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Cover: Pahari farmer of the land-owning Rajput caste threshing millet in village Sirkanda, in the Himalayan foothills. (Photograph taken by the Author).
Gerald D. Berreman

HIMACHAL:
SCIENCE, PEOPLE AND "PROGRESS"

Copenhagen 1979
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In 1978 the University of Stockholm awarded him an honorary doctorate in recognition of his work on inequality, on Indian anthropology, and his stance on ethics and responsibility in anthropology. In 1979 Garhwal University, India, similarly honored him in recognition of his research among the Himalayan people.

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Copenhagen, May 1979
The Documentation Department of IWGIA
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Photographs on page 14 by J. Michael Mahar.

Map by Mr Jørgen Ulrich.

The Pahari people live in the Himalayan foothills, primarily at altitudes below 2500 metres, from Kashmir to western Nepal. That is, they are found in Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, the eight districts of Uttar Pradesh numbered on the map, and in western Nepal. At higher altitudes in these places live Bhotiya (Tibetan) peoples.
"In the end, the greatest challenge of all may be convincing the people of the plains that the future of the mountains cannot be isolated from their own."

Erik P. Eckholm

INTRODUCTION 1)

Fourth-world colonialism, by which I mean the colonization or exploitation of indigenous minorities within third-world or "developing" nations, is as pernicious - as damaging to the colonized - as any other kind of colonialism, the more so that it often goes unrecognized. Ethnocentrism can be as narrow-minded and relationships as exploitative when India or China, for example, deal with Himalayan peoples within their borders (or when their elites decide what is good for untouchables or tribals, or when their men decide what is good for women) as when foreigners do so.

I will give a brief example from the region of my own research in the outer and lower ranges of the Himalayas in India 2). Among a number of the Pahari ("of the mountains")
societies of the western Himalayas - Indo-Aryan-speaking Hindus, as distinguished from Bhotiya who are Tibetan-speaking Buddhists of the higher altitudes - a system of marriage and family organization generally described as "polyandry" is the norm. The system is more accurately described as "fraternal polygynandry," and as D.N. Majumdar and others have shown, it is a coherent, viable and valued system there, apparently independent of Bhotiya polyandry (Majumdar, 1960; Berreman, 1962, 1975, 1978). When the Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh, Dr. Y.B. Parmar (himself a member of Pahari society) reported upon it in 1975 in a sociological book entitled Polyandry in the Himalayas, he became the subject of a legislative furor in his home state. As reported in the Indian newspapers, "Four women legislators walked out of the Assembly, when their call-attention motion... was disallowed alleging that the book portrayed hill women in a vulgar and distorted fashion. A poster war has since been launched calling for the banning of the book" (News INDIA, July 1975:10). The legislators "... said the books should be banned and copies already in circulation confiscated" (The Overseas Hindustan Times, May 22, 1975:3). The result was that a section was inserted at the end of the book, announcing that this marriage system has largely disappeared (Parmar, 1975:189-192) - although it has not. This is not only an example of perverse political pressure on scholarship, it is an ethnocentric derogation of the way of life of a Himalayan people, an uninformed denigration specifically of their women (perpetrated by women legislators, I might note). It is likely to be followed over the next few years by increased intrusion on their lifeways in an attempt to bring them around to alien ways of life adjudged superior by outsiders 3).
THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL WORK

This example of ethnocentrism points up a related problem that is close to all anthropologists, namely the political implications and uses of our work. Because of the political sensitivity of the Himalayan region, independent scholarship is likely to be compromised no matter how good the intentions of the scholars involved. Sources of research funds, be they governmental or private, tend to channel research by determining who shall work on what and where. The same end is achieved through the necessity to obtain permissions, clearances, visas, and through establishment of restricted and prohibited areas and topics. These are inevitable, no doubt, but their impact on indigenous as well as foreign scholarship should not be underestimated. The effect is exacerbated to the extent that there is official censorship and a climate of suspicion of scholarship and research, as American social scientists learned so vividly during their nation's disastrous military and political adventurism in southeast Asia during the 1960's and early 1970's. Thus, apart from the relatively overt problems of research censorship are the covert problems of channeling research efforts into problems and places that are acceptable, non-controversial, fashionable and productive by the standards of those who give money, review proposals, employ researchers and publish their works (Berreman, 1971). It is an acute problem and one sure to have long range impact in the case of Himalayan research.
The Mussoorie-Tehri road, foreground, was only a footpath when this picture was taken in 1957. Now it carries buses, trucks and the cash economy they imply, ever deeper into the Himalayan region.
The relationship between the Himalayan people and their environment, the plans and prospects for their futures, and the role anthropological research may play in all of these, suggest that we cannot expect research there to be free of political consequences nor that we should regret that this is so. I think that in the last analysis there is no freedom from values and politics in science - there is no absolute objectivity - for even the decision to do science, and to study a particular problem, is a subjective one, and the decision to record evidence and report it truthfully is a decision based on values (cf. Berreman, 1968). Therefore, I turn to the great sociologist, C. Wright Mills for a definition of the politics of the social scientist, which could as well be a definition of the politics of all people of knowledge. He described our legitimate politics as the "politics of truth," saying:

"The very enterprise of social science, as it determines fact, takes on political meaning. In a world of widely communicated nonsense, any statement of fact is of political and moral significance. All social scientists, by the fact of their existence, are involved in the struggle between enlightenment and obscurantism. In a world such as ours, to practice social science is, first of all, to practice the politics of truth" (Mills, 1961:178).

