There is a strange charm that pervades the Himalayas as a sacred mountain for solitude, contemplation and reinvigoration.

Many of the ancient and medieval reformers of Hindu tradition would take refuge in the caves and huts perched along the mountain ranges and come back to the society with the new message. The earliest mention of the mountain ranges appears in some of the Vedic texts, but only in the geographical sense. The sacredness of the Himalayan ranges was first indicated by one of the most towering personalities of Indian civilization, Sakyamuni Buddha. Buddha himself can be seen as the first great messenger from the Himalayas who set the wheel of dharma- rejuvenation rolling, succeeded subsequently by a cascade of messengers coming back from the pristine Himalayas to offer their solution to the human predicament.

Buddha grew in Kapilvastu from where 8,167 meter high Dhaulagiri peak is clearly visible as the most dominating feature of Kapilvastu sky.   He would have felt the charm and might have contemplated over the changing colour of the Dhaulagiri peaks before he decided to renounce the world to seek a *madhyam marg* (middle path) to end the human suffering. In fact, Dhaulagiri is the point where the river Kali Gandaki, the deepest river valley on the earth, bisects the Himalayas into two halves of equal length (*George van Driem* 2014). Perhaps he had Dhaulagiri in mind when he compared the virtuous person to the shining sun-lit snow peaks of the Himalayas (Himavant) while preaching Culasubhadda, the daughter of Anathapindika at Jetavana mango grove.

Dhammapada (XXI.Pakinnakavagga ,Verse 304)
Culasubhadda Vatthu

Dure santo pakasenti
himavantova pabbato
asantettha na dissanti
rattim khitta yatha sara.

('The good shine from afar

like the snowy Himalayas.

The wicked are not seen,

even when near,

like an arrow shot in the night.')

(*Dhammapada,* Verse 304).

Lake Anotatta (Mansarovar), Mount Kilash (Kailash) and Himavanta (Himalayas) are referred a number of times in the Pali Tripitaka. The Himalayas is narrated as the abode of the Nagas and as the kings of the mountains. The Lake Anotatta in the Himalayas is the great lake. Vinayapitaka mentions that shortly after his enlightenment, Buddha used his super-normal powers to visit the supreme Lake Anotatta at the foot of Mount Kilash (Vin.I, 27).

In the *Jataka*, Buddha is described   asking his monks, 'Do you wish to go a wandering in the Himalayas?' (*Gacchissatha pana Himavanta càrikaü*, Ja.V, 415). Thus, it is seen that the tradition of taking refuge in the Himalayas and subsequently coming back to the society even pre-existed Buddha's time.

The earliest mention of the Himalayas in non-Buddhist literature is found in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. The Ramayana says: 'There is no mountain like Himalchal [Himalaya], for in it are Kailash and Mansarovar."

But, it was Kalidas who popularized the mountain ranges in his epic of *Kumarasambhavam*. He described the Himalaya as *devatma* , a divine personality, and as the measuring rod spanning the eastern and western oceans.

The revivalist of Hindu dharma, Shankaracharya and the Second Buddha, Padmasambhava credited with introducing tantricism into Buddhism, traversed across the nook and corner of the Himalayas during same period. A few centuries later, when there was invasion by hordes of marauders from the Muslim world, Buddhism could survive only in the harsh terrain of the Himalayas, and also most of the sacred sites of Hinduism developed in the Himalayan ranges. Sacralization of the Himalayan landscape has further transformed the Himalayas into a site of geopietic imagination.

Traditional narrative of Tibetan Buddhists describe about earthly paradise hidden in the Himalayas, 108 of which are believed to be consecrated by Padmasambhava. The Tibetans believe that these are preserved for the time of crisis. After death of Fifth Dalai Lama, Dzungar Mongols sacked Lhasa and even destroyed his tomb. A group of Tibetan Buddhists following Padmasambhava prophecy, left for these secret and sacred earthly paradise, *beyul*. Revelation of a monk Rigdzin Jatson Nyingpo(1585-1656), had presented *beyul* Pemako as the ultimate heavenly refuge where human bodies can short-circuit the ritual of death by dissolving into rainbow light upon death. By mid 18th century, migrants from Eastern Bhutan, Tawang, Kham and Monyul settled in Pemako. Even after the Chinese invasion into Tibet and Tibetan uprising of March 1959, following which Dalai Lama escaped the Chinese forces, and intended to take refuge in Pemako, but his team could not reach the destination, and in fact his entourage arrived in Tawang.

This myth of earthly paradise in the Himalayas was the theme of James Hilton's novel, *Lost Horizon* (1933) and Shangrila story spread like wildfire. Paramhansa Yogananda described in his *Autobiography of a Yogi* (1946) about immortal Babaji of the Himalayas. Theosophists C.W. Leadbeater and Annie Besant described about a sixteen year old, Sanata Kumara living in the Himalayas. The Himalayas has been metamorphosed in human imagination as a paradise where immortal sages wander.

The Himalayas has become physical indicator of our quest for earthly paradise. But, our modern paradigm of development treat the Himalayas as a mere storehouse of hydropower, timber, biodiversity, a carbon sink, and as source of fresh water. The Himalayas which was a refuge for centuries for the people seeking new meaning of life and new paradigm of socio-political organization, and a haven for the believers during extraordinary time of crisis is seeking refuge away from the mindless development which is being unleashed by two giant neighbors.

The mythical abode of immortals is falling apart. Glaciers, rivers, and forests are dying, and hence seclusion is dying. Death is pervading each nook and corner of the Himalayas. Massive tragedy at Kedarnath in 2013 has given us a strong message. The Himalayas no longer guarantee rejuvenation and immortality to Indian civilization if we do not start mending our ways in dealing with the Himalayas. This issue of the Journal of Indian Research gives a clarion call to the policy makers to look at the Himalayas in its entirety, not in piecemeal. A divided Himalayas will be a destroyed Himalayas. A singular perspective will be reciprocated by the high peaks of the Himalayas with the grace of immortality over both, Indian and Chinese civilizations. A teaming Himalayan landscape always sent messengers of peace. Terrified Himalayas cannot offer us virtuous wanderers. Let us keep the Himalayas as the refuge of the last resort for yogis, hippies, environmentalists, peace activists, trans-humanists, paradise-seekers, alternative thinkers and the left- over of corporatized world order!

– Niraj Kumar

SPECIAL FOCUS ON
HIMALAYAS

FROM THE DHAULAGIRI TO LAPPLAND,
THE AMERICAS AND OCEANIA

George van Driem*

ABSTRACT

The myths of a Mongoloid race and a Sino-Tibetan language family tree still survive in modern discourse. Both paradigms are false and historically rooted in "scientific" racism. The two myths must be abandoned. The history of linguistics is strewn with false "Sino" theories that were founded upon methodologically flawed comparisons, bewilderment about the historical grammar of Chinese and inadequate knowledge of Trans-Himalayan languages. None of the models is supported by sound evidence, and they all represent false language family trees. Delving into prehistory, the focus of this paper lies on a subset of early Holocene episodes that led to the ethnolinguistic phylogeography which one observes in eastern Eurasia and Oceania today. This paper further proposes on the basis of ethnolinguistic prehistory, that, when our ancestors emerged from Africa on their way to East Asia, Southeast Asia, Oceania, Siberia, the Americas and even Lappland, many of these ancestors first passed through the Eastern Himalaya and crossed the Brahmaputra. The Eastern Himalaya furnished the ultimate cradle for the ethnogenesis of the various Uralo-Siberian and East Asian language families, the molecular tracers of which survive today as the paternal lineages N (M231) and O (M175). These two linguistic phyla are Uralo-Siberian and East Asian. The geographical locus of the ancestral haplogroup NO (M214) lay in the Eastern Himalaya. After the two Y-chromosomal lineages N and O split up between 30,000 and 20,000 years ago, the spatial dynamics of the two haplogroups diverged greatly extending from Americas, Lappland to Oceania.

Keywords: Austroasiatic, Austronesian, Ethnogenesis, Ethnolinguistic phylogeography, Father Tongue Correlation, Historical Linguistics, Hmong-Mien, Kradai, Population Genetics, Prehistory, Tibeto-Burman, Trans-Himalayan.

INTRODUCTION

The Indian subcontinent was the central staging area for our ancestors when anatomically modern humans emerged from Africa and entered Eurasia. Molecular genetic findings tell us that our ancestors emerged in waves (Rasmussen *et al.*, 2011). Between 75,000 and 62,000 years ago, the First Wave spilled out of Africa and followed a littoral route eastward across the Indian Subcontinent and Southeast Asia.

The colonisation of Australia took place some 50,000 years ago and involved a major sea crossing from Asia. There is genomic evidence for some secondary gene flow between New Guinea and Australia some 8,000 years ago at the time of the Sahul land bridge, but this exchange pertains to a much later epoch. How the Australians reached the great continent down under remains a mystery. Were the initial groups of settlers marooned after having been haplessly swept out to sea,

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*George van Driem is the Director of the Linguistics Institute at the University of Bern in Switzerland, where he holds the Chair of Historical Linguistics. He has conducted field research in Bhutan, Nepal, northeastern India and the western Indian Himalayas since 1983 and authored several in-depth grammars and grammatical studies. He conducted a linguistic survey of Bhutan from 1989 to 1992. In 2001, he produced the first major ethnolinguistic synthesis of the greater Himalayan region, extending from Central and South Asia to Southeast and East Asia, entitled *Languages of the Himalayas*. Nowadays, he is working on Asian population prehistory collaborating with linguists and population geneticists, to finally reconstruct human population prehistory.

or were the first Australians intrepid mariners who essentially abandoned seafaring after having made landfall? Similarly, how did the ancestral Andamanese reach the Andaman Islands?

For a great many ancestral groups of modern peoples, however, not the littoral route, but the Himalayan region played a pivotal role as a principal thoroughfare. The mid hills, the foothills and the Terai of the Himalayan corridor served as a conduit not just once, but at various chronological layers of prehistory. Between 38,000 to 25,000 years ago, the Second Wave spilled out of Africa through the Levant. A small group branched off in Asia Minor and ventured into Europe, but the main body of the wave swept across South Asia and headed to East Asia. Other than those headed for Europe, these migrating peoples interbred with populations of the First Wave whom they met on their way. It is an inescapable consequence of geography that when our anatomically modern ancestors emerged from Africa and took this inland route on their way to East Asia, Southeast Asia, Oceania, Siberia, the Americas and even Lappland, many of these ancestors must at one point have passed through the Himalayan region and, on their way east, have crossed the Brahmaputra.

In this long stretch of prehistory, the focus of this paper lies on just a subset of early Holocene episodes which led to the ethnolinguistic phylogeography which we observe in eastern Eurasia and Oceania today. The Eastern Himalaya can be identified as a cradle of ethnogenesis and a principal thoroughfare in the course of population prehistory. Geographically, the Eastern Himalaya can be demarcated as a well defined area.

The Himalaya runs over 3600 kilometres from the Hazarahjat Highlands in the west to the Liangshan in the east. The Himalaya forms no natural watershed, and many of the rivers are of greater antiquity than the mountains themselves. In fact, the Kali Gandaki, which runs right past the Dhaulagiri (8167m), is the deepest river valley on the face of the planet. This grand invagination at the very centre of the range bisects the Himalaya into two halves of roughly equal length. The Eastern Himalaya is the half which runs eastward from the Dhaulagiri across the Himalaya, sub-Himalaya, Meghalaya, lower Brahmaputra basin and associated hills tracts, the eastern Tibetan plateau and Indo-Burmese borderlands into the Chinese provinces of Yunnan and Sichuan.

New linguistics and genetic findings enable us to reconstruct the founding dispersals of major language families in Asia and Oceania. The Eastern Himalaya appears to have served as a cradle of ethnogenesis not just once, but at different time depths in the past. This new understanding helps further to dispel two antiquated scholarly ideas, one which still lives on in the popular imagination and another which survives in laggardly quarters of the linguistic community.

The myths of a Mongoloid race and a Sino-Tibetan language family tree still survive in modern discourse. Both paradigms are false and historically rooted in "scientific" racism. The two myths must be abandoned. At the same time, in studying languages and genes, correlations must not be confused with identity, and a number of other caveats must be heeded. The remarkable finding that peoples and nations are observed more often to speak Father Tongues than Mother Tongues is explained. The evidence is presented which tells the tale of how the Eastern Himalaya served as the ultimate homeland of all East Asian language families.

THE MONGOLOID MYTH

As a species, we have always been obsessed with how we look and appear to be similar or different from one another. The ancient Hindu caste system and apartheid in South Africa were just two of many systems based on our perceptions of caste, tribe and race. Even before the Portuguese made landfall in Japan in 1542, Europeans were trying to come to grips with the human phenotypical diversity which they observed in people whom they met on their voyages. Today we understand that in scientific terms, there is actually no such thing as race. We are all members of one large human family. The relationship between genes, their phenotypical expression and pleiotropic interplay is inordinately complex. Our individual differences tend often to be larger than the differences between groups.

Long before the discovery of the molecular mechanisms underlying genetics, scholars resorted to superficial classifications in their attempts to understand human diversity. Classification was conducted on the basis of somatology, which involved crude observations about external appearance. On the basis of the descriptions in Dutch and Russian accounts of peoples in other parts of the world, the German scholar Christoph Meiners (1747-1810) set up a classification of races based on what he imagined the racial prototypes of mankind. His cogitations were published posthumously in three volumes. The "Mongoloid race" was designated by Meiners as one of the main races of mankind:

In physiognomy and physique the Mongol diverges as much from the usual form as does the Negro. If any nation merits being recognised as a racial prototype, then it should rightfully be the Mongol, who differs so markedly from all other Asian peoples in his physical and moral nature.[1]

Meiners described the cruelty of the invading hordes led by Genghis Khan as inherent to the "moral nature" of the Mongoloids, conveniently overlooking the historically well documented cruelties of Western people. His classification gave rise to the Mongoloid myth. If the Mongols were the primordial tribe from which all peoples of the Mongoloid race descended, then it was logical to think that the homeland of all Mongoloids lay in Mongolia.

I have often been told by people in Nepal and northeastern India that their ancestors came from Mongolia. Some adorn their lorries, vans and motorcycles with captions like "Mongol" or "Mongolian". When I ask them why, they tell me that they are members of the Mongoloid race or *Mangol jāti* (मंगोल जाति)**,** whose ancestors, as the name tells us, originated in Mongolia. I do not have the heart to tell them that the idea was dreamt up by a German scholar at the beginning of the 19th century, who was imaginatively trying to make sense of human diversity, although he had no specialist knowledge to do so.

People in the West suffer from the same obsolete ideas. A friend of mine from Abkhazia, who happens to be a renowned linguist, was travelling in the United States of America with a colleague of his from the Republic of Georgia. Whilst driving a rented car, they were pulled over by a police officer. The obese and heavily armed man in uniform demanded to see my friend's driving licence and then asked them, "Are you folks Arabs?" The policeman spoke with a heavy American accent and pronounced the word Arabs as ['eIræːbz]. Since Abkhazia and Georgia both lie in the Caucasus, my friend responded, "No, Sir, we are both Caucasians". This response somehow displeased the police officer, who asserted, "*I* am a Caucasian!" My friend coolly responded, "No, Sir, you are not a Caucasian, and you do not look particularly like a Caucasian. We are Caucasians'. The exasperated policeman spluttered, "…but …but I am white!"

In the aftermath, my friend had to explain to the American policeman where the Caucasus Mountains lay and who the Caucasians were. However, he did not go as far as to explain that the idea that Europeans are purportedly Caucasian originated with Meiners in 1813. Like the Mongoloid, the Caucasoid was another one of his racial prototypes. Americans who apply for a driving licence, take a Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) or fill in any number of other official forms are often asked to specify their race. A person of European ancestry often checks a box saying that he or she is a 'Caucasian'. Some people from Asia and Africa are baffled by these racial questions and by the choices of race on offer, which differ from one form to another, and then end up having to decide whether they are 'coloured' or belong to some other 'race'. Although the topic of race is taboo in America, American society is both riddled with antique modes of thinking about race and very much in denial about widely held racist assumptions. America has no monopoly on such thinking, however.

THE SINO-TIBETAN MYTH

The Sino-Tibetan or Indo-Chinese myth likewise has its roots in the now defunct scholarly fashion of "scientific" racism. Sino-Tibetan also owes its longevity to the fact that every age sees many less knowledgeable scholars whose ignorance does not make them less prolific writers than their more knowledgeable colleagues. The Sino-Tibetan episode is all the more shameful because the Tibeto-Burman or Trans-Himalayan language family had already been recognized in 1823.

Julius von Klaproth identified the language family comprising Tibetan, Burmese, Chinese and all languages demonstrably relatable to these three. The Tibeto-Burman family which he had demonstrated was accepted not just on the Continent, but also in the British Isles (e.g. Hodgson 1857; Cust 1878; Forbes 1878; Houghton 1896).

Like Julius von Klaproth, Jean Jacques Huot in Paris and Max Müller in Oxford stressed that language and biological ancestry were two different things. Yet there were those who confounded language and race. In 1850, Heymann Steinthal wrote that language typology was a measure of the "instinctive self-awareness" of a language community. He claimed

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1. Die Gesichts- und Körperbildung der Mongolen steht von der gewöhnlichen Form eben so sehr ab, als die der Neger. Und wenn irgend eine Nation verdient, als uraltes Stammvolk betrachtet zu werden; so kommt dieser Nahme mit recht den von allen anderen Asiatischen Völkern, der körperlichen und moralischen Beschaffenheit nach so sehr verschiedenen Mongolen zu.

that: "Language differences reflect differences in the level of consciousness between different peoples". He qualified typological differences in language structure as "physiological".

Steinthal set up an evolutionary hierarchy of successive stages of language types, reflecting "the level of development of linguistic consciousness". He distinguished twelve levels from the most complex, represented by Sanskrit, to the most simple. He relegated Chinese and Thai to the lowest rung of the evolutionary ladder based on their "monosyllabicity" and lack of inflection. Steinthal's language typology inspired scholars to argue that Chinese and Thai must be close relatives and that neither was close to Tibeto-Burman. Ostensibly, Chinese and Siamese mediated a rudimentary, less evolved way of thinking. In reality, Chinese was a defining member of Klaproth's Tibeto-Burman family, and Klaproth had already recognized that Thai belonged to another language family than Chinese.

In 1854, the French count Arthur de Gobineau published a four-volume *Essay on the Inequality of Human Races*, in which he argued for the inferiority or superiority of particular races based on the structure of their languages. To reconcile the technological advancement of Chinese civilization with its low rung on the ladder of language evolution, Gobineau invented a distinction between so-called male and female races. As one might expect, the count imagined that "male races" possessed a richer and more precise vocabulary than "female races", whose languages were full of vague notions. To the count's mind, the Chinese "race" was in some sense "male" despite the inferior status which he imputed to its language.

In 1858, Ernest Renan, who would later become president of the Linguistic Society of Paris, wrote:

Is the Chinese language, with its inorganic and incomplete structure not the very image of the dryness of spirit and callousness of heart that characterises the Chinese race? ...Sufficient for the needs of daily life, for describing manual skills, for a light literature of no sophistication, for a philosophy that is nothing more than the pretty but never elevated expression of mere common sense, the Chinese language excludes all philosophy, all science and all religion in the sense in which we understand these terms.

Steinthal's racist language typology caught on in Britain too. John Beames, who wrote the first grammar of Magar in 1870, was an adherent. For Beames, Chinese represented the most primitive stage of language development, but he promoted English and French to the highest rung of the evolutionary ladder, placing them even above Sanskrit. Beames introduced the term "analytic", still in use amongst language typologists today, to describe English and French. His enhancements were approved by James Byrne, who in 1885 argued that "the causes which have determined the structure of language" lay in the varying "degrees of quickness of mental excitability possessed by different races of men".

Steinthal was German, but his ideas were popular in France and Britain. His thinking was strongly opposed by German linguists, since scholars following the tradition of Wilhelm von Humboldt rejected the racist paradigm. August Pott and Max Müller argued that the relationship between language structure and thought was subtle, intricate and not simplistic. Pott wrote a hefty point-by-point refutation of Gobineau's work, and the writings of the French count were largely forgotten in Germany. Yet, after the First World War, Gobineau's writings were rediscovered by Ludwig Schemann and Franz Hahne. Tragically, this time the count's cogitations were given a warm reception, and his theories were incorporated into the official ideology of Germany's National Socialist party.

In the 19th century, racist linguistics took Chinese out of Klaproth's original Tibeto-Burman family and put Chinese into a separate branch together with Thai. The favoured family tree of the racist language typologists was Indo-Chinese, and in 1924 this phylogenetic model was renamed Sino-Tibetan. In 1938, Berkeley anthropologist Alfred Kroeber started a "Sino-Tibetan Philology Project". His use of the new name Sino-Tibetan helped to deflect criticism against the Indo-Chinese model. Ironically, after the Cultural Revolution, Chinese scholars imported Sino-Tibetan from America and enshrined this family tree as linguistic orthodoxy in China. Today an increasing number of Chinese linguists have begun to feel uncomfortable with Sino-Tibetan, as they begin to discover the model's Sinophobic legacy as well as the fact that no evidence exists for this tree.

Since the 1970s, the Sino-Tibetan model has been defended from Berkeley by Jim Matisoff, who inherited the family tree from his mentor in the 1960s and never questioned it. Sino-Tibetan was challenged and refuted by various scholars, but Matisoff continued to act as the *Fidei Defensor*, assailing any scholar who questioned the tree. After years of resistance, Matisoff came to realize that the Sino-Tibetan model was wrong. Since his retirement, he publicly recanted

on three occasions, acknowledging Sino-Tibetan to be a false tree.[2] Today Matisoff goes in and out of denial, and in an attempt to save face several of his former students continue to defend Sino-Tibetan despite an inability to adduce evidence.

The history of linguistics is strewn with false "Sino" theories that were founded upon methodologically flawed comparisons, bewilderment about the historical grammar of Chinese and inadequate knowledge of Trans-Himalayan languages: Sino-Tibetan (Przyluski 1924), Sino-Yenisseian (Schmidt 1926), Sino-Caucasian (Bouda 1950), Sino-Burman (Ramstedt 1957), Sino-Indo-European (Pulleyblank 1966), Sino-Himalayan (Bodman 1973), Sino-Austronesian (Sagart 1993), Sino-Kiranti (Starostin 1994), Sino-Mayan (Jones 1995) and Sino-Uralic (Gao 2008). None of these models is supported by sound evidence, and they all represent false language family trees.

The legacy of racist language typology misled many linguists for decades even though an informed view was readily available to any linguist who carefully read the history of the field and scrutinized the available evidence dispassionately. In 2004, the neutral geographical term Trans-Himalayan was introduced for Klaproth's Tibeto-Burman, which after 181 years still turned out to be the most well informed model of the language family.

The name Trans-Himalayan reflects the fact that the world's second most populous language family straddles the Himalayan range. Most speakers of Trans-Himalayan languages today live to the north and east of the Himalaya **(Figure 1)**, but most of the over 300 different languages and three fourths of Trans-Himalayan subgroups are located to the south of the Himalayan divide **(Figures 2, 3)**.

Figure 1: Geographical Distribution of Trans-Himalayan Languages

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2. 29 October 2009 at the 4th International Conference on Austroasiatic Linguistics at Mahidol University in Bangkok, 24 February 2012 in a talk entitled "*The present state of Sino-Tibetan Studies: Progress and outstanding issues*" at a special seminar for the Hakubi Project and Centre for Southeast Asian Studies at Kyōto University, and 26 October 2012 at the Conference for Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics at Nanyang Technological University in Singapore

Figure 2: Geographical distribution of the major Trans-Himalayan subgroups.
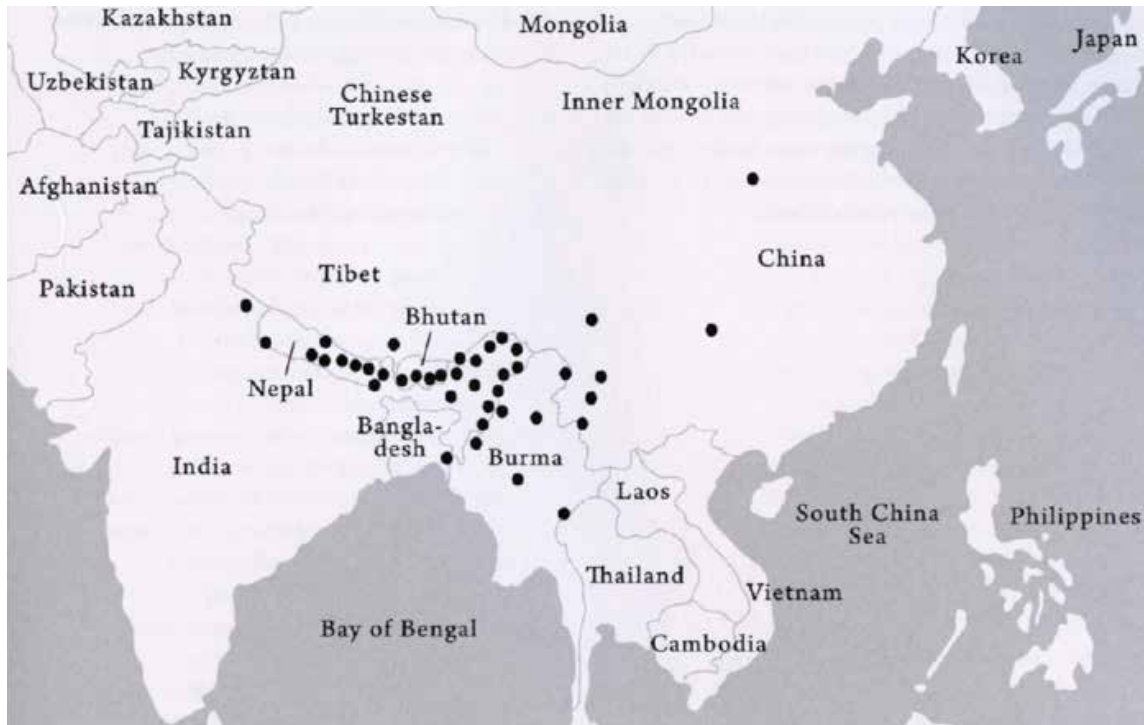
(Each dot represents not just one language, but the putative historical geographical centre of each of 42 major linguistic subgroups.)

Figure 3: Thirty out of forty-two Trans-Himalayan subgroups lie south of the Himalayan divide, seven to the north and east, and five (Tshangla, Bodish, Nungish, Lolo-Burmese and Kachinic) straddle both flanks of the Himalaya

WORDS OF CAUTION ON LANGUAGE AND GENES

Numerous scholars since the early 19th century have stressed that language and biological ancestry were two different things. There were always others too, like Sir William Jones, who persisted in confusing language and race. Throughout time, people have been inclined to speak the language spoken by their parents, but the language which we happen to speak today may very well not be our parents' language. Since genes are invariably inherited by offspring from their biological parents, a probabilistic correlation may exist between language and genes in human populations, although this need not necessarily be so.

The past took a very long time, and there are many slices of the past. So a chronologically layered view of ethnolinguistic prehistory is essential. The famous EPAS1 gene which enables Tibetans to live healthy lives at high altitude without having to fabricate excessive amounts of haemoglobin is known to be shared exclusively with the extinct Denisovans, a Palaeolithic people who lived in the Altai Mountains of Siberia. Like the Neanderthals, this extinct variety of human is not really entirely extinct because the Denisovans interbred with the ancestors of many existing populations, not just with the ancestors of the Tibetans. A small percentage of DNA is shared between Denisovans and other Asian populations and native Australians as well.

When an ancestral highland Asian population interbred with the Denisovans, these people did not yet speak a language related to Tibetan, and ethnolinguistically they were not yet Tibetan. That was long ago, and linguistically reconstructible prehistory by comparison relates to more recent slices of prehistory. Not only is the time depth accessible to historical linguistics shallower than the time depth accessible to human genetics, but the spread of language families also happens to be a more recent phenomenon than the spread of our anatomically modern ancestors outside of Africa. Language families represent the maximal time depth accessible to historical linguistics because the relatedness of languages belonging to a recognized language family represents the limit of what linguists can empirically demonstrate.

Historical linguistics and human population genetics present two distinct windows on the past. Molecular genetic findings can shed light on ethnolinguistic prehistory and its unrecorded sociolinguistic dimensions. Correlations exist between chromosomal markers and language, but these relationships should not be confused with identity. The correlation of a particular genetic marker with the distribution of a certain language family must not be simplistically equated with populations speaking particular languages.

Moreover, other factors that must be taken into account include, interalia, the potential skewing effects of natural selection, gene surfing, recurrent bottlenecks during range expansion and the sexually asymmetrical introgression of resident genes into incursive populations. Factors such as ancient population structure and possible ancient Y-chromosomal introgression also affect inferences and interpretations based on any single Y-chromosomal locus when attempting to reconstruct migrations and elucidate the geographical origins of populations.

Even with all these caveats in place, we must remain aware of all provisos built into our inferences and working hypotheses. Only then may we undertake to interpret ethnolinguistic phylogeography from a linguistically informed perspective.

FATHER TONGUES

In the 1990s, population geneticists found that it was easier to find correlations between the language of a particular community and paternally inherited markers on the Y chromosome than between language and maternally inherited markers in the mitochondrial DNA of a speech community. This *Father Tongue* correlation was described by a Swiss-Italian team in 1997 (Poloni *et al.* 1997, 2000), even before the appearance of the first Y-chromosomal tree in 2000 (Underhill *et al.* 2000, 2001). Today we have an even higher resolution picture of the Y-chromosomal haplogroup tree and the world's paternal lineages, e.g. Karafet *et al.* (2008).

Paternally inherited polymorphisms were inferred to be markers for linguistic dispersals, and correlations between Y-chromosomal markers and language could point towards male-biased linguistic intrusions. The *Father Tongue* correlation is ubiquitous but not universal. Its preponderance allows us to deduce that a mother teaching her children their father's tongue must have been a prevalent and recurrent pattern. It is reasonable to infer that some mechanisms of language change may be inherent to this pathway of transmission.

There are a number of reasons why we might expect this outcome. Initial human colonization of any part of the planet must have involved both sexes in order for a population of progeny to establish itself. Once a population is in place, however, subsequent migrations could have been gender-biased. Male intruders could impose their language whilst

availing themselves of the womenfolk already in place. Sometimes male intruders slaughtered resident males and their offspring, but sometimes intruders formed an élite and consequently enjoyed preferential access to spouses, reared more offspring and propagated their genes.

By contrast, correlations between maternal lineages and linguistic phylogeography have proved underwhelming. Populations exist which form local exceptions to the Father Tongue correlation, such as the Hungarians and the Balti in northern Pakistan, but the aetiology of these cases is readily explicable. The correlations observed do not always make a precise fit, and correlation must not be confused with identity.

The *Father Tongue* correlation suggests that linguistic dispersals were, in most parts of the world, posterior to initial human colonization and that many linguistic dispersals were predominantly male-biased intrusions. Our paternal ancestry only represents a very small segment of our ancestry, but emerging autosomal findings appear to corroborate the reconstructions presented here. These patterns are observed worldwide.

The spread of Niger-Congo languages closely patterns with Y-chromosomal haplogroups. The martial, male-biased historical spread of Hàn Chinese during the sinification of southern China, recounted in detail in the Chinese chronicles, is just as faithfully reflected in the genetic evidence. A common ancestry between Native Americans and indigenous Altaians is based preponderantly on shared Y-chromosomal heritage and is not as well reflected in mitochondrial lineages. The saliency of Y-chromosomal haplogroups in tribal and caste populations in India contrasts with the comparatively featureless antiquity of the mitochondrial landscape. In Europe, the language isolate Basque is the sole surviving linguistic vestige of Palaeolithic European hunter-gatherers, whose predominant paternal lineage was haplogroup I. Even Basques have seen their original paternal heritage diluted by more recent Y-chromosomal lineages subsequently introduced into Europe, perhaps ultimately originating from the Western Himalaya.

The spread of various Y-chromosomal R subclades may be linked to the dispersal of Indo-European from an original homeland in the Pontic-Caspian steppe, but the unfolding story of these R lineages is complex. In an epoch anterior to the expansion of Indo-European from the Pontic Caspian, an older pre-Indo-European homeland could have lain in the Western Himalaya, as suggested by the presence of the ancestral clade R* in Indian populations.

The Y-chromosomal lineage L shows a diversity of subclades on the Iranian plateau and perhaps preserves a vestige of a tracer for a patrilingual dispersal of Elamo-Dravidian from Bactria and Margiana. One of these haplogroup L subclades is likely to be correlated with the patrilingual spread of Dravidian from the Indus Valley into southern India. Haplogroup Q traces the paternal spread of the Greater Yenisseian linguistic phylum. Yet this exciting tale about the Western Himalaya will have to wait for another occasion to be told.

FROM THE EASTERN HIMALAYA TO LAPPLAND

The Eastern Himalaya served as the cradle of ethnogenesis for a number of major language families, the molecular tracers of which survive today as the paternal lineages N (M231) and O (M175).[3] These two linguistic phyla are Uralo-Siberian and East Asian. The geographical locus of the ancestral haplogroup NO (M214) lay in the Eastern Himalaya. After the two Y-chromosomal lineages N and O split up between 30,000 and 20,000 years ago, the spatial dynamics of the two haplogroups diverged greatly **(Figure 4)**. The ancient populations bearing haplogroups N and O underwent expansions between 18,000 and 12,000 years ago.

The bearers of haplogroup N set out for East Asia just after the Last Glacial Maximum and then moved north in a grand counterclockwise sweep, braving ice and tundra and gradually migrating across northern Eurasia as far as west as Lappland **(Figure 5)**. Y-chromosomal haplogroup N marks the paternal spread of Uralo-Siberian, comprising communities speaking Uralic, Yukagir, Eskimo-Aleut, Nivkh and Chukotko-Kamchatkan languages.

The absence of haplogroup N in the Americas and its prevalence throughout Siberia allow us to infer that the paternal lineage N spread northward after the paternal founder lineages had already established themselves in the Americas. The Greater Yenisseian haplogroup Q must have expanded across Siberia and colonised the Americas by way of Beringia, where it became the predominant paternal lineage, before Y-chromosomal N lineages replaced it in the sparsely populated north.

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3.   Haplogroup labels (O2a, O2b, etc.) are updated regularly by the Y Chromosome Consortium. Mutation numbers (M95, M176, etc.) remain unchanged.

Figure 4: The split-up of paternal lineage NO (M214) into the haplogroups N (M231) and O (M175)

Figure 5: The counterclockwise spread of the paternal lineage N (M231), based on Rootsi *et al.* (2007)

The N lineages differentiated into N* (M231), N1 (M128), N2 (P43) and N3 (Tat). The most prevalent haplogroup N3 is widespread throughout the Uralo-Siberian area, spreading as far west as Scandinavia. Yet the ancestral haplogroup N* is still found in the highest frequency at the eastern end of the Eastern Himalaya, i.e. northern Burma, Yunnan and Sichuan. Haplogroup N1 is particularly frequent in the Altai region and to a lesser extent in Manchuria, and N2 shows an especially high frequency on both the Yamal and Tamyr peninsulas in northern Siberia.

THE EAST ASIAN LINGUISTIC PHYLUM

Julius von Klaproth(1783-1835) was able to distinguish the contours of many of the known Asian language families. Five families form part of the East Asian linguistic phylum: Trans-Himalayan, Hmong-Mien, Kradai, Austronesian and Austroasiatic (**Figures** 1, 6, 7, 8, 9). Later generations of linguists began to discern possible long-distance relationships between the recognized families. In 1901, Gustave Schlegel argued that Kradai was related to Austronesian. Schlegel's theory was taken up by Paul Benedict in 1975, but Benedict's "Austro-Thai" was no more than an ingredient in his misconceived "Japanese-Austro-Tai" theory.

Figure 6: Geographical Distribution of Hmong-Mien

Figure7:Geographical Distribution of Kradai

Figure 8: Geographical Distribution of Austronesian
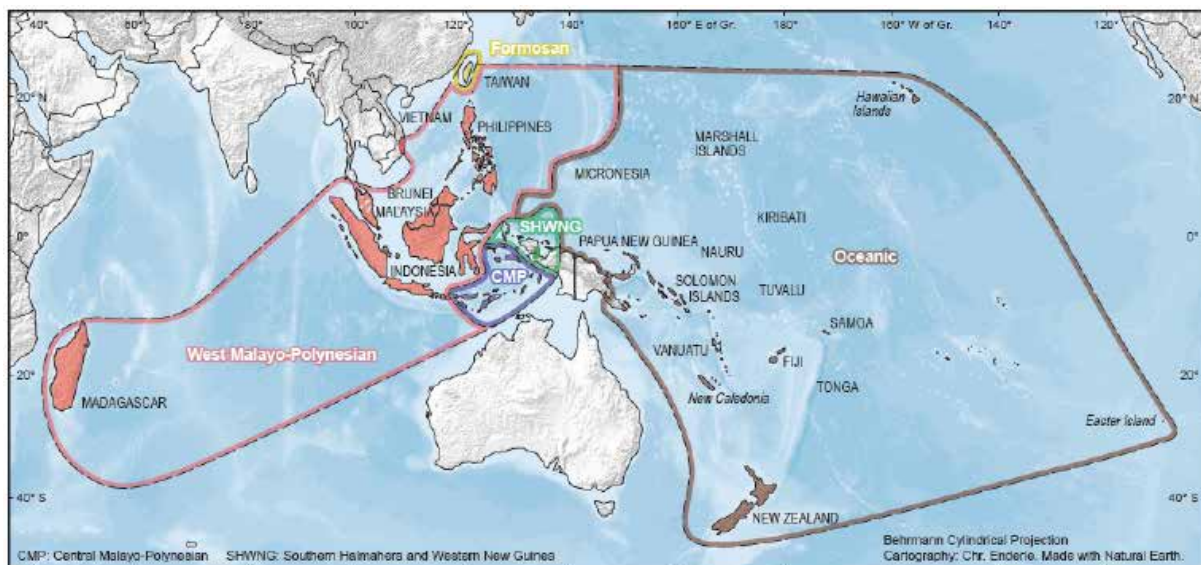
Figure 9: Geographical distribution of Austroasiatic
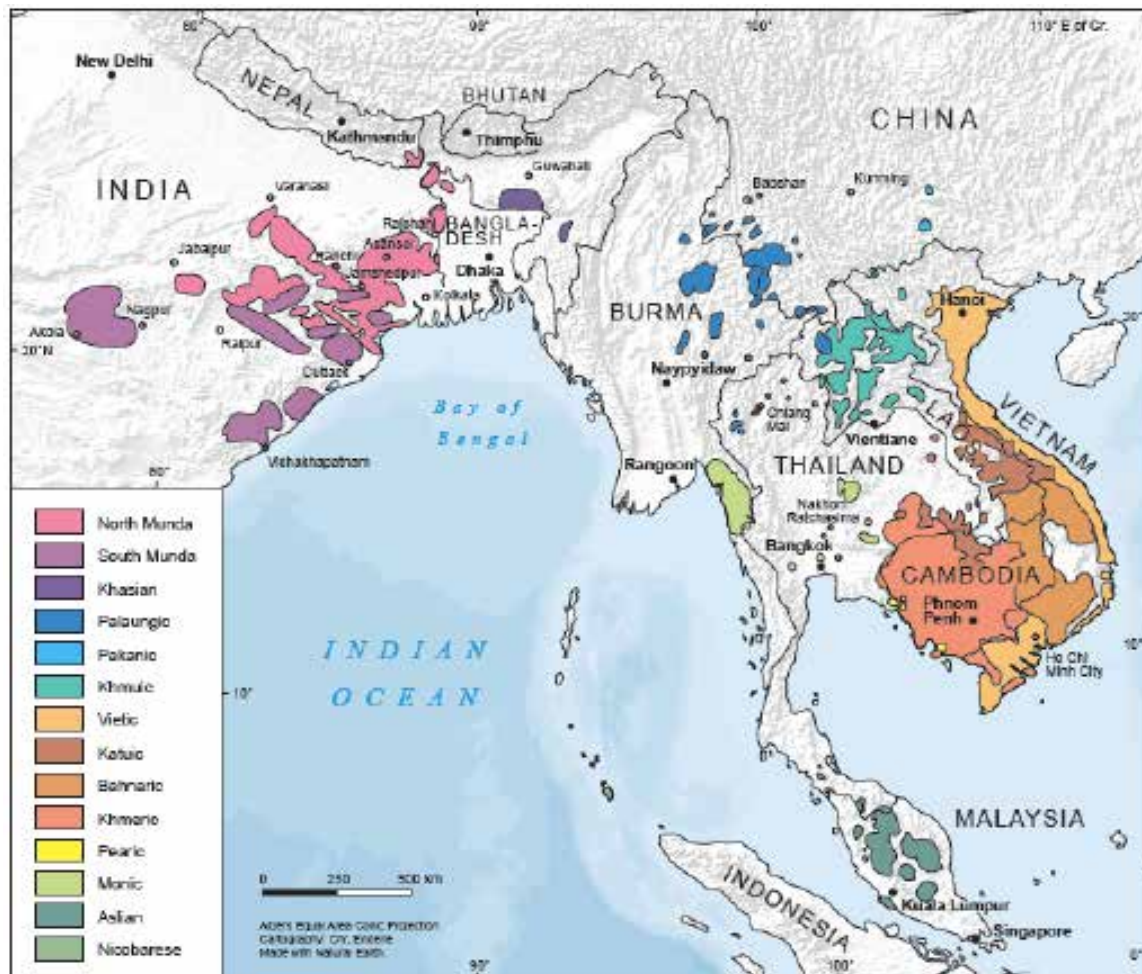
In 2005, Weera Ostapirat became the first to present methodologically sound linguistic evidence that Kradai and Austronesian formed coordinate branches of a single Austro-Tai family. Ostapirat envisages an ancient migration from what today is southern China across the Taiwan Strait to Formosa, where the Austronesian language family established itself. The Kradai proto-language remained behind on the mainland. Much later, the Formosan exodus set in motion the spread of Malayo-Polynesian throughout the Philippines, the Malay peninsula, the Indonesian archipelago, Madagascar and Oceania. By uniting Austronesian and Kradai in an Austro-Tai family, Ostapirat has effectively reduced the number of East Asian language families from five to four.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, historical linguists have been attempting to unite the East Asian language families on purely linguistic grounds. In 1906, Wilhelm Schmidt proposed an "Austric" macrofamily, uniting Austroasiatic and Austronesian. In 2005, Lawrence Reid envisaged an even larger macrofamily, proposing that Austric "may eventually need to be abandoned in favour of a wider language family which can be shown to include both Austronesian and Austroasiatic languages but not necessarily as sisters of a common ancestor".

August Conrady in 1916 and Kurt Wulff in 1934 each proposed a superfamily consisting of Austroasiatic, Austronesian, Kradai and Tibeto-Burman. Subsequently, Robert Blust in 1996 and Ilia Peiros in 1998 proposed an "Austric" superfamily comprising Austroasiatic, Austronesian, Kradai and Hmong-Mien. In 2001, a year before he died of congestive heart failure, Stanley Starosta proposed the East Asian linguistic phylum encompassing Kradai, Austronesian, Tibeto-Burman, Hmong-Mien and Austroasiatic. Starosta's evidence was meagre, yet compelling in being primarily morphological in nature. The ancient morphological processes shared by the families of this phylum were an agentive prefix *<m->, a patient suffix *<-n>, an instrumental prefix <s-> and a perfective prefix *<n->. The East Asian word was ostensibly disyllablic and exhibited the canonical structure cvcvc.

As a theory of linguistic relationship, Starosta's East Asian theory lies on the horizon of what might be empirically demonstrable in historical linguistics. This hypothesis will remain our best linguistically informed conjecture until better linguistic evidence can be accrued to support or overturn the model. At Benares in 2012, I presented the tweaked East Asian family tree depicted in **Figure 10.**

Figure 10: The 2012 Benares Recension: Revised East Asian phylogeny.
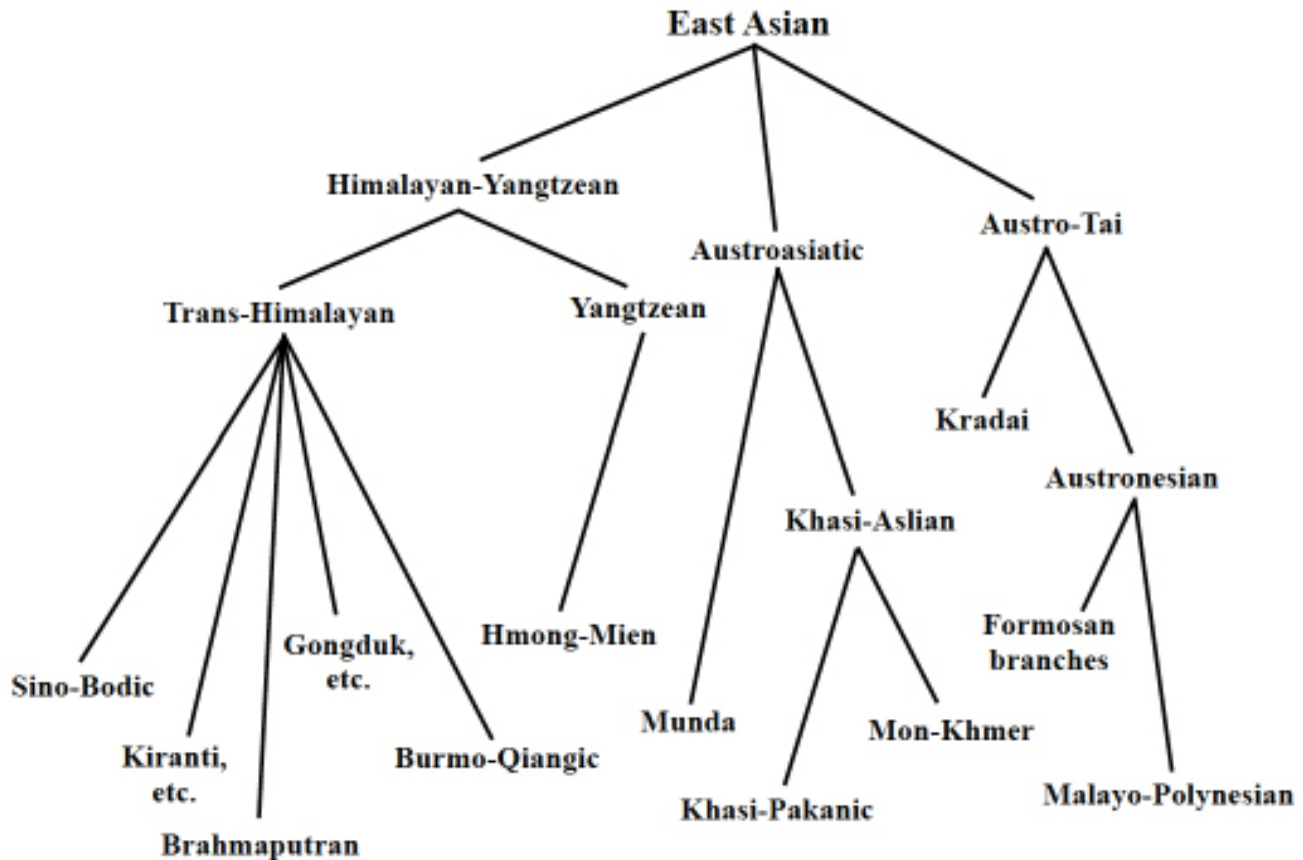
EASTERN HIMALAYAN HOMELAND

The East Asian linguistic phylum consists of the four language families: Trans-Himalayan, Hmong-Mien, Austroasiatic and Austro-Tai. The populations speaking these languages today are not just characterized by a preponderance of the Y-chromosomal lineage O (M175). Language communities of the four families are each characterized by a particular subclade of haplogroup O, suggesting a paternal spread of these language families and a probable time depth for the East Asian linguistic phylum that is coeval with the antiquity of haplogroup O itself. As temperature and humidity increased after the Last Glacial Maximum, haplogroup O split up into the subclades O1 (MSY2.2), O2 (M268) and O3 (M122).

The three subclades can be putatively assigned to three geographical loci along an east-west axis without any claim to geographical precision. Whereas haplogroup O1 moved to the drainage of the Pearl River and its tributaries, the bearers of haplogroup O2 moved to southern Yunnan, whilst bearers of haplogroup O3 remained in the Eastern Himalaya **(Figure 11)**. The O2 clade split into O2a (M95) and O2b (M176). Asian rice may have first been domesticated roughly in the area hypothetically imputed to O2 south of the central Yangtze **(Figure 12).**

The bearers of the subclade O2a became the ancestors of the Austroasiatics, who spread initially to the Salween drainage in northeastern Burma, to northern Thailand and to western Laos. In time, the Austroasiatics would spread as far as the Mekong delta, the Malay peninsula and the Nicobars. Later early Austroasiatics would introduce both their language and their paternal lineage to indigenous peoples of eastern India, whose descendants are today's Munda language communities.

Figure 11: After the Last Glacial Maximum, the Y-chromosomal haplogroup O (M175) split into the subclades O1 (M119), O2 (M268) and O3 (M122). Bearers of the O2 (M268) paternal lineage domesticated Asian rice.

Figure 12: Paternal lineages branching into new subclades. Each event involved a linguistic bottleneck leading to language families that today are reconstructible as distinct linguistic phyla. The O1 (MSY2.2) lineage gave rise to the O1a (M119) subclade, which moved eastward to the Fujian hill tracts and across the strait to Formosa, which so became the homeland of the Austronesians. Bearers of O3a3b (M7) became the Proto-Hmong-Mien. In the Eastern Himalaya, the bearers of haplogroup O3a3c (M134) expanded and became the Trans-Himalayans. Haplogroup O2a (M95) is the Proto-Austroasiatic paternal lineage. The para-Austroasiatic fraternal clade O2b (M176) spread eastward, sowing seed along the way.
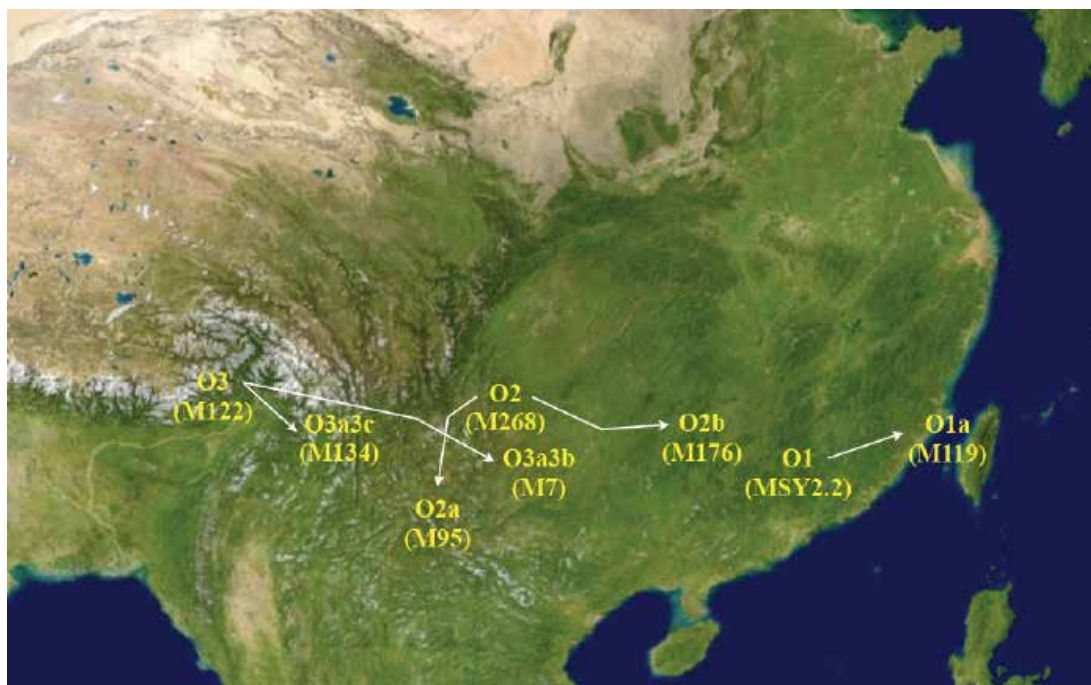
Meanwhile, the bearers of the fraternal subclade O2b spread eastward, where they introduced rice agriculture to areas downstream south of the Yangtze. The bearers of the O2b haplogroup continued to sow seed as they continued to move ever further eastward, but they left no linguistic traces. This paternal lineage moved as far as the Korean peninsula and represents the second major wave of peopling attested in the Japanese genome. Yet the Japanese speak a language of the Altaic linguistic phylum,

We can identify the O2b (M176) lineage with the Yayoi people, who introduced rice agriculture to Japan, perhaps as early as the second millennium B.C., during the final phase of the Jōmon period (Tanaka *et al.* 2004; Hammer *et al.* 2006). The Yayoi appear to have introduced other crops of continental inspiration to the Japanese archipelago such as millet, wheat and melons. The gracile Yayoi immigrants soon outnumbered the more robust and less populous Jōmon, who had been the first anatomically modern humans to populate Japan. The Y chromosomal haplogroup O2b and other O haplogroups in Japan are later arrivals but account for more than half of all Japanese paternal lineages, with their highest frequencies in Kyūshū.

A *Father Tongue theory* for Altaic which assumes no close affinity between Altaic and Uralo-Siberian entails that an antique C haplogroup, perhaps C3, represents an early trace of a paternally disseminated linguistic phylum at a great time depth. Factors such as changes in the ambient material world, social upheaval and cultural transformation, which are known to accelerate the pace of language change, have played an ever more salient role in human life since the Neolithic revolution. It is conceivable; therefore, that language may have changed at a slower tempo in Paleolithic times. Scholars of the Altaic language family have reconstructed a very ancient linguistic relationship. No doubt, much of this old linguistic stratum was lost long ago. The remnants of this *Father Tongue* survive in Japan as Japanese and elsewhere in Asia as the other languages of the Altaic language family, i.e. Korean, Tungusic, Mongolic and Turkic. Another ancient *Father Tongue*, entirely distinct from Altaic and anciently introduced to Japan by the bearers of the Y chromosomal haplogroup D2 (M55), also survives today in the Japanese archipelago as Ainu.

At the dawn of the Holocene in the Eastern Himalaya, haplogroup O3 gave rise to the ancestral Trans-Himalayan paternal lineage O3a3c (M134) and the original Hmong-Mien paternal lineage O3a3b (M7). The bearers of haplogroup O3a3c stayed behind in the Eastern Himalaya, whilst bearers of the O3a3b lineage migrated east to settle in areas south of the Yangtze. On their way, the early Hmong-Mien encountered the ancient Austroasiatics, from whom they adopted rice agriculture.

The interaction between ancient Austroasiatics and the early Hmong-Mien not only involved the sharing of rice agriculture technology, but also left high frequencies of haplogroup O2a in today's Hmong-Mien and haplogroup O3a3b in today's Austroasiatic populations. The Austroasiatic paternal contribution to Hmong-Mien populations was modest, but the Hmong-Mien paternal contribution to Austroasiatic populations in Southeast Asia was significant. However, the incidence of haplogroup O3a3b in Austroasiatic communities of the subcontinent is undetectably low. Subsequently, the Hmong-Mien continued to move eastward, as did bearers of haplogroup O2b.

Even further east, the O1 (MSY2.2) paternal lineage gave rise to the O1a (M119) subclade, which moved from the Pearl river to the Min river drainage in the Fujian hill tracts and then across the Taiwan Strait. Formosa consequently became the homeland of the Austronesians. The Malayo-Polynesian expansion via the Philippines into insular Southeast Asia must have entailed the introduction of Austronesian languages by bearers of haplogroup O1a to resident communities, whose original Austroasiatic paternal haplogroup O2a alongside other older paternal lineages would remain dominant even after linguistic assimilation. Similarly, Malagasy is an Austronesian language, but the Malagasy people trace their biological ancestries equally to Borneo and the African mainland.

Back in the Eastern Himalaya, the paternal spread of Trans-Himalayan is preserved in the distribution of Y-chromosomal haplogroup O3a3c (M134). The centre of phylogenetic diversity of the Trans-Himalayan language family is rooted squarely in the Eastern Himalaya, with outliers trailing off towards the loess plains of the Yellow River basin in the northeast (**Figure 2**). Initially Trans-Himalayans expanded through Sichuan and Yunnan, north and northwest across the Tibetan plateau, westward across the Himalaya and southward into the Indo-Burmese borderlands.

On the Brahmaputran plain, early Tibeto-Burmans encountered Austroasiatics, who had preceded them. The ancestral Trans-Himalayan paternal lineage O3a3c also spread from the Eastern Himalaya in a northeasterly direction across East Asia to the North China plain. Subsequently, at a shallower time depth, the Tibeto-Burman paternal lineage O3a3c spread from the Yellow River basin south into southern China, beginning with the Hàn expansion during the Qín dynasty in

the third century B.C. The Trans-Himalayan paternal lineage O3a3c is intrusively present in the Korean peninsula and beyond, although the Evenki and other Uralo-Siberian populations predominantly retain the paternal lineage N.

The Eastern Himalaya furnished the ultimate cradle for the ethnogenesis of the various Uralo-Siberian and East Asian language families. Language and genes tell us what we might also have deduced from basic facts of geography. In the hoary past, when our ancestors emerged from Africa on their way to East Asia, Southeast Asia, Oceania, Siberia, the Americas and even Lappland, many of these ancestors first passed through the Eastern Himalaya and crossed the Brahmaputra.

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HIMALAYAN BUDDHISM TRAVELS WEST

Glenn Mullin*

ABSTRACT

This is the sixth 500-year period for almost two generations now from Shakyamuni Buddha's time. If one looks back over the past five decades, one can certainly see that the Himalayan lamas have come out very strong in terms of international activity, in fact stronger than any other form of Buddhism. One of the reasons for this is their numbers. Although Tibet did not have a large population, it had nourished an enthusiasm for enlightenment. These lamas have not only transplanted Himalayan Buddhism onto western culture, but also actively engaged in rebuilding the institutions back in Tibet. The Chinese communists destroyed Tibet's 6,500 temples and monasteries during "The Cultural Revolution." When Mao died, not a single Himalayan monastery or temple was open and active in Tibet. Now, three decades into the Chinese government policy of liberation, more than 500 of the 6,500 complexes have been rebuilt to some degree. Two-pronged activities – the spread of Himalayan Buddhism around the world and the rebuilding of Himalayan Buddhism within Tibet – are both very auspicious signs for the success of the next 500 years of Buddhism in the world. The paper looks at the enormous efforts made by the Himalayan Buddhist lamas in rebuilding their variant of Buddhism from the scratch through multi-dimensional efforts.

Keywords: *bindu*, Gelukpa, Hinayana, *kusha* grass, *Lankavatara Sutra*, Mahayana, Mongol, *Prajnaparamita Sutra*, psycho-neuro-immunology synchronicity, transmission,Vajrayana, Zen.

A. THE BACKGROUND

The great Western scientist Albert Einstein wrote, "The religion of the future will be a cosmic religion. It should transcend a personal God and avoid dogma and theology. Covering both the natural and the spiritual, it should be based on a religious sense arising from the experience of all things natural and spiritual as a meaningful unity. Buddhism answers this description. If there is any religion that could cope with modern scientific needs it would be Buddhism."

In this way Albert Einstein endorsed Buddhism as the only religion he had encountered that seemed to be in harmony with the attitudes and disciplines of modern science.[1]

Indeed, his sentiment on the subject seems to be finding a fertile field in the Western world today. When he wrote this opinion half a century ago, there were perhaps a couple of dozen Buddhist temples in the West, and most of these were ethnic. By this I mean that they were founded by and dedicated to the service of Asian immigrant communities, and also that their activities were largely conducted in an Asian language rather than in English. In other words, they served more as spiritual community centers for first and second generation Asian minorities than as institutions for enlightenment study and practice.

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*Glenn H. Mullin is a Tibetologist, Buddhist writer, translator of classical Tibetan literature, and teacher of Tantric Buddhist meditation. He divides his time between writing, teaching, meditating, and leading tour groups to the power places of Nepal, Tibet and Mongolia. He lived in the Indian Himalayas between 1972 and 1984, where he studied philosophy, literature, meditation, yoga, and the enlightenment culture under thirty-five of the greatest living masters of the four schools of Tibetan Buddhism. Author of over 30 books on Tibetan Buddhism, many of these focus on the lives and works of the early Dalai Lamas. Some of his other titles include *Tsongkhapa's Six Yogas of Naropa* and *The Practice of Kalachakra* (Snow Lion); and The *Female Buddhas* (Clear Light Books). He is running an organization "*Ariun Rashaan*," or "Magic Healing Waters" in Mongolia to help support Mongolian Buddhist culture. His personal website can be visited at http://www.glennmullin.com/

Today, there are thousands of Buddhist centers in North America, with well over a thousand of them dedicated to the training of Occidental North Americans, that is to say, white English-speaking people. The transformation has been dramatic. The largest number of these focuses on Himalayan Buddhism.

B. PROPHECIES BY THE BUDDHA

The Buddha prophesied that his teaching would last for 5,000 years, with ten distinct periods of 500 years each. By international academic calculation, 1956 marked the halfway point of the 5,000 -year cycle.

In commemoration of this monumental occasion, Prime Minister Nehru, a closet Buddhist and the then leader of India, organized what can rightly be called the first truly international Buddhist conference. Great masters came from more than a dozen different countries, from China and Japan to Sri Lanka and Thailand. Even the Dalai Lama of Tibet came as one of the many guests of honor.[2]

This event, we can say, marked the pivotal point when Buddhism entered its sixth 500 year cycle. For me it is a very important date. I was born in 1949 in a small town in Eastern Canada, and was only seven years old at the time. Little did my parents know that, as an adult, I would dedicate twenty years of my adult life to the study and practice of Buddhism, and then dedicate the remainder to writing about Buddhism and teaching it around the world. I regard it as a great honor to be born in this time, when Buddhism is in the amazingly dramatic period of transformation characterized by the transition from one 500 year period to another.

At the 1956 conference, Nehru challenged Buddhist leaders from around the world to take up the important task of rebuilding the Buddhist sites in India, beginning with Bodh Gaya and Sarnath, the places respectively where Buddha attained enlightenment and gave his first teaching. These sacred sites had become almost lost in the sands of time. The Muslim invasions and conquest of India had almost ended international pilgrimage to them, and little remained to mark them as places that had inspired a spiritual movement that had come to pervade almost half of the world.

If we look back over the previous 2,500 years and the five cycles of 500 years each that lead up to 1956, we can see distinct transitions at the end of each of the 500 year periods. Of course historians might debate the significance of the transitions, and also debate specific details and implications of them. Theravadins, Chinese Buddhists and Himalayan lamas, for example, might take varying interpretations. My reading is from the perspective of a modern Western Buddhist and historian.

I would say that the first 500- year period was characterized by what is often termed in Indian Mahayana literature as the Shravaka doctrines. "Shravaka" is a term often used by early Indian Buddhist masters such as Nagarjuna to refer to the early monkhood, such as Ananda and Mahakashyapa, who memorized some of the public discourses of the Buddha and transmitted them orally. Later under Emperor Ashoka these were compiled and systemized into what today is often referred to as "Early Buddhism." Ashoka presided over the Third Council and decided on what would and what would not be included.This movement could more accurately be referred to as the brand of Buddhism endorsed and promoted by Emperor Ashoka.[3]

The second 500-year period opens with the appearance of the great Indian master Nagarjuna. Himalayan Buddhists quote the *Lankavatara Sutra*[4] in which Buddha prophesized about Arya Nagarjuna's birth. The passage states, "450 years after my passing, a great being will come from the land of kusha grass. His name will be *Naga*, and he will accomplish (*juna*) great deeds for the spread of my doctrine."

Whether or not one accepts this passage as authentic, there is no question over the matter of Nagarjuna's importance in opening the door to the second 500 year cycle. By the age of fifty he had mastered all lineages of Buddhism. He then became the first important figure to step out of the model promoted by Emperor Ashoka, and to challenge Ashoka's conservative and rigid approach to the Buddha's teachings. Nagarjuna then went on to endorse several dozen sutras that had not been included in the Third Council in India, and therefore did not become part of King Ashoka's canon of Buddhist literature. Most important are the *Prajnaparamita Sutras*. Nagarjuna propagated these sutras widely, and wrote numerous commentaries to them. The Himalayan *Tengyur*, or compilation of translated *shastras* from India, contains over 150 treatises written by Nagarjuna. The most important of these is a set of six texts known as *Rig Druk* in Tibetan, or "Six Treatises on the Reasoning (of Enlightenment)." The most famous of these is his *Madhyamaka-karika-shastra*, or "Verses on the Middle View," that became the basis of all Mahayana schools in India. Nagarjuna is often referred to as the "Father of Mahayana Buddhism" because of this work of stepping outside the mold created by Ashoka.

The third 500- year period comes with the public emergence of the Buddhist tantras. Lineage holders of the Buddhist

tantras claim that these sublime teachings had been passed by oral tradition from the time of the Buddha to small groups of advanced practitioners, much in the same way that the Mahayana Sutras had been passed. They remained underground to the public until the times were ripe for their wider dissemination. Be this as it may, the third 500 year cycle of Buddhism in India is characterized by the vast propagation and widespread popularity of this third aspect of Buddhism.[5]

The fourth 500- year period is marked by the demise of Buddhism in India, largely as a result of the Muslim invasions. It is also marked by solidification of Buddhism in other Asian countries. Although many countries have played their particular roles, it is generally true to say that three main forms of Buddhism emerged during this period, based on different cultural and linguistic environments: the Shravaka lineages from Emperor Ashoka's councils, that were preserved in Pali, a form of easy Sanskrit, and survived most strongly in Sri Lanka, Thailand and Burma; the Chinese lineages, based on transmissions and translations into the Chinese language, and then from China travelled to other Asian countries, including Korea and Japanese and the Himalayan lineages, where in the seventh century King Songtsen Gampo made Buddhism the national religion, and had his Buddhist scholars create a special script, Bhoti, based on Sanskrit, with a view for easy and accurate translation of Indian Buddhist literature into Tibetan. Tibetan later became the linguistic and literary foundations of the forms of Buddhism that spread over the vast region stretching from the southern Himalayas to the snowscapes of the Mongol territories of eastern Russia, including Siberia. The Tibetan script and language is still used in monasteries and temples throughout lands as far-flung as Bhutan, Ladakh, Mongolia and Buryatia. Monks from the Indian Himalayas to Siberia still chant all their sutras, tantras and prayers in Tibetan.

The fifth cycle of 500- year was marked by the emergence of various national Buddhist cultures. That is to say, with India, Buddhism no longer present to serve as a unifying and balancing force, each form of Buddhism more or less became a world onto itself, with very little intercourse with lineages from other countries. On the positive side, Buddhism was preserved in numerous diverse forms; on the negative side, most of these forms were linguistically and culturally bound to the forms of its home country, and generally tended to regard Buddhism in other countries as very different and therefore as less pure. I witnessed this phenomenon rather clearly in the late 1980s, when I helped curate an exhibition of Buddhist art in Atlanta. The exhibition included Buddhist statues and paintings from a dozen Buddhist countries. One day a group of Thai monks came to the museum. Whenever they stepped in front of a Thai statue of the Buddha they would fold their hands together in prayer, and their faces would shine with devotion. In contrast, when in front of a Tibetan, Chinese or Korean statue of the Buddha, their body language would be altogether different. Here the devotion and respect was completely gone, and they looked at the image more like it was a piece of secular art. The same behavior was exhibited by monks from other traditions. Chinese monks tended to be very devotional and respectful when in the presence of a Chinese statue, but to be much more secularized when in the presence of a Buddha image from another country.

This brings us to 1956, and Prime Minister Nehru's gala in celebration of the day marking the beginning of the sixth 500 year cycle.

This event was very important in that it did two things. The first of these was positive, in that the conference brought together for the first time in history a large number of Buddhist masters from all the different Buddhist countries, from Sri Lanka to Tibet, Mongolia, China and Japan. The strength of Buddhism as a living tradition made a strong statement.

A second quality demonstrated at the gathering was less positive. The degree of sectarian snobbery and nationalistic pride was obvious. The Sri Lankans showed very little respect for monks from the Mahayana movements. They seemed to regard their tradition as "original Buddhism," and the Mahayanists as having been somehow corrupted by history. The Chinese and Japanese looked with disdain on the "Hinayanist" Sri Lankan and Thai Buddhists, regarding them as "mere nirvana seekers." The Tibetans looked with dismay on both Theravadin and Mahayana groups, for they seemed to lack the Buddhist Tantras, the aspect of Indian Buddhism that Central Asians regard as being the highest teachings of the Buddha. The Chan, Zen and Seon Buddhists similarly seemed to look down on the other schools as somehow inferior to themselves. This element of Asian Buddhism still continues to some extent today, but it is on the wane.

The 1956 conference, that officially launched the beginning of the sixth 500 year cycles, thus showed both the strength and the weakness of Buddhism at the time.

The Himalayans like to quote a passage from one of the many editions of the *Lankavatara Sutra*, in which the Buddha says, "2,500 after my passing, my Dharma will go to the land of the Red Man." Most Himalayans today interpret "The Land of the Red Man" to refer to North America.

A similar prophecy is made in a treasure text attributed to Padmasambhava, the eighth century Indian master who taught in Tibet for fifty-six years and played such an important role in giving Himalayan Buddhism the character that

it assumed from his time until today. In that prophecy Padmasambhava writes, "When iron birds fly and horses run on wheels, my Dharma will go to the Land of the Red Man." Himalayans today assume that the expression "iron birds" refers to airplanes, and "horses on wheels" refers to automobiles. Again, the Land of the Red Man refers to North America, the land of the "Red Indian."

C. THE FULFILLMENT OF PROPHECIES

Some years ago a great British Indologist, Prof A. L. Basham , wrote a foreword to one of my books.[6] In it he stated that the Chinese invasion of Tibet in the 1950s and the ensuing destruction of Tibet's 6,500 monasteries and temples, with the scattering of Tibetan refugee lamas around the world, could be compared to the destruction of the Byzantine Empire and the scattering of that empire's great artists, mystics and philosophers. And just as the scattering of Byzantine masters of culture brought about a great cultural transformation and renaissance in Europe, who had most benefitted from the tragedy, similarly the West was seeing a cultural and spiritual quantum leap forward because of the many hundreds of Himalayan lamas who had been cast on the seas of statelessness, and washed up on the shores of many foreign lands.

When the Dalai Lama evaded Chinese assassination in 1959 and escaped to India, he was followed by several thousand monks and intellectuals, and tens of thousands of faithful followers. At that time there was not a single Himalayan Buddhist center in Europe or America. Today there are well over a thousand such centers in both Europe and America. Himalayan Buddhism is now a dominant force in the West. Every American city now has at least three or four Himalayan Buddhist centers, and some have as many as a dozen.

Some years ago, when I was on a lecture tour of Spain in connection with the release of one of my books in Spanish translation, I spent a week with a Tibetan lama living and teaching in Madrid. The year was 1990. One day the lama told me a story. "Back in 1963," he said, "The Dalai Lama gave a public discourse at our monastery. At the end of the discourse he mentioned that we should all make an attempt to learn English, because soon Buddhism would be spreading to the West, and our services as Dharma teachers would be required. At the time, his words seemed impossible to us. We could not imagine how our ancient Buddhist tradition could be useful to modern Western life, with its airplanes, supermarkets and high tech gizmos. We knew how beneficial the Buddhist Dharma was for us, but we could not imagine Westerners taking an interest in it. But now, thirty years later, there are perhaps two or three thousand Himalayan Buddhist centers in Europe and America. The Dalai Lama was right. It seems that the Dalai Lama's words have come true."

On another occasion I took ten Himalayan monks on a tour of 100 US cities, to perform Buddhist temple music and dance for world peace, as a way of spreading knowledge of Himalayan Buddhism through its art forms.[7] One of the young monks was wonderful at the temple chants and dances. I once commented to one of the older monks on the talents of the young protégée; the old lama replied that indeed the fellow was talented in Buddhist arts, but was a poor student of Buddhism in general, and put very little effort into his studies or meditations. Our tour continued for over a year, and at the end of it the ten monks returned to their monastery in South India. Amazingly, the young monk then threw himself into his studies with gusto. He went from being one of the worst students in his class, to being the best. Some years later he graduated from the monastery with a Geshe Lharam Degree, the highest academic and spiritual honor awarded by the Himalayan monastic system. Later I asked him how he had managed such a turnaround. He laughed and replied, "My parents put me in the monastery when I was just a boy, and I took things for granted. Being a monk was just a lifestyle, not a passion. But then when I toured North America with you for a year, I saw how much interest the West has in our spiritual culture. I thought that I should investigate why. I then noticed how deep and vast our Buddhist tradition is. That realization inspired me to try and master it." He concluded by saying, "I went to America as a Buddhist monk artist. I came back determined to find Buddhist enlightenment."

