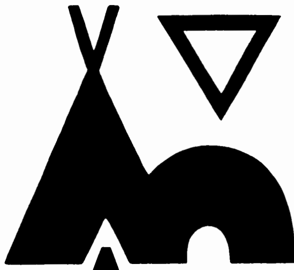

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Anthropologica

ANTHROPOLOGY, IMPERIALISM AND RESISTANCE: THE WORK OF KATHLEEN GOUGH

A Memorial Issue Edited by
Richard Lee and Karen Brodkin Sacks

Includes articles by Richard Lee and Karen Sacks, Joan Mencher, Hira Singh, Joseph Tharamangalam, Hy V. Luong, Joseph G. Jorgensen, Marianne Gosztonyi Ainley, Eleanor Smollett, Gerald D. Berreman, Pauline Gardiner Barber and Belinda Leach

Brief tributes by Peter Boothroyd, Peter Limqueco, Nguyen Minh Luân, Susheila Raghavan Bhagat and Mordecai Briemberg

Also included are a reprinted version of Kathleen Gough's last article, "Anthropology and Imperialism Revisited," and an updated bibliography of her writings, compiled by David Aberle and others

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Kathleen Gough

VOLUME ABSTRACT

ANTHROPOLOGY, IMPERIALISM AND RESISTANCE: THE WORK OF KATHLEEN GOUGH

This volume developed out of conference sessions held in Chicago in 1991 and Montréal in 1992. In their Introduction, Richard Lee and Karen Brodkin Sacks survey aspects of Gough's work which are addressed by other contributors. These include theoretical and ethnographic work on kinship and marriage, the sociology of underdevelopment in South Asia, anthropology and imperialism and the anthropology of women. Gough's political and academic commitments, which led her to support the Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions, resulted in battles with the administrations at three universities.

Three papers discuss Gough's work in India. Joan Mencher reports on her work on kinship, paying particular attention to her publications concerning incest, female initiation rites and the definition of marriage. She also discusses Gough's analysis of local politics in Kerala, which investigated the reasons for the successes as well as the failures of the Left in that province.

Hira Singh observes that Gough avoids the sterile, ahistorical, equilibrium-centred approach of the structural-functionalists as well as the idealism of the Indologists, who believe that Indian culture is unique in its acceptance of an elaborate principle of hierarchy. In contrast, Gough's approach is structural and historical, and concerns itself with peasant resistance in colonial and post-colonial India. She rejected the notion that the Indian caste system encouraged passivity, and instead described many organized rebellions whose significance had often been neglected.

Joseph Tharamangalam discusses the Marxist perspective applied by Gough to class, caste and colonialism and peasant movements. Gough detailed the close links between rural class structure and capitalist imperialism. In contrast to Dumont and his followers, she demonstrated that caste systems were unlikely to impede any peasant rebellion.

Hy Van Luong writes about Gough's long relationship with Vietnam, explaining how she deconstructed the dominant U.S. version of Vietnam, in terms of material wealth, women's roles and accusations of human rights violations.

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Joseph Jorgensen traces the history of Gough's unpleasant encounters with university administrations over her political views. There is an extended discussion of Gough's time at Simon Fraser University and the events preceding and consequent upon her dismissal.

Marianne Gosztonyi Ainley explores the "ingrained sexist attitudes" faced by women academics. Throughout her career, Gough also suffered from the effects of formal nepotism rules. The article goes on to question assumptions about the definition of a successful career.

Eleanor Smollett recalls the help Gough gave her when she was about to start her own field work in India. She remembers the hopes they shared for socialism in India and Vietnam. The author acclaims Gough's realistic perception of events in these two countries.

Pauline Gardiner Barber and Belinda Leach address an overlooked contribution of Kathleen Gough. She not only wrote about marriage and the family, gender and feminist scholarship, but also warned of distorting interpretations of gender divisions of labour to fit ideals of matriarchal societies.

Gerald Berreman discusses the principle of "positive responsibility" which acknowledges the political meaning behind the study of any social science. Berreman uses examples from Gough's work in India and Vietnam to exemplify her commitment to that premise.

"Anthropology and Imperialism Revisited," Gough's last article, is reprinted here. In it, she wrote of the continued threat of imperialism and the problems that her own anti-imperialist politics had caused in her academic life. She attempts to explain the widening gaps between the developed and the less developed countries. She identifies three issues which will be significant foci of worldwide struggle: the redistribution of the world's wealth in the New Economic Order, nuclear and conventional disarmament, and the environment.

The volume also contains brief tributes by Susheila Raghavan Bhagat, Peter Boothroyd, Peter Limqueco, Nguyen Minh Luan and Mordecai Briemberg. A bibliography of Gough's writing, which has been updated by her husband David Aberle, is supplied at the end of the volume.

RÉSUMÉ

ANTHROPOLOGIE, IMPÉRIALISME ET RÉSISTANCE : L'OEUVRE DE KATHLEEN GOUGH

Le présent volume regroupe des articles présentés lors des congrès de Chicago (1991) et de Montréal (1992). Richard Lee et Karen Sacks ont sélectionné certains aspects de l'oeuvre de Gough, abordés par d'autres participants. Ces aspects incluent des travaux théoriques et ethnographiques sur la famille et le mariage, la sociologie du sous-développement en Asie du Sud, l'anthropologie et l'impérialisme, et l'anthropologie des femmes. Ils abordent aussi les engagements politiques et académiques de Gough, apparents dans son soutien des révolutions cubaine et vietnamienne, et qui lui ont valu plusieurs batailles avec l'administration de trois universités.

Trois communications examinent les travaux de Gough en Inde. Joan Mencher parle de son travail sur la famille et en particulier des publications concernant l'inceste, les rites d'initiation des filles, les rites et la définition du mariage. Elle aborde aussi l'analyse de Gough sur la politique locale dans le Kerala, analyse qui a mis en évidence les raisons derrière les succès et les échecs de la gauche dans cette province.

Hira Singh fait remarquer que Gough rejette l'approche stérile, anti-historique et centrée sur l'équilibre préconisée par les fonctionalistes structuraux ainsi que par les indologues idéalistes, qui croient que la culture indienne est unique en ce qui concerne son acceptation d'un principe élaboré de la hiérarchie. À l'opposé, l'approche de Gough est structurale et historique; elle s'intéresse à la résistance paysanne dans l'inde coloniale et post-coloniale. Gough a rejeté la notion que le système de caste indien encourage la passivité et a démontré que l'on avait souvent négligé la signification de nombreuses rebellions organisées.

Joseph Tharamangalam examine la perspective marxiste que Gough a appliqué aux systèmes de classe, de caste, au colonialisme ainsi qu'aux mouvements paysans. Gough a montré les liens étroits qui existent entre la structure de classe rurale et l'impérialisme capitaliste. À l'encontre de Dumont et de ses partisans, elle a démontré qu'il était peu probable que les systèmes de caste empêchent toute rebellion paysanne.

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Hy Van Luong présente la longue relation entre Gough et le Vietnam. Il explique comment elle a démoli la version américaine du Vietnam en ce qui concerne la richesse matérielle, le rôle des femmes et les accusations de violations des droits de la personne.

Joseph Jorgensen retrace les rencontres désagréables entre les administrations et Gough en raison des opinions politiques de cette dernière. Il examine en dètail la période que Gough a passé à l'université Simon Fraser et les événements qui ont précédé et suivi son renvoi.

Marianne Gosztonyi Ainley explore les « attitudes sexistes bien ancrées » auxquelles doivent faire face les universitaires femmes. Tout au long de sa carrière, Gough a aussi souffert des règles de népotisme formel. La communication passe ensuite à une remise en question des hypothèses relatives à la définition d'une carrière couronnée de succès.

Eleanor Smollett évoque l'aide que Gough lui a apporté lorsqu'elle allait commencer ses propres recherches sur le terrain en Inde. Elle se souvient de leurs espoirs partagés pour le socialisme pour l'Inde et le Vietnam. L'auteur applaudit la perception réaliste de Gough à l'égard des événements qui eurent lieu dans ces deux pays.

Pauline Gardiner Barber et Belinda Leach parlent d'une contribution de Kathleen Gough qui a été longtemps négligée, à savoir qu'elle a non seulement écrit au sujet de mariage, de la famille, des genres, de l'érudition féministe, mais aussi comment elle a mis en garde contre les interprétations faussées sur les divisions du travail entre les genres afin de satisfaire aux idéaux des sociétés matriarcales.

Gerald Berreman examine le principe de « responsabilité positive » qui reconnaît la signification politique derrière l'étude de toute science sociale. Berreman tire des exemples du travail de Gough en Inde et au Vietnam pour illustrer son engagement envers ce principe.

Le dernier article de Gough intitulé « Anthropology and Imperialism Revisited » est reproduit dans ce volume. Dans cet article, elle explique la menace constante que présente l'impérialisme et les problèmes qu'elle a connus dans le milieu universitaire en raison de ses opinions anti-impérialistes. Elle essaie d'expliquer l'écart grandissant entre les pays développés et ceux qui le sont moins. Elle identifie trois problèmes qui vont être capitaux pour la lutte mondiale, à savoir : la redistribution des richesses du monde dans le nouvel ordre économique, le désarmement nucléaire et de type conventionnel et enfin l'environement.

Ce recueil contient aussi quelques hommages à Kathleen Gough par Susheila Raghavan Bhagat, Peter Boothroyd, Nguyen Minh Luan et Mordecai Briemberg, ainsi que la bibliographie des ouvrages de Gough mise à jour par David Aberle, son mari.

