

Proceedings of the Third International
Hindu Kush Cultural Conference

OXFORD

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Third International
HINDU KUSH
Cultural Conference

Edited by
ISRAR-UD-DIN

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL
HINDU KUSH
CULTURAL CONFERENCE

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PREFACE

As a continuation of the tradition of scholarly pursuits on the Hindu Kush, initiated in Moesgaard in 1970, the Third International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference was held in Chitral Town on 26–30 August 1995, under the aegis of the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khovar. The theme selected for the conference was 'The Hindu Kush Region—1895–1995.' This was in view of the one-hundredth anniversary of the Siege of Chitral, which occurred in 1895, when British control over the area was completed. Though certain people in Chitral resented the mention of the year 1895 because of the sad memories of the time, no one could deny the importance the year, which was to set the future course of the history of the region. The year resulted in long-range social, political, economic, and cultural changes in Chitral and the surrounding areas. The most significant development was the shift in orientation and exposure of the regions to the south, and the severance of their centuries-old ties with the countries north of the Hindu Kush. In 1947, soon after the independence of Pakistan, the state of Chitral acceded to the new country, finally to be fully merged in 1969 as a settled district.

The exposure of the region to the outside world during the period also helped considerably in the growth of academic and research pursuits that brought to light many of the unknown aspects of the area. A great number of scholars and specialists in various disciplines, for example, anthropology, archaeology, sociology, linguistics, ethnography, geography, geology, economics, history, etc., from Europe and other countries of the world gained easy access to this region and made valuable contributions to human knowledge. This conference, thus, provided an opportunity to our scholars to not only review the socio-political and other changes brought about during the last one hundred years but also attempt to explore avenues for the region's future development as well as its research possibilities. An interesting paradox of the region's history, especially pointed out during the conference, was that while the year 1895 saw the closure of Chitral's northern borders, the year 1995 found these borders reopened and thus offering wide vistas for the revival of its old trade and cultural relations with the Muslim countries to the north.

Some fifty-seven papers were presented in the four day conference, out of which the final versions of only fifty-one were received for publication. The papers have been grouped into the following eight sections:

- I Environmental Issues
- II Economic and Cultural Geography
- III Cultural Anthropology
- IV Development Issues
- V Socio-economic Issues
- VI Languages and Literature
- VII History (Political, Social, and Economic)
- VIII Cultural Anthropology and Cultural History

As can be imagined, the Hindu Kush–Karakoram regions of Pakistan offer tremendous scope for scientific studies and research, and papers published in these proceedings present a broad perspective of the diverse socio-cultural patterns of the area. Owing to the importance and special character of the area, scholars have consistently called for the establishment of a centre for the promotion of research on these regions, which are, at present, at the threshold of change. But, unfortunately, the call so far has been only a cry in the wilderness.

I must gratefully acknowledge that the spadework for the collection of articles had been done mostly by Dr Elena Bashir, secretary of the conference, before her departure for the USA. Professor Musarat

PREFACE

Hussain Shah, principal, Islamia College, University of Peshawar, and Mr Magnus M. Marsden, research scholar from the University of Cambridge, were kind enough to help me in correcting some of the scripts, for which I am much obliged. I am also thankful to Dr Inayatullah Faizi, the then president, Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khowar, Chitral, who extended his help in many ways at different stages of the compilation of this book. My sons, Naeem, Moin and Muslih, assisted me in proofreading and compilation of the indexes. I owe thanks to Oxford University Press, Pakistan, for publishing the book, and The Aays, Peshawar, for composing.

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Numerous people have contributed their time, energy, and financial resources to help make this conference a success. I, on behalf of the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khowar, gratefully acknowledge their help here, while admitting that a few printed lines can never express one's true feelings.

