

# THE NEHU JOURNAL

## CONTRIBUTORS

David R Syiemlieh  
Madhumita Sengupta  
A C Sinha  
Daphinda F War  
P K Misra  
C R Agera  
Juanita War  
Esther Syiem  
D K Nayak

*Vol IV*  
*Nos 1 & 2, 2006*

## *The NEHU Journal*

is published bi-annually (January-July) by the North-Eastern Hill University Publications, Shillong. The focus of the journal is on India's North-East and countries bordering it. Articles on other areas are also welcome. Contributors are advised to consult notes at the back.

NEHU Publications reserves the copyright to all articles, communications and book reviews published and no article/communication/review or a part thereof may be reprinted without written permission from the Editor.

### *Subscriptions*

Single issue - Rs. 100.00 / \$ 4

Single year - Rs. 200.00 / \$ 8

Two years - Rs. 350.00 / \$ 12

Three years - Rs. 500.00 / \$ 16

Payment may be made by cheque / draft payable to "NEHU Publications" and be sent to the Deputy Director, NEHU Publications, Bijni Complex, Laitumkhrah, Shillong-793003. Outstation cheques / drafts may kindly add Rs. 10/- or \$ 1 towards bank service charges.

All correspondence related to the journal may be addressed to the Editor, NEHU Publications, Bijni Complex, Shillong-793003 or at [tbsubba@nehu.ac.in](mailto:tbsubba@nehu.ac.in).

ISSN. 0972 - 8406

# *The NEHU Journal*

Vol. IV, Nos. 1 & 2, 2006.

*Editor:* T B Subba

*Associate Editor:* Kynpham Sing Nongkynrih

*Assistant Editor:* Bedarius Shylla

## **Editorial Board Members**

Mr. Jayanta Mahapatra, Editor, *Chandrabhaga*, Cuttack.

Prof. K. Satchidanandan, Secretary, Sahitya Academy, New Delhi.

Dr. Sreenivasan, Editor, *Journal of Literature and Aesthetics*, Kollam.

Prof. A.C. Bhagabati, Guwahati.

Prof. Sanjib Baruah, Centre for Policy Research, New Delhi.

Dr. Anindita Dasgupta, Managing Editor, *Journal of Peace and Democracy  
in South Asia*, Kualalumpur.

Dr. Phillipe Ramirez, National Centre for Scientific Research, Paris.

Prof. Stuart Blackburn, South Asian Institute, Heidelberg University, Germany.

Prof. Mahadev Chakravorty, Tripura University, Agartala.

Prof. Virginius Xaxa, Delhi University, Delhi.

*Production Assistant :* Surajit Dutta

*Layout and Design:* Shongdor Diengdoh

# *The NEHU Journal*

Vol. IV, Nos. 1 & 2, 2006.

2006 has been a year of struggle at the office of the journal. Struggle to keep it going with quality. Struggle to cultivate the culture of peer-review among those who cared to submit their articles for consideration of publication in our journal. And struggle to pay more attention to the journal by the editors themselves, which has been an increasingly challenging task, what with their growing engagements in other academic activities.

We have been finally successful to present to our subscribers and readers a volume of the journal that combines two issues, but not necessarily the size of two issues. The articles in this volume are still rather discrete, but looked positively, it is a mixed basket where there is something for everyone – be s/he a person of history, anthropology, sociology, literature, feminism, environment, philosophy, linguistics, or simply a Northeastian.

We start with an article on Percival Spear, an illustrious historian of modern India by Professor David Syiemlieh, whose research on the history of Northeast India in general and church history in particular is well known. This semi-biographical article has many lessons for young historians to learn of which the methodological rigour in historiography may be mentioned as one of the most important one. This is followed by a critique of historiography of the formation of Assamese identity. Although this review article has no reference to Percival Spear it is commendable in the way it shows the cracks and creeks that a lay reader may not notice in some of the most scholarly historical works on Northeast India. From this critique we move on to the historiography and sociology of Kirat identity very well attempted by a well known sociologist of the eastern Himalayas. Although de-sar **NEHU** on of the Sikkimese communities subsumed in the article by the ancient word "Kirat" is a rather recent phenomenon that came to the limelight in the 90s of the previous century, the author brings out the context as well as background of this phenomenon very capably.

## EDITORIAL

### *The NEHU Journal*

2006 has been a year of struggle at the office of the journal. Struggle to keep it going without compromising on its quality. Struggle to cultivate the culture of peer-review among those who cared to submit their articles for consideration of publication in our journal. And struggle to pay more attention to the journal by the editors themselves, which has been an increasingly challenging task, what with their growing engagements in other academic activities.

We have been finally successful to present to our subscribers and readers a volume of the journal that combines two issues, but not necessarily the size of two issues. The articles in this volume are still rather discrete, but looked positively, it is a mixed basket where there is something for everyone – be s/he a person of history, anthropology, sociology, literature, feminism, environment, philosophy, linguistics, or simply a Northeastian.

We start with an article on Percival Spear, an illustrious historian of modern India by Professor David Syiemlieh, whose research on the history of Northeast India in general and church history in particular is well known. This semi-biographical article has many lessons for young historians to learn of which the methodological rigour in historiography may be mentioned as one of the most important one. This is followed by a critique of historiography of the formation of Assamese identity. Although this review article has no reference to Percival Spear it is commendable in the way it shows the cracks and creeks that a lay reader may not notice in some of the most scholarly historical works on Northeast India. From this critique we move on to the historiography and sociology of Kirat identity very well attempted by a well known sociologist of the eastern Himalayas. Although de-sanskritisation of the Sikkimese communities subsumed in the article by the ancient word “Kirat” is a rather recent phenomenon that came to the limelight in the 90s of the previous century, the author brings out the context as well as background of this phenomenon very capably.

After these three articles the present volume turns its attention towards some central issues of feminism, as revealed in the article by Ms. Daphinda War, and towards the 'hoax' of conservation, as brought out effectively by Professor P. K. Misra.

We are happy to have a substantial number of book reviews in this volume and hope to have even more of them in our future issues. We are also contemplating a Hindi issue of the journal under the guest editorship of Dr. D. K. Choubey in near future. We do not see it as invasion of Hindi, as some of our friends might like to see, but see it as its obeisance to the languages and cultures of Northeast India. Let us welcome the proposal.

**T B Subba  
Editor**

## CONTENTS

## Editorial

Percival Spear: Historian and Indophile ... .. 1

*DAVID R. SYIEMLEIH*

Historiography of the Formation of Assamese  
Identity: A Review ... .. 13

*MADHUMITA SENGUPTA*

Search for Kirat Identity: Trends of De-sanskritisation  
among the *Nepamul* Sikkimese ... .. 25

*A. C. SINHA*

Feminism and the Structures of Selfhood: A Brief  
Study of Three Indian Feminist Writers ... .. 43

*DAPHINDA F. WAR*

'Hoax' of Conservation ... .. 53

*P. K. MISRA*

Book Reviews ... .. 61

## 'Hoax' of Conservation

P K MISRA

### Introduction

The idea about conservation appears to be so noble, righteous and rational that any thinking against it could be considered fanatical and crazy. But the more I analyze the so called human development and progress, the more convinced I am that the idea of conservation is anti-progress, motivated, and a smokescreen for pursuing a variety of vested interests.

Let me begin with the scenario in India. The people who have been called Scheduled Tribes in India form 8.2 percent of the total Indian population generally lead a simple life and have been able to conserve the resources of the region they inhabit. Their wants have been limited. Their technology has been simple. However this scenario changed dramatically once they came in contact with culturally and technologically more advanced people. They were progressively denied access to their traditional habitats. This process got accelerated during the colonial rule in India. New laws regarding the ownership of land and forest were framed. Many of the forests were declared as protected and reserved. The implications of those declarations were directly on the members of the Scheduled Tribes. They were denied the use of the forest resources though they had been living there for ages. This of course did not mean that the resources of the forest were not exploited by the establishment or their agents. Vast stretches of virgin forests were cut for laying the networks of road, rail, mining and for other productive purposes. Whatever was declared protected or reserved, literally and figuratively was kept 'reserved' for future use, but their rightful owners were denied access to them. Incidentally, many of the rules framed during that period could not be implemented for a variety of reasons. Therefore, in spite of the rules, the tribes could still manage to forage into the forest and collect a variety of items for self consumption, barter or trade. The terms of trade, of course, were most unfavourable and even harmful to them. Besides, they

---

*P. K. Misra is former Professor, Department of Anthropology, NEHU, Shillong. Email: pramodkm@bsnl.com*

were exposed to goods they did not produce themselves and to habits like taking tobacco and smoking that was harmful to their health. Once dependent on such habits they were ready to barter away even their own sons and daughters. Moreover, they also experienced to their utter dismay that many of their foraging areas had come under plantation in which they had no role to play except to work as wage-labourers. In modern times there is an ambiguous concern for 'conservation'. New policies have come into existence and new rules have been framed. However, ironically, many areas inhabited by the Scheduled Tribes are required for big projects like erecting dams, laying canals, establishing steel or fertilizer plants and so on. From such project areas they are obviously evicted and settled somewhere else. Also some of their areas are declared as bio-sphere reserves, tiger reserves and so on and again they are the ones becoming *persona non-grata* from such areas. New strategies for their development and rehabilitation are being framed. Sustainable development has become a catchword regarding the development of tribes. The ground reality is of course very different. The state, industrialists, contractors, middlemen and all kinds of 'outsiders' have descended on habitats traditionally occupied by tribes because such areas are generally rich in resources as they have preserved them for centuries. Their technology is simple, and renewable. Their life-style remains the simplest of the simple. Empirically they have come to the conclusion that they must leave enough scope for regeneration of resources. In other words, technically they can be considered the very epitome of conservation. But as development is progressing they are the ones who are paying the price for practising conservation for ages. The rich, the powerful and the 'educated' are teaching them the new slogans of conservation. No doubt spectacular development has taken place in almost every field but the tribes are almost at the bottom of the human development scale<sup>1</sup>. To drive my point home, let me quote some statistics released by the Government of India in respect to the Scheduled Tribes.