After completing his studies he was sent to America for five years by the elders of his monastery, to teach in a Buddhist center in New York City. The center that he established is thriving.

D. BLOSSOMING LOTUSES IN THE GARDEN OF BLISS

I began this paper by mentioning how the Chinese invasion of Tibet brought about great spiritual benefits for the West. In fact this phenomenon was not limited to the China-Tibet conflict alone.

Himalayan Buddhism had spread through the Mongol regions from the earliest days. The first Himalayan monastery was built in Mongolia in the ninth century A.D., and in the thirteenth century Emperor Kublai Khan made Himalayan Buddhism the national religion of his empire.[8] Kublai's empire spread north through a dozen Mongolian kingdoms, into Buryatia and Siberia of what today is Eastern Russia. The Tibetan language has been used in monasteries and temples throughout the Mongol lands from that time until today.[9]

The Stalinist purges of the 1920s and 1930s brought great cultural upheaval, Monasteries and temples were destroyed, and lamas were killed or imprisoned. Some, however, managed to escape the disaster, and flee to the West. This occurred two and more decades before the tragedy that befell Tibet in the 1950s.

Thus the birth of Himalayan Buddhism in America was initiated not by Tibetan lamas fleeing from the mass murdeerr Chairman Mao, but by Mongol lamas fleeing the murderous Stalin.

Two names here loom large. The first is that of the Telopa Khutaght, or Mongolian lama regarded as being the reincarnation of the tenth century Indian master Tilopa. The Telopa Khutaght was arrested by the Communists in the late 1920s, but managed to escape into self-imposed exile. Eventually he ended up in New York City, where he lived until his death in 1967.

He thus can be regarded as the first qualified lama to live and teach in America. Although he was somewhat reclusive and did not teach widely, the small number of students that he produced proved to be very important. Perhaps the most important of these was Gene Smith, who later created the Tibetan Buddhist Research Center. That center has gathered and preserved thousands of Buddhist books written in Tibetan, and has scanned more than twenty million pages of Tibeto-Mongolian literature. Although I knew Gene in India when he was working for the American government under its PL480 program of publishing endangered Himalayan literature, I had not known of his connection with the Telopa Khutaght until a few years ago, when I assisted in a publication of the Telopa's autobiography and gave Gene a copy. Gene smiled and thanked me. "My first teacher," he said. "The lama who inspired me to give my life to Himalayan Buddhism."

The Telopa Lama was instrumental in bringing over the second lama to take up residence and teach in the US. He was the late great Geshey Wangyal, a Kalmyk Mongol. Like the Telopa Lama he did not accept a large number of students, but the ones he accepted tended to have a large impact on the development of Himalayan Buddhism in America. Perhaps the most famous of these is Prof Robert Thurman, who has written over twenty books on Himalayan Buddhism, and produced a dozen students with doctorates in Himalayan Buddhism. Thurman became a monk for some years, and in fact was the first Westerner to be ordained by the Dalai Lama. Some years ago *Time Magazine* named him as one of the twenty-five most influential Americans of the year, because of his work with Richard Gere in establishing Tibet House in New York and forcing the US Congress to bring pressure on China for their abysmal human rights record in Tibet. Thurman's most important book, *Inner Revolution*, has become a mandatory read on Himalayan Buddhism.

Geshey Wangyal's other very important student was Jeffrey Hopkins, who has translated several dozen Himalayan Buddhist classics. Jeffrey's books are used as textbooks in classes on Himalayan Buddhism in dozens of American universities. Jeffrey in turn produced several dozen graduate students, including Donald Lopez and Dan Perdue, and many of them have become important professors of Himalayan Buddhist studies in America and abroad. Both Telopa Lama and Geshey Wangyal chose to teach to small groups of select students, and did not produce many Dharma Centers. In fact, both created just one each.[10]

Both of the above Mongolian lamas – Telopa Khutaght and Geshey Wangyal – belonged to the Gelukpa School of Himalayan Buddhism. This is the same school as that of all Fourteen Dalai Lamas. The Geluk has remained the largest school of Himalayan Buddhism in Central Asia ever since the time of the Third Dalai Lama, whose charismatic presence so widely popularized it in the sixteenth century. The Geluk School is the most intellectual and highly educated of the Himalayan sects. In pre-Communist Tibet, a monk seeking a Gelukpa *geshey lharam* degree would have to study for more than twenty years, and then would have to stand for open tests in front of a gathering of more than 20,000 of the best trained monks in the country; any one of those 20,000 monks would be allowed to present questions to the contestant.

The Gelukpa lama to have the greatest effect in terms of popularizing Buddhism and creating a large number of centers in west was still to come. This awaited the appearance of Lama Thubten Yeshe(1935-1984) and his star disciple, Lama Zopa Rinpoche(1946-). These two opened centers wherever they went. Their first US trip came in the mid 1970s. Together they created a hundred and fifty Gelukpa centers worldwide. Although Lama Yeshe passed away many years ago, his legacy lives on through Lama Zopa and several dozen of his other disciples. Their movement, known as the *Foundation for the Preservation of the Mahayana Tradition* (FPMT) continues to grow in leaps and bounds. They brought several dozen other Himalayan lamas to live and teach in their Western centers, thus creating what seems to be an ever increasing wave of Dharma activity in more than thirty Western countries.

It is often said that Himalayan Buddhism is comprised of four great traditions: Nyingma, Sakya, Kargyu and Gelukpa. The Kargyu in turn had numerous sub-sects. Traditional histories list twelve Kargyu Schools. One of these, the Karma Kargyu, was not especially large in Tibet in terms of numbers of monasteries and temples in Tibet, but maintained

a strong practice tradition over the centuries. The next big movement in American Buddhism came with the arrival of Chogyam Trungpa, a lama of the Karma Kargyu sect. After training as a teenager in Tibet and then as a refugee in India he arrived in England, and studied psychology in Oxford. Later he established several Buddhist centers in the UK, including Samye Ling in Scotland, before moving to America. Here his wild personality and charismatic manner attracted thousands of disciples. He first established *Tail of the Tiger Buddhist Center* in Vermont, and then the Naropa Institute in Colorado. He then allowed students to open study and practice centers across the country, first under the name Dharmadhatu Center (and over a hundred of these sprung up in the matter of a few years), and then, for general training with less of a distinctly Buddhist jargon, the Shambhala network of centers. Trungpa drank heavily and made love with hundreds of his female students, but this only seemed to add to his charm and popularity. Although he passed away many years ago, his centers continue to thrive under the watchful care of one of his sons.

Another Karma Kargyu Lama had similar success in the 1970s. This is the late great Kalu Rinpoche. Kalu Rinpoche held the Karma Kargyu lineages of the eleventh century master Khyunpo Naljor, who's Shangpa Sect had disappeared as a separate entity and become absorbed by the bigger schools, especially the Karma Kargyu and Geluk. Kalu Rinpoche set up two centers in America and one in Europe for the three year retreat, and thus produced the first crop of Westerners trained in that way. In the Kargyu School one receives the title "lama" by completing this three year retreat. Kalu Rinpoche therefore produced the first Westerners to receive this title in that way. He also brought numerous of his Himalayan lama disciples to the West to teach in his various centers.

The Nyingma School came to the West with Tartang Tulku, a highly trained Nyingma lama sent to California by the Dalai Lama, again in the early 1970s. Tartang Tulku established the Nyingma Institute shortly after his arrival, and it soon began publishing numerous books of his teachings, as well as translations of Himalayan classics. He also facilitated visits to America by numerous other great Nyingma lamas, including Dujom Tulku, the then head of the Nyingma Sect, as well as Dilgo Khyentse, who after Dujom's passing was appointed as the Nyingma head lama. Tartang Tulku opened the door for several dozen other, younger Nyingma lamas who now live and teach in the West.

Another Himalayan lama has proved almost as important. Namkha Norbu had been sent to Italy in the late 1960s by the Dalai Lama, to assist the great Italian academic Prof G. Tucci in his work on Himalayan manuscripts. Namkha Norbu soon went independent, and began teaching Dzogchen around the world. He once said, "It is neither Bon School nor Nyingma School. It is simply Dzogchen." In this way he set himself half way between Bon and Nyingma Schools, both of which teach Dzogchen. He has risen to become one of the most influential Himalayan teachers in the West. Here it might be useful to note that the Bonpo is sometimes called a pre-Buddhist Himalayan school, and also sometimes referred to as a fifth Buddhist school.

The Sakya School, that had played a very important role in Asia for almost a thousand years, was slower than the above three schools in terms of Western activity. The main reason was that fewer of their great lamas managed to escape from Tibet, and therefore they could not spare the monk power for teaching activity in West. However, they quickly established strong training programs in India, and in the past decade the young crop of lamas graduating from their institutions have begun to make a strong impact. Kublai Khan in the thirteenth century had made the Sakya brand of Buddhism the formal religion of the Mongol aristocracy, and this remained the case until the Mongols switched to the Gelukpa School in the late sixteenth century. There are now something like a hundred Sakya centers in North America.

Something should also be said about the Himalayan Buddhist publishing houses that emerged during the 1970s and 1980s, and that played an important role in popularizing Himalayan Buddhism in the West. Four are especially important: Dharma Publishing, inspired by Tartang Tulku; Shambhala, inspired by Chogyam Trungpa; Snow Lion, inspired by the Dalai Lama; and Wisdom Publications, inspired by Lama Thubten Yeshe. Numerous others also appeared, but the above four both printed a larger number of titles, and also achieved wider readerships.[11]

E. THE DALAI LAMA BECOMES "LAMA TO THE WORLD"

The biggest breakthrough for Himalayan Buddhism came with the amazing popularity received by the present Dalai Lama. The simplicity of his presence, combined with the sharpness of his intelligence and quickness of his wit, have won hearts and minds around the world. From kings and presidents to monks and nuns, and to ordinary lay people everywhere, it seems that everyone loves the Dalai Lama. A *Newsweek* poll some years ago listed him as one of the three most popular citizens on the planet, along with Nelson Mandala of South Africa and former President Bill Clinton. When the Dalai Lama travels and teaches, he fills football stadiums and civic centers. No matter how large the venue, tickets to his events sell out weeks before his arrival. He has become something of a *de facto* international and interdenominational ambas-

sador of Buddhism in general and Himalayan Buddhism in particular.

It was not always that way, and the Dalai Lama has earned the public acclaim that he has received through his consistent message of compassion, wisdom, tolerance and non-violence. Thousands of monks from China, Vietnam, Cambodia and other Asian countries fled Communism and arrived in the West, yet none have achieved even a fraction of the popularity as has the Dalai Lama.

One of the reasons for this is the Dalai Lama's amazing ability to maintain a purity of tradition while projecting an openness to everything and anything, and a complete humility in the face of the amazing attention that he receives.

I remember one instance of this in India. The Dalai Lama was speaking in Delhi University. At the end he invited questions from the audience. After a half hour of this Q and A, a young student asked a somewhat embarrassingly silly question. The professors on the stage beside the Dalai Lama squirmed, and one of them grabbed the microphone. "The Dalai Lama has a meeting with the President of India, so we should cut the discussion here and leave," he said. The bodyguards and security people began to rise from their seats.

The Dalai Lama gently took the microphone from the professor and spoke. "My problem is that the name 'Dalai Lama' has a traditional meaning. In brief, if I think of the President of the country as being more important than this young student, and if I give more importance in my mind to a meeting with the President than I do to answering this young man's question, then I should give back my title of Dalai Lama. I would not be worthy to carry it." He then went on to speak to the young student's question for fifteen minutes or so, with complete humility and respect. As he concluded, the entire student body erupted in applause.

The Dalai Lama has gone on to win more than a hundred international humanitarian awards, including the Nobel Peace Prize and the Albert Schweitzer Award, to list but two of them. Several dozen books have been compiled and edited from his public teachings, several of which have gained listings on the *New York Times* bestseller list. Last year he won the prestigious Templeton Award for contributions to science and religion.

Several hundred other Himalayan lamas now live and teach in the West. The above account is intended to document the pioneers in the work

F. THE FOUR GREAT SCHOOLS OF HIMALAYAN BUDDHISM IN THE WEST

Although Himalayan lamas teaching in the West tend to emphasize the specialties of their personal sect, in fact all Himalayan schools of Buddhism are 99 % similar in terms of content and philosophy, and only differ 1 % from one another in content. All combine the Three Yanas in their training regimes.

That is to say, all Himalayan schools make the Hinayana teachings of the Buddha their basis. They all teach the doctrines of the four noble truths, the noble eightfold path, the three higher trainings, and the twelve links of dependent origination. They also include trainings in the four mindfulness and five clairvoyances.

On that foundation, they all then introduce the Mahayana teachings descending from Buddha through Indian masters such as Nagarjuna, Asanga, Aryadeva, Dignaga,Chandrakirti, Dharmakirti, Shantideva, and Kamalshila. They then introduce the tantric lineages from the Indian greats such as Indrabodhi, Ghantapada, Luipada, Tilopa, Naropa, and so forth. Each, however, does have its own approach to personal training, its own sense of the balance between study and retreat, and something of its own linguistic.

Himalayans themselves generally divide all Himalayan schools into two, based on the period of government. They call these *Nga-gyur*, or "Early Transmissions" and *Chi-gyur*, or "Later Transmissions." The meaning is that the early schools follow the linguistic approach to Buddhist language that was used prior to the eleventh century A.D. The latter follows the linguistic approach developed by the great renaissance masters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. All of the early schools are referred to as Nyingma, even though during those centuries many hundreds of trends and lineages developed; these days all are generally lumped together as though they were a single school.

The latter, or "Later Transmissions," are referred to as the *Sarma*, or "New Schools." This group includes all later movements, such as the Sakya, the Kadampa, the Kargyu, the Zhijey, the Zhalu, the Raluk, and so forth.

Two centuries later a great lama from northeast Tibet, Lama Tsongkhapa by name, united all the *Sarma* or New Transmission Schools into one, which has become renowned as the Geluk. The Geluk eventually became larger than all other schools of Early and New Transmission periods combined. Its chief proponents have been the Dalai and Panchen Lamas. It continues today as the largest of all the Himalayan schools, probably due to the fact that Lama Tsongkhapa

managed to create a movement that did not give advantage to the aristocracy. Most high lamas in the other Himalayan schools are chosen from aristocratic backgrounds.

G. SOME CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

We live in a most exciting era. Ours is the good fortune to experience and participate in the opening chapter of the sixth 500- year cycle of Buddha Shakyamuni's legacy on this earth. And we are not mere witnesses sitting idly on the side, like spectators at a sports event. Those of us who chose to do so can become active participants in the shape that Buddhism will take over the decades and centuries to follow. We can not only observe history, but can directly contribute to its unfoldment.

We have been in this sixth 500- year period for almost two generations now. If we look back over the past five decades, we can certainly see that the Himalayan lamas have come out very strong in terms of international activity, in fact stronger than any other form of Buddhism.

One of the reasons for this is numbers. Although Tibet did not have a large population, it had nourished an enthusiasm for enlightenment perhaps unequalled in any other nation. Every family hoped to produce at least one monk, nun or tantric priest, and many families produced several. Tibet, with a population of only six million people, maintained a sangha that was an estimated quarter of a million people strong. Many monasteries had five or six thousand members. A monastery with only a thousand monks or nuns would be considered somewhat small and provincial. This was not the case in other Asian countries, where a monastery of a few hundred monks or nuns would be considered large. And with such a large talent pool to draw from, it is not surprising that Tibet and the surrounding regions where Himalayan Buddhism thrived and produced hundreds of great Buddhist scholars and mystics.

This sheer volume of numbers has given Himalayan Buddhism an advantage in modern times in terms of its ability to spread carry its message around the world. There are well over a thousand Himalayan lamas teaching around the world today. No other Asian countries have anything like this number of monks and teachers serving as active ambassadors of the Buddha Dharma.

A second factor is the unique quality of Himalayan Buddhism. Because Tibet was located to the immediate north of North India, where Buddha Shakyamuni lived and taught from the time of his enlightenment until his passing into *mahaparinirvana* almost five decades later. Tibet shared a land border of several thousand miles with Buddhist India from ancient times, and it could safely be said that the Himalayans in essence became an Indian cultural satellite[12] from prehistoric days until the Chinese Communist invasion of 1951.[13] These many centuries of continued and sustained interaction with India have provided Tibet with a unique window into the rich and vast nature of Indian Buddhism. The Himalayan *Kangyur*, or "Translated Words of the Buddha," contain over a thousand texts, including Hinayana Sutras, Mahayana Sutras and Vajrayana Tantras, all of which are attributed to the Buddha. The Himalayan *Tengyur*, or "Translated Words by Later Indian Masters," contain almost 5,000 texts by Indian Buddhist masters.

This threefold approach to study and practice – Hinayana, Mahayana and Vajrayana – is another of the factors that has led to the amazing popularity of Himalayan Buddhism in the West. The Hinayana aspect appeals to Westerners in search of a simple approach to the spiritual life, and they find this in three higher trainings of the doctrines of the Hinayana: discipline, meditation and wisdom/philosophy.

Alternatively, many Westerners connect with Himalayan Buddhism because of the Mahayana sutra tradition of great compassion combined with meditation and wisdom trainings, and supplemented by the intellectual richness of the Indian treatises by great masters such as Nagarjuna, Asanga, Dharmakirti, Shantideva, and so forth.

Thirdly, many Westerners instead take an interest in Himalayan Buddhism because of the Vajrayana or Tantra field of study and training. Whereas Hinayana and Mahayana work on the basis of conventional appearances -- cause and effect, and so forth -- the Tantra aspect of Buddhism jumps into an entirely higher world view, utilizing the language and imagery of sex and violence to transport the practitioner beyond ordinariness into the sublime field of immediate enlightenment.[14] The language of the Buddhist Tantras is much more in line with that of modern psychology, as evidenced by a reading of works by Western masters such as Freud, Jung and Adler. This synchronicity of Buddhist Tantra and Western mind science make the tantric approach very appealing to Westerners of a psychological background and training.

Another aspect of Tantric Buddhism that has attracted great interest in the West has to do with what Tantric Buddhists call "the completion stage yoga." This refers to the process of gaining control over the subtle body chemistry, and thus has a direct relevance to the Western science of psycho-neuro immunology. In Buddhism, this is also discussed in terms of the

yogas of chakras, nadis and *bindus*, or "energy centers," energy pathways," and "subtle drops." The Buddhist teaching here is that the methods of breath control, directed by deep samadhi or meditation power, can very profoundly transform the workings of the subtle bodily chemistry that supports consciousness. The implication is that the tantric yogas can be used to create a more effective body base, to create a bodily support of consciousness that is more effective as a vehicle of the enlightenment. Buddhist Tantras state that a human body transformed by means of tantric yoga creates an environment in which one day of meditation is as powerful as a hundred years of meditation on the basis of ordinary physicality. In recent years, many American universities have initiated research into this "psycho-neuro immunology" manipulation by means of tantric application. Their interest, of course, is not in the traditional Buddhist quest for enlightenment, but rather in how the yogas can be used for stress reduction, pain management, and improvement of the immunity system for disease control. Nonetheless this facet of the tantric yogas has brought further interest in Himalayan Buddhism, because the Himalayans are the principal holders of the Buddhist Tantras today.[15]

A fourth factor should be mentioned in regard to Himalayan Buddhism and its amazing success in the West in the past few decades. This is the factor of enlightenment as a living visionary tradition. Here the Tibetans have a saying, "Every lama is his own school of Buddhism." This openness toward teaching in the Himalayan Buddhist world essentially allows a lama to teach in whatever manner he wishes. There is very little emphasis upon formula or specific structure. The individual can teach his or her disciples in whatever manner seems most effective.

There is a popular saying, "Every cloud has a silver lining." The Chinese invasion and destruction of the enlightenment tradition in Tibet was indeed a dark cloud. The silver lining is that the Himalayan masters were thrown like seeds upon the fertile soil of the international community. The result is a bountiful crop of Himalayan Dharma centers around the world. Sixty years ago there was not a single such center. Today there are several thousand.

While the lamas have been busy in this way around the world, they have also been very active back in Tibet. The Chinese Communists might have destroyed Tibet's 6,500 temples and monasteries during the terrible years of "The Cultural Revolution." The lamas have been busy rebuilding many of these ever since the death of the evil dictator and mass murderer Chairman Mao ushered in a more gentle and lenient regime. When Mao died, not a single Himalayan monastery or temple was open and active in Tibet. All but a half dozen had been razed to the very foundations. Now, three decades into the Chinese Communist policy of liberation, more than 500 of the 6,500 have been rebuilt to some degree.

These two activities – the spread of Himalayan Buddhism around the world, and the rebuilding of Himalayan Buddhism within Tibet – are both very auspicious signs for the success of the next 500 years of Buddhism in the world.

REFERENCES

1. Albert Einstein is famous for several statements that he made in support of Buddhism.Some people feel that he was attracted to Buddhism because of the Buddhist doctrine of relativity, or "dependent origination," something he emphasized in his own theories of relativity in which he dethroned the concept of Absoluteness from the cosmos. There are many critics who claim this quote as spurious, Einstein did talk about 'cosmic religion' occassionally between 1930-1954, in letters, private talks, interviews and two of his articles. The statement appears to be valid by taking into account his assertions at different times. See, Dokovic, V. and P. Grujic, Albert Einstein, Cosmos and Religion, *Serbia Astrono J. No*. 174 (2007), 61-72.

2. This was the Dalai Lama's first international appearance, and achieved international attention. The photo spread in *Life Magazine* brought instant fame to the Dalai Lama's unique character.

3. The role of Emperor Ashoka in the formation of this early canon has tended to escape critical analysis.

4. Numerous editions of the *Lankavatara Sutra* exist. One reason for this is that India did not use woodblock printing. Instead, all books were hand copied. This led to numerous editions coming into vogue. Later Indian editions have passages not present in early editions.

5. Some Mahayanists question the authenticity of the Buddhist tantras. However, the reasoning often used could just as easily be applied to the Mahayana sutras themselves. If one accepts the premise of the validity of the Mahayana sutras, the same reasoning can easily be used to support the validity of the Buddhist tantras.

6. *Selected Works of the Dalai Lama II* (1986). Ithaca, NY: Snow Lion Publications.

7. The tour featured ten monks from Drepung Loseling Monastery. It coincided with the Dalai Lama winning the Nobel Peace Prize.

8. Koreans will be well aware of Kublai Khan, because he brought about the cultural flowering in Korea known as the Gorea Period. In fact because of Kublai Khan, Korea today is known to the world as "Korea," a name inspired by "Gorea."

9. The Communists who took over these Mongol lands outlawed the use of Tibetan in the 1930s, but it remained alive and well as an underground force. The fall of Soviet Communism in 1989 and 1990 saw an instant revival of the use of Tibetan in the hundreds of Buddhist monasteries in Russia and Mongolia that were re-established in the 1990s.

10. Geshey Wangyal brought over numerous other Tibetan and Mongolian lamas, who also taught widely. Perhaps the most well known is Geshey Sopa, who created the Deer Park Buddhist Center in Madison Wisconsin.

11. I personally published over a dozen titles with Snow Lion Publications.

12. The first recorded Tibetan king, Nyatri Tsenpo, who was enthroned in the Second Century B.C. and went on to unite Central Tibet under his rule, is often said to have been an Indian prince fleeing with his army from civil wars in India. His name literally means "Carried on a Palanquin," because the Tibetans were so impressed by him on their first encounter with him that they put him on a palanquin and carried him to their capital city, which at the time was Tsetang in the Yarlung Valley. He is often referred to in Tibetan literature as the First King in the Yarlung Dynasty. Tsetang remained the capital city of the Yarlung Kings until Emperor Songtsen Gampo, often referred to as the thirty-third king in the Yarlung Dynasty, moved the capital to Lhasa, where he created the Potala as his new castle. Tibetan histories emphasize the Indian cultural connection of all thirty-three of these kings. This was natural geographically, because the trade routes from Tsetang and Lhasa flowing south to India and Nepal were much shorter, safer and easily navigated than were the trade routes to any other of Tibet's neighbors.

13. In the 630s A.D., Emperor Songtsen Gampo had a script created from Indian Sanskrit that became the basis of all Tibetan literature from then until today. Sanskrit has fifty consonants and sixteen vowels; the Tibetans formulated their script into thirty consonants and five vowels. A century and a half later, the Chinese script was banned from Tibet. It remained a script *non-grata* for the twelve centuries to follow, until the Chinese Communist invasion of Tibet in the 1950s.

14. The Buddhist *Abhidharma* literature claims that the death of an individual is followed by a "hereafter" process of seven times seven phases, marked in many Buddhist countries as "forty-nine days." At the end of the process, the individual takes rebirth. Tibetan spiritual texts such as the *Bardo Todol*, or "Liberation by Listening When in the Bardo," which has become famous in English translation as the "Tibetan Book of the Dead," speak in depth of these seven times seven phases. According to this work, a being can achieve immediate enlightenment during any of the forty-nine transitions, merely by recognizing the true nature of his own mind. However, if he fails to do so, then the time for rebirth soon looms. When this occurs, the being starts to notice couples making love. He floats between the various love/sex scenes of many dozens of couples, until eventually he choses one for his rebirth. He then develops strong sexual passion for the person having the opposite sex to what he will become, and also develops strong anger toward the person of the same sex of the one he will become. Desire and anger well up within him. Eventually the anger develops into a powerful instinct of violence, and the urge becomes so intense that it kills his bardo body. He then plunges into the sperm/ovum mixture of the copulating couple, and enters the womb of the mother-to-be.This Buddhist presentation fits very well with Freudism, and has attracted immense   interest in   Western psychological circles. In Buddhist thinking, we are always driven by these two instincts: attraction and aversion. On a primal level, they become the instincts to copulate, and the instincts to express violence. Tantra states that quick and easy enlight-enment is attained NOT by avoiding them, as is so often done on the two *Sutra* paths, but by directly working with them, as in done on the Tantra path.

15. Some of the Buddhist Tantras also travelled to China, and from China to Korea and Japan. However, the Chinese emphasis upon simplicity and minimalism as inherited from the Daoist tradition, and on social conformity as pressed by Confucianism, meant that the Chinese mind did not prove to be fertile ground for the radical Tantric doctrines. The Chinese were more interested in Buddhism's social doctrines and general meditation techniques.

ENCOUNTER AND ENGAGEMENT:
VIGNETTES OF THE TRANS-HIMALAYAN REGION

Suchandana Chatterjee*

ABSTRACT

This paper explores Russian and non-Russian trajectories within the Eurasian space and the ways in which those narratives can be situated within the broad perspective of transnational Buddhism. Growing interest in the resurgence of Buddhism in the post-Soviet period points to a Tibetan engagement revolving round the ideal of Buddhist enlightenment that connected people and spaces of Asiatic Russia and South Asia. The discussion is about diverse pathways of reform in colonial societies in the early decades of the 20th century as well as the multiple trans-Himalayan connections and experiences of Indian scholar travellers (like Mahapandita Rahul Sankrityayana) and surveyors in service of the East India Company (like Sarat Chandra Das). The attempt here is to focus on the experiences of these travelling minds, pointing to the orientalist networks between the Buddhological school of St. Petersburg and a diffused group of non-Russian orientalists on the India-Nepal border. The Tibetan journeys and Tibetan missions in which both South Asian and Russian orientalists participated reflect a series of regional processes that unfolded at the turn of the century. Such accounts point to the fascinating aspects of transnational Buddhism which impacted on the minds of visitors coming from various backgrounds. Such textual analysis also opens up a broad discursive space about interactive moments in regional histories of South Asia and Central Asia

Keywords: Agvan Dorjiev, Nepali-Tibetan borderland, Nicholas Roerich, Rahula Sankrityayana, Sarat Chandra Das, Shambhala, Trans-Himalayan space, Younghusband expedition.

INTRODUCTION

The region north of the Himalayas and the Karakorum Range that overlaps with the borderlands of Asiatic Russia and Chinese Turkestan has been commonly viewed as a strategic space that was explored by British and Russian colonial administrators and their envoys, agents and surveyors en route to their sacred destinations and frontier garrisons in Tibet or trading centres in the 'new dominions' of Chinese Turkestan. The spotlight was on the imperial extravaganza in these regions, narrated by men on mission some of whom were aggressive military strategists like Sir Francis Younghusband and others who as diplomatic envoys were, extremely cautious and perceptive in their dealings with local authorities in Tibet and Chinese Turkestan.

A completely different perspective of the region was by a section of visitors who came to the region under the generic category of 'explorers' of various hues and backgrounds who merged their geographical expertise with treasure-hunting skills (as in the case of Marc Aurel Stein) and those from the Indian side with artistic zeal or trading ambition (Rahul Sankrityayana, Nicholas Roerich and Sarat Chandra Das). Such accounts have received attention in contemporary writings where authors talk about a trans-Himalayan space featured by Buddhist art and tradition. [1]

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*Suchandana Chatterjee is Fellow of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies, Kolkata. Her work at the Institute has primarily focused on the Eurasian region. Her research interests include shared spaces and connected histories of Eurasia. She has edited and co-edited a number of books on features of transition in Eurasia and Central Asia, Asian connectivities and competing discourses of encounter and engagement in the trans-Himalayan Buddhist space. E-mail:suchandanachatterjee@hotmail.com; suchandana2008@gmail.com

Such impressions are very different from colonial literature that focus on men and their imperial missions, and also their envoys who have been deputed by their imperial masters to navigate the terrain for exploring trade routes and befriending local communities in order to outsmart other regional competitors. Quite inevitably, the attention was on Tibet and its protégé Nepal—which was the access route for all Tibet-related missions.

TIBETAN ENCOUNTERS: DIFFERENT STROKES

We get an idea of the imperial extravaganza which was flagged off by grand diplomatic missions like that of George Bogle in the 18th century[2] and was revived by military expeditions like that of Sir Francis Younghusband in 1904. On the other hand, there is a tendency to redeem the image of explorers like Sir Marc Aurel Stein who tracked the desert terrain of Eastern Turkestan and discovered some of the remarkable Silk Road sites of Buddhist art in Hami, Dunhuang and Kara Khoto—and who has faded into historical memory as a relic hunters.[3] Less talked about are pursuits of private traders like Robert Shaw who befriended the *ambans* and *begs* of Chinese Turkestan in order to push British Indian tea into Chinese markets. Similarly, much less noticed are the survey missions of Bengal's interlocutors like Sarat Chandra Das who created a world of their own as men trained in Sanskrit and Tibetan language and easily mingled with Tibetan communities along the Nepal-Sikkim border. The purpose here is to weave together such a wide array of accounts in order to portray an image of the Eurasian ecumene centred on Tibetan engagements. These engagements reflected the monastic establishments as a storehouse of Buddhist manuscripts that were recovered by men of wisdom from India in general. It is these men's unusual journeys (often through the eastern sector), their ability to make an impression on the Tibetan mindset not due to diplomatic overtures but because of their charisma as scholar travellers and their visions of a pan-Buddhist Asia based on the Buddhist connections dating back to almost 2000 years.

Within the framework of Tibetology or Tibetan Studies, various facets about an Indo-Tibetan relationship have been explored. An interesting feature of this relationship is Tibetans' fixation about India. Tibetan travellers' understanding of India as a vast corpus of Indo-centric Buddhist literature revolves round the wisdom and compassion of Buddha Sakyamuni as well as the philosophy of his disciples Nagarjuna, Asanga, Vasubandhu, Dignaga and Dharmakirti. What the Indians have looked for in Tibet is something similar—i.e. nerve centres of Indian-inspired Buddhist schools and lineages. These units have been transformed into knowledge bases disseminating Buddhist knowledge through Indian Buddhist missionaries and their Tibetan converts. So, India as an object of Tibetan knowledge is as important as the centrality of Tibet in Tibetan engagements with India and the rest of Asia—be it Russia, Buryatia, Kalmykia or Mongolia. Research has yielded ideas about sacred geography about Buddhism, referring to sites in India that are associated with The Buddha and Buddhism. In the evolving discourses about The Holy Land, attention moves to the shifting terrain of the Buddha.[4]

There are clichés as well as realities about India's Tibetan engagements and vice versa. Taking into consideration the overall appeal of site-mapping, this paper tries to show how Indians as well as their counterparts in the rest of Asia became involved in pursuit and exchange of that knowledge in Himalayan territory—something which is very different from the colonial paradigms of contestation and control.

SOUTH ASIAN JOURNEYS

A. DIPLOMACY AND TRADE MISSIONS

Diplomacy was the forte of Indian intermediaries who were employed in the Company's service. With the intention of 'using Asiatics to conciliate Asiatics',[5] the Company's Government in India were keen to depute Bengali Pundits who not only had the 'qualities of a European explorer' but also had the ability of befriending local Rajas and Tibetan teachers as well as spiritual masters (Rinpoches) of Tashilhunpo Monastery to get access to Lhasa through the Sikkim route. The main purpose was to chart the Sikkim overland route for trade purposes and his method was interaction at a personal level with the Tibetan communities. The advantage of knowing the local language and the ability to befriend lama scholars who guided them through uncharted tracks in the Himalayan region have been the principal selling points of these indigenous brokers on Tibetan soil. The account of one such intermediary, Sarat Chandra Das, an Indian Pundit who travelled through Sikkim into Tibet during 1879-1891 with the expertise of a scientific geographer is extremely engrossing.

Born in Chittagong to a Hindu family in 1849, Sarat Chandra Das first studied engineering in Calcutta. As headmaster of the Tibetan Boarding School in Darjeeling, he developed a passionate interest in Tibet, its language, Buddhist religion, cities and places of pilgrimage. With his knowledge of Sanskrit and Tibetan and his expertise in Tibetan medicine, Das

was acknowledged as Tibet's special visitor. His name was enrolled as a student of theology in the Grand Monastery that ensured his safe existence in the suspicious environment. The British were clearly on the receiving end when it came to exploration of new trade routes. Personal equations mattered and knowledge of a Buddhist space made the real difference and it is quite evident that people like Sarat Chandra Das succeeded while their colonial masters failed. Das's searching mind was focussed on the little known ancient monasteries (some more than 800 years old) where classical subjects like metaphysics, medicine were taught. These lamaseries and monasteries were a storehouse of documents on Buddhism and lay on the entire stretch of the road to Lhasa, along trading joints Shigatse and Gyantse where trade competition was intense. It is also apparent that there was strong bond between Sikkim and Tibet (often strengthened by marital ties among royal families). [6]

Sarat Das was a reporter who drew a balance sheet, making a correct assessment of the situation as it were. This exposed the odds about which the British were mostly unaware of. His unique method was to pacify his adversaries through personal interaction rather than antagonise them through military action or trade competition.

B.   CULTURAL MISSIONS

South Asian scholar explorers like Nicholas Roerich (1874-1947) and Rahula Sankrityayana (1893-1963) came from different backgrounds. In the course of their Himalayan journeys, both of them depicted Asiatic Russia as a domain that was characterised by features as Mongol resilience, Buddhist lineage and shamanist traditions. Nicholas Roerich was an ardent proponent of the East's messianic tradition. He spent 24 years in the East, settling down in India, in the North, and travelling to Central Asia, Tibet, China, Mongolia and Japan. He undertook two expeditions to Asia on foot, not directly from Russia, but from the west to Asia, through Northern India. His idealized geographical landscape was somewhere in the landlocked mountainous region in the Himalayas and the Altai. His mountain art was inspired by a multitude of images about the Buddhist spiritual space that was articulated through his art. The region he chose to paint this time was essentially Asia, and not Russia. His main purpose was an attempt to trace the origins of all Eurasian religious traditions which had a common source-- in the mythical lands such as Shambala and Belovodye which were the scenes of esoteric Buddhism.

Nicholas Roerich's goodwill Central Asiatic Expedition of 1923-28 began with the artistic aim 'to create a pictorial record of lands and peoples of Inner Asia.' The trip was the outcome of a combination of diverse but related interests-- artistic ambitions and spiritual quest in the Trans-Himalayan mountain territory. Roerich's sojourn to Tibet, Mongolia as well as Buryatia in the Altai was linked to his contacts with spiritual masters of Inner Asia who wanted to create a spiritual community of the Buddhist faith.

Roerich led two expeditions, the first one in 1923-28 and the second one in 1930-31. The first expedition, directed along the Srinagar-Leh-Ladakh route to the Altai via Chinese Turkestan (Khotan-Karashahr-Aksu-Urumchi-Kashgar), immortalised in his travel diary *Altai-Himalaya* (1929),[7] gives us a glimpse of various images of spirituality, authority and defiance in Chinese Turkestan. Beyond Urumqi and Dzhungaria, the alternative route of entry was through Mongolia. Siberia was to be the first port of entry along this new route.

From the viewpoint of a Tibetan mission, Roerich's Himalayan expedition was a wasted trip. But, his only solace was his belief about the land of the Shambhala which lay not in Tibet, but in the Altai. Greater prospects of the revival of Buddhism, in his view, lay in India's Himalayan borders, i.e. Sikkim and Bhutan.

The stresses and strains and transformative aspects of the Himalayan region were not clear to many Indians though some of them did feel the need to revive the region's spiritual and linguistic traditions. To this generation belonged Rahul Sankrityayana, an Azamgarh-born scholar whose varied interest in lexicography, Sanskrit, Hindi and Pali texts and Buddhist philosophy brought him into close contact with the community of orientalists and historians in Europe and Asia. Rahulji documented his journeys to Tibet, Ladakh, Sri Lanka, Europe, Japan, Korea, Iran and finally the Soviet Union during the 1920's, 1930's and the 1940's in a series of travelogues.[8] During his travels as a Buddhist *bhikku*, he described the cosmopolitan environment of the Himalayan region. In Sankrityayana's worldview, the region, despite its remoteness from the metropolitan core, was dynamic and vibrant. According to Rahulji, the inter-connectedness of a vast region was due to literary and linguistic links despite the dispersal of communities over a large Himalayan space. This was evident in his interaction with the Drukpa community in the Himalayan plains whose villages were Buddhist hamlets in which Buddhist affiliations thrived. This community gave Rahulji shelter and assisted him on his journey to Tibet that was under strict surveillance of the Nepali government (under Chinese supervision) that was still wary of casual travellers from British India. The members of the Drukpa community became his fellow-travellers to Lhasa. He convinced them of

his interest in Buddhist classical learning, and his desire to make India a storehouse of Buddhist texts and also popularise Buddhist practices in India. Rahulji's journey on foot across the Himalayas gave him a first-hand experience of the prosperous Nepali tribal communities like Gorkhas, Nebars, Tamangs, Gurungs, Elmos, Sharbas—each of them pursuing trade activities under the Ranas of Nepal. Trekking through villages like Thongla, Longkor, Tingri, Domba, Chakaur, Lahurch and Northong perched at an altitude of 14,000 feet Sankrityayana experienced the cosmopolitan environment of a Himalayan highland with several gateways—some of which were very different from the far easier Phari-Kalimpong route that was a commercial-military route.

The Nepali-Tibetan borderlands had many Buddhist communities who mingled with commoners and strangers of every hue. Rahulji entered Tibet via Nepal. In the late 1920's, he reconnoitred Tibetan monasteries that were the rich archives of Buddhist literature. His assistants took him to the heart of the monastic establishments in Lhasa where he was able to interact with students who came from Mongolia and Buryatia and were living in the Drepung and Sera monasteries to study Tibetan Buddhism. The Buddhist texts were jealously guarded by the Tibetan guards. Rahulji's Tibet retrospective is a full length account of the richness of Tibetan archives and the strong Indian-Tibetan scholarly links dating back to the age of Atisha Dipankar Śrījñāna(980-1054 AD) and others—the link that was broken due to imperial ambitions. As the rare Buddhist scholar from India, he was gradually involved in top-level discussions about a liberationist model that swept through the intellectual circles and academia of St. Petersburg and southern Siberia in the early years of Bolshevism. He came into closer contact with prominent intellectuals like Feodor Scherbatsky in the Oriental Institute of Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow that nurtured intellectuals with nationalist ambitions as in Russia and Mongolia. The potentiality of an Asiatic revival with Tibet as the pinhead became evident to Rahulji.

TIBETOLOGISTS FROM RUSSIA

Such revival came about at the turn of the 20th century when the surroundings of Lake Baikal became the nestling ground of Buryat autonomists. They responded to the new ideological approach about the study of ancient Buddhist texts that was emphasised by Russian orientalists S.F.Oldenburg and Scherbatsky in St. Petersburg. Their conviction about the knowledge of the Buddhist lamas led them to support the cause of lama ideology. Since the 1890's, the interpretations of eastern educators about Buddhist knowledge domain were adopted whole heartedly. Gombozhab Tsybikov (1873-1930), Bazar Baradin (1878-1937) and Tsyben Zhamtsarano (1880-1942) became future leaders of the Buryat autonomy movement after 1905uprising in Russia and participated in the 'nationalist reconstruction' project in Buryatia in the 1920's. These Buryats were admitted to the Oriental Faculty at St. Petersburg and attained access into imperial diplomatic service. As students they were offered special training for their research trips to Tibet.

Gombozhob Tsybikov and Bazar Baradin reported to their Tsarist mentors about the state of Tibetan affairs. During his research trip to Tibet from 1899 to 1902, Tsybikov played a double or even triple role---as a fellow traveller and travel companion of the Buryat pilgrims, a dedicated fieldworker of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society taking unusual risks and as Russian secret agent whose goal was to gather as much geographical information about the political and socio-economic situation in Tibet,as possible. His trip went unnoticed in the west until the Younghusband military expedition (1903-04) that opened up a Pandora's Box about clandestine links among interventionists centering Tibet and the role of secret agents in this imperial 'game' for gaining access to the borderlands. The needle of suspicion was automatically turned to men on spot like Tsybikov and Sarat Chandra Das.

Tsybikov's reports [9] say that after a year-long stay in Lhasa during which he collected valuable books by lama scholars on philology, astronomy, medicine, history and hu-rums (incantations), he turned up at the high passes of Central Tibet where he waited for the Kozlov expedition. In this report, there is a sketchy description of a fertile highland dotted with monasteries like Sera, Amdo, Daibun and Galdan and the communication among populous trade centres like Shigatse, Gyantse and Lhasa, and the settlements of foreigners and traders of Indian origin that Tsybikov saw. During his journeys, the mystery of old Tibet unravelled as he passed through the Buddhist pilgrimage route from China via the Mongolian grasslands, the Gobi, Tsaidam and onto Lhasa.

These intellectuals gradually drifted to the alternative political model of a Tibeto-Mongolian theocratic state with Dalai Lama as the leader and Agvan Dorjiev as his advisor. With their eastern mindset, and their eastern pathways, their agendas came to be associated with the broader transnational Buddhist space that India and her Himalayan neighbours represent. The widest coverage is about Agvan Dorjiev (1853-1938), the 13th Dalai Lama's Buryat emissary to Tibet who is rumoured to be actively involved in a parallel diplomatic engagement---i.e. Russian military preparations in Tibet. The interplay of local factors with imperial motivations is not a new subject of study. Somewhat refreshing is the Buryat

connection and the intriguing regional politics in the Himalayan region centring Tibet. What has also assumed focus is the wide gamut of trans-national networks based on the lamas' contacts.

Dorjiev's activities in Tibet and Russia, from the late 19th century until 1904 when he fled from Lhasa in the Dalai Lama's retinue, have been well recorded in his own memoirs. Glimpses of his career are available in his Mongolian and Tibetan autobiographical accounts and his Russian memoir (*Zapiska o moei zhizni v Tibete*) which ends rather abruptly. [10] His political career began in the Lhasan court and he was able to convince Lhasa about British geopolitical interests and possibilities of British India's encroachments in trans-Himalayan sector.

Dorjiev's secret contacts with Buryat and Indian scholars and intermediaries, some of them being Indian Sanskritologists like Sankrityayana, also indicate the range of his ideas and his reach that few could comprehend at that time. Dorjiev alerted the Dalai Lama about British secret activities on Tibet's Sikkim border. The Dalai Lama and his associates left the Tibetan capital for a safer refuge in Mongolia. Such a dramatic sojourn happened just before the Younghusband Mission—so it was pretty clear that spiritual envoys like Agvan Dorjiev had a significant role to play as arbiter in Tibetan affairs.

CONCLUSIONS

Perceptions of a trans-Himalayan space varied because the contexts and content of the missions were different. The accounts are sombre reflections of local and regional geopolitics. Roerich's preference for alternative spiritual sects and leaders in the Chinese Altai struck a discordant note. Sankrityayana's perception of humanism and socialist order set the tone for political alternatives in resurgent India—an intellectual trend which can be compared to the ideas of Buryat autonomists who were trained as intelligence gatherers just like their counterpart in British India, Sarat Chandra Das. The variety of Eastern missions reflected the trans-Himalayan region (and Tibet in particular) not only as a space that gained notoriety for colonial encounters but also as an interactive cultural space that was visited by scholars from South Asia and Asiatic Russia who also turned out to be great disseminators of Buddhist learning.

ENDNOTES

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A LITERATURE REVIEW OF THE MENTION OF THE SACRED MOUNTAIN "KAILASH MANSAROVAR" IN THE ANCIENT INDIAN CLASSICS AND MYTHOLOGY

印度经典以及神话故事里有关冈底斯神山介的绍文献回顾

Dr. Binod Singh*

ABSTRACT

For millennia Hindus have revered the sanctity of Mt. Kailash and Mansarovar as a heaven on earth. Kailash is regarded as one of the most sacred place on this planet for the geopietic vision of varied communities in Asia. Each year, millions of Hindu devotees travel to these high and risky mountain ranges in order to fulfill their karma of sacred pilgrimage which, they believe, will lead them to attain Moksha. The popular belief prevalent is that journey to this mountain will get them rid of all sins and pave the way to the earthly paradise. The Mount Kailash have influenced the Indian mind since Vedic times, when it was considered to be the home of the gods and the source of soma, the drink of immortality. The myths and legends surrounding the region are not very well documented in the Indian mythology. We can find mention of the holy mountain appearing in the great epic of Mahabharata and the Ramayana too. There are several mention of this sacred mountain in several other religious texts and mythical legends such as Skanda Purana and Brahmanda Purana. Even religious literature of Jainism and Buddhism refers to this mountain as a holy site in their faith. Therefore, a comprehensive survey of these literatures and folklore related with Kailash Mansarovar will benefit us to know the cultural and religious importance of this holy mountain among Hindus and non-Hindus of the region and the whole world. Legends of a mythical land were spread throughout the centuries and became of interest to philosophers, adventurers, theologists and even modern day psychologist. This paper is a preliminary attempt to do a brief survey of myths and legend surrounding the holy mountain Kailash, Lake Mansarovar and the related sacred river Ganges, three forming a triadic sacred complex..

Keywords: Ganges, Hindu, Kailash-Mansarovar, Shiva, Tibet.

INTRODUCTION

India is a sacred country of various religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism, out of which the majority of population (around 80%) is Hindu by birth. Since ancient times, Hindu people regarded mountains and rivers as very sacred[1] and even till today worship them as manifestations of Gods and Goddesses. The mighty Himalayan ranges have been home to the many Hindu legends and also the abode of their gods. Hindus revere the entire Himalayas as an embodiment of the divine, but the presence of the sacred mountain and lake are the ultimate seal of sanctity upon the range. In the geographical as well as social and cultural terms, the Himalayas had always been the crown of the Indian peninsula and remained the cultural locus for its teeming millions. It is in the Himalayas, as the *Skanda Purana* records, where Lord Shiva lives, and there the mighty river Ganges fell from the foot of Lord Vishnu like "the slender thread of a lotus flower". The *Ramayana* says: 'There is no mountain like Himalchal [Himalaya], for in it are Kailash

*Dr. Binod Singh is an Assistant Professor at Peking University, Beijing, China, and associated with the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)

and Mansarovar. As the dew is dried up by the morning sun, so are the sins of mankind by the sight of Himalchal.' Mt Kailash is most sacred to Buddhists, Jains, Hindus and Tibetans. Mt. Kailash is regarded as the earthly manifestation of the Hindus' mythic Mount Meru[2], or Sumeru, the spiritual center of the universe, the *axis mundi* in Buddhist and Jain as well as Hindu cosmology. The mount Meru appeared with improvisations in Jain cosmograms, in Javanese temples, in Japanese mythology and Tibetan paintings. It became the '*shikhar*' of Hindu temples as well as Buddhist Stupas with hemispherical circles rising high.

The Himalayas (snow-abode), also known as Himavat, Himachala, Himadri and Giri-Raja, are the highest mountains in the world, though the youngest. There are picturesque descriptions of the Himalayas in Sanskrit literature. The great Indian poet Kalidas has described this mountain very beautifully in his epic of *Kumarasambhavam.* [3] For Hindu residents of the Himalayas, geography is critical to numerous beliefs and ritual practices. Many mountains and rivers have sacred significance, and temples dedicated to local deities are an essential part of each village's geography. From the perspective of pan-Hindu traditions and beliefs, the region is a place of pilgrimage, not only for today's people, but also for deities and characters from the great epics. Rishis, sages, and spiritual aspirants had been visiting and sojourning in this hallowed region from time immemorial. Even today, many hundreds of thousands of Hindus travel each year to pilgrimage sites in the Himalayas (*tirtha*). The pilgrimage site that is most frequently referred to in religious texts and epics is Kailash-Mansarovar. Kailash is the home of Lord Śiva and, for many, it is understood to be the earthly manifestation of Mount Meru – the great mountain mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. It is also understood to be a physical representation of Śiva's *linga*. At its base is the holy lake of Mansarovar.

Worship of Shiva may be the oldest surviving religious cult in the world. Each year, millions of Hindus devotees travel to these high and risky mountain ranges in order to fulfill their karma of sacred pilgrimage which will lead them to attain Moksha. The traffic of pilgrims and merchants to and fro Kailash-Mansarovar area was indeed a busy traffic in the Maurya period and Ashokan missionaries like Kasyapa and Madhyamagotra might have scaled the Himalayas to acquire on-the-ground knowledge of the Himavat. [4] One complete *parikrama* or circumambulation of Mt. Kailash is said to have the power to erase the accumulated sins of a lifetime, while 108 of these parikramas will ensure nirvana or liberation from the cycle of life and death.[5] Legends of a mythic land were spread throughout the centuries and became of interest to philosophers, adventurers, theologists and even modern day psychologist.[6]

Figure 1: Mount Kailash

GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTIONS

Mount Kailash (*Kang Rinpoche* in the Tibetan language) is situated in the south-western part of Tibet bordering the Kumaon hills and Nepal[7]. It is two hundred and forty miles from Almora in U.P. and 800 miles from Lhasa. Mount Kailash is a rock pyramid 22,028 feet high. It embodies the age old concept of the 'navel of the earth', the 'world pillar', the 'first of the mountains', the 'still point in the turning world', 'rooted in the seventh hell, piercing through to the highest heaven'. They are a part of the Himalayas and are situated in northwest Tibet (or Gangdesh). To the north of Mansarovar stands the sacred peak of Kailash, mentioned in Sanskrit literature as the paradise of Shiva. Kalidasa mentions, the waters of Mansarovar are like pearls; to drink them erases the sins of a hundred lifetimes. Innumerable shooting stars descend into the waters as one sits and watches the celestial show at dusk.

Before the dawn of history Mansarovar had become the sacred lake, and it has remained for four millenniums (*Pranavananda,* 1934, 1949). Its inaccessibility has enhanced its sanctity, and has enshrouded it in mystery."[8] Earlier composers of tales believed that it rises 84,000 leagues high at the centre of the universe, encircled by the concentric rings of the seven continents and seven oceans. Later Sanskrit epics too describe Kailash as the one descending from the upper reaches of Himalayas and recognized this seat at the holiest of the mountains. It has been accepted that the most beautiful and captivating of all the lakes in the world is Mansarovar. Formerly, in ancient India, it was known as Brahmasar. It is a fresh water lake perched at 15,000 ft. above sea level. Consequently, the religious importance of Mount Kailash and its immediate hinterland of Lake Mansarovar is multifaceted.[9] Since the ancient times the Lake Mansarovar, the lake born from the mind of Brahma, is among the most ancient and holy of Hindu pilgrimage sites. Hindus believe that by traveling to this holy mountain and taking bath in this lake, their all sins will be washed away and they can get *Mukti* (liberation) from this life. They believe that the Lake Mansarovar is an embodiment of purity, and one who drinks water from the lake will go to the abode of Lord Shiva after death. The person gains merit and believed to be cleansed of all his sins committed over even a hundred lifetimes.

The glory of Kailash and Mansarovar, where nature unleashes its fury and dons its beauty, are sung at length by the *shastras* (Hindu classics) of *Sanatan* (eternal, referring to ancient Hindu religion) *Dharma*. Since Vedic times thousands of years ago, it has been revered as a holy pilgrim place and is believed to be the source of four subterranean rivers, namely, Shatdru (Sutlej), Sindhu, Brahmaputra and Saryu (Karnali). Together the Holy Mountain and the four rivers that spring from it, form a vast geographical mandala that has a very profound effect over the cultural universe of the Himalayan people. The Holy Mansarovara or Mana-sarovar, the *Tso Mapham or Tso Mavang of the* Tibetans, is the holiest, the most fascinating, the most inspiring, the most famous of all the lakes in the world and the most ancient that civilization knows.[10] "Mansarovar" was the first lake known to geography. It is the creation of the *manas* (mind) of Brahma, the first of the Trinity of Hindu mythology; and according to some the Maharaja Mandhata in the Krita-yuga (Golden Age) discovered the Mansarovar. The legend goes: Mandhata had done penance on the shores of Mansarovar at the foot of the magnificent mountains named after him. At the shores of this holy lake, there were seven rows of trees. According to the legend, there was a big mansion down below on its bottom. It is said to be the abode of the king of Nags – the serpent gods – and in the middle of the arc like surface of the lake once upon there stood a huge tree. Its fruits fell into the lake with the sound 'Jam'; thus, the surrounding region came to be known as "Jambu-ling" or "Jambu-dvipa" in the Hindu Puranas. It is said that the Nags - serpents - ate some of the fruits that fell into the lake and some sank to the bottom of the lake and metamorphosed as gold nuggets.[11]

Although mythological and historical stories behind the mount Kailash vary from religion to religion, its religious significance is undisputed. The greatest of all Indian poets, Kalidas, pours his heart in penning the grandeur of Kailash and Mansarovar in his work called *Meghdoot*. In *Meghdoot*, Kalidas writes, *'Kailashasye tridisha vanita darpanasye'*. (*Purva Megha* 59) -- Mt Kailash is the mirror for celestial ladies. He further describes Mt Kailash as being one of the four *krida shail* or sports hills built for Shiva, the other three being Kankadri, Mandar and Gandhamadan. The southern face of Mt Kailash displays the marking of the celestial steps - a long vertical cleft punctuated by a horizontal line of rocks strata. The design resembles a swastika indicating the rays of the sun in Hinduism. According to Charles Allen, one description in the *Vishnu Purana* of the mountain states that its four faces are made of crystal, ruby, gold, and lapis lazuli.[12]

According to Sergei Balalaev: "The Kailash Complex is a huge natural *mandala* each part of which is characterized by its specific qualities. The top of Kailash allows a person to be united with the Center of the Earth. The South Face, associated with the element of Water, is the link between the manifested and secret worlds, as well as between the terrestrial and celestial worlds. To the full extent it is possible to experience during the passage of the inner kora (Nandi Kora). The West Face of Kailash, associated with the element of Air, makes it possible to realize Absolute Love. The

North Face of Kailash, associated with the element of Ether, helps realize Knowledge. The East Face of Kailash associated with the element of Fire, is a kind of a Gate inside Kailash. The way inside is open only to those who are able to interact with all the elements manifested in the Faces of Kailash and realize corresponding qualities, and who are able to pass the purification by fire energies of the Valley of Life and Death."

There is another explanation that the mountain is four faceted with four colours: white like a Brahmin, the priest, on its eastern surface; yellow like a Vaisya, the merchant, on the south; red like a Kshatriya, the warrior, on the north; black on its western side like a Shudra, the menial. This version of Mount Meru embraces the concept of Hindu social organization that divides the people in four classes. In other words, Hindu life system derives its existence from the legendary four sides of Mount Meru. Yet, one school of thought attributes it to the Sumerian civilisation (2,500-3,000 b. C.). In the Mesopotamian city, a stepped pyramid, the *ziqqurat*, supposed to be linking the forces of heaven and earth represented the cosmic mountain. One of the myths goes to maintain that at the core of the Jambu, the landmass surrounding Lake Mansarovar, stood the glorious mountain of Meru.

KAILASH IN HINDU MYTHOLOGY

Kailash Mansaroavar is the land of mists and myths. But these myths and legends surrounding the region are not very well documented in the Indian mythology except in *Shiv Purana*[13]. Mythological tales in the *Purana* mention that the Himalayas are the abode of Shiva." It is a land where Lord Shiva lives with his consort Parvati[14]. The popular Hindu perception associates the Himalayas with Lord Shiva, the Destroyer and Transformer of the Hindu Triad[15]. The other two of the Triad, Brahma, the Creator, and Vishnu, the Preserver, also reside there. According to ancient Hindu religious texts, the abode of creator Brahma is called Brahmaloka, the abode of Lord Vishnu is called "Vaikunth" the abode of Lord Shiva is called Kailash. Of the three, one can only go bodily and return in this life from Kailash having experienced divinity." [16]

As per Hindu mythology, Kailash is the divine centre at the heart of all creation, and from its worship comes a vision of the divinity of all things.[17] The basic cosmography described in these epics took some shape in the eighteen texts collectively known as *Puranas*. *Puranas* describe the earth as made up of seven continents and seven oceans. The central landmass has six mountain ranges surrounding the Meru at the core, and one of these mountains is the Himalayas. The human ideal of mount Meru rising from the descent of the seventh hell and rising to perforate through the loftiest of the heavens – the great mountain at the centre of the universe itself – comes to rest at Kailash. The Skanda Purana therefore acknowledges, "There are no mountains like the Himalayas, for in them are Kailash and Mansarovar". Mount Meru is given a spectacular description in the Hindu *Vishnu Purana* of 200 BC.[18] In another sense, it captures for a fleeting moment the Absolute for which all symbols are only substitutes, translations of eternity and infinity into the realm of time and space. Of human construction or not,[19] Mt. Kailash is one of the most mysterious, secret and at the same time one of the most holy and sacred mountains of Asia, if not of the world, the circumambulation(parikrama/kora) of which has for many centuries or possibly many millennia remained a vital pilgrimage, symbolizing the life's stages of death, purification and rebirth. As long as there have been ancient religions in Asia, there has been a reverence for Mount Kailash. The cosmologies and origin myths of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism each speak of as the *axis mundi* - the center and birthplace of the entire world.

The Mount Kailash occupies one of the highest places in the hierarchy of millions of Gods. The Aryan cosmology had established Mount Meru not only as the navel of the Earth but the centre of the universe as well. On its summit is located the *Swarga* – the heaven – presided over by the king of the Hindu Gods, Indra, who is also the God of rains that bring prosperity to the vast food bowl of the Gangetic plains. Nevertheless, the dominantly emerging themes are related to Lord Shiva, who married the daughter of the king of a Himalayan state, the Daksha Prajapati. It is supremely sacred mountain, cosmology connected with Mount Meru, the great mythological mountain that forms the axis of this world system. In Hindu mythology, Mount Meru is a fabulous mountain, for on it is situated *Swarga* – that is, heaven – the place with the cities of gods, and the habitations of celestial spirits. The sun, moon, and stars are supposedly turning around the mountain, and above the king of mountains is heaven. (*Chamaria,* 1996, 24)

In Hindu sacred books, literary classics and mythology, we find numerous instances, where this sacred mountain has been referred to as the abode of Lord Shiva. The *Shrimad Bhagvad Gita* describes Mt. Kailash as a divine form of God, "*Meruhu shikharinãmaham,*" meaning, "I am Kailash (Meru) among all mountains."[20] The Kailash Mansarovar region finds mentions in both epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. The Valmiki *Ramayana*, in the *Kishkindha Kand* and *Bal Kand*,[21] and the *Bhishma Parva, Van Parva, Dron Parva* and *Anushashan Parva* of the epic *Mahabharat*a describe, through stories, the glory and beauty of Kailash-Mansarovar. In the great epic *Ramayana* ,the sage Valmiki tells Lord Ram, that the Manasa Lake was mentally created by Brahma in Kailasha mountain. This is Kubera's living place also.[22]

After his brother Ravana takes control of Lanka and Pushpaka Vimana, Kubera with the blessings from Parameshwara establishes Alakapuri in Kailash and becomes Yaksharaja.[23] Another story goes like this. Once sage Dattatreya travelled from Vindhyachal Mountains in the south to the Himalayas and then arrived at Mansarovar. After a holy dip in its waters and seeing the royal swans (*rajhansas*) he asked Shiva and Parvati residing in a cave in Mt. Kailash, "Which is the holiest of holy places in the world?" Shiva replied, "The holiest of holy places is the Himalaya in which lies Kailash and Mansarovar."

The *Puranas* describe the death of Bhasmasur, a demon, at this place. Many nearby landmarks are also related to infamous and famous people of Indian culture. Ravana[24], the King of Lanka, performed austerities at *Ravanhrud* or *Rakshas Tal*. Ravana ruled Lanka. He came to Mount Kailash in the Himalayas to worship Shiva. Kailash Mountain was the abode of Shiva. Ravana prayed Shiva to appear before him. Shiva did not. Ravana got frustrated and wanted to show his strength. He lifted the Kailash Mountain with all his twenty hands. The entire place shook as if struck by an earthquake. Shiva's wife Parvati got scared. The gods in heaven thought the world might come to an end if the mountain was dislodged thus. They prayed to Shiva to do something. Shiva, who usually fulfills any and every wish of those who worship him decided to teach Ravana a lesson. Shiva pressed the mountain with one of his big toes. Now Ravana got stuck under the weight of the Himalayas. Chastised and humbled, he prayed to Shiva to release him from this weight. On his release a grateful Ravana sang a song in praise of Shiva. It is called the *Shiva Tandava Stotram*. There are other versions of this story too.

Some other Hindu legend tells of twelve Rishis, wise 'seers' of pre-Vedic times who retreated to the remote region for meditation and prayer. They stayed many years performing penances and austerities, and were awarded a vision of Shiva and Parvati, the divine Lord and Lady of Kailash. But still they lacked, in this dry land, a suitable place to perform the daily ablutions required of devout Hindus. The Rishis prayed to Brahma so that they might fulfill their duties. From the infinite depths of his all encompassing mind, Brahma created Mansarovar, the Lake of the Mind, as a mirror of his greatness.[25] At the moment of its creation, it is said, the Rishis worshipped a golden linga, the generative symbol of Shiva, rising from the midst of the new-born waters.

According to Hindu mythology, Brahma, the supreme deity in the form of the creator, lives on its summit, surrounded by lesser deities. Meru and Kailash appear as separate mountains in early texts of Buddhist and Hindu mythology, but later tradition has tended to bring them together and identify them as one and the same. There is a reference to Kailash (Mount Meru) in the *Vedas,* the oldest book of the Hindus. It is written in the *Puranas*, that Lord Shiva and Brahma, gods of destruction and creation respectively, did penance in Manas Khanda. Marichi, Vasishtha, and other sages did penance here for twelve years. Ancients Hindu saints like Vyasa and great Sanskrit poet Kalidasa have described this Kailash as the dear abode of Lord Mahadeva. In Rudra Samhita also there is a clear mention of the Kailash as the place of residence for Shiva.[26]

The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharta*, all the *Puranas* in general, and *Manasakhanda* of *Skanda Purana* in particular, sing the glory of Mansarovar. It is described in the *Mahabharata* that Bhagavan Krishna went along with the Pandavas and Dhoumya Maharshi to Kailash from Badrinath. On reaching there after fifteen days they were welcomed by Lord Mahadeva Himself. There are several references to Kailash and Mansarovar in the great epic *Mahabharata*, according to which Arjuna visited and conquered this region, in consequence of which the vassal Kings of this region sent black and white yak-tails, bets seeds, gold, brilliant gems, and other things as presents to the Emperor Yudhisthira on the occasion of Rajasuya-Yaga or Horse-Sacrifice. After that, Rishi Vyasa and Bhima visited Kailash once and Sri Krishna and Arjuna on another occasion.[27] At the end of the *Mahābhārata*, the Pāṇḍava brothers all renounce the world and wander into the Himalayas. Eventually the eldest brother, Yudhiṣṭhira, bathes in the Gangā and enters heaven (*Sax,* 2002, 19). There is a reference to Kailash and Mansarovar in the great epic *Ramayana*, Rishi Dattatreya did the pilgrimage to Kailash and Mansarovar. Ravana, Bhasmasurra and others in *Treta-yuga* did penance to propitiate Lord Shiva. In the *Ramcharitmanas*, Tulsidas says '*Param ramya girivar Kailashu sada jahan Shiva Uma nivasu*' (1-105). It is on this most beautiful and prominent mountain Kailash that Shiva and Parvati reside.[28] Even as late as sixteen century the nirguna poet Kabir mentions Kailash in his poems.[29]

According to some historians, Emperor Ashoka (269 B.C.) deputed the Katyuri Raja Nandi Deva of Kumaon who invaded Western Tibet through the Unta-dhura pass and annexed it to the Indian Empire. On his return journey, he visited Kailash and Mansarovar. Some biographers of Adi Shankaracharya write that he had dropped down his body near Kailash.[30] Shankaracharya in his *Chandrashekara Astaka* glorifies the abode of *Ishwara* - the Holy Mt. Kailash. With the antiquity of *Tantra* traced back to the Indus civilization and with Mount Kailash as the focal point in *Tantra,* regular

contacts and exchanges between the Siddhas on both sides of the Himalayas in pre-Buddhist and even pre-Vedic times are no longer ruled out. Some scholars surmise that even Indian Tantra was developed from the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet called Bon.[31]

KAILASH IN BUDDHIST AND JAIN MYTHOLOGY

In some Pali and Sanskrit Buddhist works, Mansarovar is described as *Anotatta* or *Anavatapta*—Lake without heat and trouble. In its center is a tree which bears fruits that are 'omnipotent' in healing all human ailments, physical as well as mental, and as much sought after by gods and men alike. This *Anavatapta* is described as the only true paradise on earth. It is also said that mighty lotus flowers, as big as the Amitabha Buddha, bloom in the Holy lake, and the Buddha and the *Bodhisattavas* often sit on those flowers. Heavenly *Raja-hansas* (Swans) will be singing their celestial melodies as they swim in the Lake. On the surrounding mountains of the Lake are found the *shata-mulikas* or hundred herbs.

The story of Lord Shiva and his incarnations does not end here: Kailash bristles with more deities sitting in 990 rows with 500 in each. Each of them is a facsimile of Demchok. Besides Demchok and his eternal partner Dorje-Phangmo, others also populate the Kailash. There is an intermingling of the myths: Lord Buddha and his 500 Bodhisattvas are said to have their dwelling on the Kailash peak. At the foot of the sacred peak is seated Hanumanji, the Hindu monkey-god. This is said to be the abodes of lesser-known deities around Kailash and Mansarovar. The legend goes: these deities could be seen by the pious one only and the lesser mortals report hearing sounds of bells, cymbals and other musical instruments coming right from the top of Kailash. The myths descend down from Mount Kailash to the shores of Lake Mansarovar.

According to the ancient Tibetan text of *Kangi Karchhak*, the presiding deity of Kailash is Demchok (Dharmapala or Pavo). Demchhok, like Lord Shiva, wraps himself in a tiger skin and wears an intimidating garland of human skulls. According to the Tibetan scriptures, he holds a damaru - a small drum – in one hand and a khatam – trident – in the other. The Shakti, or spouse, of Demchok is Dorje-Phangmo or Vajra Varahi. She is shown in ancient Tibetan paintings and idols clinging to Demchok in convoluted embrace. This physical union of the super beings is translated into geographical symbolism. On the western side of Kailash peak, a smaller snow peak known as Tijun is situated. Tijun is said to be the abode of Dorje-Phangmo. The "*Kangri Karchok*" --the Tibetan Kailash Purana--says that the four great rivers called Langchen Khambab, or the Elephant-mouthed river (Sutlej), on the west, Senge Khambab, or the Lion-mouthed river (Indus), on the north, Tamchok Khambab, or the Horse-ears-mouthed river (Brahma-putra), on the east, and Mapchu Khambab, or the Peacock-mouthed river (Karnali), on the south, have their sources in Tso Mapham, the lake unconquerable (Mansarovar).

In Jain literature, Kailash is called *Ashtapada*. Adinatha Vrishabhadeva, the first Tirthankar of Jainism, was said to have attained *Nirvana* at Kailash. In the *Mahabharata* , Mansarovar is also known as *Bindusara* and in Jain works as *Padma Hrada*. According to the *Uttar Purana*, the first Tirthankar in Jain dharma, Rishabhdev, performed austerities and gave up his mortal existence at Mt. Kailash.

STORY OF KAILASH AS DEPICTED IN HINDU TEMPLES

As the history progresses, movements of people and ideas also found the concept of Mount Meru filtering and improvising itself through various layers of civilizations and passages of time as well. While in the West, the medieval Europe had the vision of the multi- tiered realm of heaven and hell, in the East, Hindu mythology, for instance, spoke of various kinds of heaven and hell. In other words, the concept of Mount Meru spread across the globe and Asia, in particular. It inspired art, architecture, literature, religion, mythology and even naturopathy and psychology. Following are some of the famous paintings found across India and in South Asia which depicts the story of Shiva in Kailash. For example, the ancient Koneswaram temple of Trincomalee is heralded as "Dakshina Kailasham" (Kailash of the South) it lies on exactly the same longitude as Mount Kailash.[32]

Figure 2: Temple in Trincomalee in Sri Lanka

Source: Wikipedia.   (Photo taken by Dschen Reinecke)

Figure 3: Drama (Dance) Gestures. Dancing Siva. Early 8th c.

(*Location:* Temple of Kailashanatha, Kanchipuram, Tamil Nadu, India. *Photo Credit*: Vanni / Art Resource, NY33)

Many of the Kailashanath temple's sculptures and relics depict episodes relating to Lord Shiva and Parvati, including Ravana's tale. The picture in **Figure 4** is a classic depiction of Shiva's story located in the cave temples of Elephanta Island near Mumbai in India.

Figure 4: Cave carving, Elephanta Island

Figure 4 shows Ravana being crushed by Shiva under the Kailash Mountain. The gods from heaven are watching the entire spectacle, basically enjoying the destruction of Ravana's pride in being powerful enough to lift the Kailash Mountain. A grateful Ravana sang a song in praise of Shiva. Carvings have been damaged, locals say, by Portuguese raiders in the 17th century.[34]

THE MYTHICAL ORIGIN OF GANGES IN KAILASH

Hindus across the world believe that the Ganges is the most pious river on the earth.[35] One very popular story told in India is that of the sacred river, the *Ganges* descended to earth with the help of Lord Shiva. The river Gangā derives its sanctity largely because it is believed to emerge from Shiva's hair. Shiva and many other deities reside in the mountains. Even in other parts of India, "the quality of sanctity of the Ganga and of the Himalaya seems to have been transferred in part to other rivers and other mountains respectively" (*Bhardwaj*, 1973, 86). The *Matsya Purana* describes the descent of *'Divya Ganga'* near *Bindusar Sarovar* (lake) nestling between the Kailash, Mainak, Hiranyashringa mountains, and taking three different paths as Tripathaga -the *tripath gamini* Ganga.

The Hindu scriptures have their own legends about these rivers. Once upon a time, King Bhagiratha did severe penance to request Ganga to descend to earth and redeem his ancestors who had been reduced to ashes and denied entry to heaven due to curse by Sage Kapila. As Ganga responds to this call and begins her descent, Gods fearing that her irrepressible nature could deluge the world and appeal to Lord Shiva to intervene. Shiva contains her force and arrests her in his matted hair. He then loosens the knot gently and releases her tributaries in four different directions. These are the four mighty rivers that travel great distances and make vast portions of South and South East Asia fertile. Both Hindu and Buddhist scriptures claim, which incidentally have been confirmed by various geographers and explorers, that these rivers encircle the Kailash-Mansarovar region seven times before flowing in various directions.

Tibetan theory about the Ganges originating in the catchment of Kailash Mansarovar is not merely based on the Sanskrit *Abhidharmakosha* or earlier Pali records. Even as late as the second half of the eighteenth century , Tibetan pilgrims and merchants are known to have seen the 'animal bead' out of which streamed forth the Ganga; Cho-je Pa-trul and Lama Tsanpo record from hearsay as in ancient tradition as well as from knowledge of pilgrims and other on-the-spot observers. While orthodox; Hindus, in both north and south India, would locate this lost source of the Ganges to a subterranean glacier connecting with Gangotri glacier, more modern minds would straightway reject the story of the Tibetan origins of "the Ganges as a myth[36]. (*Nirmal C. Sinha*, 1977)

Steven Darian has produced a beautiful book on the origin of the river Ganges in which he describes the legends related with the origin in Kailash. He writes: "As such It seems less a place than a state of mind, constelled with the dreams and aspirations of a thousand pilgrims who shall never make the journey except in their hearts."[37] He further writes that there are four legendary rivers that flow from within a radius of 50 km in four different directions. To the south is the sapphire face from where flows the Karnali; from the ruby face on the west flows the Sutlej; from the gold face on the north flows the Indus and eastwards from the crystal face flows the Brahmaputra also referred to as Yarlang Sangpo.