ANTHROPOLOGY, IMPERIALISM AND RESISTANCE: THE WORK OF KATHLEEN GOUGH[1]

Richard Lee
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In November 1991 a group of friends and colleagues of Kathleen Gough came together at the meetings of the American Anthropological Association in Chicago at a symposium titled "Anthropology, Imperialism and Resistance: The Work of Kathleen Gough." Six months later a similar group convened at the Canadian Anthropology Society annual meetings in Montreal in May of 1992. This special issue is the result of both symposia.[2]

Although Kathleen Gough was trained in the heyday of British structural-functionalism, her work guided a radical reshaping of anthropology, and the integrity with which she lived has inspired many anthropologists who came of academic age since the 1960s. The long 1960s decade—it stretched well into the 1970s—was a time of infinite possibility when it seemed that global democracy might prevail if we all put our shoulders to the wheel. In the accompanying intellectual ferment progressives called universities to account and challenged knowledge-as-usual to meet criteria of social responsibility. Gough's work was among the first to bring Marxist perspectives to anthropology, to name imperialism and to challenge anthropology's relationship to it. Her individual counsel gave many younger scholars the courage to speak out. However, Kathleen paid a price even in the halcyon days of hope. Today when we see democracy in retreat it is easy to laugh at our optimism, to criticize the intellectual mission along with the particular works it generated. In the academy, scholarly stances of irony and cynicism do just that when they mock progressive ideals along with conventional wisdom, as if they were two varieties of the same intellectual error. Kathleen Gough never abandoned her belief that knowledge can and should serve social justice, however chilly the climate. This volume is a critical appreciation of Kathleen Gough's contributions to that agenda. It constitutes a modest tribute by friends and colleagues

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to a distinguished and visionary Marxist scholar. In these opening pages we would like to offer a perspective on Kathleen Gough's life and work and to introduce the contributions that make up this volume.

* * * * *

Kathleen Gough was born in Hunsingore, Yorkshire, England on August 16, 1925, and died in Vancouver on September 8, 1990. These two dates span a life of extraordinary richness, compassion, and commitment to the cause of social justice. Throughout her life Kathleen Gough struggled for the rights of women, minorities and the oppressed of the Third World. She also made a number of significant contributions to the knowledge, theory and practice of social anthropology.

Educated at Girton College, Cambridge, Gough received her B.A. in 1946 and her Ph.D. in 1950. Her doctoral dissertation, "Changes in Matrilineal Kinship on the Malabar Coast," was written under the supervision of John Hutton and Meyer Fortes. Kathleen maintained a life-long interest in South Asian social formations, their continuities and their transformations under the forces of Imperialism. Her main period of field work in India in 1947-53 was followed by other research trips in the 1970s and 1980s.

Trained during the high-water mark period of structural-functionalism, Kathleen embodied the best of that much-maligned tradition: the discipline of long field work, meticulous data gathering and careful generalizations. But operating during an era of catastophic change, she added to her field work agenda the very unBritish and unfunctionalist focus on transformative change in mode of production. Working at the village level Gough dedicated her ethnographic knowledge to the goal of expanding the options people actually had open to them for empowerment. Just as Engels' studies of Manchester led him to Marx and the cause of the proletariat, Kathleen Gough's ground-level studies of the condition of the peasantry in Tanjore led her in turn to the close investigation of and critical support for revolutionary social movements. Throughout her career Kathleen Gough combined distinguished scholarship with an unswerving commitment to social activism.

Gough's many skirmishes and battles with formal academic hierarchies are legendary. She taught and conducted research at universities in Britain, the U.S.A. and Canada, including Harvard, Manchester, Berkeley, Michigan, Wayne State, Brandeis, Oregon, Simon Fraser, Toronto and the University of British Columbia. Membership in professional organizations included the American Anthropological Association, Royal Anthropological Institute, British Association of Social Anthropologists, Canadian Ethnology Society, Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association and the Canadian Association for Asian Studies. These forums also became arenas of struggle for Kathleen, especially during the Vietnam war era. Gough made major contri-

butions to knowledge in several areas: kinship and marriage theory, sociology of underdevelopment in south Asia, anthropology and imperialism and the anthropology of women.

Kinship and Marriage Theory

In scholarly circles Gough is perhaps best known for her pioneering work among the Nayars, an ethnic grouping in Kerala who practised a form of marriage so unusual that learned authorities questioned whether marriage could even be said to exist among them. In a brilliant series of papers Gough showed that indeed a form of marriage could be discerned among the Nayar, involving a ritual husband as well as many others in polyandrous unions. Her work on the Nayar is justly famous: as one reviewer noted "the most substantial contribution to the sociology of the Nayars is that of Kathleen Gough (J. Ruthenkolan, S.J.)." Additionally the Nayar case and Gough's solution of it has provided a test case for definitions of marriage and family discussed in virtually every text book in social and cultural anthropology. Her work in Kerala is critically assessed in this volume by Joan Mencher's paper.

Systems of matrilineal descent are found world-wide in about one quarter of all the world's societies. Yet the contours and underlying principles of these kinds of societies had never been systematically examined until Gough, in collaboration with David Schneider, published their monumental *Matrilineal Kinship* (1961). Of the two major parts of this large volume, the first contained nine essays of which she wrote four; in the second there were seven essays comparing systems, all authored by Gough. The book, which was essentially hers, documented and achieved much more than it had set out to do: Gough charted the variables affecting all unilineal systems. In her final chapter on the effects of colonialism and industrialization on such systems she delineated a general view of social transformation of primary-group based societies by intrusive centralized bureaucratic systems.

Her building of a historically informed and politically relevant kinship theory is carried forward in Kathleen's well-known critique of Evans-Pritchard's assertions of segmentary egalitarianism among the Nuer in her "Nuer Kinship: A Reinterpretation" (1971a). In a meticulous re-examination of Evans-Pritchard's data, Gough demonstrated the inequalities among lineages in access to water and grazing land and showed how this related to political inequalities among lineages, which in turn produced inequalities among adult men and between women of wealthy lineages and men of poor lineages. Gough showed how all of this was linked to a variety of marriage forms. Probably the major impact of this paper was the way in which Gough reconceptualized the concept of segmentary lineage. Where Evans-Pritchard saw a homogeneous, egalitarian culture and a necessarily self-regulating system, Kathleen revealed sources of variety, inequality, instability and possibilities

of change. Here, as in her work on matrilineal kinship, Gough expanded the field of vision to develop a theoretical framework which addressed questions of change and variation as well as social and cultural continuity. This paper was influenced by Marxism, but, as was characteristic of Gough, the influence lay in broad concerns—with questions of how to understand change processes and the production/destruction of inequality. Influenced also by cultural evolution, Gough's approach differed from it in providing a conceptual apparatus for placing relatively egalitarian societies back into the stream of history.

Underdevelopment in South Asia

Gough carried out intensive field work from 1951-53 on the organization of production and caste and class relations in Tanjore villages with follow-up work in the 1970s. This work produced a series of important papers and culminated in two major monographs: *Rural Society in Southeast India* (1981) and *Rural Change in Southeast India* (1989). In the books Gough weaves a masterful synthesis of three discourses on Indian society which, as Hira Singh notes in his paper, are not often articulated: first, the analysis of caste relations based on an informed understanding of south Indian Hinduism in theory and practice; second, the complex history of British colonialism and its effects on social order and world view; and third, the analysis of political economy, class and power relations of village India.

Most other studies of "village India" are visualized through the lens of the culture and thought of the wealthy and powerful, and, as Singh and Tharamangalam note, take on a rather "Orientalist" character. Gough consciously attempted to break with this pattern and to appreciate the perspective of the subaltern long before it became fashionable to do so. Despite her stated sympathies for the undercastes, the result is a remarkably even-handed account of caste and class relations. Also noteworthy is the accessibility of her text and the richness of ethnographic detail. In a field noted for obscure and abstruse discourse, Gough's writings are a model of clarity. It is important to add that her emphasis on class, political economy and the subalterns earned her no respect from the south Asian academic establisment in the U.S.A.

Anthropology and Colonialism

Her long immersion in post-colonial societies undergoing rapid change gave Kathleen Gough a double insight. First, in a period of rapid upheavals, she saw that the anthropologist's traditional methodological focus on equilibrium in small-scale societies would no longer do. It no longer reflected, if it ever did, the concerns of people whom anthropology had traditionally studied, these being issues of ethnicity/class, nationhood and social change. New methods and new research agendas were necessary if anthropologists were to

remain relevant. But of relevance and of service to whom? From this question flowed her insight that Anthropology was a discipline that emerged historically as a handmaid of colonialism. Its methods, theories and questions were shaped by service to colonial administrations rather than by the needs, perspectives or demands of the colonized. Hence, anthropology itself could be seen as part of the problem of decolonization. Kathleen Gough was among the first to publicly confront the intellectual content of anthropology, to say explicitly that our discipline was neither objective nor neutral, that its establishment in universities was in part to serve and justify politics of domination.

These ideas were first published in 1968 as the lead article in the influential American Marxist journal, *Monthly Review*. That issue, with its title "Anthropology: Child of Imperialism," emblazoned on the front cover made the discipline's politics and the article's point very public and crystal clear; no deconstruction was needed to get the point. Because it was published in a widely read left journal, Gough's article opened up a dialogue on the relationship of the academy to imperialism which went far beyond the discipline of anthropology (1968a). About the same time, "New proposals for Anthropologists" was published in *Current Anthropology*, a germinal paper that launched a wide-ranging self-examination of the roots of the discipline and the historical interests it has served (Gough 1968b). This paper played a key role in animating discussions of anthropology's need to "study up," and in raising issues of exoticization and constructions of "others." Perhaps even more far-reaching, this paper helped legitimate studies which address questions of class, ethnicity, race, revolution and nation. As Gerald Berreman points out in his paper, though controversial at the time, Gough's proposals have come to be widely adopted, and have contributed to a fundamental reorientation of research priorities for a generation of scholars. Thus she can be seen as one of the precursors of the "Anthropology as Cultural Critique" school and of one component (the non-hermeneutic one) of reflexive anthropology generally. As an exemplar of this new direction Gough turned her attention to the study of social movements and the problems and the prospects of revolutionary change. This approach was embodied in articles such as "Indian Peasant Uprisings" (1979a) and "Peasant Resistance and Revolt in South India" (1979b) and in her book (with Hari Sharma) *Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia* (1973). Joseph Tharamangalam takes up some of these issues in his paper.