He pointed out that the job of any person of knowledge "is the maintenance of an adequate definition of reality... The main tenet of his politics is to find out as much of the truth as he can and to tell it to the right people, at the right time, and in the right way" (Mills, 1964:611). That is what I think we should do.

The Himalayas are shrouded in mists of myth, romance and misinformation, and their people, no longer isolated from the impact of their governments, entrepreneurs, tourists and
Pahari woman of Rajput caste winnowing wheat in Sirkanda. Women do as much of the agricultural labor as do men (see cover photograph as well).
others, suffer as a result. For better or for worse, they are included in programs of community development, family planning and education, they are reached by motor roads, they are pressured to change their ways of life, they are incorporated in national cash economies and party politics, they are exploited for their land, labor and income - in short, they are assimilated into the outside world from which their lofty environment, in simpler times, largely protected them.

On the whole, those government servants who are invested with protecting their interests are benevolent in intent, I think, but are quite ignorant of their situation: of their hopes and fears, their problems and satisfactions, their customs and experiences. Whatever we who study the Himalayas and their peoples learn from our research, therefore, honestly and publicly told and assessed, with respect to its implications for the lives of these peoples, is in most instances more likely to help them than to harm them, and I think we should act accordingly. We should report what we find, as we find it, as fully as we are able, in its full human context; not so as to advance our careers, but so as to enhance the quality of their lives; not so as to insure future research access, but so as to insure, or contribute to, future well-being of the Himalayan people. As our research is not value-free, neither does it occur in a vacuum; it has consequences in people's lives - often fateful ones. If instances arise where research appears to be potentially harmful in its effects, or likely to be used for devious purposes, it should not be undertaken or its findings should remain unreported. These decisions are up to the individual researcher, based on his or her best assessment of the situation and of the implications of the research.
THE ETHICS OF RESEARCH ARE ETHICS OF RESPONSIBILITY

The ethics of research are ethics not only of truth, but also of responsibility and accountability, which means that when we act as scientists we are responsible for what we do, and must be held accountable for its consequences. We may make errors, for it is only human to do so, but another aspect of our humanity is that we are accountable when we do so. During the Vietnam war, American scientists (including, I am ashamed to say, a number of anthropologists) served overtly and covertly as hirelings of military, quasi-military and political agencies, doing research and advising in support of U.S. military and political aggression in Southeast Asia. When finally called to account for their actions, there was no more frequent, no more hollow, no more evasive and disingenuous plea among them than the claim that they were simply scientists doing their job - pursuing knowledge, the context of which was scientifically irrelevant, the purposes and consequences of which were out of their hands and hence none of their responsibility (cf. Berreman, 1973; Condominas, 1973; Wolf and Jorgensen, 1971). I am reminded of the final conversation between a condemned prisoner and the hangman who, in response to the prisoner's plea, commented defensively as he adjusted the noose, "This is only my job," to which the prisoner replied, "Then get another job!". Their assertion that science is not accountable overlooks the fact that science is done by scientists, and scientists are people, hence humanly responsible and accountable. I am proud to say that anthropologists, at least, were called to account for such actions in Southeast Asia by the Committee on Ethics of the American Anthropological Association, on behalf of the membership in 1970, and that
when an attempt was made to censure the Committee on Ethics - itself an exercise in irony - it was overwhelmingly rejected by the membership (cf. Berreman, 1973:51-55).

THE CASE OF THE HIMALAYAS

Beyond accountability, however, I think we all have a positive responsibility to the people we study, namely to attend to the problems and issues confronting them in their lives. The late Nirmal Kumar Bose, formerly India's Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Tribes, exemplified the acceptance of this responsibility to a unique degree throughout his life as an anthropologist. In 1968 he chaired a conference on Urgent Research in Social Anthropology, in India. Although all but two of the participants in that conference defined urgency in terms of what is often called "salvage ethnography" (learning the esoteric facts about dying cultures before they disappear forever), Dr. Bose indicated agreement with a more socially relevant definition of urgency. Let me paraphrase what I said then, substituting references to the Himalayas for those to India.