SUMMARY

As mentioned above, with regard to the sanctity of the Kailash Mansarovar, Hindu, Buddhist, Jain and Bonpo: each holds different beliefs, each sees different gods, but the underlying reality is the same. At this site of natural power, the temporal and the eternal unite; the divine takes physical form. To the faithful, Kailash is the supreme mountain and a journey to it is made in the spiritual as well as the earthly realm. Kailash and Mansarovar are so deeply rooted in the Hindu soul that even the self-professed unbelievers not only from India but from across the world are taking the arduous journey to experience the divine in person. In coming years with the development of a better infrastructure, the holy mountain may emerge as the most famous tourist place on this planet earth.

ENDNOTES

1. In the Indian mythology, rivers and mountains have been always regarded as source of life and sustenance. In the *Rig Veda* the mountains are the home of water: of rivers, of rain, of soma—all forms of the life-conferring liquid (amrita). At that time the mountains were portrayed as holding back the water-laden clouds which lay hidden among them. Gradually the theme recedes and the mountains—notably Himavat (Himalaya)—are characterized as the home of rivers. Along with other rivers, Ganga, Saraswati (now invisible), Sindhu (Indus), and Yamuna are described as flowing from slopes of Himavat. Sindhu, Satluj, Karnali and Brahmaputra have their sources in one region embracing Mount Kailash and Mansarovar lake. The relationship between Ganga and Himalaya is mentioned throughout the Indian epics and *Puranas*. Ganga is specifically connected with Mount Kailash and also with Mount Meru. The holy river Ganga has been especially regarded as mother of the Hindu civilization. The Ganges is born several hundred miles south of Kailash Mountain in the Gangotri glacier (the exact place of the origin is called Gomukh as it is cow mouth shaped).

2. According to Purānic (and pan-Indian) cosmology, the conical, golden mountain at the centre of Jambudvīpa, the innermost island of the earth, is a flat disc. Meru is therefore the axis mundi, or 'navel' (nābhi), a mountain of extraordinary proportions (said by some sources to be 84 000 yojanas (756 000 miles) high), extending into both heaven and hell. It is said to be the abode of various gods and their heavens.

3. अस्त्युत्तरस्यां दिशि देवतात्मा हिमालयो नाम नगाधिराज:। पूर्वापरौ तोयनिधी वगाह्य स्थित: पृथिव्या इव मानदण्ड: ॥ कुमार. 1 । 1 ॥ (महाकवि कालिदासविरचितं कुमारसम्भवम् प्रथम: सर्ग:)

   In the *Ninth canto. The journey to Mount Kailash*. Kalidas wrote -- One day the god of fire appears as a messenger from the gods before Shiva, to remonstrate with him for not begetting the son upon whom heaven's welfare depends. Shiva deposits his seed in Fire, who departs, bent low with the burden. Shortly afterwards the gods wait upon Shiva and Parvati, who journey with them to Mount Kailash, the splendid dwelling-place of the god of wealth. Here also Shiva and Parvati spend happy days.

4. Following the political and border disturbances across the Chinese-Indian boundary, pilgrimage to the legendary abode of Lord Shiva was stopped from 1954 to 1978. Thereafter, a limited number of Indian pilgrims have been allowed to visit the place, under the supervision of the Chinese and Indian governments either by a lengthy and hazardous trek over the Himalayan terrain, travel by land from Kathmandu or from Lhasa where flights from Kathmandu are available to Lhasa and thereafter travel over the great Tibetan plateau by car. The journey takes four night stops, finally arriving at Darchen at elevation of 4,600 m (15,100 ft), small outpost that swells with pilgrims at certain times of year. An Indian parliamentary committee has suggested that the government should actively explore the possibility of making the alternate route to Kailash Mansarovar through Demchok in Ladakh a reality. The panel said the alternate route was safer, dependable and shorter than the one in use since 1981 through the Lipulek pass, which requires cooperation with the Chinese government even though only a limited number of tourists are permitted every year. (*Times News Network*, New Delhi, 21 Aug 2008).

5. Buddhists and Jains refer to the circumambulation as khora, Hindus as parikrama. A single circumambulation equals one turn of the Wheel of Life and will wipe away the sins of one's life, twelve circumambulations will purify one's karma for all past and future lives, and enlightenment is attained after 108. Even one khora presents an extremely difficult task since the mountain is difficult of access and dangerous. The parikrama or circumambulation of Mt. Kailash is performed in a clockwise direction. Followers of Bon, the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet, perform it anti-clockwise. The Kailash parikrama can be done by doing the outer parikrama or what the Buddhists call kora and the inner parikrama or nangkor. It involves traversing 53 km and takes three days to complete. The kora is done clockwise from Darchen via the south face of Mt. Kailash and then to the west and north face. Beyond this are the Drolma Pass and Gauri Kund, and then back to Darchen.

6. The manifestations of Mount Meru are numerous and varied and found in the inner journey of the human soul and body. The psychologist Carl Jung found it as the self's journey to sublime completeness. The naturopathy, the Yoga, emphasized the channelization of psychic energies through the spinal cord, which is also called '*meru danda*'. The medieval tools of tantric cults described the Meru in geometric terms as 'mandalas' and the *Shiva Samhita* spoke of the Meru as the spiritual centre, the kingdom of the mind. Indian tradition prescribes sleeping posture along the north-south axis: either head or legs facing the north where Meru stands. The north-south axis of the earth confirms with the human *meru danda*, the spinal cord, and the human being sleeps in perfect harmony with the celestial and earthly magnetic forces. The great tradition of Mount Meru has intermingled with mini traditions.

7. "With its four facades facing north, east, south, and west, Mount Kailash looks like an enormous diamond. Seventy-five percent as high as Mount Everest, the mountain is one of the tallest peaks in the Himalayas. Nearby is the source of the Indus, Sutlej, and Brahmaputra Rivers. The source of the Ganges is not far away. On its southern face, a vertical gash crosses horizontal layers, creating the image of a swastika. The word comes from svastika, Sanskrit for well-being and good fortune. Buddhists regard the mountain as a mandala -— the sacred circle from which the sacred rivers flow like the spokes of the eternal wheel." See Wilson, Colin(1996). *The Atlas of Holy Places & Sacred Sites,* Penguin Books Ltd., p. 119.

8. Burrard & Hayden, 1934.

9. Swami Pranavananda was one of the pioneers who between 1928 and 1949 made 25 circuits of the mountain and 23 of the lake and gave a detailed account of the physiography of this region. Until now, the most comprehensive book is that of Swami Pranvanada's *Kailas-Mansarovara* (Delhi, 1949, 1983) which is not only the complete pilgrimage

guide book but also gives the narrative of its importance for Hindus and other believers. Among primary sources on Kailash, *The Sacred Mountain* by John Snelling (London, 1998) surveys Kailash's role in Asian religions and the accounts of pilgrims and travelers who have journeyed to it. *Kailash-Mansarovar: Ascent to the Divine* by Rommel and Sadhana Varma (Switzerland, 1985) places Kailash, and the entire Himalaya, in their Hindu context as embodiments of divinity. Ekai Kawaguchi's *Three Years in Tibet* (Madras, 1909) includes a description of the Japanese monk's journey to Kailash. The three chapters on Kailash in *The Way of the White Clouds* by Lama Anagarika Govinda (London, 1966) remain the classic description of a religious pilgrimage to the mountain. For a general overview of Tibet, Giuseppe Tucci's *Tibet* (London, 1967) and *Tibet* by Thupten Jigme Norbu and Colin Turnbull (London, 1969) are comprehensive, interesting surveys of traditional culture. *Tibetan Civilization* by R.A. Stein (London, 1972) covers Tibet's political and religious history in more detail. Robert Ekvall's *Religious Observances in Tibet* (Chicago, 1964) examines Tibetan Buddhism from an anthropological perspective. *The Hundred Thousand Songs of Milarepa,* a poetic summation of Buddhist precepts, appears in several English editions; Garma C.C. Chang's translation (New York, 1972) is among the best. The adventures of Western explorers in the Kailash region are summarized in Charles Allen's *A Mountain in Tibet* (London, 1982), which describes the search for the sources of the four great rivers. Although *An Account of Tibet: The Travels of Ippo Lito Desideri of Tistoia, S.J.. 1712-1727* (London, 1932) was not published until over two hundred years after the Jesuit's journey; it remains a fascinating, perceptive description. Volumes II and III of Sven Hedin's three volume masterwork *Transhimalaya: Discoveries and Adventures in Tibet* (London, 1909—1913) contain a wealth of historical material on the mountain range as well as an account of Hedin's adventures in the Kailash region.

10. Swami Pranavanandaji, who had made pilgrimage to and stayed at Mansarovar thirty-two times writes, "From the spiritual point of view, she has a most enrapturing vibration of the supreme order that can soothe and lull even the most wandering mind into sublime serenity and can transport it into involuntary ecstasies." Swami Pranavananda(1949). *Kailas-Mansarovar,* 1st ed. Calcutta: S.P. League, Ltd., p.7.

ll. *Ibid*., p. 12.

12. According to Charles Allen, it has square sides of gold and jewels: its eastern face of crystal, the southern of sapphire, the western of ruby and the northern of gold; its peak is wrapped in aromatic flowers and herbs. There are four footprints of the Buddha on the four sides: these footprints stopped the local deities to take the peak to the sky, the seventh heaven, and four chains prevented the denizens of the lower regions from taking it down to the seventh hell. On the South Face of Kailash, there is a manifestation of a miraculous symbolic map, a kind of scheme showing the evolution of man in accordance with the Higher Law. It is like a reminder about the Way that should be followed by man in order to realize the Divine Plan. On the incline on the southern face there is an amazing fracture cutting the South Face in two parts. This fracture starts near the top of the Mountain, gradually extends at the middle part, and then narrows again and disappears at a height of 6,000 m where the inclined face turns into a vertical wall. This fracture exposes twelve layers of the mountain *forming the twelve steps.* As such, it is a kind of an axis that links the material world where we live with the subtle world - the world of Gods and the Origin - where we all came from and where we will go back. So, our spirit is going through this kind of Stairways. Once upon a time the Spirit "fell" down these Stairways and manifested itself in the physical world. And now it's time to climb up to its original sources. The South Face of Kailash represents a kind of a map that helps use this Complex as a "device" that allows to solve the most important task of a human being in our physical world - acquisition of spiritual experience through a body. The projections in the top half of the fracture on Kailash form a man's profile. And above it there are three divine images. According to Hindu concepts, Kailash is the throne of Shiva who resides there in inseparable unity with his divine consort - Parvati. To the right of the fracture, there is a beautiful woman's profile, Parvati, granting love and favoring. And to the left, face forward, there is a half of a male face, Shiva's one, that represents his creative aspect. But Shiva also has a destructive aspect which is represented by a frightening face on the left. Destruction is deletion of Karmic constituent, purification of physical and spiritual bodies, and creation is making a new program. All that one can realize during the kora around Mt Kailash! (*Sergei Balalaev,* 2013).

13. The *Puranas* are, next to the epic *Mahabharata,* the most important source of our information on places of pilgrimage in India. The *Puranas* as a body of Hindu literature not only possess great sanctity but also contain vast amounts of material for the study of cultural history, geography, ethnography, and many other aspects of ancient India. They provide us great insight into all aspects and phases of Hinduism.

14. "Parvati is mythological represented as the daughter of King Himalaya (lit., "abode of the snows") whose home is

a certain peak on the Tibetan border. Astonished travelers, passing below that inaccessible peak, view afar a vast snow formation resembling a palace, with icy domes and turrets. Parvati, Kali, Durga, Uma, and other goddesses are aspects of Jaganmatri, the Divine Mother of the World," variously names to signalize particular functions. God or Shiva in His para or transcendental aspect is inactive in creation. His shakti (energy, activating force) is relegated to His "consorts," the productive "female" powers that make possible the infinite unfoldments in the cosmos. - See more at: Paramahansa Yogananda(1974). *Autobiography of a Yogi* ,Self-Realization Fellowship, pp. 194-95.

15. Hindus believe in the *Trinity* of supreme gods- *Brahma*, *Vishnu* and *Mahesh* also known as Shiva.

16. Dr. Sethumadhava, *Mount Kailash, Where the Heaven meets the Earth*.

17. The *Axis Mundi*, the centre of the universe, the navel of the world, the world pillar, Kang Tisé or Kang Rinpoche (the 'Precious Jewel of Snow' in Tibetan), Meru (or Sumeru), Swastika Mountain, Mt. Astapada, Mt. Kangrinboge (the Chinese name) - all these names, real or legendary, belong to one of the holiest and most mysterious mountains in the world – Mount Kailash.

18. जम्बूद्रीपस्य सा जम्बूर्नामहेतुर्महामुने। महागजप्रमाणानि जम्ब्वास्तस्याः फलानि वै ॥ 19 ॥ आनीलनिषधायामौ माल्यवद्-गन्धमादनौ। तयोर्म्मध्यगतो मेरुः कर्णिकाकारसंस्थितः ॥ 37 ॥ भौमा ह्वते स्मृताः स्वर्गा धार्म्मिणामालया मुने। नैतेषु पापकर्म्मणो यान्ति जन्मशतैरपि ॥ 48 ॥ न तेषु वर्षते देवो भौमान्यम्भांसि तेषु वै। कूत-त्रैतादिका नैव तेषु स्थानेषु कल्पना ॥ 53 ॥

(श्रीविष्णुपुराणम्-द्वितीयांशः/अध्यायः 2. Vishnu Purana, part-II, Chapter 2.) There are similar descriptions found in *Matasya Purana* (34/3; 121/2/5; 163/85; 183/10), V*ishnu Purana* (2/2/41), *Vayu Purana* (30/85; 35/85; 36/24; 38/33; 49/ 9), *Brahamand Purana* (2/18/9/4; 20/50; 25/24-40; 3/13/36; 22/56; 25/85; 41/18; 4/85/30; 10/27).

19. One of the ideas the Russians have put forward is that Mt. Kailash could be a vast, human-built pyramid, the centre of an entire complex of smaller pyramids, a hundred in total. This complex, moreover, might be the centre of a world–wide system connecting other monuments or sites where paranormal phenomena have been observed. The idea of the pyramid in this region is not new. It goes back to the timeless Sanskrit epic of the Ramayana. Since then, numerous travelers, especially in the beginning of the 20th century, have expressed the view that Mt.Kailash is too perfect to be a totally natural phenomenon, or at any rate give the appearance of human intervention. For example: *In shape it (Mount Kailash) resembles a vast cathedral… the sides of the mountain are perpendicular and fall sheer for hundreds of feet, the strata horizontal, the layers of stone varying slightly in colour, and the dividing lines showing up clear and distinct...... which give to the entire mountain the appearance of having been built by giant hands, of huge blocks of reddish stone.* (G.C. Rawling (1905). *The Great Plateau*, London*)*. However, it is only fair to add that the Russian claims to have discovered in the Mt. Kailash area as the highest ever human-built pyramids were denied three years later by Chinese scientists in the official Chinese Press. Evelina Rioukina, *Axis Mundi, Questions… Enigma… Mysteries*…UNECE Stable URL**:** http://www.unspecial.org/UNS640/t47.html, last accessed on 20th March, 2014.

20. *Bhagvad Gita*:10/23.

21. For example; Sage Valmiki writes: कैलासपर्वते राम मनसा निर्मितं परं। ब्रह्मणा नरशार्दूल तेनेदं मानसं सरः ॥ 1/24/8-9 ॥ तस्माद्गच्छ महाबाहो कैलासं धरणीधरम्। निवेशय निवासार्थं त्यक्त्वा लङ्कां सहानुगः ॥ 7/11/41 ॥ तत्र मन्दाकिनी रम्या नदीनामुत्तमा नदी। काञ्चनैः सूर्यसङ्काशैः पङ्कजैः संवृतोदका ॥ 7/11/42 ॥ कुमुदैरुत्पलैश्चैव तथा ऽन्यैश्च सुगन्धिभिः ॥ 7/11/43 ॥ तत्र देवाः सगन्धर्वाः साप्सरोरगकिंनराः। विहारशीलाः सततं रमन्ते सर्वदाश्रिताः ॥ 7/11/44 ॥ (रामायणम् / उत्तरकाण्डम् / सर्गः 11)

22. The pan-Indian god of wealth, and, as one of the dikpālas, the guardian of the North. In the *Purānas* and Epics, he is said to be the leader of the yakshas and rākshasas, and the half-brother of Rāvana. He is normally included in the Śhaiva pantheon.

23. *Vishnu Purana* (4/5/26; 85/4/55; 10/10/2; 55)

24. In the *Rāmāya*na, and other versions of the Rāma story, the anti-heroic, ten-headed, twenty-armed, lord of the rākshasas, who abducts Sītā and carries her off to his kingdom of Lankā. In the end, he is killed by Rāma. Various stories are told of his origins and character. He is said to have been a brahmin, who acquired his power through great austerities (tapas), and was granted invulnerability (but not from a god in human form). He ousted his half-brother, Kubera, from the throne of Lankā. Renowned for his lust, he does not, however, violate Sītā. Although the epitome of adharma, for that very reason (i.e. because he opposes Brahmanical dharma) Rāvana has become a heroic figure for some, particularly in South India, and among outcastes.

25. No records tell when the first Hindu pilgrims crossed the Himalaya to bathe ritually in Mansarovar's waters and circumambulate its shore. The origin of the lake's sanctity is buried deep in the unconscious mind where it first struck a resonant chord. References to the divine lake stud the pages of the Hindu classics as well as early Buddhist literature. It is the most excellent 'lake of the mind' and the only true 'paradise on earth '. 'I behold Manas, and there in the form of a swan dwells Shiva', says the *Ramayana.* 'This lake was formed from the mind of Brahma: there dwell also Mahadeva and all the gods.' Mansarovar is depicted as a divine paradise: royal swans, the emblem of Brahma, float on its transparent waters beside Bodhisattvas and Buddhas enthroned on giant lotus blossoms. The *Mahanirvana Tantra* describes Kailash in similar terms: The enchanting summit of the Lord of Mountains . . . clad with many a tree and many a creeper, melodious with the song of many a bird, scented with the fragrance o f all the season's flowers, most beautiful, fanned by soft, cool and perfumed breezes, shadowed by the still shade of stately trees.

26. कैलासस्य तथा देवि पादशा: प्रायशो घना:। सञ्चरन्ति न गच्छन्ति तत् ऊर्ध्व कदाचन।। --- रुद्र संहिता, सती खण्ड-2 (Rudra Samhita, Sati Khand-2)

27. Sufficient literary evidence is there to suggest fair knowledge of Himavat or Trans-Himalayan regions in North India in Buddha's time. Arjuna had reached Uttarakuru, beyond the Kun Lun Mountains, by way of Lake Manas which was the country of the Hatakas. The offerings of gold at Yudhisthira's court included the variety recovered from the Pipilika in Western Tibet. The Gold-digging Ants of Herodotus and the Pipilikas of Mahabharata were no doubt the same obscure fauna.

28. परम रम्य गिरिबरु कैलासू। सदा जहाँ सिव उमा निवासू।। *The Ramcharitmanas*, by Tulasidas. Balkand 3 (बालकाण्ड 3)

29. मोको कहां ढूँढे रे बन्दे, मैं तो तेरे पास में। ना मंदिर में ना मस्जिद में, ना काबे कैलास में।। Kabir, *Bijak* (16).

30. According to Indian chronicles, Shankaracharya lived before the Christian era, and according to the Western scholars, he lived in the 8th century A.D.

31. Long before Buddhism took root in Tibet in the 7th century Kailash was venerated by the adherents of the Bön (or Bonpos or Bönpos), the indigenous religion of the region who maintained that the mystic region around Mt. Kailas and the Nine-Story Swastika Mountain was the seat of all power. When viewed from the south face, a swastika can indeed be seen. According to Bön accounts, while the circumambulation is made (anticlockwise, whereas followers of the other religion walk in the clockwise direction) 18 powerful and enlightened teachers will appear in this eon. The land is traditionally described as dominated by Mount Yungdrung Gu-tzeg (edifice of nine swastikas), which many identify as Mount Kailas.

32. Koneswaram temple of Trincomalee, Thirukonamalai Konesar Temple – The Temple of the Thousand Pillars and Dakshina-Then Kailasam is a classical-medieval Hindu temple complex in Trincomalee, a Hindu religious pilgrimage centre in Eastern Province, Sri Lanka. Built significantly during the reign of the early Cholas and the Five Dravidians of the Early Pandyan Kingdom atop Konesar Malai, a small hill overlooking Trincomalee District, Gokarna bay and the Indian Ocean, its Pallava, Chola, Pandyan and Jaffna design reflect a Tamil Saivite influence . The monument contains its main shrine to Shiva in the form *Kona-Eiswara*, shortened to *Konesar* and is a major place for Hindu pilgrimage. Connected at the mouth of the Mahavilli Ganga River to the footprint of Shiva at Sivan Oli Padam Malai at the river's source, the temple symbolically crowns the flow of the Ganges River from Shiva's head of Mount Kailash to his feet. *Source:* Wikipedia.

33. Shiva and Parvati (his consort), along with worshipers, are depicted in relief on the lintel of the doorway facing the arriving visitor. The door guardians and the river goddesses (Ganga and Yamuna) flanking the doors marked the religion of Shiva worship, as did the ganas (Shiva's army) on the side wall, and the Yakshas—who had displaced the rivers from their customary flanking position to the top of the door . The Yakshas were vestiges of the ancient veneration of the tree and water spirits .

34. As discussed above, Ravana was a devotee of Lord Shiva. Ramayana does not document Ravana shaking the mountain. Ravana's mother had fallen ill. As they were great Lord Shiva devotees, he had attempted to carry the temple on his back to bring it closer to his mother. Shiva, being stunned by his boldness, had blessed him with immortality as Ravana had passed Lord Shiva's test of devotion.

35. According to Hindu belief, drinking water from the Ganga (Ganges) River with one's last breath will carry the soul to heaven. Hindus travel from around the world to immerse in the river's purifying waters, for forgiveness of their sins and to help attain salvation.

36. It is relevant to point out that unlike Sindhu, Satadru and Brahmaputra, the term Ganga is not of pure or true lndic origin. The word is not known in Vedic period and modern scholars have justifiably traced it to Tibeto-Burman diction. In Tibetan language the river is celebrated as Ganga, and it is derived from terms Gangri (Snow mountain) and Bumo (Daughter). That perhaps settles the issue in favour of Ganga's Tibetan origins. Sinha, Nirmal Chandra(1977). *India and Tibet: Geographical Considerations*, Gangtok, Sikkim: Namgyal Institute of Tibetology, pp. 11-13.

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TEXTILE, TEXT, TERRACING, TERRITORIALITY WEAVING A PAN-HIMALAYAN IDENTITY

Niraj Kumar*
Chingngaih Biak**

ABSTRACT

There is veritable explosion of literature on the new area study of zomia. The concept of Zomia is not well-constructed. We offer to examine the entire Himalayan belt inhabited by Tibeto-Burman language speaking people (Trans-Himalayans) using the concept of Nomadia, derived from Deleuze and Guattari's concept of Nomadology. We propose a Kang culture of Tibeto-Burman speakers with common belief in sacredness of mountains and the river streams. Asia can be seen as a box with four culture bands of Kanji, Kang, Karma and Koran, from east to west, respectively. Eastern half of Kang culture zone does not have written history or any memorial of civilization. The textiles can be read as texts and new Textile Tree can be created to discover the connectivity among various migrating communities in the region. Study of Naga textiles has been done, as Naga sub-culture is the cockpit of Kang culture. The terracing in the weaving technique has been juxtaposed vis-a-vis habitat sharing of hornbills, a totemic birds of many of these communities, rice-cultivation and nature of vegetation in altitudinal division. Near absence of circles in the patterns of women tubular skirts has been examined. Even though, communities in these region have developed a different ontology based upon striation, the society is egalitarian and they resist attempt by the state to impose order of the book (written law/Constitution) and bureaucratic hierarchy. We find interconnectedness between landscape, plants, birds and humans in Nomadia. The grids and bands, the stripes and the squares that are woven in women's skirts are the narrative of their history. The grids share the neighbourhood in 'mutuality of being'. One band moves on when another band follows them. There was never a major war for territory among these people before the outsiders with the book, began to impose order over them.

Studying these patterns of colour bands and striation over tubular women skirt, one can connect communities. Since, language- families have become redundant; it is proposed to prepare the textile trees among the communities of Nomadia. This effort can be augmented with comparative study of mitochondrial DNA haplotype. Ethnocostumology, rather than Ethnolinguistics is proposed as the better tool to write the missing history of the region.

Keywords: Beyul, Brahmaputra, Buddhism, Chin, Chindwin, costumicide, cyberzomia, ethnogenesis, ethnocostumology, habitat, Himalaya, Hornbill, Jingpo, Kailash, Kang, Kangla, Kangtui, Kuki, Lhasa, Linagshan, materiality, mithun, Naga, nomad, Shangri-la, skirt, striation, terrace-cultivation, text, textile, yak, Yunnan, zo.

INTRODUCTION

Zomia has emerged as a powerful metaphor for anarchist state-less societies. The ideologues of Occupy Protest Movement like David Graeber and Saul Newman are concerned with the concentration of power in the hands of state.[1] The leading contemporary Marxist philosophers, Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri who authored path-breaking book,

* Niraj Kumar is the Editor of Journal of Indian Research and author of several books. His forthcoming book is *Rainbow of Indian Civilization* (Manas, 2014).
**Chingngaih Biak is working in the Union Government of India.

Empire(2004)[2], have come out with a new manifesto, *Declarations*(2012)[3] postulating how the State has created a securitized subject and there is need to counter the monopolizing surveillance power of the state. Zomia has become emblematic of oppositional end of governance by a State. It is how even the concept like Cyberzomia[4] is being deployed to understand the behaviour of the netizen (*wangmin*) in China. The Cyberspace is being described as "virtual highland" where 'spaces of autonomy' recreated, where the "new" is imagined and where resistance against the "old" is forming.[5] Like zomia, the cyberzomia is being characterized as offering "a reprieve from restrictive patterns and boundaries and adequate spaces of autonomy where people can breathe, think, imagine, and make space for something new". [6]

The concept of zomia was formulated by a Dutch historian, William van Schendel in 2002. He derived this moniker from the term, zomi, a term for highlander in a number of Chin-Mizo-Kuki languages spoken in Myanmar, India and Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh. Zo carries the meaning of 'highland" and the 'mi' of people. Schendel argues that zomia ought to be a new academic area studies since the contiguous region has manifold "shared ideas, related lifeways, and long-standing cultural ties." [7] Schendel included under the umbrella of zomia metaphor, vast expanse of territories which were only politically '*marginal regions of states*". [8] These are: Kashmir, North India, Nepal, Tibet, Sikkim, Bhutan, Northeast India, the Chittagong Hill Tracts(Bangladesh), Burma, Yunnan and Sichuan(China), Thailand, Laos, and Vietnam. [9]

But, Schendel has misconstrued the Chin-Kuki-Naga groups. *Zo* is a polysemic term and its linkages can be seen as far as Yunnan. Naxi people who live near the city of Zhongdian (Shangri-La) in the Deqin Prefecture still till their land with their 'zo'. Zo is half-cow and half-yak breed. In fact, it also indicates a geo-climatic state. These communities divide a mountainous region into two climatic zones. The higher part of the region is characterized by cold, wet, and damp climatic conditions, which have geographical natures of ever-green forests where potatoes, maize, and sulfur hear may be grown. These areas are covered with rain clouds in the monsoon rainy season. The sun is rarely to be seen. Such a place or area is denoted by the term 'Zo'. [10]

The lower altitude where bamboo grows is drier and known as *chim* or *chhim*. We have argued in next section how these communities, in fact, belong to similar mountain-worshipping common cultural tradition which can be characterized by the term, *Kang*.

Yale historian James C. Scott elaborated upon the concept in a path-breaking book, *The Art of Not Being Governed: An Anarchist History of Upland Southeast India*.[11] Scott writes in Preface of his book, " Zomia is a new name for virtually all the lands at altitudes above roughly three hundred meters all the way from the Central Highlands of Vietnam to northeastern India and traversing five Southeastern Asian nations (Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and Burma) and four provinces of China(Yunnan, Guizhou, Guanxi, and parts of Sichuan). It is an expanse of 2.5 million square kilometers containing about one hundred million minority people of truly bewildering ethnic and linguistic variety." [12] Scott argues that zomia is "the largest remaining region of the world whose people have not been fully incorporated into nation-states." [13]

(*See* **Figure 1**)

While western historians are looking towards the region to search for the way the citizen can develop "state-evading or state-resisting practices",[14] they miss another important dimension of the people of this Asian massif. Communities are always on the move. If the serf moved to urban centres when the capitalist production processes started, herein people move from one hill to another, one ridge to the next paving way for following bands of migrations. Their history is the history of migration. Their life can be best captured as that of nomads of the hill. Even their mode of production that still persists in pockets was jhum or the slash and burn method of cultivation. Permanent settlement and subsequent formation of larger political unit was not in their vein. The uninhabited mountains provided them the ever-shifting frontier.

NOMADIA

The work of French philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Felixe Guattri on nomads has revived keen interest among political scientists world across. For D&G, life, as immanence, is a state of pure becoming as opposed to static being. Any supposition of transcendental concept/Being stops the movement of "becoming". Thus, they plead for the end of transcendental signifiers to reassert life's movement. D&G elaborates the philosophical theme in "*1227: The Treatise of Nomadology*" in the master piece work, "*A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*"(1980)[15] by pitting State vs. War Machine. State is the sedentary formation and the War-Machine is the nomadic and directed against the State System. The nomad has though territory, but every point is a relay and exists only as a relay in the path of a nomad. D&G explains that "the life of the nomad is the intermezzo".[16]

Nomadic trajectory distributes people and animals in an open space unlike the sedentary roads which regulates the communication and creates a closed space for people. D&G further describes the characteristics of the nomad and the state space. "Sedentary space is striated by walls, enclosures, and roads between enclosures, while nomad space is smooth, marked only by traits that are effaced and displaced with the trajectory." [17]

Deleuze and Guattari deploy the analogy of "chess" against the game "*go*" to describe two different kinds of space and organizational thought. *Chess* is a game of State but game of *go* is fluid, implying perpetual movement like a nomad's movement. In *chess* there is a grid and the space of chess is "striated" and each piece possesses intrinsic properties and limited powers. These pieces move according to fixed set of principles and the movement is not unexpected.

This is the Order of State within which D&G subsumes religion also; as these also presuppose some transcendental signifier thereby putting a break on the perpetual movement of the Being. By contrast, D& G stress the war machine molded as in the game go.

The War machine follows a guerrilla logic and 'it is a question of arraying oneself in an open space, of holding space, of maintaining the point of springing up at any point: the movement is not from one point to another, but becomes perpetual, without aim or destination, without departure or arrival.' We would like to coin the neologism, *Nomadia* to explain such a Nomadic space which resists the State formation and striation. The idea of zomia doesn't capture the essence of nomadic movement.

Figure 1: Zomia in Scott's formulation

(*Image Credit*: http://rachelwagley.blogspot.fr/2013/02/zomia-ethnic-groups-of-south-and.html)

Scott describes zomia as the "one of the largest remaining nonstate spaces in the world"[18] . Scott puts Zomia "as marginal in almost every respect. It lies at a great distance from the main centers of economic activity; it bestrides a contact zone between eight nation-states and several religious traditions and cosmologies." [19]

Scott argues that for the past two thousand years, this vast region has resisted the attempts of State formation and maintaining an autonomous space spanning across many nation-states. Scott discusses in the book that inhabitants of

zomia have used numerous tactics to escape capture by state-makers, from geographical dispersal, living with an oral culture, agricultural practices that encourage mobility and oppose sedentary life which makes predation by tax –authority possible, becoming sea gypsies (*orang laut*) and resisting co-option into expanding state machines.

James Scott's Zomia is the War machine of the Nomadia, the ultimate social machine of resistance against the powerful process of State formation. It is interesting to find how the state authorities have faced the Nomadia war Machine in their fight for territorialization. The State is constrained with the deployment of paramilitary or military forces on the Stationary duty, while the groups which resist the appropriation by the State engage in guerilla warfare. The first relies on the static manpower, the resistance fighters are always on the perpetual mobility. Another similarity of Zomia and Nomadia can be traced to the perpetual movement of various ethnic groups of Zomia from time immemorial.

Their oral history is the history of dispersion, and to resist the formation of permanent Kingdom or the structures. One can see the similar pattern among Nagas, Zomis, Kukis, Mizo, Hmar, Naxi, Bei, Mosuo, the highlanders of Burma, Laos, and Vietnam. Their history is mere the history of movement and war. There is no monument, no historic date, no grand text, nothing to commemorate the history. It's the ultimate D&G War Machine. They resist the codification of life itself by others, in particular modern State-System as evident from the geopolitical arch of instability spanning this belt where the guerillas are engaged in struggle and co-option against all the neighboring states. They innovate new forms of mobility and resistance in opposition to the apparatus of state capture. One can see the increased recourse to digital networking as a way to increase the mobility and as extension of the "smooth space" they intend to maintain and expand what Peter Marlot terms as 'cyberzomia'.

Mankind aspires to attain a harmonious balance between two paramount goals- joy and freedom. While joy can be maximized only in a collectivity, the collectivity restricts the   realization of autonomy. But, what if a collectivity is let loose? The psychology of medieval invaders, jihadi marauders in Iraq and Syria or the rowdy bikers in the heart of capital cities represent the human urge to balance the two aims. Urban dwellers' regular foray towards beaches and hills in groups with least care for the societal norms or law of the land is reflection of this inherent human propensity. People in the *nomadia* have happily balanced the two goals without disturbing the peace of others. Their incessant move in collectivity for thousand of years now stands at a crossroad.

IS YUNNAN THE REGION OF COMMON ORIGIN OF TIBETO-BURMAN PEOPLE?

Tibeto-Burman speaking people might have originated from China. S.K. Chatterji identifies the area of the "North-West China, between the head waters of the Hwang Ho and the Yangtze Kiang Rivers" as the origin of Sino-Tibetan migration into India and Myanmar.[20] Grierson had postulated the same region as the original home of Tibeto-Burman races.[21] (*See* **Figure 2**) There were many phases of migration which drifted along with the Himalayas curve.

Figure 2: Regions in which Tibeto-Burman languages were spoken, early 20th c.
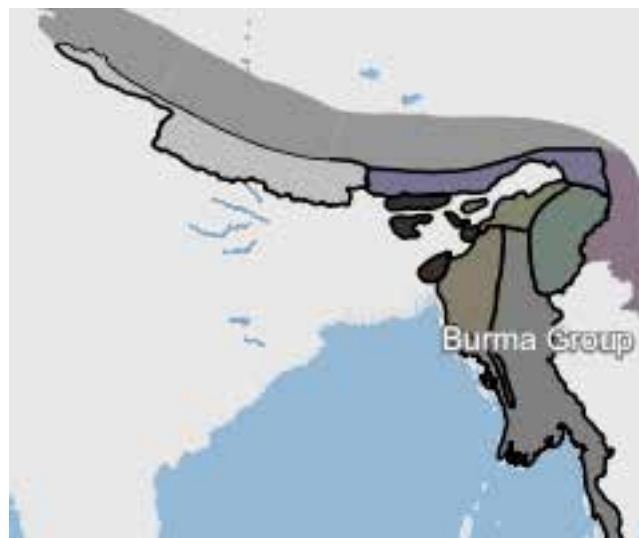
(***Source***: Grierson, G. A. 1903 (reprint 1963). *Linguistic Survey of India.* Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass.)

Like the major rivers of South Asia which has origin in the Himalayas, the Himalayas itself drive down towards the Bay of Bengal. From the northern Assam, many a mountain ranges arises that runs southward. These ranges divide the region between the Brahmaputra and the Irrawaddy. The history of migration of the Tibeto-Burman people can be traced through these river valleys and the mountain ranges. Captain Yule, who went as Secretary to the Envoy to the Court of Ava in 1855, described this chain and its inhabitants:-

'Still further westward in the Naga country, between longitude 93° and 95°, a great multiple mass of mountains starts southwards from the Assam chain. Enclosing first the level alluvial valley of Manipur, at a height of 2,500 feet above the sea, it then spreads out westward of Tipperah and the coast of Chittagong and Northern Arakan, a broad succession of unexplored and forest-covered spurs, inhabited by a vast variety of wild tribes of Indo-Chinese kindred known as Kukis, Nagas, Khynes, and by many more specific names...' [22]

In all probability, the area between the great bend of the Brahmaputra and the gorges in Yunnan/Sichuan where three great rivers of Asia, namely the Yangtze(Jinsha), Mekong (Nu) and Salween (Lancang) runs parallel to each other for over 300km, is a place of interest to seek out the common origin of Tibeto-Burman speaking people. After this confluence the rivers diverge and empty in different direction. Salween empties in Indian Ocean through Burma, Mekong into South China Sea through Vietnam and Yangtze into the East China Sea at Shanghai. The region is a biodiversity paradise and much of it inaccessible to the world outside. There are almost 56000 species of plants and 173 kinds of only mammals, 417 kinds of birds, many of which are specific to this area alone. There are more than dozens of ethnic minorities of Yunnan like Nu, Lisu, Bai, Pumi, Naxi, Derun.

George van Driem in his paper in the current issue of this journal entitled, *From the Dhaulagiri to Lappland, the Americas and Oceania,* states:

"*It is an inescapable consequence of geography that when our anatomically modern ancestors emerged from Africa and took this inland route on their way to East Asia, Southeast Asia, Oceania, Siberia, the Americas and even Lappland, many of these ancestors must at one point have passed through the Himalayan region and, on their way east, have crossed the Brahmaputra. The Eastern Himalaya can be identified as a cradle of ethnogenesis and a principal thoroughfare in the course of population prehistory.*" [23]

van Driem points out that 3,600 km long Himalayas is bifurcated into two equal halves by Dhaulagiri in Nepal and the Eastern Himalaya is the half which runs "eastward from Dhaulagiri across the Himalaya, sub-Himalaya, Meghalaya, lower Brahmaputra basin and associated hills tracts, the eastern Tibetan plateau and Indo-Burmese borderlands into the Chinese provinces of Yunnan and Sichuan". [24] In fact, this is the belt of maximum ethnic diversity in the world and appears to be the navel of ethnogenesis, as argued by van Driem. The most likely place, where from the migration route took southward turn, is the region around Kang Karpo, since the three rivers and the glacier covered peaks, dense ecological pool, provides fertile place for diversification of human genetic pool.

In this area, Tibetans believe the Pemako beyul is located which is the hidden paradise. It is believed that Dalai Lama left Lhasa for safety to this place in 1959, but he could not reach the place and had to turn southward into Indian border. In this region lies the highest peak in Yunnan Province rising about 6,740 meters, Kang Karpo Peak (also known as Kawagebo). It is still a "virgin peak" for no one has ever climbed at the top. Tibetans revere it as the eastern most abode of Shri Chakrasamvara (Khorlo Demchok). This can be viewed as the eastern most sacred peak of the Himalayan ranges.

When one moves to the nearby mountains of Yading, one gets amazed at the view of three sacred peaks, Chenrezi, Jampayang and Chenadorje. Probably, the presence of Three sacred peaks had pre-Buddhist significance, particularly for indigenous groups like Chin-Kuki-Naga, whose identity itself is intertwined with the "mountains". This memory is reflected in widely accepted belief that all the people who cook rice on three stone pillars, *"Lungthu"*, are all zomi/Mizo. Naga ancestors erected three stone monoliths in the village of Makhrai-Rab, called *Linotu,* signifying the three pillars of human life.

Kang Karpo ("The White Pillar Snow Mountain") lies in the Hengdusn Shan Mountains running north-south covering the region of convergence of Tibet, Yunnan, Sichuan and Myanmar. Therefore, the migration of Tibeto-Burman people, particularly Chin-Kuki-Naga groups through any pass, would not have missed this important geographical landmark. We will see in next section how this mountain peak weaves a common narrative among various communities of the eastern Himalayas.

The migration stories of various ethnic communities in India's Northeast indicates the same region for their origin, now lying in China. Vumson has tried to reconstruct Zo migration route and their history in his acclaimed book, Zo *History.* [25]

Zo people believe they settled in the Chindwin Valley in early times. Paite community remembers Chindwin as *Tuikang*, meaning white water. Burmans called the Zo people Chin from their very early contacts in the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. When the Burmans moved down the Irrawaddy River and came to the Chindwin they discovered a basket carrying people occupying the river valley. Hence they called the river "Chindwin", meaning "the valley of the baskets" as "chin" means basket in Burmese. The general Burmese population accepts "chin" to be a word for basket, and they explain that the Zo people were so called because of their habit of carrying baskets. [26]

But, they never settled at same territory for long. One group moves on and the other group succeeds them. They moved downward towards the Bay of Bengal across the river Chindwin. Groups undertook different direction. While some groups reached the Bay of Bengal through Chittagong Hills, others moved northwards towards the plain of Assam. Farthest they could reach was present Nagaland and the North Cachar hills in Assam. They were confronted with the stratified civilization of South Asian plains. But, the movement which seemed to have been halted has resumed again in different garbs. These ethnic minorities are fast migrating to the various metropoles world across. Their own history of migration has finally converged with the process of globalization. From the mountain nomads, they have become the postmodern nomads, but making sure that their communitarian identities and common cultural idioms are kept intact.

LADAKH'S KANGLA TO IMPHAL'S KANGLA - POSTULATING A KANG CULTURE GRID IN ASIA'S UNDERBELLY

There are certain strange coincidences in the Himalayan belt. The Himalayas extend from the Karakoram mountains in India's north to the Liangshan in the east. Dhaulagiri bisects Himalayas into two equal halves. If on north-western extremity of this chain lays the culture sub-region of Kashmir and Ladakh, on the south-eastern extremity of Eastern Himalayas exist the culture of Zomis/Mizos. At both end of the belt, there are common stories about origin, movement and ecology, though the geo-climatic characteristics changes drastically. Kashmir valley derives its name from Prakrit roots. The component *kas* means a water channel and *mir* is the mountain. Thus, Kashmir is the land fed on by water from mountain, indicating about the various water streams and lakes. Similarly, zomi people claim that they had settled in the valley of *Tuikang* or Chindwin valley, where they lived with the Shans. *Tui* is water and *Kang* is homonym with multiple meaning like mountain, white, best, highest, pure, supreme. *Tuikang* will therefore mean same as *Kashmir*-water from mountains.

But, a particular word that pervades the languages of whole Himalayan range is *Kang*. This is to be found among the Ladakhis in the north and among the Mizos in the south-west end of the zone. Stok Kangri(6116 mt) and Kang Yatse(6200mtr.) are the well known mountain peaks in Zanskar region in Ladakh. One crosses Ladakh and enters eastward into the Miyar valley of Lahaul-Spiti by crossing the Kang-la Pass. It is one of the most remote passes in the Himalayan belt and located at 5468 Metres above sea level. As soon as one crosses into Himachal, he reaches the sacred land of Kang-ra district where temples of many of the Saptamatrikas like Chamunda, Kangra, Jwalamukhi Devi, Naina Devi, Chintpurni are situated. Further north, the most sacred mountain, the Kailash is known as the Kang Rinpcohe by Tibetans. Kailash is also the home to major river systems of Asia. The river which journeys along with the Himalayas through great bend towards the Bay of Bengal is the Brahmaputra. Its origin is from the glacier of Kabab Kangri. Further eastwards, the highest mountain of the world, Mt. Everest (8848mtr.) is known as the Lepchi Kang by the Tibetan worshippers. Further east, Kangchendzonga(8598 mtr.) , the third highest mountain peak in the world is important for the people of Sikkim. At the far eastern extremity, the highest mountain peak of Yunnan is the Kang Karpo(6840mtr.). All these high mountain peaks are permanently snow-capped and hence also *'kang'* in another meaning (white). These are the highest summits providing the word *kang* with another meaning.

Such is the popularity of the term, *Kang*, from Ladakh to Manipur, that this word might become the key to unlock hidden linkages. In Manipur, the Meitei's term their land as '*Kangleipak*'. Many revivalist groups are indulged in militancy for restoring their Kangleipak. In Kuki dominated- Senapati district, one comes across the highest peak, Kala Pahar, in the Kangpokpi sub-region. This area is full of Kang-nomenclatures. There is Kokang town, Kangta and Kanggui village. In fact, Kokang is a large town in Northern Myanmar and it appears that the memory of landscape has been transposed by the Kuki communities in the Kangpokpi sub-region.

We have discussed how the migrations stories of these communities mention about their origin from the region of *Kangtui,* which most of the modern scholars identify with the Chindwin river valley in Myanmar. But, Kangtui carries the meaning of 'stream from white snow mountains", and there are no snow mountains in the middle part of Myanmar. Therefore, this may be indicative of the region around Mt. Kang Karpo which is snow-laden and like Kala Pahar peak in Kangpokpi district in Manipur, always covered with clouds. We have discussed in previous section this region as the

place of origin of these ethnic groups.

For the Meitei Manipuri, who also belongs to the same stock as that of the Chin-Kuki-Naga, Kangla Fort in Imphal is the symbol of identity. Manipuris who are credited with discovering the game of Polo, locally calls the game as *Sagol Kangjei*. The royal household plays another game of *Kang* in which the male and female members participate wearing traditional attire. In such usage, Kang carries the meaning of the majestic and precious.

The identification of *kang* with the white colour of snow is so strong that when the British administrators started visiting the area after conquering these territories, villagers treated them with obsequious respect. Because they were white they were called *mikang topa* meaning White Master or Lord. [27]. *Mi* is people, *kang* is white and *topa* is the lord, so British were the *Mikang Topa*.

But, Kang is used as a highly reverential word, more among the Tibetans. For the Himalayan Buddhist, the words of Buddha are compiled in the *Kang-gyur*. *Kang* in this context is the term for "the most precious, pure as white" and *gyur* is the transmission. The stone pillar in Lhasa which is the symbol of Tibetan nation is Jo-khang, and clearly derived from this word. The highest peak near Lhasa is Mt.Noijin Kangsang (7,206 m). But, the term is exclusively used by all Tibetans for the most revered mountain peak on the planet, Mt. Kailash. This is the Kang Rinpoche, the most precious mountain peak. The *Kailash Purana* of Tibetans is known as the *Kang-Kangri*.

After surveying the usage of the term among different sub-families of Tibeto-burman language, it can be postulated that a Kang-culture pervades the Himalayas from Ladakh to Manipur-Nagaland covering Yunnan, Sichuan in China and Northern Myanmar. This Kang-culture based upon the worship of mountain peaks and celebrating the lives sustaining on the water streams gushing from those hills. Kang culture also spread to Mongolia and Buddhist region of Russia's East along with the influence of Himalayan Buddhism.

Once Kang-culture belt is properly studied, Asia can be viewed as packed with slices of contiguous culture stripes. In East Asia, there is a Kanji culture covering China, Japan and Koreas and many parts of South-East Asia based upon common script. Thence, Kang-culture zone in the underbelly of the Himalayas. There is Karma-culture zone in India that believes in karma, rebirth and cyclicity of phenomena. Further west, it is Koran-culture zone in Middle East and Central Asia. (**Figure 3**)

Figure 3: Asia's Cultural Stripes

But, Kang-culture centred upon reverence towards the snow-capped inaccessible high mountain peaks, which were believed to be the abode of their gods, has been deeply influenced by Buddhism. Buddhism in its two forms acted as the pincer movement. While Vajrayana Buddhism grew from northward down, Hinayana Buddhism grew southward north. Two forms of Buddhism meet in Yunnan province of China, which is distinct region with presence of more than 20 ethnic groups in China. Kang culture is facing further pressure from Catholic Christianity. But, it is still only a century of invaginations.

Naga Hills retain the remnants of ancient Kang culture to a large extant because of many peculiarities. Naga Hills were least annexed by the British authorities. Moreover, the fear of head-hunting tradition of Nagas made them less touched with outside people. Nagas themselves evolved distinct characteristics of dialectical variation to preserve ethnic-cum-spatial identity. In Ukhrul district of Manipur dominated by Tangkhul Nagas, there are more than 200 dialects. Each village has distinct dialect and makes interaction mutually unintelligible. Nagas constitute the cockpit of Kang culture now. Flanked by the northern stream of yak-based society and southern stream of buffalo-stream society, Nagas have their own distinct animal, Mithun(*Bos frontalis*). Mithun is a cross breed of gaur and domestic cattle and known as Sial or Kikang(another instance of importance of term *Kang*). Nagas bifurcate two different world views, two different domesticated-animal landscapes. (**Figure 4**)

Figure 4: Sandwiched Nagas

This situation allows getting a peep into the pristine Kang culture by reading Naga history. But, they do not have written history, nor have they built memorial of their civilization. How can social scientists peep into Naga worldview and Naga history? Increasingly, the realization has come that history of written history is very short. When population geneticists are trying to explore human prehistory by examining mitochondrial landscape, a flurry of methods have been discovered by anthropologists to read history through more permanent objects—materials of ritual and everyday use.

NON-VERBAL COMMUNIATIONS: UNDERSTANDING MATERIALITY

The role of material objects in social communication is being deciphered by the anthropologists and social scientists world across. Fieldwork reports properly illustrate how human being and material objects are deeply entangled in manifold ways. The French school of post-Levi-Straussian structural anthropologists like Philippe Descola of Collège de France, Bruno Latour, and Pierre Lemonnier of Aix Marseille University and many others have enriched our understanding about role of material objects in social life. The influence has rightly been dubbed as new 'ontological turn'. An executive session of the AAA Annual Meeting, "*The ontological turn in French philosophical anthropology*," was held in Chicago on November 23, 2013. The debates are raging on Pierre Lemonnier's book, *Mundane Objects: Materiality and non-Verbal Communication* (2012) [28] and the implications for social sciences.

Lemonnier found that mundane objects physically intervene and shape human lives. He exhorts scholars to investigate the 'blending power of things'. Lemonnier presents five case studies using single type of object and its particular relationship with the humans who make and use it. [29] The first case study is building of fences by the Baruyas in Papua New Guinea. The fences are meant to protect the gardens from the pigs. But, the fences are far larger than the role of protecting gardens. Lemonnier discovered how fencing, in fact, is a physical manifestation of the values imbibed by the community and involves co-operative communal labour, which is organized through structured kinship relations.[30] Similarly, he takes up the case study of Ankave eel trap, Ankave drums, Angka ritual pouch and model cars in France as site of memory and mythology for male collectors in France. All these objects are imbued with layers of meaning and as such convey non-verbal statements.

Lemonnier posits for primacy of materiality and the role of positioning objects as "fundamental to the stability of the sociocultural configuration.[31] Objects are plastic in meaning and these are the sites of condensation of meaning. "People do not merely look at such objects. They produce them, manipulate them, and perform material actions with them, such as piercing the nose, rubbing bodies, transplanting cordylines, making noise, shaking a tapa etc." [32] Lemonnier coined a new phrase, "perissologcal resonances" for such material objects. [33] "Perissology", he states, "is a useful pleonasm for things that in various domains or registers reinforce a message… The same goal is achieved through different systems like slowing a truck with distinct brakes (hydraulic, electric, mechanical). [34] As resonators, Lemonnier argues, objects form hubs of countless variation of memories, mythologies and meanings, which they then express outwards to impact upon those who encounter them. Perissological resonators are such type of objects which act as "cognitive blending devices based on perissologies and allowing the emergence of a nonverbal message". [35] Perissological resonators can reveal relationships extant in various domains like kinship, exchange, death, marriage. These facilitate as condenser of relationships and social values.

Chris Ballard terms Perissology as a productive repetition which acts to extend the reach of the resonator and reinforces the intended message. [36]

TEXTILE AS PERISSOLOGICAL RESONATOR

Textile functions as the material interface between us and the external world. As soon as we are born, we are wrapped in clothes. Throughout our lives, our bodies have different textile enclosure which expresses non-verbal meanings. The colour of clothes reveals identity of religious priests in modern societies. The textile communicates the profession, gender, status, age, region in modern societies and group identities in the non-urban peripheral communities. Richard Martin describes textile as the convergence of tangible and intangible. [37]

Can textile as material objects be deciphered for their role as perissological resonator? In his field study among the communities of Papua New Guinea, Lemonnier found how Anga sacred bundles are the condensation or integration of multiple avenues of sensory perception as a way to express, build, and recall key aspects of the local social organization, cultural values, and system of thoughts, as well as their interrelations. [38] Each bundle is unique in composition and historical association with the descendants of a particular ancestral figure; it is the quintessence of the group's culture and identity".[39] If sacred bundles as material object can be classified as perissological resonator, there are stronger argument to treat textile as such a material which is the site of condensation of multi-sensorial experience like touch, sight, smell, memory, geometry, auspiciousness etc.

Cloth is a universal material in human societies. This is connected with the human body and still external to it. Such is the density of meaning and values attached to it, that in many primordial communities even the thin strap tied around waist is considered essential for normative behaviors. Every culture has special clothing to mark special events, places or relationships.

The clothes like Anga sacred bundles also transmit and preserve the group's culture and identity. Various studies among South American tribes show the dress designs have specific characteristics that always identify the wearer with a specific town. In Guatemala, different city dwellers can be recognized immediately; may it be people from Santa Catarina Palopó; Nebaj, Santiago Atitlán, or the Salcajá.

In Guatemala,women's blouse, locally known as a *huipil,* and a wraparound skirt (*corte*) are woven with complex patterns. Each community or language-group made its own specific *huipil* and *corte* designs. When a woman puts on *corte* and *huipil*, she in fact encloses herself at the center of a symbolic universe of her culture.

In fact, ethnic communities in highland Himalayas can be recognized through their particular wraparound skirts of women. These skirts are not only everyday object for consumption, but also perissological resonator in the sense that the weaving process itself involve structured kinship relationship. These wraparound skirts (*puanten* in Paite language) are also gift to be given to sediment kinship relationship on the occasion of marriage and Sending Off ceremonies. There are colour codes for these skirts to be worn during funeral. Thus, ethnographic study of textiles in the eastern end of the Himalayas where ethnic diversity is highest can reveal their history, memories, and connections. Since, these cultures like true nomads did not build "memorial of civilization", their history can be fathomed only through reading the patterns over their textiles.

TEXTILE AND TEXTUALITY

In primordial societies where proper script did not emerge, the memories are transferred orally from generation to generation like a continuous thread. Ethnographers are conclusive now that it is the intricate weaving pattern over the textile that is the repository of group's custom, tradition, legends, and identities. Textile emerged much earlier than text and the weaving pattern can be decoded as cultural DNA to establish migration history among contiguous ethnic communities. Though, the earliest known woven fragments was excavated in Southern Turkey at Catal Huyuk and dated to over 9000 years ago, the earliest known basket-weaving dates around 13,000 years ago. *New York Times* report that the oldest known twisted fibers, which could have been woven into basketry or textiles, were found in Israel and date to about 19,300 years ago. But, paleo-anthropologists have to push back the date of weaving to 25000 years ago after discovery of clay fragments embossed with textile pattern, discovered in 1995 in the Pavlov Hills in the southeastern Czech Republic by team led by Dr. Olga Soffer of the University of Illinois and Dr. James M. Adovasio. A group of archeologists have arrayed to establish the origin of textile technology before the Neolithic period (8000B.C) when human species learnt to domesticate plant and animal. [40] There have been recent criticisms against earlier generation archaeologists for over emphasizing stone tools and implements used by the male members in interpreting human history and ignoring technology of signification like textiles which are perpetual from very early times where women had dominance. They charge them with patriarchal gaze in telescoping present prejudices over recollection of past. It is being debated that textile predates text and there is a connection between textile (weaving) and text (language). Roland Barthes, the French philosopher whose work on the discipline of writing is immense, sums up the relationship beautifully, "*etymologicaaly the text is a cloth: textus, meaning "woven".* [41]

Textile expert and cultural historian Jasleen Dhamija equates textile with non-verbal language. Dhamija, states "textile can be a language, but a non-verbal language." [42] She views a traditional textile like a 'book" that can be read and meaning deciphered. She further states, "The material used to fabricate and dye the cloth imparts geo-climatic knowledge about the area of origin. Woven motifs and colour impart information concerning cultural meaning, belief systems and history. Textile also contains information about the socio-economic status of the wearer in the case of ritual and burial garments. Fine fabrics signify wealth and status and in some cultures, certain woven motifs and colours were the prerogative of the aristocracy as in the case of royal purple.[43] After her study of the spinning community in U.P, she boldly asserted how textile was a way of life for the weaving specialists community. She wrote,

> "*Textiles are a Way of life and the non-verbal language of a people. Fabrics speak to us at multiple levels. Its raw materials speak of the geo-climatic conditions and trade links. The techniques speak of the level of civilization as well as links with others. The motifs tell us of it legends, its myth, its beliefs, their way of life and also the trade links.* [44]

Textile is the textual tradition for indigenous peoples. The western tradition of alphabetic writing is deeply rooted in the logocentrism, exposed by French philosopher, Jacques Derrida in his magnum opus, *Of Grammatology*. [45] British linguist Geoffrey Sampson describes two basic kinds of writings: glottographic writing which represents speech and semasiographic writing which are independent of speech.[46] In fact, textile patterns can be characterized as semasiographic

writing, as these are independent of speech. Road signs are example of semasiographic writing. This is iconic writing. Similarly, the patterns on woven textile convey meaning independent of speech. Indigenous people have developed diverse, complex theories of textuality in which cosmology is inscribed within the body, the social, and the surrounding ecological world. [47]

The interconnectivity of textile and text can be seen from their common etymological root. Both words are derived from the Latin *textere* to weave, and *textus* a fabric. Similarly, in Sanskrit, the term *sutra* for fabric is also the term for the textual treatise.

Textile historian, Kathryn Sullivan Kruger goes one step further and claims that

"Because weaving constitutes one of the first signifying practices that recorded the world's ancient myths and symbols, I propose that reference made within a written text or to the weaving process recalls this history. Towards this view, the written text is a recent form of textile, ancillary to those primary texts "told" or "tooled" in cloth." [48]

Uzendoski defines "text as 'making' a narrative that involves images/designs of more specifically 'weaving' a narrative that is inscribed and patterned. Textuality involves various and multimodal practices that leave traces: storytelling, dance, song/music, ritual, production, and a host of other human activities that are recursive of inscribed truths and which involve experience." [49]

Textile, in that sense, is both multimodal sensorial experience and leaves a relatively permanent trace. Textiles emerged as important activity of primordial society as weaving was a laborious activity. The priests, village heads, tribal chiefs carried the authority signified through different drapings. In fact, different weaving pattern became hallmark of clan identity in egalitarian societies. Not only human bodies, but even deities and totems were decorated with various drapings. Weaving became an exercise in sacred ritual activity to propitiate. The textile and sacredness got so much intermingled from the earliest time that Buddhists all across Asia engaged in weaving Buddha robe as a path for liberation. Buddha image was weaved with precious silk. The evidences are still extant in the Dunhuang cave discoveries in China. Textile is offered as part of sacrificial act to deities among Hindus and Buddhists. Among Tibetan Buddhism followers, the High lamas offer *kata* (white scarf woven in silk) which is considered one of the 8 auspicious symbols. Among highland societies of Asia, traditional shawls carrying the thread of continuity of weaving pattern is offered as a mark of respect. Elizabeth Wayland Barber, an anthropologists mentions that, "Cloth , from our first direct evidence twenty thousand years ago, has been the handiest solution to conveying social messages visually, silently, continuously." [50] This is so true for contemporary times also with different dress code for nurses, lawyers, military, and police. The cloth as a text speaks about the identity bypassing the medium of spoken word. Kruger in her meticulously researched book establishes that the ancient production of text first occurred in the form of text. In fact, every culture, primordial or postmodern, records the symbols of its own heritage on the body of a textile.

Dr.Angela Sheng, an art historian from McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada has documented costumes from the Miao, Yi, Dong, Tujia, Shui, Zhuang, Dai, Buyi, Yao, Wa, and Zang in South West China and explored variations in "myths of origin and heroic combats, communal memories, and wish fulfillment" among these communities. In the book, "*Writing with Thread: Traditional Textiles of Southwest Chinese Minorities*" [51] Angela Sheng, discusses in her essay, "*Reading Costumes as 'Texts' and Decoding Ethnic Visual Culture of Southwest China*', how to decode the myth and narratives of the community in the weaving patterns. We have tried to read the connection between various communities of Nomadia through discovering commonalities in the weaving pattern over puanten, woman's tubular long skirt.

It is not surprising that first documented texts in India belonged to *sutra* tradition. Sutra is not only the compressed verse, but also the thread. Sutra is a formula, cultural code as well as material, tangible thread used in rituals. First evidence of written script in India dates back to Ashoka's time, (3rd century B.C.). Written Texts emerged much later than massive production of texts transmitted orally in India either in Vedic or Buddhist or Jaina tradition. Weaving was the most sophisticated technology for ancient Indians and weaving became metaphor for Creation from creating new disciplines or postulating the origin of the universe. Everything owes analogy to weaving. Possibly, weaving itself emerged as an imitation of the act of spider in weaving intricate web. Thus, primordial act of creation of Universe was imagined to be woven by *Brahma*. The whole terminology of weaving sneaked into the Vedic Sutras. Frits Staal has rightly observed that the terminology like *grantha*(knot), *tantra*(loom), *nibandha*(tying), *prabandha*(band) have their origin in textile technology.[52] But, we find a role- reversal with the substitution of textile as text to the text of alphabetic writing. While, women dominated the craft of weaving, knitting, embroidery; it is the men who writes

texts. For women, it was the needle that wrote on fabric, for men it is the pen that writes on paper. Embroidery created by the women was replaced by paintings created by men. Jefferies states, "Textiles are always ethnic, class and gender indexed." [53]

Textile in a sense is the opposition to the phonetic imperialism. The rule by book, may it be Constitution, Acts, Statutes, religious books, are resisted by the act of weaving. This is how the region of Nomadia, where traditional textile tradition is still extant and dynamic, is the hotbed of resistance against the rule by modern governments. But, textile weaving in these indigenous communities is the autonomous domain of women. The male in these societies does indulge in weaving, but it is the basket weaving with bamboo straps. Leading thinker on ethno-geometry, Paulus Gerdes discovered how basket weaving and textile weaving have different mathematical basics. [54] We are taking up the case of textile weaving since textile has also been the site for women's resistance against patriarchal order. By focusing on the wraparound skirt in the region, we can decipher the text of resistance of doubly-repressed women, by patriarchal as well as written culture's order. In fact, many studies do point out this tool of resistance popular among women across the cultural spectrum. Sarah Ann O'Mahony writes, "Throughout history, textile has acted as a vehicle for women's never ending complaint against a misogynistic order and its power structures, and, as the thesis will show, the textile/text axis is deeply implicated in similar agendas of contemporary women artists." [55]

ETHNIC TEXTILES IN HIMALAYA'S EASTERN STRETCH

Ethnic costumes of indigenous minorities are non-verbal way of cultural exchange. In fact, these are the perissological resonators, as emphasized in earlier section. Just like in towns of Guatemala, clothing is the distinct marker of diverse ethnicities in this zone. Even though great religions like Buddhism and Christianity have made inroads, traditional ethnic costumes are necessary on the eve of rituals, festivals, birth and funerals and other symbolic times. Among the Chin women in Burma, it is customary for woman to weave a large blanket in which she and her husband will be wrapped upon their deaths. When one partner dies, the blanket is cut in two, with one half used to cover the body and the other half stored away until the second partner passes, as they believe the blanket would unite the two spirits. [56] Pwint writes, "Different motifs over dresses represent the wearer's status, signifying whether someone is married or what position they have in the village hierarchy."

Deng Qiyao, Professor of Anthropology in Sun Yat-sen University, China rightly asserts about ethnic dresses, "It establishes societal norms, ethnic identity and the functions of historical narrative." [57] He refers to a Jingpo proverb, which sums up the whole debate:

'**Our history is woven on a tubular skirt;**

Those are the characters left behind by our ancestors."

-- Jingpo proverb

Qiyao conducted fieldwork on the Miao people in Yunnan and concludes, "living a migratory life, the Miao used the most convenient method to encode their own culture into a cipher that they could carry with them wherever they went. Consequently, their ancient songs, passed on orally, and the colourful hand-embroidery clothing became their tools for recording history and the fundamental method for passing on their culture. [58] In fact, Professor Deng Qiyao deciphered Miao embroidery and found that though history books describe their men as 'rioters', the sleeve patch on Miao clothing depict a legendary Miao heroine, Wu Moxi from Shidong, Guizhou and another embroidered figure is that of Zhang Xiumei(1823-1872), who led a rebellion against the Qing Empire. To decode and write history by study of ethnic dresses where no written records of events exist is a tough exercise. Ethnic dresses, like perissological resonators are resistant to change the pattern, colour, motif, embroidery; pass on from generation to generation for hundreds of years unlike the short cycle of changing fashion in contemporary modern societies. Professor Deng realizes after his study of Miao clothing that for "Miao clothing, 'time" is not measured in a year's season rather by hundred or thousands of years! That could cause the Miao never to change their clothing style, over hundreds and thousands of years." [59]

Professor Deng Qiyao succinctly remarks, "Many ethnic minorities without a written language have a special narrative tradition. They use oral history, mythology, epics, folk songs, and visual arts and crafts to transmit and pass on their culture. They write with thread. Thread is their ink to write the myths, history, and all they wish to record, projecting it on the clothes that accompany them, forming a cultural code. The myths and legends of each ethnic group can be seen in the styles, colour, dyeing, and embroidered patterns on their ethnic clothing. Their clothing is a pictographic account of 'Historical Records' of the other." [60]

MEASURING TIMELESSNESS THROUGH NAGA SKIRTS

There are 16 major Naga ethnic groups in Nagaland. These include the Angami, Ao, Sema, Lotha, Rengma, Chakhesang, Khiamniungan, Chang, Konyak, Phom, Sangtam, Liangmei, Yimchungrü, Pochury, Rongmei and Zeme. There are various Naga ethnic groups in adjoining Manipur and Assam. Tangkhuls reside in Ukhrul district of Manipur and Cachari in North Cachar district of Assam. Each ethnic group has own distinct shawl, both for men and women and narrative stories are woven just as in the case of ethnic minorities like Miao in Yunnan-Sichuan. By looking at traditional Naga shawl, the ethnic group as well as the geographical region can easily be ascertained.

But, as discussed above, we are focusing on patterns of only women skirts which are wrap around clothes with motifs woven which indicate identity, marital status and the family relationships. **Picture 1** to **Picture 17** show the diversity of Indian Naga women's wrap around skirts.

Picture 1: Ao

(*Photo Credit*:http://www.tribuneindia.com/
2002/20020503/nation.htm)

Picture 2: Chang

(Photo Credit:http://www.neipeople.com/
2013/11/chang.html)

Picture 3: Lotha

(Photo credit:http://www.neipeople.com/
2013/11/lotha.html)

Picture 4:Liangmei

(Photo credit:http://www.neipeople.com/2014/05/
liangmai.html)

Picture 5: ZeliAng

(Photo credit: www.sadanandsafar.blogspot.com

Picture 6:Kachari

(Photo credi:: www.sadanandsafar.blogspot.com)

Picture 7: Phom

(Photo credit: www.sadanandsafar.blogspot.com)

Picture 8: Konyak

(Photo credit: www.sadanandsafar.blogspot.com)

Picture 9: Khiamniugan

(Photo credit: www.sadanandsafar.blogspot.com)

Picture 10: Yimchunger

(Photo credit: www.sadanandsafar.blogspot.com)

Picture 11: Sangtam

(Photo credit: www.sadanandsafar.blogspot.com)

Picture 12: Sumi

(Photo credit: www.sadanandsafar.blogspot.com)

Picture 13: Pochury

(Photo credit: www.sadanandsafar.blogspot.com)

Picture 14: Sema

(Photo credit: http://www.neipeople.com/
2013/12/sumi.html)

Picture 15: Angami

(Photo Credit: http://www.neipeople.com/
2013/11/angami.html)

Picture 16: Rongmei

(Photo Credit: http://www.neipeople.com/
2013/11/rongmei.html)

Picture 17: Chakhesang

(*Photo Credit*: http://www.thephora.net/forum/showthread.php?t=39151)

It is evident that Naga skirts have gridded squares and stripes. Circles are rare. The motifs used on male shawls are that of mithun or deer or spear, all things that pertain to hunting and warfare. But, why are circles missing from the weaving patterns?

RE-READING HANDICRAFT: SMOOTH POLITICAL SPACE VS. STRIATED MENTAL SPACE

It is evident that this region is a non-state political space which is struggling on its last leg against *Statification*. As per, D&G, the State system crates striated space whiles the nomadic system "smooth space" without permanent signifier. This Nomadia is a War-Machine par excellence from this aspect as it resists the 'striation" by the State. Here comes the problematic.

If one observes the traditional textiles woven with the decorative pattern, one will be surprised to find the "striation". **Picture 18** and **Picture 19** are from different regions in China and India, but the colour and striation are common. Across Nomadia, same pattern of striation is visible in the weaving of textiles or baskets or carpets. Wheresoever the 'handicraft" is required, the "terrace" pattern is visible.

Picture 18: Ethnic costumes in SW China

(*Photo credit:* http://www.pacross.net/Photo_galleries.htm*)*

Picture 19: Ethnic costumes of Paite-Mizo in India

(Photo Credit: http://www.paite.org/nampuan-design/item/724-nampuan-leh-bawmta-khut-khai.html)

We have seen among the Zomis-Chin-Kuki-Naga, the continuity of weaving patterns for generations. Every girl child is required to learn the art of weaving textiles that maintains the transfer of the community narrative embedded in the weaving pattern. The weaving is not merely an oral narrative. The Nomadia lacks history .But, apart from the oral tradition; it is the handicraft that gives permanence to the collective memory. The handicraft is in wider sense of the word, "handi-craft".

It pervades the art of farming, the art of bamboo-making, art of bamboo-roofing the house, art of leg-movement in dances, art of playing music on traditional instruments. Thus, it is seen that people in Nomadia are jovial. They love to sing and dance. They love to play musical instrument. They love to engage in "handicrafts" that gives them the sense of perpetual motion. Famous Moon and Peacock dancer, Yang Liping comes from the Bai minority in Yunnan province of China.

But, most permanent among all handicrafts is the textile, as it can be preserved safely from generation to generation. The textile –pattern is the cultural text. Just like genes, that inherit biological properties, it is the weaving-patterns that carry the communitarian identity. More than language, more than cosmological beliefs, more than clan and kinship, it is the difference in the striation over the traditional costumes that define identity in Nomadia.

What surprises us is the absence of circular motifs. There is total absence of circles in the design of women skirts, from Nagaland to Manipur to Mizoram to Sichuan. While one can see the rich imagery in the weaving designs of Central Asians or other communities being part of the Empires or the State, the absence of human figures or the divine figures or the circles signifying sun and the moon in the weaving design is surprising. This reiterates the Nomadia characteristics of the Nomadia. Though handicraft is impersonal, it still does not signify transcendental things.

But, why do the non-state societies which are resisting the attempt of "striation' by external actors transfer their collective memory through "striated pattern"? Is this a paradox? Or is this incomprehensible from the Static thinking? Can nomadic thinking capture the collective imagination of the Nomadia?

BACK TO D&G: GEOPHILOSOPHY OF TERRACING

The paradox can again be explained by taking into account D&G's concept of Geophilosophy. We have seen how the terraced farming is a characteristic of Nomadia; from India to Vietnam and China. Terracing technology enters the cosmological world-view through analogous transfer.

The terracing of hills to produce rice (**Picture 20**) has its equivalence in terracing pattern on handicraft that produces identity. For Nomadia, these two aspects are the most essential-food and identity. There is less concern with eschatological belief as among many other societies across the world

Picture 20: Longi Rice Terraces, SW China

(Photo Credit: blog.chinatraveldepot.com*)*

Other peculiar characteristics can be found is the reverence for the Hornbill in Nomadia. Hornbills are found across Nomadia (**Picture 21, 22** and **23**) and used as emblem by various communities. Hornbills are integral part of their culture. Their feathers, beaks, behaviour, sound etc. are used as cultural marker. Hornbill Festival is a great time for coming together of different communities in Nagaland and elsewhere.