### Government Statistics

Despite several campaigns to promote formal education ever since independence, the literacy rate among Scheduled Tribes is only 29.60 percent compared to 52.21 percent for the country as a whole (1991 Census). The female literacy rate is only 18.19 percent compared to the national female literacy rate of 39.29 percent. Although tribal people live usually close to

nature, a majority of them need health care on account of malnutrition, lack of safe drinking water, poor hygiene and environmental sanitation and above all poverty. Nearly 85.39 lakh (8.54 million) tribal had been displaced until 1990 on account of some mega project or the other, reservation of forest as national parks, etc. Tribes constitute at least 55.16 percent of the total displaced people in the country. It is, however, a matter of serious concern that about 5000 forest villages do not have minimum basic living condition and face a constant threat of eviction. "Primitive Tribal Groups" have not benefited from development activities. They face continuous threat of eviction from their homes and land. They live with food insecurity and a host of diseases like sickle cell anemia and malaria (Draft National Tribal Policy, Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India, 2004).

This is not an exceptional story. Right from the day Columbus and other explorers set out from Europe in search of new pastures, death warrants of the indigenous people around the world were signed. The story of the Americas, Australia, New Zealand and numerous islands of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans are living testimony to mass killing and maiming of the indigenous peoples, evicting them from their habitats and overpowering them. In case of those who could not be liquidated their labour and knowledge was used by the European colonizers.

Tribes are known to have successfully preserved the natural resources of their respective habitats. They even have achieved a certain degree of harmony with nature, but they are seen as not utilizing their resources for the "larger" cause of human progress or national development. Thus, they continue to draw the attention of ambitious and powerful people with access to modern technology and corridors of state power. Such people eventually succeed in subjugating the tribes by controlling their resources. This has been happening everywhere in the world even today.

Modern researchers have shown that there is very little difference between the genetic make up of human beings and that of other primates. But that little difference has made a huge difference between human beings and non-human beings. Not only is the proportionate size of the human brain larger than that of the primates but the same is also richer in quality. Among other things the human ability to explore, to be curious, to be adventurous, to accumulate experience and experiment, to establish power relations and be ruthless have played an important role in the progress of human kind and in establishing its hegemony over other beings

as well as over fellow human beings.

### **Progress & Conservation**

The story of the progress of human beings began the day they began to fashion tools to hunt, to collect and store food. One technology led to another from simple domestication of animals, to cultivation and to industrial production. These developments not only allowed for mass production but they also led to further discoveries, inventions and to the enhancement of human knowledge. As a result of all this, it is possible today to talk in global terms as well as to probe the other planets. However, the path of progress human beings have chosen is opposed to conservation. The day human beings began to chip off stones to make some tools they were interfering with the fauna, flora and with the nature in general. Since then the path of progress has expanded enormously along with extensive exploitation of the resources of nature many of which are non-renewable. The same abilities of human beings have made it possible for them to colonize different parts of the world some of which are located in most difficult places. Such efforts have enabled them to identify new sources of energy and also have opened up innumerable future possibilities of research and understanding. There is, however, a serious snag attached to progress. Progress needs specialization. Specialization requires maximum fragmentation of knowledge and understanding. Obviously this path of science leads to a myopic sight and diminishes the vision of whole. As against this the idea of conservation is based on an integrated and holistic understanding of the nature. However the relentless pursuit of progress is compulsive. It forces people to probe into the minutest of the minute, which requires maximum isolation of the problem. Therefore howsoever attractive the idea of conservation may be the pursuit of progress can neither be given up nor retraced; it may only be slowed down to some extent by persistently raising the danger of total destruction. But the kind of cut-throat world we live in, even that does not seem to be a possibility in near future.

### **Progress and Power**

The path of progress is closely related to acquisition of power. Progress has never been equal among all human beings. Those who have progressed more have acquired more power. Right from the early stages of development human

beings have seen the advantages in the use of power over other human beings. The less powerful have been killed or subjugated, and their resources have been forcibly acquired and used to enhance the power of more powerful people. This has been the story of human beings throughout this planet, though there are instances of some peaceful co-existence and innumerable teachings for universal brotherhood and gentle approach towards nature and fellow human beings. Despite these noble thoughts the quest for power is relentless. In the process, some nations have acquired so much power that with just a push of a button the whole world could go up in smoke. This is in spite of the full awareness of the dangers for accumulating power. Amassing so many arsenals and continuously enhancing the destructive capacity leads to enormous consumption of vital resources. Such powerful countries also use vital resources for their conspicuous consumption and luxurious living. Such living styles generate enormous waste which further pollutes the already endangered environment.

The tragedy is compounded by the fact that the great majority of the people in the world, particularly in the so called developing countries have an urgent need for resources for survival. The scenario is ironical that a small percentage of the people in the world consume a very high proportion of the resources of the world. The same people not only have a 'high standard of living' but have also placed themselves on the top of the scale of human development. Further, the same people continue to set the model for development to the rest of humanity. This model of development is based on high consumption and equally high generation of waste. The way India and China, the two most populous countries of the world, are developing in the wake of globalization they will soon confront the world with real issues such as environmental pollution and global warming. Just one example may suffice. The rate at which both these countries have started producing automobiles, with or without partnership of multi-national companies, it is not difficult to visualize the extent of air pollution in these two countries in near future. The whole race in the third world countries is about approximating the standard set and enjoyed by the first world.

### **Sustainable Development**

Considering the above scenario, some well meaning and sensitive people have brought a twist in the tale; they are talking about sustainable development. Their approach is self-contradictory. They concede that the present path of

development is not sustainable, let alone meet the basic needs of food, water and shelter of all the people in the world. Some enthusiastic environmentalists have demonstrated that with some persistent efforts some forests, some wild life, some water and some air can be saved. Without undermining such laudable efforts, I am tempted to call them a 'hoax', blinkered and illusionary for they tend to avoid the basic parameters on which the development process is based. They derive some solace by organizing a protest meet against a mega project here and another there but has that changed the power relations between nations, or reduced the production of pollutant wastes or demand for more and more fancy and sophisticated goods? The problem is not where waste can be safely dumped but the accelerating scale of production of waste itself and the rate at which the resources are being consumed. Further, the 'innocence' of the sustainable development approach gets exposed for the following reasons:

- 1) Sustainability without paying attention to the most vital issue of equity is unjust. The fact is that the gulf between the haves and the have-nots is expanding very rapidly everywhere. Can we talk about sustainability after disinheriting the local communities of their command over their resources and using those resources for industrial growth elsewhere? This process keeps on enlarging the gap between five-star (based on luxury and wastage) people on the one hand and pavement dwellers, rural poor and tribes. According to India's first Social Development Report released recently (January 2006) 26 percent of Indians live below poverty line which accounts for 260 million people. It is a huge number. Of this, 43.8 percent belong to the Scheduled Tribes (*The Hindu*, January 28, 2006).
- 2) The present development process has fragmented the communities and has brought forward the individuals in the forefront - individuals who are enterprising, have skills and abilities, and individuals who have been facilitated by globalization. Is it possible to have unlimited individual prosperity as well as sustainable development? The number of have-nots has increased everywhere. They do not even lead a life of dignity. What kind of stakes can they have in sustainable development? They have to worry about their immediate sustenance. Is it possible to ask them not to worry about their next meal but be concerned about the future meals? In a situation where market forces have created an illusion for a 'desirable style of life', which is bound to create tremendous pressure on resources considered scarce, is it possible to ask the masses

not to run after them, as they are wasteful and destroyer of vital resources but 'essential' for minority elite classes? Who is shedding tears and for whom?

- 3) There is no possibility that the minority elite classes will give up their wasteful high standard of living and privileges they enjoy. The history of the development process, the denial of resources to the vast majority of people, and their abject poverty are not allowed to be understood as a consequence of what high standard people have been continuously doing.
- 4) Similarly the nations which have acquired enormous power cannot be expected to shed away their power. Every attempt is made by such powers to liquidate any rival nation resulting in a unipolar world that we live in today.
- 5) Science and technology progress by asking questions and seeking their answers individually and maximally. Conservation, on the other hand, is focussed on holistic understanding. Hence there is a basic methodological contradiction between progress and conservation. Holism, therefore, is an antiquated idea for those interested in science, technology and progress.
- 6) Coming back to the people who lead a simple life and conserve the resources, they are in fact a people who have lost the path of progress. They are not just the lowest in the scale of human development their very knowledge is of the lowest significance.
- 7) Nature itself does not have much respect for conservation. Countless species and other systems have disappeared in the process of evolution.

Thus, the slogan of conservation, sustainable development etc is basically socio-political in nature. They are designed to keep the skewed power ratio in tact. They do not challenge the basic issues of inequality and power. Is it possible that the seemingly beautiful and noble idea of conservation is voluntarily embraced by the enormously powerful and wealthy nations? There is no such possibility. Thus at best the conservationists are able to sell their dreams to common people to lull them to deep slumber and not to get bothered by relentless destruction of forests, wetlands, coral reefs, ocean bottoms, etc. and not to be disturbed by the ever shrinking resources of wild foods. Not to think of the large-scale soil erosion and salinity. Not to think

about depletion of major energy sources such as fossil fuel, oils, natural gas and coal. Not to worry about the fact that most of the fresh water is being used up for irrigation, industrial and domestic purposes. Not to panic on enormous release of chemical waste into the rivers or the global warming. And not to be bothered to know that an average citizen of USA, Western Europe and Japan consumes 32 times more resources and puts out 32 times more waste than the inhabitants of the third world. However, the edifice of the conservationist begins to crumble by realizing the consequences of rising living standards of the people in third world countries. Look at the irony - conservation was never an issue when indigenous population of the world were devastated and their resources were usurped, and many third world countries came under imperial domination. Conservation has become an issue now when the third world countries have woken up to the idea of 'progress' as defined by the first world. Should this Orwellian doublespeak of the first world be tolerated? Sometimes it is worth asking questions that clearly have no answers.

