

Northeast India

Can we keep thinking of Northeast India as a site of violence or of the exotic Other?

Northeast India: A Place of Relations turns this narrative on its head, focusing on encounters and experiences between people and cultures, the human and the non-human world, allowing for building of new relationships of friendship and amity. The twelve essays in this volume explore the possibility of a new search enabling a 'discovery' of the lived and the loved world of Northeast India from within.

The essays in the volume employ a variety of perspectives and methodological approaches — literary, historical, anthropological, interpretative politics, and an analytical study of contemporary issues, engaging the people, cultures, and histories in the Northeast with a new outlook. In the study, the region emerges as a place of new happenings in which there is the possibility of continuous expansion of the horizon of history and issues of current relevance facilitating new voices and narratives that circulate and create bonding in the borderland of South, East and Southeast Asia.

The book will be influential in building scholarship on the lived experiences of the people of the Northeast, which, in turn, promises potentialities of connections, community, and peace in the region.

Yasmin Saikia is Hardt-Nickachos Chair in Peace Studies and Professor of History at Arizona State University.

Amit R. Baishya is Assistant Professor in the Department of English at the University of Oklahoma.



Northeast India

A Place of Relations

Edited by Yasmin Saikia Amit R. Baishya





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, vic 3207, Australia 4843/24, 2nd Floor, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, Delhi – 110002, India 79 Anson Road, #06–04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107191297

© Cambridge University Press 2017

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2017

Printed in India

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data Names: Saikia, Yasmin, editor. | Baishya, Amit R., editor.

Title: Northeast India : a place of relations / edited by Yasmin Saikia, Amit R. Baishya.

Other titles: Northeast India (Cambridge University Press)

Description: Delhi, India: Cambridge University Press, 2017. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2016048253 | ISBN 9781107191297 (hardback) | ISBN 9781316641880 (paperback)

Subjects: LCSH: India, Northeastern--Social conditions. | India, Northeastern--Ethnic relations. | India, Northeastern--Politics and

government. | BISAC: HISTORY / Asia / India & South Asia. Classification: LCC HN690.N6 N68 2017 | DDC 306.0954/1--dc23 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2016048253

ISBN 978-1-107-19129-7 Hardback ISBN 978-1-316-64188-0 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



Contents

List	f of Figures	vii
List	of Boxes	viii
List	of Tables	ix
Ackı	nowledgments	xi
	oduction Tasmin Saikia and Amit R. Baishya	1
	Section I - Contemporary Politics and Issues of Definition	
1.	Solidarity, Visibility and Vulnerability: 'Northeast' as a Racial Category in India *Duncan McDuie-Ra*	27
2.	India and its Northeast: Another Big Push without a Take-Off? Sanjib Baruah	45
3.	(Un)natural Disasters and the Role of the State in the Brahmaputra Valley, Assam <i>Mitul Baruah</i>	68
	Section II - Creating Presence	
4.	Bonnie Guest House: Fieldwork and Friendship across Borders Bengt G. Karlsson	93
5.	The Muslims of Assam: Present/Absent History Yasmin Saikia	111
6.	Ichthyonomics, or Fish and Humans in the Time of Floods: Rethinking Speciation in Assam Sean M. Dowdy	135



vi Contents

	Section III - Knowing through Experience	
7.	Dismembered Lives: Narrating History's Footnotes in Aulingar Jui Amit R. Baishya	161
8.	Freedom and Frustrated Hopes: Assessing the Jadonang Movement, 1917-1932 Arkotong Longkumer	181
9.	Celebrating a New 'New Year' in Tripura: Space, Place and Identity Politics R. K. Debbarma	201
	Section IV - Rethinking Politics	
10.	Difficult Loves: Purity and Hardship Dolly Kikon	225
11.	Politics of Difference in the Northeast: A Feminist Reflection Papori Bora	244
12.	Robes, Rivers and Ruptured Spaces: Hydropower Projects in West Arunachal Pradesh Swargajyoti Gohain	262
Glos	Glossary	
Abo	About the Contributors	
Index		285