We are thankful to the following institutions for their financial contributions:

1. The Government of NWFP
2. IUCN, Peshawar
3. The Institute for the Study of Comparative Human Cultures, Oslo, Norway
4. The Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP), Chitral

The following individuals have our gratitude for their support and cooperation in many different ways:

1. Mr Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao, chief minister, Government of NWFP
2. Dr Mehboob-ur-Rahman, minister for culture and information, NWFP
3. Mr Mohammad Yusuf, deputy commissioner (DC), Chitral
4. His Highness Saif-ul-Mulk Nasir, ex-mehtar of Chitral
5. Prince Mohayud Din, former member of the National Assembly (MNA) and former provincial minister
6. Mr M.P. Bandara, former MNA and former federal minister of state for minorities
7. Major (Rtd) Qazi Ahmad Saeed, chairman, Social Action Programme, Chitral
8. Professor Dr Mohammad Said, dean, Faculty of Science, University of Peshawar
9. Chairman, Department of Geography, University of Peshawar
10. Haji Fazlud Din, principal, Government High School for Boys, Chitral
11. Professor Karimullah, Government Degree College, Chitral
12. Mr Javed Akbar, assistant commissioner, Chitral
13. Major (Rtd) Prince Khosh Ahmad-ul-Mulk, Ayun, Chitral
14. Prince Siraj-ul-Mulk, Hindu Kush Trails Islamabad/Chitral
15. Mr Mohammad Ali Hoti, Mardan
16. Mr Jamshed Marker, Karachi
17. Wing Commander (Rtd) Fardad Ali Shah, chief editor, *Hindu Kush*, Peshawar/Chitral
18. Mr Abdul Muzaffar Khan, former councillor, Municipal Committee, Chitral
19. Mr Tariq Umar, superintendent police, Chitral
20. Mr Wali-ur-Rahman, advocate, Chitral
21. Mr Abdul Wali Khan, advocate, Chitral
22. Mr Sahib Nadir, advocate, Chitral
23. Mr Taj Mohammad Figar, Chitral
24. Mr Masroor A. Shah, Chitral
25. Mr Nasir Ahmad, Chitral
26. Mr M. Bashir, in charge, World Wildlife Fund (WWF) for Nature, Pakistan
27. Director, Aga Khan Health Foundation, Chitral
28. Prince Masud-ul-Mulk/Mr Shah Kiriz Khan, regional manager, AKRSP Chitral

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I also place on record our gratitude to Professor Dr Schuyler Jones, director, Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, who was general president of the conference. His presence was a source of inspiration and encouragement, especially to the young generation of our researchers. Last but not the least, is Dr Elena Bashir, vice-principal, Sayurj Public School, Chitral, and secretary of the conference, who deserves our appreciation for her untiring efforts. We have indeed no words to express our indebtedness to her.

NOTE ON KHOWAR TRANSCRIPTION

For 'Major Themes in Modern Khowar Poetry' by Ismail Wali Akhgar, and in some other cases, the following transcription scheme by Dr Elena Bashir has been followed.

Retroflex consonants are represented by capital letters, except in the case of < L >, which represents the velarized or 'dark l' sound of Khowar. < č > and < j > represent the voiceless and voiced palatal affricates, respectively < š > the voiceless palatal fricative, and < ž > its voiced counterpart. Retroflex counterparts of these sounds are < C >, < J >, < S >, and < Z >. The voiceless velar fricative (Urdu *xe*) is represented by < x >, and the voiced velar fricative, (Urdu *ghain*) is represented by < γ > (Greek gamma). Readers new to the use of Roman transcription should note that this use of capitalization is not to be confused with the English usage of capitalizing the first word of each sentence, and proper nouns.

Vowel length is represented in Khowar words by duplication of the vowel symbol; thus aa represents 'long á,' while a represents 'short a.' Stress is indicated by an acute accent over the vowel of the stressed vowel. In Khowar, the stress mark has two functions. Firstly, for short vowels it simply indicates stress, for example, n hasé 'he, she, it, that.' Secondly, a stress mark on the second symbol of a vowel represented by a doubled symbol is used to indicate tone. For example in žuuír 'daughter,' low tone is indicated by the stress mark on the second < u > of the (long) 'u' sound.