Anthropology of Women

Although Gough did not see herself primarily as an anthropologist of gender, when the women's movement began, Kathleen embraced the insights and new perspectives feminism offered. In a review of Kate Millett's *Sexual Politics* (1971b) she wrote, "At this date it is both embarrassing and relieving to

admit and savor them [Millett's findings]: embarassing because one wonders how one could ever have allowed oneself to be so brainwashed and so imposed upon; relieving because there is no need to ignore the oppression or to pretend ignorance any more.''

Kathleen was among the first to explore feminism's implications for rethinking anthropological analyses of gender and kinship. She wrote several important articles, essays and pamphlets on women's history and evolution. While cast in the evolutionary thinking current in progressive anthropology of the 1960s (including emergent feminist anthropology), Gough's ''An Anthropologist Looks at Engels'' (1971c) and ''The Origin of the Family'' (1971d) provided overviews of the anthropology of women to a large audience. In those early days of feminist anthropology many of us searched for past matriarchies and the Marxist-feminists among us sought an original state of sexual egalitarianism to ''prove'' that patriarchy was not inevitable. Kathleen remained sceptical of these efforts, as Pauline Barber and Belinda Leach point out in their paper, and urged us to think critically about our need to legitimate feminist politics with reference to some construct of pristine/essential form of human social organization. She did so with characteristic honesty and kindness. As the external reviewer for Rayna Rapp's *Toward an Anthropology of Women*, she began her critique of Sacks' ''Engels Revisited'' with ''Karen, this is Kathleen speaking . . . ,'' and went on to give it a very tough going-over as well as wonderful suggestions for repair.

As the paper by Barber and Leach indicates, Kathleen Gough remained nevertheless insistent that feminist analysis be attentive to differences and inequalities among women. In ''Nuer Kinship: A Re-interpretation'' (1971a) she dealt with women as political actors. She also analyzed the differences between women of ''aristocratic'' lineages with access to wealth, and other women. Her classic ''The Nayars and the Definition of Marriage'' (1959) was among the first and most influential challenges to beliefs in the universality of nuclear families. In some of her last writings on Vietnam, on the situation of women in socialist states, Gough grappled once again with the difficulties of dealing with both class and gender; and in many of her articles and chapters on south Indian social structure she places her analysis of caste, marriage, domestic economy and ritual in an engendered perspective.

Political Concerns and Agendas

All of this scholarship and political writing addresses only half of Kathleen Gough's public and professional life. From the early 1960s on she was a tireless campaigner in anthropological meetings and many other forums for social justice and against the increasingly virulent and destructive strain of American Imperialism, expressed in the war against the Vietnamese people. In his paper in this volume Joe Jorgensen describes how she fought university

administrations and American presidents with equal fervour, and to say her career suffered for it would be a classic understatement.

Kathleen taught at Brandeis from 1961 to 1963 more forcefully than perhaps she wished to about the links between the academy and politics, between intellect and activism, between ideas and their consequences in many ways. No newcomer to American politics, she had been active in multi-racial politics in Detroit during her Michigan years of the late 1950s. At Brandeis, she was active in the fledgling peace movement and in the early civil rights movement on campus.

In October 1962, when the Kennedy administration precipitated the Cuban missile crisis, Kathleen was asked by students at Brandeis to address an all-university forum; untenured Assistant Professor Gough complied, and gave a sharply critical and thoroughly documented speech in support of the Cuban revolution. She expressed the hope that Cuba would defend itself against the United States' flagrant violation of international law. After her talk, Herbert Marcuse, also on the podium, publicly congratulated her, saying prophetically, "you have more courage than I." Kathleen's action electrified the campus.

Kathleen Gough took Brandeis' liberal rhetoric at face value, only to be forced out of the university for it with her husband and colleague, David Aberle, by a hypocritical administration and a cowardly faculty. Their struggle provided a political education for Brandeis students, most of whom, including one of us (Sacks), were very much children of the 1950s. In 1963, Kathleen Gough and David Aberle left Brandeis for the University of Oregon in Eugene. Gough's outspoken stance and unequivocal political sympathies at Brandeis preceded Berkeley's Free Speech movement by over a year and the University of Michigan's Teach-In movement (also initiated by anthropologists) by two years.

By 1964 United States involvement in an increasingly dirty war in southeast Asia had become the most pressing political issue. At Eugene, Kathleen helped organize Students for Democratic Action and the Faculty-Student Committee to Stop the War in Vietnam. At Marshall Sahlins' urging, Kathleen, David, other faculty and students began to organize a major protest movement focussed around an all-day, all-night Teach-In on the war at the University of Oregon. Kathleen avidly studied the history, ethnology and political-economy of Indo-China in order to make a thoroughgoing and well-informed analysis of the social forces resisting U.S. Imperialism, an interest that was to remain with her for the rest of her life.

The results of this creative melding of politics, scholarship and moral principle were exciting and held unforeseen consequences. As Jorgensen writes:

> When Kathleen was invited to teach south Asian ethnology and kinship [at Oregon] in 1966, she advised the department chairman that she would not assign grades. Low grades could be a ticket to conscription, and she would have no part in contributing to an imperialist war in this fashion. The offer to teach was withdrawn.

After three years in Oregon during the Vietnam war, the Aberles became disillusioned with living in the United States and in 1967 they moved to Canada: David to a professorship at the University of British Columbia and Kathleen to one at the relatively new Simon Fraser University. SFU was an exciting place in the late 1960s, a mecca for radical scholars like Tom Bottomore and Andre Gunder Frank and a site of serious and ongoing confrontations among faculty and between faculty and the conservative Board of Governors. Even prior to the firing of the PSA nine, Simon Fraser's Governors had been the object of a Motion of Censure by the Canadian Association of University Teachers.

In 1968 the Political Science, Sociology and Anthropology department (PSA) was formed at SFU as a bold experiment in radical education and against the artificial compartmentalization of knowledge by disciplinary boundaries. The PSA department goals of support for oppressed peoples and critical analysis of society were perhaps not as threatening to the administration as its principle of student/faculty parity in all decision-making, including hiring, promotion and tenure. Although Kathleen saw the dangers of this course of action she supported the department's principled stands, even when it was put into receivership by the administration. Jorgensen's paper offers a detailed account of the famous PSA strike, the subsequent firings of eight faculty and the lengthy censure proceedings by many professional associations that followed, surely one of the most significant episodes in Canadian academic history. The upshot for Kathleen was the decision, despite offers for reinstatement and offers from other universities, to pursue her career as an independent scholar without permanent teaching responsibilities.

Gough's anti-war work kindled her interest and love for the people and country of Vietnam, which she first visited after a return trip to India in 1976 and again in 1982. She wrote *Ten Times More Beautiful: The Rebuilding of Vietnam* (1978) and *Political Economy in Vietnam* (1990a) on the basis of these trips. The second book appeared shortly before her death. Hy Van Luong's paper in this volume critically assesses her work in Vietnam.

Kathleen was about to embark on a major interdisciplinary study of Vietnamese society in the 1990s when illness intervened. The research, a collaboration between the Vietnamese National Centre for Social Sciences, Hanoi, and the Centre for Human Settlements at the University of British Columbia, and funded by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), is a five-year study involving 20 UBC faculty in enhancing research programs at

eight Vietnamese Institutes in the areas of rural development, urbanization, the household economy and social policy. As Peter Boothroyd notes in this volume, the entire project is a testimony to the political sensibilities, compassion and internationalism that was so characteristic a part of Kathleen Gough's identity. It will become part of her enduring legacy.

Teacher and Mentor

It was recognition of that integrity as well as her anthropological achievements that led the rather stuffy Royal Society of Canada to elect Kathleen a Fellow in 1988. However her principled opposition had its price: for the last 20 years of her life Gough did not hold a regular academic appointment. She had none of the institutional supports that usually provide the foundations for academic influence and renown—no graduate students and no academic patronage to dispense. One can only speculate on the lost opportunities to work with students and the ultimate effect on the course of Canadian anthropology to have such an important figure on the proverbial sidelines. Marianne Ainley, an historian of science and Director of the Simone de Beauvoir Institute at Concordia, discusses this aspect of Kathleen Gough's career and places it within the context of the career paths of Canadian women academics and the general issue of the "chilly climate."

By all odds, Kathleen should have joined the ranks of forgotten academic women. That she did not is testimony to the inspiration she brought to several generations, and to her own strength in creating a path for herself as a politically engaged and connected intellectual. She stood with one foot in the academy and the other in a wide variety of activist and revolutionary movements. Kathleen was a bridge. She placed the best the academy has to offer—careful, sustained and deep analysis—in the service of social change and she kept the agenda of engaged scholarship alive in the academic world.

Kathleen fought the good fight at three universities and, though the fights were lost on one level, on a more profound level the experiences at Brandeis, at Oregon and at Simon Fraser had elements of victory: in each she galvanized and mobilized a circle of people around her. Many of those so touched described in later years their contact with Kathleen as critical to their political and intellectual formations.