Picture 21: Khiamniungan Naga with Hornbill Feathers

(*Photo Credit*: http://www.thephora.net/forum/showthread.php?t=39151)

Picture 22: Tangkhul Naga of Manipur with Hornbill Feathers


Picture 23: Yi of South West China with Hornbill Feathers and beak

(**Photo Credit:** Hui-e Liang and Hong-yu Chang, *Study on the Substantiation Expression of Totemic Worship in Ethnic Costumes,* http:/www.iffti.com/downloads/past_conferences/HKPU,%202002/A/329-333.pdf)

One can observe the decorative pattern on the hornbill's body (**Picture 24**). It is again a reflection of terracing. Hornbill from tip to toe has band of colours neatly reflecting the striation. Similarly, even the body parts like beak and tail separately possess similar characteristics.

Picture 24: Hornbill
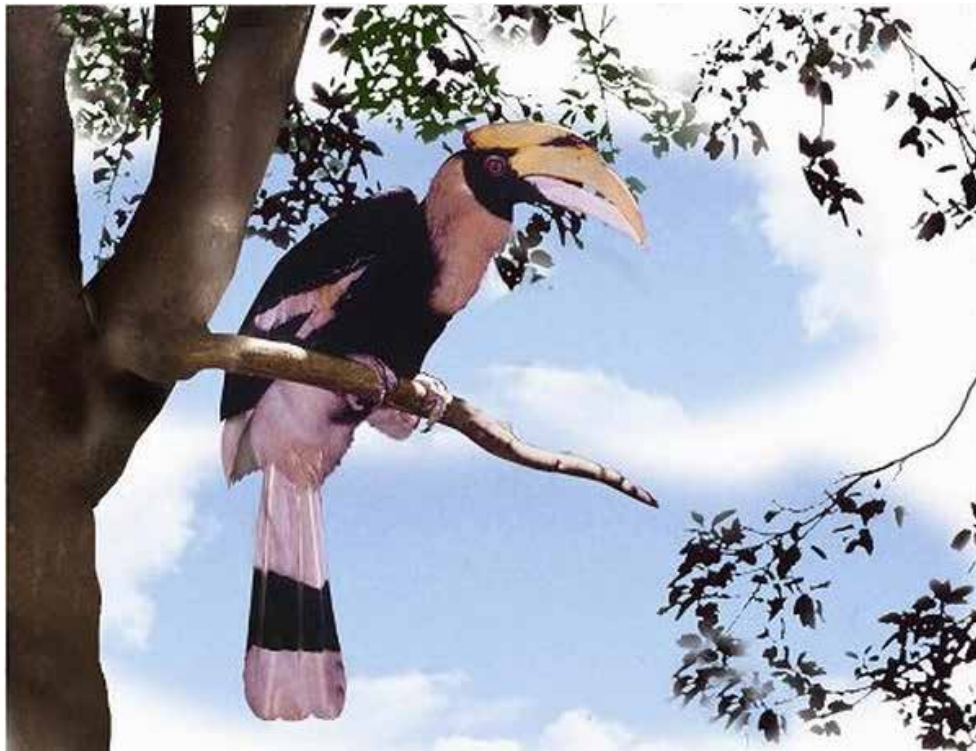
Another important feature about hornbill is the terracing of their habitat itself. Hornbills require large trees for nesting, and sufficient supply of food. This determines the size of habitat area to support a hornbill population. Hornbill species have particular set of requirements.

This makes several species to simultaneously occupy the same habitat. They do it by occupying different heights in the canopy of the tree. In the forests of Thailand, ornithologists have found nine hornbill species living together in same habitat. They partition their habitat by feeding at different heights in the canopy.

Inhabitants indulge in mental act to bring coherence to their existence in the ecological niche. The same pattern of simultaneous existence of different communities is found in the Nomadia. The different communities occupy different heights in the mountains to settle in .This reduces the chances of conflict.

Hornbills are found in abundance in Nabang sanctuary near Ruili on Myanmar-Yunnan border. What is interesting that in this area, slash and burn cultivation is still followed. Possibly, during the great migration, these communities crossed through this "hornbill valley' of Xima and got fascinated with the characteristics of hornbills, moving in flocks, fierce and free. Like hornbills, Chin-Kuki-Naga people learnt to partition their habitat by feeding/living at different heights in the hills/canopy.

It is why when the towns like Churachandpur in Manipur have cropped up after building of various infrastructure projects by the modern State-System, these have become polyglot and poly-ethnic as the communities at different heights maintaining separate language and culture descend down to settle. Churachandpur in Manipur and Dequen in Yunnan in China, Ruili in Myanmar are facing the complex dynamics of myriad identities fusing and colliding.

In fact, terracing is ubiquitous. There is altitudinal axis of settlement for everything-*Homo sapiens*, flora and fauna. In many sub-regions, yaks, mithuns and cow/buffalo co-exist at different altitude. The higher and colder belt is inhabited by yaks, middle belt by mithuns and lower belt by domestic cattle. Similarly, highest altitudes have evergreen forest where slash and burn cultivation is practiced, middle heights are congenial for growth of bamboos and lower heights for rice cultivation.

We find it interesting that though, Nomadia resists striation, Nomadia is characterized by the striation in habitat, culture and agriculture. Is this the landscape that has determined this unique thought-pattern in Nomadia? Is this the art of terracing that led to the proliferation of terracing/striation in Nomadia thought-pattern or is this other way round? Is this the engagement with the dominating figure of Hornbill in Nomadia sky that led to the terracing of own habitat, culture and agriculture? One thing is sure. It is the complex interaction of nature, landscape and the culture which gives unique characteristics to Nomadia. Though, politically resistant to striation/hierarchy and gridding, people in Nomadia have mastered the art of striation as well as their most inspiring biological figure, Hornbill!

Anthropologists have worked out the interconnectedness of landscape and textuality in Amazons. Uzendoski(2012) writes deliberating over the issue of ontology among people with oral culture,

> *"In Ecuador….Amazonian Kichwa speaking people view life in ways not reducible to Western modes of perception. For Example, Kichwa speakers see life(and death) as a continual process of communication, interaction, and regeneration within surrounding territorial presences. This communicative world implies a social and symbolic "mutuality of being" among plants, animals, people, and other living and nonliving entities, as well as a shared relatedness among all the subjectivities present within a territory. In these lifeworlds, textuality is a lived practice of analogical flow (Wagner 1977), of creating and experiencing "lines(Ingold 2007; Mentore 2005; Schuler Zea 2010; Colloredo -Mansfeld 2011) that move through the body, plants, animals, and the landscape. These lines are not just metaphors but relations of interaction and communication."* [61]

We find similar interconnectedness between landscape, plants, birds and humans in Nomadia. The grids and bands, the stripes and the squares that are woven in women's skirts are the narrative of their history. They do not encircle other people. They do not create mandalas, neither do they create tree-hierarchy for dominance. The grids share the neighbourhood in 'mutuality of being'. One band moves on when another band follows them. There was never a major war for territory among these people before the outsiders with the book, began to impose order over them.

Studying these patterns of colour bands and striation over tubular women skirt, one can connect communities. In the **Picture 25** and **Picture 26** given below, one can find the similar colour bands in skirts of Mosuo women of Lugu Lake region and Paite women of Khuga lake region. Since, language-families have become redundant; it is time to prepare the textile trees among the communities of Nomadia. This effort can be augmented with comparative study of mitochondrial DNA haplotypes. Geographical landscape and mitochondrial landscape might resonate with similar patterns and properties. What is required is Ethnocostumology, rather than Ethnolinguistics to write the missing history of Asian massif, viz. Nomadia!

Picture 25*:* **Mosuo Women in Lijang, China**

(*PhotoCredit*:http://www.fotolibra.com/gallery/1043109/mosuo-woman-weaving-colourful-clothing-in-her-shop-lijiang-yunnan-province-china/)

Picture 26: Paite

(*Photo Credit:* http://www.paite.org/nampuan/item/161-paite-nampuan/161-paite-nampuan.html)

CIRCLE VS. STRATA

Nomadia is a non-state political space discovering coherence of the world-view in the stratification. The inhabitants of Nomadia resist hierarchy in social status, domination by external actors and the attempt by the State to "striate' their space. The society is egalitarian and staunchly freedom-loving.

Nomadia has peculiar characteristics of avoiding circles. The circle is a recurrence with fixed properties. In Nomadia, the movement is always perpetual and non-recursive. We have on the other hand Eastern and western societies, where circles and spheres held the power of perfect knowledge. For Parmenides or Plato, the world had a perfect shape in spheres and a perfect motion in circles. Similarly, for Hindus, Buddhist and Jains, circle is the essence of existence. The cycle of karma operates at every layer. It was not a mere coincidence that the concept of this circularity as getting back to non-movement was embodied in the symbol of 'zero', another circle. Similarly, the Arab society had significant engagement with cipher. In Chinese culture, the operation of yin-yang is depicted by circle. It's interesting to find the parallels between these circle-cultures. All of these developed empires, great religions and now powerful modern State system. Though, circle and flower does appear in the both extremes of Asian massif due to influences of Buddhism (sunyata/sunya philosophy and the chakra as the preissological resonator), its near absence in Buddhism-sandwiched zone of Chin-Kuki-Naga communities is a peculiar characteristic.

It is possible that being a heavy rainfall area due to monsoon winds, the sky is often clouded and imagination could not be deployed towards the sun and moon and hence lacked visualization about circles and spheres which in primordial societies generally symbolizes these two heavenly bodies. In fact, the whole zone, from Ladakh to Nagaland via Yunnan and northern Myanmar, is obsessed with the rainbows, which Tibetans consider as the ladder (*dmu-thag* in Tibetan) to heaven. The frequent sight-seeing of rainbows determine their world view and imagination more than the sun and the moon. The whole Kang culture is obsessed with the idea of rainbow bodies. Rainbows have colour band which can be seen replicated in the tubular skirts. To add weight to their banding perspective, one must take into account how the most precious mountain of the Kang culture area, Kailash(Kang Rinpoche) has 12 ladders on its southern face. Since, theirs is a perpetual non-recurrent forward movement, "*ontology of circularity*" could not pervade their being.

CODA

In Nomadia, migration follows the pattern of game of 'go', but 'chess' striation is ubiquitous. Why is Nomadia fascinated with striation patterns which is the strategy of *chess* game, and not engaged with the fluid-like game of *go*? Can an anti-Deleuzian Nomadology of Nomadia be written without pen? Is there a dichotomy between mental landscape and socio-political landscape? Does societies which are adept in the art of striation, prone to resistance against the State system? Does the societies with circular thought-patterns fall easy prey to the appropriation by the State System? Will Nomadia escape the encirclement by State-system through innovative method of striation? Or will the costumicide which is under way, due to easy and cheap availability of American second hand clothes, will prove permanent bane to an ontology of "mutuality of beings" exemplified by habitat sharing of plants, animals, humans and colours through altitudinal division? Neither mandalas nor 'linearity of divide' (*Stobdan*, 2014)[62]can be heuristic tools to understand the Trans-Himalayas. Only through dynamic mobility of spectrum and strata, Pan-Himalayan culture can be deciphered.

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THE TRANS-HIMALAYAN GEOPOLITICS

P. Stobdan*

ABSTRACT

The epicenter of Asian Mandala was in the Himalayas, encompassing both the Indian and Chinese geographical space in its encirclement. The distortion began after Western science of cartography started representing reality on a flat surface that demolished the conceptual circle of unity and infinite relations in cosmic sense under the Mandala thought. Cartography takes the linear line and it still guides the current foreign affairs of states and their policy prescriptions. However, in the Asian context, tools of cartography that pierced through borderlands and frontiers tended to split nationalities, societies and ethnicities. The people having lived in the interlaced flow of culture, social and economic interdependency, the cartographic borders become often illogical. Therefore, the application of "linearity of divide" in cultural homogeneity sparked off conflicts in the Asian landscape. The paper argues that the Asian paradigm of political order for Trans-Himalayas ought to be implemented to thwart radicalization of the Himalayas in changing geopolitical landscape. India and China should give up seeking a geometrical linear boundary and instead opt for creating soft cultural frontier along the trans-Himalayan region. A gradual transformation of the long militarized boundary into a humanized frontier zone will serve the interests of India, China and the Himalayan people.

Keywords: Asia, Buddha-Industry, cultural mobilization, Himalayas, *Jihadi,* Kashmir, Ladakh, *linearity of divide,* Padmasambhava, Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership(RCEP), soft power, Xinjiang.

INTRODUCTION

The Himalayan belt so far remains geopolitically a dormant sort of zone. However, in its west, Afghanistan remains the epicentre of all the geopolitical eruptions affecting in all directions. Once the US and the NATO thins down their troop's presence there in the aftermath of 2014 draw down, the influence of the Taliban and the sway of extremist power are bound to grow and this time it will engulf the vast Eurasian space north of the Himalayas as well. Possibly, it is not just the geographical spread but also the intensity of conflict would widen. China inevitably cannot escape the rising tide of Islamic extemist resurgence. Revolts in Xinjiang are assuming a new dimesion. The *Jihadi* phenomenon, thus far new to China, is speedily penetrating in Xinjiang despite all the efforts made to prevent it by China's all-weather friend, Pakistan. It is going to be an unstoppable occurrence and it will change China's thinking and behavior that would affect India – China relations (hopefully in positive way) in the longer run.

In Tibet, the contradictions between the ethnic Hans and Tibetan apart, the people on Asia's high plateau will have to fight against their own time for a long time to come. The Tibetans by in large co-existed with the Chinese in the past. Of course, politico- spatial difference periodically erupted from time to time. However, in modern times, the wind of change has transformed China in a way that Tibetans could not. The Lamaism that influences everyday life of a Tibetan remains acutely dogmatic and unlike Buddhism, it is stuck in a metaphysical time. Lamaism with all its mysticism around

*P. Stobdan is a former Ambassador and an expert on the Himalayan and Inner Asian Affairs covering Central Asia and Inner Asia, including Xinjiang, Tibet, Myanmar and the Himalayan region. He served in Central Asia twice, as Director at the Embassy of India, Almaty (1999 and 2002) and Ambassador at the Embassy of India, Bishkek (2010-2012). He has also served as Joint Director in the Indian National Security Council between October 2006 and November 2007. Recently, he established Ladakh International Centre (LIC) at Leh to promote research on Himalayan geopolitics.

is unlikely to help the Tibetans perform in current geopolitical reality. To be sure, it remains just an interesting relic for the world community.

Another Himalayan fissure is in Kashmir - the main fault-line between the Western spread of Islamic culture and Eastern Indic civilization. It will remain a zone of conflict irrespective of what Pakistan and India does or not. The only victim in this contestation will be the Kashmiris; unfortunately due to layers of history-cover that shaped their identity. For Pakistan, the Kashmir conflict is essential for its surival and for India, the conflict is desirable to consolidate the national unity if not an incentive for nation building and its growth.

Nepal, despite all the upheavals there, especially revolutionary moves made by the Maoists, the people of this part of the Himalayas are coming to terms with the geopolitical reality – a realization that their destinies remains tied to adjusting with the Indian organic system. Fortunately, India's changed outlook under Modi will reset the direction that will offer hopes for stability in Nepal after a decade of civil war.

Another Himalayan hermit kingdom, Bhutan that historically formed a part of the Tibetan organic system had drifted away in the twentieth century to fall under the British and then Indian geopolitical influence. The only internal force responsible for the birth of original *Druk- Gyalkhap* or *Druk-Yul* (Nation of the Thunder Dragon) is the incarnate of the Tibetan origin god-king, the Shabdrung, whose status remains mysteriously buried since 1907 under the contemporary geopolitical exigencies.

However, the spirit that continues to drive the main engine of Bhutanese relationship with India is their deep devotion to *gyagar* (the holy white country- India) – fidelity embedded into Bhutanese ethos by the wisdom of the 8th century Indian leader and philosopher Padmasambhava, also known as Guru, who hailed from Uddiyyana, the modern-day Swat Valley of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Of course, such piousness today remains one sided but importantly the Bhutanese have diligently displayed so far their obligations towards India. Irrespective of contemporary political convenience the Kingdom remained steadfastly and unshakably the most reliable ally – stood by India along. The only parallel example is another far away *Vajrayana* nation, Mongolia that posits similar strategic obligatory faith in India. Tibet could have been another case but for India's inability to protect its independence. The Dalai Lama refuses to buckle under China's sway and continues to stay in India. Apparently, the bona fide rulers – the Jebtsundamba of Mongolia, the Dalai Lama of Tibet, and the Shabdrung of Bhutan lived in India. However, when China's influence is growing all over the world, how possibly could the tiny Himalayan state of Bhutan escape from its gaze? The impact is already palpable on the ground – creating a string of political electrons, threatening Bhutan's traditional bond with its "sacred" brother India. Perhaps the Modi's government understood Bhutan's case and its sensitivity. Under the previous government, the relationship had to go through major strains.

THE HIMALAYAS: ZONE OF INDIA-CHINA CONFLUENCE

The last three thousand years of our history suggests that the vast range of the Himalayas played more of bridge role than a wall. It fostered congruence of civilizations, culture, spirituality and commerce. It was responsible for shaping Asian identity what it is today. In fact, if we follow the mythology, the epicenter of Asian *Mandala* (circle of sacred and friendly space or a political order) was in the Himalayas, encompassing both the Indian and Chinese geographical space in its encirclement. If we begin to think this way in our own policy, many of the conflicts are going to fade away.

The destruction of *Mandala* that symbolized the Asian paradigm of order had started in the eleventh century when the Islamic invaders systemically smashed the institutions and centers that attracted the Chinese to India. The detachment since then began to affect India-China cultural contiguity with enormous implications. The forces from the West however continued to disrupt the Asian oriental equlibirum. After the Islamic rule, the inroads by Western powers into Asia to play the Great Game had their impact on the Sino-Indian harmony creating a host of problems especially for India. Ironically, the Himalayas today connect the string of political crisis on the both sides of the mountain range.

The distortion began after Western science of cartography started representing reality on a flat surface that demolished the conceptual circle of unity and infinite relations in cosmic sense under the *Mandala* thought. Cartography takes the linear line and it still guides the current foreign affairs of states and their policy prescriptions. However, in the Asian context, tools of cartography that pierced through borderlands and frontiers tended to split nationalities, societies and ethnicities. The people having lived in the interlaced flow of culture, social and economic interdependency, the cartographic borders become often illogical. Therefore, the application of "*linearity of divide*" in cultural homogeneity sparked off conflicts in the Asian landscape. The crevice runs across the greater Himalayan region (running from Afghanistan, Kashmir to

Arunachal Pradesh). That is why delinating a boundary line through the complex Himalayan range in a cartographic sense remained problematic.

DEALING WITH TIBETAN GEOPOLITICS

Notwithstanding occasional festering tensions erupting across China's Tibetan and Uighur populated regions, politics in trans-Himalayan region remain undermined. The issues remain stalemated and dormant even though all aspire to preserve contiguous culture, identity, and religion. Yet, the level of trans-Himalayan radicalism is low. Nontheless, the issues or instability factors do affect both sides of the Himalayas. Tibet can be a keystone but its leader, the Dalai Lama who professes Lamaism accepts neither radicalization nor reconciliation that keeps both India and China gussing. The Dalai Lama still visualizes his world in the *Mandala* concept, for he does not seek either separation or independence in a linear political fashion. He has also even dropped the demand for "greater autonomy" and instead he seeks preservation of living under the Chinese *Mandala* or constitution that guarantees space for Tibetan culture and religion to exist as it did for centuries.

A path forward is desperately required but it would be hard to push for dynamism in a short time. However, the onus is upon China to rethink the trans-Himalayan paradigm. China has the resources, both intellectual and material, to revive the past concepts to implement in the modern context. China is already reproducing traditional concepts like the "Silk Route" to restore the anicent linkages. However, on the Himalayan front the time is running out fast. The restoration of paradigm is possible only during the current Dalai Lama's lifetime. To be sure, neither China nor India should desire radicalization of the Himalayas – not an impossible thing though as the situation elsewhere is unfolding. The stakes are high as problem transcends borders and both India and China will have to suffer.

ECONOMIC IMPERATIVES

There are of course the economic and developmental imperatives for the Indian Himalayan belt. The entire stretch of the Himalayas remains a backward zone; perhaps 40 percent of the world's poor live in the region, of course not in calorie intake measures but in terms of its marginalization, economically and socially. The Himalayan natural strength is gigantic. The enormous biodiversity, farming, lumbering, horticulture and hydro-energy potentials bestow the region. Its glaciers remain the source of all the Asian rivers. Yet most people living in these mountains lack drinking water. There have been no worthwhile scientific, technological commercial interventions in the region. Industries are nearly non-existent. No significant plan exists to draw on the enormous solar and wind power potentials. The Himalayan tourism potentials are great but the revenue tourism generates along with other value-added monetary savings flow back outside the region. No clear planning whatsoever exists for retaining the financial capital required to boost the economy further. The barriers for the Himalayas are not nature but manmade. The frozen and militarized border along 3,600 kilometers denies the region access to external markets. This has been going on for too long and cannot be sustainable in the longer term.

WAY FORWARD

Nevertheless, the trans-Himalayan regions will have to assume dynamic importance at every level in the 21st Century. The region, once a crossroad of Asia, entails enormous significance for cultural and economic resurgence of Asia. It holds the key to sustenance of Asian culture, philosophy, tourism, environment (climate change), political and regional security.

At a time when the balance of power is shifting towards Asia, the Himalayan societies will have to factor themselves in the foreign policy perspectives of their respective nations, for it has geo-strategic value for all the concerned states. It remains a keystone and a source of regional stability. With potential increased tensions between India and Pakistan, it may also be time for an out-of-box settlement of the Kashmir issue. If not, such prolonged crises, whose ends are not in sight, also leave the other regions in a state of uncertainty, especially about their direction of developments.

ECONOMIC BRIDGE: REVIVING THE SILK ROUTE

At a time when the economies of the Asian countries are rising, the trans-Himalayan region could play an important bridge role in expanding India's economic and commercial interests across East and Central Asia. In the changed atmosphere, the region needs to focus on restoring the lost trade linkages while reconnecting itself to the Silk Route and beyond. Such viewpoints could be the kernel not only for broader atmospheric change but will also prove beneficial to all stakeholders. In fact, time has come to take benefit from China's economic achievements. China can offer better technology and experiences that other trans-Himalayan regions require.

The two major countries, India and China, should explore the possibility of converting the existing problems into opportunities. It is time that initiatives for cross-border activities are launched say by proposing a Regional Comprehensive

Economic Partnership (RCEP) scheme between India and China. The RCEP will help to create a regional market covering both sides of the Himalayas. In fact, both sides of the Himalayas historically formed a web of religious, political and commercial inter-relationships. Moreover, the interdependency was a geographically determined and more importantly, such a trans-border cultural environment enjoyed endorsement by both India and China prior to 1962 border conflict.

Even now, the issues could be resolved not so much by politico-military but through a well-calibrated cultural and economic means. A non-military approach might also work to end the current entanglement between the two countries. The RCEP may have huge advantage for India as increased cross-border connections will provide India enormous access to markets in Xinjiang and Tibet – both having huge demand for Indian consumer products.

A fresh approach is also required to seek benefits from cooperation with China. A cooperative approach should eventually pave the way for greater understanding and softening of the current standoff, thereby creating a positive atmosphere for the resolution of boundary issue. For India, a fresh thinking is required; any further delay could risk serious ramifications against China's increasing quest for strategic minerals and water resources.

THE HIMALAYAN SOFT POWER

One of the important and powerful dynamics that has taken shape in the trans-Himalayan region is the resurgence of Buddhism as a factor of cultural mobilization and economic growth. This is happening when the Buddha nature and its wisdom is ushering a speedy comeback on the world stage to meet the challenges of 21st century. A strong revivalism of Buddhism in the trans-Himalayan region is of great importance for restoring the lost traditional linkages between Asian societies. This will become a new factor in enhancing mutual interests, especially exploring new opportunities for cultural, economic and human development across the mountain ranges.

Moreover, Buddhism is making a speedy comeback albeit as a Brand symbol of rising India. Analysts have noted that Buddha-Industry could transform the lives of millions, providing lucrative career options to a large youth component of his land. India's corporate believes that the country is sitting atop millennia-old tourist mines. A recent study report suggested that Shakyamuni could potentially generate $1 billion revenue for the country.

Buddhism is speedily regaining its momentum in China as well. According to the Dalai Lama, China already has 400-500 million practitioners of Buddhism and will grow manifold in the coming years as China opens up.[1] More and more Buddhist temples are coming up in China with enormous support from the common people. It is here that the trans-Himalayan region play link role for the spiritual destinies of millions in Asia. One hopes that the Governments of India under the BJP displays more finesse and tangible actions in pursuing this important goal. In fact, lot more is required to conceptualize the relevance of Buddhism as a cultural complex in the contemporary times. More than its market import, Buddhism needs a cultural tagging - a source of knowledge–based soft-power lever.

Potentially, Buddhism has sufficient intellectual strength to affect the geopolitical trend in Asia besides the preservation of global peace. In fact, China is already trying to play a foremost role over Buddhism, at least on the Asian scene. Not only would it like to control the trend and nature of discourses on Buddhism but also use it as a vehicle of influence and instrument of pragmatism in major parts of Asia. For India, Buddhism was its ancient geopolitical tool and it could still use this wisdom to meet the challenges of the new millennium. The challenge before India is to retain its cultural leadership and play a meaningful role in shaping the course of this great phenomenon in the 21st century. Of course, both India and China require a synergy for a nuanced and adept policy pursuit in Asia.

Interestingly, Islam - another important religious faith finds embedded in the trans-Himalayan cultural complex. In fact, a range of historical and ethical association between Buddhist and Islamic principles continue to exist in the region as opposed to Western ethics. It is essential that some of the existing flawed Western interpretations of Asian history be revisited if a broader cohesion is to be brought about for a long-term peace and stability in Asia.

SUSTAINABLE CULTURAL TOURISM

A fresh policy approach is required to promote a brand of sustainable cultural tourism. China plans to invest $10 billion over the next five years to build several high profile infrastructure projects (roads, airports and hydropower stations) to develop the Kailash-Mansarovar region. It aims to develop the entire Menser-Gunsa and Rudog-Senge Tsangpo (Indus) corridor so that the Kailash-Mansarovar area - considered as a holy land for Buddhists, Hindus and Jainism becomes

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1.   The Dalai Lama said during the Kalachakra ceremony held in Leh in July 2014.

easily accessible. It appears that the goal is to attract China's own affluent tourists as well as international tourist traffic including Indian pilgrims to Western Tibet.

On the Indian side, Ladakh has come into sharp domestic and international tourist focus. The entire Indus corridor (Lamayuru-Nimu-Bazgo-Leh-Hemis-Nyoma) has become an attractive cultural tourism complex. Now that India too is developing infrastructure including circular roads and airports in Ladakh, the two countries could explore the possibility of jointly developing tourism industries so that they serve as engines of economic growth for Ladakh. In fact, as the flow of traffic from the West is gradually drying up, the vast Indian and Chinese domestic tourists could become huge prospects for the trans-Himalayan regions.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

Importantly, political stability, sustainable economic development, and environmental protection are interconnected issues for the trans-Himalayan region. Coordinated environmental policies are essential to mitigate the non-traditional security challenges such as climate change and natural disasters. Gradual glacial attrition from global warming means water scarcity in the Himalayas. The flow of Himalayan water is already becoming a critical issue. The possible diversion of the Brahmaputra River by China has raised eyebrows in India. However, the solution may not lay in politics but in culture. Just as the Mt. Kailash is the home of Lord Shiva, the Shuomatan Point or U-Bend of Brahmaputra is the home of *Vajra Yogini* – a sacred deity, worshipped by millions in both India and China. Therefore, the protection of environmental biodiversity and culture should become a keystone of policy planning. It should become an important step toward laying the platform for long-term stability and harmonious co-existence of diverse regions.

CONCLUSION

In the context of security, India and China finds locked in a boundary dispute across the Himalayan range. Efforts have been to draw a linear boundary across the Himalayas. They fail because the spatial reality here transcends political boundaries that both powers wish to delineate. Even the British strategic masters failed to draw a linear boundary and instead periodically laid emphasis on having buffer concept by dividing regions into inner and out zones. Even McMahon had to use a broad brush for drawing a line along the Himalayas that remains disputed even after one century. It is therefore imperative that India and China should give up seeking a geometrical linear boundary and instead opt for creating soft cultural frontier along the trans-Himalayan region. A gradual transformation of the long militarized boundary into a humanized frontier zone will serve the interests of India, China and the Himalayan people.

Geopolitics

HIMALAYAN FRONTIERS OF INDIA: SOME PERSPECTIVES

K. Warikoo*

ABSTRACT

This paper gives an overview of Himalayan geopolitics or neighbouring countries. Himalayas has been viewed as a defence shield by both India and China. The paper proposes the need for removing the existing bottlenecks in road, rail and communication linkages between the mainland of India and its Himalayan frontier outposts and even beyond, in order to turn the entire frontier belt into a bridge of friendship and cooperation.

Keywords: Baltitan, Ganga, Geo-strategy, Himalaya, Kailash, Kargil, Ladakh, Tibet, Mansarovar, Xinjiang.

INTRODUCTION

The Himalaya is the embodiment of divinity, of nature in its splendor and of culture in the deepest sense of the word. The Himalaya has been inextricably interwoven with the life and culture of India since time immemorial. It has been the repository of rich biodiversity, source of main river systems and glaciers and the symbol of India's spiritual and national consciousness. The geographical feature which dominates India most is the Himalayas, which has acted as a great natural frontier. Though geographically speaking Himalaya is embraced at its western and eastern extremities by the Indus and Brahamputra respectively, we can't isolate the Hindu Kush, Karakoram and Pamir region, which is continuous and interlocked with the great Himalayan mountain system. Stretching over a length of over 2,500 kms. in India from Kashmir in the west to Arunachal Pradesh in the east, the Himalayas have provided India with the natural and most formidable line of defence. However, the imposing geographical features of the Himalaya did not prevent this region from being a complex of cultural interaction, movement of races, overland trade and communication. The Himalayan region involves wide diversity of cultural patterns, languages, races and religious practices. Yet it has numerous common features like geographical contiguity, ecological adaptation based on uniform environmental features and a distinct pattern of hill economy. The Himalayan region has been the cradle from where ancient Indian culture including Mahayana Buddhism spread to different countries in Central, Southeast and East Asia. Such cross-cultural contacts were not confined only to religious philosophy of Mahayana Buddhism; these also included art, architecture, literature etc. Such movement produced a harmonious blend of cultures, arts, science and literatures. After the Chinese occupation of Tibet, Indian Himalaya became the last refuge of Buddhism. That explains the rationale behind the setting up of specialised Buddhist Studies Institutes in Ladakh, Gangtok and Arunachal Pradesh after late 1950s.

The importance of Himalaya as the natural frontier of India in the north is immersed in Indian ethos and psyche.

अस्त्य् उत्तरस्यां दिशि देवतात्मा हिमालयो नाम नगाधिराजः। पूर्वापरौ तोयनिधि विगाह्य स्थितः पृथिव्या इव मानदण्डः ॥ 1.1 ॥

(In the north (of our country) stands the Lord of Mountains and the very embodiment of divinity-the Himalaya. Like a measuring rod of the earth spanning the eastern and western oceans.)

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* **Professor K. Warikoo** is the Director, Central Asian Studies Programme, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi and Founder Editor, Himalayan and Central Asian Studies. He has been awarded NAIRAMDAL Friendship Medal of Mongolia, 2002 (Highest Mongolian Award for foreigners) and UNESCO Award of Hirayama Silk Road Fellowship, 1992. This paper is reproduced Courtsey: Warikoo, K.(2009). *Himalayan Frontiers of India: Historical, geo-political and strategic perspectives.* London, Routledge Taylor & Francis, 2009.

This is how Kalidas in his *Kumārasambhava* described the Himalaya as *devatma* a divine personality, and as the measuring rod spanning the eastern and western oceans, thereby pinpointing the northern frontiers of India. To the majority of Indians, Himalayas are mythical mountains referred to by the Vedas, Puranas and other scriptures. Himalaya is part of our history, tradition and cultural heritage. Most of our sacred shrines and places of pilgrimages are situated in the Himalayan heights. So much so, there is no fulfillment of life to an Indian without some sort of a Himalayan experience.

The very fact that boundaries of Tajikistan, Afghanistan, China, Pakistan, India and Myanmar converge along the Himalayas, lends a unique geo-strategic importance to this region. Its potential for instability and conflict is furthered by the ethnic-religious jigsaw prevailing in the Himalayas and trans-Himalayas where people of Buddhist, Hindu and Islamic faiths are concentrated in various areas and are vulnerable to extraneous influences. Major international land frontier disputes pertain to this area. Whereas India and Pakistan have been locked in a conflict over Kashmir since 1947, the Sino-Indian border dispute remains to be settled. Any cross-border fraternisation of people of Xinjiang and Tibet in China, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Indian Himalayas from Kashmir upto North East, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh and Myanmar, on ethnic and religious lines is a potential source of conflict in the region and a threat to the security of concerned states. With the disintegration of erstwhile USSR and the emergence of newly independent Central Asian states - all having predominantly Muslim population, a new geopolitical situation has arisen across the north-western Himalayas. Due to its geo-strategic proximity to South Asia and West Asia, Central Asia has emerged as a distinct geopolitical entity stimulating global attention and interest. The Central Asian Republics are in transition passing through an important phase of emerging and transforming into a new, social, political and economic order. All these Republics are engaged in building new national identities forming new patterns of alliances and associations and finding their place in the changed situation. The rise of Taliban to power in Kabul in September 1996, which turned Afghanistan into the centre of Islamist extremism, global terrorism, drugs and arms trafficking, brought the region into the focus of global attention. Establishment of an extremist Islamist order in Afghanistan and the active involvement of Islamist Afghan *Mujahedeen* in cross-border terrorism and *jihad* (Holy war), whether in the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir, Tajikistan or some other CIS countries, adversely affected regional security, peace and stability in the Himalayan and adjoining Central Asian region.

Though the Taliban, Osama bin Laden and his network were actively engaged in fanning Islamist extremism and terrorism in South Asia, Central Asia, South East Asia and also in the West, it was only after the dreadful terrorist strikes on World Trade Centre and Pentagon on 11 September 2001, that the United States and its western allies realized the severity of challenge posed by bin Laden, Al Qaeda and the Taliban. Even after more years of global campaign against terror, the Taliban and Al Qaeda cadres have not been vanquished. In fact the past two years has witnessed the resurgence of Taliban and Al Qaeda, imposing great challenge to sustainable security and peace in Afghanistan and the adjoining region.

Emergence of radical and extremist Islamist movements in West Asia, Central Asia, and South Asia and lately in South East Asia is the main source of instability and conflict in these regions. The rise of radical Islamic groups has been influenced by the leading ideologues of Islamic fundamentalist thought, Jamal-ud-Din Afghani (1839-1897), Maulana Abul Ali Mawdoodi (1903-79) the first Amir of the *Jamaat-e-Islami*, Ayatollah Khomeini (1909-89) leader of the *Islamic Revolutionary Party of Iran*, Hassan-al-Banna and Syed Qutb (1906-66) of the *Muslim Brotherhood* of Egypt. These ideologues advocated *jihad* (holy war) against non-Islamic societies and states. They emphasized that political power is indispensable to the establishment of an Islamic state. The concept of *Dar-el-Islam* and *Dar-el-Harb* and *jihad* (holy war) as advocated by the Islamists envisages a perpetual state of confrontation between Islamic and non-Islamic states. Though Muslims like any other non-Muslim have multiple identities – religious, ethnic, tribal, linguistic or territorial, their emphasis on the Islamic communal identity puts them in collision course with the state and other groups. Islamist intellectuals, *ulema* and activists have been seeking to blur the distinction between Islam as a religion and nationalism. They prop up the Islamic political consciousness by politicizing already existing religious traditions and practices and by resisting change and modernization. The concept of *umma* or *millat* is being invoked to abet, support and legitimize the secessionist movements of Muslims living in non-Muslim states. Syed Ali Shah Gilani of the *Jamaat-e-Islami* of Kashmir and prominent secessionist leader has been unambiguous in his statements declaring that "The Muslims (of Kashmir) were part of *Millat*.... This very feeling of being part of *Millat* attracts *mujahedeen* from Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Sudan etc. to Kashmir." (*Indian Express*, 4 January 2001). Gilani's pan-Islamism which is based on the concept of *millat/umma* transcending national boundaries is at the root of ongoing violence and turmoil in Kashmir. Gilani and his group are invoking the suzerainty of Muslim *millat* in repudiation of lawful democratic and secular polity and liberal and composite cultural tradition of *Kashmiriyat* based on indigenous history, culture and ethos of Kashmir.

Western Himalayas have served as the Gateway to India for numerous invasions and influences from Central Asia and West Asia. Even in contemporary times, India has had to experience successive military aggressions from Pakistan in 1947, 1965, 1971, 1999 (in Kargil) and now in the form of proxy war in Kashmir that has been going on for more than two decades, besides the Chinese military offensive in 1962 from across the Himalayas.

Taking the case of Ladakh, it enjoys a unique geo-strategic location, being bounded by Xinjiang in the north, Tibet in the east, Kashmir and Baltistan in the west, and Lahaul, Spiti, Kulu, Bushahr and Chamba in the south. Ladakh has played an important role in the history and culture of this frontier region. Enjoying a central position in the network of overland caravan routes that were linked to the Silk Route, Ladakh acted as an important gateway in the Indo-Central Asian exchange of men, materials and ideas through the ages. However, during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the extent and pattern of these exchanges was influenced on the one hand by the state of diplomatic relations between the three empires – Britain, Russia and China, and on the other hand by the level of influence exercised by the Dogra rulers of Jammu and Kashmir. Whereas 1830s witnessed the beginning of Great Game played by Britain and Russia in Central Asia, it was during this period that Ladakh became an object of Dogra expansion. In 1834 Ladakh came under Dogra control, and by 1840 the Dogra forces led by General Zorawar Singh had established their authority throughout Ladakh and Baltistan. In 1846, Ladakh became a part of the newly founded State of Jammu and Kashmir under the Dogra ruler Maharaja Gulab Singh and his successors. And after 1947, Ladakh including Kargil has been a province of Jammu and Kashmir State, with its borders abutting Xinjiang and Tibet regions of China to its north and east, and Baltistan in Pak-occupied Kashmir to its west.

Since a sizeable portion of Ladakh territory (Baltistan, Raskam, Aksai Chin) has been under the occupation of Pakistan and China after 1947-48, this remains an important issue of study and research by Indian scholars. It may be pointed out that the old established frontiers on the Tibet-Ladakh border were reaffirmed by the Peace Treaty signed between the Dogras and Tibetans in September 1842. The Tibetans also accepted the Dogras as the legitimate authority in Ladakh, and trade in shawl-wool and tea was continued in accordance with old customs via Ladakh. Similarly, Baltistan (Skardo) which was later occupied by Pak forces in 1947-48 and has ever since been part of Pak-occupied Kashmir/Northern Areas, remained part and parcel of Ladakh division of Jammu and Kashmir State under the Dogras. However, Lahaul and Spiti which were part of Raja Gulab Singh's territory of Ladakh were taken away by the British in 1846-47, and merged with the British possessions of Kangra in the Western Himalayas. Ladakh's distinct geo-cultural identity was consolidated by the Dogras who maintained a separate *Wazarat* for Ladakh and Baltistan.

The Dogra rulers followed a pro-active policy towards Central Asia, as they despatched several secret missions to Yarkand, Kashgar etc. through Ladakh to maintain friendly contacts with the neighbouring Central Asian chiefs and also to acquire political intelligence about the rapidly changing course of events in Central Asia. Indo-Central Asian trade was developed through Ladakh, as the Srinagar-Leh-Yarkand trade route was declared a Treaty Road in 1870 through an agreement concluded between Maharaja Ranbir Singh and the British. No duties on goods bound for Central Asia were levied on this route. Besides, two Joint Commissioners, one British and the other being the Maharaja's officer resident at Leh, were supervising the conduct of the Indo-Central Asian trade through Ladakh.

Ladakh maintained social, cultural and economic linkages with Western Tibet and also with the neighbouring principalities of Lahaul, Spiti, Kulu and Bushahr. The history of Ladakh's control over Gartok and Rudok in Western Tibet is a matter of importance. Minsar – an enclave of Dogras within Western Tibet used to pay revenue to the Dogras till early twentieth century. The British used Ladakh and adjoining areas in Gilgit, Skardo, Hunza and Chitral as '*frontier listening posts*' to monitor the developments in Central Asia and Xinjiang throughout the Dogra period.

Issues like Pakistan's aggression in Ladakh and Baltistan in 1947-48, the heroic resistance by Ladakhis, repulsion of Pak invasion, and also the circumstances leading to non-recovery of Baltistan/Skardo from the Pak control, became even more relevant during the Pakistani intrusion in Kargil in 1999 which further underscored the need for effective security management of Indian Himalayan frontiers. The Kargil crisis unleashed latent nationalism and fierce patriotism throughout India cutting across regional, religious and caste barriers. It also showed that how the people of India demonstrated exemplary courage, deep rooted sense of national unity and commitment to the territorial integrity of India and their resolve and willingness to sacrifice their lives for defending the Himalayan borders of India. It also brought into focus the vulnerability of Indian positions in Kashmir along the Srinagar-Dras-Kargil-Leh strategic highway, due to Pakistan controlling the heights overlooking this highway. It only shows, how unprepared Indian military and foreign office authorities were, at the time of delineating first the CFL in 1949 and later the LOC in 1971-72. Successive political leaders have allowed the battle to be lost at the table even if it was won at the battle front at high human costs.

In early twentieth century, Lord Curzon visualised the Himalayan regions of Ladakh, Sikkim, Bhutan and north east frontier as an "inner defence line for India protected by a Tibetan buffer region." Later China viewed Himalaya as its outer line of defence necessary for the protection of Chinese interests in Tibet. Some analysts even expressed the view that "To Communist China, the high plateau of Tibet is like the palm of the hand with Ladakh, Nepal, Sikkim, North East Frontier Agency as five fingers. China has the palm under its control; now it wants the strategic five fingers without which the palm is not very useful."[1]

The importance of the Himalayas as the protective barrier of India is enhanced by the vast expense of Tibetan plateau, whose elevation is above that of ordinary mountain ranges. In the words of K.M. Pannikar, "the plateau of Tibet has Kuenlun mountains as its boundary in the north, the Karakorum in the west and the south, and the east is equally mountain-bound. The mountainous area north of India has to be considered strategically as one-a great quadrilateral, the middle of which is an elevated plateau of 15,000 feet above sea level, and the southern ramparts, an invulnerable range of an average height of 20,000 feet. The area enclosed is 500,000 square miles, frightening and formidable in its geographical features, an arid waste, wind-swept and waterless where trees do not grow."[2] So inspite of the new and sophisticated advancements of weapon and communication technologies, the traditional importance of Himalayas as the land frontier and natural barrier has not been diminished. As Pannikar emphasises. "The essential point about the Himalayas is not their width of 150 miles, but the plateau behind it, which in itself is an elevation of about 15,000 feet and is guarded on all four sides by high mountains. In fact, the vast barrier upland behind the Himalayas provides the most magnificent defence in depth imaginable."[3]

The Tibet question has remained the focus of international and national attention with India hosting the Tibetan refugees for over four decades now. Whereas India has been generous to the Tibetan refugees providing land for settlement and avenues for their education and sustenance, India has not used their presence or that of the Tibetan Government –in-Exile at Dharamshala, as a bargaining chip in its dealings with China. This is despite the fact that the pro-Tibetan and pro-Western lobbies in India have been active in their sustained campaign impressing upon the Government of India to lend political support to the Tibetans' demand of independence and recognition of Tibetan Government- in -Exile. For the past few years, there has been a noticeable spurt in the involvement of some Buddhists of Indian Himalayas particularly in Ladakh, Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim and Arunachal Pradesh to press for this demand. Several forums such as Himalayan Committee for Action on Tibet, Himalayan Buddhist Cultural Association, Tibet Sangharsh Samiti, etc. have been formed, with their branches operating in all the states of Indian Himalayas. These forums have been pressing upon the Government of India to support Dalai Lama's proposals on Tibet and also to recognise the Tibetan Government –in- Exile headed by Dalai Lama. Besides, demands have been made to include Bhoti language in the VIII schedule of the Indian constitution, and also to provide for preservation and promotion of Tibetan and Himalayan art and culture.

The above mentioned facts need to be viewed in the light of sustained efforts by Tibetan scholars working in Dharamshala or in the west towards preparing a unified system of Tibetan language so that the same script, dialect etc. is applicable to all Tibetan speaking peoples whether in India, Tibet or elsewhere. Some western scholars have even advanced the theory of Shambala World, advocating unification of non-Chinese, non-Russian and non-Indian races in the Central Asian, Himalayan and trans-Himalayan region. This raises the question of Tibetanisation of society, culture and politics of the Indian Himalayas particularly in Ladakh, Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim, and Arunachal Pradesh etc. It has been noticed that Tibetan settlers in these parts do not use local dialects and seek to exercise their cultural superiority over the local Buddhist inhabitants, as they harbour an exalted view of Tibetan culture. Due to divergent modes of economic activity being followed by the Tibetan settlers and the indigenous Buddhists in the Indian Himalayas, the former being engaged in marketing and business activities and the latter being involved in primary agrarian economy, there have been social conflicts between these two culturally similar groups, with the locals viewing the Tibetan settlers as exploiters.

As a Ladakhi Buddhist scholar points out, "the intense Tibetanisation of the Himalayan region over the last two to three decades seems to have served China's interests well. The Dalai Lama has cleverly carved out space for himself through cultural and religious activities along the Himalayan belt from Arunachal Pradesh to Ladakh. To add to the list of dozens of Tibetan spiritual leaders having a foothold in the Himalayas, China is deliberately exporting more influential lamas into India, the most prominent of them being the Karmapa Lama. The fact that the fifth Dalai Lama was born in Tawang is being added to China's new articulation of its claim over Arunachal Pradesh…. There is no doubt that China's 'West Development Campaign' would enhance the scope for its influence across the Hiamlayas. The picture is getting increasingly confused along the Sino-Indian frontiers, and it could be that a solution to the Tibet problem would be found only at India's expense."[4]

Hence the need to settle the Sino-Indian border dispute in a manner that takes into account long term strategic and defence requirements of India. Whereas the political frontiers should be defined and delineated, Indian diplomacy and political leadership should ensure that such frontiers are not breached by any overt or covert operations by the enemy.

India and China, being the largest populated countries comprising nearly 40 per cent of the total humanity, are poised to achieve greater heights in their economic, industrial, technological and military prowess in the 21st century. Rich in human and material resources and having a wide diversity of peoples and cultures, both countries share a long history of historico-cultural interface. In the post-cold war era, both India and China can play a constructive role in maintaining peace and security in South and Central Asia, besides enhancing the prospects of bilateral trade, commerce and human development in these two countries.

Both India and China share similar views on major issues, particularly economic development, pursuit of economic, social and cultural rights, threats posed by drugs and arms trafficking, trans-border terrorism, religious extremism and ethnic-religious separatism to the territorial integrity of nation states. Yet, there remain substantial differences on the issues of Sino-Indian boundary and China's military and nuclear assistance to Pakistan, which continue to be a matter of concern in India. Though China claims that the boundary question is a legacy of the British rule in India, the fact remains that China has resolved its similar long standing boundary disputes with Mongolia, Russia, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. In these cases too, China had based its claims on the same premise that these border disputes were a legacy of the imperialist Tsars. Therefore, there seems to be no plausible reason as to why the Sino-Indian border issue can not be resolved after mutual negotiations to the satisfaction of both the parties.

It must be noted that China has brooked no outside interference on the question of its territorial integrity and under its 'One China Policy,' Tibet, Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia and Taiwan are integral parts of People's Republic of China. China is acutely conscious of the subversive role of Islamist extremists trained in Afghanistan and Pakistan in fuelling the Uyghur Muslim separatist movement in Xinjiang, which accounted for a series of riots, bomb blasts and killings during the year 1998. Riots recurred in February 1999 in Urumqi, the capital of Xinjiang. But it goes to the credit of the Chinese authorities that they took serious view of external support to the Uighur separatists and made Pakistan hand over to them the identified Islamist extremists who are later reported to have been punished by the death squads for their terrorist acts. At the diplomatic level China has seen to it that various countries including the newly independent Muslim Central Asian Republics have committed themselves to this 'One China Policy' and even undertaken not to support or encourage any ethnic-religious separatist movements by Uyghur, within their countries. Applying the same principle, China has since early 1990s shifted its earlier position on Kashmir and recognised bilateralism as the basis of resolving the issue between India and Pakistan. The Chinese Ambassador in India, Zhou Gang's statement in an interview to an Indian newspaper that "India and Pakistan peacefully resolve their differences including the Kashmir issue through talks"[5] only reiterates China's position on Kashmir.

Given these facts and the ongoing process of Sino-Indian dialogue at high official and political levels, following points merit consideration, among other things:

a)   Whereas the Nathu La border trade point in Sikkim has recently been opened, the traditional India-Central Asia overland trade routes via Leh, Yarkand, Kashgar and onwards to the Central Asian Republics, and Leh-Demchok-Gartok-Lhasa can also be considered for similar reopening.

b)   The proposal of Jammu and Kashmir government to open the Leh-Demchok route to Western Tibet as a viable and easier alternative route for pilgrimage to the Kailash-Mansarovar across the LOC in Ladakh be pursued and got accepted by the Chinese side. This will help in reducing the journey time and provide a safer passage to pilgrims. (More than 300 pilgrims had died due to landslides at Malpa in Uttarakhand in October 1998).

c)   There exist the possibilities of opening an oil/gas pipeline linkage across the LOC in Ladakh with the proposed Xinjiang - Kazakhstan pipeline, which needs to be studied.

That the former Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee in his address to the Combined Commanders' Conference on November 1, 2003 was quite forthright in underlining the need for pragmatic approach by India to finally resolve the Sino-Indian boundary question, is encouraging development. To quote Vajpayee, "our border with China has remained largely peaceful for the past few decades. During my recent visit to China, we agreed to raise our bilateral and economic cooperation to a qualitatively higher level. The decision to appoint special representatives to discuss the boundary question from a political perspective was a particularly significant measure. A final resolution of the boundary question would release considerable military energies and finances for more purposeful activities. It is, therefore, a strategic objective. To

achieve it, we should be willing to take pragmatic decisions."[6] Of late, India has woken up to the need for removing the existing bottlenecks in road, rail and communication linkages between the mainland of India and its Himalayan frontier outposts and even beyond in order to turn the entire frontier belt into a bridge of friendship and cooperation.

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WHY SIACHEN MATTERS TO INDIA

Nitin A.Gokhale*

EDITOR'S NOTE

Nitin A. Gokhale is an outstanding journalist covering strategic affairs for over three decades. He has been unravelling the emerging contours of conflict from Indo-Myanmar borders to Af-Pak borders and has developed a pan-Himalayan perspective towards geopolitics of the Himalayas. In this paper, he examines the importance of Siachen glacier for Indian defence and provides a critique against the voices for demilitarization being espoused by a section of South Asian intelligentsia.

INTRODUCTION

Fifteen years ago in the summer months of June and July Indian Army soldiers were doing their best to evict the Pakistani intruders from the heights of Kargil, Drass, and Batalik. It was not until 26 July 1999 that India called off Operation Vijay, after getting rid of the Pakistani intruders from the peaks that overlooked a crucial highway connecting the rest of India to Ladakh.

Over the years many strategic thinkers have analysed why Gen Pervez Musharraf chose to launch the Kargil misadventure and have come up with various explanations. To me, the most compelling reason Pakistan's then military ruler had in mind for this 1999 misadventure was the objective to cut off Ladakh from rest of India and thereby force withdrawal of the Indian Army from the Saltoro ridge which sits astride the Siachen glacier.

Pakistan has never been able to reconcile to the fact that the Indian Army raced to the top of the Saltoro ridge and occupied three of its important passes. This loss, in the eyes of the Pakistani Army is second only to its military defeat in 1971. Pervez Musharraf, as a brigadier had tried--unsuccessfully--to wrest Indian positions but had failed miserably.

In April 2012, Pakistan's then Army Chief Ashfaq Pervez Kayani suddenly called for demilitarisation of the Siachen glacier for the "development of Pakistan and environmental reasons." "*India and Pakistan must live in peaceful coexistence as defence without development is neither viable nor acceptable,*" he declared. He saw all issues dividing India and Pakistan as capable of resolution and Siachen and Sir Creek, as convenient starting points, low hanging fruits to be plucked as strong confidence building measures.

This was completely out of character and a major departure from Pakistan's position on the Siachen glacier.

BEGINNING OF THE RACE TO GLACIER

Actually it was the tragic death of 130 troops of the 6 Northern Light Infantry in a massive avalanche at Gayari on 7 April ,2012 which triggered Gen Kayani's new thought process. After visiting the site of the accident, Gen Kalyani spoke at Skardu about the need to demilitarise Siachen. He said Pakistan was not manning those treacherous heights out of choice. "*The world knows why we are in Siachen,*" reiterating Pakistani position that it was India which started the dispute in 1984.

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*Nitin A. Gokhale is the author of acclaimed work, *Beyond NJ 9842: The Siachen Saga* (2014). He is the Defence Editor at NDTV news channel, India and active in the field of journalism covering strategic issues for last three decades.

But even while announcing the desire to make peace with India on 'Siachen and Sir Creek', Gen Kayani was economical with the truth. The ground reality is that Pakistani troops are nowhere near the Siachen glacier. Their deployment is on the western slopes of the Saltoro ridge, far away from the glacier and at much lower altitudes.

Indian positions on the other hand are on absolutely dominating heights on the main passes of the Saltoro ridge,Sia La and Bilafond La. As far as Indian Army is concerned, it sees no need to withdraw from the commanding heights it controls given Pakistan's perfidy in the past, especially in Kargil when it tried to cut-off Siachen in the summer of 1999.

Three months after Gen Kayani made the offer to demilitarise Siachen, I was in Kargil, west of Siachen and at a much lower altitude along the Line of Control (LoC) with Pakistan. Every year on 26 July, the Indian Army celebrates its victory here. Having reported on the area for 45 days during the 1999 conflict, I try and visit Kargil every year to participate in the function that pays tribute to the 500 plus soldiers who died fighting the Pakistani intruders and eventually evicting them.

But in 2012, I had one more task at hand. I wanted to formally interview for NDTV, the channel I work for, Lt Gen KT Parnaik, a highly respected general and then India's Northern Army Commander.

The Northern Command, Indian Army's operationally most active command, has the unique task of guarding India's vast land borders with both China and Pakistan. Its responsibility stretches from the forbidding heights of Karakoram down to the plains of Jammu. Moreover, it has been involved in counter-insurgency operations against the infiltrating terrorists from Pakistan in the state of Jammu & Kashmir continuously for over a quarter century now. Of particular interest to me in 2012 however was Northern Command's reaction to Gen Kayani's rather unexpected call to try and 'resolve' Siachen.

As we sat down to record the interview, I worked through the usual questions about the threat posed by terrorists, the fragile peace in the Kashmir Valley and the deployment along the LoC. But I was actually itching to seek his answer on the Siachen issue. Finally I asked him: What is it that Indian Army is concerned about with respect to Siachen? His answer, later circulated widely, put paid to any hopes Pakistan may have had in India agreeing to demilitarise the Siachen glacier area.Gen Parnaik said:

"You see, to understand Siachen, I think one needs to be geographically oriented to the region. And let me simply put it, because I'm telling you without a map, that the Siachen Glacier is bounded to the west by the Saltoro Range, which is a very high range and to the east by the Karakoram Range and the Nubra River. So, per se Siachen Glacier is a sort of iced river, which flows in between them. The Saltoro Range actually provides domination of the entire area...There is a strategic implication of the Saltoro Range and the implication is you have the Pakistanis sitting in the northern areas, which we keep saying is an illegally occupied, it›s a Pakistan occupied Kashmir. Now out of the other areas that they have occupied, they have illegally ceded the Shaksgam Valley to the Chinese. Shaksgam Valley lies to the north of the glacier. And if Saltoro Range was held by the (Pakistanis), it practically enables them to bridge this Aksai Chin and northern areas gap, which is with China, and also exercise complete control over the Karakoram Pass. Therefore, strategically, it is an important area. And we feel, by holding these areas, we would effectively deny approaches to Kargil and Leh. Now, in security parlance, for the country it is of strategic importance. That is one reason. Second reason is that we have had a number of rounds of talks on this. A large number of solutions have been offered. One of the biggest issues that has not been resolved yet is that we insist that for anything to happen in Siachen, the Pakistanis must first accept the actual line of ground position and delineate the line along the positions that are being held by the troops today, both theirs and ours, as is, where is. They do not seem to be amenable to this sort of a thing. They continue to say that we should go back to 1971 and 1953, when this whole area was not demarcated, so you should vacate it. Don't forget, Kargil happened because of Siachen... If you peruse their own records, which are now public, one of the major objectives of what they did in Kargil was to force us to vacate the Siachen glacier. Now if that is their intent and that is their credibility, it is up to you to judge whether we should be really vacating the glacier or not.

As a follow up, my next question was: Does the Government understand these strategic implications?

Gen Parnaik said emphatically*: See, the offer that was made by the Pakistan Army Chief, probably in wake of the tragedy that took place in Gayari. If they find it difficult (to remain there) they are most welcome to withdraw to safe places. And let me assure you, the Indian Army has no evil designs to set across for those areas and capture those territories. This aspect is also well known to our leaders. So that is where it rests."*

In one short, swift answer, Gen Parnaik had demolished the case that was sought to be built by Gen Kayani that *both* India and Pakistan need to withdraw from Siachen! He was only reiterating what successive Army Chiefs and Northern Army Commanders have stated.

Over the past three decades, the Indian Army ably supported by the Indian Air Force has mastered the treacherous mountains and has evolved a *high altitude doctrine* that is the envy of the world. In the process, the Indian military has shed blood, made enormous sacrifices and braved the elements. No wonder, the military leadership has told the political executive time and again that it is against any withdrawal from the Saltoro ridge and Siachen glacier.

WHY DOES SIACHEN MATTER TO INDIA?

At the heart of the problem is the interpretation of the 1949 Karachi and 1972 Shimla agreements by both sides. During both these negotiations, India and Pakistan demarcated their borders only up to Point NJ 9842. This includes the 772 km Ceasefire Line in 1949, now known as the LoC or Line-of-Control. It was stated in the agreements that the border would run "thence north" from map grid reference NJ 9842.

The Cease-Fire Agreement was signed in Karachi by top military representatives of India and Pakistan and the UN Military Observer Group. The purpose of the Karachi meeting (July 18 to 27) was to establish "a ceasefire line in the State of J&K" in pursuance of Part I of the key UN resolution of August 13, 1948 that prescribed a ceasefire. Present at the Karachi Conference were members of the Truce Committee of the UN Commission for India and Pakistan, Hernando Semper of Colombia (Chairman), William L.S. Williams (U.S), Lt-Gen Maurice Delvoie, Military Adviser; and Miguel A. Martin (Legal Adviser). Pakistan was represented by Maj. Gen W.J. Cawthorn, Maj. Gen Nazir Ahmad, Brigadier Sher Khan and a couple of observers. Representing India were Lt. Gen S.M Shrinagesh, Maj. Gen K.S. Thimayya and Brigadier Sam Manekshaw, with H.M Patel and Vishnu Sahay as observers.

The Karachi Agreement delineated the entire CFL, demarcating over 740 km on the ground. With the CFL increasingly running through high mountains and glaciated areas as it traversed north, it often followed a directional path in the absence of clear landmarks. Thus, finally, "Chalunka(on the Shyok River), Khor, thence North to the glaciers," passing through grid reference NJ 9842. The segment beyond NJ 9842 was by mutual agreement not demarcated on the ground, being a highly elevated, glaciated, unexplored and unpopulated region that had not witnessed any fighting. A plebiscite was soon to follow and the matter, it was assumed, would soon be settled.

The delineation of the northern-most segment of the CFL was, however, unambiguous: NJ 9842, "thence north to the glaciers". If every one of 30 or more earlier directional commands were meticulously followed in tracing the CFL, there was no reason whatsoever for any departure from this norm in the case of the very last command. "Thence North", could only mean due north to wherever the boundary of J&K State lay. The very next section crucially directed that "the ceasefire line described above" be drawn "so as to eliminate any no man's land". Therefore, the Line, whether delineated or demarcated could in no way be left hanging in the air.

The Cease Fire Line was ratified by both sides. Twenty-three years later, it was revalidated as the Line of Control by the Suchetgarh Agreement of December 1972, in the wake of the Shimla Agreement between Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. Both sides also agreed in the LoC, the military gains made by either side in J&K in the 1971 war. Thus in the Kargil-Siachen sector, all territorial gains went entirely to India which acquired the Turtuk comprising five villages (Chalunka, Thang, Tyakshi, Pharol and Turtok) just south and west of NJ 9842. This modest but important military acquisition provided India an additional territorial bulwark against hostile cartographic or physical claims on Siachen.

While India interprets this to mean due north (along the ridge line, as is the international convention), leading to the northern tip of the Saltoro ridge known as Indira Col., Pakistan claims that the line should run northeast towards the Karakoram Pass which leads into Tibet.

As many officers who have served on the glacier and in the Northern Command have pointed out time and again, occupation of the Saltoro and Siachen provides a buffer to Ladakh and in military parlance, the much needed depth to important mountain passes that are gateways to Ladakh and onto Kashmir. There are other reasons too why Siachen or Saltoro to be more precise cannot be vacated. For instance:

- It will enable widening of the China-Pakistan handshake (collusive threat) to include Gilgit-Baltistan (reportedly being leased out by Pakistan to China for 50 years),Shaksgam Valley (already ceded by Pakistan to China in 1963), Saltoro-Siachen region (that Pakistan may reoccupy through "Kashmiri Freedom Fighters" or cede to China),

own Sub Sector North (SSN) east of Siachen with Chinese sitting on the northern slopes of the Karakoram Pass if not on top of it already, and Aksai Chin already under Chinese occupation.

• SSN and Eastern Ladakh will become focused objectives of Chinese strategic ‹acupuncture›. Defence potential of SSN will be totally degraded with western flank exposed and KK Pass to north, which India stopped patrolling years back for fear of annoying the dragon. We continue to remain thin in Eastern Ladakh against Chinese threat via Aksai Chin – heightened more now with possibility of two front war.

• India's next line of defence will perforce base on Ladakh Range with possibility of Leh coming within enemy artillery range.

• Ladakh and Zanskar Ranges will be targeted for terrorism by ISI nurtured groups while Pakistan will say they are 'out of control'.

There are however, a number of 'experts' who argue that it is futile to hold on to the positions on the Saltoro ridgeline because they are important only tactically and have no strategic significance. As one Indian Army officer has written: "They are obviously unaware of the prevailing conditions in Siachen. If ever there was a tactical gain that was instrumental in providing exponential dividend to a strategic cause, this is the one."

Through innovation, hard work and sustained effort to improve the situation, the Indian Army has established such strong, controlling position that it enjoys overwhelming operational and psychological superiority in Siachen. It would be a folly to give up the advantage. Self-proclaimed analysts have put forward arguments in favour of demilitarising Siachen citing the high human and material cost that the Indian military has to pay.

Let us examine the costs. Between 1984 and 2007, the Parliament was told that 884 Indian soldiers were killed and 13,022 wounded. That makes it an average of 38 dead in a year and 550 plus wounded. But the figures don't reflect the fact that since the ceasefire agreement between India and Pakistan went into effect in 2003, battle casualties are down to zero. Even the weather casualties are now down to single digit on an average in a year. This is a sea change from the first two decades of the conflict when the weather and battle casualties both were high.

Financially, India has reportedly spent over Rs 8,000 crores since 1984 in *Operation Meghdoot*. The recurring costs today are pegged at about Rs 365 crores. This is no financial burden for a military that has an annual budget of Rs 2, 24,000 crore or about 38 billion dollars (2014).

Infrastructure in the Siachen sector has developed over the years. Pipelines for kerosene and water have been laid and better facilities have been organised in every sphere of activity. Therefore, the expenditure incurred now is more in the form of maintenance and regular improvements. Over the years, the improvement in living conditions, health facilities and communication have reduced the attrition rate significantly. Today, financial and human costs in Operation Meghdoot are sustainable.

DEMILITARIZATION: PRELUDE TO PEACENIK'S IDEA OF PEACE PEAK?

In view of Siachen being strategically important for India's northern parts, why is there fresh clamour for demilitarising Siachen? More importantly, can it be done? Several experts have weighed in on the issue and as in every other issue concerning India and Pakistan; the opinion is divided right down the middle.

De-militarisation by itself is a process that consists of several logical steps: ceasefire, authentication, demarcation, withdrawal, re-deployment and verification. This concept, everyone agrees, is the best possible solution. But, why is there no forward movement?

The primary cause of disconnect is the sequence of the process of de-militarisation. India insists on authentication of current troops' position as the first step. The Pakistanis want the Indian troops to withdraw to pre-1972 positions before any further discussions can take place.

Then there is the question of trust.

What if the agreement is flouted and the positions are occupied by the Pakistan Army? The level of mistrust between India and Pakistan in general, and the Indian and Pakistani Security Forces in particular is deep-rooted and cannot be overturned so easily.

Yet there are many 'peaceniks' who propose a unilateral withdrawal from Siachen, among them military officers who professed to be hawks while in service but who turned doves when out of it.

Several diplomats and analysts have said India must recognise Pakistan's compulsions and offer a face-saving formula so that the agreement on Siachen does not look like a defeat for the Pakistani Army. This is utter nonsense. If Pakistan wants demilitarisation of Saltoro-Siachen, it must first accept the fact that Pakistani Army troops are *NOWHERE NEAR THE SIACHEN GLACIER.*

More pragmatic military leaders like retired Lt Gen RK Nanavatty have suggested a practical formula. He says: "India's approach towards a final settlement should be based on demilitarisation of limited and well-defined mutually agreed prescribed area." Essential steps for this, he says begin with a political agreement followed by a formal ceasefire, delimitation, demarcation, disengagement, redeployment and verification. "The bottom-line", according to General Nanavatty, "is that any peaceful resolution of Indo-Pakistan disputes is possible only when the two countries cease to view each other as military adversaries."

Officially too, India and Pakistan continue to hold dialogue over Siachen. Between 1986 and 2012, 13 rounds of talks have been held. Twice, past reports suggest, both countries came close to an agreement but political considerations rather than military compulsions prevented any final breakthrough. As Gen Raghavan said a decade ago: "The assumption that demilitarisation is being hampered by military obduracy is, of course a misplaced one. The record of negotiations (between 1986 and 2003) on Siachen is evidence enough of the political problems in bringing about demilitarisation."

FLUTTERING TRICOLOUR ATOP SIACHEN

The civilian leadership in India has so far backed the military's stand. To give up a dominant military position on Siachen without iron-clad guarantees from a revanchist enemy would be a fool's errand especially in view of the enormous sacrifices and hardships that the Indian soldiers have braved in these past three decades to defend Siachen and to keep the Indian flag flying.

EMPOWERING THE KASHMIRIS

Iftikhar Gilani*

EDITOR'S NOTE

Iftikhar Gilani is a leading journalist from the state of Jammu and Kashmir. He has firsthand account of the rise of militancy in the state when he was working with the popular English daily, Kashmir Times. He has faced difficulties in personal life for being an articulate, objective voice on the Kashmir situation. Issue of militancy in the state of J&K is often mentioned as Asia's hottest flashpoint between two nuclear-armed neighbors. The state appears as the crown in the relief map of Indian subcontinent and as the head of the Himalayan ranges that runs southeastwards, branching further down from Assam into the Bay of Bengal. Resolving crisis in Kashmir is akin to stabilizing the Himalayan arc. In this paper, Iftikhar Gilani proposes the harmonious regional development through devolution of political power as panacea for the continuing imbroglio.

Keywords: alienation**,** Amarnath**,** CBM insurgency, Ladakh, Peoples Democratic Party (PDP), regional development.

INTRODUCTION

Insurgencies as well as popular unrests are generally rooted in political, social and economic deprivations, which in turn lead to the alienation and estrangement of a community. In Kashmir this alienation and unrest date back to, and are linked with, the events that led to partition of the sub-continent or its accession to the Indian Union. A popular sentiment seeking empowerment of the Muslim Kashmiris of the state was there for over past five centuries and it took firm roots during the Dogra rule (1846-1947). In some areas like Poonch, Mirpur, Gilgit and Muzaffarabad, Muslims of the state had taken to armed rebellion against the Dogra kings. History is full of political deprivation and poverty of Kashmiri people during most of the time of their subjugation by the Mughals, the Pathans, the Sikhs and later the Dogras.

Ironically, this estrangement continued even under the democratic rule after the Accession; while other Indian states prospered, Jammu and Kashmir has been haunted by political instability. It has turned into a landlocked region with its connections with the external world as well as other areas within the state severely impaired by heavy military presence. This has inevitably led to a feeling of insecurity and alienation amongst the people. Surprisingly, almost 67-summers later, there is little or no realization in New Delhi about the depth of the Kashmiri estrangement. Most attempts to understand its causes often get bogged down in the debates about accession, and India-Pakistan relations. All the cures prescribed over the years have failed miserably. Prof. Hiren Mukherjee wrote, "Even today, perhaps the best of us do not quite realize the depth of Kashmiri alienation and are unready to ponder ways and means of overcoming it." (*The Times of India*, February 25, 1994). Even several staunch proclaimed pro-India leaders from the state have not taken care to bridge this gap between New Delhi and the people of Kashmir. Instead, they have chosen to stoke the fires whenever they have gone out of power. For example, on November 19, 2007 (in Jammu) and later December 5, 2007 (in Srinagar), the former Union Minister Dr. Farooq Abdullah raised doubts at the legality and utility of Accession. This was also the case with his father Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, who played a major role in the process of accession.

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*Iftikhar Gilani is one of the top most political commentators on Kashmir. He has authored several books including best-seller, *My Days in Prison* (Penguin,2005). Presently, he is the Bureau Chief, Delhi Bureau of a national English newspaper, *DNA*.

Chronic political instability coupled with a fatal mix of repression, corruption, electoral fraud and denial of basic rights by leaders of the state known for their links to New Delhi, have led to popular rebellions in the past, i.e., the Hazratbal holy relic controversy in 1963, the massive electoral fraud in 1987, Amarnath land row agitation in 2008, the public outcry on rape and murder of two women in Shopian in 2009 and the popular uprising in June 2010. Mere propaganda by "fundamentalists" or the external hand cannot foster and sustain popular insurgencies for long. As noted author on Kashmir affairs A. G. Noorani stated: "*India produced the alienation, Pakistan provided the gun*". The alienation has only deepened over the last two decades.

This also explains why many Kashmiri parties have failed to own their responsibility for the mess they often create leaving New Delhi to manage the crisis on its own. Rather they choose either to flee the scene or to side with the people for their political gains. The Amarnath land row in 2008 saw both the National Conference (NC) and the Peoples' Democratic Party (PDP) siding with the separatists. In 1989, then Chief Minister Dr. Farooq Abdullah not only resigned but took the next flight to London leaving New Delhi high and dry to take on agitating people and the rising militancy.

THE POLITICAL DIVISION IN KASHMIR

The political landscape in Kashmir is broadly divided into two camps— anti-India and anti-New Delhi or anti-Centre. Genuine pro-India nationalist parties like the Congress and the BJP are still to find roots in majority of the population, though they may have won few seats in the elections. Fortunately for New Delhi, anti-India camp has always remained divided since 1947. The radical Muslim Conference lost its grip with the flight of its top leadership, like Chaudhry Ghulam Abbas and Mirwaiz Yusuf Shah, to Pakistan after the Lashkar invasion of Kashmir in 1947. The moderate anti-Delhi camp led by National Conference (NC) claimed sole leadership politically till the emergence of Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) in the late 1990s. Both these parties emphasize on Kashmiri nationalism and identity and favour limited accession with India. But in the event of any mass agitation, lines of division between these two camps get blurred. Both the NC and the PDP have never attempted to bring Kashmiri populace close to Indian mainstream, even though they assumed power and ruled with the blessings of New Delhi.

The current Chief Minister Omar Abdullah wrote about his own uncle and NC General Secretary Sheikh Nazir Ahmed few years ago, and mentioned how he hated the words 'India' and 'Indian'. He says in his blog for example:

> *"I have an uncle who more often than not I disagree with but I admire the conviction he has - he disagrees with what happened in 1947 and subsequent events and so refuses to carry a passport. He has never applied for one. For the longest time he never left the state and only travelled by road between Jammu and Srinagar because he refused to travel on 'Indian' Airlines."*

Addressing this estrangement needs a variety of sustained multi-track initiatives, both in the realm of security and political affairs of the state. In 2002, Government of India tried to provide a semblance of respect for the people's verdict, which ended the monopoly of National Conference (NC) as being the sole political face of India in Kashmir. A strict message from Delhi was given to ensure free and fair elections. Though participation was not very high, at least the process continued. After cohabitation with the PDP for one term (2002-2008), the Congress party which ran the UPA coalition at the centre chose to enter into an alliance with the NC after the 2008 elections. But, this month the alliance with NC has broken after change in power equation at the centre.