INTRODUCTION

*Israr-ud-Din**

The Third International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference was held in Chitral Town from 26–30 August 1995. The objective of the conference was to bring together local and international scholars and researchers on the Hindu Kush region. The conference was multi-disciplinary, aiming at increasing communication not only among local and international scholars, but also among academic disciplines. The conference was a continuation of a tradition of scholarly meetings on the Hindu Kush, Karakoram and western Himalayan regions begun in 1970 in Moesgaard, Denmark, under the leadership of (late) Professor Georg Morgenstierne of Oslo University, Norway. Professor Morgenstierne was the most prominent scholar of the languages of western Pakistan and Afghanistan. The First International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference was held in Moesgaard, Denmark, in 1970 at the University of Aarhus. At that time, the focus of scholarship was on Nuristan (Afghanistan).

After twenty years, the Second International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference was held in 1990 in Chitral. It was organized by the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khovar, Chitral, a long-established association of local writers and intellectuals, which has the following institutional objectives:

1. To provide the writers, intellectuals, and artists of Chitral with a platform to work together for the promotion of their language and the nourishment of their creative talent
2. To introduce the poets, writers, and artists of Khovar by arranging seminars, symposia, poetry readings, music concerts, cultural shows, and publication of literature on the language and culture of the area
3. To work for the preservation and promotion of the unique culture of Chitral and projection of its values and characteristics
4. To coordinate and interact with the social scientists of the Western and Eastern world in promoting the cause of Kho culture

The proceedings of the Second International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference were published by Oxford University Press, Karachi, Pakistan, in 1996.

At the time of the second Hindu Kush cultural conference (1990), the focus of Hindu Kush studies had shifted to Chitral and the Pakistan side of the area. The internationally known German scholar, Dr Karl Jettmar, SI, most famous for his work on the rock inscriptions along the Karakoram Highway, was president of the conference; and about seventy-five scholars, both from Pakistan and abroad, participated. Thirty-eight papers were presented at the conference. Important areas of concentration were physical geography, the Kalasha, traditional Kho culture, languages and linguistics, and problems and challenges for the future.

The 1990 conference was planned and held to further the following objectives:

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1. Promotion of the rich and unique cultural heritage of the Hindu Kush region through extensive research
2. Creating awareness of the importance of the region among the people and government toward the end of preserving valuable cultural knowledge and norms, which are fast being eroded due to the advance of modern civilization
3. Establishment of a highly disciplined forum for Hindu Kush studies, which will be able to attract scholars and institutions from all over the world for conducting coordinated interdisciplinary research on the culture of the region

Two major issues of concern for international scholars of the Hindu Kush region emerged at this conference: firstly, problems concerning environmental preservation and economic development in this area, and secondly, the preservation of its archaeological and historical monuments, together with the protection of living cultures and cultural traditions in diverse societies. Serious concern was expressed about the deteriorating condition of historically valuable archival resources in Chitral. It was proposed that funding be found for employing a trained archivist to sort and catalogue this material and that arrangements be made for proper conditions of storage, including the photocopying of valuable and endangered documents.

The Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khovar expressed its concern about rapidly deteriorating historical monuments in the Chitral region, including royal palaces, forts, mosques, and ancient domestic buildings. It was proposed that such monuments be listed and preserved as 'sites of outstanding historical importance' and that international funding be found for ensuring their urgent conservation. It was also proposed that exploratory archaeological investigation be urgently encouraged for assessing the value of archaeological sites and establishing a preliminary typology of and chronology for Chitral prehistoric assemblages. Other aspects of material culture that required urgent investigation and preservation included the wood carving, textiles, and embroidery of the Chitral region.

The most important and far-reaching recommendation was for the establishment of a Hindu Kush research institute in Chitral, under the auspices of the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khovar, with the aim of providing an interdisciplinary base for further research, together with a library and bibliographical resources to which all participating scholars would contribute. It was also proposed that a museum be established in Chitral under the direction of the institute, where a representative collection of artefacts from the Hindu Kush region would be stored and displayed. This Chitral museum would subsequently encourage local branches in specific localities of Chitral, preferably based in buildings of outstanding historical interest.