One of us (Sacks) was also fortunate to have had Kathleen Gough as an undergraduate teacher at Brandeis in the early 1960s. More than anyone, Kathleen was responsible for her becoming an anthropologist and for her early political education. In the classroom, she was a challenging and inspiring teacher, always patient, encouraging of different views and respectful of them. But she demanded a great deal from her students and held herself to the same level of performance and commitment she demanded. Her analyses were decades ahead of their time in the early 1960s. In retrospect, they were

early workings-out of her writings of the 1970s. Her course on India showed the links between caste and class, and how each constructed the other. Long before it became fashionable to talk about multiple subjectivities and the construction of situated knowledge, Kathleen Gough analyzed those processes in her lectures on the political histories of Indian religions. Most of all, she taught her students to think for themselves, to be critical. She had them read Evans-Pritchard on the Nuer and she talked about woman-woman marriage in a way that raised issues of the relationship of status and gender. She did that in 1962, long before the feminist movement surfaced. Karen vividly remembers Kathleen explaining to her, who at the time got all the news she needed from *Time* magazine, why that magazine and the U.S. government might not be reporting the whole truth. While Karen was not fully convinced, she was motivated to the reading that ultimately did lead to activism and political engagement.

Knowing Kathleen was for many a lesson on how one might live a life of principle. At the memorial sessions, Kathleen's students, some who had never been her students and some who had only known her from her writings, rose to give testimony to Kathleen's influence and support. Her Brandeis graduate student, Linda Tobin Pepper, remembers her as a teacher "in the finest sense." She went on:

> She imparted knowledge of subject matter—the history and politics of India and she imparted depth of meaning to that subject matter through respect for the people who were affected by those events.
>
> She also did this when she allowed me to write a major paper (for another course) from her Ph.D. thesis on matrilineal kinship. Although her thesis was thick and dense, due to her guidance I was able to retain a sense of exploring very different kinship patterns among a very real group of people.

To Susheila Raghavan Bhagat, Kathleen was "mentor, friend, confidant, and benefactor." Jerome Handler, from Brandeis' first graduate anthropology class, recalled his pleasure sitting in the Midwest and hearing about Kathleen's stand on Cuba. Bill Derman spoke of writing as an undergraduate at Brooklyn College to support her, and his pleasure of receiving a personal reply. Later, as one of the organizers of a radical anthropology caucus in Michigan in the late 1960s, he treasured Kathleen's support of this graduate student effort and her regular articles and syllabi for the newsletter. Even though Debbie D'Amico Samuels never met Kathleen, she came to testify to the inspiration she and her friends have taken from Kathleen's writings. And Harriet Rosenberg provided a Canadian perspective from sitting in on Kathleen's course in Toronto: "This is what the world would be like if the Queen Mother were a communist."

We pay tribute to Kathleen for her courage, her intellect, her insights, her leadership. And a bit of canonization is not a bad thing, especially in the cur-

rent conjuncture when the left and feminist academy is in a period of soul-searching and needs its heroines and role models more than ever. But let us not take this too far. Let us remember Kathleen's own wry and self-deprecating sense of humour and not take this occasion so seriously that we lose sight of the fact that Kathleen could be stubborn and cranky, and theoretically we all had our differences with her of one kind or another. Everyone will have different memories of Kathleen. Richard's favourite is of visiting her and David and watching her pour the tea into elegant bone china, and in her impeccable Oxbridge accent discussing the varieties of Indian Marxism, class struggle in Bengal or the most recent idiocy of the Reagan or Bush administrations. Karen remembers camping at Crater Lake with Kathleen and two of her British friends. Arriving tired and late at a wet campground, Kathleen suggested building a fire and set off in search of wood. She soon came back, rolling a slice of a redwood tree as big as she was, and directed her friends to gather needles for kindling. While Karen explained why it was impossible to light half a wet tree with a handful of wet pine needles, Kathleen lit a blazing fire that kept us warm for the night.

The closing years of the 1980s and the dawning of the 1990s were not happy ones for those, like Kathleen Gough, who have held steadfastly to a vision of a future socialist humanity. Mordecai Briemberg, a close friend and comrade-in-arms from the Simon Fraser days, has written for the volume a moving memoir of conversations with Kathleen shortly before her death about the fate of that vision.

> ''Each time we spoke,'' writes Briemberg, ''the four horseman of counter-revolution had loomed larger on the horizon. . . . In the difficult moment of her too early dying, Kathleen was entitled to project despair or to seek romantic solace. She chose neither. Rather she manifested her loyalty to personal comradeship and to the revolutionary value of egalitarianism. She spoke with the conviction that the communist vision remains the most creative seedbed for emancipation from this inhumane world order. It is a small band that today draws sustenance from a revolutionary vision gained with intelligence and sacrifice in the past 150 years. Kathleen will be missed from among us.''

The last article Kathleen Gough wrote (1990b), appearing only weeks before her death, was a thoughtful reappraisal and update of her landmark paper on Anthropology and Imperialism. A sober, even sombre account of the breakup of the Soviet Bloc and the setbacks of the socialist project, it nevertheless struck notes of defiance, and expressed confidence in the ultimate triumph of a more humane and just world order. Originally appearing in the *Economic and Political Weekly* of Bombay it is reprinted below.

* * * * *

Bearing Briemberg's comments in mind, it is Kathleen Gough the brilliant scholar and intellectual that we commemorate today, and also Kathleen Gough the political activist who used her intellectual gifts so effectively in her life-long fight for social justice. But on an even deeper level there is yet another Kathleen Gough to be reckoned with: at the point where the Marxist philosophy of praxis through struggle and the Christian philosophy of redemption through service to humanity intersect, there is another Kathleen Gough: a moral being whose commitment to living the just life transcends mundane political discourse. It is in the tradition of the indigenous English radicalism of Gerard Winstanley, William Blake, Tom Paine and Robert Owen. The moral strength touched all who had the good fortune to know her personally, and many more through her voluminous writings. It is this complex and multifaceted Kathleen Gough whom we will remember in the years to come.

Notes

1. We would like to thank the following colleagues who made substantive contributions to the content of this paper and to the two symposia on which it is based: David Aberle, Stephen Aberle, Dipankar Gupta, Joe Jorgenson, Tom McFeat, Hira Singh, Patricia Uberoi and Hy van Luong.
2. Two papers were originally presented in Chicago (Joan Mencher and Gerald Berreman), two in Montreal (Joe Tharamangalam and Marianne Ainley) and three were presented at both sessions (Joe Jorgenson, Hy Van Luong and Hira Singh). Also included are a number of shorter contributions and tributes from colleagues in the Third and First Worlds.

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KATHLEEN GOUGH AND RESEARCH IN KERALA

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I cannot begin to talk about Kathleen and her work in Kerala without first mentioning a few reminiscences about my own interaction with Kathleen. When I received a grant back in 1958 to go to Kerala to carry out a study of family life and child-rearing practices among matrilineal groups in the Malabar District of Kerala, I asked Mort Fried if I could write to Kathleen. He said, "by all means. She is a very open and friendly person and you should not hesitate to write to her." So I went ahead and wrote. Kathleen responded in great detail, expressing not only interest in the work I was doing but also giving me names of people to meet and visit with, suggesting that I might want to work in one or more of the villages where she had gone, and even giving me the name of the man who had cooked for her. As it turned out, I did go ahead and work in one of her villages for the first part of my time in Kerala. It was both good and bad, because I was forever aware of her unique legacy. For example, she was a fantastic walker, never worried about falling down crevices or being besieged by wild dogs, whereas I always had poor balance and eventually ended up using a walking cane. Everywhere I went people had stories to tell about her amazing energy as well as her extreme kindness, and people constantly asked me how she was doing. The young men talked about how she used to come and sit with them in the toddy shop, something I felt less comfortable doing since it was an arena where women usually did not go. They also talked about how she never seemed to get tired, staying up night after night to watch the traditional possession ceremonies during the "Theyyam" season (when ritual possession ceremonies take place).

When I returned from my field work in Kerala, Kathleen suggested that I stop in Ann Arbor so that we could talk about our mutual interests and about what was going on in Kerala. I was totally overwhelmed when she handed me the manuscript of her chapters for the book she was doing with David Schneider on *Matrilineal Kinship* (1961). I still remember feeling how I could never write anything that was comparable to that, even though my own research had focussed on vastly different issues.

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Just before I left for my second trip to India in 1962, Kathleen and her young son passed through New York and stayed with me on her way to visit her mother in England. It was a real delight to be with both of them, and Kathleen and I spent many hours talking about Kerala where I planned to go first to study the Namboodiri Brahmins. She carried with her an unexpected surprise, the only copy of her thesis that she personally owned. Since those were the days before xeroxing, I remember staying up half of each night after Kathleen went to sleep so that I could read and take notes from her thesis, which is an excellent study of the lineage system and the effects of legal reforms of the 1930s in the Malabar District (the northern half of present-day Kerala).

To turn from the personal, Kathleen Gough was a member of the first corps of British-trained social anthropologists to carry out systematic research after the end of World War II. She went to Kerala immediately after Indian Independence in the late 1940s. This was a period of considerable turmoil in the area. During the 1930s in each of the main regions of Kerala (Travancore, Cochin and the Malabar District of Madras State), a wide variety of legal reforms had been enacted that led to profound changes in the structure and organization of life among the land-owning matrilineal castes. Kathleen was the first to study these changes in detail, as well as the earlier changes that had resulted from contact with the colonizing Western powers, the invasions of Malabar by Haider Ali and his son Tipoo Sultan and the subsequent betrayal of the Zamorin of Calicut by the British which led to British rule in Malabar.

Her unpublished doctoral thesis (which is to be published posthumously in India) focussed specifically on the effect of all of these historical forces and the legislation passed in the 1930s in Malabar District (which was then still part of Madras State) and the northern part of the then-separate state of Cochin (which was quite similar to South Malabar). While her thesis was not published, she did publish a number of seminal articles based on this early research, as well as several chapters in the book *Matrilineal Kinship*.

She worked in two parts of the former Malabar District: (a) in a small town in South Malabar, and (b) in the northern part of the District in a village about 18 miles from the coastal cities of Cannanore and Tellicherry, where she studied not only the Nayars but also two other matrilineal groups, the Tiyyas (or Ezhavas) and matrilineal Muslims, as well as (c) in a village in Trichur District of Cochin State.