THE POLITICAL CAUSES

As per 2001 census, Kashmir Valley had a population of 5.4 million. The total number of electorates in November 2008 was 32,60 663.In the last elections, the PDP got 28.5 per cent of popular votes, but got only 21 seats, whereas the NC got 27.5 per cent votes, and bagged 28 seats. There is also a perception in the valley that Omar Abdullah was selected as the Chief Minister not by his party or the people of the state but the inner coteries within the Congress party in New Delhi. It was rumoured that young but influential Congress leaders like Sachin Pilot (who happens to be Omar Abdullah's brother in law) and Rahul Gandhi had already declared Omar as their chief ministerial candidate before the elections. In fact, two months before the polls in October 2008, former intelligence Chief A. S. Dulat, a long-time friend of the Abdullahs, had declared Omar as the CM, in a TV show, which NC had strongly contested. It is strange that there was nobody to point out to the young guns in Congress that historically, the coalition between NC and Congress has always proved disastrous for Kashmir. Coincidentally, Sachin Pilot's father, Late Rajesh Pilot had scripted the famous Rajiv-Farooq accord 20 years ago, which had also proved catastrophic for the state and gave birth to militancy. The pattern was repeated in 2013 elections and ascendance of junior Abdullah in political spectrum of J&K is complete.

GOVERNANCE DEFICIT

On September 13, 2010 the Cabinet Committee on Security (CCS) in its meeting in New Delhi acknowledged "trust deficit" and "governance deficit" as two big problems afflicting the state and leading to political turmoil. Ironically, the CBMs announced a fortnight later did not announce any step to bridge the "governance deficit". Though, Kashmir has never been a well-governed state, the absence of Chief Minister Omar Abdullah from the capital at crucial moments has made the situation worse.

Moreover, Omar's the then alliance partner, the Congress party, started openly questioning his style of functioning. His Ladakh trip in the last week of June 2010, when Srinagar was on boil had jilted the administration. And instead of returning to Srinagar from Ladakh, he reportedly switched off his wireless set and his mobile phone and drove away with his family to Kulu-Manali. After five days, he rang up his office for a helicopter to be sent to Manali to airlift him. There is even talk about the state helicopter making nine sorties to airlift relatives of Payal Singh, wife of the Chief Minister, for visiting Ladakh monasteries.

Again, when Srinagar was up in flames in July 2010, CM was spending his weekend in Gulmarg. But this time, he took the helicopter on Sunday morning, reached Srinagar and headed cabinet meeting at the airport itself. The Cabinet meeting ordered transfer of the SSP of Srinagar. And after the meeting, he returned to Gulmarg in the same helicopter to spend rest of the weekend there.

Omar Abdullah may be an ideal nationalist and a secular Muslim show boy for New Delhi, but his acceptability is very low in the state, and especially in the valley. There is a constant refrain in the valley that even after having spent 10 years in politics, he is unable to speak Kashmiri, and, therefore, cannot effectively communicate with his cadres and local people.

There is also strong perception in Srinagar today that no amount of CBM would work in Kashmir in the absence of governance. The primary problem of a shaky and irresponsive administration has to be addressed on an urgent basis. Rather than expecting the intermittent unrest to die down due to fatigue, the central government should ensure redressal of the genuine grievances of the people on a proactive basis.

Besides governance, the CBMs introduced by New Delhi have not answered the popular clamour for justice and dignity. People in the valley allege that 15 police personal were suspended for throwing a shoe at the CM, while no action has been taken against any erring security personnel for killing over 100 people. Anantnag was a case of gross highhandedness, where even the CM admitted that the two boys had been shot dead inside their houses in cold blood. But, instead of bringing the police officer to justice, he was transferred out of Anantnag to Srinagar. No action was taken against any official in a similar case in the state, simply because the person leading the arson happed to be a block level president of the ruling NC.

Interestingly, Omar Abdulla told a selected group of journalists some years ago that he had unmatched access to the power corridors of Delhi, the kind of access no Chief Minister of Jammu and Kashmir had ever enjoyed in the past. So he believed he was the best suited to settle the issue of Kashmir. He also claimed that the Congress president had promised him every support even at the cost of her own party's interest in the state. This may be true because, despite his grave mistakes, Omar had not suffered the fate of his predecessors from Khawja Shamsuddin to Farooq Abdullah who were shown the door for even minor follies. It is well known that then Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru had also packed Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad out of Kashmir politics following the agitation over the theft of the holy relic in 1963, on the advice of B N Mulick, then chief of Intelligence Bureau.

WHAT AILS KASHMIR?

Kashmiri Muslims suffer from a psychological, emotional, political and historical complex which prompts them to believe that they have been progressively disempowered over the past 450-years. India has so far failed to address this problem even under a democratic system. Kashmiri Muslim sub-nationalism could have existed within the idea of India as Tamil, Telugu or Bengali nationalism. Unlike rest of country, however, Kashmiris still feel they are reeling under 'occupation'. The Kashmiris had a hero in Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah. But they now feel that even he could not bring dignity to them. He had his chances during a time when the machinations of the forces from across the border were at an all time low. However, his dictatorial manners and his aversion for dissent came in the way of consolidation of democratic process in the state. He left a flawed legacy which led to popular alienation, primarily because of the corrupt and venal administration by the NC government headed by his son and the massive electoral rigging of 1987. Forces across the border were only too pleased to fish in troubled waters; the militancy they introduced in Kashmir continues till today.

Nevertheless, there were moments of glory too. Kashmir has witnessed free and fair elections in 1977 and 2002; and it had shown results. But no effort was made to capitalize on those brief periods of sanity. If Shiekh Abdullah squandered it away in 1977, the Congress party in the state has harmed its prospects by aligning with the NC, especially after a rather successful alliance with PDP.

PRISONER'S MINDSET

Another pertinent issue in Kashmir is that of a prisoner's mindset. It is not just because of the presence of the security forces, but because of closing of traditional routes linking it with the external world. Traditional crafts of Kashmir whether shawl or carpets, still depend on raw materials exported from or smuggled through Nepal from Tibet, China and Gilgit. Shahtoosh (king of fine wool) has become extinct as there was no access to the areas where captive breeding Chiru or wild goat can take place. Cross-border linkages encouraged by the governments of Atal Bihari Vajpayee and Manmohan Singh might result in legal trade in such raw materials quite vital for the growth of the local handicraft industry in Kashmir.

REGIONAL EMPOWERMENT

Decentralising powers to different regions of Kashmir through regional councils could play a great role in overall empowerment of the population. In 1993 a notification issued by then Governor established a regional council in Ladakh. The idea was extended in 2002 to Kargil. These councils have been quite successful in meeting regional aspirations. There is a need to extend this experiment to other regions and sub-regions. It may be useful to set up at least six more council, i.e., three each in Jammu and Kashmir regions. This may go a long way in addressing the issue of regional disparity. The separatists may then be encouraged to contest in these local councils which will help the process of mainstreaming of these forces. An ideal way could be to follow Northern Ireland lesson in this process. The regions suggested here are:

Table 1: Decentralizing Power Through New Councils

Name of the Region	Sub-region	Ethnic Dominance
Kashmir Valley	North Kashmir	Mixed population
	South Kashmir	Kashmiri dominated
	Central Kashmir	Kashmiri dominated
Jammu Region	Poonch-Rajouri	Gujaar dominated
	Peerpanchal Doda, Kishtwar	Pahari dominated
	Jammu-Kathua, Udhampur	Dogra dominated

Devolution of power through regional councils will also enable local communities to address their own grievances through their representatives. This will put paid to allegations of dominance or bullying by one community over the other in the system.

Such innovative initiatives must be taken up in a sustained and consistent manner, which may help address the issue of progressive estrangement of the population. As noted journalist Ajit Bhatacharjee writes, "Events have made it clear that people of Kashmir are alienated from New Delhi and will not accept its domination. They have lost faith in New Delhi's word. At the same time, resentment is growing against militants, and their Pakistani supporters, for the sufferings they have brought without achieving anything. Therefore, an effective self-governance without amounting to secession from India is need of the hour." The time has really come for empowering the people of the Jammu and Kashmir through realistic and practicable steps. New Delhi, Islamabad and Kashmiris must contribute to this process in the interest of peace.

Education

CULTURAL CONTINUITY AND SCHOOL EDUCATION IN BHUTAN: CURRENT INITIATIVES, CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

Dr. Dorji Thinley*

ABSTRACT

Globalization can promote cultural understanding and empathy among nations and spread the values of democracy and diversity. It also - and paradoxically so - homogenizes cultures and causes the loss and disappearance of lesser known languages and their cultures, especially those that exist in the oral form. Fortunately in Bhutan, cultural preservation and promotion is pursued as one of the four pillars of the country's development philosophy of Gross National Happiness (GNH). Government policy recognizes children and teachers as the custodians of culture and the catalysts of cultural transmission, respectively. They are therefore the key to addressing the cultural consequences of globalization and ensuring intergenerational continuity and influence of the Bhutanese cultural heritage. Policy envisages that the "country's rich traditions, values, ideals and beliefs must ideally live on in the minds of Bhutanese youths [youth]", so that these traditions continue to inspire their thoughts and actions and enable them to make "ethical and moral choices" in their lives (GNHC, 2009a, p. 20). Since teachers' influence has a direct bearing on the students' lives, their role is considered vital for instilling in young people an understanding and appreciation of Bhutanese culture and heritage through the curricula they study in school and university. These overarching policy visions influence the approach to school and tertiary education in Bhutan. The purpose of this paper is to highlight the interaction of culture and education in Bhutanese schools in light of current initiatives and to foster reflection and future action.

Keywords: children, culture, cultural preservation curriculum, diversity, education,globalization, Gross National Happiness (GNH), pedagogy, values.

INTRODUCTION

Often perceived as a land shrouded in myths, lore and legends - and now as a country in pursuit of happiness - in the high Himalayas, Bhutan is one of Asia's smallest nations with a population of less than a million people. Article 9 of Bhutan's Constitution states that "The state shall strive to promote those conditions that will enable the pursuit of Gross National Happiness … the true and sustainable development of a good and compassionate society rooted in Buddhist ethos and universal human values". Bhutan's development philosophy of Gross National Happiness (GNH) is founded on the values of sustainable economic growth, environmental conservation, promotion of cultural heritage, and good governance (MOE, 2009, p.10; RGOB, 2013, p. vii).

Guided by this goal, the process of development - social, economic, environmental and political - is hinged on the need to create positive conditions that enable and maximize the experience of happiness (DPT, 2008, p. 13; PDP, 2008, p.

* Dr Dorji Thinley is the Director of Research and External Relations in the Royal University of Bhutan. He has a PhD (with *Cum Laude*) from the University of New England, Australia. He is leading the establishment of an *Institute for GNH (Gross National Happiness) Studies*, in the Royal University of Bhutan. His recent book is titled, '*Improving Women's Participation in Local Governance: A Explorative Study of Women's Leadership Journeys in Eight Districts of Bhutan*' (2014). Email: dthinley6789@gmail.com

4; RGOB, 1999, p. 45). Inevitably, education is considered imperative for effectively pursuing this national aspiration. In the Bhutanese context, therefore, it is difficult to discuss education and culture independently of each other because the two are inextricably linked, each reinforcing the other.

Culture and education, the wider context of this paper, are among the nine principal domains of GNH, the others being psychological well-being, health, time use, good governance, ecology, living standards, and community vitality (Ura, 2009, pp. 32-53). Significantly, the preservation and promotion of cultural heritage is also the third of the four pillars that support GNH. As this paper is centred on the preservation and promotion of cultural heritage through education, it is necessary to understand how culture relates to happiness. The policy perspective on happiness, for example, considers the preservation and promotion of culture as imperative for meeting the "spiritual and emotional needs of our people and in cushioning ourselves from some of the negative impacts of modernization" (RGOB, 2005, p. 70).

While culture is a highly contested term, in this paper it is considered in the context of policy. Viewed from the policy perspective, cultures manifest in two forms, the physical form and the abstract form, often known as 'tangible' and 'intangible' cultures respectively. While the tangible forms are to be seen in terms of customs, crafts, rituals, symbols, traditional sports, astrology, folklore, myths, legends, poetry, drama, to mention a few (RGOB, 1999, p. 65), the intangible forms include values, norms, attitudes, worldviews, moral and ethical choices, sense of right and wrong, among others (RGOB, 1999, p. 65). Although not very different from the tangible-intangible mode of differentiation, Ura (2009, p. 53) considers two categories of culture within the culture domain of GNH. He classifies the more physical ones as 'actions and practices', including in it dialect proficiency, arts and architecture, traditional games and sports, *Tshechus* (festivals), and artisans, and the more abstract ones as "values" and includes in this category notions of identity, dignity, non-alienation, and diversity. This paper highlights the complementarities of two important dimensions of the philosophy of Gross National Happiness - culture and education.

EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN BHUTAN

Although modern education with structured curricula and pedagogies (influenced largely by the epistemology of monastic training) began in Bhutan as early as 1913 during the reign of its first King (MOE, 2013a, p. xvii-xxiv), a formal system of secular education as a national initiative was introduced only in the 1960s. The latter period was a time in Bhutanese history when the country opened itself up to the outside world, introduced social, political and judicial reforms, and launched its first economic development plan.

With the launch of planned development initiatives, the need to engage its citizens in nation building, and increased interaction with the global community, the urgency to develop its human resource capability was felt like never before. Accordingly, in 1965 Bhutan's first public school - Thimphu Public School - was established with English as the medium of instruction (MOE, 2013a, p. xxiv). The following decades saw the establishment of schools and higher education institutions throughout the country. For example, a teacher training institute was established in 1968 in Samtse in south Bhutan which became a degree granting institution in 1984. Earlier in 1983, Sherubtse College in East Bhutan had become the country's first university college offering undergraduate courses. In 2003, the Royal University of Bhutan was established as a federated national university with the aim to "promote the cultural enrichment, personal development and wellbeing" of the Bhutanese people (RUB, 2008, p. 2).

Beginning in the 1960s with only a few schools for the entire country, Bhutan's educational system has developed by leaps and bounds. Today the country has a well developed educational system that provides free education to all children of school- going age up to tenth standard and access to university education. For example, the Royal University of Bhutan alone provides opportunities for higher education to about 30% of the Kingdom's higher secondary graduates. It has also has achieved 95 per cent primary school enrolment (MOE, 2013a, p. xiii), thus responding extremely well to the UN millennium development goal of education for all. As compared with only one school in 1914 and just a few in the 1960s, Bhutan today has over 2000 educational institutions, including primary, middle and secondary schools, vocational institutes, early childhood care and development centres, continuing education centres, non-formal education centres, extended classrooms, special institutes, higher education institutions, and others (MOE, 2013a).

EDUCATING FOR GROSS NATIONAL HAPPINESS

Today, the country's national vision of education is to see the development of "an educated and enlightened society of *gyalyong gakid pelzom* [Gross National Happiness], at peace with itself, at peace with the world, built and sustained by the idealism and the creative enterprise of our citizens" (MOE, 2013b, p, v). As evident in the country's national vision of education as well as the Royal University of Bhutan's institutional goal of "cultural enrichment, personal

development and wellbeing" (RUB, 2008, p. 2), the transmission and internalization of the country's rich cultural values is an indispensable element of school and tertiary education in Bhutan. In 2009 the Bhutanese government declared that infusing the values and principles of Gross National Happiness into the country's educational system was a top priority (MOE, 2009, p. 11). Accordingly, in December of the same year, a groundbreaking international 'Educating for Gross National Happiness Workshop' was held in Thimphu (Bhutan's capital) where, according to then Education Minister Thakur S. Powdyel, "some of the finest minds from some sixteen countries engaged in holistic education, eco-literacy, indigenous knowledge, sustainable development together with some of Bhutan's well-known educators" reflected on "an educational paradigm supportive of Gross National Happiness" (MOE, 2013a, pp. 50-51). In 2010, a nationwide education for GNH programme was launched through training of school leaders who in turn trained the teachers. Today, the 'Educating for GNH' policy requires all schools in Bhutan to develop into "Green Schools". One of the eight dimensions of a Green School is "cultural greenery", the others being environmental, intellectual, academic, social, spiritual, aesthetic, and moral greenery. Infusion of the cultural dimension into school education manifests in activities such as projects related to cultural identity and dignity, heritage, art and craft, art and architecture, performing arts, local wisdom, belief systems, community dialects, cultural diversity, mindfulness and meditation, among others (DCRD, 2011, pp. 18-19). For example, most classes in schools in Bhutan commence their day's academic learning with a moment of silence so that the students and teachers are together able to cultivate positive intentions and motivations for their own learning as well as for their relationship with others in the community. Hence, a unique characteristic of Bhutan's education system is the role of culture and its articulation in educational policy, curricula, and teaching practice. In spite of the overarching emphasis on culture, like all small societies, Bhutan faces the many challenges and tensions that come with the advantages of globalization.

GLOBALIZATION AND ITS IMPACT ON CULTURE AND EDUCATION

The positive impact of globalization is evident in all imaginable spheres of growth and development such as education, culture, diplomacy, trade, travel, and communications, to name a few. But the forces that accompany it also especially impinge on small and vulnerable cultures and languages in different parts of the world, including Bhutan (GNHC, 2009b, pp. 161-162). Bhutanese cultures and languages are not immune to the insinuating and homogenizing effects of globalization. In fact, the Bhutanese government recognizes that:

A major challenge for conserving the country's rich culture will be to minimize the effects of globalization that tends to homogenize diverse and rich cultures and causes people's cultural identity to wither often resulting in a dissolution of local languages, knowledge, beliefs and practices.

(GNHC, 2009a, p. 161).

Thus, the ability to maintain and assert a unique cultural identity is considered imperative for Bhutan's continued existence as a nation. In fact, cultural heritage is considered the very "foundation upon which the identity of the people and the country as a sovereign and an independent nation is built" (Planning Commission, 2002, p. 28; RGOB, 1999, p. 44). Since it is in the nature of globalization to displace and homogenize cultures, especially small cultures with small populations, the Bhutanese government emphasizes the value of cultural diversity (see RGOB, 1999, p. 35). Implied is the acknowledgement that in spite of its smallness, Bhutanese society has a rich diversity of cultures (see GNHC, 2009a, p. 161) that must be preserved and promoted.

Lo Bianco (2001, p. 469) says, "Globalization is making nations porous. The boundaries are being lowered and the content is being transformed". So the challenge of keeping languages and cultures alive is by no means small (see also GNHC, 2009a, p. 161). Given its geographical location between two of the world's cultural giants - India and China, each with a population of over a billion people, the challenge is even bigger. Moreover, exposure to the outside world influences people's worldviews and their perceptions about language and culture. In spite of its small size and population, Bhutan has a "diverse linguistic heritage" consisting of nineteen different languages spoken in different parts of the country (Gyatso, 2004, p. 265; van Driem, 2004, pp. 294-295). Apart from the rich legacy of tangible cultures that influence the everyday life of Bhutanese people, many of these languages carry a rich and diverse tradition of oral cultures such as spiritual poetry, epics, morals and ethics, legends, ballads, sayings and proverbs, spiritual songs, and heroic tales (RGOB, 1999, p. 65). School and university curricula, formal as well as informal, are active and dynamic sites for keeping these cultures and their values alive.

CULTURAL CONTINUITY THROUGH EDUCATION

Culture and education are inextricably linked. As stated in *Bhutan 2020: A Vision for Peace, Prosperity and Happiness* (RGOB, 1999, pp. 20 & 36), government policy recognizes children and teachers as the custodians of culture and the catalysts of cultural transmission, respectively. They are therefore the key to addressing the cultural consequences of globalization and ensuring intergenerational continuity and influence of the Bhutanese cultural heritage. Policy envisages that the "country's rich traditions, values, ideals and beliefs must ideally live on in the minds of Bhutanese youths [youth]", so that these traditions continue to inspire their thoughts and actions and enable them to make "ethical and moral choices" in their lives (GNHC, 2009a, p. 20). Since teachers' influence has a direct bearing on the students' lives, their role is considered vital for "inculcating in our children and young people an understanding and appreciation of our culture and heritage" (RGOB, 1999, p. 20). For example, these overarching policy visions influence the school English curricula as they do the other domains of learning such as mathematics, history, economics, media literacy, civics, and Dzongkha the national language. For example, the curriculum states that materials selected for "reading and literature" (including short stories, essays and poetry), listening and speaking, and writing should be based on "Bhutanese culture", encompassing "examples", and the "values of Bhutanese culture" (CAPSD, 2005e, pp. 101-102; CAPSD, 2005f, pp. 33-34). Accordingly, curriculum reform in the past decade has ensured that Bhutanese children are sufficiently exposed to materials from Bhutanese history, literature, culture and society and that these are included the school syllabi, which in turn will inform classroom practice, including the way children learn and are assessed.

From the Bhutanese government policy perspective, cultural preservation and promotion best happens in the school through what children learn (GNHC, 2009a, p. 20; RGOB, 1999, p. 36). It says:

> *If our culture and heritage is to continue to survive and flourish, our young people must understand and accept their role as custodians of a distinctive culture and the values and principles on which it is founded.*

The opportunity as well as challenge for school and university education in Bhutan will, therefore, be to translate the wise policy aspirations concerning cultural preservation and promotion into effective curricular enactments, authentic teaching, learning and assessment, and uniquely Bhutanese models of learning environment characterized by the values of respect, inclusiveness, identity, diversity, inner and outer wellbeing.

INTERACTION OF CULTURE, CURRICULA AND CLASSROOM PRACTICE

From the policy perspective, the role of teachers and students is considered crucial for preserving and promoting the cultural heritage (see RGOB, 1999, p. 20). Consistent with this view, many Bhutanese writers affirm the need to infuse school curricula with traditional values. For example, both Dorji (2002, p. 20) and Penjore (2005, p. 67) recommend inclusion of Bhutanese folk literature in the school curriculum. Zam (1991, p. 144) considers folktales "legitimate material" for use in Bhutanese classrooms as they can stimulate the learner' enthusiasm and passion better than culturally unfamiliar materials. Some other writers suggest the need for preserving the oral traditions and passing them on to futurity (Acharya, 2004, p. ix; Choden, 2002, p. xv; Dorji, 2002, p. 20; Powdyel, 2005a, p. 4). Bhagwati (2008, p. 116) in '*In Defense of Globalization*' (2008) concludes that indigenous cultures cannot be impervious to the forces of globalization. He argues that "Only active nurturing of the collective memory and a selective preservation of cultural artifacts can be a response, not the impractical fossilization of traditional attitudes and values". Bhutanese scholars present alternative perspectives that are quite different from Bhagwati's. Choden (1997, p. ix), for example, says:

> *It is unfortunate that the modern world must always have tangible and empirical evidence. As a result of this it misses the opportunity to share much of the folklore and mystery that are as old as the Himalayas. Today, we are caught at the crossroads of traditionalism and modernity; we must not sacrifice our fields of experience for fear of exposing ourselves as backward under the scrutiny of the modernists' glare.*

Similarly, Powdyel (2005b p. iv), writing about a book on Bhutanese beliefs and superstitions, says that its publication happens at a time "when the tide of modernization is sweeping across our country, often dislodging the inherited wisdom" and the "myriad strands of our beliefs and practices" are "taken for granted". Seen from Choden's and Powdyel's perspectives, the meaning of culture goes beyond 'artifacts' and fossilized attitudes and values and

encompasses non-material and non-measurable values such as "inherited wisdom", "beliefs and practices", "folklore and mystery", and "our fields of experience". Unlike Bhagwati, Pennycook (1998, p. 217) advocates the need for a genre of writing that articulates "both counter-discursive arguments and alternative realities" and shows "alternative representations, alternative stories, and alternative possibilities" made available in school classrooms and teaching materials.

In Bhutan, the school is considered an active and dynamic site for children's authentic experience of culture where knowledge and appreciation of cultural values are fostered. For example, in the English curricula for schools, the importance of learning English in a cultural context is emphasized so that students are able to reflect on the "cultural values of Bhutan" as well as those of other countries. Implied here is that learning opportunities and experiences must be created in the enacted curriculum, especially in the teaching strategies that English teachers use in their classroom practice for students to develop these understandings. The school, its formal and informal curricula, and teaching and learning environment, therefore, become important sites for learning cultural values. The role of teachers is equally important, if not more. Rightly so, their facilitative role in the transmission of cultural values to children has been emphasized in policy documents and in the curriculum literature.

The curricular reforms that were initiated in the first decade of this century were largely set against the backdrop of "globalization and its attendant pressures and impact" and the increasing emphasis placed on the role of the tangible and intangible forms of culture in the education of children, including the values of identity, diversity (GNHC, 2009a, p. 161), and recognition of and respect for "cultural differences" (RGOB, 1999, p. 66). To illustrate, the English curricula for grades 11 and 12 emphasize students' understanding of "the notions of spirituality, love, understanding, impermanence, tolerance and patriotism", "ageing, self knowledge, and language and culture" (CAPSD 2005c, p. 4; CAPSD, 2005d, p. 3). Apparently, the cultural emphases reflect the influence of Buddhist spiritual concepts (e.g. impermanence), notions of loyalty to country, and the importance of language and culture. Similarly, the grade 9 and 10 English curricula emphasize the need for the students to not only cultivate values that reflect Bhutanese way of life, to learn Bhutanese culture and "religious practices" (CAPSD, 2000, p. v) but also to develop understanding and appreciation of "their own culture as well as the cultures of others through the study of prescribed texts" (CAPSD, 1996, p. 74). For example, the grade 9 and 10 English curricula state that:

Through their reading, graduates have studied and reflected on the cultural values of Bhutan and other countries, particularly the different ways in which people discover meaning in their lives; different expressions of fundamental values of Truth, Goodness, and Beauty

(CAPSD, 2005a, p. 3; CAPSD, 2005b, p. 3).

The same emphasis is made in the English curricula for grades 7 to 10 (CAPSD, 2006b, p. xiv; CAPSD, 2006c, p. xiv; see also CAPSD, 2005f, p. xii).

In spite of the efforts already made, there are challenges that need to be addressed. Paradoxically, as Bhutanese writers generally point out, children are not exposed adequately to Bhutanese folk literature, an important carrier of cultural values, and that children are often "reared on folktales from distant places at the expense of local ones, which could begin a process of alienation from the local culture" (Choden, 2002, p. vi). Similarly, Penjore's (2005, pp. 68-69) study of the values education curricula for grades 7 and 8, 'Teaching Learning to Be: Suggested Values Education Lessons' (CAPSD, 2001) found the syllabus 'deficient' because all of the texts included in the syllabus for teaching the target values such as honesty, responsibility, loyalty, unity, and obedience/respect - were from drawn from literatures of other countries (see CAPSD, 2001, pp. 68-91). Clearly, this calls for careful assessment of the linkage between policy intent, educational practice (e.g. curricular reform), and improved classroom pedagogies. These are no mean challenges.

The challenge, therefore, especially in the absence of evidence based research, is to understand the link between policy intent and the reality that exists in the schools which enables reflection and future intervention.

CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN CURRICULA AND PEDAGOGY

Respect for diversity is an important element of the cultural dimension of a 'Green School'. According to government policy:

Part of the nation's rich cultural traditions are to be found in the diversity that exists within the Kingdom. Although we share a common worldview and sense of purpose, cultural differences within the nation are considerable, with each ethnic group making its own distinctive contribution to our living past. There are differences in folklore, myths, legends, dance, poetry and crafts that together add richness to the nation's cultural tapestry

(RGOB, 1999, p. 35).

Bhutanese scholars affirm the value of diversity. For example, Powdyel (2005a, p.257) underscores the elements of "respect", "humanity", and "cultural responsibilities" which enable a person to recognize the "sanctity and sensitivities of other cultures". Ura (2009, p. 53) adds cultural "diversity" to the cultural domain of Gross National Happiness and says "The members of a cultural group add diversity to the otherwise imploding and homogenising world". Children are taught to respect diversity in school, and there are advantages. First, when cultural differences are recognized and respected and children feel appreciated, they develop mutual understanding and respect for each other. Second, when children are exposed to diverse cultural materials from different parts of the country, they develop the ability to understand and appreciate diversity better than they would theoretically. It develops positive feelings in children when they see their cultures appreciated or valued by others. The challenge, though, especially in absence of empirical studies in on the linkage policy intent and classroom practice, seems to be to gain a full understanding of how the concept of cultural diversity plays out in classroom discourse as well as in the myriad situations of the school's informal or hidden curricula. Hayes et al. (2007, pp. 68-69) say that "Curriculum knowledge that is constructed and framed within a common set of cultural definitions, symbols, values, views and qualities - and thus attributing some higher status to it - stands in contrast to" the curriculum's claims to valuing cultural knowledges. Given the linguistic and cultural diversity that exists in Bhutan and the importance attached to it in government policy, it is important that teachers' beliefs, attitudes and professional practices concerning diversity are understood through empirical studies.

CONCLUSIONS

Bhutan views cultural preservation and promotion as imperative for maintaining the country's unique identity in the world. Given the diversity and richness of the country's cultural heritage, including the oral traditions that exist in its many different languages, the need to preserve the heritage is a genuine one as much as it is urgent. Fortunately, the Bhutanese educational system is already taking a number of strategic steps to integrate modern education with the country's rich culture by articulating the role of culture in policy, the school curricula, and transferring these to the teachers' classroom pedagogies. This makes teachers the catalysts of cultural transmission. However, emphasis on culture in curriculum policy must be matched by effective classroom practice that helps children to develop deep understanding and appreciation of culture. Without this, it is possible that mere quantitative presence of cultural material in the curricula is interpreted as a polite gesture to policy without much commitment, while qualitative presence, it is assumed, provides the valorization of the content in question to be actually taught and assessed. Although important roles are attributed to teachers and students and efforts are made to infuse school education with the fundamental values and principles of Gross National Happiness, in the absence of empirical studies, the real impact of these interventions is not yet known. This calls for classroom based studies that explore teachers' and students' knowledge and perceptions of the educating for GNH initiatives and programmes in Bhutanese schools. Part of the study could employ action research methods that assess positive change in knowledge and attitudes over time as a result of the interventions. It is, therefore, important to see how the teachers' classroom practices (including their approach to assessment) reflect the important role culture is assigned in the school curricula. In understanding the role attributed to cultural values in school curricula, it is important to understand that inclusion in the syllabus alone may not reflect the importance attached to it unless it is taught and assessed. Documenting best practices from Bhutan's unique approach to school education may have the potential to present to the world an alternative educational paradigm inspired by the country's development philosophy of Gross National Happiness.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO MANIPUR AND THEORIES REGARDING ORIGIN AND MIGRATION OF THE ZELIANGRONG ETHNIC GROUP

Dr. Alana Golmei*

ABSTRACT

Manipur is a melting pot of ethnic communities. Various groups though practising different religions have similar migration stories. This paper takes a look at the Zeliangrong ethnic group. Origin and migration of the Zeliangrong people is based on the traditional legends, folk-tales, and folk-songs, etc. Some record, accounts and information were also given by a few British anthropologists and officials. Every tribe or community living in different countries claim at least a certain place or cave as the origin of human race, according to its own belief or legend. Deciphering oral histories and migration stories can bring forth surprising relationship among various communities.

Keywords: Barak valley, Kuki-Chin**,** migration**,** Naga tribes**,** Nguiba , Zeliangrong.

INTRODUCTION

Geographical Setting

Manipur, one of the eight states of North East India, is a border state in the North Eastern part of India having an international boundary of about 352 km. It is bounded in the north by the state of Nagaland, in the east by Myanmar, in the west by Assam and in the south by Mizoram.[1] The state lies between 93.030E to 94.780E and 73.830N to 25.680N and has a total geographical area of 22,327 sq. km. of which 1,813 sq. km. form the central valley of Manipur. The state is divided into two broad divisions viz., the hills and the valley. The valley lies in the central part of the state and is surrounded by the hills on all sides.[2]

Manipur is rectangular in shape with the Loktak Lake in the centre of the valley. The average elevation of the valley is about 790 m. above sea level and that of the hills between 1,500 m and 1,800 m. Manipur state clearly falls within the Monsoon belt of India.[3] It has sub-tropical temperate climate. The annual rainfall of Manipur in 1999 was recorded to be 1719. 81mm. as against the normal rainfall of 1910.9 mm. The state has a pleasant climate.[4]

Manipur is connected by air with Calcutta, Delhi, Guwahati, Silchar, Aizawl and Yangon in Myanmar (although at present there is no commercial flight operating). However, roads constitute the most important aspect of transport system. Two National Highways connect the state with the rest of the country. National Highway which connects Manipur with Assam is the Imphal-Kohima-Dimapur road which is about 215 km in length. Another road of considerable economic importance is the 225 km long National Highway, the new Cachar road, connecting Imphal with Silchar in Assam via Jiribam on the western fringe of the Manipur valley. However, the state has no direct railway connection. These two highways still continue to be the main lifeline of Manipur.[5] In 2005, total road length in Manipur was 8648km, out of which National Highway constituted 967 km and State Highways 668 km.

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* Dr. Alana Golmei completed her Post-Doctoral research in 2011 from Jawaharlal Nehru University; New Delhi on the theme, "Political Movement of the Chin People of Burma, 1947-2011." She is coordinator, Burma Centre, Delhi.

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION

Manipur has been traditionally a single district state with a number of sub-divisions. In 1919, the hill areas of the state were divided into four sub-divisions; one with headquarters at Imphal and three in the hills. This arrangement continued till January, 1930 when a re-arrangement of the administration of the hill area was attempted.[6] The sub-divisions, constituted in 1919, along with their headquarters were abolished, and the entire area of the Manipur Hills was placed immediately under the President of the Manipur State Durbar, with two sub-divisional officers to assist him; one in charge of the south and the other of the north.[7]

In 1934-35, the hill areas were again divided into three sub - divisions-Sadars, Ukhrul and Tamenglong. Each sub-division was placed under one officer.[8] With the passing of the Indian Independence Act in 1947, the British supremacy lapsed, and the administration of the hill areas remained in the hands of the Maharaja of Manipur.[9] However, Manipur merged with the Union of India on 15th October, 1949 i.e., two years after India secured independence.

The Constituent Assembly of India finally passed the Constitution of India on November 26, 1949. It came into force on January 26, 1950. The Indian Constitution gave Manipur the status of part 'C' state and in 1956, it became a Union Territory. After the integration of the state, the district of Manipur was divided into a number of administrative units. During 1958 - 59 the administrative units were re-organised for administrative convenience and greater decentralisation of the Governmental machinery. These units included six hill sub-divisions and four valley sub-divisions.

The hill sub-divisions were; Tamenglong, Churachandpur, Ukhrul, Jiribam, Mao and Sadar Hills, and Tengnoupal. The valley sub-divisions were Thoubal, Bishnupur, Imphal East and Imphal West.[10] With a view to introduce a more efficient system of administration, the Chief Commissioner (Administrator) ordered the creation of five districts - Manipur Central, Manipur West, Manipur North, Manipur South and Manipur East along with 25 sub-divisions with effect from 14th November 1969.[11]

The demand for statehood was made on 3rd September, 1970. As a result, the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi announced in the Lok Sabha, the acceptance of the granting of Statehood to Manipur, Tripura, and Meghalaya. In 1971, the Re-organisation of North East India Bill was framed and the Act was passed in 1972. Consequently, Manipur became a full-fledged state on 21st January, 1972.[12] Till May, 1983 the state had six districts. For administrative convenience, in 1998 the state was divided into 9 districts namely: (i) Imphal West District; (ii) Imphal East District; (iii) Thoubal District; (iv) Bishnupur District; (v) Senapati District; (vi) Chandel District; (vii) Ukhrul District; (viii) Tamenglong District; and (ix) Churachandpur District.

POPULATION

Manipur is the third largest state in the North Eastern Region of India in terms of size of population. The people of Manipur constitute nearly 0.22 percent of the total population of India but the geographical area is only 0.7 percent of that of India.[13] The population of Manipur as per Census 2011 is 2,570,390. Of this, the rural population is 1,736,236 and the urban population 834,154. [14]

The valley population comprises the Meiteis, the Pangals, the Nepalese, and those who came from other parts of India and settled in Manipur such as: the Bengalese, the Assamese, the Punjabis, and the Biharis, etc. The Meiteis are mainly Hindus and the Pangals are Muslims. Both the communities speak Manipuri language, one of the national languages of the country.[15] The Meiteis are generally Mongoloid and speak in Tibeto-Burman language. There is a sizable population who are called Meitei Pangals. Muslim migration into Manipur from other parts of India was during the reign of King Khagemba (1597-1652) but some Muslims had already settled in Manipur before the enthronement of Maharaja Khagemba.[16] The old Muslims who settled in Manipur prior to the reign of King Khagemba were known as "Aribam," because they were the first and oldest settlers among the Muslim community.

There are seven Scheduled Castes communities in Manipur: Loiyaithibi, Dhobi, Muchi, Rabidas, Namsudra, Patni, and Sutradhar. The total Scheduled Castes population was is 97042. Of this 47563 are in rural areas and 49479 in urban areas. In terms of proportion, the Scheduled Caste population constitutes 3.8 % of the total population.[17]

The other ethnic groups in Manipur are the Naga and Kuki-Chin tribes. There are 29 Scheduled Tribes in Manipur according to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Modification) Order, 1956 of the Constitution of India. They are the main inhabitants of the hills who include: Aimol, Anal, Angami, Chiru, Chothe, Gangte, Hmar, Kabui, Kacha Naga, Koirao, Koireng, Kom, Lamkang, Mizo (Lushai tribes), Maram, Maring, Mao, Monsang, Moyon, Paite,Purum,

Ralte, Sema, Simte, Sukte, Tangkhul, Thadou, Vaiphei, and Zou. The Naga tribes in Manipur are further divided into various sub-tribes such as the Tangkhul, the Mao, the Poumai, the Anal, the Moyon, the Zeliangrong, the Maram, the Maring, the Monsang, the Lamkang, the Thangal, the Angami, and the Sema.[18] The Zeliangrong Nagas are mostly settled in the Tamenglong District of Manipur, the Maos, the Poumai, the Marams and the Thangals are mostly concentrated in the Senapati District, the Tangkhuls in the Ukhrul District, the Marings, the Moyons, the Monsangs, the Lamkangs and the Anals in the Chandel District of Manipur. The other tribal ethnic group, namely, the Kuki-Chin consists of the Mizo, Hmar, Paite, Gangte, Simte, Kuki, Thadou, Vaiphei, Kom, Purum, Sukte, Zou, and the Ralte. These groups in Manipur are mainly settled in the Churachandpur district of Manipur.[19] Presently, there are 33 scheduled tribes in Manipur.

The state is also inhabited by different ethnic and religious groups. Of the total population living in Manipur, the tribal population constituted 7,13813 in 2001. They speak different dialects and have different ways of life. Most of the tribes are Christians who constitute 34 percent, and are mostly settled in the hills.[20]

THEORIES REGARDING THE ORIGIN AND MIGRATION OF THE ZELIANGRONG ETHNIC GROUP

The common ancestry of the Zeliangrong[21] people is embedded in the legends and folklores of the tribe.[22] They came in contact with the British during the first Anglo-Burmese war (1824-1826). The Zeliangrong tribe was brought under direct administration of the British in three administrative units: one under Manipur state; second under Nagaland; and third under the North-Cachar Hills of Assam.[23] This continued to function even after Independence of India in 1947. The majority of the Zeliangrong people are concentrated in the state of Manipur.

The origin and migration of the Zeliangrong people is based on the traditional legends, folk-tales, and folk-songs, etc. Some record accounts and information were also given by a few British anthropologists and officials. Every tribe or community living in different countries claim at least a certain place or cave as the origin of human race, according to its own belief or legend. [24] The Zeliangrong people claim their origin from a mythical cave called "*mahou taobei*" which is said to be located at *Ramting Kabin* in the Senapati district of Manipur. They believed that their ancestors after creation by god emerged out of this mythical cave. According to the legends, the entrance of the cave which was sealed by a huge stone slab was removed by a Bull (mithun) with its horn. The first man who came out of the cave was called *"Pokrei"* and the woman was called *"Dichaliu"*.[25] One day Pokrei asked the girl to call him as uncle (Apou) in place of brother (Achaibung) as soon as she met him, while coming round a raised earthen mound (Pungbut) from the opposite direction.[26] Inspite of this instruction, the girl through forgetfulness used to call him as brother instead of uncle for six times. At the seventh time of going round the mound the girl addressed him as uncle as soon as she met him. From that time onwards, the boy no longer treated her as his sister and presumed that the girl belonged to a different clan. Since then the marriage between boys and girls of the same clan or same line of blood relationship is not allowed among the Zeliangrong tribe. Thus, after sometime they got married and became husband and wife.[27] As time passed, they got children who first settled at Makhel. So the original home of the Zeliangrong ancestors is presumed to be at Makhel. Most of the Naga tribes such as: Angami, Chakesang, Sema, Lotha, Shipoumei, Maram, Tangkhul, and Rengma etc., point to Makhel as the original place from where they dispersed to other directions.

According to another theory, the Zeliangrong Nagas, like other tribes of Indo-Burma areas are said to have originated from China. According to some other versions, the Tibeto-Burman group/people initially moved towards the west and thereafter sub-divided themselves into several groups. It is said that the Mongoloid people entered Burma in three different waves and by different routes. The first wave of people who migrated from China were the Mon-Khmer races, second wave composed the Tibeto-Burman races, and the third wave was that of the Tai-Chinese consisting of Shan, Siamese, Karen, etc.[28] The various ethnic groups belonging to southern Mongoloid, the Tibeto-Burman, the Indo-Aryan and a sizable section of Tai (Shan) came to Manipur from pre-historic times. The ethnic groups of Manipur namely, Meiteis, Nagas, Kuki-Chin, and other communities are believed to be the descendants of those migrating people.[29] It is quite clear to us that the Zeliangrong Nagas like other tribes had come from two regions, namely South-East Asia, Eastern Tibet, or South-Western China.

THEORY OF MIGRATION

The theory of migration of the Zeliangrong tribe and their Chieftainship is also supported by their mythological and legendary accounts. One "Nguiba", the Chief of the village at Makuilongdi was their progenitor. He had married twice because his first wife was thought to be incapable of bearing a son. His second wife gave birth to a male child named "Namgang" or "Magangtubou". After a few years, however, the first wife also gave birth to a male child named

"Kadingbou." The second wife gave birth to another male child named "Rembangbou." When Nguiba became old, he could not decide to whom he had to hand over his property.[30] So, to settle the matter he sent his two sons, Namgang and Kadingbou to their younger uncle who lived somewhere in Northern Koubru range. Their uncle was clever enough to deal with the matter.

Next morning he killed a cock and prepared the curry nicely. He then made two packets of rice and two packets of the curry. He tied a bull (mithun) with a rope and gave it with a packet of food to Namgang, and the other packet to Kadingbou with a dog tied with another rope. They were directed to take the food wherever the bull would stop to take water. In the judgement of their uncle, the one who would find the cock's head ought to have the right of inheritance to his father's property. The two brothers then started their homeward journey. When they reached the Koubru Mountain, they stopped to have their lunch. As they unwrapped their respective packs to eat, they found the head of the chicken in Kadingbou's packet.[31]

The ordeal was not yet over there. After that, they had to run a race by pulling their respective animals. The one who would reach home first and light the lamp would become the heir. So, Namgang leaving behind his food went ahead with his bull, while Kadingbou finished his food and thinking that his elder brother might already have reached home, proceeded at a leisurely pace. But unfortunately Namgang was delayed on the way by his bull. So Kadingbou reached home first and lit the lamp. As the bull could not walk as fast as the dog, Kadingbou won the two ordeals. Accordingly, he inherited his father's property and became the Chief of that village.[32] Namgang became very disappointed because he had to miss his father's property. He left behind his parents and went to Barak valley or Hereira village, which was the first Zeme village. While Kadingbou and his followers stayed behind, his younger brother Rembangbou and his followers proceeded southwards to vacant land. Still others went to the eastern and southern parts of the Zeliangrong areas and came to be known as Puimei. According to tradition, the Zemes were considered to be the descendants of Namgang, the eldest son of Nguiba; the Liangmais the descendants of the second son Kadingbou; and Rongmei the descendants of Rembang.[33]

According to various theories, the ancestors of the Zeliangrong lived at village Makhel. From Makhel, they came to a deep gorge called Ramting Kabin where they took shelter for some time. A local writer N.B. Pamei wrote that, the ancestors of Zeliangrong left their abode in Makhel and along with their belongings moved south. They crossed many mountains and survived hostile conditions.[34] They took temporary shelter wherever they could. After a long time, they reached a place where they were comparatively safe. It is also said that Ramting Kabin was like a cave with a single gate and this could be the reason why, some said that Zeliangrong people came out of the cave. After taking shelter at Ramting Kabin, they moved on to another site for settlement at *"Chawang Phungning"*. The ancestral fathers of the Zeliangrong dwelt at Chawang Phungning for a long time. As time passed by, their numbers increased and social communication among them became increasingly difficult.[35] They finally left Chawang Phungning and continued their westward movement, until they came to a new place for settlement. Emerging from Chawang Phungning they came to settle down at a place which came to be known as *Makuilongdi*, near the present Oklong village in Mao west. Here they led a settled life based on shifting agriculture.[36] According to the oral tradition, the Zeliangrong tribe came from Longdi (Longdai). The ancestors of Zeliangrong tribe at Makuilongdi lived a rich and joyous life. The village became very populous and had reached the incredible number of 7777 houses before further dispersal or migration.[37]

As mentioned earlier, the ancestors of Zeme, Liangmai, and Rongmei tribes lived together at Makuilongdi for a long time. From this place, they dispersed to different directions with different names. Among the three brothers, the Rongmei tribe was believed to be the first to leave Makuilongdi and spread out taking up lands to the south ahead of the Zeme and Liangmai tribes. They were pushed ahead of these groups by waves of migrants moving out of the heartland and expanding their boundaries, as population pressure relentlessly moved them on. This southern movement would have continued unchecked, had not pressure from the forefront of the Kuki-Chin or Lushai northwards expansion turned them back again.[38] Formerly, the Rongmei occupied sites to the south of their present homeland, down as far as the Changphai or Champhai region of present Mizoram where they lived with Lushai as neighbours and where remains of ruined villages known as Mirongmun are still found, *Mirong* being the Lushai word for the Rongmei.[39]

The Zemes were the people who moved to the western side of Makuilongdi. From there, they spread to the western side of the river Barak, to south western part of Kohima district and along the Barail hill range, in North Cachar district of Assam in the 13th century. During the 16th century, there was another wave of Angami migration into the Barail hills. The Zemes being a weaker section moved downwards passing through the Barail range and started colonising beyond the hill areas.[40] The Angamis carried on raids against the Zemes who thus, had to migrate further and further away from

their original place of settlement, till they came down to Barail in North Cachar hills and spread to other areas. The Liangmais were said to have been the last to leave their original homeland. At some stage they themselves expanded from the heartland of Makuilongdi and took up lands south and east of the Zeme, occupying the hills in the North West corner of the Manipur state, virtually down to the borders of Rongmei area on the outskirts of Imphal.[41] The Liangmai were further driven from their homes in the north east by the Maram, and their original settlements were at a place called Nohemi near the source of the Barak river in the present Mao area.[42] Currently, majority of the Zeliangrong people are settled in Tamenglong district of the state of Manipur.

The migration stories are not only exercise in myth-making. These stories reveal a lot about the history of a community where orality is the source of transmission of knowledge about past. These stories also contain valuable information about the landscape, flora and fauna and interesting cleavage and confluence among various communities.

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BUDDHISTS IDENTITY POLITICS IN NEPAL SINCE 1990s

Tsering Choldan*

ABSTRACT

Buddhist identity politics in Nepal came after the establishment of multi-party democracy in 1990. Buddhists see themselves as those groups that do not fall under the traditional four-fold classification of Hindu Verna system. Buddhists are asserting their identity as part of the Janajati movement. The movement spread as a response to the country's Hinduisation process and attempt to build Nepali Nationalism initiated by Prithvinarayan Shah and to the complex set of discrimination and inequalities by the Hindu high caste. Buddhists under the umbrella of Janajati movement assert their identity and resist against wide ranges of issues such as, their exclusion from the mainstream politics. Their demand for a Secular state has wide resonance among all the ethnic minorities in Nepal

Keywords: Ethnic Groups, Hinduism, Identity Politics, Janajati Mahasangh, Monarchy, Nationalism, Secularism.

INTRODUCTION

The term identity politics refers to forces organizing and appealing to a group defined by specific ascriptive characteristics and mobilizing this group identity as a means of gaining access to power. These characteristics are usually, but not exclusively those ascribed by virtue of birth to parents or to a particular religion or ethnic group, par excellence. Power here may be either control of or influence in the state or access to control over resources.[1]

Identity politics invokes political arguments that focus upon the self interest and perspectives of social minorities, or self-identified social interest groups. In a state, identity politics is intimately linked with the debates and conflicts surrounding the state's character, role and very existence. [2] Not all members of any given group are necessarily involved in identity politics. To participate in identity politics, a group may, or may not be marginalized class of people. However, the advocates of such politics are informed by a self-belief and self schema that they are in fact a marginalized group. Typically, these group identities are defined in term of race, ethnicity, religion and gender. Identity politics is driven by several motivations. One aim of identity politics has been to empower the oppressed to articulate their oppression in term of their own experience. This involves a process of rising consciousness that distinguishes identity politics from the liberal conception of politics as driven by individual self-interest.[3]

"Identity", in its broadest sense, includes both socially defined and often visible characteristics as race, gender, and ethnicity as well as other aspects of groups and individuals, such as belief system, worldview, ideologies and religions, that are not always considered part of identity but that increasingly form the basis of major cleavages among people. Some of these characteristics may be hard to change while others are, at least potentially, matters of option. The question of choice plays a vital role in the aspects of identity. It begins with the assumption that an individual can choose their identity, perhaps by deciding on a particular kind of life or by giving or withholding their loyalty to a particular group. So identity becomes a measure of the freedom of action that people have within the larger society. By contrast, when states or other powerful institutions can effectively limit identity choices by enforcing conformity to norms or ideals, individuals' freedom of action is restricted and can be considered to be in a state of decline.[4]

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* Tsering Choldan is a scholar at Central Institute of Buddhist Studies (CIBS), Choglamsar, Leh, Ladakh, India.

Identities also represent entitlements to shares of a group's or society resources. Conformity to the common identity proclaimed by social or political groups becomes increasingly important to the group's bargaining power in identity politics. The identity of a group makes political action possible. Without a common identity, individuals cannot form a collective agent. The individuals too cannot be either the subject or the object of action without an identity which directs him towards others in transactions. Identity is not maintained in isolation, it exists in the system of relations.[5] That is, it involves a necessary interaction with others in a system of shared understandings.

The issues of identity, its representation in the state structures, and demarcation of federal lines among the states are more complex than they appear. Such as, adoption of Hindu state by the 1990 constitution of Nepal which was framed in the background of movement for the restoration of democracy is on the one hand, reverence to uninterrupted history of Nepal's religious identity as Hindu kingdom, but it is on the other hand, contested by emerging trends for secularism under democratic disposition in the post-1990 period. The 1990 constitution of Nepal upheld a number of features of Hinduism- based Nepali nationalism, including the official title of Nepal as a Hindu state; whereas the nation constitutes the people irrespective of religious, race, caste, or tribe.

NATIONALISM IN MONARCHICAL INSTITUTION

The institution of Monarchy in Nepal remained the most important symbol of Nepali nationalism till the end of 20th century. A broad consensus prevailed recognizing its historical role in both the making of modern Nepal and integration of the diverse population into a single nationhood.[6] Gorkhanization or Hinduisation, a process initiated by Prithvinarayan Shah was strenuously followed by his successor over the period of next two centuries. The age old imperial guidelines became the source of the four pillars of Nepali nationalism that came to be identified in popular perception. These are: (1) Unquestioned power and authority of the Hindu King of Gorkha or in other words Gorkha Supremacy, (2) The primacy of the Hindu ethos in national life or declaring Hinduism as the state religion, (3) Social integration through the Hindu social system based on caste divisions and (4) Making Nepali language as the national language.[7] In this way Hinduism, Monarchy and Nepali language became the conventional symbols in the process of identity formation in the Gorkha state that became the 'modern Nepal'. The role of Gorkha dynasty, first in unifying and then in establishing their hegemonic influence through a practice of patriotism that demanded total and unquestioned loyalty to the King, came to constitute an inseparable feature of modern Nepal.[8]

The Panchayat regime (1960-1990) in Nepal imposed the values and norms of the dominant group-its language (Khas-Nepali), religion (Hindu) and culture (hill- high caste) on the entire society. The languages, cultures and religions of other groups were marginalized to the extent that some languages are at the risk of extinction. In addition, indigenous nationalities (adibasi janajati), Dalits (traditional-untouchables) and Madhesis (people living in the Terai plains), who comprise over two-thirds of the population, have been excluded politically, economically and socially.[9]

ASSERTION OF BUDDHISTS IDENTITY SINCE 1990 CONSTITUTION

Since the restoration of a multiparty democracy in 1990, identity politics has become a major force in Nepali politics. The Buddhists of Nepal have mobilized to demand greater inclusion within the political system as well as social and cultural rights. They argue that high-caste Hindus from the hills have monopolized the state since its inception in the late eighteenth century, and this has created political, economic and social disadvantages for other groups of people. The Buddhists and ethnic minorities culture could not get due space even in the 1990 Constitution, hence, their cultural identity was at risk. The 1990 Constitution reiterated the long promotion of Hinduism as the state religion, and the Hindu character of the kingdom was retained.

The Buddhists who were ethnically and culturally diverse people for the first time came out openly to demand a better share and for redefinition of their role in the decision making process of the country. Demand for secular state is obviously the main agenda of minorities' religious group. Unlike the history of Hindu-Buddhist coexistence, now Buddhists have built an informal alliance with other minority religious groups in exerting pressure for secularism. On 30th June 1990, the largest demonstration took place organized by the Nepali Buddhist Association. 25-30,000 people walked through the centre of Kathmandu urging '*Give us a Secular State, Buddhism is not just a branch of Hinduism*'. This march too ended up at the open air theatre at Tundikhel in the middle of Kathmandu. Several Buddhist scholars addressed the crowd including Bhikshu Amritananda. He deplored the notion that Hinduism and Buddhism were the same and called strongly for a secular state. Their speeches emphasized on how Buddhists had been suppressed.[10]

The Buddhists demonstration came as a total shock to most of the Nepalese Hindu politicians. According to the 1981 census, only 1 in 20 of the population of Nepal was Buddhist.[11] Moreover, the Buddhists had a reputation for living

peacefully almost invisibly alongside the Hindu. Asha Ram Sakya, a Buddhist scholar and leader of the Nepal Buddhist Association maintained that the Buddhist population shown as 5.3% in the 1981 census, was totally wrong. Tamangs were not Hindus, Gurungs were not Hindus, nor were the Sherpas, the Chepangs, the Rais and the Limbus of the Eastern Nepal. In addition there are minor nationalities who are all Buddhists. In reality, the Buddhists of Nepal are not accurately reflected in census. When the census officers arrived, Buddhists, majority of whom are not educated, would be asked about their religion. They would ask, 'Do you worship Ganesh? They would answer "Yes".Because Ganesh is identified as a Hindu god, they would be written down as Hindu. But in Nepal, Hindus worship Buddha and Buddhists worship Ganesh. That does not mean that all are Hindus, it is just a result of the long cultural intermingling and interaction between Hindus and Buddhists. And it also does not mean that Buddhism is just a branch of Hinduism, which the government of the Nepal claimed.[12] It was in fact true that many Nepalese combined elements from both Hinduism and Buddhism in their religious practice, making it very hard to draw a clear dividing line, For example, among the Newar community, there are both the believer of Hindus and Buddhists and to demarcate a line who is a Hindu and who ,a Buddhist; is not easy. But regardless of the exact numbers, even if a majority of Nepal's Buddhists were not conscious of themselves as such in the past, slowly they are getting aware with the increasing level of education and through other means of information dissemination technologies. In fact, growing number of intellectuals like Asha Ram Sakya, a Buddhist scholar and leader of the Nepal Buddhist Association were attempting to reclaim their culture and religious identity as Buddhists.[13]

Assertion of identity politics became highly visible in post-1990 movement. The first political party with representatives from Buddhists was founded in 1990. It was the Nepal National People's Liberation Front and Nepal Rastriya Janamukti Morcha.[14] The programme was to fight for equality for the entire racial and ethnic group in the country. A more extreme party was the Janajati Party established on 19th August 1990, led by Khagendra Jang Gurung. In addition, several other organizations sprang up all putting forward demands on behalf of the Tibeto-Burman speaking people, who are Buddhists. Among these was the Nepal Tamang Ghedung, established on 7th June 1990. This group demanded a special constitutional recognition of the Tamang community who lived in the hill around the Kathmandu Valley. Although the Tamang were numerous, they were amongst the least privileged of all the ethnic groups in Nepal.[15] Thus, the common demands of all these various organization were to declare Nepal as secular state, equal recognition of all the ethnic languages, proportional representation for all the minority communities in political-bureaucratic structure, education and the public sector, ameliorate the socio-economic condition of the people through positive discrimination by the state.

These organizations represented a spectrum of opinion ranging from the extreme to the moderate. Yet they all shared certain basic common concerns. Their integration into Hindu society varied from group to group. The Magar, for example, reckoned themselves as proper Hindus, while the Tamang claimed that they were Buddhists. The Limbus in Far Eastern Nepal had managed to preserve large parts of their native religion and culture. Many Gurungs, Magars, Limbus and Rais had generally been restricted to access state benefits. The Tamangs were not eligible to join the Gorkhas and had remained cut off from a major source of income. In addition to these were the Thakalis, who were a small group. But these people had made a good living on the main trade route to Tibet.[16]

BUDDHIST POLITICS UNDER JANAJATI UMBRELLA

The politics of Buddhists identity is not isolated. One of the more remarkable development in Nepal after 1990, was the rapid growth of ethnic organizations. Each seeks to promote the welfare and culture of the single ethnic group, such as the Gurung or the Tamang. Most of the demands and grievances of the Buddhists in Nepal are similar with that of the Janajati Mahasangh. Thus, many of these organizations joined an umbrella organization, the Janajati Mahasangh (Nepal Federation of Indigenous Nationalities), which was the dominant voice in the mid 1990s.[17]

The Janajati Movement may be seen as a response to the country's strained unification in the 19th century and perpetuating complex set of discrimination and inequalities resulting from this situation. The Buddhists are the majority in Janajati Mahasangh, but all the Janajati are not Buddhist, and their demands are also being expressed through the Janajati movement. The movement has played a key role in channeling ethnic grievances in a non-violent way and in democratizing the political system. The Buddhists under Janajati Mahasangh had articulated its political demands primarily by operating as a lobbying or pressure group, working to influence members of the various governments to accommodate the interests of their communities. During the drafting of the 1990 Constitution, the Janajati Mahasangh made recommendation to the Constitution Commission and their demands which have remained fairly consistent, include that the government declare Nepal as a Secular state, reform the Constitution, ensure linguistic equality for all the people, introduce a federal system of government, and develop an affirmative action.[18]

CONCLUSION

Thus, the resurgence of Buddhists and other hill ethnic groups after 1990 Constitution led to the new movements partly, because of the wrong state policies of nation building and partly because of the increasing awareness of the Buddhists and other ethnic groups. The Hinduized Constitution and the predominantly Hindu population of the country seem to have created a feeling of insecurity among the religious minority population of the country. The religious minority like Buddhists had vociferously demanded that the new Constitution should declare Nepal as Secular state.

To create political stability and a more democratic polity, the state should adopt the policies that create an inclusive political system. State representation of the Nepali Nation should reflect the diversity of the population which includes the political aspiration and identity of the Buddhists as well. The state must ensure that the ethnic nationalities including Buddhists are adequately represented in any decision-making bodies, through appointment, reservation or a proportional election system. May the new Constitution of Nepal represent all the minorities' aspirations and upholds the majestic plurality!

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LIBERATION INDUCED CONFLICT:
THE CASE OF KAMAIYA EMANCIPATION IN NEPAL

Raju Thapa*

ABSTRACT

The term "Kamaiya" refers to agricultural indentured labourers, lacking land or property requiring serving the landlord to whom they are financially indebted until the debt is repaid. Typically, the Kamaiya and other family members work for landlords and in return get payments in kind, or in-kind payments plus a wage. But in most cases, the earning is so meager that the Kamaiyas are unable to pay back the loan and end up serving their landlord for a lifetime. In some cases, they serve from one generation to another. The Kamaiya problem is the most prevalent among the Tharu ethnic community that inhabits the Mid-and Far-Western lowland of Nepal where landlessness, low level of human capital development, and lack of employment opportunities contributed to this exploitative form of employment. On 17th July 2000, the government made a landmark decision to outlaw bonded labour system. Freedom from bondage was a historical moment in the lives of thousands of Kamaiyas. However, the careless and unplanned manner in which the government announced to free Kamaiya has further victimized them. Problem of Kamaiya has been worsening day by day and government effort being almost ineffective. Though they are freed on papers they are not freed from rampant poverty, injustice and inequality. After a decade of emancipation, with no better life opportunities, Kamaiyas are on the verge of losing their patience which may act as a spark to cause another high intensity armed conflict in Nepal. This study intends to find out the various aspects of the liberated Kamaiya and also to examine the developing contours of a potential conflict.

Keywords: bonded labour, Kamaiya, Kamaiya Labour (Prohibition) Act, Mukta Kamaiya Samaj (MKS), *sauki*, slavery, Terai, Tharu.

INTRODUCTION

Slavery is as old as human civilizational practice. Under this system, people are treated as private property and are forced to work for the benefit of the masters. It includes bonded labour, chattel slavery and forced labour[1].

Bonded labour is a practice in which employers give high-interest loans to workers whose entire family member then work at low wages to pay off the debt. Bonded labour is widespread in South Asia that is rooted in the rampant poverty[2]. Nepal is no exception and bonded labour has arisen out of unequal agrarian relations, especially, in the Western low- land of Nepal.In particular, this system was prevailing in five districts of Terai of the mid- and Far -Western Development Regions of Nepal[3]. The Tharus of Far-Western and Mid-Western low-land are synonymous to Kamaiya as most of them fall under the system[4]. Agriculture has been the main source of economy in these districts, especially, after the eradication of malaria in Nepal.The Tharu people have an innate resistance to malaria, and until the 1950s, they were the only residents of the formerly malaria-infested jungles, allowing them to develop a unique culture of independence from the rest of Nepal[5]. The eradication of malaria in the Terai by the Nepalese government opened the fertile land to settlers from

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*Raju Thapa is a Research Scholar at Mewar University, Chittorgarh, Rajasthan. He is also the Executive Member of Brussels-based NGO, Human Rights Without Frontiers, International and Director of its Nepal, Branch. He has been actively involved in the human rights movement of Nepal for more than a decade, and served as a research fellow in the Center for Nepal and Asian Studies (CNAS), a statutory research body under Tribhuvan University.

elsewhere in Nepal and India. They started to resettle in the Terai region and slowly registered the unregistered lands along with capturing lands of Tharu people, giving them loan at very high interest rate. Because of the low income, they needed to take loans to meet their daily needs for sufficient food or clothes, medicine and religious ceremonies

Most of the settlers turned into landlords often providing loans taking mortgage of the Tharu land. Tharus became landless. Even after being landless, they could not pay back the loan of landlord and they had to ultimately surrender themselves as bonded labour (Kamaiya). As bonded labour, Kamaiyas have been surviving in the vicious cycle of poverty. Debt is inherited from the previous generation and transferred to the next. Due to the lack of alternative opportunity of employment, a Kamaiya is never able to pay back the loan. Therefore, a Kamaiya has to accept a life of perpetual poverty and indebtedness. Thus, a number of generations become bonded labour, when they are born in a Kamaiya family[6]. Kamaiya system is a contractual agreement between the landowners that is done on an annual basis during the "Maghi" festival in January and an agricultural labour is exchanged for payment in cash or kind[7].

Slavery system in Nepal was abolished since 1924 after the policy decision taken by the then authoritarian Rana, Prime Minister Chandra Shamsher Rana. But democratic governments have failed to stop such inhuman practice on time. Nepal's 1990 democratic revolution, which saw the end of the repressive Panchayat regime, opened up political space where rights against exploitation have been granted as fundamental rights to the citizen under the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal (1990). However, it took almost ten years to free the Kamaiyas even after the promulgation of the Constitution and they were freed in the middle of monsoon without any proper plan for their resettlement[8]. The government should have made plans to give the land taken back from landlords to the rightful owners viz. former-Kamaiyas, but its intention was to save the landlords while mounting problems to Kamaiya in the middle of the monsoon. This reflects the ill intention of the government which was guided by the vested interests of some landlords.

When the Kamaiyas were liberated, they had nothing with them, not even food and shelter. The landlords had chased them away without even providing them their annual wage. They could not get jobs as they were not familiar with the outside world and had no idea about the ways and skill to get jobs for their survival. The seasonal jobs for rice cultivation had been over at that time, thus, they could not get jobs related to paddy cultivation due to which they had to go hungry and sleep under the open sky for several nights. Even though they knew the government was providing them with relief support at the District Headquarter, they could not reach there due to lack of money to pay for the transportation. Among those who could manage to reach the Headquarter, some of them decided to do any work at paltry sum fearing their children will go hungry if they waited for the completion of the lengthy governmental procedures. More than the Kamaiya Identity Cards they held, the need to save their children's lives became most important as they had to work all day in order to feed their families[9]. Those Kamaiyas who were able to get the Freed Kamaiya Identity cards due to their political access were able to enjoy governmental and non-governmental benefits. They started seeking the facilities like land and houses as declared by the government, while those who had no identity cards with them at that moment, kept on working at any wage rate hoping to get cards someday. ...Land and livelihood opportunities provided by government are not easily accessible due to the visionless policies of the government[10].

When the government started distributing lands, those liberated Kamaiyas who had not been granted any land, began to capture public land and resettle in temporary camps. Kamaiyas were also supported in their campaign by the NGOs, Landless and Internally Displaced Persons(IDPs). On the contrary, the governement decided not to support the Kamaiyas living in temporary camp on grounds of their voluntary capture of land and their resettlement[11]. In this way, the government further victimized freed Kamaiyas living in temporary camp. Even after a long time of legal freedom from bondage, real freedom still remains distant and elusive for thousands of Kamaiyas[12]. As a result, the aggression of the temporary camp dwellers increased against the government.

During the research period, the intra-party conflict between the Prachanda-Baburam and the Vaidya faction in the Unified Communist Party of Nepal, Maoist (UCPNM) has been seen as the climax in its history. The Party has been spilt and a new party, Communist Party of Nepal-Maoist (CPN-M), was formed. The policy of the UCPNM was to return Kamaiyas from captured land, which is against the CPN-M's policy to capture and distribute more land to Kamaiyas. In addition to it, the CPN-M was also preparing for a decisive armed struggle. Hence, the study was focused on the possible mobilization of liberated Kamaiyas of the temporary camps for igniting a new conflict in the country.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The general objective of the research is to study the level of vulnerability of liberated Kamaiya to possible conflict. The specific objectives of the study are enumerated as follow:

- To find out the compatibility of existing domestic and international legal instruments in support of Kamaiya rights;
- To ascertain the socio-economic condition of liberated Kamaiya from different dimensions; and
- To analyze the level of vulnerability of liberated Kamaiya to possible conflict.

METHODOLOGY

To explore its objectives and generate valid data and information, different appropriate techniques have been followed. Intensive non-participants observation has been performed from February -June 2012. The study concluded in July 2012. The schedule focus group discussion, in-depth interview method, field visit, contents analysis and key informants interview have been used; secondary data from different reliable publication have also been consulted. Pilot study done in five districts by researcher in the past suggests that the Kamaiyas of Bardia district of the temporary camp are spending pathetic life due to the lack of basic needs. Similarly, the Maoist party leaders Prachanda and Baburam visited Bardia in 2011 just to request party cadres to return back the land of landlords that was captured by landless and Kamaiyas in the past. However, no significant progress has been made due to the protest of Vaidya faction of Maoist party which created a lot of complication in the district.

The present study focuses on descriptive and analytical dimension of socio-economic condition of liberated Kamaiyas and the conflict dynamics in relation to different stakeholders with limited variable related in overall aspect of liberated Kamaiyas of Bardia district. In order to fulfill the specific objective of the study, analysis has been done mainly based on primary data. Reliable secondary data are also used in case of necessity.

Sampling has been provided by the Freed Kamiya Society of Bardia district in January 2012. There were 48 recorded permanent and 10 temporary camps in the district. Out of 10 temporary camps, Majhara and Tinkathwa camps have been selected through simple random sampling. Permanent camps have been excluded in the study considering the fact that the permanent camps dwellers are getting some sorts of help from the governmental and non-governmental sector.

Figure-1: Sampling Module
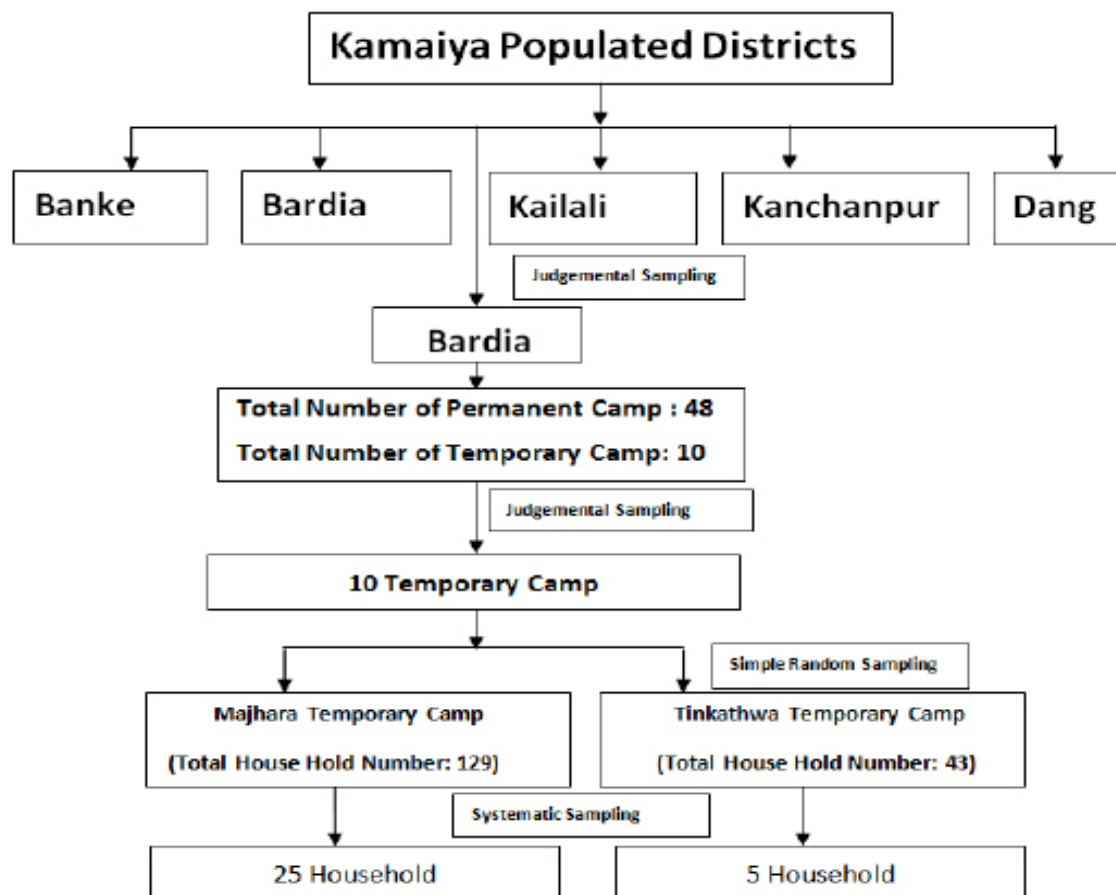
Out of 129 households of the Majhara temporary camp and 43 household of Tinkathwa Temporary camp, 25 households and 5 households have been selected respectively using systematic sampling.