### *Notes & References*

The roots of this paper lie in the realization that each time I spoke or wrote in favour of conservation, I felt that I was indulging in self-deception and evading the basic contradiction. Finally, after I read Diamond Jared's (2005) *Collapse: How Societies Chose to Fail or Succeed*, New York, Viking Penguin Private Ltd, I was inspired to do this paper. Many of my friends have contributed to sharpening my thoughts expressed in this paper. I thank them all.

<sup>1</sup>See Social Development Report 2006. *The Hindu*, January 28, 2006.

### *Acknowledgement*

---

This paper is reprinted with permission from the e-journal *Peace and Democracy in South Asia* ([www.pdsajournal.com](http://www.pdsajournal.com)).

## Book Reviews

Barnes L. Mawrie SDB, *Introduction to Khasi Ethics*, Shillong: DBCIC, 2005, pp.xii+101, Rs120/-.

The book under review is a brief description of the moral code and norms of the Khasis, an ethnic community living in the Khasi-Jaintia hills of Meghalaya in the north-eastern region of India. The author places an ethical concept of "earning righteousness" (*Kamai ia ka Hok*) at the heart of Khasi ethics in explicating all its great ethical commandments. How the ethical commandments find their application in the individual and collective life, as reflected in the society, polity and judicial system, language and literature, and even in the natural environment, forms the theme of the chapters. The book is laid out in eight chapters. Seemingly the nucleus of the book is crystallized between chapters three and seven: personal and social ethics (chs. 3 & 4); ethics reflected in the mythical narratives, literary idioms, and in Khasi attitude to nature (chs. 5, 6 & 7). The last chapter (ch. 8) is on the evolution of Khasi morality, as the community confronts such extraneous phenomena as the new forms of administration, advent of Christianity and, along with it, the exposure to western civilization and so on. While chapter one is a general discussion on the nature and extent of ethics, chapter two is an explication of the religious moorings of the Khasi ethics. The book has also an introduction and a conclusion.

The book however generally suffers from a great deal of conceptual muddle. To give but a few examples: It is contended that Khasi ethics is founded on a religious tradition (ch.2) and, again, on nature (ch.7). One would now be constrained to construe that Khasi ethics has its source in a naturalistic religion. This, indeed, is the observation of such early ethnologists as Gurdon. But, in recent times, both Christian and revivalist Khasi writers themselves generally tend to differ from Gurdon and other western ethnologists. They go to establish at some length the monotheistic character of Khasi religion, in virtue of the concept of a supreme personal God (*U Blei*), the righteous law-giver. Christian scholars, including the present writer, have gone so far as to suggest that transition from the traditional Khasi religion to Christian monotheism has been relatively smooth, precisely in virtue of the concept of a supreme being, conceived as both father and mother. The implication that

## Book Reviews

Barnes L. Mawrie SDB, *Introduction to Khasi Ethics*, Shillong: DBCIC, 2005, pp.xii+101, Rs120/-.

The book under review is a brief description of the moral code and norms of the Khasis, an ethnic community living in the Khasi-Jaintia hills of Meghalaya in the north-eastern region of India. The author places an ethical concept of "earning righteousness" (*Kamai ia ka Hok*) at the heart of Khasi ethics in explicating all its great ethical commandments. How the ethical commandments find their application in the individual and collective life, as reflected in the society, polity and judicial system, language and literature, and even in the natural environment, forms the theme of the chapters. The book is laid out in eight chapters. Seemingly the nucleus of the book is crystallized between chapters three and seven: personal and social ethics (chs. 3 & 4); ethics reflected in the mythical narratives, literary idioms, and in Khasi attitude to nature (chs. 5, 6 & 7). The last chapter (ch. 8) is on the evolution of Khasi morality, as the community confronts such extraneous phenomena as the new forms of administration, advent of Christianity and, along with it, the exposure to western civilization and so on. While chapter one is a general discussion on the nature and extent of ethics, chapter two is an explication of the religious moorings of the Khasi ethics. The book has also an introduction and a conclusion.

The book however generally suffers from a great deal of conceptual muddle. To give but a few examples: It is contended that Khasi ethics is founded on a religious tradition (ch.2) and, again, on nature (ch.7). One would now be constrained to construe that Khasi ethics has its source in a naturalistic religion. This, indeed, is the observation of such early ethnologists as Gurdon. But, in recent times, both Christian and revivalist Khasi writers themselves generally tend to differ from Gurdon and other western ethnologists. They go to establish at some length the monotheistic character of Khasi religion, in virtue of the concept of a supreme personal God (*U Blei*), the righteous law-giver. Christian scholars, including the present writer, have gone so far as to suggest that transition from the traditional Khasi religion to Christian monotheism has been relatively smooth, precisely in virtue of the concept of a supreme being, conceived as both father and mother. The implication that

the Khasi religion and ethics are purely naturalistic perhaps cannot be the intention of the writer.

Secondly, the author claims his writing to be both analytic and hermeneutic. The two methods however cannot be judiciously combined. The hermeneutic method has established itself as a scientific method in recent times in total disillusionment of the analytic method. For the kind of study undertaken, a combination of the phenomenological and the hermeneutic methods would however be ideal. Yet, what one encounters in the book is purely a descriptive method that most early ethnologists largely employ. In the application of the descriptive method, Gurdon is perhaps yet to be surpassed. However, the author's contention that Khasi ethics is a "narrative ethics" is remarkably on the mark. Comparative mythologists like Eliade and Campbell have probed into the ethico-religious significance of the narratives against the backdrop of a philosophy of symbols, myth and rituals. The author's attempt to derive the ethical significance of myths, in a similar spirit, is praiseworthy (ch.5). Moreover, the extension of the attempt to Khasi idioms (ch.6) is quite innovative, although the entire discussion on the narrative ethics (of myths and idioms) ought to have been projected against a philosophy of ethico-religious language. In its absence, the whole exercise appears sadly superficial.

Thirdly, the author's distinction between the 'personal' and 'social' ethics, encompassing 'the conjugal-familial' and the 'politico-juridical' arena respectively, is somewhat baffling to any moral philosopher or theologian. The philosophical basis of the distinction is anything but conceptually sound. It may however be conceded that the realm of ethics need not be exclusively social, in as much as ethics is a science of human action in one's relation, not only to 'the other', empirical or transcendental, but also to oneself. Is not the ethical action, directed to the other or oneself, to conduce for the excellence of the moral agent primarily? The distinction then between the personal and social ethics will have to be made with reference to the direction of the will to oneself or the other, rather than such extraneous institutional categories as marriage, family, polity and law.

One of the serious drawbacks of the book is the reticence of the author to enter at crucial junctures into the theoretical issues of Khasi ethics. Let us give an example. Khasi ethics is said to be predominantly an ethics of the clan (*Kur*). Indeed, loyalty to the clan (*Tipkur-Tipkha*) is one of the great commandments of the Khasi way of life, the other two being "loving God and

loving man" (*Tipbriew-Tipplei*) and 'the earning of righteousness" (*Kamai ia ka Hok*). Respect to the elders, especially the acceptance of the authority of the eldest maternal uncle (*Kni*), the custodian and the manager of the family property, the teacher of moral instructions to the younger members, the adjudicator of disputes within and between clans, and the constitution of the assembly/council (*Durbar*), the penal restitutions, the determinations of the taboos (*ka Sang*), especially associated with the institution of marriage, all stem from the concept of clan. The author is right in contending that Khasi ethics is the 'ethics of the clan'. Now, the important question that we face inevitably is: Does this make Khasi ethics clannish? The author cannot afford to ignore the question. The more so because political scientists everywhere are increasingly becoming aware, today, that, in the context of the resurgence and assertion of the tribal and ethnic identities all over the world, in particular, Africa and Asia, communitarianism, as distinct from a mere 'communalism' (adj. of community), is posing a serious threat to the peaceful coexistence of the members in the larger society, if also, often, to the national integration itself by offsetting the law and order in the nation states. Here are genuine problems of the legitimate aspirations and the assertions of identities of the people at the periphery of a society, coming into conflict with the centrist and the majoritarian ethos. Such problems have often projected a negative picture of communitarianism as being constrictive of its interaction with the other.

Further, in viewing the Khasi ethics as clan ethics, there is an additional danger of abdicating an individualistic or personal ethics, but this suggestion could not be possibly the intention of the author. The author cannot however afford to ignore the danger, even if the concept of the Khasi personal ethics is different from its western counterpart (p. 42). Personal ethics need not come into conflict with the social and the universal ethics. The point may have to be illustrated. Thus, there may be complete equality among the members of the clan. But how about equality to a member of a different clan within the Khasi society, or a member of a different ethnic group (p. 43)? How exclusive or inclusive is the Khasi concept of the other? If the concept of the clan is exclusive, the charge of Khasi ethics being clannish is a serious one. For the members of the clan themselves, it may have a negative implication, too. Being unable to exist outside his clan would at once be suggestive of a Freudian intra-uterine existence of 'an oceanic feeling', or a 'union with the breast'. This may be construed as a refusal to grow into maturity, and face a hostile world out there, from a secured social childhood.

If however the concept of the clan is inclusive, how far can the Khasi ethics accommodate the other to merit the title of universal ethics as well? Would it at that stage of universalism cease to be the ethics of the clan? The inner tension between the clan ethics and the universal ethics is more than palpable in the author's fear of the 'corrosion' of the Khasi ethics, when confronted by such modern catalysts of change in Khasi society as the new forms of administration, western civilization, English education and, above all, the advent of Christianity in the Khasi-Jaintia hills (ch.8). Is Nietzsche, then, finally right in thinking that our ethical values herald 'a twilight of the gods'? If he is right, do our 'gods' have then only the feet of clay, and nothing stable in them? We may not overlook the fact that whatever has been happening to Khasi ethics today is also happening to Indian ethics at a much larger level, confronted as it is with the same or similar global agents of change.