"When I ask myself, 'what are the urgent problems in Himalayan research,' I immediately think of the urgent problems facing this region and its people, and of our claim to be students of 'the science of man.' Surely the most urgent problem for anthropologists (and all humane scientists) are those most urgent to all people: poverty, ill health, hunger, hopelessness, bigotry, oppression and war. Whatever we can say that is relevant to these vital problems is urgent." (cf. Berreman, 1969b:1).
These two photographs suggest the economic differential which accompanies differences in caste rank. On the left, a landless low-caste blacksmith (foreground, with the author and interested children) stands in front of his one-room thatched house. On the right, the house of a high-caste Brahmin family, typical of the prosperous, land-owning castes (Rajput and Brahmin).
It is scarcely evident from much of the writing on the Himalayas, I fear, that the fascinating people of this beautiful environment are afflicted with appalling poverty, ill-health, high infant mortality, short life expectancy; that those of low caste are subject to severe oppression with little or no recourse to the nation's protective legislation; that few of the amenities offered other rural peoples of the subcontinent are available in the Himalays, most noticeably modern medicine and schooling; that their lands and forests are being depleted by outside commercial interests, their privacy invaded by tourists and adventurers, and their ways of life subjected to planned and unplanned alterations through governmental programs often with starkly deleterious effects. As one who has remained in touch with the people of a Pahari village for nearly 20 years, I can testify that these are agonizing problems to those who experience them (cf. Berreman, 1972, 1978). I hope that as our Himalayan research increases, we will report and analyse these and other problems facing those we study, and that we will propose and advocate solutions where possible - "to the right people, at the right time" - whether or not these reports, analyses and proposals are recognized by governments, by sources of funds, or by colleagues as worthy scholarly activities. As scientists knowledgeable about the Himalayas, I think we have a positive responsibility to do so - a responsibility which is inherent in the "politics of truth," to which I think we are obligated. Otherwise we become chroniclers of an idyllic view of Himalayan life which bears little relationship to the existential realities of those who live it, or we become celebrants of a status quo so selectively reported as to be grossly misleading to those in a position to alter it. Either would implicate us in the impending destruction of the Himalayan environment - a grave disservice to the people
whose welfare we identify with, and whose confidence and
good will we seek and rely upon for the success of our
research and of our own careers.

A NEW MECCA FOR TOURISTS AND CLIMBERS

Not long ago I attended the motion picture, "THE MAN
WHO SKIED DOWN EVEREST", filmed in 1970 and released in
1975, in which a Japanese skier, Yuichiro Miura, skied and
fell some 8000 feet down the side of Mt. Everest, in Techni-
color (Crawley, 1970). This preposterous stunt, which took
just over two minutes, was the culmination of a two-month
trek involving 27 tons of baggage and equipment, a couple of
dozen Japanese climbers, scientists and cameramen, over 800
Pahari and Sherpa porters, and it cost three million dollars
(not much of which went to the porters: among Miura's
musings was this rhetorical question, "Are there men in the
western world who would carry 30 pounds on their backs for
a dollar a day for a living?"). It also cost the lives of
six Sherpas killed in an avalanche. A spokesman says in the
film, "a Sherpa will not be a Sherpa if he does not continue
to climb," but one might add, as this expedition and too
many others demonstrate, one may well be a dead Sherpa if
he climbs for adventurers. In this regard, one may quote
from a recent issue of the Royal Anthropological Institute

"The number of major expeditions has increased so
much that the more famous mountains such as Mount
Everest, Annapurna and Dhaulagiri are booked for
several years to come. The number of Sherpas
capable of high-altitude work, on the other hand,
has not risen. The population of Khumbu numbers about 2,200 men, women and children, and of these no more than perhaps 500 are able-bodied men of suitable age. The casualties suffered by this relatively small group over the past two decades must give rise to serious anxiety... There exist no exact statistics of the accident rate, but in the worst years up to ten Sherpas lost their lives in the course of various expeditions, and few mountaineering seasons pass without the occurrence of some fatal casualties. In villages such as Khumjung and Khunde, from which many of the most skilled high-altitude porters hail, there is hardly a household which has not lost at least one member in a mountaineering accident. It goes without saying that it is the most enterprising and the physically fittest men who are placed in the most exposed positions, and a small village community cannot afford for long a steady depletion of those young men who would become its natural leaders."

In a moment of reflection in the film, Miura asks himself, "I wonder what will be the future of these tribesmen who have lived here for centuries almost unknown to the rest of the world. I hope their land will remain unspoiled by the ways of life we call progress." The simple answer evidently escapes him: their land has not and will not remain unspoiled, thanks in no small part to intruders and tourists such as himself.

No sooner had this film been released than (as reported in The Overseas Hindustan Times, May 27, 1976), "Four Indian skiers did the incredible last week when they skied or rather raced down 15,000 feet to the base camp from the top of the 23,360 foot-high Trishul mountain (in the Garhwal
Himalaya) in 90 minutes." They were sponsored, incidentally, by Bharat Heavy Electricals, a private firm whose flag crossed that of India in photographs at the summit. Two days later, a second team of four repeated the stunt. Filmed by the Indian Government's Ministry of Broadcasting and Information, it was reported to have cost Rs. 75,000 in addition to use of equipment worth over Rs. 505,000, donated by an Italian firm.