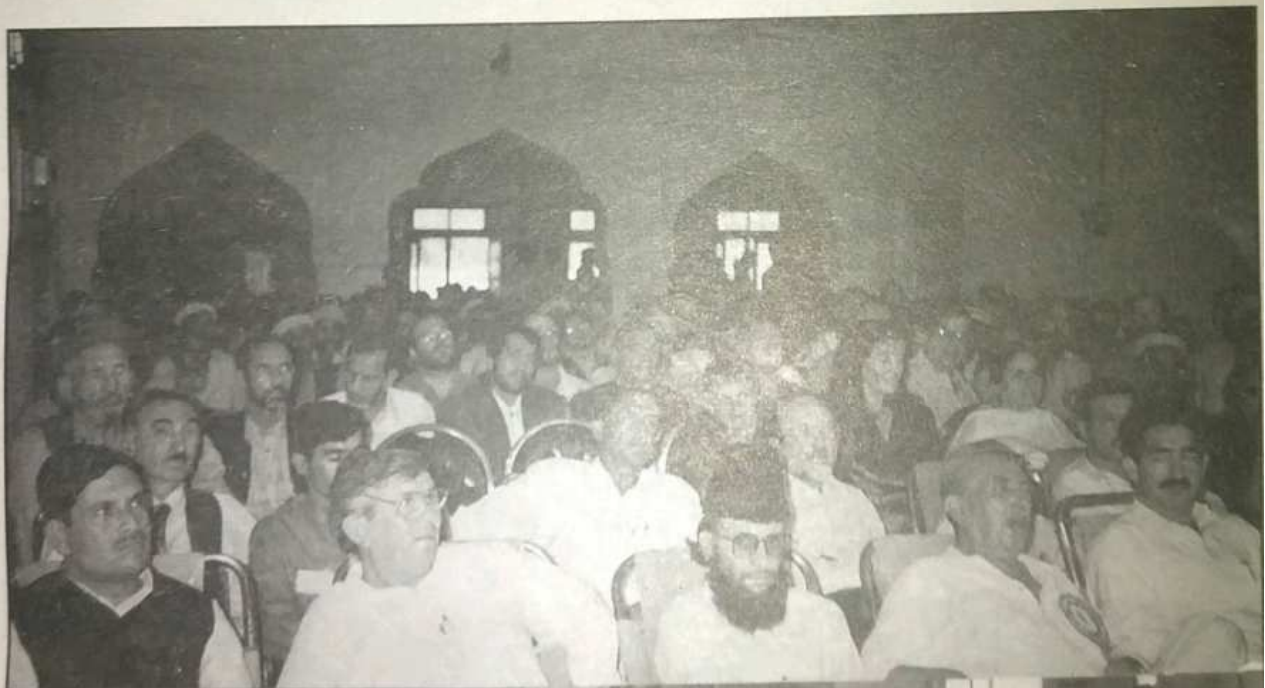
Further proposals made by the committee of the Second International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference included:

- a. requests of international funding for assessing the extent of environmental destruction in the Hindu Kush, particularly concerning the Himalayan cedar (deodar) forests of Chitral District;
- b. requests for funding for the preservation of traditional handicrafts and the encouragement of their continuity, particularly of modern buildings incorporating traditional materials and methods of construction. It was proposed that at least a proportion of development funds for new buildings be directed for such purposes;
- c. calls for legislation for the maintenance of traditional place names in Chitral District encouraging;
- d. request for an advisory committee for assessing and reporting on the effects of tourism in Chitral District, working in association with the Pakistan Tourism Development Corporation (PTDC) and government authorities;

Plate 1.1
Inaugural Session



(On the stage) Mr Mohammad Yousaf (deputy commissioner Chitral), Prof. Dr Schuyler Jones (general president), Mr Zainul Abidin, MPA (chief guest), and Dr Inayatullah Faizi (president Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khohwar).