On the contrary, it is imperative for us to note that, in an age characterized by communication and media miracle, free markets and globalization, change in every domain of life, let alone ethics, is inevitable, however we may resist it. The fear of 'the other' (alien, foreign, unfamiliar, strange) is only natural to us all, Khasi or non-Khasi, because the encounter with the other tends to relativize our own sacrosanct and secured cultural universes. It makes an inroad into our own 'impregnable' and absolute fortress of beliefs and ethos. Nevertheless, the encounter need not be seen as only destructive; it can be fruitfully and creatively used for cross fertilization for the mature growth of the self and the other alike. A mature culture may be expected to evaluate both its own and other's resources rationally, to weed out judiciously the dead-wood in its own tradition and the deleterious in other's tradition, to retain whatever is of intrinsic worth, but to shun the pernicious influences, and thus finally to incorporate whatever is good, irrespective of its source, in the alien culture to cross fertilize and enrich its own resources. Tradition should be treated as a seed, which should, when the time arrives, sprout and grow into a tree of knowledge and life. There is no point in keeping the seed as seed for eternity. This should apply to all cultural elements, including religion and ethics. If this were not to be done, our hallowed ancient traditions get 'fossilized'. The alarm bells that a traditionalist often rings, with the grim statement that his tradition is wearing out, must not be taken as an apology for retaining what is ancient but as the signal to change the gear. The author has failed to enter into this all too important debate on the theoretical issues that will have a direct bearing on the praxis of Khasi ethics. Hopefully, someone will take this work, as it truly claims, to be an introduction, and

develop it at a greater length.

The question of Khasi ethics therefore may have to be taken outside the clan ethics. No human being is a mere member of his family and clan alone, but also of a larger society. Can a Khasi, or anyone for that matter, be ethical outside his clan? The relative social equality in the Khasi society is a matter of rightful pride for the Khasis. That there is no beggary in the Khasi society is borne out by our observation. Nonetheless, a study of those orphans rescued and brought up by the society, under whichever institutional modalities adopted, is yet to be carried out. How do these orphans and destitutes finally get integrated into the society? Or do they end up as merely domestic help and rural farmhands for a morsel of food, and thus continue to live on the fringes of the society? We do not have any statistics. To go a step further, would the social equality be extended to the people outside the clan, in the larger Khasi society, and indeed, even to the non-Khasi society? The great Khasi value of eating strictly of the fruit of one's own labour, and of thus shunning beggary and thievery at all levels for one's livelihood, is worthy of emulation for others. Gandhi's concept of 'bread labour' echoes a similar principle. The ethical dimension of the great principle however has to be further extended to the practice of gambling, lottery and drunkenness as being inconsonant with the Khasi ethics. Even in the stage play by Gatphoh (p. 19), cited to exemplify the virtue of eating off one's own labour, it is the two Khasis who depict the two attitudes towards what is not earned by righteousness, although only one of them is authenticated as characteristically Khasi. Indeed, such attitudes are found in every society.

In the ethical evolution of man, we may note, there is a gradual expansion of the ethical sphere from the individual to the social, from the in-group to the out-group, from the particular to the universal. The ethical is the universal, as Kierkegaard rightly observes. When there is a conflict between the two universals, the ethical resolution consists in opting for the more universal. It is a higher ethics, if I am able to move from the self to the other, from the family to the clan, from the clan to the larger society. There are ethicists who take this argument even outside the realm of the human species and extend it to the animal kingdom and, at times, even to the natural environment. Should we treat our nest as the world, or the whole world as one great nest? Ethical redemption is in the universal, and not in the particular.

Further, the author fails to convey the ethical position in respect of

marriage in Khasi society. He generally argues that the pre-arranged marriages are the normal practice, but he also goes on to state that 'living together publicly' has also the social sanction as a marriage. He, however, thinks that the practice of living together for the couple became prevalent only under the western influence. Yet, elsewhere (p. 37) he argues that, procreation being the primary function of marriage, living together and begetting a child became an acceptable custom to ward off a future divorce on the ground of infertility. The shifting stand of the author on marriage is baffling. Perhaps, there is a need for an in-depth discussion and debate on the nature of the institution of marriage, the constitution of family, the primacy of procreation, against the backdrop of the ethics of responsible parenthood in the evolution of Khasi morals. For closely associated with this are the other social problems of teenage pregnancy, unsustainable parenthood, broken families, all of which have serious and unwanted consequences for the physical, psychological and social health of the population.

Likewise, the author's conception of taboo (*ka Sang*) is not marked by clarity. Taboos are said to be prohibitions imposed by the society, having nothing to do with morality, on account of their being superstitions. Building the 'queen's house' (*Ingsad*) with nails and iron is a taboo; so, too, killing an animal without throwing a few grains of rice over it is a taboo (p. 39). To dismiss such taboos as mere superstitions is one thing, but to evaluate them as symbols of eminently significant human actions is another thing. Firstly, the author misses out on the rich symbolism of these taboos. In the former instance, the contrast between the nature and culture, 'the raw and the cooked', 'the bear and the barber', that the anthropologists, in particular, of the structuralist persuasions, have highlighted, is placed before us insightfully. The author, despite his anthropological training, has missed it altogether. The fertility of the 'queen' is equated with that of the mother nature herself (*ka pyrthei*), unsullied by any product of human hands, undefiled by any such items as a nail, iron etc. of human culture. This symbolism is much stronger in the primal mind than any modern microbiological concerns of childbirth and parturition. Likewise, in the second instance, the symbolism of the helplessness of man in taking a life to sustain one's own life is dramatized in a symbolic action. The action itself is neither magical nor superstitious, but an eminently significant response of man, compelled as he is in procuring food for his own sustenance that may involve taking the life of an animal. Living much more symbiotically with nature, the tribal community is much more sensitive to the violence inbuilt in the food-chain.

Going a step further, in the act of construing meaning in the Khasi taboos, would the author suggest the taboo of incest, too, the most abominable act for the Khasi, to be a superstition? Perhaps he cannot. It does not need a great scientific knowledge of genetics for a clan to observe that the progeny resultant upon the incestuous relation is malformed and defective. This is clear from the extreme fear of the Khasis that an eternal curse, in the form of deformed children with incurable diseases, would befall not only those indulging in incest, but also the entire clan itself. Modern genetics attests to the fact that, due to the depletion of the diversity of the gene pool, as it has happened with the endogamous tribes, the entire population may be wiped off. We are now in a better position to appreciate the extreme fear of, and the severe strictures imposed by, the Khasis against incestuous relations. The eugenic considerations are then dominant in the abhorrence of incest. Such taboos as incest therefore may be prohibitions imposed by the society, but they are, to be sure, rooted often in our biology. E.O. Wilson, the Harvard socio-biologist, thinks that human biology will unfailingly dictate morality in the evolution of human ethics. Moreover, the fear of the moral sin associated with the infractions of taboos in a tribal community is not merely psychological, it is deeply metaphysical, in as much as it is inseparable from their perception of human existence itself (p. 41, 61, 62). Hence, the infractions were severely punished. Nonetheless, the observation of the author, that, with the British administration, an alternate system of punishment came into vogue, but that the religious and psychological castigations still hold their ground, is on the mark (p. 53).

Precisely because of the grounding of Khasi ethics in metaphysics, the contention of the author that "the sets of moral norms remain always conventional" (p. 47) is somewhat problematic. Khasi ethics is neither relativistic nor constructionistic, despite its cultural moorings. Let no one make the mistake of identifying it with the post-modernistic ethics determined by the contingent cultural settings. The elements of universal and objective norms are too strong to be denied. Thus even when a *syiem* is chosen by the elders and the representative of families, he is regarded as a representative of God. Post-modernist ethics simply does not provide for any divine right theory of authority, but the Khasi ethics still may. Again, the author indulges in a contradiction in respect of penal institutions (p. 51). He claims that Khasis do not have the capital punishment. At the same time, he goes on to state that the criminal would be beaten to death with clubs or hurled down the precipice.

The author's contention that "Christianity has done great good to the

Khasis" (p. 89), may not be universally accepted even within the Khasi society. If this were not true how could we explain such revivalist religious movements as the *Seng-Khasi*? Moreover, the author himself admits that some of the changes that have occurred in the Khasi society, after the advent of Christianity, have contributed to the "rapid decay of the society" (p. 90). A (secular) historian may readily concede to the fact that the Christian missionaries did a yeoman service to the Khasi society in spreading the liberal education, establishing health-care systems, improving sanitation and hygiene and, above all giving it a sense of an identity as an ethnic community. Yet, it is imperative for the author to make a clear distinction between western civilization, culture and Christianity. Western civilization has spread all over the urban India for a host of reasons that are there for anyone to see. Western culture is selectively, if also superficially, (it has not seeped into the values), adopted by the urban Khasis. This is not borne in mind by the author, when he, in a facile manner, generalizes that the Khasis are westernized. As far as Christianity is concerned, it has no culture of its own, as the German historian Troeltsch would say. It has grown in the north-eastern region of India, striking its root in whichever cultural soil it happened to find itself. It has been the same story for the history of Christianity from its inception. The author would be in a better position to evaluate the impact of Christianity on the Khasi society, if only he had consulted Frederick Downs' excellent volume titled *Christian Impact on the Status of Women in North-East* (NEHU, 1996).

Referring to O. L. Snaitang's work, the author speaks in a footnote (p. 93) of the permissibility of an 'associate' or 'stolen' wife (*tnga tuh*) in ancient tradition. These women were generally captured from the plains by Khasi warriors, it is argued, not for lust, but to increase the strength of the Khasi clan. Such arguments, I am afraid, carry little conviction. In war and love, everywhere, the distinction between fair and foul tends to blur largely. History of mankind everywhere bears witness to the fact of victors, more often plunderers, carrying away goods, cattle (in a cattle economy) and also women. Khasi warriors were no exception to the general rule, despite the clan-defined ethics. Likewise the observation of the author that the inter-marriages with the 'outsiders' is posing a greater threat to Khasi culture and ethics than Christianity in the past is a needless apprehension. As the urbanization of the Khasi society grows, such inter-marriages become inevitable. Indeed, inter-marriages need not necessarily contribute to the corrosion of the Khasi ethics. Khasi ethics is possibly stronger than the author imagines. Earning righteousness (*kamai ia ka Hok*), like the Hindu concept of *dharma*, is such

an over-arching regulative principle of Khasi ethics that it has an inner dynamism of its own to sustain the Khasi ethics throughout its evolutionary phases.