While selecting sample population for the purpose of Key Informants Interview, a list of the active and available participants provided by Mukta Kamaiya Samaj (MKS) and District Police Office (DPO) is used. These participants are mixed up and stratified in different category shown as below:

Figure 2: Sampling Structure
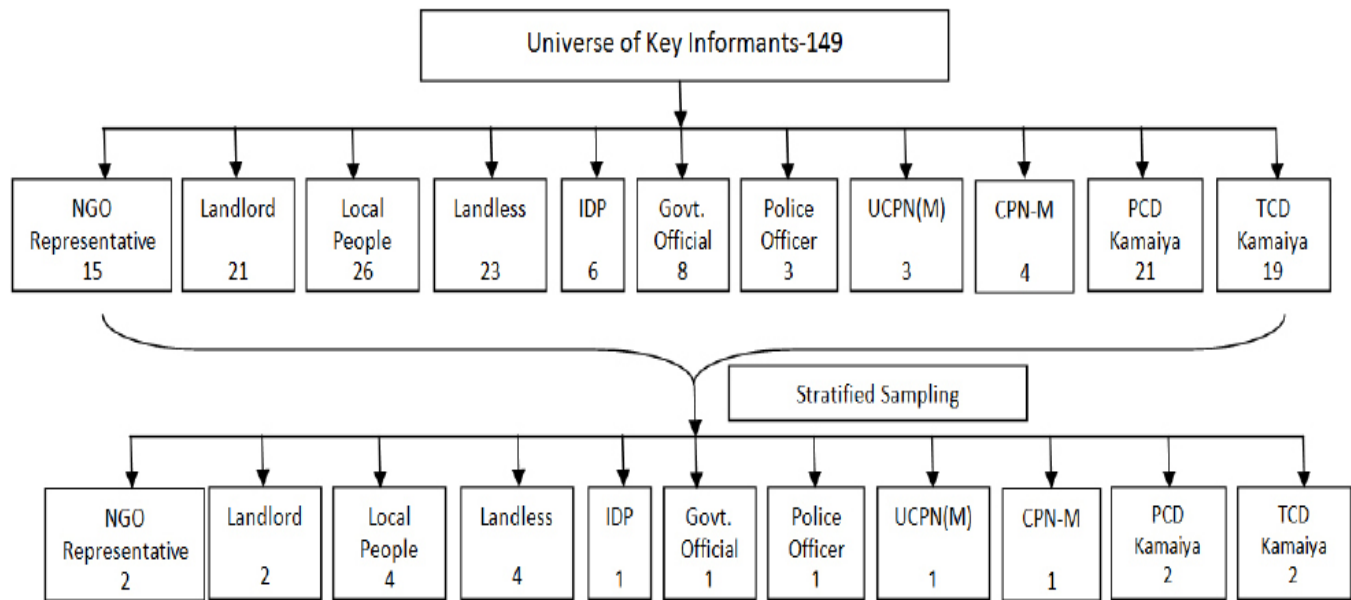
Another tool to collect data, a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) has been carried out to gather information relating to attitudes, and problems of the concerned stakeholders. As it was organized using limited resources, interactive participants were very less in number. However, it has helped to some extent to understand the attitude and problem of different people in front of different stakeholders. Convenient sampling has been used to select 7 NGO representatives, 9 local people, 6 landless people, 7 temporary camp dwelling Kamaiyas and 6 permanent camp dwelling Kamaiyas.

The content analysis was done subsequently after collecting and analyzing news and articles published in *Kantipur Daily* from April 2011 to June 2012. Similarly, both opened and closed types of survey questionnaire sheets were developed after conducting a pilot study in the camp and data were systematically collected that included interalia, socio-economic condition, rehabilitation process, and perception of Kamaiyas.

CONSTITUTION AND TREATIES

The Constitution of Kingdom of Nepal, 1990 and the Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2007 were promulgated to accommodate the basic needs of the marginalized people of Nepal. However, in the 1990 constitution of Nepal, the word 'Kamaiya' was not mentioned anywhere to address the inhuman practice like Kamaiya system. Similarly, the Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2007, even though mentioned the word 'Kamaiya', their rights have not been accommodated in the fundamental rights section. Rather it has been cleverly placed in the Directive Principle and Policy section of the constitution that no question shall be raised in any court as to whether the matters contained in that part are implemented or not. In this way, Kamaiyas were further marginalized systematically even under constitutional framework.

The Government of Nepal has ratified several international treaties. Nepal Treaty Act, 1991 ensures the implementation part of the treaty obligation mentioning that the provisions of the international treaty shall be enforceable at par with Nepalese laws. However, only a very few petitions were filed in the Court with regards to the provision of these international treaties.

Legal provisions

In order to stop cruel, inhuman degrading treatment like the Kamaiya system, Nepal has no other specific law except the Kamaiya Labour (Prohibition) Act, 2002. It is worthy here to mention about the provision of this Act.

Kamaiya Labour (Prohibition) Act, 2002

The Kamaiya Labour (Prohibition) Act 2002 mentions that on commencement of the act, the bonded labour system shall stand abolished and every bonded labourer shall stand freed and discharged free; and any obligation to render bonded labour ineffective. However, the offences for contravention of provisions of the act are punishable with negligible fines i.e. Rs 10,000 only. This act prohibits labour or services provided by a person to his creditor without any wages or at low rates of wages to repay loans. Another significance of this act is that loans do not have to be repaid under the provision of section 5.Though, this Act intends to end inhuman degrading treatment, and punishment is confined to negligible amount of fine without imprisonment of the culprits. Such provision creates condition for return back of ex-Kamaiya to their previous landlord.

SOME LANDMARK DECISIONs REGARDING THE ISSUES OF KAMAIYA

Writ against *sauki* (debt) exemption:

On August 9, 2000, Khem Raj Joshi, a representative of Peasants Rights Conservation Forum, Geta -7, Kailali filed a writ petition in Supreme Court of Nepal mentioning the Article 7 regarding the Rights of Property in the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal 1990 to challenge the government decision to exempt debt given to the Kamaiya without the consent of the landlords. In their order, Supreme Court mentioned that the Article 20 of the constitution prohibits the selling of human being or making anybody involve forcefully in any activity against his/her will and interpreted that the practice of bonded labour is unconstitutional.

Writ petition to get proper land

Alongwith 823 liberated Kamaiya, Man Bahadur Chaudhary who has got land certificates comprising of public land space, canal space, in-between the highway, along the riverside, and amidst the jungle, filed a writ petition in the Supreme Court on September 14, 2005 to get proper land where they can resettle. On September 14, 2005, Pashupati Chaudhary along with 1,500 liberated Kamaiyas filed writ petition against the government authority seeking to get land as per the Article 14 of the Kamaiya Labour (Prohibition) Act 2002. Petitioners also claimed that 1,500 liberated Kamaiyas have been compelled to go back to their landlords for their survival, as they think they were betteroff before.

After hearing on these writ petitions, the Court issued an order of mandamus in 2007 directing to identify the Kamaiya with identification cards and not yet receiving any facilities from the government. Court ordered the respondents to provide the facilities to the former Kamaiyas: land, shelter, and employment as per the Act and also directed to set rules and regulations within one month from the date of issue of the order. Even after six years of the mandamus order, no significant progress has been made. In fact, Kamaiya labour system continues to flourish in the western lowland of Nepal.

Life in Camp

Even though it has already been twelve years since the government emancipated the Kamaiyas, the liberated Kamaiyas are still in a miserable condition. The objective of this part is to analyze their socio-economic condition, the hardship they have been facing and the activities being carried out to rehabilitate them through different variables.

To analyze the life in camp of the freed Kamaiyas, their socio-cultural condition, health and sanitation, rehabilitation process, livelihood status and perception of the Kamaiyas have been examined. Under the socio-cultural condition, households and family structure, marital status, literacy, educational attainment, social status, gender-based discrimination is considered. Under health and sanitation, drinking water, hygiene and sanitation, mode of healing, food sufficiency, and alcohol consumption have been analyzed. Under rehabilitation process, ancestor's land, duration spent as Kamaiya, duration spent in landlord's house after being freed, citizenship status, classifications of cards, land identification and distribution, housing facilities, reason to stay in particular camp are obtained. While analyzing livelihood status, components like occupation, skill development programme, saving, loan status, sources of loan, reasons to take loan, ownership of modern equipment, livelihood opportunity and accessibility, market accessibility from resettled area, employment are analyzed. Similarly, while analyzing perception of Kamaiyas, social interaction and interrelation, freedom and future plan have been considered.

Figure 3: Problems faced by Kamaiyas in Camp
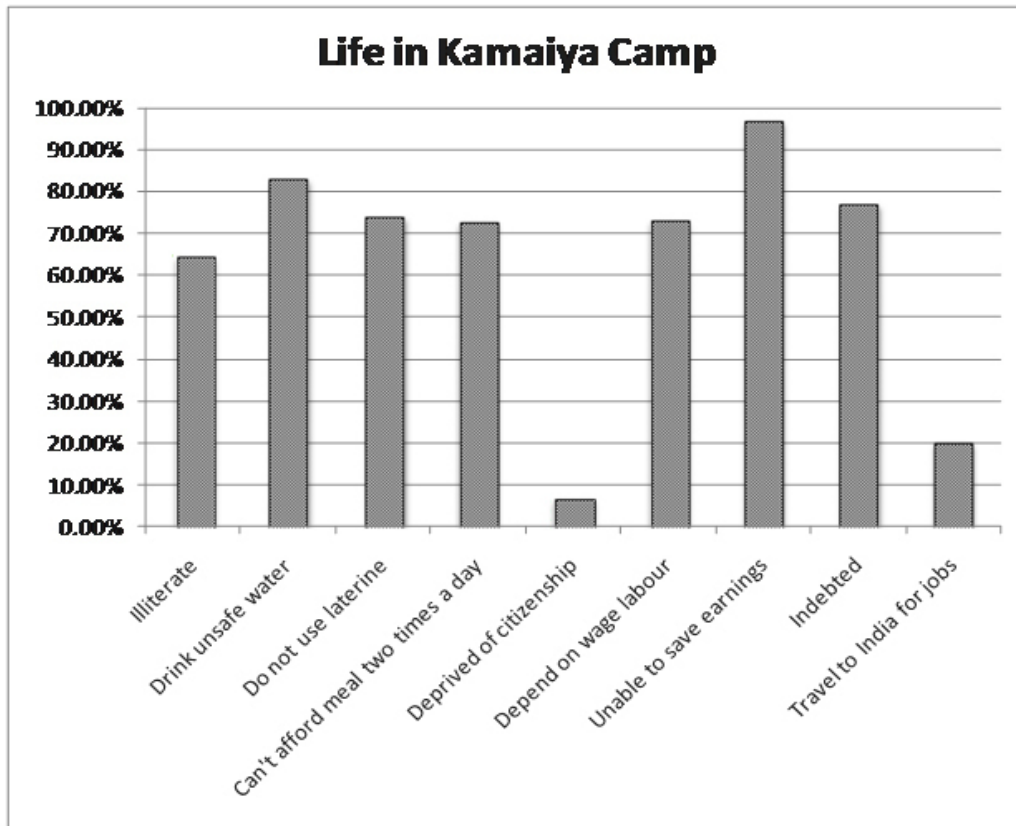
Quantitative data obtained from the study reflect the multi-dimensional aspect of problem faced by Kamaiya people in their respective camp. After analyzing population composition from 30 households of the study area, it was found that all the Kamaiyas were from Tharu Community. Though, the socio-economic condition of Tharu people has been changing rapidly according to their family structure and marital status, imbalance in the economic activities of the Kamaiyas can still be observed. Almost 68 per cent population of the age group 11-20, is married. This clearly reflects the alarming rate of child marriage in the study area. Still 64.77 per cent of Kamaiyas are illiterate in the study area. Parents argued that they cannot afford to pay for their children's education as they are already indebted in loan and need to work very hard to sustain their livelihood.

Health and sanitation of Kamaiya in the study has been measured in terms of water they drink, and their surroundings. Statistical survey on drinking water shows that 83 per cent of the total sample population in the camp drink unsafe river water directly, which often result into health- related complication to them. Only 26 per cent households have access to pucca latrine. Open defecation is a significant risk factor for cholera due to an increase in the fecal-oral transmission of the disease. Field survey shows that 27 per cent of Kamaiya households hardly get one time a day meal. It clearly reflects on the alarming situation of food insecurity in the camp.

There were 6.67 per cent household members who were deprived of citizenship certificates. Study suggests that the majority of the liberated Kamaiyas i.e. 73.33 per cent depends on wage labour in the Bardia district. The wage that they get from whole day work is hardly enough to feed their family two times a day. Due to this problem 97 per cent of Kamaiyas are always penniless. Furthermore, 77 per cent of them are indebted due to loan taken for ceremonial expenses like festivals and marriage, treatment of the sick family member and to buy food and clothes. Widespread illiteracy, poverty, food habits, extravagant culture is some reasons to deepen Kamaiyas' indebtedness and marginalization. They do not have property to take loan against it. So, most of the Kamaiya borrow from their self-help group, friends and relatives. Those who have good relation with previous landlords can get loan from landlord. Study suggests that no one was getting loan from bank. Almost 53 per cent Kamaiyas have taken loan from friends and relatives at a high interest rate.

It was found that not a single household had a television set. However, 80 per cent of them had cell phone. This study suggests that majority of the Kamaiyas i.e., 60 per cent heads of households have planned to do labour intensive work, whereas 20 per cent have planned to work in India believing that going to India will help them better to support their family in Nepal. Viewing health and sanitation, livelihood programme, rehabilitation process, and perception of Kamaiyas, their degrading livelihood situation is apparent. As Kamaiyas are vulnerable to conflict due to the unmanageable livelihood problem, all concerned stakeholders should be aware about the fact that extreme frustration breeds conflict in the society.

Conflict Dynamics

Kamaiyas might lose their patience if promises made by the government in the past are not implemented. This unpleasant situation resulting into complex interaction and interrelation between Kamaiyas and other stakeholders at different levels are shown in the figure below:

Figure No. 4: Conflict Dynamics
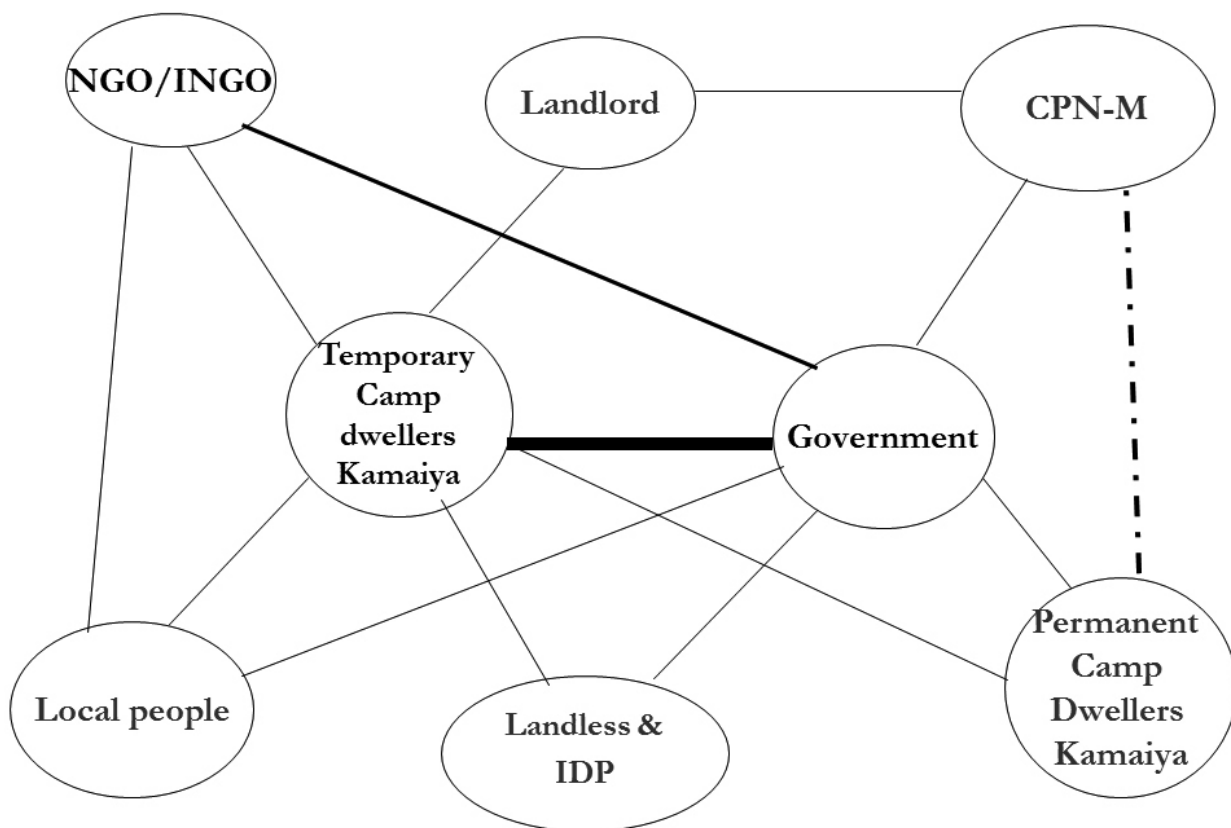
Temporary Camp Dwellers Kamaiya Vs Government

Out of 30 households of the study area, 22 households had Kamaiya identity card but remaining 8 households lacked it. This was the major cause of psychological distinctiveness among them. Therefore, their interaction with government ought to be examined.

Kamaiya without identity card:

Except for the fact that they had been declared as free, the Kamaiyas had nothing else to be happy about. Rather, they had complains towards the government for worsening their living condition by forcing them to leave their landlords' houses in the midst of rainy season. They had to move around helplessly in search of food and shelter due to which they could not even register their names in the freed Kamaiyas list. As government has stopped Kamaiya registration programme since 2001, these genuine Kamaiyas were ready to stir up their claim to get Kamaiya identity card.

Kamaiya who have received the Kamaiya Identity Card but have not received any land yet:

There was growing dissatisfaction among those Kamaiyas who have not received any land despite having received the freed-Kamaiya Identity card. These Kamaiyas had sought identity cards relentlessly and they had even gone on fast for weeks. Some of them had even died due to the lack of necessary medical treatment. Eleven years have passed since these Kamaiyas got the freed Kamaiya identification card; however, until now they have got nothing else besides the card itself.

TEMPORARY CAMP DWELLING KAMAIYA VS. PERMANENT CAMP DWELLING KAMAIYA

Different groups of the Kamaiyas have their own interests and demands. As a result, common consensus is lacking among them regarding the rehabilitation programme. For instance, the motive of the Kamaiyas who do not have the freed Kamaiya identity cards is to get card while the motive of those who already have the cards is to get the land. Varying interests among the Kamaiya groups have resulted into an egoistic conflict among the groups. Those Kamaiya who have political access have easily got lands and building materials along with some financial support but others are living with nothing except hope.

Even though, the freed Kamaiyas are supposed to have no class or groups, the reality is different. The NGO established by Kamaiya have clear objectives to work in favour of Kamaiya rights but Kamaiyas themselves are blaming NGO for marketing the name of marginalized Kamaiyas and misutilizing the grant they receive in their name. According to the report of the *'Fact Finding Committee for the Rehabilitation of the Freed Kamaiya'* formed with the coordination of Kunta Sharma of Legislative Parliament in 2006, only the witty and clever Kamaiyas had got the facilities given by the government while the ignorant ones couldn't come forward to claim their rights. Hence, the report advised the government to bring those deprived Kamaiyas in the forefront. This fact finding mission report clearly reflects the reality of discrimination among the Kamaiyas themselves.

The temporary camp dwellers Kamaiyas have blamed that all the NGO/INGO only prefer permanent camp dwellers and request to form local group to implement their activities. Ultimately, this resulted into proliferation of various groups and some selected person occupied the key position in different groups which makes them powerful. As a result, the Kamaiyas are against the wishes of their own leaders with diminishing level of trust towards them, due to which there is a high probability of growing tension between them.

Temporary Camp Dwellers Kamaiya Vs. Landless and IDP

The *Gorkhapatra* of July 17, 2012 mentioned that out of 27,570 households; 23,680 households are resettled. But the *Mukta Kamaiya Samaj* states that it has records of the statistics of a total of 32,509 Kamaiya households including those who are yet to receive the Kamaiya identity card. As per the claim of the *Mukta Kamaiya Samaj*, 27 per cent Kamaiyas are still waiting for the time of resettlement. In the report of the *'Fact Finding C*ommittee *for* the *Re*habilitation of the *Freed Kamaiya'*, it is stated that since in many camps the Kamaiya and the landless people have been staying together, it is difficult to distribute land in such places because of the obstruction created by the landless people in the distribution process demanding land for themselves as well. Consequently, these two groups are fighting each other for their own reasons respectively; one for not getting land inspite of struggling along with the Kamaiyas, and another for obstructing the land distribution process for the Kamaiyas. Such complexity resulted into an unpleasant relation between the Kamaiyas on the one hand, and the IDPs and the landless on the other.

Temporary Camp Dwellers Kamaiya Vs. Local People

Kamaiyas are still using forest timber as the main source of fuel for cooking. As a result, the locals are angry with the Kamaiyas for using forest products from their community forest due to which they are even attacked by the locals sometimes. Similarly, the locals are against the Kamaiyas for destroying the forest for settlement. Moreover, the locals have complained that the Kamaiyas had taken away their employment opportunities by charging lower wage than the actual market rate. Local people do not like to see Kamaiya camp in the vicinity. They perceive that Kamaiyas are not civilized people and regular contact with them can make their children uncivilized too. Similarly, the locals want to keep their children and family members away from alchoholism that prevails among the Kamaiya community. The Kamaiyas say that the constant threatening and domination by the locals had made them suffer. Thus, they have become closer to the Maoists as the ideology preaches them to retaliate against any subordination.

Temporary Camp Dwellers Kamaiyas Vs. NGO/INGO

Kamaiyas are found to be complaining that initially they were Kamaiyas of their landlords, but as of now they have become the Kamaiyas of the NGOs. Kamaiyas have not been receiving even a per cent of the total fund directly. Kamaiyas

have become a means for accumulating fund for the NGOs. Hence, the Kamaiyas feel that they are more exploited by the NGO than they were by their previous landlords. They concede that landlord were making money by using and exploiting their energies and labour previously, but now the NGO/INGOs are making money selling their name. Exploitation is the same but under different garb.

Due to the continuous pressure and instruction from the government to NGO/INGOs for stopping their assistance to temporary camps dwelling Kamaiyas, most of the activities of NGO/INGOs are concentrated especially in the permanent camp. For instance; some Kamaiyas of the permanent camp have taken training of more than 20 different programmes but the Kamaiyas of temporary camp hardly have any opportunity to get such trainings. Similarly, the Kamaiyas of the temporary camp have no shallow tube-well and toilet facility which is generally provided by the NGO/INGOs in the permanent camp. Due to such discrimination, the Kamaiyas of temporary camp often consider the NGO/INGOs as their new landlord who exploits them by selling their name.

Temporary Camp Dweller Kamaiyas Vs. Landlord

At the time when most of the temporary camp dwelling Kamaiyas were liberated, their landlords did not give them any recommendation letter, thinking that their land might be confiscated for subequently allotting to those Kamaiya. Due to the lack of such recommendation letters, they were unable to get Kamaiya identity card. Many temporary camp dwellers have, therefore, bad impression about their landlords.

On the other hand, the Kamaiyas of the temporary camp are highly indoctrinated by the CPN-M. According to the instruction of CPN-M, some youth of the temporary Kamaiya camp have started to capture the land of the landlords. Such adverse acts have ruined their relations with society day by day.

Permanent Camp Dwelling Kamaiyas Vs. Government

Permanent Camp dwelling Kamaiyas are less prone to conflict compared with the temporary camp dwelling Kamaiya. Primarily, their interests are to get land where they had resettled. But after getting land, they have started complaining that the land provided to them is insufficient to feed their family.They feel trapped. Most of them say that if they leave the place where they are staying in search of the alternative job, the government would repeal their land registration certificate. But, if they continue to live there, they will not have enough to survive. In some areas where they are living, they do not get enough wages to sustain their family even for a day. In addition, they cannot go to urban areas for job as they cannot afford to pay for transportation fares to reach there. Kamaiyas who have been given land nearby the river are often facing problem of flooding during the monsoon season. Such complex situations lead Kamaiyas to protest against the government.

Government Vs. Landless and IDPs

In some cases, the liberated Kamaiyas were guided by the landless and IDPs in their movement to capture land for settlement. They also help them to organize movement in a more systematic manner. One of the reasons for the IDP and landless to include Kamaiyas in their movement was to avoid governmental intervention.

After capturing the land, all Kamaiyas, IDPs and landless people started to resettle in the temporary camp together. But, later the government used force to drive them out. The IDPs claim that their situation is even more pathetic than that of the Kamaiyas, hence government should take legal measures to provide lands to the IDPs as it did in the case of Kamaiyas. Similarly, landless people claim that they are in top priority area of the government and have equal rights as that of the Kamaiyas. Therefore, they need land for their livelihood.

On the contrary, government claims that there is no law and regulation other than the Kamaiya Labour (Prohibition) Act, 2002 to provide land to the IDPs and the landless. Such situation may lead to a conflict between landless people and IDPs as one of the conflicting parties and the government on the other.

Local People Vs. Government

Due to the joint movement of liberated Kamaiyas with IDPs and landless, the government has become a mute spectator of the land capturing. When they resettled there, several socio-cultural problems emerged. For instance, they polluted the environment, collected firewood from the community forest and ultimately destroyed natural resources.

In the month of June 2012 alone, the government extracted 76,000 cubic feet woods from the community forest to provide construction materials to Kamaiyas despite the protest of Community Forestry Consumer Federation. Beside this, the locals who stay in nearby liberated Kamaiya camp say that they are worried about their children who might learn the

bad habits and filthy language of the liberated Kamaiyas who are perceived by them as uncivilized. So, local people are against Kamaiya settlement in their locality.

Government Vs. NGO/INGO

At the time when the trust of the Kamaiyas in the NGO is fading, the government authority has also become dissatisfied with their activities. The government accuses the NGO for working without proper coordination and for encouraging Kamaiyas to capture land. Moreover, the government is unhappy with the act of the NGOs to provide financial assistance to Kamaiyas to organize protests against the government. The Minister for Land Reform and Management, Jagat Bogati on February 3, 2007 stated that the funds cannot reach the target group until the governement adopts a 'one-door policy' to assist Kamaiyas. The *'Fact Finding Committee for the Rehabilitation of the Freed Kamaiya'* has stated that the Kamaiyas are capturing land with the support of the NGOs and the INGOs like BASE, Action Aid and Plan Nepal and these organizations are providing them shallow tube-wells, basic needs provisions as well as making schools without the permission of the government.

Government is seeking to endorse the 'one door policy' programme to help liberated Kamaiyas but NGOs are not ready to accept government instruction. NGOs take such instructions of the government as against the right to form association. They claim, if people are dying without food and water, nobody should wait for formal command for the humanitarian assistance like installation of shallow-tube-well and food supply. They also claim that people may raise question on the presence of the NGO, if they could not provide at least humanitarian assistance when needed. On the other hand, if the NGO is required to fulfill all the formal procedures of government before humanitarian assistance, people may die due to starvation and lack of medical support. Due to such powerful logic of NGO, government failed to implement the 'one-door policy' in the area. Another important factor is that the NGO/INGO and the government authority sometimes bid for the same project with same donor agency, and such competitions tend to destroy their existing relationship.

CNP-M Vs. Government

During the time of this research, the UCPN (M) was at the turning point of its intra-party conflict. The Prachanda-Baburam faction of the party was adjusting with the capitalistic system, but the Vaidya faction was guided by the extremist Maoist thought against capitalism. Despite the circular issued by Maoist headed government, the Vaidya faction continued to oppose the government restriction and motivated its cadre to capture land.

On January 7, 2009 the Supreme Court issued a mandamus order in the name of government to return back captured land to the land owners. After this order, government started to show their presence in the captured land to make it free through the use of Armed Police Force, but the effort has been rendered useless. Vulnerable Kamaiyas, landless and IDPs are capturing land according to the instruction and support of the Vaidya faction, which was leading the situation toward confrontation.

The District President of Nepali Congress Sanjaya Kumar Gautam mentioned that Maoist returned back the land in the day time and captured in the night time. This indicates they have their internal policy to capture land of the individual. Furthermore, he blamed that the Prachanda-Baburam faction of UCPN (M) works in day and Vaidya faction of same party works at night. His claim seems closer to reality. The President of the UCPN (M) Prachanda came to the district on November 20, 2011 and instructed party cadres to return back the land to the landowners. On November 25, 2011 the Maoist organized talk programme between the farmers who had captured land and land owners and agreed to return back land to land owners including the land belonging to the Nepali Congress leader Binaya Dhoj Chanda. However the Vaidya faction captured his land at night.

In December 2011, the Land Returning Facilitation Task Force comprising of Maoist District In-charge Tilak Sharma and Deuputy In-charge Durga Bahadur Chaudhary were requesting land capturers to return back the land to landlords. But, Drabya Shah of the Tharuwan State Committee of the Maoist party was organizing a programme against the decision of the Land Returning Facilitation Task Force at the same time. According to Shah, the Vaidya faction had compelled to capture the land as the meeting of the Sub-Committee of the Constitutional Committee of December 14, 2011 decided not to incorporate any provision of the land-reform in the fundamental rights section of the draft Constitution. The Chief District Officer of the Bardia district Ram Krishna Subedi accepts the fact that 6.7 square kilometers land of the 249 family had been captured by land capturer. In order to speed up land capturing activities, the Vaidya faction formed Security Force (*Surakshha Dasta*) consisting of disqualified and voluntarily retired Peoples Liberation Army (PLA) and Young Communist League (YCL) in the district on 9th May 2012. This radical force is capturing land against the

government's instruction without fear.

The intensity of confrontation did rise when the UCPN (M) formally spilt and the Vaidya faction announced new party, CPN-M, on 18 June, 2012. After a week of new party formation, Durga Chaudhary, District Coordinator of the CPN-M mentioned that the land capturing activities is the foremost campaign to establish revolutionary land reform. According to him, the UCPN (M) is serving the vested interests of bourgeois. So they are forced to capture useless land of landlords to distribute to the poor, marginalized and martyr family. Such rivalry between the governing UCPN (M) and CPN-M is leading towards potentially violent situation.

Local People Vs. NGO/INGOs

NGO/INGOs have been playing a significant role to explore land to resettle the liberated Kamaiyas. When Kamaiyas started to resettle in the temporary camps, the NGO/INGOs often helped them with logistics like tents and shallow tube-well. Such acts of NGOs have helped to expand the temporary camp against the dislikes of the local people. They blame NGO/INGOs for introducing unwanted groups of people in their area without proper homework. They allege that the NGO/INGOs are conducting such activities only to impress the donors and receive grants without giving any attention to the social impact of their activities.

CPN-M Vs. Permanent Camp Dweller Kamaiyas

As mentioned above, it can be said that the permanent camp dwelling Kamaiyas are less vulnerable to conflict than that of the temporary camp dwellers. The Permanent camp dwellers are in the position of wait and watch strategy of the government action to address their problems. But, the Vaidya faction wants to recruit even the Kamaiyas of the permanent camp in their movement to capture the land of landlords immediately. It has created a problem in the permanent camp. Even though, the land and facilities they have got till now are insufficient, the government has promised them to provide other basic facilities in the days to come. On one hand, they are willing to join the movement of Vaidya faction; on the other hand, they are still optimistic about the helping hand of the government. They are also anxious that if they join the movement to capture the land of landlords, they might lose the land which they got from the government. The journalist of *Kantipur Daily*, Kamal Panthi mentioned that some Kamaiyas were leaving the government -provided land in order to cultivate the Maoist- captured land. According to *Panthi*, the government had distributed 450 Kattha land to 90 families in 2004. Around 40 families had fenced their doors to go to other places to cultivate Maoist captured land.

The District in-charge Hari Gyanwali of Vaidya faction proudly told that around 600 Kamaiyas and landless people are resettling in the captured land. The officer of Land Reform Ministry, Krishna Thapa said that 400 Kamaiya families of far away Karnali River side were provided land in the Mathura Haridwar, Bijayanagar and Janatanagar areas. But they just took the land registration certificate and didn't resettle there. The landless people and IDPs are encroaching upon their land.

In 2011, the Ministry of Land Reform had published a 35-days notice in the name of the resettled Kamaiyas to come into contact with the Land Reform Office in order to protect their land owner status. After the announcement of such notice, permanent camp dwelling Kamaiyas are desirous to cultivate Maoists' captured land by abandoning the land they got from government. But, cadres of Vaidya faction are encouraging them to participate at least in training session and only very few radical Kamaiya youth have been joining such programmes. The Vaidya faction is not happy with the permanent camp dwellers. Analyzing such a situation, we can conclude that there is undercurrent of latent conflict between the permanent camp dwellers and CPN-M. Also, temporary camp dwelling Kamaiyas and government are the two main stakeholders of this latent conflict. Other stakeholders connected with this problem are permanent camp dwelling Kamaiyas, landless people; IDPs, Local People, NGO/INGOs, landlords, and the CPN-M. All of these have unique type of non-functional relationships with each other. Mistrust among each other is creating psychological segregation. Such a vulnerable relationship among the stakeholders might invite an unimaginable problem in the long run.

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RISHIKESH: SILENT HUM OF MYSTERY

Ambika Talwar*

EDITOR'S NOTE

Ambika Talwar is an educator, published author and artist, who has written poetry since her teen years. Her style is eclectic and ecstatic making her poetry a "bridge to other worlds." She has also won an award for a short film at a festival in Belgium. She practices IE:Intuition-Energetics™, a fusion of modalities, goddess lore, sacred geometry and creative principles for wellness and wholeness. In this essay, she narrates experience of her journey to Rishikesh in the sacred Himalayas and pleads against reducing pristine places of the sacred landscape into tourist hubs.

Keywords: Ganga, Haridwar, Himalayas, puja, Rishikeshswastika, technological junk.

INTRODUCTION

With mild trepidation and a touch of enthusiasm, I agreed to write this story of my visit to Rishikesh some years ago. Moments after, it dawned on me that I could not recall much about my days in this august city of pilgrimage. I smiled: so typical of me to jump into the ring of fire and wonder what happened. *Déjà vu!* Not the visit but my habit.

So I called my mother in Delhi to ask what she recalled. Neither of us could even remember which year it was. But she tuned in and started talking. She recalled how fantastic it was that we had the darshan of Swami Chidananand Saraswati of the Divine Life Society where we had stayed. She said this was a rare thing. I recalled being ushered into the visiting room. I remember Swamiji looking at us, gesturing that I move closer…then handing me some pamphlets.

Mother spoke about the Lakshman jhoola, the temples along the River Ganga, the Shiva statue. Then she laughed saying, "That's it. No more."

Visions came alive in my mind's eye in an eidetic train of possibilities. The statues made by a German devotee for the temple, life size statue of Vishnu and Lakshmi in Vaikuntha, the divine Ganga where boats are held in place by strong iron chains, shops selling items for *puja* in temples, restaurants…

1. I remember how much I had wanted to visit Rishikesh among other cities. Having lived away from India for a number of years, I had developed a longing to connect in ways I hadn't when I was a child. The old wanderlust was stirred. The sacred was dancing. When I arrived in New Delhi, I insisted that we three travel north. Father loved to travel, but said no, take mother with you. Mother was keen. We left by train one early morning.

The train pulled out of Delhi station, then stalled, stopping amid fields on the outskirts of the capital. After a long hour or so torrid with smells and indecision, mother and I decided to leave the train. We found a three-wheeler, which took us to the bus stop. We reached in time for a bus towards Haridwar – the door of God.

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* Ambika Talwar teaches at a Cypress College, Cypress in California, USA. She is the author of *4 Stars & 25 Roses* (2008), *Creative Resonance: Poetry—Elegant Play*, *Elegant Change*(2006)*, Words for hungry Tongue* (2000), *Poems in Color* (1995). E-mail: mygold-enmatrix@gmail.com

Getting to Rishikesh would be a further challenge as finding a connecting bus was not easy. If I recall, we hired a taxi. In the eyes of the divine, what would it matter how one arrives at a destination. We might each have been told at some point that the destination is never the goal. It is something far deeper, even if ephemeral; far more poignant, even if it calls for one to be stoic.

Journey is a celebration, a dance. It is an answer to a longing of the soul; is this not Love in all its forms? I smile for I recall being told there is something inherently poetic about being Indian, that we philosophize every little human act or decision. I have not a response.

I imagine mountaintops with wild hair of *rishis* and Mothers fanning the winds. For in the head is glowing fire.

2. Our supposed destination is this beautiful place by the foothills of the Himalayas. We are here. I feel physically charged and excited and wish to begin my exploration of holy sites and treasures. I think: I am here! I am in Rishikesh.

Call me not tourist

in search of fame

take away even my name

or what's a river for?

Mother and I arrive at the ashram and are shown our room. One rule mother lives by is to clean the room and bathroom wherever we land. This is a way of making it one's own. My eagerness to get out borders on impatience. Finally, we leave and walk down the slope back towards and past the *langar* (where food is served) to the temple of many rooms. The main room of this temple has statues of Mother Durga and Saraswati, each made by a devotee, who had lived here for many years. These are exquisite expressions of love. How the lines flow with dynamic grace of the Mothers who are the center and electrifier of all cosmic expressions.

The goal of journey is to find this mystery. There is much more to discover.

As we go towards the gate, a man from the temple calls out to us. We wait. He comes to us calling, "Ma." He wants to know who I am, where I am from. I feel a little shy. He brings us mangoes, my favorite fruit. His name is Dushrath. I feel his adoration and wonder about it. As we are leaving, he will hold the fruit for us. He tells us he had run away from his home in Orissa when he was around 14 years. Difficult life struggles led him here where he found peace and self. Thinking about this moment itself triggers my body with vibrations, which have become now very frequent in the last two years.

From here, we head out to town. Up and across the road, we visit the main center of the Society. Here we meet with Swamiji. Poignant moments with him go with us to the narrow streets with vendors lined by temples and the river. How beautiful is this Ganga; this is the closest I have come to our ancient waters, source of a trillion legends.

how fast she flows

cold rush of wild

knowledge

Mother and I cross the Lakshman Jhoola to find narrow lanes, which take us to other temples. On this first day, we stay close to the central areas. But we get a wondrous view of Lord Shiva's statue, elegant against the blue sky. For a short while, we walk along the river and watch the boats neatly secured. They have to be, for the water rushes at a phenomenal speed. Swimming in here is prohibited. One has to enter the wild river holding on tightly to the chains held fast by solid iron posts, or be carried away by her passionate love.

I remember the smell of the air lifting over the river. Then I wonder. How does a mythos smell— one that has cradled a civilization for thousands of years; one whose breath has spawned poetic utterances now caught amid sheaves of paper; one that continues to inspire right thinking, one that will maintain harmony and love? I am caught in these musings again even as another devastating war is causing a deeper wound in our hearts and psyches and all life is on the alert.

How shall a timeless mythos continue to birth its new ways in the midst of uncertainty of the survival of the very species that is causing its own demise? It is not that wisdom cannot pour through technological junk as is surely evident by the diverse texts on the web, myriad impressions on film, and ways of calculations. It is the alacrity with

which corrupt beings distort the power of innovation that speeds our end and that of all species on this glorious planet.

Somehow, mother and I find our way to a temple within the confines of a wall, which is painted pink and decorated with a *swastika* at regular intervals. The boundary wall has the familiar look of cracks and mildew, which is somehow comforting. We enter through the white metal gate contained by a white wall with a scalloped arch above which is a sign in *Devanagari* that says Mani Kuta Dham. The temple inside is lovely, but I cannot recall who the deities were. What I remember are small altars on the first floor with different deities: we love our diversity of form, symbol, and attributes. The silence is sweet; one can always hear the birds. We linger inside here for quite a while.

When we depart, we see a young man sitting beside one of the *swastikas*. Curious, I begin a conversation with this traveler from Israel in search of his peace. I ask how it feels to sit by a *swastika*. He smiles for he understands its real meaning, a meaning distorted for gain and loss, a meaning that reveals ultimately harmony of the cosmos through the revolution of planets around the sun in a symbol also of the Celts, the Greeks, and indigenous peoples of the Americas.

Mother and I walk back to the ashram. She has hurt her foot, so we go slowly.

As we return to the ashram, Dushrath who had been awaiting our return brings us the fruit. He walks us back to our room and waits outside to walk us to the *langar*. Inside here, we find our plates and sit on the floor. We are served rice and vegetables. When we eat, we wash our plates in the community washing space, which is all wet and not so clean. Unfortunately, in the framework of making spiritual offerings, people have forgotten the care of the vehicle. Surely, body, mind and spirit must be in balance and equally cared for. Also the body outside us, the places we inhabit. But that cleaning is always left to someone else.

3. *black night lingers in dreams*

let birds waken us

to majesty

of loving kindness.

After a strange waking, I step out to find a bowl of fruit left at the door. Dushrath and his devotion touch me endlessly.

When we leave to eat at the *langar*, he waits to walk us there. He is again excited to see me and he shows us around the temple again. He shows us his simple home. He assures me he will bring me mangoes the following day. My heart falls for we have little time in Rishikesh.

We begin our adventure along the slopes of these winding roads amid mountains whose mystery and rough beauty invites. We stop at a jewelry shop and buy *sphatic malas*, necklaces made of naturally occurring crystal beads. We stop at another shop where sits a palmist. He asks to see my palm and then makes a strange look. Mother says, we should never show our hands to strangers. I don't know what he saw; I know what I am becoming.

We continue to discover more and more temples along the river and among rich diversity of trees, wild fauna. It is their breath too that marks the walls of temples and houses. It is not uncommon to see a new baby tree growing out of a wall. Innocently life expresses itself in myriad places where the sun shines.

Far from the main walkway amid huge trees and houses are small *kutiyas* here and there: homes for the *sadhus* whose lives are spent in prayer. Somehow holiness or a sense of it marks the bricks that walls are made of. Holy men with dreadlocks and red turbans sit on steps or by tea stalls; homeless men lie in slumber and rest under trees. Temple bells stir the air every so often. I hope commerce will not take away the rhythm of this town.

Local folk watch us with interest. Dressed much like them, I wonder why we are the cynosure of curious eyes. The chatter of people walking and temple chanting weave the spaces in which we walk.

we are that weave

always that sings

in chaos…

a riot of colors

splinters hearts

open amid falling fruit.

We visit old temples, some are part of old houses: it is a way of life. Just as there is no separation in true heart and mind and we (might) live in concert with nature, so, too, in the old structures that emerge one from the other set amid trees. Yes, monkeys, too, are part of the scenario. How can we be separate!

River Ganga calls us to sit beside her, but not for long. Once evening changes color, we are asked to move away from the edges. The rhythmic lapping of water by the shore and the rushing of the river remind us to honor the silence. Mother and I wonder at the difficulties of our family: why is this condition of the whole world? Our last evening here is wrought with bitter-sweetness as we reflect on passages in our lives and what yet we desire, so be fulfilled.

4. We carry our bags outside where Dushrath waits loyally for us. I feel already his sadness at our leaving. He insists on carrying all our bags down the street to the bus-stand. He wants to know when we will return. His tear-spiked eyes won't let go of my gaze. I do not know which Mother he saw in me. But my feeling of my own journey is renewed.

mango is an endless road

kissed in this air

a pathless path

of devotion…

remnants of time

point to that other road

where points meet

a luminous eye.

In a few hours we reach Haridwar. Such a crowded place that walking through the milling throng is a challenge I had not experienced in some years. In a tiny cab jostling on narrow roads in this ancient Door to God, we reach the river. Of course, it is the river where much happens. In a few hours will be the *aarti,* waving of lights and song for blessings.

This time, I hold the chains and step into the river. Delicious and cold, the water wraps round my slender body, I breathe in a taste of glory, I feel sated now. Cold water always brings me to serenity. All around me people are waving these lights made with small *atta diyas* placed in banana leaves. These are then let go of in the river, so the blessings go far and wide. Bones of the cremated are cast in the water further downstream. Mine are still living bones, but living and dying are concurrent streams.

I come out of the water soaked to the head, wave my own *aarti* and set my desires free into the river. What will I manifest? What will I become?

5. I return with longing for all that was stirred in me, the days when Mother sang her primordial sounds into the weaves of my body, perhaps, before I was born — this body in my own mother's womb taking on her unsung songs. My own mother who traveled with me to these shores has been wistful with her own longing.

What if we erase old symbols, icons, and tools and began anew! What if we return to our primal sound and sense and rewrite our longings with the silent hum of light and dark: pure, ineluctable, and ubiquitous.

dark eyes of Dushrath

remind I am

kiss of simplicity

interwoven mesh

of timeless wonder;

SHE dances in me

and I must be as She

wild whole potent

love is devotion!

In just three days, a bite of Himalayan air brings me to my hidden self. The wild hair of the sages will carry secrets of such seeds in the wind, the fires, the water, and the mountain gaze stolid in the far distance. My hair wet with Ganga water frames my face as I gaze at the flame winking in a *diya* on a banana leaf in my hands.

Now 20 years later when I look through the internet for pictures of places my mother and I had visited, I find a wild splash of tourist attractions: water sports, beautiful yoga on the banks, eateries. Someone got it wrong. Someone wrote the wrong contracts. I wish some of these are just tags for other places, that Rishikesh still has a magic that lured me into its heart.

That which is pristine must remain so.

TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN RURAL HIMALAYAS OF UTTARAKHAND – A CASE STUDY OF CREATING OPPORTUNITIES THROUGH CSR

Syed Asghar Mehdi*
Balmukund Sharma**

ABSTRACT

This paper examines the role of eco-tourism by involving local communities and the companies to supplement rural income from agriculture and generate much-needed employment. A case study was done in the village of Chhera near Pithoragarh town in the Uttarakhand by launching a marketing campaign Rythm' ('Round the Year Tourism and Holiday Management') in the year 1996-97. The growth in tourist arrival helped supplement income of twenty families.

Keywords: camp tourism, capacity building, supply chain management, Pithoragarh, Tourism.

INTRODUCTION

The far flung areas may still not be able to develop as full time destinations but the corporate sector can still develop Residential Seasonal Tourism for distant places that are underdeveloped despite possessing the natural and/or tourism resources as the case of Chhera Village nestled amidst the beautiful hills above the town of Pithoragarh. Pithoragarh town is situated at an altitude of 4,567 ft from sea level, located in Soar valley. Pithoragarh district is the easternmost Himalayan district in the state of Uttarakhand, and landscaped with the high Himalayan mountains, snow capped peaks, passes, valleys, alpine meadows, forests, waterfalls, perennial rivers, glaciers and springs. The flora and fauna of this area has rich ecological diversity. The geographical area of the district is 7,100 sq.km. Tibet plateau situated to the north of the district. Nepal lies on the eastern borders. The River Kali originates from Kalapaani, forms its continuous eastern boundary with Nepal.

Pithoragarh also borders China. The Hindu pilgrimage route for Mount Kailash-Lake Mansarovar passes through this district via Lipu-Lekh pass in the Greater Himalayas. The district is administratively divided into five tehsils, namely Munsiyari, Dharchula, Didihat, Gangolihat, and Pithoragarh. Naini Saini is Pithoragarh's civil airport though not in frequent use these days.

Pithoragarh town is filled with temples and forts belonging to the era of the Chand rulers. Pithoragarh for the remaining 14th century after its conquest by the Rajwar of Ukko Bhartpal in the year 1364 was ruled by the three generation of Pals and the kingdom extended from Pithoragarh to Askot. The Chand dynasty again took control over Pithoragarh town in the 16th century and built a new fort. Pithoragarh remained a Tehsil under Almora district during the British domination until it was elevated as a district in the year 1960 after independence.

Tourism study project was undertaken at the Chhera Village, around 9 kms. away from the Pithoragarh town and around 2kms away from Chandak. Chandak is situated at an altitude of 2000 meters, and perched beautifully above the town of Pithoragarh with excellent views of snow capped peaks of Nanda Devi, Panchachuli and Appi of Nepal.

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*Syed Asghar Mehdi is a Faculty in the Department of Hospitality & Tourism Management, Mewar University, Gangrar, Chittorgar
**Balmukund Sharma is a Research Scholar at Mewar University, Gangrar, Chittorgarh

The practical case study eventually was successfully implemented and local communities supported tourism. The place was marketed s a tourist destination commercially in 1996-97 through the campaign launched under acronym, *'Rythm'* ('Round the Year Tourism and Holiday Management'). Camp tourism project carried out with the financial and marketing assistance from Fast Travel Bureau Pvt. Ltd. based in New Delhi. It was a small size company engaged in ticketing, hotel bookings, as well as having fleet of few cars on hire for tourists. The corporate ticketing clientele of the company booked tickets and hotels for short holidays in the nearby hill stations of Mussorie and Nainital (both in Uttarakhand Himalayas). Pithoragarh around 150 kms. farther from Nainital did make business sense after going through the author's proposed project both in terms of starting the organized tour operations in the region, as well as funding the project with an aim of business strategy -led corporate social strategy.

CORPORATE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY AND INDIAN TOURISM

The attempts to develop Tourism in India have so far remained focused to few select states, like Rajasthan, Goa and Kerala and other few traditional locations and circuits. On the other hand, agriculture, the largest rural employer — disguises major problems of underemployment, and has been able to offer little in terms of providing additional employment opportunities. Rural development languishes in India where majority of population (68%) is still living in villages untouched by globalization and rampant problems of poverty, hunger, ignorance, ill health, high mortality and illiteracy. This is created by defects in our planning process and investment pattern. India has the potential to meet these challenges in rural areas. However, the efforts of Governments may not be adequate to provide basic services to its citizens. It is being increasingly recognized that progress and welfare of a society is not only the responsibility of the Government alone, but many more stakeholders need to be involved to attain the development goal. The corporate sector has a crucial role to play in ensuring not only private investment flows to those rural areas that have been left out of the development process so far, but to also work for sustainable development of rural areas in general by employing the sustainable supply chains and sustainable industries. Sustainable tourism development in rural India through steady and equitable investment flows under the corporate social responsibility obligations can be one of the solutions.

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is nothing but the movement from purely profit towards profit with social responsibility and is essentially a concept whereby companies decide voluntarily to contribute to the society to make it better and environmentally cleaner (*European Commission*, 2001). The perception of the role of corporate in the broader social context within which it operates, has been altered as an integral part of society and accordingly act in a social responsible way that goes beyond economic performance (*KPMG and ASSOCHAM*, 2008). World Business Council for Sustainable Development defines that "Corporate Social Responsibility is the continuing commitment by business to behave ethically and contribute to economic development while improving the quality of life of the workforce and their families as well as of the local community and society at large" (*WBCSD*, 1999). CSR is the ethical tool for the companies to give something back to the society or the responsibility of an organization towards the environment and society in which it operates. There can be various CSR Models that has been advanced in theory and followed in practice. Gandhian Model of Ethical responsibility is all about voluntary commitment by companies to public welfare. Nehruvian Statist Model holds that State ownership and legal requirements determine corporate responsibilities. The Corporate responsibilities limited to private owners holds good for Liberal Model of Milton Friedman; and the Stakeholder Model of R Edward Freeman is of the opinion that the Companies respond to the needs of stakeholders (customers, employees, communities, etc.) . These are the four models of corporate responsibility (*Ritu Kumar et al.*, 2001, 2-3). The study by *Khan and Atkinson* (1987) shows that most of the Indian executives agreed CSR as relevant to business and felt that business has responsibilities not only to the shareholders and employees but also to customers, suppliers, society and to the state. A survey by Tata Energy Research Institute (*Ritu Kumar et al.,* 2001) in several cities in India revealed that more than 60% of the people felt that the companies should be held responsible for bringing down the gap between rich and poor, reducing human rights abuses, solving social problems and increasing economic stabilities. *Centre for Social Markets* (2003) conducted a study in which it was found that social responsibility is seen to be as an important business issue within the sample firms, irrespective of firm size, age, sector, location, primary purpose or legal status. The findings of these surveys emphasized companies across India reveal that philanthropy is the most significant driver of CSR, followed by image building, employee morale and ethics respectively. *Arora and Puranik* (2004) reviewed contemporary CSR trends in India concluding that the corporate sector in India benefitted immensely from liberalization and privatization process, its transition from philanthropic mindsets to CSR has been lagging behind its impressive financial growth. Contrary to this, some organizations do not like a philanthropy-based approach as it might not help build on the skills of local populations, whereas community-based development generally leads to more sustainable development. In such the case the better approach to CSR is to incorporate the CSR strategy directly into the business strategy of an organization.

While there is no single definition of CSR, it clearly no longer refers solely to contributions detached from a company's core business. It means adopting open and transparent business practices that are based on ethical values. It can also refer to managing all aspects of operations for their impact not just on shareholders, but also on employees, communities and the environment. Ultimately, CSR is about delivering sustainable value to society at large, as well as to shareholders, for the long-term benefit of both business and society. The element of sustainability for CSR in business makes it important to study for the tourism sector as this sustainability element in this sector defines the longevity or over burdening of the tourism of a region, place or country. This is because the problem lies in how to balance the needs and wants of the tourism industry – consumers and suppliers – with the social, environmental and financial determinants of sustainability.

The areas of concern under CSR activities in India range differently with least CSR concern for the Rural India. There are large gap for the researches exploring the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) practices particularly in the context of rural development. A more critical examination of the fact is required as to whether the corporate consider rural people as a stakeholder. *Verma and Chauhan* (2007) found that roads, pollution and power are the major concern of corporate CSR activities as compared to least concern area which is communication and education. Another study by *Dutta and Durgamohan* (2009) found that education takes the first place followed by health and social cause. Most of the modern researches have relied on the fact that the CSR activities in the rural India in the form of health, literacy and social causes follows the relief and philanthropy model as opposed to the requirements of corporate to follow the business strategy model of CSR activities to derive the sustainable and long term results in income and employment in rural India. The present study is the case study following the simple methodology of adopting one remote Himalayan village by the business strategy- led CSR following one company and the successful result that can be an eye opener for such practices.

Tourism as one of the vibrant service sector can be harnessed for better generation of income and employment. Tourism, the largest revenue and foreign exchange earning service industry the world over, is well recognized as the ready-made tool for economic development and employment generation. India is one of the foremost growth centers in the world. Indian tourism sector is urgently required to drastically close the gap between existing supply and expected radical increase in tourism demand in a very near future. Further, the annual Asian Development Outlook (*ADO*, 2012 Update) presents an analysis of developing Asia's recent economic performance, mentions that India must diversify its growth drivers and notes that the service sector development is poised to play a critical role in the country's future growth. The update also mentions that a vibrant service sector is much needed that would have broad economic benefits, for all segments of the society. Tourism can be one such growth drivers.

Tourism is a complex mixture of business and community activities (*Godfrey & Clarke*, 2000). *Harrill & Potts* (2003,p. 233) believed that "tourism is an invisible industry, encompassing transportation, loading, and entertainment. Unfortunately, tourism is also invisible to many planners, so tourism development is often left to private developers and leisure service providers". Tourism Sector in India has enormous capacity to generate large-scale employment opportunities. Tourism not only offers business opportunities to local residents, but it can serve as a vehicle for marketing a place to potential residents and firms. *Jean-Luc Arregle, Michael A. Hitt, David G. Sirmon* and *Philippe Very* (2007) in their research paper, develop and extend social capital theory by exploring the creation of organizational social capital within a highly pervasive, yet often overlooked organizational form: family firms or the local communities can be effectively utilized for retailing the Indian tourism beyond the borders of the country.

McIntyre et al. (1993, p.50) states that local communities must organize themselves at all levels to play a more effective role in development, and interact with government and role-players at all levels. They must be able to identify potential tourism resources and attractions within their communities and support and promote responsible tourism and community development. They should be eager participants in tourism decision making with respect to major tourism development for communities. *Kepe* (2004, p. 45) states that local communities should play a proactive role to ensure positive benefits from tourism. In India, the technical planning and assistance can prove crucial to tourism development success for many small communities with limited resources in the short run and may solve the long run shortfall of human resource development for growth in Indian tourism and in turn can focus on rural development through the sector. The present study is carried out through the practical involvement of the local communities at Pithoragarh into developing a tourism village.

SUSTAINABLE TOURISM SUPPLY CHAIN MANAGEMENT

Tourism is characterized by the interdependence of its different sectors, by the small scale of its many operators, by the fragmentation of its different markets and by the spatial separation of origins and destinations. These characteristics lead to a desire for combined action, a willingness to unite to achieve common goals, and a need to form tourist organizations

(*Pearce,* 1992) and effective tourism supply chain whose goal is to increase revenue and create employment. The supply chain comprises the suppliers of all the goods and services that go into the delivery of tourism products to consumers. It includes all suppliers of goods and services whether or not they are directly contracted by tour operators or by their agents (including ground handlers) or suppliers (including accommodation providers). Tourism supply chains involve many components - not just accommodation, transport and excursions, but also bars and restaurants, handicrafts, food production, waste disposal, and the infrastructure that supports tourism in destinations. This efficacy of this most vibrant service sector essentially depends on the most workable supply chain management and modeling.

Tourism, like all other supply chains, operates through business-to-business relationships, and supply chain management delivers sustainability performance improvements alongside financial performance, by working to improve the business operations of each supplier in the supply chain. The main differences between tourism supply chains and those of other sectors are that tourists travel to the product, and the product that they buy has a particularly high service component - in other words, it involves a higher proportion of people in the immediate production of the holiday experience. Tourism is a coordination-intensive industry in which different service products (transportation, accommodation, excursions, and so on) are bundled together to form a final tourism product. The long term integrated planned growth management gives way to sustainable tourism management.

The new concept for Supply chain in tourism is now getting more focused on Sustainable supply chain management (SSCM). Sustainable tourism in the true sense calls for the management of an under or unrealized region along with conservation and sustainable use of ecological diversity and the eradication of poverty through generating employment opportunities. Tourism is an eco-diversity dependent industry and recent trends and forecasts point to a spreading of tourism to new destinations. Although this may bring opportunities for economic development and poverty alleviation, it will also introduce the environmental impacts of tourism to areas which may hitherto have been unaffected by tourism development.

SUSTAINABLE SUPPLY CHAIN MANAGEMENT IN TOURISM – A PRACTICAL CASE STUDY OF CHHERA VILLAGE, PITHORAGARH

Tourism project was undertaken at the Chhera Village, around 9 Kms. away from the Pithoragarh town and around 2kms. away from Chandak. The mainstay of the Chhera village before the project commenced was agriculture with one small grocery shop. One or two families owned jeeps that were mainly used for transporting passengers from Pithoragarh town to Chandak or Mushtamanu Temple, a local attraction dedicated to Lord Mushtamanu. The village was fairly sized and consisted of nearly 15-20 houses. Each household had extended family system. The district of Pithoragarh in the Himalayas had negligible tourism till the commencement of the current project in 1995-96. Also,there was absence of articulated offer in terms of tourist products.

The practical case study was conducted and eventually successfully implemented through support of local communities. Place was marketed commercially in 1996-97 under the acronym of *'Rythm'* ('Round the Year Tourism and Holiday Management'). Camp tourism project was carried out with the financial and marketing assistance from Fast Travel Bureau of New Delhi.

The Methodology adopted to implement the project was carried out in the following chronological steps:

1. *Identifying the destination for tourism activities*: While identifying the area, the following considerations were kept in mind:

    (a) Identifying the location that may be loosely termed as remote, having at least basic natural tourism attraction;

    (b) Identifying the location in a rural or local setting;

    (c) Identifying the location with local communities' readiness to adopt to tourism activities as well as to participate in entire tourism supply chain system arising out of expected tourism activities; and

    (d) Reviewing the three locations around Pithoragarh Valley (Bhalot Region, Chandag Region, and Jhulaghat Region). The Chhera Village in the Chandag region was aptly suited as tourist destination in comparison with the other two and was also closer to the downtown of Pithoragarh.

2. *Research carried out to measure the readiness:* Willingness of the local communities to adopt to tourism activities in the few short-listed locations in the Pithoragarh district was measured through questionnaires, and eventually leading to the implementation of the project at Chhera Village.

3. *Assessment of supply chain factors*: One of the important components of execution of study and hence the project was to assess and subsequently implement the effective Sustainable Supply Chain Management System to cover the :

   a) Accommodation

   b) Transportation

   c) Food and crafts

   d) Tourism Activities

4. *Marketing*: This involves service / product development, place / destination and pricing & promotion. Marketing the place with the process of empowering the communities to think, choose and practice the kind of destination their village ought to be through Travel & Tour Agency Channels, Selling as Packaged Product, Promotional series in Game shows on TV Channels and Direct Marketing Activities.

5. *Capacity Building:* Capacity building efforts being put into the operations of tourism project of Chhera Village, Pithorgarh can be loosely be put into the following categories:

   a) Inclusion of community members into the tourism activities as an entry point strategy;

   b) Awareness of tourism and development issues including the need for development of sustainable tourism in their areas;

   c) Training on tourism linked skills and livelihood;

   d) Practicing tourism as an alternative livelihood and not as main source of profession in their local environments;

   e) A project of this nature cannot involve all the people of the entire community, however the direct beneficiaries to be identified on the project and also to keep an eye on the interest of the entire community for the indirect benefits.

The project was implemented through the accommodation created and the sustainable tourism activities, practiced between 1996 and 1998 in Chhera Village Pithoragarh, A two way system was created for the accommodation as

1. Camp Tourism as an initial attraction; and

2. Local community residents hosting the tourists in their decked up portion of their house with basic comforts as the guests.

This helped in better environmental performance; employment conditions for staff and provision of training on sustainability issues for local community residents. This also helped in creating the socially and environmentally sustainable tourism packages and suppliers at low operational costs. Further this type of arrangements led to tourism being welcomed as an alternative means of livelihood for the local communities. This helped reduce the over burdening of the place in the longer run and the right skilling at the destination itself. The *Rythm Camp* project took into consideration how ground transportation by local operators can generally promote greater fuel efficiency and cultural synergy with the local environment. Utilizing the local transporters (few of whom were earlier plying between the village and Pithoragarh town) vehicles on the tour itineraries of *Rythm Camp* also caused a subsequent rise in Jeep vehicle ownership in the village.

Food and crafts can generate considerable profits for the local population, when volume production and delivery at set quality standards can be met by local producers. Key issues for local sourcing of food supplies in the tourism sector are quality, reliability and quantity of supply. Promotion of local sourcing of food supplies. Soar Adventure Club promoted the soft to medium trekking and expeditions programs for visitors' itineraries / packages and developed free training events to promote environmental awareness. The training emphasized the fragility of mountain ecosystems. Basic skilling program on Hospitality Management, Guides and Trekking Supervisors were imparted and induced local employment in Camp tourism for serving their own tourist guests sourced through *Rythm Camp* at Chhera Village, Pithoragarh, supporting the substitution of locally-grown and locally manufactured products. The tourism activities helped promote local arts and crafts as well as local entertainment to increase the income levels of host communities and enhance the preservation of local culture.

RESULTS AND CONCLUSION

The mainstay of the Chhera village before the project commenced was agriculture with one small grocery shop, few tea stalls and a small store selling daily household use items. One or two families owned jeeps that were mainly used for

transporting passengers from Pithoragarh town to Chandak or Mushtamanu Temple. Each household has had at least one member working or were small tradesmen in the Pithoragarh town, or were working outside in Delhi or Nainital or one or two members serving in the Indian armed forces. The average income of each of households was around Rs.4000-5000 per month (as per the primary door to door research carried out in the village in December 1995, this may have excluded their agriculture produce for their own household use).

The tourism project funded though Fast Travel Bureau Pvt. Ltd. remained operational for more than two years in the summer seasons and the financial finding gave the following result:

1. The fixed project cost incurred initially for the two years has been around Rs. 70,000 including cost of rent of the site, Camping tents, and all related accessories, etc.

2. At least two members from each family remained employed as *Rythm Camp* Member as either regular staff; or on the local communities' local kitchen and food; trek and day excursion tourism activities.

3. The earning can be visualized by following figures on total guest nights and the spending locally at the Chhera Village.

Table 1: Growth in Tourism in Chhera

Period	Total Nights/Days	Total Spending at Chhera Village (INR) /Day
Summers (May-June) 1996	30	19500
Summers (May-June & October) 1997	224	145600

This figure of spending includes the Camp / room rents in the Chhera Village and all tourism activities pursued in the village and do not includes the other outside expenditures or marked up profit for Fast Travel Bureau on each guest who visited at the *Rhythm Camp* at Chhera Village.

CONCLUSION

It can be effectively concluded that the local communities were ready to adapt to controlled and sustainable tourism as an economic supplement to their pre -existing rural economy. Almost 20 families in the Chhera Village collectively earned a considerably extra income during the two summer seasons. Deducting all costs (and assuming equitable income on the long run for all families in the village), a family earned more than INR2000 during that period which was much more than the earning from the excess agriculture produce after meeting out their requirements. This is just an eye opener for the companies who can effectively market as well as effectively earn the profits as well as carry out their CSR obligations aimed at further enhancing their business growth.

The study and the project show intense focus on sourcing activities and on establishing strategic local inroads, in order to benefit from a competitive advantage. But very few have researched the downstream supply chain management, especially demand management, most research being in theory. We believe the above results are a starting point for future research and implementation on establishing tourism adopted by the CSR- led Corporate in the rural hinterland along with local participation and plan the tourism on long term sustainability. If at all the companies diversify their businesses into adopting the rural areas and villages with their local communities in the tourism potential areas or developing the villages into tourism potentials, they can solve much of the problems of 68% rural India with regards to employment and income.

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CLIMATE CHANGE AND LOOMING CRISIS OVER TIBETAN PLATEAU

Kota Mallikarjuna Gupta*

ABSTRACT

Tibetan Plateau is known for its rich ecological and biological diversity. The diverse ecosystems in Tibet Plateau are home to many rare species of plants and animals. Environmental degradation of Tibet will seriously impact the livelihoods of local communities. China's rapid urbanization will continue to influence the ecology and environment in Tibet. Ecologically sensitive region like Tibetan Plateau will continue to face challenges emerging due to climate change, glacier melting, and infrastructure development. This paper summarizes the impact of coming infrastructural projects over Tibetan plateau.

Keywords: Biosphere, China, Ecosystem, Environment, Giant Panda, Infrastructure, Mineral Resources, Nature Reserve, Qinghai, Sichuan, Tibet, Tibetan Plateau, Xinjiang.

INTRODUCTION

Environmental resources have contributed for the growth of human civilization from ancient times. The development of society, culture, and religion is associated with environment. The livelihoods of ancient societies were linked with various environmental resources like river waters/lake waters, forests and mountains. The development and growth of agriculture, aquaculture, architecture, navigation, animal husbandry, transportation and arts and crafts are possible with the availability of natural resources. The role of natural resources in flourishing of civilizations in India and China is significant.

The biodiversity in ecosystems led to the development of medical sciences like Ayurveda in India and Acupuncture in China. The interaction of human societies with nature continues to leave behind significant impact on geographical ecology and global economy. Natural resources like palm leaves, contributed to the development of literature and poetry in India. Similarly, the development of paper was possible with the use of resources like bamboo in China.

Tibetan Plateau is rich in natural resources like water resources, grasslands, deserts, diverse flora and fauna and glaciers. Many lower riparian regions like East China, South Asia and South East Asian economic activities are associated with ecological prosperity of Tibetan plateau. The plateau is also home to many mountains peaks like Mount Kailash considered sacred.

ECOLOGICAL PROSPERITY OF TIBETAN PLATEAU

The plateau of Tibet (*Xizang Gauyuan*) located in the southwest China is known for its high mountain ranges on the Earth. It is the highest plateau in the world, spread across 2.3 million km with elevations that average more than 4000 meters above sea level. (*Thomson Gale*, 2003). Mountain ranges, deserts, canyons, lakes, glaciers, alpine forests and grasslands form diverse ecosystems of Tibetan plateau. Land surface features, vegetation and meteorological characteristics show variations between western and eastern parts of Tibetan plateau. The southern boundary of the plateau has rapid changes in surface elevation. (*Wu*, 2006)

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*Kota Mallikarjuna Gupta completed Master's degree in peace- building and conflict- analysis at Nelson Mandela Centre for Peace and Conflict Resolution, Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi.

China has 2.1 million km² of land with continuous permafrost with glaciers covering around nearly 60,000 km². Most of this area with permafrost and glaciers is located in Tibetan plateau. The average annual temperature in alpine continental climate of Tibetan plateau varies between -8ºC and 0ºC, with many local variations. The river valleys in the southern part of the plateau have an average of 8ºC and summers without frost. (*Nielsen*, 2009)

The greater part of the plateau receives less than 300 millimeters of annual rainfall, whereas rivers valleys experience more precipitation. The frequency of hailstorms and thunderstorms are high in summer and strong winds in winter and spring. Tibetan plateau is a treeless wetland and steppe, turning gradually into alpine desert in the northern arid region and forests in southern and eastern edges. (*Nielsen*, 2009)

Around 65% of 152 million hectares of China's protected forests are concentrated in Tibet, Qinghai province, and Autonomous regions of Xinjiang and Inner Mongolia. (*Veeck*, 2009). Grasslands cover 41% of China's territory; Inner Mongolia and Qinghai-Tibet plateau are two large areas of grasslands. The grasses in Tibetan plateau grow shorter, tough and sparse with less moisture conditions. With an area of around 82 million hectares, grasslands are spread in 68 % of Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) and 60% of Qinghai –Tibet Plateau. (*Gaubatz,* 2009)

The biodiversity is rich in alpine grasslands of Tibetan plateau with animal and bird species. Wild yak, Tibetan antelope, Tibetan gazelles, Himalayan blue sheep, Tibetan wild asses are mammals found in the region. The predators found in Tibet are brown bears, wolves and snow leopards. (*Gaubatz,* 2009) Grass lands of Inner Mongolia, Qinghai-Tibet plateau, Xinjiang, Gansu and Sichuan account for 70 % of sheep, 44% of horses, 39% of donkeys, 100% of horses and 25% of all cattle and goats in China. Most of the livestock industries of China are located in the grassland regions. (*Gaubatz*, 2009)

Huanglongxi natural reserve in northwestern Sichuan province, on the edge of Tibetan plateau is known for Giant Pandas habitat. Red Panda, golden snub-nose monkeys, water deer and 55 other mammal species and 155 bird species are featured at Huanglongxi reserve. The reserve is selected as World Heritage Site for natural scenery and endangered wildlife. It also has nearly three thousand natural hot pools of varied color water. (*Tuttle,* 2009)

Tibet Autonomous Region (TAR) is home to 798 varieties of wild vertebrates, of which 125 species are listed as national protected wild animals in China. The autonomous region is habitat to over 9600 varieties of wild plants and over 6400 high plants. There are 855 kinds of high plants in TAR, which are unique in the world. The rich biodiversity of Tibet provides raw materials for Tibetan medicines. Nearly 300 varieties of high plants are utilized as raw materials in Tibetan medicine. There are 93 mammal species, 497 bird species, 56 hetero-fauna and 134 fish species recorded in the Mount Kailash region of Tibetan plateau. (*Zomer & Oli*, 2011)

Nature reserves are established to preserve rich biodiversity of TAR in China. There are 47 nature reserves, including 9 reserves at the national level, 14 reserves at the municipal level and 24 reserves at the county level in TAR, China. These nature reserves are spread across an area of 413, 700 km². (*Zhang*, 2011)

Many natural reserves in China are incorporated with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Man and Biosphere (MAB) Program. (Rioux, 2009) Some of the major nature reserves in and around Tibetan Plateau under UNESCO's MAB program are listed below.

- Jiuzhaighao nature reserve in Sichuan province. Located on the edge of the diverging belt between Qinghai-Tibetan plateau and Yangtze plate, the natural reserve is known for its natural scenic landscape with lakes, waterfalls and limestone terraces. (*World Heritage Convention*, UNESCO)

- Sichuan Giant Panda Sanctuaries-Wolong, Mt. Siguniang and Jiajin mountains. This world heritage site is located between Chengdu Plateau and Qinghai-Tibetan plateau with seven nature reserves and eleven parks. The sanctuaries are home to more than 30 % of highly endangered world pandas and endangered animals like red panda, the snow leopard and clouded leopard. (*World Heritage Convention*, UNESCO)

- Yading natural reserve situated in eastern extension of Tibetan plateau of Sichuan province is known for its Alpine forests. Rare animal species like leopards, black bears, Asian golden cats and golden pheasants are preserved here. (*UNESCO*)

- Mount Everest natural reserve is the highest altitude biosphere reserve in world. There are 10 plant species and 33 animal species, which are protected. It is a place for scientific research and monitoring with unique alpine ecosystems and plateau landscapes. (*UNESCO*)

The biosphere reserves listed above are impacted by Tibetan plateau in many ways. Many nature reserves are located

in lower regions or borders of the Tibetan plateau. The natural resources like river water flow, lakes, and forests in Tibetan plateau are essential to support the habitat of migratory birds.

The density of lakes in Tibetan plateau is fairly high with 1091 lakes exceeding an area of one km².Remoting sensing data from Landsat satellite system highlight that 11 lakes in Tibetan plateau are spread over 13, 000 km². The major lakes in Tibetan plateau are listed below

- Qinghai Lake, the largest salt lake in China;

- Nam Co, the largest holy lake in Tibet;

- Serling Co, a mysterious lake

- Zari Namco, a lake with easy fishing resources.