Galaxy of participants and other audience members

Plate 1.2
Concluding Session



(Stage) Mr Zainul Abidin, MPA, Prof. S. Jones, Dr Mehboob-ur Rahman, minister of information and culture NWFP (chief guest), and Prof. Israr-ud-Din



A section of the audience



Dr Mehboob-ur Rahman

Dr S. Jones

Dr Elena Bashir

Dr Inayatullah Faizi

- e. a request for the preparation of a special report on the specific problems of the Kalasha (Kalash Kafir) valleys, particularly concerning deforestation and the effects of tourism, by scholars who have conducted research in those valleys, in collaboration with Kalasha representatives.

As scheduled, five years later, in August 1995, the Third International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference was held, again organized by the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khovar, in Chitral. Financial support was provided by numerous organizations and individuals. Notable among the institutions supporting the conference were the Government of NWFP; IUCN, Peshawar; the Institute for the Study of Comparative Human Cultures in Oslo, Norway; and the Aga Khan Rural Support Programme (AKRSP) in Chitral. Numerous individual citizens of Chitral also contributed their time and work, as well as materially in kind or cash.

During the course of the current (August 1995) five day conference, a total of fifty-six papers were presented in the general areas of environmental issues, economic and cultural geography, cultural anthropology, development issues, socio-economic issues, languages and literature, economic history, political history, and cultural history. Scholars and researchers presenting papers came from Pakistan, Afghanistan, Germany, Holland, Italy, Denmark, Norway, Austria, Canada, the United Kingdom, and the USA. The general president of the conference was Professor Schuyler Jones, director, Pitt Rivers Museum of Ethnology, Oxford University. Dr Jones is a world-renowned scholar, especially for his works on the ethnology and anthropology of Nuristan, Afghanistan. Importantly, the focus in this conference had shifted almost completely to Pakistan, and a new emphasis was developed on environmental and developmental issues.

The conference was inaugurated by Mr Zainul Abdin, member Provincial Assembly (MPA), at 9 a.m. on 26 August 1995. In his inaugural address Mr Zainul Abdin appreciated the efforts of the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khovar for organizing two very successful conferences in 1990 and 1995, despite its meagre resources. He was happy to note, 'The conference attracted so many scholars of world repute who got together here in Chitral Town to deliberate on the different important aspects of the Hindu Kush region...' Emphasizing the geo-political as well as socio-cultural importance of the region under the present scenario, he requested the scholars to use their expertise to make valuable recommendations for the future development of the region. Mr Zainul Abdin, at the end, assured the participants of the full support of his government for implementing the recommendations of the conference.

Dr Schuyler Jones, in his key address, reminded the audience that among those attending the conference, he was the only participant who had had the opportunity of attending both the first and second international Hindu Kush cultural conferences in Moesgaard, Denmark, in 1970 and in Chitral in 1990, respectively. He said,

It's a great pleasure to be in Chitral once again though in this unexpected capacity as president of the conference... I realize fully that this is an indication of the generous hospitality of the people of this wonderful country that they have singled out someone like myself from outside to come here and to serve in some kind of official capacity.

...We have come together in friendship and co-operation and have come here from such distant places as Finland and California. This is a symbol, as it were, of this conference, which is both international and multi-disciplinary.

...It is unfortunate that political events in Afghanistan have prevented research in that country and have also prevented colleagues in Afghanistan from participating to the extent that they might have otherwise done in this Hindu Kush cultural conference. We very much hope that the political situation there will improve for all the people of that wonderful country.

Mentioning various themes of the conference, Dr Jones pointed out, 'I was pleased that one of the themes of this conference has been a focus on the environmental problems and the need to conserve forests and soil erosion, and to deal with other problems which face not just Chitral and Pakistan but nearly every corner of the world.'

Showing his satisfaction on the level of research activities in the region, Dr Jones ended with this note, '...I think we are on the threshold of seeing more results from the efforts of our colleagues and I pay tribute to them and give my thanks.'