In the Khasi legal system, the retributive justice often seems to depend solely on the judgment of one who is wronged. This can be problematic, in as much as one can use this primacy of the subjective judgment to get rid of one's enemies purely on personal ground. For example, what prevents one to get rid of one's enemy (*Nongshohnoh*) on the mere accusation that one was carried away to be sacrificed to the *thlen*? The easiest way of killing a dog is by way of tying around its neck a written warning, 'Mad'! Moreover, it comes as a shock and surprise that, in matters pertaining to sexual morality, generally a heavier penalty is imposed on the women, in a society that takes pride in being a matrilineal society, where women supposedly enjoy a greater autonomy and property rights. We may not forget that property rights can often tie women to the land to enslave rather than empower them.

The chapter (ch.1) titled "What is Ethics?" is intended to provide a broad canvas for his study in elaborating the nature and extent of ethics. The author rightly observes that ethics is a normative science, which has an implicit reference to the classification of science, in its most general sense of a systematic study of a given subject matter. But the author apparently has no grasp of either the Aristotelian/Thomistic or Kantian classification of science. Hence, the statements, "...the study of ethics does not necessarily perfect a person" and "the Kantian universalistic ethics is based on the golden rule of Christ" are shocking to a student of ethics, familiar with the Kantian *Groundwork of Metaphysics of Morals* and *Religion within the Limits of Reason alone*. The chapter is written without an adequate grounding in philosophy.

Finally, a word on the methodological and stylistic concerns may be added. Two editions of Gurdon's work, both of Cosmo Publications, are referred, making it difficult for the reader to determine which text is meant (p. 54, 55). Again, Stanley Hauerwas is cited, but S. Pallonil is referred in the end-notes (p. 56, 58). The author exhibits an overdose of gender sensitivity in his expressions 'he/she' and 'his/her' throughout his writing. The expression somehow jars in the flow of the narrative. He could instead use the traditional 'he' or 'she' and 'his' or 'her'. The use of 'she' and 'her' is politically correct, in as much as it is a sequel to the accepted 'political' movement of feminism. Nonetheless, he could selectively use his expression, if the occasion specially

demands. Although the language of the text jars at times, the meaning itself is not difficult to grasp. A glossary of Khasi terms used in the text is an additional help. The author's bibliography is fairly exhaustive. The cover design in a blend of white and light green is aesthetically pleasing, and the print is reader-friendly. But the price for a text of roughly 100 pages is slightly on the higher side

*Professor C. R. Agera*

*Department of Philosophy, NEHU, Shillong.*

**B. P. Maithani, *Shifting Cultivation in North-East India*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, pp. xvi+, 163+16 Illustrations, Rs.395.**

Any discussion on North East Indian agriculture, animal husbandry, environment, forest, food production, health and nutrition, poverty alleviation, rural development, soil conservation is bound to veer around *jhum* or shifting cultivation. There is a long tradition among anthropologists to view shifting cultivation as an inseparable part of the tribal life, which was rather difficult to alter over-night. On the other hand, administrators, economists, environmentalists and foresters, have always liked to do away the *jhum* in favour of the settled economy. It goes without saying that the various tribes of the North-East India are located on relatively difficult mountainous terrain and are naturally not accustomed to an alternate mode of cultivation. Thus, irrespective of the debates among the academics, development experts and policy planners, the tribesmen are busy practising their dwindling *jhum*.

The book under review was sponsored by the International Centre for Integrated Mountain development (ICIMOD), Kathmandu, where the author worked for some time and it runs into nearly 200 pages. However, the text of the book covers only 85 pages and the rest is devoted to foreword, preface,

contents, appendices (i-viii), references, index and illustrations. There are as many as two maps and 13 pages of statistical tables in the book. The book is organized in five chapters. The first chapter attempts an overview of the shifting cultivation scenario as it prevails in the region. This is followed in the second chapter by a discussion on different strategies adopted in the past for controlling shifting cultivation. The third chapter highlights the factors behind the continuation of the shifting cultivation in a large scale in the region even now. The fourth chapter tries to look into state-wise variation in the status and strategies for dealing with shifting cultivation. The last and fifth chapter discusses the policy issues and options available for controlling the extent of shifting cultivation in the region.

The North East Indian region constitutes 7.7 percent of the area, 3.73 percent of the population but more than 25 percent of the country's forest cover. The land and forest cover in the region is largely under clan or community control free from land tenure. The total area under shifting cultivation is estimated to be 5.3 percent of the total geographical area of the region, on which as many as 443, 300 families are dependent. The tribes and their shifting cultivation were left to themselves in the past. We first come across Nicholson, the Conservator of Forests, Orissa, who desired to permanently settle the shifting cultivating tribes such as Khond and Juang in 1940s, in which Verrier Elwin was involved. Soon after Indian independence, with a view to increase the food crops and settled cultivation, shifting cultivation attracted attention and it began to be viewed as a wasteful farming practice, which desired to be discouraged. As shifting cultivation is practised in the areas that came under the constitutionally guaranteed tribal lands under customary laws, the age old tribal usages were abused by a number of agencies bringing distortions in their lives. Among them, the author has rightly identified the following: (i) exposure to outside world, (ii) introduction of the reserve forests, (iii) population growth, (iv) institutional changes, and (v) commercialization of the crops within the shifting cultivated areas (pp.7-9). Very soon, social workers and agricultural scientists were engaged in the rehabilitation of shifting cultivators. However, the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, after identifying that "the shifting cultivation as is now prevalent is wasteful and also destructive to some extent", sounded a caution, "the fact of the matter is that only 10 percent of tribal population (in the context of the whole country) depended on shifting cultivation and they cannot be deprived of their land, their livelihood and their way of life for a theoretical opinion on which not all experts agree" (p 11).

The author examines various strategies evolved at the level of the Union Government and implemented at the level of the region in chapter two and notes “an increasing trend in the extent of shifting cultivation (in the region) despite several control projects” (p 25). Moreover, it is difficult to disagree with the author’s considered opinion that “so long the tenure reforms are not introduced and enforced, shifting cultivation will continue unabated including those by absentee tribal landlords” (p 36). It becomes from the book that the shifting cultivators and the state governments did not put their heart and soul in shifting cultivation control schemes in the region because the schemes did not emerge from experience and felt needs.

The author mentions various proposals to control the ill-effects of shifting cultivation in chapter five and enumerates land use policy introduced by the government of Mizoram in 1984. One would have expected him to deliberate on the significant ramification of this far reaching piece of legislation. This policy, if sincerely implemented, will alter the image of the regional agrarian scenario because of the fact that shifting cultivation has been legally banned and permanent cultivation, horticulture, animal husbandry and pisci-culture are being encouraged with the help of institutional cash incentives. Naturally, it will create social inequality, as village community land is being privatized with the help of cash flow controlled by the newly emerged tribal middle class political elite. In course of time, land will pass in the hands of the absentee owners, which will be cultivated by landless labourers, leading to agrarian unrest yet unknown in the region.

The book is an analytical presentation of shifting cultivation. The author’s data are old, as he depends on the 1991 Census in a book published in 2005. However, his mature handling of the theme is clearly noticeable. The reviewer enjoyed reading the book and recommends it to the policy makers of the region.

*A. C. Sinha*

*Former Dean, School of Social Sciences, NEHU, Shillong.*

**A. S. Shimray, 2005, *Let Freedom Ring: Story of Naga Nationalism*, Promilla & Co. in association with Bibliophile South Asia, New Delhi & Chicago, pp 354, Rs. 650.**

The term 'Naga' immediately evokes imageries of defiance, valour, chivalry, romance and exotic habits. The Nagas claim to be a distinct nation different at least from the Indians, if not the Myanmarese, and others. They declared their independence on August 14, 1947, which was not recognized by any sovereign state of the world, but that did not deter their resolve to continue with 'their struggle for sovereignty'. When the British empire withdrew from India, they had left the then Naga Hills District as part of the composite province of Assam in India. But prior to that, way back in 1929, the Naga Club, a body of the petty government officials under the patronage of the all powerful Deputy Commissioner, had submitted a memorandum to the Simon Commission pleading for excluding the Nagas from the prospective political reforms in Indian provinces, as they were backward and lacked leadership representing numerous tribes among them. The Naga Hills District along with Lushai Hills and Balipara and Lakhimpur Frontier Divisions were termed by the British as "Excluded" districts, different from the other British administered districts of the province. In mid 1940s the Naga Hills District faced utter confusion. The British functionaries as well as Christian Missionaries were guiding the Nagas on political issues. First, it was suggested that the Naga Hills District along with other tribal areas of the region should form a Crown Colony within the British Empire but after the British withdrawal from India. The Second World War conspired against the above move and the British were forced to drop the idea unceremoniously. By then the Naga Hills District Council was turned into Naga National Council (NNC) and it began passing political resolutions relating to the Nagas' future dispensation at the bidding of the Deputy Commissioner of the district, Charles Powsey. No doubt, the NNC was the only available representative and politically conscious body available in the Naga Hills then. In most Naga villages, the American Baptist Christian Church sponsored schools were imparting theologically flavoured education in which non-Christian societies in general and Hindus in particular were painted in poor shade. It was not a mere coincidence that the British colonial rulers maintained that the Indian National Congress was a political party of the Hindus, which was destined to rule Assam on behalf of the Indians. The NNC took the stand that since it was the British who had vanquished and subjugated the Nagas, they were morally bound to set them free, as they were withdrawing from the Naga

Hills. Thus, the dye was cast and the Nagas were made to oppose any proposal to treat them as a part of the composite province of Assam. And the rest is history.