The July 9, 1976 issue of INDIA NEWS published by the Embassy of India, in Washington, D.C., boasted that "The year 1976 has been one of the best years for mountaineering in the Indian Himalayas. A record number of both Indian and foreign expeditions have either gone or are booked to go to Indian mountain peaks. Before 1966, Indian expeditions used to be only three or four per year... In the last three years, the number went up to an average of 24. The number this year is expected to be more than 35." Foreign expeditions were 5 in 1971, and five years later, in 1976, 36 had been registered. This fall, a team entitled "The American Bicentennial Everest Expedition," with about 20 members including a 5-person television camera crew, plus innumerable porters, scaled Mt. Everest under the sponsorship of the Columbia Broadcasting System Television System. Tragically, at about the same time, Nanda Devi, an American student, died near the summit of the mountain for which her father had named her, on an expedition led by her father. Like that ill-fated and widely publicized venture, more than half of the mountain climbing expeditions in India went to Garhwal, while one-fifth went to Kashmir and one-tenth to Himachal Pradesh. Speaking of Kashmir, the September 2, 1976 issue of The Overseas Hindustan Times announced that "A 25-kilometer narrow gauge railroad is to be laid around the Dal Lake in Kashmir by the end of next year for a joy ride train for tourists," at a cost of 15 million rupees. I understand that there is a multi-storied Japanese-built luxury hotel on the
flanks of Mt. Everest, and a discotheque was reportedly planned for the Sherpa village of Phaphy, in Nepal (Mountain Gazette: 1975). The impact of mountaineering, to say nothing of wholesale tourism, can be suggested by a mountaineer's report: "At each place where our 600 porters had stopped for the night and gathered firewood, the hillsides looked as if a swarm of giant locusts had passed through" (Rowell, 1977: 297). Litter has become an increasing problem in the Himalayas. Another veteran mountaineer, Bonington, commented, "The trail to Everest is littered with cans and refuse. Some years ago this was appreciated by mountaineers for it assured them that they were on the right track, but this no longer holds true" (The Statesman, 1973: 182). The Everest base camp has been recently described as one of the largest garbage dumps on earth.

In short, the Himalayas are being sold as a mecca for climbers, adventurers and tourists. But the price is high. What will be the long-term consequences for the environment and the people? I can only think of Theodore Roszak's introduction to the book, Small is Beautiful: Economics as if People Mattered, by E.F. Schumacher, a distinguished British economist whose thinking has been influenced by Mohandas Gandhi, among others. In the introduction to that book, Roszak said:

... Consider the poor countries that sell themselves to the international tourist industry in pursuit of those symbols of wealth and progress the West has taught them to covet: luxurious airports, high-rise hotels, six-lane motor ways. Their people wind up as bellhops and souvenir sellers, desk clerks and entertainers, and their proudest traditions soon degenerate into crude caricatures. But the balance sheet may show a marvelous increase in foreign-exchange earnings. (Schumacher, 1973: 7-8).
Terraced and partly irrigated hillside supporting several Pahari villages (one is in the center foreground, another upper right). viewed from Mussoorie-Tehri road in 1958.
As if to exemplify the point, the Director of Tourism of Uttar Pradesh said in a recent newspaper article: "The sturdy growth of tourism in the decade has transformed it into an economic giant. It has now become a major industry which earns considerable foreign exchange. It... provides innumerable benefits. It provides economic multiplications and generates employment. To promote this industry agencies of hoteliers, airlines, transport, railways, travel trades should work in co-ordination... Now there is an increased scope of receiving more tourists (in the Himalayas) because of the opening of Yamunotri, Banderpooch, Kedarnath, Badrinath, ... Nanda Devi, the Pindari Glacier and Kauri Pass, for the foreign tourists." (Overseas Hindustan Times, 1976d).

DESTRUCTIVE DEVELOPMENT

Too much of the actual and proposed development of the Himalayan region is of this character. Tourism and mountain-engineering are not the worst of it. On the whole, the Himalayas have been regarded as an inexhaustible reservoir of exploitable and expendable resources without regard to the future of the fragile mountain environment, and especially without regard to the people of the Himalayas, who are treated at best as an unfortunate inconvenience, in need of assimilation to the lifeways of the plains and incorporation in the national and international economic system.