Her earliest articles focussed on issues of kinship and kin relations (Gough 1952a, 1952b, 1952c, 1954 and 1959b) on which she had collected very important materials dealing with the range of variation among matrilineal groups on the Malabar coast. In her 1959 article, she explored the question of what constitutes a marriage among Nayars, looking at the difference between (a) what she found among Nayars in Central Kerala—where traditionally men

continued to reside in their matrilineage homes, visiting their wives only at night and never forming a nuclear unit even within a larger joint household; and (b) most other societies round the globe. She attempted to come up with "a single, parsimonious definition" of what we mean by marriage that is useful for cross-cultural comparisons. Her definition ("Marriage is a relationship established between a woman and one or more other persons, which provides that a child born to the woman under circumstances not prohibited by the rules of the relationship, is accorded full birth-status rights common to normal members of his society or social stratum") provoked considerable discussion and is still quoted today in many analyses. In many ways it is an amazingly progressive definition in that it is one that applied to a wide range of situations including even woman-woman marriage.

From early on her work was comparative and integrated the material aspects of life, political institutions, kinship and emotions into her analysis of change. Another early article, "Incest Prohibitions and Rules of Endogamy in Three Matrilineal Groups of the Malabar Coast" (1952b), dealt with the comparison of the ways in which incest prohibitions are influenced by cultural practices, including religion, in each of the groups she studied, i.e., Nayars in central Kerala, as well as Muslims, Nayars and Tiyyas in North Kerala. Her work on incest was extremely important because it challenged the tendency among anthropologists at that time to try to examine incest prohibitions in isolation from both the kinship system as a whole and other aspects of the culture.

In all of the articles referred to above, she explored in a comparative and historical fashion how kinship systems are moulded by the cultural tradition of the group, its means of subsistence and by its place in the political structure. Thus, she showed that the permanence of the matrilineal lineage was related to its hold on the land and to the size of hereditary estates. In a later article written in 1975, in which she compared the changes in household composition in the Cochin village she had studied in 1949 and what she had found in 1964 when she did a restudy of that village, she showed how with the partition of the large matrilineages some couples were even living with the husband's kin. She correlated this with the transition from matrilineal inheritance to an emphasis on bilateral inheritance resulting from changes in family law. However, she also noted that there are still many joint families in the village and raised the question why they continued long after the collapse of other feudal institutions and the introduction of capitalist relations. She suggested three possible reasons for this: (1) that perhaps kinship relations do not change more than they are compelled to in order to meet the new demands and values created by the economic and political system; (2) the lack of adequate public services for the old, the unemployed, the disabled and the orphaned young; and (3) that the assets of younger and older people often

complement each other, especially for those who are poor yet not entirely propertyless.

In 1953, Kathleen Gough won the Curl Bequest Prize for her essay on Female Initiation Rites on the Malabar coast. This paper linked property rights and psychoanalytic concepts to attitudes of reverence and submission to elders. The ceremony she described was the *talikettukalyanam* or *tali*-tying ceremony, showing its significance in terms of the total kinship system. In the first four parts of the essay she analyzed the ceremony for each of the matrilineal groups she had studied. In the last part she then made a psychoanalytical analysis of the rite and related it to Oedipal fears which she stated were connected to the great power held by elders in these castes, as a result of the fact that traditionally all property was held in common and impartible. One other article from this period also attempted to link a sociological and a psychological analysis; in this case it dealt with traditional Nayar ancestor worship cults.

Gough's articles in the book she edited with David Schneider were the major contribution to and force behind *Matrilineal Kinship*, as her co-editor testified. They were ground-breaking in their impact on Kerala studies and for their theoretical emphasis on change. She pointed to the tremendous variation among the different regions of Kerala and among different matrilineal groups within a single area (the North Malabar region of Kerala). At the time she was doing her work, people tended to ignore history. It was the heyday of functionalism in Great Britain and of Boasian descriptive studies in the United States. The majority of studies at that time focussed on how things "are," how they stay the same, whereas Gough's concerns led her beyond such theories to seek instead a theoretical perspective to explain change. Gough was one of the first to use historical materials to show the impact of the introduction of a capitalist economic system into a traditional feudal economy. This book has subsequently influenced the thinking and work of students and Kerala scholars. It also served as a passage into the later focus of her research, by examining the destructive and exploitative effect of colonialism on a traditional people. She was thus able to show how as a result of the introduction of capitalist economic forces in Kerala, a system that had functioned well for women, in many cases giving them significant autonomy, changed drastically, with the result that some members of a given family came to be far wealthier than others. Though she was aware of how the traditional system had exploited the lower castes, she also saw how it was relatively egalitarian in the distribution of wealth within the large matri-household, whereas the changes wrought by the introduction of capitalist economic forces resulted in women in a single matri-household belonging to different economic strata. Political activism in Kerala during the past 25 years had its roots in two different earlier movements, both influenced by the impact of

capitalism on a rigidly feudal and exploitative society. One of these was the pressure by low-caste Muslims and Christians for permanent rights to land. The other was based on the demands of younger sons and daughters in matrilineal Nayar households (and even in patrilineal Namboodiri Brahman ones) to allow them to partition their ancestral property and to obtain permanent ownership rights to land. Kathleen's involvement in studying these earlier movements for justice played a role in her evolution as an anti-imperialist fighter. Thus she was one of the first to do a material/class analysis of land reform movements in Kerala. She studied the history of the left movement in Kerala and the way in which it affected politics in the 1960s in her articles, "Kerala Politics and the 1965 Elections" (1967) and "Communist Rural Councillors in Kerala" (1968a).

She wrote about some of the mechanisms by which political allegiance is sought and the way in which *panchayats* (elected village councils) functioned. In the 1965 article she showed how and why villagers of different castes and classes, in both farming and suburban areas, supported either the Congress or the Communist parties, how interparty conflict was pursued through local institutions and what factors held this kind of conflict in check. She showed the kinds of conflicts that erupted over the use of public funds obtained from local taxes or provided to the village by government agencies. These tensions often led to stalemates: for example, several village projects were abandoned or delayed by the mutual sabotage between the parties (1965c:419-420). She rooted her analysis of caste in a material/class analysis. In the 1968 article referred to above, she showed the relationship between the organization of the *panchayat* and the Community Development Programme indicating some of the constraints which the latter impose on *panchayats* which in some cases limited the effectiveness of the *panchayat* leaders.

In her article on "Peasant Resistance and Revolt in South India" (1968-69), written in 1968, she analyzed the growth of politization in Kerala as the Communist party began in the 1930s and continued into the 1940s and 1950s organizing both poor and middle peasants. She showed how other political parties got involved in the same struggles, with each party vying for the support of the peasantry. The article presented an excellent summary of left activity in south India in both Tamil Nadu and Kerala. This was her first article to discuss some of the ways in which left (including communist) leaders absorbed in electioneering began to concentrate more on winning seats and less on day-to-day organization in their villages. She showed how in the beginning the communists were able to recruit tenant cultivators of middle-peasant rank into their peasant unions, and how they have tended to rely on the village leadership coming from this class. Yet she also noted that they drew their greatest support from areas where there were many landless labourers. And she showed how when the left actually gained state power in

Kerala, they tried to redistribute benefits among the poor and middle peasants, landless labourers and urban workers.

Her analysis anticipated many of the socio-economic tensions that still plague Kerala today. Thus she noted how the failure in Kerala to industrialize with sufficient rapidity has meant that an increasing proportion of the population became dependent on agriculture with a massive increase in the proportion of landless casual labourers. If this was true in 1968, it is even more true today in the 1990s when Kerala has come to have the highest level of literacy and health care of any state in India, with life-expectancies equal to those in the so-called developed world, but with rampant unemployment and underemployment both among its semi-educated masses and the educated youth. Kathleen clearly recognized that the left in Kerala, by focussing all of its energies on electoral politics and neglecting issues of employment, was not meeting the needs of its constituents—the people who had given it power.

Kathleen's more recent work has all focussed on Tamil Nadu and Vietnam, but she never lost her interest in Kerala and was herself planning to revise and bring out her doctoral thesis. In addition, on the last occasion when she talked to me about her future plans she said that after finishing her Tamil Nadu books and a projected piece of work in Vietnam, she planned to go full circle and do something about what was happening in Kerala in the late 1980s. We shared a common view of the situation in Kerala and were equally distressed by the way in which Kerala was being touted as a "development model" while so many people were without work. Without the funds received each month from expatriates living and working in the Middle East, the Kerala situation would be far worse. We shared our fear about what will happen when this goldmine dries up.

Kathleen Gough's legacy to Kerala studies will never be forgotten. This includes both her careful and painstaking detailed field data from the period just after Indian independence, her deep understanding of the social, economic and political processes at work in the area and her innovative analyses of the data. It is a great loss to our field that she did not have the chance to personally supervise the publication of her doctoral dissertation or to carry out the follow-up studies she wanted to do.

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Kathleen Gough with Tanjore village children during field work in the 1950s

COLONIALISM, RURAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND RESISTANCE: THE RELEVANCE OF KATHLEEN GOUGH'S WORK

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The Indian Context

At the risk of being schematic and simplistic one may suggest that mainstream Sociology and Social Anthropology in India has been dominated, by and large, by two approaches: British structural-functionalism and the Indological approach. The structural-functional approach focussed on small-scale micro-studies of social institutions and cultural practices with no attempt to relate them to the historical context. Moreover, preoccupied with harmony and equilibrium, it ignored the issues of social tensions, resistance and struggles. Studies of kinship, caste, religion and village community—the main focus of attention in the 1950s and the 1960s—can be cited as instances of functionalism in Indian Sociology and Social Anthropology.