The book under review is a posthumous publication of the author. It is not clear what the title of the Ph.D thesis submitted to North-Eastern Hill University was on which the present book is based. Again, it is not known in what ways is the book different from the original thesis. But one thing is clear: the title of the book would not have made the title of a thesis. There is no 'introduction' to the book, so a reader gets confused about its contents and intent. However, Nandita Haksar's foreword informs the readers that the author desired her to write an introduction to the publication, but she too could not know its contents from him. The foreword informs that the 'book could be a meaningful intervention in the Indo-Naga peace process, as it could tell the Indians the story of Naga nationalism and explain the justness of the demands of the movement'. Furthermore, one learns that one of its intentions was to document the events leading to the signing of the Shillong (Peace) Accord, which did not lead to a resolution of the Indo-Naga conflict. The book under review 'is the story about how the so-called peace accord led to the formation of an organization (National Socialist Council of Nagaland) that would seriously challenge the authority of the Indian State'. The legal luminary Haksar believes that the story that the book tells has valuable lessons for all those involved in the present Indo-Naga peace process. The alleged Naga homeland is divided by the international boundary between Myanmar and India and within India the claimed Naga territory consists of Nagaland state, four districts of Manipur, and two districts each of Arunachal and Assam, an area spread within 120,000 square kilometres. The NSCN factor is certainly crucial in all these areas and the author devotes a chapter to analyse its role in the politics of Nagaland, but not elsewhere. The book shows that 'till the time peace talks are treated as a part of counter-insurgency maneuvers instead of a political process to right past injustices and wrongs, the Indo-Naga conflict will continue'. So the book under review is an advocacy for the cause of the Nagas in general and NSCN in particular.

The first chapter, 'Who are the Nagas?' makes a feeble attempt to trace an ancient history of the Nagas in Naga Hills, the origin of the term Nagas, a description of the claimed Naga territory, listing of 40 tribes as Nagas, the British colonial context, and introduction of Christianity among them. The chapter concludes thus: "Christianity indeed has been the single most dynamic factor in modernising the Naga society. It opened the door for

the Nagas to think in global context and brought them into the fold of a world family. The spirit of change invaded every Naga village life. The Christian missionaries and the British Indian administration proved themselves to be the vehicle of change in the Naga context" (p 44). And that lets out the secret of Naga solidarity. There is nothing clear about its past, its nomenclature, the grouping of various tribes into Naga family of tribes and fratricidal efforts to settle scores with each other. The next chapter on Naga nationalism makes a plea for Naga nationalism on the basis of an imagined past, Christian religion, Mongoloid race and tribal socio-cultural practices. It informs the readers how the British ICS officers guided the Naga petty officials, mainly their interpreters (*Dobhashis*), to petition to the Simon Commission, to form the NNC and declare their independence' a day before India became independent and under what circumstances the state of Nagaland was created within the Indian Union. It reports on Jawaharlal Nehru's effort to jointly come together with the Burmese premier to Kohima in the heart of Naga Hills to display to the Nagas his sincerity to reach and honour them and how his grand gesture was abused because of some misunderstanding. Then it shows how a section of NNC came out to call a series of 'conventions' leading to the formation of state of Nagaland and forming a democratically elected government in Kohima and how the great Naga leader, A. Z. Phizo, slipped away to Pakistan and then to London. No doubt, Shimary calls these developments Indian sponsored intelligence operations.

Chapter three on 'Naga Nation Betrayed' delineates the events leading to signing of the Shillong Accord in 1975, its response among the Nagas, NNC's efforts to secure Phizo's endorsement and latter's enigmatic ambivalence. It also records the confusion among the Nagas after signing of the Accord, total collapse of the so-called Federal Government and inability of the state government of Nagaland to turn the event to its advantage. Further it reports how in those confusing days, Eastern Naga National Council (ENNC) led by K. K. Khaplang and Isak and Muivah faction of the NNC merged together to form the National Socialist Council of Nagaland (NSCN) on January 31, 1980 on the intriguing planks of Marxism and Christianity. The aggressive denunciation of the Accord on the part of the NSCN stupefied common Nagas and the void created by Phizo's ambivalence to the Accord and inactions of his followers were taken over by the NSCN within no time. But in spite of the vehemence of the author on the perfidy of the Indian state, it is pertinent to read the following lines from him: "The heart of the matter was that as majority of the Nagas are Christians, the domination of

the Church was almost absolute a fact which the Naga nationalists could not ignore for long. The Government of India was apparently winning over the hearts and minds of the Nagas through the church... thus, the final outcome of the peace talks was the Shillong Accord, which the church meticulously campaigned for" (p 93).

The author chose to concentrate only on NSCN under Muivah in the next chapter and makes unfounded statement that 'the Nagas by tradition did not experience tribalism' (p 152). In fact, there has never been Naga solidarity before the advent of the British colonialists. They were distinct ethnic groups speaking different languages and dialects, and without a script. Verrier Elwin mentions a saying about the Nagas in his famous book on Nagaland, which does find place in the author's bibliography. It so happened once that seven Naga elders were travelling by the same route to a particular destination. They decided to have lunch by the side of a stream. They asked among themselves what items of food had they got and the individual replies were unintelligible to each other. Being unable to understand one another, they opened their respective bags out of desperation to see what each of them had brought - green chilies and parched rice in their respective bags. The moral of the story is that there had never been a Naga society in the past as it is claimed today. Yes, they had Angami, Sema, Mon, and so on, but not Nagas, who are a creation of the non-Nagas such as Ahoms, Meiteis, Myanmarese and Bengalis. The NSCN under Muivah imposed a moral code of conduct, declared socialism and Christianity as the twin planks of their future nation, evolved a strict military command structure, appointed a civil administration and imposed a monetary tax on the residents of the claimed Naga areas. They also undertook three critical issues in their hands in their areas of operation: literacy programme, primary health and religious conversion of the Animist Nagas to Christianity. And the NSCN proposed an ideology for the Nagas, 'described as a mixture of evangelical Christianity and revolutionary socialism'. They extended their operation outside the Naga-inhabited areas among the restive communities to rebel against the Indian State by training and arming them in lieu of the tax paid to them. They even have established a hitherto unheard forum called Self Defence United Front of the South East Himalayan Region (SDUFSEHR), an alleged body for military and political coordination for combating Indian forces. They have tried their best to debunk A. Z. Phizo's heritage by terming his contributions as a 'personality cult' and 'aristocratic outlook based on loyalties to family and relatives of the leader'. The author does not hide his unquestioned

admiration for the leadership of Muivah and condemns K.K. Khaplang. In his belief, 'NSCN is the most widely supported and representative national organisation of the Nagas at present' (p 207).

The fifth chapter surveys the symbiotic relationship between the state's politicians and the NSCN and other rebel outfits. He finds it to be a truism in Nagaland that every Naga household has a share in contributing at least one or two members to the Naga political movement (p 225). The extortion, intimidation and armed ambush are the weapons through which NSCN runs its writ in Nagaland and the state administration itself is highly vulnerable. Though there is enough presence of armed forces in the camps, the state is unable to match the sophisticated arms of the NSCN. Furthermore, being an open civil society has its own vagaries; there are a number of NGOs such as Naga Students' Federation, Nagaland Human Rights Watch, Mothers' Association, etc. which invariably raise the issues of the civil society, which are exploited by the rebels who do not themselves subscribe to the ethos of the open society. The last chapter on NSCN and International Politics enumerates the alleged success of the NSCN in internationalizing the Naga issue through UNPO (Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organisation), UNWGIP (United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Peoples), and WBA (World Baptist Alliance). The author has made an extensive study of the secondary sources and there is an elaborate bibliography at the end.

Now coming to the text provided by the author, it is an advocacy work with limited academic value. It almost borders on propaganda literature. The author has every right to hold his views, but when he decides to go public with a book, it should be fair to all segments of his society. One also wishes that the author had given more attention to the term 'Naga', various tribal entities, NNC, A. Z. Phizo, the state administration of Nagaland and elaborate alliance carved by NSCN with various rebel groups of the region. Similarly, there is no treatment in the book of the significant role of the Christian missionaries in the peace process, Nagaland Peace Commission and working of the on-going ceasefire in Nagaland. There are two other problems in the book. One, the author provides a sketch of an imagined Nagaland, but fails to substantiate that the territories belong to the Nagas. He conveniently forgets the counter claims of others, especially on the Assam-Nagaland borders. The disputed territories are equally claimed by a number of communities from Assam for centuries. Secondly, the bulk of his presentation is addressed to the interface between NSCN and Indian Union, but he is entirely silent on the ethos and aspirations of the Nagas of 'Eastern Nagaland' and its functioning

within Myanmar. All said and done, the reviewer, who had once upon a time administered the thesis as the Dean of the concerned School of NEHU for the award of the degree to the author, appreciates his diligence in marshalling the arguments on the basis of the information he could collect. One wishes he had lived longer to turn the thesis into a better book.

*Professor A. C. Sinha*

*Former Dean, School of Social Sciences, NEHU, Shillong.*

**U.V. Joseph and Robbins Burling, *The Comparative Phonology of the Boro Garo Languages*, Central Institute of Indian Languages Publication No.530, Mysore, 2006, pp. 151, Rs. 120.**

The collaboration of a well-known anthropologist-linguist and a linguist cum polyglot, who is well-versed in his own mother tongue, English, Rabha, Boro, Tiwa and a number of languages, has resulted in an extremely useful and timely contribution to Tibeto-Burman studies. Both have been in the field, so the data are expected to be authentic. As stated in the Preface, much of the Garo, Boro and Rabha data are from Joseph's dissertation on Rabha; Tiwa data also have been collected by Joseph in Umswai in Karbi Anglong District in Assam. Burling has contributed much of the Garo data since he first worked on this language fifty years ago, with subsequent visits in the late 1990s which continues till date whenever he comes to North-East India.

The book is an important work on some aspects of the phonology of the little described languages of the Bodo-Garo group in the Tibeto-Burman family. Chapter 2 gives some insights into the phonological processes: compounding, prefixation, assimilation, lexicalization, etc. What the authors call 'consonant migration', and 'diphthong reduction' in Garo, diphthong formation in Tiwa and 'cluster simplification' and 'consonant loss' in the four languages are very interesting processes which Tibeto-Burmanists

can well look into when describing other Tibeto-Burman languages. Chapter 3 titled 'The Correspondences' provides the similarities between Tiwa, Boro, Garo and Rabha, helpfully in the form of tables, regarding initial stops, initial nasals, sibilants, liquids, and other types of phones; clusters include r-, l-, s-, -n as well other types of clusters. There seems to be remarkable correspondences between the four languages in their syllable initial and final consonants, vowels and tones. The summary of correspondences in Tables 3.41 in this chapter, and the more exhaustive data in 'The Evidences' (Appendix) are a great help not only for comparison of the four languages but are also useful data for historical linguists because they provide reconstructed Proto-forms from the existing Tiwa, Boro, Garo and Rabha cognates. Certainly we will be using this data when teaching Historical Linguistics to the MA students, with due acknowledgement to Joseph and Burling.