Earlier Professor Israr-ud-Din, chief organizer of the conference, welcomed the delegates. Describing the aims and objectives of the conference, he said,

...it was to provide a forum for researchers within the country and abroad to present their works to a body of international scholars of high repute. Moreover, to exchange and promote more research on the Hindu Kush region which offers ample scope of studies in different topics and diverse disciplines, for example archaeology, anthropology, ethnology, sociology, geography, geology, zoology, botany, linguistics, cultural history, etc.

Touching on the main theme of the conference—'The Hindu Kush Region (1895–1995)'—Professor Israr-ud-Din observed,

...The year 1895 has great significance in the history of the region. It was rather a turning point and from here on the next hundred years were to witness a long range of socio-economic, historical and political changes in Chitral and the surrounding regions... The culmination of all such happenings was the achievement of Pakistan in 1947 and the merger of Chitral as a district in 1969...

Dr Inayatullah Faizi, president, Anjuman-e-Taraqqi Khovar thanked the delegates and the chief guest at the end of the inaugural session.

The deliberations of the conference were spread over eleven sessions (see Appendix B). The concluding session was held on 29 August 1995 and was chaired by Dr Mehboob-ur-Rahman, minister of information and culture, Government of NWFP. The minister expressed his pleasure on the successful holding of the Third International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference. He appreciated the good gesture of the delegates who chose to come from distant lands to attend the conference in a far-flung area like Chitral. At the same time he was sure that they must have enjoyed their stay 'because of both the friendly people of the area and the friendly environment.' He also expressed his view of holding more such conferences in tourist attraction areas like Kalam, Mahodand, and even Shandur.

The minister, referring to his government's interest in the region, mentioned different projects for the socio-economic uplift of the area. He pointed out, 'It is our government's earnest desire to bring our backward areas at par with the developed parts of the country as soon as possible.' He discussed in detail the various aspects of environmental problems in the region as well as in other parts of the country and appreciated that the conference also made deliberations on this very important issue.

The minister announced that soon the government will be starting a helicopter-shuttle service on subsidized rate from Dir to Drosh to enable passengers to enter and leave Chitral during winters even when the weather prevents flights from Chitral. He also announced a sanction of Rs 2 million for the establishment of the Hindu Kush Research Centre.

The session was also addressed by Dr Schuyler Jones, president of the conference. Dr Jones said,

...We have all benefited enormously from this conference and I think many of us look forward to a future in which we have a further closer co-operation with so many friends here and abroad. Clearly the conference in 1990, and this present one in 1995, which now has taken place, had it not been for the energy, enthusiasm and the dedication of a large number of people in Chitral, and in Pakistan in general, in particular you all know who they are but I must mention the work...Dr Inayatullah Faizi and Dr Elena Bashir, have put in.

Commenting on some of the papers, Dr Jones specially mentioned his interest on the paper that was presented about the inexpensive use of solar energy and said, '...I think this is a wonderful way forward and a step forward in the direction of controlling the use of energy resources.'

Dr Jones continued to say,

It is clear from the papers that have been presented this week and I don't think any of us doubted, that the foundation for future research have been well laid and it is, I think, a wonderful thought for those who belong to the earlier generation of researchers on this part of the world as they would be pleased to know this work would be continued and in very good hands. So again I pay tribute to the younger generation of scholars who are coming to do research in this most important region. So it is with particular pride, not for any personal efforts of mine, but for the future research in general, that Hindu Kush Research Centre will be established and there will also be set up the International Association for Hindu Kush Studies. I think this is a development which all of us here welcome and it is a practical result of this conference.

Dr Schuyler Jones paid rich tributes to the late Wazir Ali Shah of Chitral for his 'pioneer work on the Hindu Kush region' and said, 'I had the pleasure of meeting him first in 1967 in Chitral and later in 1970 in Moesgaard, Denmark. Actually, he was one of the pioneers of the Hindu Kush studies and I was pleased that a paper paying tribute to this remarkable man was also read in this conference.'