On the other hand, the Indological approach, popularized through the *Contributions to Indian Sociology*, initiated in 1957 by Louis Dumont and David Pocock (and later on carried on by the *Contributions* . . . [New Series]), focussed its attention on the concepts and categories of social organization in Indian thought embedded in Hindu religious scriptures. In this approach, the cultural specificity of India is misrepresented as the uniqueness of Indian society which is supposedly organized on principles opposite to those governing the organization of society and culture in the West. The most serious problem with this approach is that it takes the concepts and categories out of their context and presents them as trans-historical reality. There is no attempt to look at the tension and the correspondence between the concepts and categories, on the one hand, and the concrete historical reality, on the other. Rather, the concepts and categories are confused with the concrete reality itself. Furthermore, not only does this approach reduce the entire social-economic formation to a constructed notion of dominant "Value," but, as André Béteille (1987:675) points out, it applies different scales to the dominant

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"Value" in the East as opposed to that in the West: "societies are valorized in the very acts of comparison and contrast." Béteille calls it the "disease of an intellectual climate." In my opinion, however, this is a case of dogmatic application of the orientalist ideology which tends to obscure our understanding not only of the East but also of the West.

Kathleen Gough's work marks a bold departure from both Indology and functionalism. Her approach is structural and historical. She is sensitive to the cultural concepts and practices without, however, ignoring their historical context. Given the limitations of time and space, in addition, of course, to my intellectual limitations, it is not possible to review here Gough's work on India in its entirety. Rather, I will confine myself to her concern with peasant resistance and struggles in colonial and post-colonial India.

In the spring of 1983, I had an opportunity to meet Kathleen Gough in Vancouver, when she told me that one of the incentives for her to write about peasant movements in India was the publication of Barrington Moore's famous work, *Social Origins of Democracy and Dictatorship* (1966, cf. Gough 1974). It was not so much the empirical content of Moore's work as the general approach to Indian history and society, especially his representation of Indian peasantry, caste system and traditional village structure as repository of passivity and non-resistance to external (colonial) and internal (post-colonial) domination and oppression that she found unacceptable. She also told me that she was herself preoccupied with her research and writing on Vietnam, but she would very much appreciate if more historically grounded anthropological studies were undertaken to counter the representation of a passive Indian peasantry.

Going back to our first meeting at the Post-Plenary Session of the Xth World Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, 1979, in Lucknow (India), we had a brief discussion on how Barrington Moore is not alone in taking this particular approach to Indian society and culture, but rather it is part of a more general trend, including the Indological approach briefly referred to above. Since, given her other preoccupations, Gough herself did not (or could not) take up the task of returning to this problem, I may take this opportunity to briefly present the broad outline of this approach. Later on, I will show how her general understanding of rural social structure and resistance in India offers an alternative to this approach.

The Caste System in Indian History: Convergence of Orientalist History and Indology

Moore seems particularly sensitive to the importance of the caste system in organizing agrarian social structure in India (Moore 1966:117-118). He holds the caste system (and village community) mainly responsible for peasant passivity in India. The caste system in India, he argues, provided a framework

for all social activity, literally from conception to the afterlife, at the local level of the village community that rendered the central government largely superfluous. Hence peasant opposition was less likely to take the form of massive rebellions as it did frequently in China. Any innovation and opposition in India could easily be absorbed just by the formation of a new caste or subcaste (Moore 1966:315).

One may agree with Moore in his emphasis on the caste system as a specifically Indian social institution. He is, however, saying much more. It is noteworthy to mention in this context that both the Indological approach (represented by Dumont) and the "historical" approach (represented by Moore) have one thing in common: they compare India to other societies with the main objective of discovering how the Indian case is unique. Thus, Dumont begins his ethnography of South India in order to find a contrast between North and South. As he moves on, the differences within Indian society appear to him less important and less interesting in comparison to the differences between Indian society as a whole on the one hand and the West (as a whole!) on the other. Now, his main interest shifts to finding out the contrast between India and the West (Dumont and Pocock 1957; Dumont 1966). Although Moore is comparing India not only with the West but also with other Asian societies, especially China and Japan, the objective nonetheless remains the same, i.e., to establish the unique or exceptional character of Indian society and culture. Both Dumont and Moore find the main source of India's uniqueness in the caste system. They tend to accomplish this through a process of subversion, that is, rather than looking at caste historically as an institution of Indian society—albeit an important one—they tend to reduce Indian society and history to caste, and present caste as inherently stagnant and eternally static.

This similarity between Dumont and Moore is not incidental: it is a logical consequence of their common intellectual ancestry—Europe's mythology of the Orient in which oriental history, devoid of internal dynamism, is intrinsically frozen. One implication of this viewpoint is that colonial intervention appears as a positive and historically necessary step to break the internal stagnation of Indian society and bring it into the fold of history of human kind. As discussed below, Gough's work on Imperialism and Anthropology (Gough 1967, 1990) provides a very different perspective on this question, which has a powerful, general appeal, and is not confined to the specific context of India.

Kathleen Gough and Peasant Movements in India

Peasant Passivity: A Historical Fiction

Gough disagrees with the view that historically Indian peasantry has remained passive. The contrary is the case. She writes:

> Indian peasants have a long tradition of armed uprisings, reaching back at least to the initial British conquest.... For more than 200 years peasants in all the major regions have risen repeatedly against landlords, revenue agents and other bureaucrats, moneylenders, police and military forces. (Gough, 1974:1391)

She notes that although peasant revolts have been widespread in all parts of the country, certain areas, such as Bengal and certain parts of Bihar, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala, are distinctly marked by a strong tradition of rebellion. Popular militancy, she further adds, is particularly striking in the hilly regions occupied by the tribal groups.

In particular, Gough highlights the continuous resistance and struggle—violent and non-violent—by the peasants in India throughout the colonial rule. These movements targeting the local landlords and the colonial state could be caused by various factors ranging from increased taxation to a change in agrarian relations through new legislation. She counts in all 77 peasant movements spread over a span of about 200 years of colonial domination. She recounts that the smallest of these movements engaged several thousand peasants in combat, while 30 of them affected several hundreds of thousands, and in one of them, aimed at the overthrow of British rule, peasant masses from an area of over 500,000 square miles actively participated (Gough 1974:1391). These movements, she stresses, illustrate the peasants' ability to organize, their discipline, solidarity and determination to fight the domination and exploitation by the colonial state, landlords and moneylenders (Gough 1974:1403).

Caste System and Peasant Movements in India

Gough is partly in agreement with Moore that, apart from the Great Revolt of 1857, peasant movements in India were narrower in geographical scope compared to those in China. However, the main reasons for this were more varied and complex than any intrinsic passivity of the peasantry due to the caste system or the peculiarities of the Indian village community. These included the piecemeal character of British colonial conquest of India, the division of the country into two parts, British India and princely India (known as "Indian India" during the Raj), each with relative autonomy, compounded by multiple ethnic, regional and linguistic divisions and the absence of a political party, until the 1920s, that could unite the people on an all-India basis. Last, though not the least, was the repressive apparatus of the British colonial state. Indeed, she stresses that Moore's attempt to underplay the rebelliousness of peasants during the British rule in India, apart from being historically inaccurate, is a euphemism to mask the essentially repressive character of the colonial state (Gough 1974).

Gough rejects the view that the Indian caste system breeds passivity. On the contrary, she argues that, rather than being a hindrance to mass mobiliza-

tion, caste assemblies are in fact a traditional organization that serve as a ready-made base to support peasant movements. In one instance after the other, traditional caste associations (*jati panchayats*) have been used by peasants for speedy collective mobilization. During colonial rule, caste assemblies provided an organizational base for resistance and struggle. She points out that the communists (who are often accused by liberal sociologists of being insensitive to caste) have effectively utilized the traditional, caste-based organizations in the countryside for agitational purposes (Gough 1968:539). ''Even in India,'' she writes, ''where inter-ethnic strife has produced some of the most tragic holocausts, peasants are capable of co-operating in struggles across caste, religious and even linguistic lines to redress their common grievances . . .'' (Gough, 1974:1403).

She notes how Barrington Moore's position on caste and peasant passivity or rebelliousness in India is marked by a curious inconsistency. Thus he stresses that ''any notion to the effect that caste or other distinctive traits of Indian peasant society constitutes an effective barrier to insurrection is obviously false'' (Moore 1966:382). On the other hand, he argues that

> caste was also a way of organizing a highly fragmented society. Though this fragmentation could at times be overcome in small ways and in specific localities, it must have been a barrier to widespread rebellion . . . the system of caste did enforce hierarchical submission. Make a man feel humble by a thousand daily acts and he will behave in a humble way. The traditional etiquette of caste was no mere excrescence; it had definite political consequences. (Moore 1966:383)

Disagreeing with Moore, Gough wrote:

> My view is that an enforced etiquette of submission does not necessarily engender submissive feelings; if the subordinate comes to feel unjustly deprived, having to observe the etiquette may engender rebellious feelings which sometimes burst forth. (Gough 1974:1406)

The lower-caste labourers, oppressed by the upper-caste landlords, frequently resorted to violence in order to protect their material interests and their sense of honour. She cites various cases of rebelliousness among the low-ranking and poverty-stricken castes of Thanjavur (South India). Thus in one of the cases reported by her, the lower-caste folks in a village bound their landlord to a cart-wheel, thrashed him and drove him out of the village as a reprisal for seducing one of their women. She remarks that such acts of rebelliousness by the peasants when their material interests are threatened, or if their sense of honour is violated, are common worldwide, and the Indian peasants were no exception (Gough 1974:1406).