Absolutely essential to the indigenous economy are the forest lands, which make possible the agriculture upon which the mountain people depend by providing fodder for their animals which provides manure to enrich their soil, which in
The little valley of the Baldi Nadi has felt the effects of resource exploitation. On the left, looking north, the landscape is one of forest, scrub and well-tended terraces. On the right, looking south, the land is mutilated by roads and slides entailed in limestone quarrying operations, while a small temple and mineral springs (near the river, lower right) are being developed on a small scale (for now) to attract pilgrims and tourists who now can come by local or long-run bus transport, taxi or private automobile. The valley is only about 10 miles long, for the Baldi issues from the outermost transverse range of the Himalayas, along which runs the Mussoorie-Tehri road.
turn gives them the crops for their livelihood. The forest lands are the first to go when lands are exploited by outside interests. Deforestation has many causes. To be sure, the much-discussed lopping, cutting, burning and clearing entailed in indigenous agriculture and animal husbandry play their role. But it is rare that these alone are sufficient to decimate the land, and in any case they proceed slowly. More commonly and rapidly destructive is commercial exploitation by outside contractors who often devastate huge areas under government license for quick profit. They cut forests for lumber, paper pulp and charcoal - I have seen large forest tracts cleared, the great logs piled high only to be burned to charcoal - and they denude the land for the development of mineral resources ranging from gravel and limestone to coal, oil, phosphorous and valuable metals. Not to be ignored is the incidental decimation wrought by hydroelectric development schemes, commercial crop and orchard growing (which is rapidly expanding in the Indian Himalayas, not by the Himalayan peoples, but by large industrial and commercial concerns who buy up their land for this purpose), and by the training and posting of military personnel, road-building and development of other transport and communication systems which facilitate and exacerbate other ecologically destructive activities. Similar consequences follow extension of the consumer/market economy into the mountain regions, creating a demand for cash - hence cash-cropping, outside employment, and emigration (especially of young men), with its resultant inroads on traditional management of land and other resources (to say nothing of the damaging social effects of their departure). The encouragement of a cash and consumer-oriented market economy not only jeopardizes the forests and other wild lands, but drives out traditional subsistence crops and often drives out the indigenous peasant farmers themselves as commercial producers move in. Even Community Development and agricultural develop-
ment programs aimed at increasing productivity at the local level have often had the effect of creating overdevelopment and the problems that go with it. In using the term "over-development," I am following Marriott who so described the Indian plains region in which he worked; by that word he meant "... the pressing of techniques up to and beyond the point of an optimum relation between man and environment. In an overdeveloped area, too many techniques are too exhaustively applied by too many people to too little land." (Marriott, 1957:423).

THE WELL-BEING OF PEOPLE V. PROGRESS

One can only hope that measures will be taken to curtail the forces which make this process seem so inexorable in the Himalayas. These would have to be measures which place human values above technical and political ones. They would require a commitment to maximize the quality of life rather than the gross national product.

The quality of life to be maximized would have to be, in this instance, that of the mountain people. This would require planning and implementing development in their homeland with their full participation, in such a way as to enhance their well-being as they define and experience it, rather than trying to change them so as to make them more acceptable, manageable or productive in the eyes of others.

As has been demonstrated by India's experience with the "Green Revolution," the Community Development Program, and the Family Planning Program, planners in India as elsewhere have consistently failed to take adequately into account
the existential, traditional and material realities of the lives of the people they intend to change, with the result that these programs have failed either absolutely, as in the case of the latter two, or partially, as in the case of the first, where production increased, but the well-being of most of the people did not (cf. Frankel, 1971; Sharma, 1973; Mamdani, 1972; Nair, 1961).

It is worth pointing out here that the reason the Green Revolution failed to improve the standard of living and availability of food for most people in India is simply that it required capital investments in seed, chemical fertilizers, pesticides, manual or mechanical labor, and water (usually construction of wells), which were beyond the means of most cultivators. As a result, the rich who owned substantial amounts of agricultural land and could afford the requisites for applying the new technology, grew richer. The poor, who owned little or no land (in most cases tenant farmers or share-croppers) could not afford the new technology, and grew poorer as they dropped behind in productivity, losing markets for their grain, and then often losing their lands to the rich who bought them out when they fell far in debt. When they lost their land, they often became farm laborers, competing with the already surplus of landless and underemployed agricultural laborers, increasingly displaced from their jobs by machinery available to the prosperous farmers. Thus, the ranks of the rural unemployed swelled, and many drifted to cities to join the mass of urban poor. To be sure, governmental goals of greater agricultural productivity were attained in some areas, but the vast majority of poor farmers, farm laborers and customers were not benefitted - in fact, were pushed deeper into poverty by the increased costs of agriculture, decreased employment, and increased consumer prices. Rich and poor were further polarized, goods more unequally distributed.

The program to implement the Green Revolution in India,
like that of family planning, directs our attention to a fundamental problem in national development, namely that it is characteristically undertaken by governments in the name of an abstract entity, the nation. The interests of the nation are rarely perceived or treated as being congruent with those of the masses of the poor and the oppressed—especially when they utilize land or other resources which others prefer to use for their own purposes (usually described as "more productive"). Rather, national interests are conventionally regarded as congruent with those of elites who largely control their governments and who in any case are ignorant of the needs of the dispossessed and the economically marginal. As Conor Cruise O'Brien has noted, in the poorer nations of the world, "...the oppressed are not minorities but the masses, and they are confronted by ruling classes that cling avidly to their traditional large share of scarce resources. The interests of the ruling classes are simply not consistent with any social change in the interests of the people as a whole" (O'Brien, 1966:21). Therefore, the welfare of relatively powerless people—such as the Garhwalis of the village in which I have worked, and Himalayan peoples generally—is usually served only incidentally, if at all by the actions of government. Ivan Illich addressed this issue in an important article fittingly entitled "Outwitting the Developed Countries." He commented:

"There is a normal course for those who make development policies, whether they live in North or South America, in Russia or Israel. It is to define development and to set its goals in ways with which they are familiar, which they are accustomed to use in order to satisfy their own needs, and which permit them to work through the institutions over which they have power or control. This formula has failed, and must fail." (Illich, 1969:22).
He calls for redefinition of development to benefit the poor rather than the short-run interests of the policymakers and those whom they represent. This is as important for the Himalayas as anywhere else.