List of Figures

	Map of Majuli (Map by Joe Stoll, Syracuse University Cartography Lab) Embankments in Majuli	74 78
	Author with Banlum Blah in Shillong 2015, photo by Andrzej Markiewicz Bonnie Guest House in 2015, now expanded to a four-storey building with more than 30 rooms	108 109
5.1	Map of Assam	113
	A view of the devastation caused by flooding in Mayong. Forest officers and a crowd of onlookers from Burha Mayong and neighbouring villages observing a rhinoceros seeking shelter from	142
6.3,	the flooding in Burha Mayong village in September 2012.	143
6.4	Photos of the same pond in Figure 6.1 taken during the flooding season in 2013.	144
	A <i>sieve jal</i> (also known as a <i>tongi jal</i>) is often used for catching fish in floodwater. A bamboo gate (another 'sieve') meant to let water but not fish	149
0.0	through.	151
	First modern picture of Tripura, 1928 A Picture in Progress, 1931	205 206
	Rough Guide Map of Tawang With <i>Chaksam</i> Bridge Poster	264 268



List of Boxes

2.1	Finance Commission Ranking of Infrastructure	52
2.2	1995–2005: A Decade of Developmental Initiatives	53



List of Tables

2.1	A Vision of Change: 'Closing the Development Gap'	54
2.2	North-eastern States: Growth Rate of SDP 1992–2012	55
2.3	Annual Growth Rates 2014–15	56
2.4	Poverty in North-eastern States (Persons below the Poverty	
	Line*) 2004-05 and 2009-10	58



Acknowledgments

Since 2010, both the editors spoke of collaborating to produce a book on Northeast India. We have been particularly concerned that Northeast India has a peripheral position within the study of India, which has become a major field of research in the humanities and social sciences. We discussed and deliberated on the growing divisions between the people, communities and cultures of Northeast India, as each state has developed a kind of isolated view and the negotiations between the seven states (Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura) are being mediated via New Delhi. We were increasingly becoming uneasy with the partitioning of the Northeast into ethnic, linguistic, religious and political enclaves; our memories did not connect to the newly constructed narratives. While we are also aware that it was never 'one place', we were deeply concerned that the points of contact and connections were fast disappearing and the tendency of growing difference is generating a discourse of Otherness within the Northeast. In an effort to overcome the gaps created by the presentist and political approaches, we decided to generate multiple scholarly conversations on the Northeast. The Annual South Asia Conference at Madison, Wisconsin, became our initial venue. We are grateful to the organizers of the conference, our discussants, and, more importantly, our audiences at the annual conference that have engaged and encouraged us to take our project forward and conceive this book.

Our burgeoning project got a real fillip when a few of us met at a Northeast workshop held at Stanford University in March 2013. We specially thank Dolly Kikon for organizing this workshop and also for the help she offered in getting people to contribute for this volume. We also thank Thomas Blom Hansen, Sangeeta Mediratta, Sharika Thiranagama and the other organizers of the workshop for the hospitable atmosphere and the stimulating conversations



xii

Acknowledgments

we had in Palo Alto. We also thank the participants in the seminar, many of whom are contributors to the volume—Sanjib Baruah, Beppe Karlsson, Duncan McDuie-Ra, Arkotong Longkumer and Dolly Kikon.

Our editor, Qudsiya Ahmed and her team at Cambridge University Press facilitated us in every way to put together this volume. We are deeply grateful to Qudsiya and her team for their support and assistance.

Amit R. Baishya would also like to thank his father, Dwipen Baishya, for being a wonderful 'research assistant' whenever he needed books and contacts in Assam. Aruni Kashyap and Rakhee Kalita also helped him with his essay on fictions by former ULFA members. He would also like to thank Ranjan Sharma of 'Bandhab' bookstore in Guwahati for helping him locate a lot of rare and difficult to find published material. He is grateful to Andreea Marculescu, Anima Baishya and Anirban Baishya for their continued support.

Yasmin Saikia would like to thank the multiple interlocutors in Assam who have helped shape her questions and ideas and contributed to the book by engaging in conversations that span a decade. These conversations took place in Guwahati, Sibsagar, Jorhat, Nowgaon, Dibrugarh and Golaghat. There are too many people to list them individually, but each one of them is remembered for their contribution in helping her to put together this book. Her essay on the Muslims of Assam is the result of these discussions. At a personal level, her parents, the late Anwar Saikia and Jahanara Rahman-Saikia, have been a beacon of guidance in helping her understand and hold on to the memory of Assam as a place of fruitful relationships, warm camaraderie and an indelible place of *morom*. She is particularly appreciative of her partner, Chad Haines, who became an honorary *khar-khuwa Axamia*.

We dedicate this book to the people of the Northeast who are our partners in our journey to seek, find and uphold a world of relations. We hope our contribution will be appreciated by our readers from the Northeast and beyond.