It may be remarked that caste in India is a culturally specific idiom of expression of economic, political and ideological interests and sentiments which

may, under certain circumstances, be used to mask the internal contradictions of status and class hierarchies. It would, however, be a serious error to infer from this that caste and collective mobilization are inversely related. In fact, the connection between caste and collective mobilization is rather complex. Thus, between the 1920s and the 1940s in Rajasthan, while the peasant castes—Jats, Bishnois, Sirvis and Dakars—and some tribal groups, such as the Bhils and the Gerasias of Mewar region, used their caste and tribal networks for collective mobilization against the landlords and the colonial state, the Rajputs failed to unite around caste. This was so mainly because, unlike the peasants and the tribal groups, the Rajputs were internally differentiated in terms of their economic, political status and interests (cf. Singh 1979).

Thus, the effectiveness of caste as a medium of mass mobilization is conditioned by a convergence or divergence of caste ties with economic, political interests. However, the circumstances under which caste may or may not facilitate collective mobilization need to be concretely investigated. Unfortunately, rather than relying on concrete investigation, the relationship between caste and peasant militancy in India has been enigmatized by a rather false controversy centred around caste and class as mutually exclusive categories. The main source of this controversy may be found in the liberal theoretical assumptions which have largely contributed to the myth that caste makes peasants submissive and passive.

The Marxists, on the other hand, have not been sufficiently sensitive to the significance of caste in collective mobilization in India. Gough's main contribution in this context is that she develops an analysis of concrete peasant movements which demonstrates how under certain circumstances caste can serve as a vehicle of organization and collective mobilization of peasantry, while under different circumstances it can be used to camouflage the real issues in order to weaken or even subvert the struggle. It all depends on the historical context (cf. Gough 1974).

Indian Tradition and Millenarian Movements

Gough disagrees with the argument made by Hobsbawm, Cohn and Worsley that millenarian movements, usually associated with the Judeo-Christian tradition, were relatively rare or absent in India. She, in agreement with Stephen Fuchs (1965), maintains that a number of millenarian movements have arisen among Hindu, Muslim and tribal populations of India. These movements were particularly prominent in the early days of the East India Company rule in Bengal when, as a result of the combined effect of rack-renting and natural disasters, the peasants were being exposed to unusual hardships in their daily lives. Many of these movements attracted tens of thousands of followers, and some of them, covering large territories, lasted for several months.

Deriving their inspiration from religion and investing their leaders with supernatural powers, the people involved in these movements nevertheless employed empirical means to redress their predominantly secular grievances. Going still further, Gough traces in India some of the common forms of popular uprisings, e.g., social banditry, terrorist vengeance, mass insurrections, etc., that occurred in other parts of the world, including Western Europe (Gough, 1974:1399-1400). She thus provides an unambiguous refutation of the "exceptional" character of the Indian case with regard to peasant movements. Comparative accounts of peasant resistance and struggles in a cross-cultural and historical perspective constitute a promising area of enquiry that can throw light on various contentious issues relating to classifying social formations and identifying the processes of change in various pre-colonial and colonial societies. In the Indian context, Gough was the first to initiate this.

The Revolutionary Potential of the Middle Peasant

Additionally, Kathleen Gough's work provides a corrective to Hamza Alavi's (1965) and Eric Wolf's (1969) notion of the middle peasant as *the* revolutionary class. Once again, her studies suggest that this question is essentially historical, that is to say, which class of peasantry takes the initiative depends on the historical context. Furthermore, even the application of such categories as the rich, middle and poor peasant depends on the historical situation. Thus, she shows how in the Indian context it may not always be possible to clearly demarcate the rich and the middle peasants. More significantly, she further remarks, the increasing polarization in the countryside tends to "knock out" the middle peasant as a viable social group as much as it tends to obliterate the differentiation between poor peasants and landless labourers. If one adds to this the cultural categories of "clean" castes, "backward" castes and *Harijans* (the untouchables), the picture gets too complicated to establish the revolutionary potential of the middle peasant on the ground (Gough, 1968:544).

Moreover, unlike Alavi and Wolf, Moore and Skocpol and Subaltern Studies, Gough is more sensitive to the significance of subjective factors, particularly the role of the party, leadership and ideology, in shaping the course and outcome of the peasant movements. In particular, unlike Subaltern Studies (Guha, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1989), for her peasant and tribal uprisings are not to be singled out for celebration as an end in themselves. Rather, they are means to end the exploitation and oppression leading to a more egalitarian and democratic social order. The persistent theme in her analysis of the uprisings of the subaltern groups is that, given the correct ideology and leadership (which will inevitably have elite component), the peasants and tribal groups in India have the potential not only to struggle for, but also to realize the objective of, creating a just social order free of exploitation and oppression. She

concludes: "The increasing poverty, famine and unemployment make it seem certain that India's agrarian ills can be solved only by a peasant-backed revolution . . ." (Gough 1974:1406).

A.R. Desai (1985) in his introduction to *Peasant Struggles in India*, which incidentally is dedicated to Kathleen Gough in recognition of her contributions in this field, emphasizes a need for more theoretically grounded empirical studies of agrarian movements. Unfortunately, those who believe in a lack of peasant militancy in India have not been particularly sensitive to empirical evidence. On the contrary, Gough's refutation of the notion of peasant passivity—supposedly embedded in the Indian caste system, village community and religion—in addition to being theoretically grounded is empirically substantiated. Agrarian tensions and movements are treated by her as central to the internal dynamics of Indian society.

In opposition to a static view of Indian history, in Gough we find an attempt to explain how pre-colonial, pre-capitalist structures and ideologies intertwined with colonial-capitalist penetration to shape the economic-political development of colonial India. Her analysis suggests how this structure was finally overthrown due mainly to the struggles of the Indian people and replaced by a new structure with its own contradictions, giving rise to new tensions and struggles (Gough 1981). In other words, replacing the trans-historical or supra-historical view of India with a historical account, restoring the historicity of Indian society and culture and, more significantly, the human agency of Indian people in making their history is an important contribution of her work—a major corrective. One may disagree, in parts, with her specific accounts of this history. That does not, however, reduce the significance of her perspective and her overall contribution.

I have greatly benefited from both Gough's subject matter (peasant movements) and her method (historical-structural) in developing my own research perspective on colonial hegemony and popular resistance in India. In appraising her work, my intention is not to deify her. Her work has its shortcomings and flaws even though I have not availed of the opportunity to deal with them here. These shortcomings and flaws are, however, heavily outweighed by the overall strength of her contributions. For me, the strongest point of her approach is a conscious choice she made to write anthropology from below, to give voice to the popular masses of India who are denied a voice and agency in the writings of Orientalists, Indologists, Nationalists and many of the liberal, functionalist anthropologists and sociologists. Having made this choice, she pursued her task of investigation and analysis in a rigorous, objective manner with no trace of an attempt to fit facts into her theoretical assumptions and ideological convictions. Conventional sociology and social anthropology tend to represent scholarly objectivity and ideological commitments

as mutually exclusive. Kathleen Gough's life and work provide convincing refutation of this representation.

Concluding Remarks: Imperialism and Rural Resistance

In 1969 Kathleen Gough stressed the significance of peasant struggles in light of the fact that a third of the world was already under socialism, and there were widespread peasant movements in many parts of the Third World (Gough 1969:526). Today, the socialist world is in turmoil and the Third World in disarray. The optimism of the Third World expressed on the occasion of the Bandung Meeting in 1955 has all but evaporated, and anti-democratic forces are becoming increasingly more visible not only in the Third World but also in the first world and in most of what until recently was the socialist world. The popular resistance against the spectre of domination of the Third World by the powers-that-be has therefore assumed a new significance.

The most salient contribution of Gough in this context is her analysis of imperialism as a global phenomenon which "leaves its imprint" on the modern epoch. An urge to use anthropological knowledge to analyze how imperialism affects the colonial societies and how the colonized subjects resist and struggle against colonial/imperial domination has been her chief concern. For her, modern imperialism is neither the beginning nor the end of human history. Right from its inception, imperialism has faced resistance and struggle by those who have been adversely affected by its inherent inequities. So long as these inequities continue, the resistance and struggle against them will not cease, reducing the idea of the "end of history" to a wishful thinking (cf. Gough 1990).

In the Preface to her *Rural Society in Southeast India*, Kathleen Gough writes that the years of her work in India were among the happiest in her life (Gough, 1981:xiv). As a tribute to her memory, I may add a note from *Bahagawad Geeta*, part of the great tradition of Indian philosophy, which maintains (in free translation) that life (spirit) is never born; it never dies; it is not destroyed with the destruction of the body (which is destructible); it's eternal; it continues after death:

Na jăyatĕ mriyatĕ vă kadăchid
Năyam bhŭtwă bhavită vă na bhŭyah
Ajo nityam shăshwato yam purănam
Na hanyatĕ hanymănĕ sharĭrĕ
(Bahăgawad Geetă)

Kathleen Gough is not dead: in spirit, she continues to live with us. Just as her work continues to inspire us.

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KATHLEEN GOUGH AND THE INDIAN REVOLUTION[1]

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The loss of Kathleen Gough has created an irreparable void in anthropology and diminished humanity as a whole. A distinguished scholar, great humanist, true internationalist, valiant crusader for the rights of the oppressed and the dispossessed, visionary with abiding faith in the creative potential of humans to build a more humane and caring social order, she was also a very warm-hearted friend to a large number of people across several continents. It was the critical-humanist and emancipatory motif underlying her scholarly praxis that made her creatively unconventional. In her early work on kinship, she was a structural-functionalist who, nevertheless, made extensive use of history and systematically investigated changes in relations of production. It is remarkable that she initially learnt much of her Marxism from the field, first in Kerala and then in Thanjavur and still later from activists in America. Her field work in Kerala and Thanjavur, both strongholds of the communist movement, convinced her that the communists held out the best hope for the poor and the oppressed. As she plunged into more rigorous and systematic studies of the Marxist literature she continued to test her theoretical understandings through an extensive dialogue with a variety of colleagues and, even more significantly, with grass-roots leaders and theoreticians in the field. To Kathleen Gough anthropology was always a praxis, a lived experience and an engagement with and commitment to the people she studied; a detached, value-free and disinterested anthropology held no attraction for her. Her "love affair" with the people of Vietnam is well known; it is less well known that she maintained life-long relationships and correspondence with many in the villages she studied in India as well (including one of her first cooks) and even more with a network of students and colleagues all over the world. I was one of those who had the privilege of enjoying her friendship and periodic correspondence.