Chapter 1 on the sounds and phones, and the phonological inventories of the four languages described, could have been more elaborate, especially detailed description of each phone in each language and as compared across languages. This would be very useful, especially to students. Contrasting phonetically similar sounds like /i/, /e/, /o/ and examining phones in minimal and contrastive pairs (tedious, but necessary) has also been left out by the authors. Future Generative Phonologists perhaps can take up where the authors have left and try to fill in the gaps, including formulation of phonological rules for the different phonological processes in the Boro-Garo group of Tibeto-Burman languages.

Tones in Chapter 3 (p.99) and in the 'correspondences' (p.110) have been dealt with, and the conclusion is that Tiwa, Boro and Rabha have a two-way tone contrast. Since there is no evidence used by the authors for showing distinction in tones, this can also be checked by future researchers. They have also not specified whether the tones are analyzed in terms of Register or Contour Tones. There are some anomalies—the authors have acknowledged that a non-high tone in Tiwa has been designated as 'falling', but as 'low' in Boro and Rabha (p.100) and that there are 'contradictory' or 'insufficient' evidence (p.110). Tones anyway are a major problem area - even natives speakers themselves do not know how many tones there are, nor what tones they are using, unless they are highly trained phoneticians or have access to specialized computer softwares.

On the whole the book is a major contribution to the study of Tibeto-Burman languages especially in Phonology. The main findings are worth noting:

- (i) Syllable is an important phonological unit, especially those that occur initially or finally and which are different from each other.
- (ii) Syllable initial consonants are more numerous than the final ones.
- (iii) At the initial position, syllables consist of stops (6-9 in the 4 languages), nasals (2), affricates (3-4), and spirants like phr-.
- (iv) The four languages have around 5-6 simple vowels and a few diphthongs.
- (v) Productive suffixes (eg., causative prefixes) and those that have become lexicalized when the clusters have been simplified.

The book is a 'must have' for students of Linguistics of Northeast India.

*Juanita War*

*Professor & Head, Department of Linguistics, NEHU, Shillong.*

*These Hills Called Home: Stories from a War Zone* by Temsula Ao, Zubaan Penguin, New Delhi, 2006, pp.147, Rs.195/-.

*These Hills Called Home* is a collection of ten short stories written by Temsula Ao and published by Zubaan Penguin Books. It reveals a world of tragic complexity peopled by those who would have been lost to history had it not been for the vision and insight of Temsula Ao: a chronicler of events with a participatory sense of her people's history. A sense of history she has sought to redefine and to reconstruct; which, according to her, may be "measured only in human terms", where there are "no winners, only victims" (p. x). Her stories depict the trauma of change. The story-tellers, omniscient, humane but above all apolitical, speak of a Keatsian ability to identify with the characters and their situations. Hence, the infinite sense of compassion that surrounds the stories shaping one's responses to them.

The first story, *The Jungle Major*, opens with "the pre-dawn warmth of togetherness" (p.1) of a couple making love. This is an apt opening for an anthology that emphasises the vulnerability of personal relationships in a world governed by the politics of survival. Punaba and Khatila, ugly husband and beautiful wife, an unlikely pair in the eyes of all, stand on the threshold of many changes, adapting themselves to the pressures of a shifting environment. The underground army provides meaning for Punaba's life as he chooses a life of rebellion. The story encapsulates the history of the Naga Movement and ends with Punaba's rehabilitation into society. It dramatises the intervening years of strife and intrigue that dominate the lives of the couple. The story sets the tone for the others, where they take up the motif of struggle and subterfuge at the psychological and metaphysical levels.

Another story, *The Last Song*, is riddled with the poignancy of Apenyo's concerted attempt to continue singing at the dedication ceremony of her church, despite the threat of the invading soldiers. True to her poetic instincts Temsula Ao casts the story in a metaphor of pain and transcendence, through the song that reverberates throughout the story. It enters the lives of the youngsters who have still much to learn from their predecessors, "of that Black Sunday when a young and beautiful singer sang her last song even as one more Naga village began weeping for her ravaged and ruined children"(p.33). The old woman who relates the events to them, transmits Apenyo's courage through an uncanny ability to capture the vibrations of Apenyo's song through the "voice of the earth and the wind" (p.32) on the

anniversary of that fateful carnage. Beauty and brutality, sensitivity and insensitivity are juxtaposed together in a story that is fraught with personal and extra personal dilemmas. This is the texture of life in the Naga context. Temsula Ao has been able to give equal emphasis to the pain of shattered lives and to the miracles that still exist notwithstanding the onslaught of continual violence. Apenyo lives by virtue of her commitment to herself as a singer. She is the heroine *per se*. She stands up as a symbol of courage and determination, her humanity undestroyed by the marauding power of the Indian Army.

Though *An Old Man Remembers* speaks of lost youth, lost dreams and lost identities, it also dramatises the unshakeable bonds of friendship. These are the ties that keep a tribal society bound together. The death of his lifelong friend Imlikokba finds old man Sashi ("his name was Imtisashi", p.88) in a contemplative state of mind. It opens up the channels of communication that were once locked behind him, with his grandson Maolemba. He retells the story of his troubled past: "because only then will young people like you understand what has wounded our souls. We, too, were young and carefree like you once, but all of a sudden our youth was snatched away from us, and instead of schoolbooks we were carrying guns and other weapons of destruction and living in the jungle like wild creatures"(p.98). Temsula Ao has succeeded in revealing the travails of a race that is caught in the throes of a conflict that it does not quite understand, a conflict that has shattered the uncomplicated world of the Nagas and splintered it into patches of unyielding "darkness"(p.112). Through the lives of the old men in *An Old man Remembers* she dramatises the tragic sense of loss, "we did kill many people but the truth is that till today I cannot say how I feel about that, which sometimes makes me wonder if I have turned into a monster" that consumes them even in their old age. His only legacy to his grandson is his past: the story of two lives that were swept away by an upheaval so violent that nothing would erase it from their memories. Old man Sashi, however, is not an embittered veteran who remembers only the brutality that used to be part of his daily fare. There is something else that he can never tell his grandson. This was the surreptitious sight that he and his friend had of a naked woman walking freely, "that filled him with awe and wonder because it took him back to his innocent boyhood". Instead, he finds himself explaining to him about "that area of darkness in his life, which he had tried so hard to wish away." Darkness in the story facilitates the dawning of the day, in terms of history and identity. The search for, or the tormented

perceptions of, this identity forms the epicentre of all the stories.

In the introduction to her anthology Temsula Ao speaks of the responsibilities of the “inheritors” of such a history, “to sift through the collective experience and make sense of the impact left by the struggle on their lives” (pp. x, xi). The stories represent just such an attempt; a consequence of which has been an altered vision of a life that will initiate change at a personal and a human level. This has resulted in the portrayal of the multi-faceted layers of the Naga psyche ranging from Soaba the idiot whose humanity defies the degenerate Boss, to Sentila the pot maker and her mother, and Nungsang, a type of the new breed of government contractors who live off the land. Underlying every story is the threat to progress and to life. This is reflected in alien presences and alien values. They seem to have crept into the very lives of the villagers who shun any such conflicts but who are unable to stop the fateful turn of events. What comes through in Temsula Ao’s stories is a deep sensitivity to the suffering that has come to stay.

The writer demonstrates the immense power of the oral narration in conveying the anguish of a community by using familiar images, familiar sights, familiar sounds and the familiar inflections of vernacular speech. Although this has been done in a language that is not spoken by her people, yet there is a sense of having captured the idiom of Naga speech. If anything at all, the short stories have made audible the voices of whose have hitherto remained unheard. They reflect upon the sensibilities of a writer who is essentially a poet but whose aptitude shows an undiluted ability to tell a story. One could never, therefore, categorise these stories as being overtly political. They move beyond such confining boundaries into the aesthetics of the short story; to examine relationships in *The Journey*, to delve into the mystiques of folk art in *The Pot Maker*, to throw up issues of social significance in *The Night* even as they bring to light the contradictions that rule the human heart in *Soaba*. One might go so far as to call the collection a requiem for the unsung dead but, they do not, however, end only with death.

Death, in the rationale of the stories, is a multidimensional reality that also leads to life. Sentila’s mystical gift as a pot maker may be indirectly responsible for the death of her mother, yet the experience of death is a cathartic one that looks forward to a process of regeneration and re-birth. Although the ubiquitous Indian Army has been associated with death and destruction, it has never been able to erase the many miracles of love that the stories portray and that life itself has yielded to the people of this ravaged

community. Temsula Ao never loses sight of this fact. This is the reason why her stories abound with the simple heroism of people such as “pumpkin Merenla” who are able once again, to merge “into the rhythm of age-old village life, far away from the political permutations and combinations forming and re-forming elsewhere in the land” (p.147) after their encounter with, but not their defeat by, the ruling powers that be.

Temsula Ao has four collections of poetry to her credit and a number of research papers. She has published books on her subject and has also authored a book on the Ao Naga oral tradition, a work that reveals the ongoing interest that she has always had with her Naga identity.

Her stories have objectivity and distance, a pre-requisite for any successful work of art. They reflect upon the capabilities of a writer who has been able to navigate between the pressures of the political, the social, the psychological and the chronological. The stories leave themselves open to many readings and touch upon current issues like gender discrimination and the marginalisation of the so called ‘tribal’. This is a book that has emerged out of the uncontaminated sensibilities of a writer who documents the growth of her own kind, who have also preserved themselves from self-destruction. It is not about war. It is about the heroism of simple villagers. Though fictitious, its roots are deeply sunk into Naga soil. It opens up perspectives on people from whom the rest of the world could learn much. It is a collection that deserves a place in one’s heart.