Other speakers of the concluding session included Mr Zainul Abidin (MPA), who welcomed the minister; Professor Israr-ud-Din, who acknowledged the various organizations and individuals who contributed in different ways towards the holding of the conference, and Dr Inayatullah Faizi, who read out the draft resolutions of the conference for the approval of the house. (see Appendix C).

One of the main thrusts of the resolutions was the call for increased awareness of the fact that the natural/physical environments and cultural environments are intimately related. When the natural environment is degraded, the cultural environment is endangered. The conference called for concrete steps for protecting the physical environment in Chitral, specifically to reduce air, stream, and urban pollution and to ensure the development of environment-friendly, renewable energy sources, particularly small hydroelectric projects and solar energy. The conference also called for the identification of plant, animal, and bird species whose range has been restricted during the past fifteen years, and urged legislation to protect such potentially endangered species.

The potential negative environmental and cultural consequences of development projects were also discussed, and development agencies were urged to incorporate a cultural and environmental sensitivity component into their planning process.

The conference concluded with a call for the establishment of a Hindu Kush Research Centre, to be located in Chitral. The centre is envisaged as an institution which will provide an interdisciplinary base for scholars of the Greater Hindu Kush-Karakoram Region from Pakistan and abroad. It will also provide a centre of attraction for young Chitrali researchers.

Plate 1.3
Participants at Birir Rest House (Kalash Valley)



Top: Prof. Dr K. Haserodt, Prof. Nigel Allan, Prof. Israr-ud-Din, and Prof. Dr Erwin Groetzbach
Middle: Group photo of participants
Bottom: Ms Ruth Schmidt with Kalash girls

Plate 1.4
A Working Session in Progress



(Stage) Dr S. Jones (gen. president), Prof. É. Tiffon (sessional president), Maj. (Rtd) A. Saeed (secretary)



A view of the audience



Prof. Nigel Allan

Prof. E. Ehlers

Ms W. Torossian-Brigasky

Plate 1.5
Some of the Participants



Prof. Dr M. Said

Dr Peter Parkes



Prof. K. Kristiansen

Prof. M.Y. Alizai



Ms Birgitte G. Sperber



Prof. Dr K. Haserodt



Dr H. Kreutzmann

Plate 1.6
Some Participants from Chitral



Prince Siraj-ul-Mulk

Mr Amir Khan Mir



Mr Rahmat Akbar K. Rahmat

Mr M. Irfan Irfan

Mr Noor Shahidin

Mr Saifullah Jan



Mr Rahmat K. Baig

Mr. M. Yousaf

whose educational careers could be furthered with advanced training in appropriate disciplines. The proposed research centre will house a research library containing local artefacts which will be preserved and catalogued for study. In conjunction with this, an International Association for Hindu Kush Studies will be established, whose membership will include both Pakistani and international scholars.

The stated objectives of the Hindu Kush Research Centre are as follows:

- To increase awareness among local populations of the importance of protecting the local physical and cultural environment
- To establish and maintain archives of:
 - a. books and published materials related to the region (library),
 - b. photographic records (photographic archive),
 - c. physical cultural artefacts (museum),
 - d. examples of local folk art forms (museum), and
 - e. traditional local music and dance forms (tape and video archive),
- To preserve local arts (e.g., music, wood carving, handloom weaving, specific local embroidery styles, folk dances)
- To train local researchers, artists, and craftsmen
- To provide a platform for the development and implementation of the Chitral Conservation Strategy under the framework of the Sarhad Provincial Conservation Strategy
- To function as a research home and information centre for scholars of the region, both from Pakistan and abroad
- To increase international cooperation in research on this environmentally, culturally, and strategically important area of the world by attracting joint international-local research projects
- To provide an institutional base from which to develop research projects based on the perceived needs and interests of the people of the area
- To identify and develop promising young local scholars, who can be sent abroad for further studies in relevant fields and can develop into the next generation of Hindu Kush scholarship.

The conference concluded on 30 August 1995, with the culminating activity of a group field-trip to one of the Kalash valleys, Birir.

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