Measures that would benefit the Himalayan peoples in substantial ways, therefore, would be politically difficult as well as unlikely. Such measures are not likely to be in the perceived interest of those who profit from exploitation of the Himalayas at the expense of the Himalayan peoples, and these are too often the decision makers, or are close to them. It should be clear in this instance, however, that in fact measures which preserve the mountain environment will in the long run benefit the peoples of the entire nation as well as those of the Himalayas because the mountains and plains are environmentally and socially interdependent. This is something planners and developers ought to realize and act upon. Erik Eckholm put it well when he said, "In the end, this may be the greatest challenge of all: how to convince the people of the plains that the future of the mountains cannot be isolated from their own" (Eckholm, 1975:770, cf. 1976:100).

INTO THEIR OWN HANDS

Himalayan mountain peoples of India - both Pahari and Bhotiya - have not waited for plainsmen to be convinced. They have taken matters into their own hands in response to the readily apparent destructive effects of wholesale exploitation of their homelands. This is not new, for in the 1920's there were protests against destruction of forests in the area which led to social movements and to governmental suppression including at least one military firing on
Limestone quarrying encroaches steadily on the Baldi Nadi valley, and deforestation proceeds apace as forest contractors reap their harvest. On the left, a forested hill, recently half denuded by limestone extraction. On the right, at the base of the same hill lie hundreds of wooden planks, the result of massive tree-felling by a contractor in 1977-78. The planks were floated to this spot where they will be picked up by trucks and taken to the city to be made into lumber and sold. Few trees escaped the axes. Two large landslides, one carrying with it acres of terraced agricultural land, occurred shortly after the deforestation.
protestors on May 30, 1930 (Das and Negi, 1976). Since that
time there have been repeated demands for separate statehood
for the mountain districts, resulting in the formation of
Himachal Pradesh from the former Punjab Hill States, and in
continuing demands for separate statehood for "Uttarkhand,"
comprising the districts between Himachal Pradesh and Nepal.
These demands are sought on the grounds that neither the
present state nor federal governments are responsive to, or
even comprehending of, the needs and circumstances of the
mountain peoples with the result that poverty grows unabated
among them. Advocates of statehood point to rampant defores-
tation at the hands of timber and charcoal contractors, the
absence of serious afforestation and reforestation programs,
consequent decimation of ground-cover leading to massive
erosion, landslips, flooding and other disastrous results
which take vast amounts of land out of cultivation, endanger
lives and livelihoods as they diminish the supply of trees
for firewood, fodder, construction materials for houses and
farm implements, and the forest environment that harbors
many of the other resources upon which these people depend,
including the lifegiving land and water. They note road-
building without attention to the devastating landslides and
erosion it precipitates, mineral extraction that scars the
land and enriches only outside companies, contractors and
governmental agencies, and the hydro-electric projects which
damage rivers and mountains while designed to benefit only
the people of the plains.

The most recent and most noted expression of these com-
plaints has been a social movement called "Chipko" (to hug,
embrace), or "Chipko Andolan" (movement to embrace)\(^5\). It had
its origin in March, 1973, in Chamoli District, but it did
not spring full-blown there. It followed accelerated road
building, mineral extraction, military maneuvers, and
commercial deforestation of the region over several years,
the effects of which became disastrously apparent in the
1970 monsoon when the Alaknanda River, a major tributary to
the Ganges, and pathway to hallowed Hindu places of pilgrim-
age in the high Himalayas, "burst its banks in an
unprecedented flood. Within two hours the river rose 60
metres, sweeping away entire villages, roads, bridges,
cattle - and busloads of pilgrims" (F.A.O., 1977:20). Many
lives, many acres of cultivated land, and many millions of
rupees-worth of property were lost. Other major floods
followed in other Himalayan river valleys. Among their
consequences was increased resentment among the people whose
lands, livelihoods and very lives themselves were at stake.
This resentment was exacerbated by governmental regulations
which prohibited or drastically limited tree cutting by local
people for subsistence use, but which gave permissions and
contracts promiscuously to outside entrepreneurs whose profit-
able and exploitative task was eased by newly built networks
of military roads constructed in connection with the Indo-
Chinese border conflict. Where the indigenous farming peoples
had expected modernization and opportunity to come via the
roads, nothing came but rapacious destruction of their
environment. The little reforestation that took place saw
oak forests, which hold water and protect the soil while
providing valuable fodder, replaced by pine forests which
unlike oak are commercially valuable but leave the soil un-
protected and unreplenished and provide no fodder. The loss
of forests diminished livelihood and drove increasing numbers
of mountain people to the distant and inhospitable plains in
search of work, leaving homes and families unattended.