*Esther Syiem,*

*Professor of English, North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong.*

*Tribes: Education and Gender Question*, by Sanjoy K. Roy, 2005, Northern Book Centre, New Delhi, pp.165, Rs.500, ISBN 81-7211-197-5.

Over the past few decades, there has been an explosion in what can be termed as gender studies in social science research in India. Starting with a general concern with the continuously falling sex ratio as an indicator of gender discrimination as revealed by the 1971 Census enumeration, social scientists have studied the gender question in all its forms and manifestations. The issue has been examined in all possible dimensions ranging from economic discrimination of women to their historical, social, cultural, political marginalization. Following their western feminist counterparts, Indian social scientists generally ascribe a lower social status to women and consequent discrimination suffered by them to an overarching, all pervasive patriarchal norm that characterizes the Indian social system. Strengthening of patriarchal values has received some empirical verification in recently published 2001 Census data on child sex ratio which reveals increasing deficit of women in child age group in certain parts of India. Evidences of female foeticide have been found to be the chief reasons for such a deficit. It has also been argued that the kind of social change and modernization experienced in India since Independence has largely failed to weaken patriarchal values; on the contrary there have been instances of strengthening of such values through cultural revivalism and political mobilization at all levels.

The book under review deserves to be understood in the context of patriarchal values that govern Indian social system. An important consequence of gender discrimination in India has been reflected in a significantly low level of literacy and educational attainment by women. The fact of lower educational attainment by women and gender disparity in literacy is true for all sections of people and for all regions of India, though in varying degrees. The book deals with the gender question among the tribes of North Bengal and particularly among the tribes of some tea gardens located in this region. Though debatable, the study finds patriarchal values operating among the tribal population and denying tribal women their basic right to literacy and education.

The issue is debatable as most studies on the tribes of India concede to the fact that the patriarchal values are much less manifest among the tribal population. Historically, the tribal societies have not nurtured inequity in the name of age, sex, status or material wellbeing. Whatever inequity is seen in the tribal society is not *in situ*, but introduced from outside. The tribes lived away from Hindus for so long that they could not contract social

stratification based on caste hierarchy. The institutionalized framework of social deprivation or discrimination so peculiar to the caste based social order and the model of socially evolved deprivation perhaps cannot be uncritically applied to tribal society.

This is not to deny that the tribal social order as is seen today does not contain any form of inequity or gender disparity. Male-female inequity in literacy and education among contemporary Indian tribes is indeed quite significant. However, the explanation of the growing disparity in literacy and education in these segments of people need to be viewed in the context of the specifics of tribal formation. Though the vast world of the tribes lies much away from the caste society, they were brought face to face with peasant communities through a gradual process of spillover from the thickly populated riverine zones. On the fringe started the process of assimilation of the tribes into the stratified order of the Hindu caste society. It is important therefore that the tribes were first exposed to stratification and later to formal education. In fact the caste society treated them outside the *varna* system and thus disqualified them from formal education.

The author however 'easily notices' educational backwardness and large scale gender discrimination and even the overall backwardness in the tribal communities "reflected perpetuation of the patriarchy, which declines to offer any free space to the subjugated women in the social field" (p 2). In case of the tribes, the author goes on to argue that "there are strong areas of patriarchic domination, neglect, humiliation, exploitation and hidden cruelties in the treatment of tribal women which undoubtedly have a say in creating a gender gap in the field of education, as well as in other social fields" (p 3). Such a conclusion appears to be unrelated to specifics of the genesis of gender inequity in education among the tribal communities going by the history of diffusion of literacy among the general as well as tribal segment of population. It may be pertinent to note that Indian tribes have not been uniformly exposed to caste-based social stratification and patriarchal norms and hence display diverse patterns with regard to gender discrimination in their societies.

Nevertheless, the book is an important contribution on a very important facet of Indian population 'living on the fringe'. Equally important are questions pertaining to spread and diffusion of literacy within these communities. The book makes a serious effort at probing the problems of tribal education against the 'backdrop of the dialectics of dominant society-subordinate relationship between the state and the dominant society on the one hand and the marginalized tribes on the other.' The book is a byproduct of a major ongoing project on the "Gender Profile of Tribes of North Bengal" with which the

author is associated.

The book consists of just three chapters apart from an introductory chapter that elucidates the context, essence of education, conceptual frame and selection of field for the purpose collecting vital information on education among the tea garden tribes. With a skillful handling of the Census data on trends and patterns in the levels of literacy and education, the first chapter provides a macro understanding of how the tribal segment has been marginalized in terms of educational attainment. Moving from an all India aggregate picture the book provides brilliant insights into the state of literacy among the tribal people for the state of West Bengal and then narrowing down to the tribe living in North Bengal. Inter-district comparisons in literacy level for the tribes in North Bengal and male-female differential in literacy levels constitute an important part of discussion in this chapter. Keeping in line with the chapter title "Tribes in India: Living on the Fringe", the author goes beyond literacy patterns to examine several parameters of tribal deprivation in India and in west Bengal by a reference to their employment, access to land, incidence of poverty and political participation. Using official data, the chapter convincingly argues how the tribal segment continues to be marginalized in spite of efforts in promoting their welfare through extraordinary provision of positive discrimination by the state.

The next chapter addresses the issue of gender disparity in education among the tribes of India. With the help of Census data and freely using other studies and surveys on literacy situation among Indian tribes the chapter succinctly brings out the increasing gender gap in literacy attainment. The problems of drop out has been identified as the major cause of lower literacy levels among the Indian tribes and even more importantly among the female segment of the population. The chapter also reviews the impact of reservation policy on tribal education which appears to have only accentuated inequalities within the tribes while generally improving their educational status. The spread effects are less visible among the tribal communities as far as educational benefits through reservation are concerned.

The last chapter deals with the gender question in tribal education at a micro level study of Matelli block in Jalpaiguri district of West Bengal. A single tea garden – Engo - was selected for an intensive field investigation to answer questions on gender relations existing at a 'local' level. Statistics revealed substantial gender gaps in the field of education among the tribal groups living in the tea garden for ages. The study includes as many as twenty seven interesting case studies enumerating the tea garden women's perception of education. Most of them feel the importance of education which

they could hardly acquire due to a multiplicity of problems, most important being abject poverty that afflicts the tea garden labourers ever since they were brought as indentured labour to work in the gardens. The author very aptly remarks that there is little scope or motivation for higher education.

The book clearly enlightens one to the pitiable conditions prevailing in the tea garden(s) that has been a stifling force in the field of education. That the female segment is less literate under such conditions is to state the obvious. How much of the gender gap is due to unequal gender relation within the tea tribe is an open question. Problems of female education both among the general population and specifically among the tribal population of India is a much researched theme and the book lists many such problems quoting other research works. Gender discrimination on account of patriarchal relations is only one of these manifold problems. But to assume tribal communities as 'male chauvinists' not treating their women 'with deserving dignity' may be an oversimplification of the complexity of patriarchal relations allegedly manifest among the tribes of India or even among the tea garden tribes of West Bengal. The author for example notes that "unlike general population, the gender discrimination in the tribal communities...does not find much reflection in the demographic features" (p 24).

There are difficulties in integrating the macro level analysis with micro or "local" understanding. Understanding at local level can be at variance with the understanding reached at the aggregate level. This is indeed the case when a very specific case of the tribes in the tea garden is undertaken for study. The conclusions arrived at this local study can hardly be generalized for all tribes. The tea garden labourers present a unique case of the tribal situation in India largely due to their displacement and confinement for centuries.

The book provides the reader with an excellent opportunity to understand the problems of education in the tea gardens. The wealth of data and analytical insights drawn are commendable. The book is an important contribution to the growing literature on women's education.

*Professor D. K. Nayak*  
*Department of Geography, NEHU, Shillong.*

## DECLARATION

Form IV Rule 8

1. Place of Publication : Bijni Complex, Shillong-793003
2. Periodicity : Biannual
3. Printer's Name : Deputy Director, NEHU Publications  
Address : Bijni Complex, Shillong-793003
4. Publisher's Name : Deputy Director, NEHU Publications  
Nationality : Indian  
Address : Bijni Complex, Shillong - 793003
5. Editor's name : T. B. Subba  
Nationality : Indian  
Address : NEHU Publications, Bijni Complex,  
Shillong 793003
6. Name and Address : North-Eastern Hill University,  
of individuals who own the Permament Campus, Umshing,  
journal and partners or Shillong- 793022  
share-holders holding more than  
one percent of the total capital

I, T. B. Subba, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

*T. B. Subba*

**Indexed in the Guide to Indian Periodical Literature**

## NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

1. All contributions should be sent in electronic form as well as hard copy printed on A4 size paper in double space and with adequate margin on the left side. Notes and references should be numbered in Arabic numerals, with details provided as endnotes. The title of the paper, the author's name and address should be typed on a separate cover-sheet. Telephone & fax numbers and e-mail ID's, if available, should be provided.
2. Non-English words should be italicised or underlined. Spelling should be British. Quotations should be reduced to a minimum and where used should be put under double inverted commas or indented. Quotations of more than 50 words from published or copyright sources should have the permission of the author / publisher enclosed with the manuscript.
3. Contributors shall be given a copy of the journal. Those interested in reviewing books or have received review copies from publishers should write to the Editor with some indication of their field of specialisation.
4. Contributions accepted for the journal are not normally returned. Authors are therefore advised to keep a copy of their articles to facilitate reply to any queries, the Editor and / or referee(s) may have. All articles, book reviews and enquiries should be sent to the Editor, NEHU Publications, Bijni Complex, Shillong- 793003 at [tbsubba@nehu.ac.in](mailto:tbsubba@nehu.ac.in).

*The responsibility for the facts stated and opinions expressed is wholly that of the contributors and the Editor and the North-Eastern Hill University Publications accept no responsibility for them.*

*Professor D. K. Nayak  
Department of Geography, NEHU, Shillong.*

ISSN. 0972-8406

For details please write to :

Deputy Director, Publications  
North-Eastern Hill University  
Bijni Complex, Laitumkhrach  
Shillong-793 003 (Meghalaya)  
Telefax : +91 364 2226316 / 2501902