- Tara Yamco

(*Tandong Yao*, 2011)

Image 1: Water Sources of Asia and Sacred Landscape around Mount Kailash and Mansarovar Lake
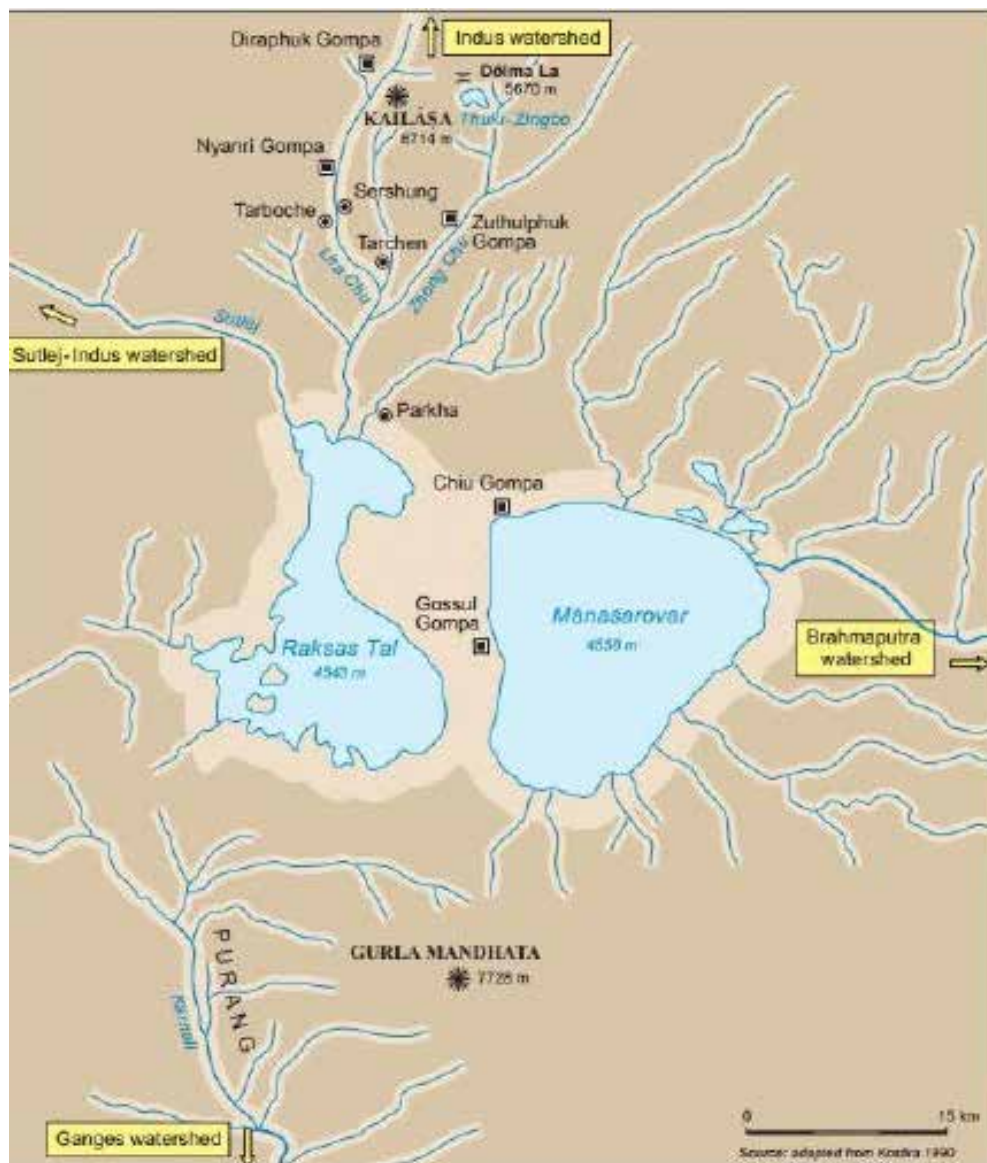
(*Design and* ©: Hermann Kreutzmann based on Kostka 1990)

INFRASTRUCTURE DEVELOPMENT IN TIBETAN PLATEAU

Infrastructure development is essential part of any modern economy. Infrastructure plays a major role in promoting connectivity and communications between various societies and regions. The role of infrastructure development is more significant to connect western and eastern parts of China.

Western Region development of China had two important strategic goals like development of transport links between densely populated eastern coast and western interior regions and natural resource development strategy. (*Perkins*, 2004)

Western and Central China are home for concentration and distribution of poverty –stricken population in ecologically sensitive regions. The interrelation between ecological degradation and poverty is further deteriorating living conditions of marginalized populations. (*Yihong*, 2004)

Listed below are some of resource oriented industries to relocate/move to western China:

- Development of energy resources like oil, gas, coal and coal based industrial zones in middle section of the Yellow river. It includes oil industry in Gansu and Shanxi provinces;

- Non-ferrous metal industry zone in Qinling Mountains. The project also includes exploration and development of copper, gold, silver, lead, and zinc mines in Qinling Mountains;

- Development of gas, phosphate chemical and construction materials industrial zones in Sichuan Basin. The plans also include construction of natural gas industry in Sichuan province, phosphate chemical and construction industry in Longmenshan region;

- Promotion of metal and coal industrial zones in western Panzhihua- Liupanshui region. The project includes development of Vanadium Titano-magnetite in western Panzhihua region and coal industry in Yunnan province;

- Mining industry in three parallel rivers protected areas of Yunnan province. It includes promotion of metal industry in eastern Tibet and western Sichuan province and non-ferrous metal industry in Yunnan province.

- Development of metal, oil and gas industrial zones in Qinghai-Tibet plateau. These plans call for promotion of mines in Gangdise Mountains and Yajiang River, mines development at Lake Palgon and Nujiang River;

- Hydro power plants in the Western China.

(*Yong*, 2011)

The White Paper issued by the Information Office of the State Council of People's Republic of China on development and progress of Tibet/Tibet Autonomous Region in October 2013, highlights many achievements. Some of the major highlights and development projects are listed below.

- Low-income houses were built and provided to 88% of local households of farmers and headers till 2012;

- 90 % of Tibetan townships can access postal services and 99 % of Tibetan townships are connected with road network;

- 150,000 rural households in Tibet use biogas as cooking fuel and 95% of rural families use iodized salt;

- Development of various industries like energy, light industry, textile, machinery, mining, building materials, chemical industry, food processing, folk handicrafts and traditional Tibetan medicine;

- In 2012, Tibet road network had 8,896 km of high sub-grade surface and roads opened for traffic increased to 65,200km;

- Rail travel began in 2006 on Qinghai-Tibet rail line. The construction of rail network between Lhasa and Shigatse will be completed in 2014;

- Tibet had five airports and nine airlines operating in 2012. It is connected with 34 air routes linking various parts of China;

- Internet penetration in Tibetan households is 33 % with 1.47 million connections;

- Urbanization rate in Tibet is 22.75% with two cities and 140 towns.

(*Information Office of the State Council of the PRC*, 2013).

The promotion of various patterns of solar-power development by integrating intensive exploitation with distributed

utilization. The construction of large on-grid photovoltaic power stations and solar power generation projects in Qinghai and Gansu provinces and Xinjiang and Inner Mongolia autonomous regions are planned during the 12th five year plan.

Solar energy in central and eastern regions will be encouraged to construct distributed photovoltaic power generations systems linked to local buildings. Solar water heaters, solar central hot-water supply, solar heating and cooling will be popularized. The installed solar power generating capacity in China will exceed 21 million km by 2015.

China's hydropower generation are linked with ecological environment protection and resettlements of affected local people due to hydro power projects. The White Paper on China's *Energy Policy 2012*, proposes that China will strengthen ecological-protection and environment-impact assessment studies, implement measures to preserve environment at existing hydropower stations. China will increase the speed of construction of large hydropower projects on key rivers; develop medium and small sized hydropower stations. (*Information Office of the State Council*, PRC, 2012)

Tibetan Autonomous Region government in China is planning to invest 30 billion yuan for afforestation project covering Yarlung Zangbo, Nguichu, Lhasa, Nyakchu and Sengye Khabap rivers. (*Xinhua,* 2013)

The numbers of vehicles in TAR have increased to 325,000, registering an increase of 322 percent more in the last 10 years. (*Qin,* 2014) The increase of tourists to Lhasa, TAR is a regular trend with improvement of transportation facilities. In 2012, Lhasa witnessed 26.5 % increase in tourists at 6.5 million. There is also significant increase in income generated by tourism sector.   (*Xinhua,* 2013)

The Qinghai-Tibet railway carried 11.73 million passengers and 57.7 million tons of cargo in 2013, with an increase of 8.8 percent and 12.percent over previous year. (*Xinhua*, 2014)

China now aims to increase highway networks in TAR to 110,000 km and rail network with 1300 km in operation by 2020. Tibet has received 83 billion yuan in transport investment in last 20 years. (*Xinhua*, 2014)

Private sector plays an important role in provide capital for investment in TAR and created 67,000 jobs in 2012. The public sector only created 24, 000 jobs in the same year. 561,000 people are employed in Tibet, which is nearly half the total number of working populations in the region. (*Xinhua*, 2013)

Most of the construction projects started in mid 1990's in TAR with huge investments, multi-categories, and large share of infrastructure and productive projects. 13 projects are involved with agriculture, animal husbandry, water and forest conservation, 17 energy projects, 6 industrial projects, 7 transportation projects and 12 cultural, educational, health related projects. (*Qin,* China Tibet Online, 2014)

ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGES IN TIBETAN PLATEAU

Tibetan plateau is experiencing various levels of degeneration at different altitudes and regions. The rate of ecological environment degeneration in densely populated areas is high when compared to alpine ecosystems at higher altitudes. There is also necessity for establishment of pilot demonstration site for promoting preservation technologies in Tibetan plateau. (*Zhang*

Xichang is located in southwest China and also known as "Moon City" or "Aerospace City" of China. Industrial development has led to the Xichang skyline dominated by smoke. Ecological preservation took a back seat as more investments flowed in for Western development plan of China. (*Yong,* 2011)

Research finding highlight about numerous mines set up below the mines of glaciers in Qilian Mountains. Such kind of mining activities near headwaters and protected areas create threat for availability of water resources. The mining activities were carried out at Geladandong Mountains- headwaters of the Yangtze River, in the Kunlun Mountains and Hengduan Mountains. The conditions were not different at world heritage site like old city of Lijiang in Yunnan Province and Dujiangyan irrigation system in Sichuan province. (*Yong,* 2011)

These activities are adversely impacting the flora and fauna of Tibetan plateau. Many Chinese scholars have observed that some species have been found in regions more north than their natural habitat. The Japanese white-eye bird used to live in places south of Shandong province. In recent years, it can be seen in Beijing and Yichun city. Similarly, the fork-tailed sunbird has moved north…….. The grey crane, which used to spend winter in southern china are visible in Yellow River Delta. (*Zhi*, 2011)

The habitats of giant panda continued to decrease due to deforestation in 1990's, road construction projects, hydroelectric power projects and other infrastructure projects. (*Zhi,* 2011)

    China's policies for addressing Climate change released in 2008 highlights about the impact of climate change on Tibetan plateau. Climate change will shrink inland lakes and increase the glacial retreat and reduction in area of permafrost. It altered the distribution of permanent permafrost of high-altitude regions of Qinghai-Tibet plateau. (*Information Office of the State Council of the PRC,* 2008)

Table 1: China's built area, 2011-2030 Scenario

(Unit-thousand square kilometers)

Region	Total Area (2010)	Total Area (2030)	Growth (2010-2030)
West China	6.7	15.2	8.5
Central China	6.6	13.4	6.8
East China	14.5	19.8	5.3
Northeast China	4	5.8	1.8

(*Source*: *UNDP China*, 2013)

Table 2: Regional changes in Energy use Scenario

Region	Energy Demand (2010) (billion ton coe)	Energy Demand (2030) (billion ton coe)	Share of Total Energy demand (2010)	Share of Total Energy demand (2030)
Northeast China	0.325	0.702	10%	11.5%
West China	0.812	1.885	25%	30.9%
Central China	0.715	1.214	22%	19.9%
East China	1.397	2.3	43%	37.7%

(*Source: UNDP CHINA*, 2013)

Table 3: Waste Water Discharges and Treatment , 2010

Province/ Region	No. of facilities for treatment of waste water	Total volume of water discharge (millions of tons)	Industrial waste water meeting discharge standards (millions of tons)	Attainment rate of industrial waste water discharge (%)	Total volume of sanitary sewage (millions of tons)
Xinjiang	971	254	146	57.3	583
Ningxia	359	220	173	78.7	187
Qinghai	103	90	54	59.9	136
Gansu	672	154	128	83.3	359
Sichuan	4437	934	902	96.5	1627
Tibet	16	7	2	29.5	31
Yunnan	2044	309	284	91.8	611

(*Source:* UNDP CHINA, 2013)

Table 4: Green areas and Forest Resources in Urban Areas,2011

Region/Province	Area of green land (hectare)	Coverage of forest (%)
Xinjiang	44,097	4.0
Ningxia	18, 399	9.8
Qinghai	3,894	4.6
Gansu	16,337	10.4
Sichuan	77,406	34.3
Tibet	2,943	11.9
Yunnan	31,940	47.5

(*Source*: *UNDP CHINA*, 2013)

The provisional emissions control plans for chemical oxygen during 12th five year plan show no change in emissions in Tibet and Xinjiang autonomous regions. There is increase of 18% in Qinghai province. Majority of provinces of China have targets to reduce emissions of chemical oxygen. The emissions control plans for sulphur dioxide during the same period follow similar pattern. Tibet and Xinjiang show neither increase/nor decrease in emissions. Qinghai province will increase its sulphur dioxide emissions by 16.7% .The similar pattern is followed in emissions control plans of nitrogen oxide in Tibet, Xinjiang and Qinghai. *(UNDP China*, 2013)

CONCLUSION

Rapid infrastructure development in western regions is promoting economic growth in TAR, Qinghai province and Xinjiang. These three regions form a major part of western China. The expansion of rail networks, air travel and highways will increase carbon emissions and stress on fragile ecology. Major parts of western China have no plans to decrease their emissions of sulphur dioxide, nitrogen oxide and chemical oxygen. Qinghai province will increase its emissions by around 15%.

The western region is going to experience massive demand for energy resources and raw materials for infrastructure development. The increase of vehicles in Tibet will also increase the carbon emissions and air pollution.

The impact of infrastructure development and climate change is also visible in the relocation of some bird species at new locations. The expansion of infrastructure facilities will increase the migration of populations from other provinces. The increase in tourists in Tibet and other nature reserves will also increase the frequency of travelling in these sensitive ecosystems. The promotion of green vehicles in fragile ecosystems can decrease the impact of increased tourist inflow to Tibet.

Chinese White Paper on Tibet's development highlights about the development of various industries in TAR. It also mentions of overall prevention and treatment of heavy metal pollution. (*Information Office of the State Council of the PRC*, 2013) According to China National Human Development Report, 2013, there are just only 16 waste water treatment plans in TAR. It is the lowest among all the regions/ provinces in China. There are no plans to decrease the emissions of many gases like chemical oxygen and nitrogen oxide.

The coverage of urban forestry in western China is very less when compared with other provinces of China. Long term measures must be initiated to increase the green cover in urban areas of Tibet, Xinjiang autonomous regions and Qinghai provinces.

Tibetan plateau is critical for development of renewable sources of energy like hydropower. Most of the Chinese hydro electric projects are situated on the rivers originating from Tibetan plateau. The ecological destruction of Tibetan plateau will impact the river water flows in lower riparian regions of China and South Asia.

Western development plan of China is significant to natural resource development strategy of China. Environmental preservation and ecological regeneration are important elements for sustainable development of China.

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EFFECT OF FLOOD ON GANGA'S FISH ASSEMBLAGES (DEVPRAYAG TO HARIDWAR)

Priyanka Sharma*
Dr.Sujata Gupta**
Dr. Meenakshi Mehta***

ABSTRACT

The fish assemblage structure was analyzed in the streams of the river Ganga of Uttarakhand state, India. Four different sites (Kosi, Suyal, Gagas & Gomti) were sampled before (February 2013) and after flood (September 2013). In this study, we focused on fishes of order Cypriniformes, Mastacembelis and Ophiocephaliformes.We have examined how regular floods of river Ganga affect the structure of fish assemblage of abovementioned order of fishes.

Keywords: cypriniformes, fish assemblage, flood, Ganga, *mastacembelis*, Ophiocephaliformes,river system.

INTRODUCTION

A flood is defined as the submergence of land not normally inundated. Surely, one cannot describe flood as the regular inundation of lowlands from high tides. One should also not describe as flood the barrage of the flood plain during the monsoon when the rivers of the basin are normally expected to carry a volume of water several hundred times greater than the dry months. The behavior of the monsoon has never been uniform. Monsoon is characterized by the spatial and temporal variation in the rainfall.

In the deltaic region of the Ganga, floods occur very regularly in the form of high river discharges during the monsoons as well as when sudden cyclones in the Bay of Bengal whip up tidal waves. The Brahmaputra and the Ganga generally have peak floods in August and September, respectively. This flood is like a curse for the poor and the marginal hill farmers in the uplands. Such flood effect quantitative relationships and the qualitative aspects of several important natural populations namely, macro invertebrate communities, fish assemblage and river corridor vegetation.

Study of effect of flood on fish assemblage is a major concern to fish biologist. Extreme flooding is critical for maintaining ecological integrity and biological productivity of flood plain rivers (*Rasmussen* 1996, *Poff et al.,* 1997). In river systems, extreme floods are primarily source of environmental variability and disturbance. Disturbances arise from a broad array of physical and biological effect which varies in their size, frequency and intensity (*Michener*, 1998). Erosive flood can reduce the density of population (*Seegrist and Gard* ,1972). The immediate effect of flood on individual fish seems largely to depend upon the fish size, life stages and on habitat complexity (*Pearsons et al.*, 1992, *Laboncervia ,* 1996). Flood can wash out larval and juvenile fish (*Harvey*, 1987, *Bishoff and Wolter*, 2001), while having little impact on adult life (*John* 1964, *Hoops* 1975). There is evidence that both the time of flood and the type of river habitat affected can influence the impact on fish assemblages (*Kushlan,* 1976, *Schlosser,* 1982; *Mathews,* 1998)

*Priyanka Sharma is a Research Scholar at Mewar University, Chittorgarh, Rajasthan, India.
**Dr. Sujata Gupta, Ph.D.(Zool), M.Sc.(Zool) is a Faculty at A.P-D.A.V College, Dehradun, Uttarakhand, India.
***Dr. Meenakshi Mehta, Ph.D (Zool, Edu), is the , Principal, Cosmos College, Noida,UP,India.

Non-availability or food affect extremely on fish assemblage. Certain fish species take complete advantage from flood and acutely depend upon, seasonal or periodic extreme flooding. Seasonal flooding coordinates natural systems by providing environmental cues from spawning migration processes (*Leitmal el al* ., 1991; *John*, 1963; *Poff and Ward*, 1981). Effects of extreme events on fish assemblage are separable according to fish species, life stage and recovery period.

Fish of dissimilar species and life stage exhibit unique sets of characteristics counting a biotic tolerance, feeding, habitat, preference, spawning habitats, physical appearance and physical capabilities. Individual characters allow certain species of fish, particularly those that are adapted to wide range of conditions, to manage better with flood conditions. Moreover, this is observed that native fish that are naturally adapted to system extremes, tend to perform fairly better then exotic species during flood (*Adler*, 1996). Plentiful research has been done that juvenile life stage is particularly vulnerable to serious damage throughout extreme floods in high gradient systems. Great amount of young fish are even lost during average seasonal flooding in systems where the timing of high flows coincides with fragile life stages (*Nehring and Miller,* 1987). The impact of floods on adult population in upper Ganga is closely tied to extent of geomorphologic change linked with power of flows. No immediate changes in an adult population are reported by *Elwood and Walter*, 1969.

A study of fish assemblage structure and their requirement in Indian streams are lacking. Though few initiatives started in the 1980s in South India (*Arunchalam el al*., 1988; 1997a), Srilanka streams (*Moyle and Senanayke*, 1984; *Wikramanayke*, 1990); Western Himalaya (*Negi at al.,* 2007). The present study aims to throw light on how annual variation in the hydrograph affects species with distinct life history and influence the composition and structure of fish assemblage. In this study, we basically specify the effect of flood on fish species of upper Ganga Devprayag region of Uttarakhand state, that spawns in the stretches of the Ganga basin and use these areas as nurseries.

Study Area

Devprayag is located in 30.14° N, 78.59° E, in Tehri Garhwal District in the state of Uttarakhand, India and is one of the Panch Prayag of Alaknanda river where Alaknanda and Bhagirathi rivers meet and take the name Ganga. The original path of Ganga river is on the South west direction, then it moves through easterly direction and finally in the last lap, it flows again southwards and merge into the sea. During its middle course of easterly direction, a number of big and small tributaries join the northern side from the Himalayan sub-basin, namely, Ramganga, Gomati, Ghaghara, Gandak and Kosi, all of which have their origins within the mountain range of the Himalayas in Nepal. Therefore, the contribution of flow of these tributaries is from Nepal within the Himalayan range and also from the Indian soil on the southern side of the Himalayan foothills. There is another tributary, Mahayana which joins the river in Bangladesh.

The main reason behind selecting this area is that floods in river Ganga and its tributaries are very common. The main causes of flood are extensive heavy rainfall in the catchment areas and insufficient capacity of river channel to contain the flood within the banks of the river. In the tidal reach and delta area widespread inundation occurs where high flood in river synchronize with the high tidal level from the sea. The plains of Uttarakhand, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal are affected by the spills from either parent river Ganga or by the spills from the tributaries namely Ghaghara, Gandak, Kosi etc.

Four different sites namely, Kosi, Suyal, Ganga & Gomti were selected for the present study. These sites varied in altitude and geomorphological characters and ecological conditions.

Material and Methods

Fishes were collected during day light hours in the month of February before the flood and in middle of September after the flood, during period of comparable discharge from a boat along the shoreline and focused on the near shore zone where most fishes are found and where our sampling methods could be most efficient.

A selection of about 150 to 200 m was sampled upstream at every river kilometer marked within the study stretch. The four selective sites were sampled before and after the floods in upper Ganga region. Captured fish were stored in a big container in the boat. As sampling was done at each stretch, all fishes were identified, measured (SL) and dropped back to water. The relative density (catch per unit efforts) was explained as the number of individual per 100 meter of sampled shoreline, with a standard width 3.0 m of the sample area.

We used rare fraction method to study and compare species richness before and after flood, as sampling effort varied between seasons. This method standardized samples by estimating the number of species expected in a sub-sample of an individual recommended selection from a large sample. Because the relation between species richness and sampling

of effort is not linear, this method compares samples of unequal sampling effort better than comparison of number of individuals and other indices. On the other hand Kendall coefficient of rank correlation was used to compare similarity in communities structure before and after flood in the Ganga.

The 10 species belong to 3 orders namely *Cypriniformes*, *Mastacembelis* and *Ophiocephaliformes*. These were used in the analysis. Quantitative data (CPUE) were transformed in (x+1) and subjected to two way factorial ANOVA, with season (pre-flood, post-flood) and river stretch, as effected.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Before Flood:

Total number of 50 samples from 4 different sites belonging to 3 different orders namely *Cypriniformes, Mastacembelis* and *Ophiocephaliformes* were recorded during research.

Table1: Availability of Fish species before Flood

Species	Kosi	Suyal	Ganga	Gomati
Order: Cypriniformes				
Family: Cyprinidae				
Genus: Tor				
Tor putitora	D	A	A	A
Genus: Bariliux				
Barilius bendelisis				
Barilius barila	D	D	D	D
Genus: Puntius				
Puntius conchonius	A	NR	NR	NR
Genus: Garra				
Garra gotyla gotyla	D	D	D	D
Genus Chrosochelus				
Crossocheilus latius	A	NR	A	NR
Genus: Schizothorax				
Schizothorax richardsonii	A	A	A	A
Genus: Nemachelius				
Nemachelius montanus	A	A	A	NR
Order: Mastacembelidae				
Family: Mastacembelidae				
Genus: Mastacembelus				
Mastacembelus armatus	A	A	A	NR
Order: Ophiocephaliformes				
Family: Ophiocephalidae				
Genus: Channa				
Channa punctatus	A	NR	NR	NR

D: Dominant

A: Abundant

NR: Not Recorded

After Flood

No Significant difference was observed in community structure before and after the flood on the basis of 10 different species (*Kendal t*, t=0.402, P< 0.045). *Tor putitora, Garra gotyla gotyla, Barilius bandelisis* were the most abundant species before and after the flood. The relative density (CPUE) of all fishes pooled was not significantly different before (mean +_ SD =27.625.7 incs/100m, n=17) and after flood (mean +_ SD = 16.0 +_ 12.4, n=17) (ANOVA, F=2.5, df=130, P=0.125)

However, a significant interaction between season and reach (F=6.4, df=2.30, P=0.069) showed that a decrease in CPUE occurred in all forms. Relative densities of the dominant species (*Tor putitora, Garra gotyla gotyla*) did not decrease following the flood, though the interaction effect on their density was similar to that for the total catch, with cube density decrease in all 4 sites. 2 species of fishes show increase in the density after the flood. Species like *Barilius bendelisis* and *Schizothorax richardsonii* show decrease in density after flood. Some species show variation in their sizes after the flood.

DISCUSSION

The extensive summer flood in the Ganga offered a unique opportunity to evaluate the immediate effect on fish assemblage in the deltaic region. Our research shows that the number of species has not significantly been affected by the flood. The difference in individual species occurrence before and after the flood was almost exclusively caused by rare fish species. The catch of more rare fish species before the flood was affected by unequal sampling effort rather than the flood itself, as concluded by the results of rare fraction analysis.

Due to floods, soil erosion took place and large amount of soil from the river bottom was displaced and the main channel habitat was heavily impacted by a high current velocity. These effects may decrease fish abundance, mainly in channel section without tributaries, which is the case for the study stretch. At the time of erosive floods with high discharges, fishes remain closed to submerged structures; seek low velocity stream margins of tributaries, and can remain in a given reach of river even during major flood (*Mathews* ,1998). This study shows that fish probably used submerged refuges along the channel margin and space between borders on the submerged shoreline, since no tributaries were present.

Fish assemblage structure was not significantly different before and after the flood. *Harrell* (1978) found that the species dominated before the flood also dominated after the flood and hypothesized that dominant species were well adapted to the flood prone environment. He also added that the long term effect of flood on structuring fish assemblage might be minimal. *Gerking* (1950) also concluded similar results that most individual species may remain in place during flood events in small streams, with floods having minimal effect on the fish assemblage as a whole. The fish assemblage at Devprayag region among all four sites shows similar results. In this region, fishes were adapted to floods, but it is notable that not much difference in abundance of fish from all four sites was measured before and after flood. CPUE of three sites were same before and after flood with exception of one site i.e. site II which shows slight difference in CPUE value which is higher in this site after flood. According to the view of *Gerking (*1950) and *Harrel* (1978), similarities of the assemblage before and after was due to fish remaining in place, or if fish swept downstream, were replaced by fish in steady stretches, remain unclear. This also shows that sheltered or native fishes were less effected by the flood, compared with open water species. *Malthews* (1998) explained that the immediate effect of flood on individual fishes may largely depend upon habitat complexity.

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MISCELLANEOUS

GREEN COMPUTING: AN ECO- FRIENDLY APPROACH TOWARD COMPUTING

Archana Gokhale*
Dharamveer Sharma**

ABSTRACT

This century is the century of IT revolution, advanced computers, and other electronic items. Due to rapid technological advancements, excessive dependence and tremendous use of electronic items; carbon emission, global warming, climate change and saving our environment and ecology have become hot issues. Public as well as private sectors and societies have a new important agenda of tackling environment issues and adopting environment-friendly practices in the sector of computing as well. To reduce computer's environmental problems and to create a sustainable environment, we need to move towards Green Computing. Green Computing or Green IT benefits the environment by improving energy efficiency, lowering green house gas emissions using less harmful materials and encouraging reuse and recycling of the various components of electronic waste. The goals of green computing are to reduce the use of hazardous materials, maximize energy efficiency during the product's lifetime, and promote the recyclability or biodegradability of defunct products and electronic waste. This paper highlights the impact of green computing on our environment. Further how the fast pace of IT Revolution has created several serious environmental issues which needs to be solved with the help of green approach towards the computing.

Keywords: Green Computing, E-waste, Energy Saving, Environment, Hazardous Waste.

INTRODUCTION

"Green" has become a popular term for describing things that are good for the environment, generally healthful and, more recently, economically sensible. "Going Green" implies reducing one's energy use and pollution footprint. The technology community, specifically computer users, have popularized the term "Green Computing," which is indicative of the reduction of the pollution and energy footprint of computers. Green computing refers to "environmentally sustainable computing" which studies and practices virtually all computing efficiently and effectively with little or no impact on the environment. There are several facets to achieve green computing such as designing, manufacturing, using, and disposing computing components including hardware and software

The ideas or design of Green Computing has to go through the following steps:

1. **Green use** — reducing the energy consumption of computers and other information systems as well as using them in an environmentally friendly manner.

2. **Green disposal** — reusing old computers and properly recycling unwanted computers and other electronic equipment.

3. **Green design** — designing energy-efficient and environmentally sound components, computers, servers, cooling equipment, and data centers.

4. **Green manufacturing** — manufacturing electronic components, computers, and other associated subsystems with minimal impact on the environment.

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* ***Archana Gokhale*** is a Research Scholar at Mewar University, Chittorgarh, Rajasthan. Email: gokhale_a@yahoo.com

** ***Dharamveer Sharma*** is Assistant Professor at Department. of Computer Science, Punjabi University,Patiala. Email: dveer72@hotmail.com

Figure 1: Cycle of Green Manufacturing

Source: Frost & Sullivan

History/Origin

The origin of green computing can be traced back to the launching of *Energy Star* program in the year 1992 by the U.S. Environment Protection Agency(EPA). It was a voluntary labeling program to Differentiate between energy efficiency of various e-product viz. computer monitors, climate control equipment and other technologies. This resulted in starting of sleep mode function of computer monitors.

The Swedish organization TCO Development launched the TCO Certification program to promote low magnetic and electrical emissions from Cathode Ray Tube-based computer displays; gradually the different parameters have emerged over the year in the field of green computing

Negative impact on Environment

Computers facilitate faster analysis, and speedier calculation. These have made possible harnessing the wealth of the knowledge of the internet, the instantaneous communication, and the sophisticated tools that help us work and create and share and to solve more and more complex problem. At the same time computers also add to environment problems which most of us don't realize. Computer affects our environment in several different ways. Each stage of a computer's life, from its production, throughout its use, and its disposal, presents environmental problems.

Computer is made up of various hazardous, toxic materials such as lead, mercury and hexavalent chromium. This computer waste is a major source of widespread damage to the environment at large. Toxic materials are present in computer wastes primarily consisting of Cathode Ray Tubes (CRTs), Printed board assemblies, Capacitors, Mercury switches and relays, Batteries, Liquid Crystal Displays (LCDs), and Electrolytes. Computer waste contains toxic substances such as lead and cadmium in circuit boards; lead oxide and cadmium in monitor Cathode Ray Tubes (CRTs); mercury in switches and flat screen monitors; cadmium in computer batteries; polychlorinated biphenyls (PCBs) in older capacitors and transformers; and brominated flame retardants on printed circuit boards, plastic casings, cables and Polyvinyl Chloride (PVC) cable insulation that releases highly toxic dioxins and furans when burned to retrieve copper from the wires. All electronic equipments contain printed circuit boards which are hazardous because of their content of lead.

Land filling of e-wastes can lead to the leaching of lead into the ground water. If the CRT is crushed and burned, it emits toxic fumes into the air. These products contain several rechargeable battery types, all of which contain toxic

substances that can contaminate the environment when burned in incinerators or disposed of in landfills. The cadmium from one mobile phone battery is enough to pollute 600 cu.m of water. The quantity of cadmium in landfill sites is significant, and considerable toxic contamination is caused by the inevitable medium and long-term effects of cadmium leaking into the surrounding soil. Because plastics are highly flammable, the printed wiring board and housings of electronic products contain brominated flame retardants, a number of which are clearly damaging to human health and the environment.

Total electrical energy consumption by servers, computers, monitors, data communications equipment, and cooling systems for data centers is steadily increasing. This increase in energy consumption is directly related to the increased greenhouse gas emissions. Each PC in use generates about a ton of carbon dioxide every year. The progress in the field of computer hardware has been achieved tremendously but looking at the green perspective, work has rarely begun. In reality development of green computing started lately. Green computing or Green IT means environmentally sustainable computing. It is also defined as the study and practice of designing, manufacturing, using, and disposing of computers and associated subsystems such as monitors, printers, storage devices, and networking and communications systems — efficiently and effectively with minimal or no impact on the environment.

Green computing practices

The work habits of computer users and businesses can be modified to minimize adverse impact on the global environment. Here are some steps that can be taken:

Virtualization

Computer virtualization is the process of running two or more logical computer systems on one set of physical hardware. The concept originated with the mainframe operating systems of the 1960s, but was commercialized for x86-compatible computers only in the 1990s. With virtualization, a system administrator could combine several physical systems into virtual machines on one single, powerful system, thereby unplugging the original hardware and reducing power and cooling consumption. Several commercial companies and open-source projects now offer software packages to enable a transition to virtual computing. Intel Corporation and AMD have also built proprietary virtualization enhancements to the x86 instruction set into each of their CPU product lines, in order to facilitate virtualized computing**.**

This approach is so energy friendly that California utility PG&E offers rebates of $300 to $600 for each server that companies eliminate using Sun or VMware virtualization products, with a maximum rebate of $4 million or 50% of the project's cost, whichever is less.

Efficient processors

More-efficient processors are another critical energy-saving element, as Intel, Advanced Micro Devices, and Sun Microsystems all have adopted the green religiontechnology. Sun is betting on multicore chip efficiency to fuel interest in new high-end servers. Its 32-thread Niagara 1 chip, Ultrasparc 1, consumes 60 to 62 watts, while the Niagara 2 chip due in the second half will have 64 threads yet run at 80 watts only, says chief architect Rick Hetherington

Turn Off Equipment When Not In Use

Powering down equipment is the simplest, most effective and most obvious way to reduce computing power consumption. Computers have become such a standard part of daily life that many computers are left powered on around the clock, and are often done as a convenience to the user. This convenience is costly since the simple act of powering off a computing device will significantly reduce its power consumption, although it is important to note that many devices may still consume a small amount of power or "phantom load."

Computer Power Savings Modes

- **Screen Savers**

One of the simplest and most familiar power saving methods is the proper use of screen savers. The typical graphical screen saver originally designed to minimize "burn-in" of computer monitors, actually increases power consumption. Rather than using a 3D graphics screen saver, and with screen burn-in no longer a concern, power use easily can be reduced by disabling screen savers. In this way, power consumed by intensive graphics is eliminated, leading to the monitor "falling asleep" after a period of idling, automatically conserving still more power.

- **Monitor Sleep Mode**

Allowing the monitor to fall asleep after idling for some time period is another easily employed method for improving energy efficiency. When a monitor falls asleep or enters a "Standby" mode, it enters a low power consumption state. The monitor screen will be blank, with no light emitting from it. For example, a Dell 20" widescreen LCD uses approximately 55 watts of power when it is on. In sleep mode, the power use drops to around 3 watts, resulting in significant energy savings. Setting the sleep mode is done via an operating system's power options control panel, with a sleeping monitor able to be woken within a couple of seconds by moving the mouse or typing a key on the keyboard. Monitors should be configured to fall asleep in the classroom, office and at home.

- **Hard Disk Sleep Mode**

A computer can place its hard disk drives in a low power sleep mode when they are idle. Hard disk drives on desktop computers can use 10 watts or more when in use, while notebook computer drives use less but energy savings have the benefit of extending battery charge life. Operating system settings again manage this mode automatically once configured. A hard disk drive that falls asleep is awakened within a couple of seconds by moving the mouse or typing a key on the keyboard. This setting provides a small savings and is minimally intrusive, with more significant savings possible using system standby mode.

- **System Standby Mode**

System standby is one of the most effective power saving features. After a preset idling period, a computer will shutdown most of its components significantly reducing power use. Volatile memory remains active so that whatever the user was working on will still be there when the computer wakes up from standby mode. A desktop computer that uses more than 100 watts idling can use as little as 5 watts when in standby mode, using one twentieth of the electricity it used when idling. Wake up time for system standby mode requires a few seconds, a delay that users may not be accustomed to. Standby mode is much faster than shutting down and later powering on the computer, and it preserves the computer's state in memory, making it preferable for users seeking a balance between convenience and greenness. The power button of most computers can also be configured to send the computer into standby mode rather than shutting it down, further enabling users to conveniently save power.

- **Hibernate Mode**

The hibernate mode goes one step further than standby mode by completely powering off the computer. Invoking the hibernate mode causes the memory state to be saved onto the hard disk before powering down. When coming out of hibernate mode, the computer restores the memory state, returning the computer to its pre-hibernate state. A desktop computer will consume approximately *3 watts in hibernate mode vs. 5 watts for standby*. A disadvantage of the hibernate mode is that it takes slightly longer to enter and exit hibernate than standby, the result of saving and restoring the memory state to and from the disk.

Purchase Efficient Devices

Inevitably, a computer will need replacement. When purchasing a new computer, special attention should be paid to several criteria. First, the computer should be energy efficient, following a compliance standard such as *Energy Star*, indicating a recognized conformance to low energy use goals. Second, the manufacturer of the new computer should have a recycling program for used computers to reduce waste. Third, the computers themselves should be made up of as few toxic materials as possible. Clearly, exposure to toxic materials can be detrimental to human health and to the environment.

Reducing Paper Waste

Rather than creating a paperless office, computer use has vastly increased paper consumption and paper waste. Here are some suggestions for reducing waste:

- Print as little as possible. Review and modify documents on the screen and use print preview. Minimize the number of hard copies and paper drafts you make.

- Instead of printing, save information to disk.

- Recycle waste paper.

- Buy and use recycled paper in your printers and copiers. From an environmental point of view the best recycled paper

is 100 percent post-consumer recycled content.

- Do not print out un-necessary e-mail messages.

- Use e-mail instead of faxes or send faxes directly from your computer to eliminate the need for a paper copy.

- Before recycling paper, which has print on only one side, set it aside for use as scrap paper or for printing drafts.

- When general information-type documents must be shared within an office, try circulating them instead of making an individual copy for each person. This can also be done easily by e-mail.

While a user is waiting to replace more expensive equipment, he can reduce paper use by printing double-sided pages, and he can purchase refillable printer-ink cartridges. Small steps, but taken in large measure, can lead to a cleaner planet.

CONCLUSION

The challenges of green IT is immense; however, recent developments indicate that the IT industry has the will and conviction to tackle our environmental issues head-on. Companies can benefit by taking these challenges as strategic opportunities. The IT sector and users must develop a positive attitude toward addressing environmental concerns and adopt forward-looking, green-friendly policies and practices.

Green IT is a hot topic today and will continue to be an important issue for several years to come. Consumers haven't cared about ecological impact when buying computers; they've cared only about speed and price. But as Moore's Law marches on in case of even computers commodities, consumers will become pickier about being green. Devices use less and less power while renewable energy gets more and more portable and effective. The greenest computer will possibly contain the entire feature to save energy and protect our environment and health. The green computer will be the product of years of improvements over its previous models.

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PROBLEMS FACED BY WOMEN IN SLUMS: A STUDY OF WOMEN IN SLUMS OF CHANDIGARH (U.T.)

Rinku Kalia*
Dr. Ranjay Vardhan**

ABSTRACT

Urbanization is not a gender neutral phenomenon. The gender dimension of urban society involves and affects hundreds of millions of women in many ways. For women, the phenomena of urbanization and the growth of city slums have unique causes and unique consequences. Yet, these issues have been largely unaddressed by academics and advocates alike, and there is limited data on women and urbanization The present study was an effort to know the kind of challenges and problems faced by slum women while residing in the slums of Chandigarh. The study is based on primary data which was collected through interview schedule from 300 respondents selecting 75 respondents each from two authorized slums and two unauthorized slums for comparative analysis in Chandigarh. The findings of the study revealed that women in slums, (both authorized slums and unauthorized slums), suffer a lot of physical, social, economic problems in their lives but still they are trying their best to overcome them and meeting various needs of their families.

Keywords: Domestic violence, Education, Income, Women in slums.

INTRODUCTION

Urbanization is responsible for the overall development of a nation in general and the economic development in particular. According to the *Global Report on Human Settlement* (UNCHS, 1996), the countries in the South that urbanized most rapidly in the last two decades are generally also those with most rapid urban economic growth. Most of the world's largest cities are in the world's largest economies. This indicates the link between economic wealth and cities. Later half of the last century was a period of rapid urbanization in the developing countries. Urbanization, migration and proliferation of slums are interrelated processes and urban poverty seems to travel along with them. Increasing urbanization due to natural increase of urban population and migration is aggravating housing problem and resulting in increase in the land prices. Developed land is not supplied according to the demand and it is also beyond the reach of the poor. The circumstances force the poor to look for informal solutions, that leads to mushrooming growth of slums and squatter settlements. The problem of urban slums has been faced at some point of time by almost all the major cities throughout the developing world (*Census*, 2001). Slums are the areas characterized by varieties of life styles, shelter crisis, population congestion, unsanitary and poor living conditions, malnutrition, poverty, inadequate water supply, lack of facilities of underground drainage, problem of garbage disposal, absence of pucca road, lavatories, etc.

Today, about half of international and national migrants globally are women. They move to urban areas for a number of different reasons, ranging from seeking income opportunities, to fleeing conflict, environmental degradation, or family problems. Often desperate to escape personal problems and depressing social conditions in their own home and areas, women from country, towns and rural areas set out in search of better livelihoods. Women are often convinced that cities have better opportunities to offer than what they can achieve in their own home villages or towns. They are hopeful that

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* Rinku Kalia is a Research Scholar at Mewar University, Chittorgarh, Rajasthan**.**
** Dr. Ranjay Vardhan is an Assistant Professor in Sociology, Post Graduate Govt. College for Girls, SEC-42, CHD (UT).

even with a little capital – or none at all – their prospects of making ends meet are still better in the big cities. Women thus join the population of migrants who find their way into urban areas each year.

Their hope is for a better life in terms of opportunities, living conditions, access to services, and autonomy. Because women often come to the city with very limited resources and job skills, however, many women end up in urban slums where they can be close to commercial areas and work opportunities. Slum life has never been easy for the urban poor in so far as housing and living conditions are concerned. For women, the problems are especially acute. In slums across the world, there is a noticeable lack of basic infrastructure, services, and basic shelter. Once in the slums, women also face formidable challenges to daily survival. Violence, inadequate provision of basic services, housing insecurity, lack of privacy, employment discrimination, poor health and nutrition, and illiteracy are all common experience with profound gendered dimensions.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

There have been various studies which focused on different aspects of the life of women in slums. *Fernandes* (1991) explains how urbanization   affects women adversely and how women have internalized themselves the ideology of sub-ordination. She dealt with how women develop the coping mechanism to deal with insecurity that results from migration. *Tandon and Niraj Kumar* (1994) say that the conditions of women in slums in general, and of socially under- privileged women in particular, are most pathetic. Most of these women are engaged in activities which are amongst the poorest of the poor in the working class. Their jobs offer no attraction and require a great deal of physical ordeal. This study has shown that inspite of many developmental programs, most of the underprivileged women are still suffering. *Rama Swamy* (1990) studied the problem and future expectations of women workers in slum. *Devasia's* (1994) book titled, '*Empowering Women for Sustainable Development'* depicts the struggle of women in the slum areas of Nagpur. It explains how slum women   fought against all odds because they realized that there were no alternatives to sustainable development other than their own improvement. *Ramana* (2002) , in her study, *Women in Slums* , dealt with the socio-cultural aspects of slum women, as there are very few studies available on slum women ; their lives, their work and their struggles. *Pugh* (1995) found that as organized sector in the urban area has its own limitations and therefore is unable to offer employment opportunities to them; their absorption is, by and large, localized in the unorganized or informal sector. This sector on account of its diversity offers a variety of jobs and has been playing a very significant role in supplementing the urban economy (*Swamy*, 1990). The odd jobs, the male members do range from pulling rickshaws, working in dhabas, restaurants, and shops; while some of their female members find urban households in which their children also provide assistance. Some of the other female members also work at construction sites, in brick kilns, other kinds of small business etc. The female members, who find employment in the urban households, do a variety of jobs, which range from cleaning of utensils, washing of clothes, cooking or even looking after the infants of the households. *Tewari* (1999) studies the occupational features, income expenditure pattern and some other economic aspects of slum dwellers in the city of Kanpur. The slum dwellers, according to him, are largely concentrated in the informal sector, which is considered to be not as productive and remunerative as the manufacturing and other sectors of economy. The existing literature regarding the woman of slums is very little. The full-fledged studies are conducted by *Menefee Singh* (1978), *Jha* (1986) and *Thakur* (1988), while *Bijlani* (1977*), Kaldate* (1989), *Chatterji* (1990), and *Hajira Kumar* (2006) have partially focused on the subject. *Menefee Singh* (1978) focused on the central role of slum woman in the families, their responses to the conditions of absolute poverty and the ways in which they adapted and coped with these conditions. *Thakur* (1988) made an attempt to see the social status and economic control of working women in a slum area. In this study, the main focus was on the employment, particulary of working women, information about present job of working women, respondent's control on earnings, and relationship between education and economic autonomy. In the book 'Women in Slums' (Impact of Environment Pollution), *Arti Mishra*(2004) attempts to visualize the conditions of women degraded environment of slums of Patna , the capital of Bihar.

A review of existing literature shows that there were only a few existing studies on slum women. Moreover, there is a paucity of studies dealing with the problems faced by women in slums and there is hardly any full and comprehensive study on women of the slums in the city of Chandigarh. Therefore, studies regarding slums have also mainly focused their attention mainly on only one aspect of their lives. Further, in these studies, the major problems faced by these poor urban women have been ignored.

The present study had been taken up to fill this gap. It was confined to the challenges faced by slum women in their day to day lives. The purpose of the study was to know about the ordeals they face, how they try to cope with these and the measures taken up by the authorities for the upliftment of these poor women.

OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

1. To study various problems faced by the women in slums in Chandigarh**.**

2. To study how these women face these challenges and problems.

3. To analyze the measures taken by the Government to help slum women.

METHODOLOGY

The present study is exploratory and descriptive as it describes the actual condition of women in slums. It is based on both primary and secondary data. The primary data is collected through interview schedule from 150 respondents; selecting75 respondents each from two authorized and two unauthorized slums through random sampling method. The secondary data was collected from various secondary sources like Census reports, newspapers. In the present study, data were collected for various social, economic, physical problems and challenges faced by the respondents.

DATA INTERPRETATION

An attempt has been made to study the problems which the working respondents had, while or after going to work. Ongoing description of the problems of these respondents is based on the data collected from the observations and interviews with the respondents. The main problems faced by the respondents are as follows.

Table no. 1. Distribution of Respondents according to Area and Nature of Problems They Face

Area	Nature of the problems (in %)				Total
	Distance to place of work	*Malnutrition/ health*	*Young children*	*Problems regarding elder children*	
Authorized slums	63 (42)	30 (20)	48 (32)	9 (6)	150 (100)
Unauthorized slums	75 (50)	21 (14)	42 (28)	12 (8)	150 (100)
Total	138 (46)	51 (17)	90 (30)	21 (7)	300 (100)

(Figures given in the parentheses are the percentages)

The data show that there were many problems about which the respondents talked of, that lead to their mental and physical suffering. One such problem reported by 46 percent of respondents belonging to both authorized and unauthorized slums , was the distance to their place of work. In unauthorized slums, half of the respondents faced problems due to the distance to their place of work. Due to low level of income, they could not afford conveyance. Many of them had to walk for 2-3 km to reach their place of work. There is poor public transport facility available in their area.   This leads to physical exhaustion and affect their health adversely. Furthermore, thirty percent of them had the problems of caring for the younger children after going to work because there was no one to tend to their children in the house. Therefore, they had to carry their kids along with them when they leave the house; while others leave their younger children in the care of their elder children. One-sixth of the respondents reported facing problems due to malnutrition/health. Significantly this percentage was high in authorized slums as compared to unauthorized slums.

While looking at various problems faced by respondents in our study, it was found that lack of education among women was considered by the respondents as a major hindrance in their social progress.

Table 2: Distribution of Respondents according to Area and in what ways the Respondents Think that Lack of Education is a major issue

Area	Lack of education leads to many problems in their situation (in %)			Total*
	No Good jobs	*Can't teach kids*	*Low social status*	
Authorized slums	68 (45.3)	49 (32.7)	33 (22)	150 (100)
Unauthorized slums	35 (23.3)	90 (60)	25 (16.7)	150 (100)
Total	103 (34.3)	139 (46.3)	58 (19.4)	300 (100)

(Figures given in the parentheses are the percentages)

The data in above Table reveals that majority of the respondents in both, authorized and unauthorized slums, view that lack of education creates a lot of problems for them as one-third reported that it prevents them from getting good jobs; 46 percent felt helpless in teaching or guiding their children and 19 percent respondents stated that their illiteracy or low educational level was also responsible for their low status in the society. Area -wise analysis indicates different picture as 45 percent found difficulties in getting good jobs whereas 60 percent in unauthorized slums felt problems in teaching kids. This shows that women in slums are showing positive attitude towards education and are keen on educating their children.

ALCOHOLISM

Alcoholism is widely prevalent in our society and studies show that alcoholism is a major problem in slums. Alcoholism has health, social and economic implications for the affected individuals and their families. Because of intoxication, addicts are not able to work and hence often lose their work. This leads to sudden loss of income for the family. Moreover, domestic violence and sexual abuse is rampant along with alcohol abuse. Women in slums suffer a lot due to this problem as they have to take care of the family as well as their work. Therefore, it was considered pertinent to enquire from the respondents whether alcoholism is a problem faced by them and the same is presented in the **Table 3.**

Table 3: Distribution of Respondents according to Area and Problem of Alcoholism in the Family.

Area	Problem of alcoholism in the family		Total
	Yes	*No*	
Authorized slums	118 (78.7)	32 (21.3)	150 (100)
Unauthorized slums	130 (86.7)	20 (13.3)	150 (100)
Total	248 (82.7)	52 (17.3)	300 (100)

(Figures given in the parentheses are the percentages.)

The data show that large majority, i.e., 83 per cent of the total respondents were facing the problem of alcoholism in their families. The data further show that the problem of alcoholism is faced almost equally by respondents in authorized and unauthorized slums. This problem has led to many social, economic, health implications for the affected people and their families. Some respondents told that even their own income was snatched from them by their spouses to buy alcohol. The husbands beat them, their children and even other family members under the influence of alcohol.

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

Many women in slums face the problem of domestic violence because of their poor economic condition, patriarchal social values, illiteracy, alcoholic husbands etc. We tried to find whether the women in slums are aware of their various rights, laws made for them under the Constitution and the government against different kinds of violence they are subjected to. Domestic violence Act (2005) is a very recent Act made for the safety of women from the violence perpetrated by their own family members against women. The respondents in the study were asked if they were aware of this act.

Table 4: Distribution of respondents according to area and awareness about Domestic Violence Act

Area	Awareness about domestic violence Act		Total
	Yes	*No*	
Authorized slums	32 (21.3)	118 (78.7)	150 (100)
Unauthorized slums	8 (5.3)	142 (94.7)	150 (100)
Total	40 (13.3)	260 (86.7)	300 (100)

(***Figures given in the parentheses are the percentages***)

It was found that only 13 percent of the respondents knew about Domestic Violence Act where as 87 per cent of them were ignorant about it. It is also observed that the respondents in authorized slums were more aware than their counterparts in unauthorized slums. But majority of the respondents in both types of slums are not aware about this legal safeguard against violence. Due to the ignorance, they are not able to get legal help and they suffer these atrocities at their homes.

HEALTH ISSUES

The socio-cultural practice of women eating last in the family has eminent effect on her health, especially if it is a low economic status household. A woman's health and nutrition status influence her newborn's birth weight and chances of survival. Post--natal death is generally caused by infectious diseases. The incidence and severity of most of this disease are affected by controllable factors such as immunization, health care and nutrition. In slums under study, it was found that the respondents were not bothered much about their own health and nutrition. They tried to fulfill the needs of their kids, husbands and other family members but neglected themselves. They even ignore their illness as they don't want to spend money on their minor ailments. When asked about the centres where they approach for treatment when they fell sick, 62 per cent of respondents in authorized slums answered that they go for self- treatment for small ailments or they go to the quacks, but one-third of them went to doctors in their vicinity or government dispensaries for treatment. Whereas large majority of the respondents, i.e., 83 percent in unauthorized slums went to the quacks or for self treatment, only 12 percent went to doctors, private clinics or government hospitals. This shows that maximum number of respondents in authorized slums could afford to go to private doctors and also they were getting aware of the facilities government was providedg to them in government hospitals and dispensaries

HOUSEHOLD CHORES

The socio-cultural attributes in society have left a deep mark on women empowerment in India. Women in India need and expect equal access to education, health, nutrition, employment and productive resources. But in reality, in majority of the Indian families, socialization of children creates inequality between a daughter and a son. Sons are supposed to be the decision makers and women are expected to serve all members in the family. They are expected to play multiple roles and not demand equal rights with men. This mind set has created a lot of gender inequality in society. In the present study, an attempt was made to see the views of the women in slums on the issues of sharing of tasks in the family. The women were asked about their daily routines, chores and whether their spouses and other family members helped them in doing the chores.

Table 5: Distribution of Respondents according to Area and whether they think that
Domestic Chores are the Responsibility of only Women

Area	Domestic chores are the responsibility of only women		Total
	Yes	*No*	
Authorized slums	103 (68.7)	47 (31.3)	150 (100)
Unauthorized slums	126 (84)	24 (16)	150 (100)
Total	229 (76.3)	71 (23.7)	300 (100)

(*Figures given in the parentheses are the percentages)*

The data show that majority of the respondents (76 per cent) believed that domestic chores were responsibility of women, whereas only 24 disagreed with this statement. Majority of respondents believed in the traditional roles of women as a homemaker. At the same time they also supported the idea of women going out of their homes and supplementing the family income. But they agreed that these dual roles do take a toll on woman's physical and psychological well being.

Comparatively, 84 per cent respondents in unauthorized slums agreed that domestic chores are the responsibility of women only. They are reluctant to take help of men in doing household chores. They believed that it was women's duty to work in the home. 68 per cent of respondents in authorized slums disagreed with it. This may be caused due to difference in income level. In authorized slums, people are better off in terms of education and occupation as compared with their counterparts in unauthorized slums and that's why their outlook, and mindset tends to be more open.

CONCLUSION

From the above given data, we conclude that the respondents in both authorized slums and unauthorized slums suffer a lot of physical, social, economic problems in their lives. They are trying their best to overcome these constraints and meeting various needs, aspirations of their families. The situation of respondents in authorized slums was slightly better than their counterparts in unauthorized slums as they had better jobs, secure housing, facilities from the government etc. But respondents in both types of slums do faced a lot of common set of problems. The local governments should not treat these poor women just as their vote banks but should try to help them out by providing certain minimum necessary facilities like availability of public transport, government dispensaries, schools, police patrolling in their areas, access to safe drinking water, sanitation etc. Swami Vivekananda had warned, "The nation which doesn't respect women will never become great…..". Therefore, in pursuit of making India a great nation, governments, community, and media, should work towards extending much deserved status and dignity to women. All stakeholders must pool together to provide them optimal facilities and opportunities to overcome the various problems that they face in their lives. Only then can they contribute their bit towards the progress of their families, society, and the nation.

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A STUDY ON FACULTY RETENTION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

Bindu Sharma*

ABSTRACT

Education is inextricably related to the social, political, and economic influences of its time; and human resources' role in education is no exception. The progress realized in the development of human resources administration is in part, a history of education. The principal component of an organization is its human resource. The progressive organization of the day look for diverse work force who can bring and help in managing diverse talent, interests, ideologies and viewpoints even in a continuously changing academic environment. In educational institutions, faculty members are the major inputs in the process of generating learning as a major output among students. A structured faculty retention process will systematically lessen the gap between the faculties and institution. This will help faculties achieve their best individual potential; and institutions can respond to challenges with right set of available talent.

Keywords: career management, Cluster analysis, Communication, cultural context, knowledge society, Performance Management, Talent Management.

INTRODUCTION

With a growing focus on the importance of 'knowledge societies' for equipping countries with a suitable workforce, issues around human resources within the education sector have come under greater scrutiny. The human resource element has two important dimensions: education supplies human resources, but equally it is essential that those responsible for education receive high quality training and opportunities in order to fulfill their role.

The workplace today witnesses the coexistence of faculty from various socio-cultural backgrounds that is, race, gender, color, national origin, economic status; ethnicity etc. with his/her own set of needs, drives and experience making the corporate culture a complex and diverse one. The progressive organization of the day look for diverse work force who can bring and help in managing diverse talent, interests, ideologies and viewpoints even in a continuously changing academic environment.

This change in the nature of work force has brought up more, not fewer retention issues. The uncertainty of a changing economy, increasing competition and the diversity in the workforce has compelled the organizations to hold on to their top performers whatever the cost; as although the availability of professionals may look adequate on the surface because of the shift in preference towards greater experience in niche skills, recruiters are not able to hire professional with the right skill set. The dearth of talent in this sense persists. The focus has surely shifted from numbers to quality and from 'Recruitment' to 'Retention'.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Although there have been many studies with respect to retention of faculty, these have most often been single practice research. One of the key consistent trends within this research has been repeated efforts to classify HR practices into categories. For instance, *MacDuffie* (1995) made a strong case for viewing work systems as requiring that the individuals

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*Bindu Sharma is a Research Scholar at Mewar University, Gangrar, Chittorgarh, Rajasthan.

have the necessary skills and abilities, that they are motivated to do a good job, and that the system provides opportunities for them to participate.

Lawler (1986) proposed the concepts of information sharing, knowledge/skill, power (decision making), and rewards as ways to manage in a high performance/high commitment environment. *Delery, Gupta & Shaw* (1997) argued that HR practices are aimed at increasing employee skills, motivation, or empowerment. HR practices were classified by *Gardner et al.* (2000) by using skills, motivation, and empowerment categories. *Boudreau and Ramstad* (1999) proposed the concepts of capability, opportunity, and motivation, which will track quite well with categories proposed by *Delery et al.* (1997) and *Gardner et al.* (2000).

Huselid (1995) stressed that by adopting best practices in selection, inflow of best quality of skill set will be inducted adding value to skills inventory of the organization. He also stressed on importance of training as complement of selection practices through which the organizational culture and employee behavior can be aligned to produce positive results. *Cooke* (2000) has included efficiency and effectiveness as ingredients of performance apart from competitiveness and productivity. He further argued that training is the tool to develop knowledge and skills as means of increasing individual's performance (efficiency and effectiveness). *Singh* (2004), whose observations are more relevant in our cultural context, argues that compensation is a behavior aligning mechanism of employees with business strategy of the firm .Cluster analysis is used by number of authors to group firms that seem to be exhibiting similar HR strategies. *Ostroff* (2000) conducted a cluster analysis and found five HRM systems. *Comprehensive system* attempted to use the full range of HRM practices, while *Involvement systems* consisted of an emphasis on practices aimed at increasing skill and involve workers. Hierarchical monitoring and control was preferred by traditional system. *Identification systems* had low use of most HRM systems except for practices aimed at organizational identification and commitment. Finally, the *None* system tended to have relatively little use of HRM practices. Similarly, *Becker and Huselid* (1996) submitted their cross industry data to a cluster analysis and identified four HR clusters: *personnel, alignment, compensation,* and *high performance*. *Arthur's* (1992) study categorized HR systems as being either 'commitment' or 'control' systems. *Lee and Chee* (1996) also submitted their results to a cluster analysis and observed four clusters: *contingent payer, information sharer, weak trainer,* and *low involver* (weak on all items).

Career planning is a tool that aligns strategy with future HR needs and encourages employee to strive for his personal development (*William et al.*, 1996). By increasing employee participation, the firm will benefit from increase in productivity of the employee due to increased commitment of the employee. Financial participation schemes were more beneficial for the organizations than the associated cost (*Summers & Hyman*, 2005). Use of the best HR practices shows a stronger association with firm's productivity in high growth industry (*Datta et al.*, 2003).

The review revealed that while some researchers concentrated on single HR practice as the strategy to increase employee retention, many suggested a combination of many practices in order to keep the employees from leaving the organization. As per *Benjamin Laura* (2007), Retention is not a simple, fast initiative that can be solved by "quick hit" approaches. Instead of invalidating years of negligence as an interim measure, we should go back to fundamentals for retaining employees. A recent Society for Human Resource Management (SHRM, 2007) press release revealed the answer to the question of what people plan to do when the job market rebounds. Most of the HR professionals and managers surveyed, agreed on fact that the employee turnover will rise significantly once the job market booms. HR professionals were asked about their opinion about programs or policies they use currently as a tool to retain employees. The three most common programs employers are using to retain employees were tuition reimbursement, competitive vacation and holiday benefits; and competitive salaries. *Murty* (2007) elucidates a few retention practices that need to be practiced in order to encourage employees to stay loyal to the organization that includes, interalia, compensation, job designing, job sculpting, nursing social ties, job location, recruiting techniques and creating and enabling organic bureaucracy. *Harris Jim* (2007) observed that in the war for managing talent, employee retention will be harder day by day. He described ten trends that impact the turnover of the employees and described the strategies to be followed to counter them that includes Global Competition, Entrepreneurial Boom, Free Agent World, Options-Options-Options, Mass Customization, Worker Backlash, Workplace, The New Community, Work/Life Integration, The Green Grass of E-commerce and Loyalty Paradox. These workplace trends mandate a fresh, strategic approach to the talent retention efforts.

To generalize the efficacy of seven HRM practices by *Pfeffer* (1998), *Ahmad and Schroeders* (2003) found the seven HRM practices such as employment security, selective hiring, use of teams and decentralization, compensation/incentive contingent on performance; extensive training, status difference and sharing information have significant relationship with operational performance. *Kuo* (2004) adopted 11 HRM practices found that employment security, team working and

incentive compensation are regarded as three of the main practices for impacting hospital performance.

Barber Carol (2006) through her work with multinational organizations and small start-ups has developed a list of best practices followed by those companies who enjoy great morale and high retention i.e. they know who they are and hire for "fit"; they sweat the details of on-boarding; they set clear expectations and objectives; they provide training and development at all levels; they don't wait for trouble to find them; they value open communications above all else; they believe in work/life balance; they view workforce diversity as a competitive advantage; they understand the power of teamwork; they never think they have it right. Employee retention activities are considered very important because these amount to a compendium of good management tools. Practically every effort of company's activities is relevant to staff retention. Employers are highly focused on the strong performers. Their game is to retain employees – but not all of them. In order to address the problem encountered by education industry in India in retaining of their Indian academician, researcher propose effective and efficient solutions for retention purposes in this paper. All the proposed solutions aim to address key HR concepts, including C & B Management, Talent Management, Performance Management and Communication.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Though the statement of the research problem brings out the basic objective of the study depicting the macro view of the subject at hand yet to make the study more focused, the macro objective have been segregated and divided into micro objectives. In fact the accomplishments of the micro objectives ultimately contribute to the achievement of the macro objective and the same have been detailed as under:

1. To study the various factors that influence the faculty retention in self- financing institutes in north India.

2. To describe personnel retention strategies used by self- financing institutes in north India.

3. To determine potential barriers to the retention of faculties.

4. To recommend management strategies that can be implemented to foster faculty retention at self-financing institutes in north India.

RESEARCH DESIGN

The research design is a general plan, blueprint and structure of the investigation which the researcher uses to obtain evidence to answer the research questions (*De Vos et al* ., 1998; *Booyse et al.,* 2002). It guides the manner in which the study is to be conducted and creates a framework for the research (*Brink & Wood* ,1983:89).

The function of the overall framework which guides a research study is to arrange conditions for the collection of data in a manner that intends to combine relevance of the research purpose with economy in methodology. But more so, it is to provide answers that are valid and accurate to the research question (*Dzivhani,* 2000).

The research design for this study was qualitative, exploratory, descriptive as well as quantitative. According to the distinction made by *Booyse* (in *Hoberg,* 1999) as well as *Glaser and Strauss* (1965), the design is more closely aligned with inductive building of theory as opposed to deductive testing or extension of theory. Each aspect of the research design is outlined below:

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

The data was collected from faculty of different institute administered through questionnaire and interview analyzed and interpreted. But, before the data analysis the researcher proceeded to the data processing. Data processing focus on activities and technologies which include various steps : data checking, entry, coding, and editing (*Gromme,* 1998). It was also the view of this research that the explanation of research problem and retention factors which made the results intelligible was essential. According to *Wilkinson and Bhandarkar* (2002), even under the best of circumstances, a certain proportion of the participants do not respond to the questionnaire and this constitutes missing data. This problem was also faced in the present study. A total of 500 questionnaires were distributed to the faculty of north Indian institutes. All the 430 questionnaires which were returned were found usable that represents a questionnaire return rate of 86%.

The paper analyzes the results of the study and presents the different techniques used for by the researcher for data analysis in this study. In the present study, responses from respondents were collected, coded and tabulated in SPSS 11.0. For analyzing the data both simple and advanced statistical tools have been used. Data collected were analyzed through a series of validated tools and procedures like average, percentage, weighted average and mean score were calculated.

ORGANIZATION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire presented the following biographical details from respondents: age, gender, education attainment and years of work experience. The view of the researcher was that these aspects could be related to, and influence respondents' perceptions on personnel retention strategies that are implemented at institutes.

Biographical profile of respondents

One of the questions articulated in the questionnaire was to determine the demographic profile of the faculty in the institute; this was presented in a manner that the percentages of males could be compared to the percentages of females. In doing so, the majority gender could easily be identified, as well as generally determining the sum total of the whole population. The findings are presented below from **Tables 1** to **Table 4**.

Table 1: Distribution of Respondent by Gender

Sex	Total sampled	Total received	Received (%)
Male	210	158	75.24%
Female	290	272	93.79 %
Total	500	430	86%

Table 1 reflects that out of the 500 questionnaires which were distributed only 430 were received, representing the return rate of 86%. Table further shows that 272 respondents (93.79%) were females while 158 respondents were males(75.24%). Hence the majority of respondents were females. It shows that majority faculty in the north Indian colleges were female.

Distribution of Respondents by Age

The researcher collected the details of the ages of the faculty who responded in the study. It was assumed that the age of the respondents might have a bearing on the problem being analyzed. The result about the ages of the respondents are presented in **Table 2** below.

Table 2: Distribution of Respondent by Age

Age	Frequency	Percent
25 and below	45	10.46%
26-35	145	33.72%
36-45	130	30.24%
46 and above	110	25.58%
Total	430	100%

Table 2 indicate that 10.46% of the respondents were aged 25 years and below, 33.72% were aged between 26-35 years and 30.24% were between 36-45 years while the remaining 25.58 were aged above 46 years. This showed that the majority of respondents belonged to the range 26-35 and 36-45 years.

Distribution of Respondents by Academic Qualification

Educational qualification plays an important role in the manner in which individuals play different roles they hold in society. The researcher observed that academic qualification of the respondents were worthy of investigation since such qualities had a bearing on retention of faculty in an institution.

Table 3: Distribution of Respondent by Academic Qualification

Academic Qualification	Frequency	Percent
High school graduate	0	0%
College graduate	130	30.23%
Master level	225	52.33%
Doctoral level	75	17.44%
Total	430	100%

Table 3 shows that 30.23% of the respondents were college graduates while 52.32% hold masters degree. According to the finding, only 17.44% possessed doctoral degrees. It was worth noting that no respondent was a high school graduate ,since college graduate is the minimum qualification for being a faculty.

Distribution of Respondents by Work Experience

Experience was considered to be a contributory factor in faculty retention. The researcher found that it necessary to establish the faculty work experience at the college. The results of the respondents are in **Table 4** below.

Table 4: Distribution of Respondent by Work Experience

Work Experience	Frequency	Percent
5 and lesser	150	34.88%
6 and 15	120	27.91%
16-25	87	20.23%
26-35	63	14.65%
36 and above	10	02.33%
Total	430	100%

In terms of work experience, **Table 4** shows that the majority of the respondents viz. 34.88% had 5 years and lesser of teaching experience, followed by those with 27.91% and 16-25 years 20.23%, respectively. Furthermore, 14.65% had 26-35 years work experience , while 2.33% only had 36 and above years of work experience. This indicated that most teachers in the sample were relatively young in the teaching profession.

Quantitative Findings

The results of the close-ended survey questions are analyzed below. The close-ended questions related to working conditions, incentives, job satisfaction, mentoring, and staff development.

Table 5: Items associated with Working Conditions as a Factor Influencing Retention

Variables	Mean scores	Rank order
1.1 *Physical building*	4.05	1
1.2 *Class size*	3.75	3
1.3 *Material and resources*	3.32	5
1.4 *Support from administrator*	3.50	4
1.5 *College climate*	3.90	2

RECOMMENDATIONS

The following are the recommendations for educational practitioners and policy makers:

Recommendations for Educational Practitioners and Policy Makers

The way or manner in which faculty retention strategies were being implemented apparently influence faculty retention negatively. The observation from interviews and literature suggested that the institute management found it difficult to manage the implementation of faculty retention strategies meaningfully due to several hurdles. The educational policy presents institute management with challenges in trying to carry out their managerial and administrative responsibilities. In the light of the results found in this study, policy makers and education practitioners could positively influence faculty retention through appropriate policy changes. Policy makers and practitioners could consider the following recommendations:

1. Improve Working Condition for Faculties

The faculty's general conditions of employment needed to be improved. Faculties should be allowed to learn rather than requiring them to perform non-teaching duties in instructional time. Proper working conditions must be ensured since these could serve as incentives or extensive motivators leading to better performance and retention (*Abdo,* 2000). Policy should focus on improving the working conditions for handling their duties as a teacher. This would help in

improving teachers' working environment. Educational planners should improve facilities and provide adequate supplies and materials in educational institutions.

2.   Involvement of Teachers in Policy Formulation

Policies that affected the faculties' professional lives need to be inclusive with active participation of faculty rather than formulated in top-bottom system. Faculty participation should actively invite the formulation of policies and provide freedom to take decision that affected them so that they inculcate a sense of attachment which would ultimately bring about a sense of respect and self-esteem, thus enhance their retention.

3.   Provide Adequate Incentives to Teacher

Policy analysts and education practitioners should focus on effective implementations of incentives strategies as a primary step. Such incentive strategy could have a significant positive impact on teacher's morale and job satisfaction, retention as well as institute performance. Promotion of faculties should be done on clearly defined basis and management should allow faculty to participate in setting up these criteria. The salary for teachers should be competitive and attractive. Teachers should be rewarded for their achievement like recognition, praise and provided with merit pay or bonuses, based on their performance. There was also a need for educational policy makers to implement programs that honored excellence in teaching in the country (*Bigler*, 2000). This could only be a done by way of enhancing their motivation, and accordingly improve their performance and ability to remain in the same institute. Educational policy makers should design and implement such a pay structure that provides increasing pay on the basis of teacher experience and knowledge, as well as offering incentives for improved performance (*Odden* 2000), and implementing institute performance based award programs which provided all teachers with pay bonuses when an institute as a whole meets or exceeds its present targets (*Raham,* 2000; *Chamberlin, Hynes and Wragg,* 2002; *Tomlison* , 2000; *Odden,* 1997). Institute faculty who were furthering excellence in their field could be selected by an independent committee, on the basis of defined criteria, for national awards. This would provide faculties with the praise and recognition they deserved thus enhancing their retention.

4.   Facilitate Development Programs

Policy makers in academics should strive to make professional development a legal requirement for all faculties including institute heads. These professional development programs could help faculties to actualize their professional as well we personal needs. Professional development include ways to broaden the repertoire of teaching strategies that promoted learning as an active rather than a passive enterprise must be improved (*Nyagura and Reece* ,1990). Continuous in-service training programs should be designed and implemented for the purpose of upgrading and updating of faculties skills for their professional development. Faculty's development programs must be designed to help them and polish their skills and knowledge related to effective student learning (*Magestro and Stanford-Blair*, 2000). Education policy should ensure that all faculties along with college heads are adequately trained thus improving community perceptions of faculties, enhancing their performance and efficiency which may in turn result in personal reward, motivation, job satisfaction and finally retention (*Abdo*, 2000).