Chipko originated as a result of the building resentment
surrounding these events. It was precipitated when contrac-
tors for a sporting goods manufacturing company in Allahabad
(on the plains) were licensed to cut ash trees in Chamoli
district - ash trees which the local people depend upon for
construction of strong, light, farming tools and animal
yokes, but which they had been told by government officials
were not available for their use. They were advised instead
to use unsuitable pine wood instead. "So" as Das and Negi (1976) write, "they decided to act."

There followed a well-planned and entirely indigenous non-violent resistance movement participated in by both Pahari and Bhotiya villagers of the district, and in crucial instances led by women (Bahuguna, 1975). The technique of the movement was one in which local people, alerted by watchful villagers in the region, would interpose themselves between the contractor's workmen and the trees - in some instances literally hugging or clinging to the trees to prevent the axemen from felling or even approaching them.

"'The forest is like our mother's home, we will protect it at the cost of our lives,' sang the (Bhotiya) women of Reni village, and the contractor left empty handed" (Das and Negi, 1976).

From the success of these actions there followed an organized movement with full-time organizers, training camps, propaganda programs, action programs, and lists of demands on government. Governmental agencies have acceded to many of the demands, and nationwide respect has grown: for the movement, for the people who created and enacted it, for their programs, and for their accomplishments. The acknowledged leader of the movement, Sri Chandni Prasad Bhatt, put it simply: "Saving the trees is only the first step in the Chipko movement. Saving ourselves is the real goal. Our future is tied up with them" (Das and Negi, 1976).

Now the movement has expanded its goals and has combined with other expressions of regional political and social awareness in mobilizing for conservation of the mountain environment and way of life, for elimination of poverty in the Himalayan region, and for statehood for the mountain districts of Uttar Pradesh, to be called "Uttarkhand."

This is the most hopeful sign I have seen for the preservation of the Himalayas and the Himalayan peoples. Outsiders have not been inclined to take them - the mountains
or the people - seriously heretofore except as resources for wanton exploitation. Chipko, and the political activity associated with it, has changed that.

Chipko has demonstrated that the Himalayan people are determined to act, and that they can do so with effect. Yet it is clear that alone they are too few, too scattered, too poor and too powerless to drastically redirect the course of national policy toward the Himalayas and its resources. They must approach this task with the cooperative assistance of their government and their fellow citizens of the plains.

DEVELOPMENT FOR . . . , INSTEAD OF: DEVELOPMENT OF . . .

To assure the future of the mountain environment and the people who depend upon it - which includes those of the plains as well as those who inhabit the mountains - will require nationwide efforts toward conservation of the mountain ecosystem rather than continuing to treat it as an apparently (but deceptively) invulnerable, limitless resource to be exploited by and for others, and it will require protection of the culture, society, economy and religion of the mountain people, with respect for the traditions and institutions with which they have adapted so successfully to their rugged environment for centuries - protection from demands and pressures for conformity to alien standards of progress and nationalism. To accomplish this would entail maintenance of a degree of cultural autonomy, even isolation, for mountain peoples - an isolation from exploitation similar to that devised by the anthropologist Verrier Elwin, which for long protected the peoples of the former North-East Frontier Agency of India from devastating inroads by entrepreneurs and assimilationists (Elwin, 1957).
This would be a relative rather than absolute isolation and autonomy, accompanied by cooperation by government and others with Himalayan peoples to develop the region with the welfare and wishes of its people the foremost consideration: development for the Himalayan peoples, not development of them and their environment for others.

When I refer to respect for the people, concern for their welfare, cooperation with them and attention to their wishes, I mean all of the people: the heretofore oppressed, low castes as well as the dominant high castes; the poor as well as the affluent; women as well as men; Muslims and Buddhists as well as Hindus; nomads and transhumant peoples as well as agriculturists. To enhance social justice in the Himalayas, as anywhere else, would require outside initiative in many areas at present, because power and privilege are tightly interlocked, but I believe that it could be done by reallocating indigenous resources among indigenous people without fundamentally altering their environment or ways of life.

John Bodley has argued in his compelling book, *Victims of Progress* (1975:173): "If industrial civilization cannot exploit tribal cultures without destroying them and degrading their environments, then perhaps it should leave alone those that remain." And again: "The important point to remember is that tribal societies are not museum pieces to be preserved as curiosities, but they are composed of real people who have developed unique adaptations to unique environments. They have given every indication that they wish to continue pursuing their own life styles, and they should have that alternative." His argument is as applicable to the peasants and pastoralists whom governments and entrepreneurs are continually trying to develop, remove, resettle, exploit and dispossess - including those who live in the Himalayas - as it is to the tribals of whom he was writing.

If the Himalayas are to become a showplace of technolo-
gical ingenuity, cash cropping resource extraction, military invincibility, tourism development and modernization - as seems all too likely - they will become overdeveloped, uninhabitable and uninhabited, no longer contributing richly to the environment and the culture of the adjacent lowlands. Then the mountains will stand as sterile monuments to those hardy peoples who inhabited them, who in turn will be remembered only as another colorful chapter in the chronicle of victims of the destructive process some call "progress."

I believe that those who do research in the Himalayas should dedicate themselves, their efforts and their knowledge to trying to prevent that unhappy end for the people and the environment which they know so well, and to which they owe so much. This is consistent with the positive responsibility all research scholars have to those they study - a responsibility the American Anthropological Association has recorded as the first of its "Principles of Professional Responsibility" adopted in 1971: "... an anthropologist's paramount responsibility is to those he or she studies." Let us all act in accord with that principle.
FOOTNOTES

1) This essay was prepared while the author was a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, at Stanford (1976-77). It was delivered as a "Keynote Address" to the symposium on Ecology and Geology of the Central Himalaya," organized by Dr. Corneille Jest, Director of the Himalayan Research Project in Le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (C.N.R.S.), and held in Paris, December 7-10, 1976. The proceedings of the symposium were published in two volumes, Himalaya: Ecologie - Ethnologie, and Himalaya: Sciences de la Terre (C.N.R.S., 1977). Complete citations can be found in the References Cited.

All of the photographs reproduced here were taken in the vicinity of "Sirkanda," the village in which much of the author's research was done (see Berreman, 1972): in northeastern Dehra Dun district and in western Tehri-Garhwal district. J. Michael Mahar took photographs 5 and 6; the rest were taken by the author.

2) The research paper contributed by the author to the symposium included detailed data concerning issues raised in this "Keynote Address." That paper was entitled "Ecology, Demography and Social Strategies in the Western Himalayas: A Case Study," and is included in the C.N.R.S. volume, Himalaya: Ecologie - Ethnologie (pp. 453-480). Subsequently, the demographic portions were expanded and published in The Eastern Anthropologist (Berreman, 1977b), and the entire paper was revised, the ecology sections elaborated, and it was published in the Journal of Anthropological Research (Berreman, 1978).

3) In a paper written subsequent to the delivery of this address, G.S. Bhatt (1978) has noted that following the official designation of these peoples as "tribal," and the
consequent bestowal upon them of the compensatory advantages of the system of "protective discrimination" for backward and oppressed groups, the peoples of this region have become "... conscious of a new identity, the identity of being polyandrous, which is to be retained if its advantages are to be reaped" (Bhatt, 1978:251). "Awareness of their new identity seems to reinforce the overall cultural norm of fraternal polyandry. Polyandry is accepted where it was denied a few years ago... (Ibid: 253).

4) This section was added to the essay after its presentation in Paris, but the principal events in formation of the Chipko movement had occurred before that time.

5) The Chipko movement has gained national and international attention. IWGIA reprinted a brief article on it in the December, 1978, Newsletter (Chauhan, 1978). The following accounts have come to my attention, in addition to innumerable newspaper articles in India: Agarwal (1975), Bahuguna (1975), Das and Negi (1976), Food and Agriculture Organization (1977), Chauhan (1978). Complete citations for each appear in the References Cited.

An indication of the current status and impact of the Chipko movement can be derived from news accounts. In a brief visit to the region, December 1978 - January 1979, I observed frequent coverage in The Himachal Times, a regional newspaper published in Dehra Dun (U.P.). A sampling of headlines and commentary will convey the flavor of response:

"PRIME MINISTER WANTS INTENSIVE AFFORESTATION, SOIL CONSERVATION" (Nov. 2, 1978, p.4): a governmental statement responsive to the interests and demands of Himalayan peoples.

"ANTI-TEHRI DAM COMMITTEE DEMANDS SEPARATE HILL STATE." The aim is described as being "to end perpetual poverty in the eight hill districts" of Uttar Pradesh, and a statement issued by the Committee is quoted: "the various governments
had been exploiting the hill areas of the state in the past three decades by destroying forest and extracting mineral wealth for its coffers. . . . The development of the hills in Uttar Pradesh was thwarted by erroneous and remote control administrative set up of the state government" (Dec.5, 1978: p. 1).

"CHIPKO IN BADIYARAGAD." This article reports in Tehri-Garhwal District a new Chipko movement to prevent felling of 3000 trees from slopes in one locality. "This opposition is sequel to heavy landslides and devastating floods which wrought havoc in this district during the last monsoons, due to the indiscriminate felling of trees." "A people's Chipko education camp . . . to educate women and youth in the philosophy and practice of the Chipko movement" was announced (Dec. 31, 1978: p.2).

"SEDIMENTARY LOSSES IN MUSSOURIE HILLS DUE DEFORESTA-
TION," an article reporting scientific research supporting the conclusion stated in the headline.

"CHIPKO: SHOVELS REPLACE AXES," reports: "The Chipko movement, which had demanded ban on trees felling . . . as a defense measure against the fury of floods and landslides, has achieved miraculous success in Amarsar forest block of Tehri-Garhwal district, when axemen on the appeal of Chipko volunteers gave up axes and have taken up the work of soil (agriculture)." The volunteers ". . . appealed to the laborers to give up . . . the employment of death . . . and take up employment of life" (Jan. 3, 1979: p.1).
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