Recommendations to College Management

College management plays a significant role in improving faculty retention since they could provide faculties with the good working environment, achievement advancement that they needed for high productivity (*Gullatt and Bennett*, 1995). The result of present study suggested that action must be taken in college to address the problem of motivation, job satisfaction and faculty retention. *Evans* (2001) argues that morale, job satisfaction and motivation are best able to be enhanced and improved at the institutional level. From a management perspective, the following recommendations represent some practical and realistic steps for administration to address the faculty concerns:

1.   Create co-operative Work Environment

Institute heads should provide the friendly and co-operative work environment in order to satisfy their basic needs that not only improve morale but faculty retention also (*Smith*,1992). Work place conditions that encouraged individuals and emphasized their worth contributed to retention such as: Enhance equitable professional development opportunities, enforce student discipline policies strictly and strive for teaching assignment aligned with certification and background. They should provide cooperative college climate and working conditions that should include faculty decision making practices which affect them. The college management should pay extra salary for difficult and time consuming duties, facilitate the sharing of knowledge and skills among new, mid-career and more experienced faculties should be encouraged (*Council of Exceptional Children* ,2000). The college management should meet expectation of faculties by providing

them with less college administrative duties like heavy load of paper work, reduced number of students in class and other forms of extrusive motivators which may in turn lead to increased retention (*Abdo*, 2000).

2. Provide Adequate Resources Material for Teaching

The management should focus on creating a supportive environment that includes tangible incentives such as better institute facilities and adequate resource materials. Although such management solution requires funding, it may be less expensive to raise motivation, job satisfaction and retention of all faculties than suffer the consequences of de-motivated and unhappy faculties in the classroom (*Rodges-Jenkinson and Chapman* , 1990). College management should play an active role as resource providers and should be able to design sustainable fund raising projects with the assistance of faculties and other stakeholders of the school (*Budhal*, 2000). Make sure resources are adequate for the job at hand (*Smith,* 1992).

3. Empower Faculty with Responsibilities

The meaning of empowerment is controlled transfer of power from management to faculty. Faculty empowerment occurs when they take responsibility for and are involved in the decision making process, affording them the ability to use the full range of skills and knowledge which they possess (*Husband and Short*, 1994). It is related to putting authority, responsibility, rights resources at the most appropriate level for each and every task, encouraging and allowing individuals to take professional responsibility for improving the way they do their jobs and contribute to the achievements in organization's goals and creating the circumstances where faculties can use their skills and abilities at maximum level in pursuit of common goals (*Clutterbuck*, 1994). Colleges' heads should empower faculties by involving them in team planning and team work in as many broad aspects of the institute as possible (*Smith,* 1992) and allowing them to have professional autonomy and sincere, collegial involvement in decisions (*Gullatt and Bennett*,1995).

4. Encourage Cordial Interpersonal Relations

Faculties need environment that is secure and friendly. The college management should encourage good interpersonal relations in the institute and create opportunities, invitations and strategies for their involvement in the decision of the college. Management policy should allocate real time resources to the development of cordial interpersonal relations in the college. It enhances feelings of efficiency and immediate feedback and the reassurance that their efforts were appreciated and rewarded. The college management should be seen in and around the college and be able to acknowledge the faculties efforts and offer constructive feedback, advice, direct assistance and access to information.

5. Facilitate Opportunity for Personal and Professional Educational Growth

Institute management should facilitate faculties to acquire new skills, support them during the inevitable frustrations and drawbacks and recognize their efforts (*Dufour and Berkey*, 1995). Teachers should be offered opportunities for professional and personal educational growth. Effective college principals should advocate for staff professional development in their colleges. They should device collegial workshops or in-service training (INSET) programs for teachers in which peers teach specific skills (*Gullatt and Bennett* ,1995). Teachers needed professional support which could be achieved through training opportunities, instructional materials, a quality instructional program and the focus on teacher activities in the classroom (*Gullatt and Bennett* ,1995) and through fair handling of job changes and promotions; giving everyone the feeling they are needed (*Smith,* 1992). School heads should provide one-on-one staff development programs that are purposeful and research based to promote the individual teachers' professional growth (*Dufour and Berkey,* 1995).

6. Involvement of Faculty in Decision Making

Institute dean should have democratic management styles and should eliminate or drastically reduce unnecessary bureaucracy, elicit input from staff and involve teachers in decision making and policy formulation. An effective managerial style should adapt to changing needs of students and teachers in an effort to find success for all concerned (*Reiger and Stang,* 2000). A democratic management and leadership style fosters and maintains a school climate in which the majority of the staff was committed to their work. Institute dean should heed advice that head teachers must learn to become effective and reflective thinkers rather than just traditional professional bureaucrats.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In the present study, several findings of previous research were confirmed and contradicted by this research. However, a reasonable degree of relationship was also found between this study and other previous studies on faculty's retention strategies in educational institutions.

As mentioned in the beginning of this study, faculty retention remains important challenge in front of some educational institutions. Yet, faculty retention was a fundamental resource in improving student performance and learning. If the problem of faculty turnover in developing countries like India was to be addressed, faculty turnover should be an important concern for educational managers and leaders. Those involved in the management and implementation of policies should consider that faculty retention results from implementing strategies that would keep personnel remain in the same institutions. As *Ortigas* (1997) observes, successful retention is best achieved by a proactive human resource department that actively seeks out what employees want most, also by discovering the reasons behind the departure of former staff the organization had failed to keep, and wishes they had. Educational practitioners and researchers should draw their attention to factors and strategy influencing faculty retention identified in this study in an effort to seek practical solutions to the problem of faculty turnover.

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MUST-HAVE INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY CLAUSES IN INDUSTRY-SPONSORED RESEARCH AGREEMENTS

Vijay Iyer*
Devanshi Patel**

ABSTRACT

Intellectual Property (IP) clauses in industry-sponsored research agreements determine the fate of any IP emerging out of a sponsored research project performed by an academic research institution. Generally, these clauses serve to protect the interests of the parties involved in the project and lay out the modalities for the seamless commercialization of project outcomes. The key IP clauses in industry-sponsored research agreements include confidentiality, prompt disclosure of IP, ownership determination, patent administration, and commercialization rights.

Keywords: commercialization, confidentiality, institution, intellectual property, invention, sponsors.

INTRODUCTION

The National Institutes of Health (NIH), USA, has defined a sponsored research agreement (SRA) as "a written document which describes the relationship between Recipients and commercial entities in which Recipients receive funding or other consideration to support their research in return for preferential access and/or rights to intellectual property deriving from Recipient research results".[1] SRAs are powerful instruments to initiate symbiotic relationships between the academia and industry. Typically, a for-profit company approaches a non-profit organization (e.g., universities, academic research institutes) with a technical proposal detailing a problem definition, and bears the costs for the execution of the project by the non-profit entity. Cost-cutting and access to an innovative talent pool has forced the industry to work with academia on research projects of commercial interest. Most frequently, SRAs are employed to formalize such collaborations. The National Science Board's *Science and Engineering Indicators 2012*,[2] USA, reported that industry funding of academic R&D had steadily increased since 2004, reaching $3.2 billion in FY2009 (**Figure 1**). For instance, the industry-sponsored research expenditure at Ohio State University (USA), which ranks 3rd in the USA among all research universities in industry-sponsored research, was $101 million in FY2012.[3] The Association of University Technology Managers (AUTM),

USA reported in its licensing activity survey that industry-sponsored research expenditures reached $4.1 billion in FY2012 in the USA, which represented a 2.4% increase compared to that in FY2011[4]. Globally, industry-sponsored research is gathering momentum. At the CSIR-National Chemical Laboratory (NCL), India, the research funding from industry doubled from ₹ 55.9 million in FY2011 to ₹ 110.3 million in FY2012.[5]

It has been widely acknowledged that the inclusion of intellectual property related clauses in SRAs is critical.[6-789] More often than not, sponsored research projects focus on challenging real-world problems, the solutions to which have

*Vijay Iyer is a Scientist Fellow with NCL Innovations at the CSIR-National Chemical Laboratory, Pune, India. He has worked in the field of technology commercialization in the USA for five years. He earned his PhD in Chemistry from the University of Fribourg, Switzerland and an MBA (Finance) from the Fox School of Business, Temple University, Philadelphia, USA. He is a registered patent agent in India. Email: iyer1vijay@gmail.com

**Devanshi Patel is a Scientist Fellow with NCL Innovations at the CSIR-National Chemical Laboratory, Pune, India. She received her BBiotech from Griffith University (Australia) and MBiotech from the University of Queensland (Australia). Her areas of interest include technology transfer, intellectual property policy, and technology incubation. E-mail: devanshi.patel121@gmail.com

remained elusive hitherto. Therefore, any invention or know-how that emerges out of such problem-based research is bound to be promising, both scientifically and commercially. Sponsored research projects which yield innovative and patentable outcomes could potentially lead to license agreements with the sponsor and/or third parties. Consequently, the sponsor and academic research institution (hereinafter, "research institution") need to be upfront about each other's expectations regarding intellectual contributions to the project. Also, it is necessary to safeguard each party's rights to pre-existing and anticipated intellectual property assets.

Figure 1: Industry Funding for Academic R&D in the USA.[2]
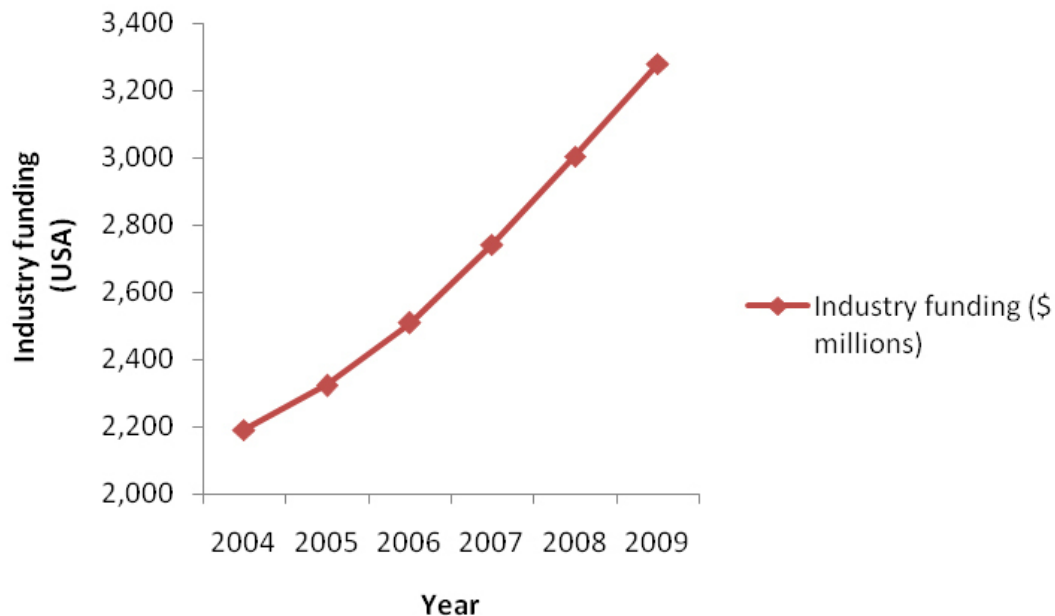
As shown in **Figure 2**, the level of sponsorship varies significantly depending on the type of sponsor involved: in-house, public (government agencies), charitable (foundations, NGOs), and private (corporate entity). Typically, a corporate sponsor may provide either substantial or 100% of the funds required for the research project. "Substantial" funding may not cover all the overheads of the research institution. We surveyed a slew of templates[10] for SRAs and determined that the following key intellectual property related clauses were indispensable. The ensuing discussion on such clauses, in this paper, is only applicable to those SRAs involving either substantial or full (100%) funding by the sponsor.

Figure 2. Spectrum of Sponsored Research Projects performed at not-for-profit Research Organizations.[11]
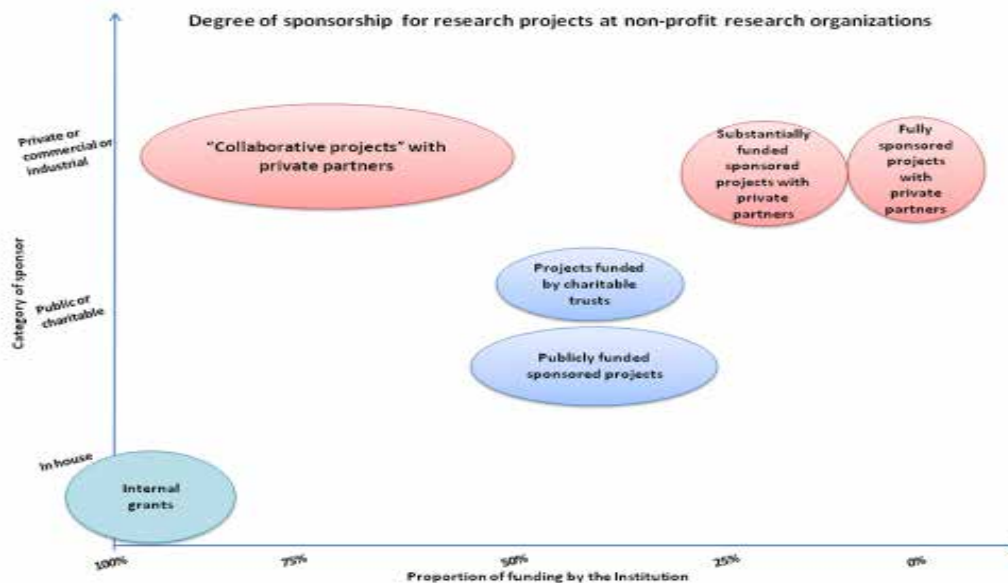
1. Disclosure of Inventions

What does Sponsor gain?	What does Research Institution gain?
Prompt access to invention(s) and election of commercialization rights	Timely filing of patents and freedom to publish invention(s)

The sponsor would want the research institution to promptly disclose all inventions emerging out of the sponsored project. The purpose behind this requirement is to allow the sponsor to review the invention disclosure and determine if patentable subject matter is involved. Upon completion of the review, the sponsor and research institution will need to mutually agree on the following:

a)   strategy to protect business interests

b)   inventorship, ownership, and administrative responsibilities

c)   timeline for public disclosures and publications

In the event that the sponsor shares the inventorship and ownership with the research institution, one of the two outcomes is possible: i) sponsor agrees to patent the invention and elects to pay for the patent prosecution expenses; and ii) sponsor relinquishes its ownership of the invention. In the case of the first outcome, the sponsor may request the research institution to delay the publication of inventions to preserve the intellectual property rights. With regard to the second outcome, the sponsor would not receive a share of any futuristic commercialization revenues although the sponsor's inventors would receive a pre-determined percentage of the revenues when the research institution commences the distribution of such revenues based on its internal policies and regulations.

*Sample clauses***:**

Election to manage IP

- *"University and Sponsor shall promptly provide a complete written disclosure to each other of any Intellectual Property. The Sponsor shall, upon reviewing the disclosure, determine whether to request the University to file and prosecute any patent application, domestic or foreign, or application for other protection directed to University Intellectual Property or to Jointly Owned Intellectual Property described in such disclosure.*

- *During the term of the Project, the University shall promptly disclose any Project IP to The Sponsor, which:*

  - *at The Sponsor's option, The Sponsor shall be entitled to manage the filing, prosecution and maintenance of any patent applications, issued patents and/or other forms of intellectual property protection relating to Project IP, at The Sponsor's cost;*

  - *should The Sponsor elect not to take responsibility for the management of Project IP as envisaged in 10.3.1 above, the University shall be given the option to do so, on terms to be agreed between the Parties;*

- *The University and The Sponsor shall be named as co-applicants on patent applications, unless agreed otherwise between the Parties."*[12]

Non-election

- *"If Sponsor elects not to exercise its option in accordance with the provisions of this Agreement or decides to discontinue the financial support of the application for intellectual property protection, USC shall be free to file or continue prosecution and maintenance on any such application, at USC's sole expense. If Sponsor elects to discontinue the financial support of the application for intellectual property protection prior to issuance of a valid patent, Sponsor thereby waives and gives up any right it may have under this Agreement to license the USC Intellectual Property as provided in the agreement."*[13]

2. Confidentiality Obligations

The protection of confidential information shared between the sponsor and research institution during the course of the sponsored research project is necessary in light of the financial and academic stakes for each party, respectively.[14] Confidentiality obligations pertaining to invention disclosures, which the institute shares with the sponsor, have to be strictly maintained in order to avoid any leakage of the knowhow into the public domain prior to filing a patent. This protects the interests of the research institution and also prevents the loss of rights to patentable inventions. This section may also stipulate the benign use of the inventions by both the parties for internal research purposes only, without

jeopardizing the confidentiality aspects. Any exceptions to confidentiality obligations may be discussed and recorded beforehand in the agreement with the mutual consent of both parties.

***Sample clause*:**

- *"Sponsor shall retain all invention disclosures submitted by University in confidence and use its best efforts to prevent disclosure to third parties. Sponsor shall be relieved of this obligation only when this information becomes publicly available through no fault of Sponsor."[15]*

3. Publication Rights

What does Sponsor gain?	What does Research Institution gain?
Timely protection of proprietary rights prior to publication	Credibility, prestige, and branding

The dissemination of scientific discoveries and know-how through publications in peer-reviewed journals is the foremost mission of any research institution. On the other hand, for-profit sponsors are keen on protecting any proprietary rights to fully exploit the commercial potential of innovative science. Therefore, the section on 'publication rights' seeks to address the interests of both the parties. The practice of prepublication review serves to balance the restriction of timely disclosure of inventions by the research institution and the sponsor's need for temporary secrecy of such inventions until the filing of patent(s).[14] Delaying the public disclosure of research findings by 30 days, with further extension to a total of up to 60 days has been suggested to be a reasonable period for the sponsor to review the results furnished by the research institution.[16,17]

As per the basic tenets of patenting, the filing date of a patent must predate the corresponding scientific publication. If the sponsor deems the disclosed invention to be patentable and subsequently, elects to pay for the patent prosecution expenses, the sponsor may request the research institution to delay the publication of the invention until after the patent application has been filed. On the other hand, if the invention is not patentable but only publishable, the sponsor would want the research institution to remove any of sponsor's confidential information from the proposed publication to protect the sponsor's business and scientific interests.

***Sample clauses*:**

- *"The University will submit to the Sponsor, in writing, details of any Results and any of the Sponsor's Background that any employee or student of the University intends to Publish, at least [30][60] days before the date of the proposed submission for Publication. The Sponsor may, by giving written notice to the University ("a Confidentiality Notice"): require the University to delay the proposed Publication for a maximum of [_] month(s) after receipt of the Confidentiality Notice if, in the Sponsor's reasonable opinion, that delay is necessary in order to seek patent or similar protection for any of the Sponsor's Background or any Results that are to be Published; or prevent the Publication of any of the Sponsor's Background that is Confidential Information. The Sponsor must give that Confidentiality Notice within [15][30] days after the Sponsor receives details of the proposed Publication. If the University does not receive a Confidentiality Notice within that period, its employee or student may proceed with the proposed Publication, provided that, whether or not a Confidentiality Notice has been given, any of the Sponsor's Background that is Confidential Information may not be published."* (IPO).[18]

- *"Sponsor recognizes that under University policy, University shall have the right, at its discretion, to release information or to publish any material resulting from the Project. University shall furnish Sponsor with a copy of any proposed publication thirty (30) days in advance of the proposed publication date. Sponsor may request University to delay release of such proposed publication for a maximum of an additional thirty (30) days in order to protect Intellectual Property or Confidential Information described therein. No such delay shall be imposed on the filing of any student thesis or dissertation."* [19]

4. Ownership of Intellectual Property (IP)

What does Sponsor gain?	What does Research Institution gain?
An unencumbered licensing process	Advantage in the enforceability of patent rights

A research institution's mission of bringing the fruits of science to the society, and a for-profit entity's goal to make profits out of selling innovative products, are complimentary, rather than competing, objectives. This section needs to ensure that each party is able to execute its respective obligation, whether social or entrepreneurial, in an unencumbered manner. Laying out the ground rules, upfront, to establish clear and indisputable ownership of any intellectual property

emerging out of the research project is of paramount significance. Such rules will act as a blueprint for both the parties involved, and thereby minimize transaction costs, reduce the number of decision points, and hasten decision-making whenever required. Needless to say, a rule-based review process will help both the parties in achieving transparency and equity while protecting each other's disparate interests.

While inventorship is based on the inventive contributions of individuals to an invention, ownership is negotiable and mutually determined by the contracting parties. The ownership of intellectual property in a sponsored research project could manifest in two ways:

i) Inventorship directly corresponds to ownership: If an invention involves inventor A from organization X and inventor B from organization Y, then both X and Y are equal owners of the invention unless agreed upon otherwise through an agreement prior to a patent filing. Such an agreement could be based along the lines of the model Joint Invention Administration Agreement (JIAA) developed by The Massachusetts Association of Technology Transfer Offices.[20] The JIAA covers all the issues pertaining to inventions jointly owned by not-for-profit institutions.

ii) Inventorship does not directly correspond to ownership: If an invention involves inventor A from organization X and inventor B from organization Y, one of the two scenarios of ownership is possible: i) X and Y are joint owners; and ii) either X or Y assigns its rights to the invention to the other party, which then becomes the sole owner of the invention.

5. IP Administration and Management

The administration and management of IP assets primarily refers to patent filings and managing related expenses. In the context of a sponsored research project, this responsibility is typically shouldered by the research institution while the costs are reimbursed by the sponsor. The scope and content of the patent application(s) is usually determined by the research institution in consultation with the sponsor. Such an arrangement facilitates efficient management of paperwork pertaining to patent filings.

Sample clause:

- *"Sponsor may, at any time, request University to file a patent application on University IP or Joint IP.*

    o *If such a request is made, Sponsor agrees to reimburse University for all patent costs.*

    o *Sponsor has the right to review all filings and office actions related to the patent applications, provided, however, that in an emergency when immediate action is needed to protect University IP or Joint IP, documents may be filed prior to review by the Sponsor and in such event, telephone or facsimile notice shall be given promptly by University or University's counsel of such action.*

    o *University will use reasonable efforts to avoid emergency situations in cases where they have control over the timing of steps involved in protecting University IP or Joint IP."*[15]

6. Commercialization Rights

What does Sponsor gain?	What does Research Institution gain?
First in line to negotiate commercialization rights to inventions created during the course of the project	Commercialization revenues and societal recognition

The primary motivation of a sponsor in funding a research project at a non-profit research institution is to gain "first access" to inventions, which could potentially revolutionize the marketplace. On the other hand, the creation of exciting inventions from such sponsored projects lends credibility and prestige to the research institution. Given the foregoing dynamics, it is imperative that the sponsor be granted a fair opportunity to commercially advance the outcomes of the project while the research institution gets to associate its brand with the deliverables of the project. Therefore, it is essential for the research institution to foresee the challenges, which could potentially delay the commercialization of findings emanating from a sponsored research project. For instance, the NIH (USA) has noted that an industry-sponsored project involving a broad scope would result in a situation wherein a wide array of the research outcomes could be licensed to a single sponsor (under the terms of the sponsored research agreement). Consequently, other organizations from the industry would be effectively precluded from gaining access to the technology.[21] Also, the sponsor might lack the ability and facility to realize the commercialization of the research outcomes. It has been suggested that a sponsor might request one or more of the following types of commercialization rights to the research institution: i) "time-limited evaluation license" spanning 3-9 months to evaluate the intellectual property (IP) developed during the course of the sponsored

research project; ii) "internal use license" to the sponsor for using the developed IP for internal research purposes only; and iii) option rights to negotiate either an exclusive or non-exclusive royalty-bearing, time-limited license with the research institution for the IP developed during the project.[22]

We discuss hereunder, three possible commercialization pathways for the outcomes of an industry-sponsored research project: i) option; ii) license; and iii) assignment.

i) Option

Typically, a research institution would grant the sponsor *the right of first refusal* to any inventions created during the performance of the sponsored research project. In other words, the research institution will first offer the sponsor, before approaching any other party(ies), the right to commercialize the inventions coming out of the research project. The sponsor is offered such a privilege in consideration of its funding for the project. In this regard, the sponsor may be granted an evaluation period over the range of 30-365 days ("option period" or "first right period"[19]) to assess the commercial viability of the invention(s). Prior to the expiration of the option period, the sponsor will need to enter into an appropriate technology transfer agreement (typically, license) with the research institution. However, if the sponsor would like to pass up the right to use such an option, then the research institution shall be free to market the invention to other potential clients without any ongoing or future obligations to the sponsor, financial or otherwise.

***Sample clauses*:**

- *"Sponsor shall have a time-limited first right to negotiate a license to University Intellectual Property or to University's rights in Joint Intellectual Property. Sponsor's right shall commence the date Sponsor is notified by CCTEC in writing of a University Intellectual Property or a Joint Intellectual Property and shall expire six months thereafter ("First Right Period"). Any time during the First Right Period, Sponsor may notify CCTEC in writing its intent to secure a license, which may be exclusive or non-exclusive and for commercial or non-commercial use of the Project Intellectual Property in any fields of use and in any territory where Sponsor has an interest to commercialize the Project Intellectual Property. CCTEC shall negotiate in good faith with Sponsor upon Sponsor's notification during the First Right Period. If after the expiration of the First Right Period and no license results, University shall have no further obligation to Sponsor for the Project Intellectual Property."*[19]

- *"SPONSOR is hereby granted, without option fee other than the consideration of the research sponsored herein and the reimbursement of DUKE for all patent expenses incurred to the date of disclosure related to the INVENTION, an option to acquire an exclusive, worldwide, royalty-bearing license of DUKE'S rights to any INVENTION, which option shall extend for 30 days after SPONSOR'S receipt of an INVENTION disclosure. If SPONSOR notifies DUKE in writing of its exercise of the option within the option period, then the parties will proceed in good faith to negotiate a license agreement within 60 days after notification of exercise; and if SPONSOR does not exercise this option, or notifies DUKE that it will not exercise this option, or the parties fail to sign a license agreement within said 60 day negotiation period, then SPONSOR shall no longer own any rights in the subject INVENTION."*[23]

ii) License

Assuming a favorable evaluation of the technology by the sponsor during the option period, a license usually follows. That said, it is quite likely that a sponsor may choose to bypass the "option" route and straightaway negotiate a license, if the technology holds tremendous market potential and the technology readiness level is considerably high.

Figure 3: Schematic showing possibilities of IP Ownership.
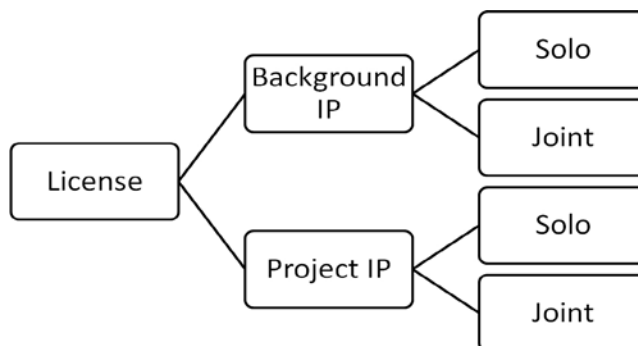
The sponsor may negotiate either an exclusive or a non-exclusive license agreement with the research institution for any and all of the inventions originating from the sponsored research project. The sponsor may also express interest in licensing any relevant background IP either solely owned or co-owned by the research institution. This happens if the sponsor determines that the background IP is essential for the development of a saleable product. As shown in **Figure 3**, the intellectual property assets of a research institution can be categorized into two buckets: a) background IP; and b) project IP. Background IP refers to the intellectual property owned by the research institution prior to the effective date of commencement of the sponsored research project. Such IP may be either solely or jointly owned. Examples of joint ownership of background IP include: i) co-ownership between the research institution and either a not-for-profit or for-profit entity; and ii) co-ownership between the research institution and sponsor through a previous collaboration. Project IP exclusively refers to the intellectual property created during the performance of the sponsored research project. Again, such IP may be either solely or jointly owned. Most commonly, the owners in the joint inventions are the research institution and sponsor, unless third parties get involved during the conception of the inventions.

In the case of an exclusive license agreement with a sponsor, the research institution will usually retain a non-exclusive license to make use of the subject inventions for internal, non-commercial research purposes only. This corollary is crucial in keeping with the research mission of universities and non-profit organizations. In countries such as the USA, license agreements would also delineate the march-in rights of the government ("Third Party Rights") if federal funding was utilized to create the inventions being licensed. This is a direct consequence of the Bayh-Dole Act enacted on December 12, 1980.[24] It is important to honestly highlight such third party rights in a license agreement. As mentioned above, another instance wherein a third party might get involved is when the sponsor expresses interest to license the research institution's background IP, which might be jointly owned with another party.

***Sample clause*:**

- *"For each MIT Invention on which a patent application is filed by MIT, MIT hereby grants the Sponsor a non-exclusive, non-transferable, royalty-free license for internal research purposes. The Sponsor shall further be entitled to elect one of the following alternatives by notice in writing to MIT within six (6) months after MIT's notification to the Sponsor that a patent application has been filed:*

  1. *a non-exclusive, non-transferable, world-wide, royalty-free license (in a designated field of use, where appropriate) to the Sponsor, without the right to sublicense, in the United States and/or any foreign country elected by the Sponsor pursuant to Section 11.C. below, to make, have made, use, lease, sell and import products embodying or produced through the use of such invention, provided that the Sponsor agrees to demonstrate reasonable efforts to commercialize the technology in the public interest and reimburse MIT for the costs of patent prosecution and maintenance in the United States and any elected foreign country; or*

  2. *a royalty-bearing, limited-term, exclusive license (subject to third party rights, if any, and in a designated field of use, where appropriate) to the Sponsor, including the right to sublicense, in the United States and/or any foreign country elected by the Sponsor pursuant to Section 11.C. below, to make, have made, use, lease, sell and import products embodying or produced through the use of such invention. This option to elect an exclusive license is subject to MIT's concurrence and the negotiation of commercially reasonable license terms and conditions and conditioned upon Sponsor's agreement to reimburse MIT for the costs of patent prosecution and maintenance in the United States and any elected foreign country and to cause any products produced pursuant to this license that will be used or sold in the United States to be substantially manufactured in the United States. If the Sponsor and MIT do not enter into a license agreement within three (3) months after the Sponsor's election to proceed under paragraph 11.B.1. or 11.B.2. above, the Sponsor's rights under paragraphs 11.B.1. and 11.B.2. will expire."[25]*

iii) Assignment

An assignment of rights implies a change of ownership. In the event that a sponsor provides 100% of the funds for a research project, a research institution could choose to assign its rights in any intellectual property, generated during the performance of the project, to the sponsor in consideration of its funding. Such assignments are generally subject to institutional regulations and national policies. In countries such as the USA, the assignment of intellectual property rights to the sponsor is generally discouraged.

CONCLUSION

Sponsored research projects strengthen and expand industry-academia partnerships. Since intellectual property is the foundation of such projects, a handful of terms that address the intellectual property related aspects of the partnership are inevitable in contracts delineating the sponsorship. While drafting intellectual property related clauses, it is important to weigh in on the symbiotic nature of the industry-academia collaboration. This can be achieved by balancing the for-profit interests of the industry with the research mission of academia. Both parties can prevent the triggering of disputes by maintaining transparent communication with each other and adhering to the mutually agreed upon reporting requirements.

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QUALITY ASSURANCE IN HIGHER EDUCATION: CREDITISATION, EXAMINATION, EVALUATION AND CERTIFICATION

K. M. Salati*
Ram Chandra**

ABSTRACT

Development of a quality assurance document for any University containing the proper guidelines for various academic activities specially creditisation of programmes, teaching and learning, examination, evaluation and certification are very important. The authors have conducted many workshops on quality assurance aspects with the faculty members of Cavendish Group of Universities at Zambia (located at Lusaka) and Uganda (located at Kampala). The guidelines developed and being implemented in the Cavendish group of Universities are presented in this paper. It is expected that these guidelines may be adopted by any university for the betterment of the students as well as teachers.

Keywords: Assignments, Assurance, Certification, Creditisation, Credits Transfer, Evaluation, Examination, Higher Education

INTRODUCTION

The world has become a global village. Higher education has become a prime mover in bringing students and teachers at a common platform. This, in turn, has initiated a strong competition among higher education institutions and universities to provide quality education and research. The quality education has become a subject of concern in the diverse areas of university education like creditisation of programmes, teaching and learning, examination, evaluation and certification. The universities are making continuous efforts not only to maintain the set quality standards but to continuously improve upon them i.e. quality assurance. The efforts are directed to achieve the following:

- To set the quality standards for each component of higher education (quality control)
- To continuously improve upon them (quality assurance)
- To provide research input to quality control and quality assurance aspects

Gadiya and Chandra (2014) have extensively studied the teaching and learning skills in a university system. Each and every conventional university has its own method of teaching and evaluation. These activities are by and large teacher-centred. Open and distance educational universities, on the other hand, have the systems which are student-centred. Each one of these approaches has some advantages and disadvantages. Mewar University has adopted a unique approach of teaching and evaluation which is partially teacher-centred and partially student-centred (*Gadiya and Chandra*, 2014).

There are many advances in scientific knowledge and innovations in educational field that necessitates constant changes in course curricula. This is for the benefit of society. There are many innovations and trends in engineering education that have been undertaken globally which include self directed learning, problem based learning and integrated

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*K. M. Salati is CEO and Vice Chancellor, Cavendish Group of Universities, Zambia and Uganda.
**Ram Chandra is Deputy Vice Chancellor, Cavendish University, Zambia. He is on deputation from Mewar University, Gangrar (Rajasthan) India. [Corresponding author: ramchandrasrd@gmail.com]

teaching (*Smith*, 2005). Integrated teaching has become the new paradigm for exposing the new entrants in academics to the manifold dimensions of contemporary reality. What is *integrated teaching*? The way of connecting skills and knowledge from multiple sources and experiences or applying skills and practices in various settings is integrated teaching. It simply means bridging connections between academic knowledge and practical (*Huber & Hutchings*, 2004). An integrated curriculum refers to a non compartmentalized approach to basic science learning.

Thus, alternative method of teaching based on lectures, seminar, and assignments is believed to be beneficial to the student community at the institution and ought to be the ideal approach. Large undergraduate courses in any university offer a challenge to those involved in both, their development and their delivery, to ensure that the best possible learning outcomes are achieved in the most efficient way possible. When these students represent a combination of internal and distance students, and domestic and international, the challenge to achieve these outcomes become even more complex. *Kehoe et.al.* (2004) have analyzed the challenge of flexible and non- traditional learning and teaching methods.

Online and technology-based modes of study have been identified as a useful addition to classroom-based, traditional teaching methods (*Light et al,* 2000). The delivery of online courses enhances student learning in some respects, researchers have also cautioned against using the technology without adequate regard for the learning outcomes being sought (*Buckley,* 2003; *Lawther & Walker*, 2001; *Willett*, 2002). In fact teaching should drive technology and not vice versa (*Petrides*, 2002).

It has been observed that not all students learn at the same pace (*Cano et al.*, 1991; Jacobs*, 1990). Students are unique in their own ways, including the way they learn. Since not all students learn in the same style, it is essential that teachers recognize the differences of learning style among their students and teach in a manner in which all learning styles are considered. The characteristics of teachers are just as diverse as those of the students. *Garger and Guild* (1984) suggested that the learning style, teaching style, and personality style of teachers have implications for student learning.

Ronning et al (1984) have suggested that problem-solving strategy must consider at least three dimensions: knowledge domain, problem-solving methods, and characteristics of learners. They have observed that the first two dimensions (knowledge domain and problem-solving methods) were widely accepted as essential for problem-solving, but there were no theories of problem-solving which took into account systematic individual differences. They concluded that modification of problem-solving instructions in ways consistent with students' learning styles, seems an inevitable consequence.

The teachers teaching styles may or may not be consistent with their learning styles. The teachers teach the way they learned (*Dunn & Dunn's,*1979). However, *Koppleman* (1980) commented that there is a lack of research concerning the influence of a person's learning style on their teaching style. *Heimlich* (1990) in an attempt to describe an individual's teaching style, defined two domains, sensitivity and inclusion. The sensitivity domain is based on the ability of the teacher to sense the shared characteristics of the learners. The inclusion domain is based on the teacher's willingness and ability to utilize instructional strategies that take advantage of the group's characteristics.

Higher education quality assurance in Sub-Saharan Africa has been studied in detail by *Materu* (2007). It has been indicated that tertiary education is fast growing in the African continent. The number of tertiary students increased by 3.6 times between 1985 and 2002 (from 800 thousand to about 3 million), on an average by about 15 percent yearly. This trend was led by Rwanda (55 percent), Namibia (46 percent), Uganda (37 percent), Tanzania (32 percent), Kenya (27 percent), Chad (27 percent), Botswana (22 percent), and Cameroon (22 percent). Quality assurance can play a key catalytic role in initiating reforms to revitalize weak tertiary education systems. Despite variations in cultural and political preferences, differences in leadership styles within universities as well as varying stages of development, there is emerging consensus that traditional academic controls are inadequate for responding to today's challenges and that more explicit assurances about quality are needed.

The quest for quality has always been a priority in higher education in Africa. However, the tension between political pressure to expand access and the desire by academics in HEIs to maintain quality did not allow a healthy culture of quality to evolve. Changes in quality assurance mechanisms over the years were driven by factors such as rapid enrolment growth to meet increasing social demand, significantly decreased public funding of higher education amid rising enrolment. Arrival of private universities in the African continent has changed the scene dramatically. These universities are now allowing latest concepts of quality assurance in providing higher education so that the graduates are at par with their peer studying in international universities.

Quality assurance within institutions of higher learning takes place throughout the teaching and learning process. It includes the following:

- Admitting the students as per the eligibility criteria;

- Staff recruitment and promotion procedures;

- Curriculum development and reviews;

- Creditisation of the programmes and modules;

- Teaching and learning facilities;

- Quality of research;

- Quality of policy development and management mechanisms;

- Quality examination and evaluation of students;

- Coding mechanism of the answer scripts before evaluation;

- Provision of external examiners;

- Standarising question papers;

- Assignment evaluation with useful comments.

Though little information is available in the public domain on the effectiveness of these methods, implementation of some of these processes is weak due to financial constraints, failure to keep up with new approaches to teaching and learning (for example, ICTs), and increased workload resulting from large student numbers. An academic review provides an opportunity for a university to:

- Review an academic program against the set quality standards, if available;

- Evaluate the quality of the academic program, its faculty, staff, and students;

- Establish priorities to develop its curriculum and to improve quality;

- Determine the financial and material resources needed to support the university's

OBJECTIVES

- Make recommendations for action by the program, the administration, and others;

- Provide information that is essential to quality assessment, the development and the enhancement of the impact and reputation of the program and the university; and

- Encourage all concerned to be self-conscious about quality and its improvement.

Okebukola (2012) has analysed quality assurance in higher education and pointed out the achievements and outstanding needs. *Smout & Stephenson* (2001) on the other hand have studied quality assurance in South African higher education. *Ajayi & Akindutire* (2007) have studied the quality assurance issues in Nigerian universities. The literature survey shows that a number of studies are available for quality assurance initiatives (*Munzali* 2006, *Paschal* 2006, *Goolam* 2006, *Daniel* 2006, *Saffi* 2006, *Titanji* 2006*, Kingsley & Orivel* 2006, *Bloom et. al* 2006, *Hall* 2005, *Hanushek & Wossmann* 2007, *Liu & Chang* 2006, *Shabani* 2006). These studies, however, have not touched upon the basic issues of quality control and quality assurance in creditisation of programmes, teaching and learning, examination, evaluation and certification. This paper has addressed all these issues.

CREDITISATION OF THE PROGRAMMES AND MODULES

As a first step for launching a programme, the following things should be done:

- Objective of the programme should be defined;

- The minimum and maximum duration of the programme should be defined;and

- The eligibility criteria should be outlined.

One of the strong measures of quality assurance is to have all the programmes and courses creditised and coded. The present system neither has the creditisation in place nor does it have the coding of courses in a proper way. In absence of this, it becomes difficult for the University to compare its services with other best Universities. At present, coding is not

only confusing but some faculties have adopted different approach. Also, the credit transfer scheme has to be defined and implemented.

In a University system, all the programmes and modules (courses) offered should be along with their coding. This will define the following:

- Total number of teaching hours for a programme and its courses,
- Total Credits of a programme and its courses,and
- The distribution of teaching hours into lectures, tutorials and practical.

CREDITISATION OF THE PROGRAMMES AND COURSES

The process of creditisation is shown in *Fig. 1*. The following are the steps involved:

- A Programme is divided into number of Courses (2 in the example);
- Each course is divided into several units and sub- units;
- The total number of teaching hours are estimated which are 40 Hrs and 60 Hrs, respectively; and
- These hours should further be divided into Lecture (L), Tutorial (T), and Practical (P).

Fig.1 Structure of Programme
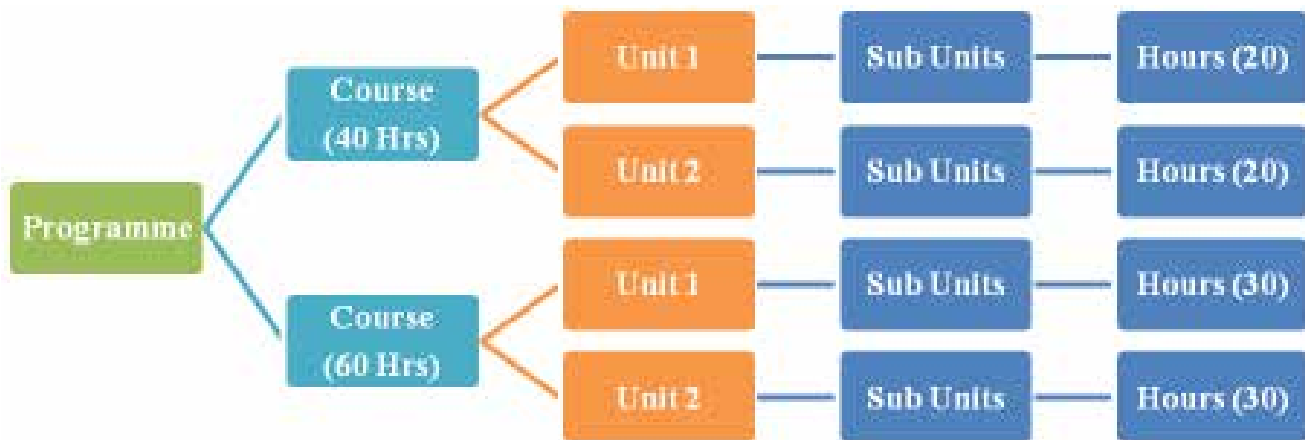
Let the modes of delivery are denoted as follows:

Lecture   : L

Tutorials   : T

Practical   : P

Take a Course of 40 Hrs of Teaching Load. We now assume the following:

Lecture   : L = 2 Hrs per week = (say) 2 Class

Tutorials: T = 1 Hr per week = (say) 1 Class

Practical : P = 2 Hrs per week = (say)1 Class

Then L + T + P = 2 + 1 + 2 = 5 hrs per week is the *teaching load* of the course under consideration. We can now determine the number of week required to complete the course in the class room.

The Credits of this course are defined as the sum of all class components. In other words

C = L + T + P/2 = 2 + 1 + 2/2 = 4

Since 1 Credit = 10 hrs of study, therefore total teaching hours are 40.

Let us make some of the points more clear:

We have taken P = 2 hrs per week which is equivalent to one class. In order to convert it to the same base as L, T, it has to be divided by 2. This can be summed up as

C = L + T + P/2

In case the same practical class is of 3 hrs/week, then C would be

C = L + T + P/3

In case the same practical class is of 1hr/week, then C would be

C = L + T + P

Thereafter module plan should be developed. Before we explain that, it is extremely important to give the range of credits for a given programme. This will act as a guideline.

CREDITS OF PROGRAMMES

The total credits of a programme depend upon how credit is defined and number of courses in a programme. We have taken 1 credit equal to 10 Hrs of study. Based upon this, the credits of a programme could be as given in *Table 1*.

Table 1 Credits of Programmes

S.No.	Programme	Duration	Credits Range	No. of Courses
1	Certificate	6 Months	16-20	4-5
2	Diploma	1 Year	32-40	8-10
3	Advance Diploma	2 Years	64-80	16-20
4	Undergraduate	3 Years	96-120	24-30
5	Master	2 Years	64-80	16-20
6	Master	18 Months	52-56	13-14
7	Master	12 Months	44-48	11-12
6	B. Tech	4 Years	128-160	32-40

An Example of Preparation of Module Plan

An example of the preparation of Module Plan is given below:

Course Name: Computer Hardware & Networking

Course Code – CUZ-110

L	T	P	C
2	1	2	4

COURSE OVERVIEW

World today has changed tremendously after the introduction of information technology which has influenced many spheres of activities. The common work environment presently is totally dependent on computers. It is, therefore, imperative that the students are well conversant with computer application for an effective functioning. As a matter of fact Information Technology in its different application forms has opened new vistas of career options. Hence, the aim of this course is to educate the students in such a manner that they can build their career in the field of computer hardware & networking with adequate potential of consistent professional growth in the current competitive corporate environment. The course primarily imparts practical knowledge of computer hardware and networking, which can assist in buildup of a new enterprise or alternatively help make career in this field. Besides the fundamental knowledge in this field, it also addresses the common running problems in computer hardware and remedial measures to improve its reliability. The practical is of one hour.

MAJOR CONTENTS

1. Introduction to Computers
2. Functions of Microprocessor
3. Motherboard Organization and Its Logic
4. Switch Mode Power Supply
5. Keyboard
6. Mouse
7. Monitor
8. Printer
9. Primary Memory Storage
10. Secondary Storage Devices
11. Hard Disk
12. Post- Assembly and Maintenance
13. Communication System
14. Transmission Media
15. Networking
16. Communication Techniques

The detailed course planner is given in *Table 2*.

Table 2: Illustration of a Course Planner

S.No.	Day	Subject	L	T	P	Total
1	D Day	**Introduction to Computer** • Introduction • Definition & Properties of Computer • Building blocks of Computer • Input and Output Devices • Central Processing Unit (CPU) • System Bus • Memory Unit • Logic Circuits • Micro-Operation	2	0	-	2
2	D+1	**Functions of Microprocessor** • Introduction to Microprocessor • Structure of CPU • System Bus • Instruction- Execution • Addressing Modes	2	0	-	2
3	D+2	**Motherboard Organization and Its Logic** • Introduction • Components of Motherboard • Layout of Motherboard • Types of Motherboard • Troubleshooting of Motherboard	2	0	2	3

4	D+3	**Switch Mode Power Supply** • Introduction • Linear and Switch mode power supply • Switch Mode Power Supply – Logic and Design • SMPS Installation and Distribution • Diagnosis of SMPS	2	0	2	3
5	D+4	**Keyboard** • Introduction • Types of Keyboards • Keyboard Special Functions • Keyboard Maintenance • Troubleshooting	2	0	-	2
6	D+5	**Mouse** • Introduction • Architecture • Parts of Mouse • Types of Mouse Technology • Operations • Mouse Maintenance • Troubleshooting	2	0	-	2
7	D+ 6	**Monitor** • Introduction • Difference between TV Screen and Computer Monitor • Interface logic between CPU and Monitor • Different Types of Display Interface • Different Types of Monitor • Maintenance • Troubleshooting	2	0	2	3
8	D+7	**Printer** • Introduction • Printing Technology • Classification of Printers • Plotters • Printing Speed • Printing Quality • Maintenance • Troubleshooting	1	0	2	2

9	D+8	**Primary Storage Devices** • Introduction • Concept of Primary Memory • Types of Primary Memory • Primary Memory Functioning and Management • Maintenance • Troubleshooting	2	0	-	2
10	D+9	**Secondary Storage Devices** • Introduction • Secondary Storage Devices • Characteristics of Secondary Storage Devices • Types of Secondary Storage Devices • Floppy Disk • Pen Drive • Compact Disk • Trouble shooting	1	0	2	2
11	D+10	**Hard Disk** • Introduction • History of Hard Disk • Types of Hard Disk • Importance of Hard Disk • Functions of Hard Disk • Installation of Hard Disk • Troubleshooting	2	0	2	3
12	D+11	**Post- Assembly and Maintenance** • Introduction • Assembling the System • Computer Assembly and Start Up • Operating System Installation • Hard Drive Installation • IOS Setup • Partitioning and Formatting • Upgrading Memory • New Expansion Card Installation	2	0	2	3

13		**Communication System**	2	0	-	2
	D+12	• Introduction • Data Communication • Elements of a Communication System • Communication Protocols • Communication Devices • Transmission • Data Communication Mode • Transmission Channel				
14		**Transmission System**	2	1	-	3
	D+13	• Introduction • Classification • Types of Medium • Open Wire Cables • Twisted Pair Cables • Coaxial Cables • Optical Fiber • VHF • Microwaves • Satellite Link				
15		**Networking**	2	0	2	3
	D+14	• Introduction • Concept of Networking • Networking Filtering • Types of Networks (LAM, MAN, WAN) • Network Topology • LAN Components				
16		**Communication Techniques**	2	0	2	3
	D+15	• Introduction • Communication Hardware • Repeater • Routers • Bridges • Gateway • Communication Adapter • Network Protocols • Modems				

REVISION OF COURSES

The old course contents should be reviewed and updated preferably once after every three years. All the courses which are older than three years will be updated on priority. This is because information is changing at a very fast rate. The teachers should be doing continuous research to insert up-to-date information and need based contents in the courses.

STRUCTURE OF THE PROGRAMMES

The university should have the programme structure based on core courses and elective courses. The need based components as per industry   requirements and Government priority areas should be included. As quality assurance initiative, the new as well as existing programmes should have two components:

(a) **Core Courses**

(b) **Electives Courses**

The students will be asked to complete about 60-70% of the credits from Core Courses and remaining credits from the electives of their choice. Each faculty will offer electives. The students will be free to pick up electives from their faculty or from other faculty. This flexibility to the students will give a lot of advantages to them. The elective courses will contain courses related to emerging technologies.

CODING OF COURSES

As stated above, all the programmes will have core courses and elective courses. The core courses will have the codes resembling the programme name. Some of the programmes will also have inter-programming courses. The elective and inter-programming courses should have about 30-40% weightage.

The coding of a module will follow the standard procedure. Let the module be BBAxyz. Here x = year (1,2,3,…), y = Semester of that year (1 or 2) and z = module number (1,2,3,4,…). Thus BBA111 indicates that this module is being offered in the year 1 and semester 1 and the module number is 1.

CREDIT TRANSFER GUIDELINES

Since the world is becoming a global village, the students will move from one university to another. This requires a credit transfer scheme.

(a) **Credit Transfer when programme is not completed**

- A student who is not able to complete any programme within the maximum stipulated time period will have to take re-admission into the programme and will be allotted a new ID number;

- The credits earned by the students in the old ID will be fully transferred to the new ID number;

- The student will have to apply for credit transfer by paying the requisite fee per course and filling up the form for fresh admission;

- Once a student takes fresh admission into the programme, it will be valid for another term. The student will be required to complete all the remaining courses during this time period.

(b) **Credit Transfer for External Students**

The University has to cater to the needs of those students who wish to join the University after completing some of the courses in other university. The number of courses to be accepted for credit transfer:

(1) Certificate Programmes: 2

(2) Diploma Programmes: 4

(3) Advanced/Post Graduate Diploma: 4

(4) Bachelor Programme: 8

(5) Master Programmes: 6

GUIDELINES FOR EXAMINATION

The examinations are the human face of the University. The university should have proper guidelines for the following:

- *Semester End Examination* (SEE)
- *On Demand Examination* (ODE)
- *Practical Examination* (PE)
- *Setting Questions Papers*
- *Conduct of Examination*
- *Preparation and issue of assignments, their evaluation and return to the students with proper comments.*

After an extensive survey of several universities, we have come to conclusion that university can adopt following scheme:

- 2CA (40%)+ SEE (60%), once each in June and December every year.

This will tantamount to creating two Class Assignments (CAs) having 40% weightage and Semester End Exam to be conducted only in June and December having 60% weightage. This is shown in *Fig.1*. This will also require that all issues related to CAs should to be dealt within the set guidelines. The operation of assignment related activities has been outlined in *Table 3*.

Table 3: Operation Schedule for CAs

Exam Session	Issue of CA1	Issue of CA2	Marks to Exam Office of CA1 and CA2	Issue of CA3 in case students have not cleared CAs	Marks to Exam Office of CA3
June	September 15	October 15	October 30	November 10	November 20
December	March 15	April 15	April 30	May 10	May 20

EXAMINATION SCHEDULE AND GUIDELINES

Semester End Examination (SEE)

The semester end examination time table will be prepared well in advance and made available to all concerned. It should also be placed on the University Website. The following guidelines should be followed:

(1) Those students who have cleared all dues will be permitted.

(2) The students without ID card will not be permitted to write the examination. University should issue ID cards to all students.

(3) If the students have lost/misplaced their ID cards, they can make a request to the University to get a duplicate ID card.

(4) The students have to inform the University that they are appearing in the examination for given number of courses. This has to be given in writing through an undertaking. The following procedure may be adopted:

- *Step 1*: The University will announce the Time Table for June/December Examination and put it on the University Website/Faculty Notice Boards.

- *Step 2:* The Students will fill up the Examination Form indicating the Modules etc. and after getting it cleared from the Account section will submit it to the Academic Office, latest by particular date. Students who failed to submit the Examination Forms by due date can do so even after the last date but with the penalty of late fine. The Examination Forms will also be uploaded on the University Website and can be collected from the offices of Deans and the Programme Leaders.

- *Step 3*: The University will issue the Dockets (Hall Tickets) well before the start of examination.

This entire operation for SEE is summarized in the *Table 4* for universities operating on semester basis and two intakes in January and July.

Table 4: Operation for SEE

Exam Session	University to Announce Time Table	Students to Fill Up Exam Form and Submit to Academic Office	Students to Fill Up Exam Form and Submit to Academic Office with late fine	Dockets to be issued by the University latest by
June	April 15	May 15	May 30	May 25
December	October 15	November 15	November 30	November 25

ON DEMAND EXAMINATION (ODE)

On demand examination may be introduced by the University for face to face programmes, distance learning programmes, credit transfer schemes of the University. The steps include:

- On Demand Examination will be conducted on the 25th of January/July in the respective semesters. The students will apply for appearing in ODE;

- The students who could not clear a module in SEE will be eligible for ODE;

- The students who could not write SEE for specific reasons may be allowed to write ODE if accepted by the University;

- The students willing to get credit transfer will have to appear in ODE.

PRACTICAL EXAMINATION (PE)

(1) The Practical Examination schedule for the concerned courses should be prepared well in advance and made available to all concerned like semester end examination schedule.

(2) The students who have attended 75% of the practical classes will be allowed to appear in the PE.

(3) Those students who have not completed 75% attendance will be asked to repeat the practical classes.

GUIDELINES FOR SETTING QUESTIONS PAPERS

The setting of question papers should be standardized. Each question paper will have two sections; Section A and Section B.

Section A will be compulsory and will have two questions as described below:

Q.1: A case study and one question (containing only 4 sub- questions) to be answered. The weightage should be 20%.

Q.2: A multiple choice question containing 10 sub- questions each of 2 marks. Each sub-question will have 4 choices with only one choice as correct answer. The weightage should be 20%. This question will fulfill the requirement of Bloom's Taxonomy.

Section B will have 5 questions (containing only 2 sub-questions each) and 3 questions are to be answered. This section has 60% weightage. The questions in Section B will be numbered as Q.3, Q.4, Q.5, Q.6, and Q.7.

PROCEDURE FOR SETTING OF THE QUESTION PAPERS

All the Deans should prepare a list of the courses for which semester examination is due with the support of University Examination Office (EO). Teachers will prepare 2 sets of question paper and submit to the EO. The format of the question papers will be as follows:

Code of the Module	Name of the Module	Date of Exam	Time of Exam	Set

You are advised to read the following before answering the examination question.

1. Read each of the questions carefully before you answer.

2. Number the answers to the questions clearly before answering.

3. Answer all parts of a question at one place in continuous manner.

4. Please write as clearly as possible. Illegible handwriting cannot be marked.

This paper contains two parts; Section A and Section B. Section A is compulsory and comprises two questions; Q.1 having four sub-questions of five marks each is based on a case study and Q.2 having ten sub- questions of two marks each is based on multiple choice questions. Section B contains five questions having two sub-questions of ten marks each. Answer any three questions from section B.

<div align="center">

Section A

Answer both questions
</div>

Read the following carefully and then answer Q.1.

Q. 1

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

Q. 2   Answer all questions. Out of the four alternatives given for each question, only one option is correct.

(i)

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

Similarly remaining questions from (ii) to (x) will be set.

<div align="center">

Section B

Answer any three questions
</div>

Q.3

(a)

(b)

Q.4

(a)

(b)

Q. 5

(a)

(b)

Q. 6

(a)

(b)

Q. 7

(a)

(b)

UNDERTAKING FOR QUESTION PAPER SETTERS

Since paper setting is a confidential activity, all paper setters should give an undertaking in the following format:

Name of the Paper Setter: ....Sex: ....

Name of the Faculty:……………………………………………………………………

Name of the Programme:…………………………………………………………….

Name of the Course:…………………………………………………………………..

Code of the Programme:……………………….Code of the Course:……………

I, the undersigned hereby certify that I have read the relevant guidelines and do understand them and will not go against the rules and regulations of the University procedures for paper setters as stipulated in the guidelines. I also state that I have not kept anything related to question paper set by me in any form, photo copy, scan copy etc.

Signature..

Date.....................................

SCHEDULE OF SUBMISSION OF QUESTION PAPERS TO EXAMINATION OFFICE

The format for schedule of submitting the question papers to EO is given in *Table 5.*

Table 5: Schedule of Examination Activities

Exam Session	Two sets of question papers as per the standard format to Exam Office	Papers to be Moderated by the date	Papers to be printed in the desired numbers and packed as per the Exam Schedule
June	May 15	May 20	May 25
December	November 15	November 20	November 25

TYPES OF QUESTIONS

The question paper setters should take adequate precaution in setting up the questions. The purpose should be to test the learning outcome rather than testing the memorising capacity of the students.

This can be done by framing the following types of questions:

(a) Questions based on Case Studies

(b) Long Answer Questions

(c) Short Answer Questions

(d) Multiple Choice Questions

The suggested guidelines are given below:

Questions based on Case Studies: The case study should be interesting one and may be related to daily life scene. The questions should be based upon a situation to judge the capability of the student to extract the answer from the case study.

Long Answer Questions: The long answer questions should be framed to judge the capability of the student to answer in innovative way rather than giving the answer after memorising.

Short Answer Questions: The short answer questions should be framed from the entire course curriculum.

Multiple Choice Questions: This is the most important component and the questions will test the students' knowledge in the right perspectives. Bloom's Taxonomy can be used to frame the multiple choice questions. Here are some guidelines.

Bloom & Krathwohl (1956) has excellently described the link between strategies and learning objectives to assist the teachers in developing and directing students in logical steps of learning. This is given in *Table 6*.

Knowledge, comprehension and application are passive modes where activities are more or less teacher-centred. Knowledge and comprehension focus on a recall of facts that students can attain by reading the course material and attending lectures. The evaluation strategies are through true/false and multiple choice questions for knowledge and short essays for comprehension. In the application category, students use previously learned information in new and concrete situations to solve problems that have single or best answers.

The analysis, synthesis and evaluation are the basic characteristics of teaching and learning that engage the students and faculty most. These categories deal with the issues that inspire the students to learn and reveal the creative. The students assume responsibility for acquiring the knowledge necessary to respond creatively and evaluate outcomes. This is the basis for non-traditional teaching and learning strategies where less emphasis is placed on information transmission and greater emphasis placed on developing skills, attitudes and values. This will lead students to engage in higher order of thinking such as analysis, synthesis, and evaluation.

Table 6: Strategies and Learning Objectives

Cognitive Domain	Feature	Outcomes	Learning Outcome
Knowledge	Passive	Recall of specific facts	know common terms specific facts, methods , procedures, basic concepts and principles
Comprehension	Passive	Grasping or understanding meaning of informational study materials	understand facts and principles; interpret verbal material, charts and graphs; translate verbal material to mathematical formulae; estimate the future consequences implied in data; justify methods and procedures
Application	Passive	Make use of the knowledge	apply concepts and principles to new situations, laws and theories to practical situations; solve mathematical problems; construct graphs and charts; and demonstrate the correct usage of a method or procedure
Analysis	Active	Taking apart the known & identifying relationships among them	recognize unstated assumptions and logical fallacies in reasoning; distinguish between facts and inferences; evaluate the relevancy of data; analyse the organizational structure of a work (art, music, and writing)
Synthesis	Active	Putting things together in a creative manner	write a well organized theme, give a well organized speech, writes a creative short story, propose a plan for an experiment, integrate learning from different areas into a plan for solving a problem, formulates a new scheme for classifying objects (or events, or ideas)
Evaluation	Active	Makes judgments about the value of materials or methods	judge the logical consistency of written material, adequacy with which conclusions are supported by data, the value of a work (art, music, writing) by the use of internal criteria, and the value of a work (art, music, writing) by use of external standards of excellence

EVALUATION AND CERTIFICATION

Another important aspect of quality assurance is a proper scheme of marking the answer scripts.

Guidelines for Marking Answer Scripts

- The answer scripts should be coded before handing over to the Dean/Programme Leaders/Teacher Evaluators;

- Once the scripts are evaluated, they will be decoded and the awards list will be sent to Examination Office for updating;

- There shall be centralized evaluation;

- Evaluators have to give an undertaking saying that they will do their job as per the University Guidelines;

- A sample monitoring should be done by a senior academician;

- No overwriting will be permitted. If the marks are to be revised, then original marks are to be crossed, new marks written and initialed.

COMPILATION OF MARKS AND SUBMISSION TO EXAMINATION OFFICE

The evaluator after evaluating the answer scripts of a course will enter the marks in the award list supplied by the Examination Office. The marks should be entered with high precaution and concentration so that no harm is done to the students. No external recording of the marks should be done by the evaluator. All Deans should ensure the return of the award list and answer scripts to the Examination Office.

CERTIFICATION GUIDELINES

The certification from the University shall be as per the standard procedures across the world. This should be based on Semester Grade Point Average (SGPA) and Cumulative Grade Point Average (CGPA).

Semester Grade Point Average (SGPA) is defined as

$$SGPA = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n} C_i P_i}{\sum_{i=1}^{n} C_i}$$

where

C_i = Number of Credits earned in the ith course of Semester.

P_i = Grade point earned in i^{th} course.

i=1 …..n represent the number of courses in which a student is registered in the concerned semester.

Cumulative Grade Point Average (CGPA) is defined as

$$CGPA = \frac{\sum_{j=1}^{m} C_j P_j}{\sum_{j=1}^{m} C_j}$$

where

C_j = Number of Credits earned in the jth course of semester.

P_j = Grade points earned in j^{th} course; a grade lower than D (i.e. grade point less than 4) in a course shall not be taken into account

j=1… represents the number of courses in which a student was registered and obtained a grade not lower than D up to the semester for which CGPA is to be calculated.

GUIDELINES FOR CLEARING A COURSE

- A student has to obtain minimum 40% marks in assignment;

- A student has to obtain minimum 40% marks in practical, if any;

- A student has to obtain minimum 40% marks in mid semester/semester end examination;

- A student has to obtain overall 50% marks for clearing the course.

If students has obtained 30% marks in the assignment and overall say 70% marks, even then he has not cleared the course. He needs to clear the assignment after resubmission of the new assignments. In that case, the student has to obtain new assignments.

ASSIGNMENTS AND DISSERTATIONS

The role of assignments is very important for the continuous assessments of the students. In any education system, whether conventional or face to face, assignments play a very important role. They act as very powerful tool of learning

process. Assignment is an important device through which two ways communication takes place. This is a learning task. This enables the students to ensure that they have learnt what they are expected to learn from the course materials.

There have to be proper guidelines for setting the questions in the assignments, writing assignments by the students and evaluating the assignments with proper tutor comments.

PURPOSE OF ASSIGNMENTS

A teacher will use assignments as one of method on teaching and learning process. It becomes one of steps or processes to students to learn more about a given topic, deepen it and finally expand their knowledge automatically. Their responses give teacher an opportunity to help them by commenting on their performance.

OBJECTIVES OF THE ASSIGNMENTS

The following objectives can be derived from the assignments.

- It provides good training for information seeking and retrieval behavior;

- It inculcates the self learning attitude among the students;

- It provides information analysis and research attitude to the learners;

- It develops the learning experiences from various sources.

TYPES OF ASSIGNMENTS

Usually, there are several types of assignments that are given by a teacher.

- The first type is practice assignment. The students can improve newly acquired skills; they can learn a new method of solving a problem.

- The second is the preparation assignment. They help students to get ready for future classroom activities.

- The third is extension assignment. Here, the students can enjoy long-term homework that supplements class work.

WRITING COMMENTS ON THE ASSIGNMENT

The students need continuous feedback to sustain and/or increase his/her motivation. Feedback in terms of fruitful comments increases the motivation of students. Through fruitful comments on assignment response, the teacher can remove the learner's feeling of isolation, and can also bring him/her closer to the peer group by making him/her see clearly his/her achievement, drawbacks etc. in relation to those of the peers.

Through written comments the teacher can provide guidance, counselling and suggestions to improve the study habits of the learners and also clarify the ambiguities, if any, or difficult portions of a course unit.

TYPES OF TUTOR COMMENTS

Tutor comments may be categorised as follows:

(i) Comments: must be written: These types of comments are treated as positive and constructive comments. Some examples are given as follow:

a)   The comments like "Your explanation with regard to xyz is very good. I appreciate your diagram number one." This is a **Positive** Comment.

b)   The comments like "You could have discussed the factors of environmental pollution with examples and illustrations". This is **Constructive** Comment.

(ii) Comments: may be written with caution: There are some types of comments written by some teachers which cannot function as successful teaching comments. Only with suitable additions and modifications these can be made effective comments.

(iii) Comments: must be avoided: Sometimes, teachers write some comments which do not suggest anything meaningful to the learner, but on the other hand misguide the learner. Such comments disturb and even hurt the learner. Such comments should be avoided.

GUIDELINES FOR DISSERTATION PROJECTS

1)   **Objective**

The objective of the project is to help the student develop ability to apply multi- disciplinary concepts, tools and techniques to solve organizational problems. This should be clearly stated.

2) **Type of Project**

The project may be from any one of the following types and preferably from one's area of specialization:

- A detailed case study (covering single organization/multi-functional area problem, formulation, analysis and recommendations);

- Inter-organizational study aimed at inter-organizational comparison/validation of theory/survey of management practices;

- Field study (empirical study).

3) **Proposal Formulation**

Synopsis of the project should be prepared in consultation with the supervisor and be sent to the Coordinator (Projects). Programme Leader will act as Coordinator (Projects). The synopsis should clearly state the objectives and research methodology of the proposed project to be undertaken. It should have full detail of the rationale, sampling, instruments to be used, limitations if any, and future directions for further research etc.

4) **Eligible Project Supervisor**

Faculty members having adequate teaching experience should be asked to supervise the project work.

5) **Project Proposal Submission and Approval**

After selection of the supervisor and finalizing the topic, student should send the Project Proposal Proforma along with one Copy of the synopsis and bio-data of the supervisor to the Coordinator (Projects), for approval. Proposals incomplete in any respect ought to be rejected. Proposals not accompanying a complete and signed bio-data of supervisor should not be considered for approval.

The synopsis of the project proposal should include the following:

- Rationale for the study;

- Objectives of the study;

- Research Methodology to be used for carrying out the study (detailing nature of data, data sources, collection methods, tools and techniques of analysis, sampling etc.);

- The expected contribution from the study;

- Limitations, if any, and the direction of future research.

6) **Communication of Approval**

A written communication regarding the approval/non-approval of the project will be sent to the student within eight weeks of the receipt of the proposal.

7) **Resubmission of Project Proposal**

In case of non-approval of the proposal the comments/suggestions for reformulating the project will be communicated to the student. In such case the revised project synopsis should be submitted with revised project proposal proforma and a copy of the rejected synopsis and project proposal proforma bearing the comments of the evaluator.

8) **Formulation of Project Report**

- The length of the report may be double-spaced typed pages not exceeding approximately about 50 to 60 pages;

- About 15,000 words (excluding appendices and exhibits). However 10% variation on either side is permissible;

- Each project report must adequately explain the research methodology adopted and the directions for future research.

   a) The Project work should be submitted in original.

b) Before binding the Project report the student should ensure that it contains the following:

   i)   Approved project proposal proforma (original)

   ii) Original approved synopsis, and

   iii) An originality certificate duly signed by the student and supervisor.

c) If any project report is received in the absence of the above, the same will be returned to the students for compliance.

d) Students should mention on the top of the envelop "PROJECT REPORT-MBA/BBA/BCA/MCA". This will facilitate sorting out Project Reports received in the University under various programmes.

9) Submission of Project Report

One typed copy of the project report should be submitted to the Registrar/respective Dean/Examination Office, as the case may be.

10) Viva-Voce

A student may be asked to appear for a viva-voce, if the evaluator so recommends. In that case, student should be duly intimated about it.

PROJECT LAYOUT

The format of project layout is given below:

TITLE PAGE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

1.2 Problem statement

1.3 Purpose of the study

1.4 Objectives of study

1.5 Research hypothesis

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Theoretical framework

2.2 Research variables arising from theoretical framework

3.0 METHODOLGY AND DESIGN

3.1 Research Approach

3.2 Research strategy

3.3 Operationalisation of research variables

3.5 Sampling frame

3.7 Sampling techniques

3.8 Data collection techniques

4.0 DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Qualitative data analysis or Quantitative data analysis

5.0 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.1 Discussions (relate the discussions to the objectives of study, research questions, and literature review)

6.0 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.2 Conclusions and Implication

6.3 Recommendation in bullet and action oriented

REFERENCES

DISSERTATION PROJECT EVALUATION GUIDELINES

The dissertation project evaluation guidelines should be as follows:

DISSERTATION ASSESSMENT FORM

Name of the Student:......................................Student ID: ....

Programme:..

COMPONENT OF THE REPORT	Maximum marks to be awarded	Marks awarded
• Topic and its relevance to study specialization • Abstract Composition and its explicit • Organization of contents, list of tables, list of figures in relation to text	5	
INTRODUCTION • Background to the study • Problem statement • Objectives of study • Research hypothesis or Research question • Significance and justification of the study	10	
LITERATURE REVIEW • Theoretical framework • Research gaps • Research variables arising from literature survey	15	
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY • Research strategy & approach • Operationalization of research variables • Sample size and techniques • Data collection techniques • Reliability & Validity • Ethical considerations • Limitation of study	15	
DATA ANALYSIS • Qualitative data analysis • Quantitative data analysis	15	
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS • Main conclusion • Main recommendations	10	
ORAL PRESENTATION	30	
TOTAL MARKS	100	

Signature of the Evaluator:...

Name of the Evaluator:...

GUIDELINES FOR COMPUTER PROJECTS

The main objective of the BCA/MCA project work is to give the students an opportunity to develop quality software solution. The student should involve in all the stages of software development life cycle (SDLC) like requirements analysis, system design, software development/coding, testing and documentation, with an overall emphasis on the development of the reliable software systems. The primary emphasis of the project work is to understand and gain the knowledge of the principles of software engineering practices and develop good understanding of SDLC. The topics selected should be complex and large enough to justify as a BCA/MCA project. The project should be genuine and original in nature and should not be copied from anywhere else.

EVALUATION OF COMPUTER PROJECTS

Projects should be evaluated and commented on various aspects such as analysis, design, testing, coding and security. A brief discussion of these items is given below:

Analysis: A specification regarding the concerned system on which the project is based is to be given here. It is basically a requirement gathering process, specifying on the software to understand the nature of the programme to be built.

Design: The programme structure of the project is to be given and explained through flowcharts and pseudo codes / algorithms.

Coding: It performs the task of translating design into a machine readable form.

Security: It covers the aspects of risk, exposure and costs and specifies measures such as passwords and encryption to safeguard the software.

Testing: The test method and the test levels are introduced here along with the future scope of modifiability, portability and   the reusability.

Report organization: It relates to the overall systematization and presentation of the project.

Evaluators should give their comments on all these aspects.

The evaluation guidelines are as follows:

Dissertation Assessment Form

Name of the Student:.....................................Student ID: ....

Programme:...

Components of the Report	Maximum marks to be awarded	Marks awarded
Analysis	5	
Design	10	
Coding	15	
Security	15	
Testing	15	
Report Organization	10	
Oral Presentation	30	
Total Marks	100	

Signature of the Evaluator:...

Name of the Evaluator:..

CONCLUSIONS

In this paper, we have set the quality control parameters and quality assurance initiatives for various components of higher education being given by the universities. It is assumed that these guidelines if implemented by the universities will give desired benefits to the students and to the universities. The guidelines are already being implemented in the Cavendish Group of Universities in Zambia and Uganda.

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