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Kathleen Gough's Work on India

During the past four decades Kathleen Gough made important contributions to Indian studies in the areas of kinship, political economy and peasant studies. These have appeared in four books (two of them co-edited with others) and over 40 papers published in a variety of journals, conventional and unconventional. Seventeen of these papers are now chapters in books.

Leaving aside her ground-breaking work on Nayar kinship which is discussed by other writers in this volume, I suggest that her most significant contribution has been toward creating a Marxist anthropology of India. The masterly synthesis of anthropology and Marxism that she created was rooted in an implicit critique of the prevalent "neo-orientalist" metropolitan constructions of Indian and other non-Western societies—a critique that was fully developed later in her seminal work on "Anthropology and Imperialism" (1968). She integrated into her work the best of anthropology both at the level of ethnography and at the level of theory. Her Marxism was itself a synthesis of the works of the great masters, modern political economists such as Paul Baran and Paul Sweezy, and the ideas of Marxists in India, China, Vietnam and other Third World countries.

I wish to offer below a brief and preliminary discussion of Kathleen Gough's contribution in two related critical areas within a Marxist anthropology. These are: (1) class, caste and colonialism, and (2) peasant movements.

Class, Caste and Colonialism

Conventional anthropological and sociological discourse, whether evolutionary, structural-functionalist or indological, placed caste at the centre of Indian social structure. Ideology was given a certain primacy, and the different castes were seen as essentially complementary and non-antagonistic, maintaining the functional unity of the village community.

Kathleen was one of the first anthropologists who attempted to understand Indian social structure in terms of class relations and class struggles that she came to see as endemic to Indian society. In one of her early studies of "ethnic" movements in Kerala she observed that conflict between Nayars and Mappila Muslims arose "from their competitive clash of interests in the modern economy. . . . Similar cultural differences are not seen as provoking conflict when the groups involved are not structurally opposed" (Gough 1963:190). Later she plunged head-on into the debate about India's rural class structure and the mode of production in Indian agriculture with particular reference to the question of the class base and class alliances appropriate for the revolutionary movement. Like most Marxists of the 1960s and the 1970s Kathleen developed the view that dependent capitalist development in India was leading to progressive depeasantization and proletarianization, polarization and immiserization of the peasantry. On this analysis was predicated her

optimistic hopes for a socialist revolution in India; "and for two decades," she wrote in her autobiographical note (1989c:3), she "waited in more or less tense expectation of the revolution." More recent work has questioned this analysis and convincingly established the continuing strength of a class of independent peasant holders who have provided the base for a "new agrarianism" or a "new peasant movement" in India (Rudolph and Rudolph 1987; Bouton 1985; Omveldt1988). It must be stated in defence of Kathleen, however, that the polarization-immiserization-radicalism thesis has had greater validity in Thanjavur and other rice regions of south India than in the rest of the country. In any event, her sympathetic description of the miserable lives of the poor has remained unchallenged. Furthermore, no one to date, not even the current advocates of the new economic order, has been able to demonstrate convincingly how the path of dependent capitalist development followed by India can lift the country's poor out of their poverty to any significant extent in the near future.

Kathleen developed a sophisticated view of the linkage between the rural class structure (as of rural poverty and exploitation) and capitalist imperialism, demonstrating such linkage through meticulous and detailed historical studies. In her work on peasant movements she provided a detailed account of the many ways, economic, political and cultural, in which colonialism determined the structure of India's peripheral capitalism and impinged on the lives of the peasantry, impelling them to rebellion. The central place she assigned to subaltern resistance differentiated her from the reductionist view of some dependency theorists, such as Wallerstein, that denies all autochthonous internal logic and dynamics to Indian society.

Use of the class paradigm, however, did not prevent Kathleen from studying caste. Her ethnographic work offers rich descriptions of castes and caste relations including customary systems of reciprocity and redistribution, provision of security and allocation of power. And her analysis and understanding of caste, religion and community and their linkages with class is most sophisticated. Nevertheless, there seems to be something problematic and inadequate about Marxist understanding of caste and communal identities in India and similar phenomena elsewhere. This issue has assumed greater importance more recently. For not only has the communist movement and Marxism failed to strike any deep roots in Indian society, but the most significant struggles of the 1980s and the 1990s that move the hearts of people appear to be those based on caste, religious and communal identities. I have discussed this issue more than once with Kathleen and I know she was also concerned about this. I can do no better than quote from a letter she wrote to me in 1989:

> One factor which has belatedly come home to me is that for most people in most periods, culture and community are more important than is class. So perhaps class struggle is always very intermittent, coming to the fore only in cri-

> ses, while community stability, religious and other symbols and existential beliefs are more significant most of the time. Of course class interacts with these, but I think we Marxists have been too simple minded and crass about the interactions and have not appreciated the deeper structures and meanings of myths, symbols and rituals.
>
> Perhaps there cannot be a renewal of revolutionary thought and activity in India unless it is deeply rooted in symbols and spirituality of a kind that can touch the hearts of people of all religions, as Gandhi did. I don't know how one would go about practical field work among workers while introducing these concerns, but I feel sure they are essential. (Gough, 1989)

Peasant Movements

In the late 1960s and early 1970s Kathleen turned her attention to systematic studies of peasant resistance and peasant movements in India (Gough, 1968-69, 1973, 1974). Her first major paper (1968-69) was written against the background of the Vietnam war, significant revolutionary movements all over the Third World, the cultural revolution in China and the most widespread and militant peasant upsurge in India since the early 1950s. I think this paper represents her most optimistic and hopeful assessment of the potential for the Indian revolution and her most enthusiastic endorsement of armed struggle as the correct path toward that revolution.

Drawing on her studies in Kerala and Thanjavur she presented three arguments. First, rural class struggles have been endemic in south Indian regions. She documented this with cases of peasant initiatives undertaken without the help of leaders or parties whose revisionist policies she saw as putting a brake on peasant militancy. She thus brought peasant perspectives and actions into the centre-stage of history, anticipating the perspective of the later subaltern researchers. Secondly, she took issue with the middle-peasant thesis of Alavi and Eric Wolf and argued that in south India the communists predominantly drew their support from agricultural labourers and poor peasants and that it was the revisionist policies of these parties that were suppressing their revolutionary potential. Further, the middle peasant had been knocked out by the increasing polarization of peasant classes. Third, Kathleen criticized the communists' pursuit of the "revisionist" parliamentary path and showed how such a strategy led to the neglect of day-to-day organizational work and to such contradictions as creating coalitions with those who were formerly regarded as class enemies.

My own studies of class struggle and agricultural labour unionization in Kerala and Thanjavur have confirmed that in these regions agricultural labourers and poor peasants have remained the communists' most loyal supporters. However, this has created its own contradictions, and throughout the 1980s the communists have been attempting to widen their support among the middle peasants (and in the case of Thanjavur to the non-Dalit middle

castes) even at the cost of putting a freeze on wage demands. This is because poor peasants and agricultural labourers alone have not been able to provide them a secure and sustainable base. Meanwhile, they also saw the emergence of the populist, multi-class, "new peasant movements" led by non-Marxist organizations. In fact, as I have argued elsewhere (Tharamangalam 1986) the whole question of the revolutionary potential of specific social classes is a historical one, relative and changing. Furthermore, in formulating the middle-peasant thesis Alavi and Wolf were discussing the ability of different peasant classes for sustained participation in organized and relatively large-scale military operations whereas Kathleen was talking about peasant participation in trade union activities and agitational methods employed within the framework of parliamentary politics.

Kathleen's later work on peasant movements in India (1974) is, in my view, the first systematic and comprehensive study of peasant movements in colonial and post-colonial India. On the basis of a survey of 77 significant peasant movements she argued quite convincingly that "social movements among the peasantry have been widely prevalent in India during and since the British rule." Since at least 37 of these were by Hindus she doubted whether the caste system could have seriously impeded peasant rebellion in times of trouble. All the peasant movements she considered were class-based, armed struggles against a variety of exploitative and oppressive practices directly or indirectly resulting from the introduction of capitalism and imperialism. Using a variety of concepts from social scientists such as David Aberle as well as from Marxist theory, she classified these into five broad types ranging from restorative rebellions to modern mass insurrections. Contrary to Hobsbawm, Cohn and Worsley who held millenarian movements to be specific to the Judaeo-Christian world, she showed that these were common among Hindus, Muslims and the tribal populations of India.

As I have pointed out elsewhere (Tharamangalam 1986), here Kathleen provided a very realistic assessment of Indian revolutionary potential under current conditions, one that was far more sober than before. After examining the conjuncture of historical conditions that favoured the relatively successful revolts she came to the conclusion that "the more recent revolts of the recent period occurred under irregular conditions which are unlikely to be repeated."

Conclusion

Kathleen Gough was committed to and made creative contributions to the development of a critical and emancipatory social science. In the closing years of the 1980s she watched the momentous changes taking place in the world with a combination of despair and hope. She was saddened by the collapse of much of the socialist world and feared that this would cause increased suffer-

ing to the poor of the Third World. But she had also come to the conclusion that centralized bureaucratic states were not adequate to the task of creating true socialism. In some of her last writings (1990a, 1990b) she expressed the hope that the time had come to dissolve the 5000-year-old institution of the state and to move into some kind of a world society. She was optimistic about what she saw as a convergence of a number of promising social movements including the ecology movement and the women's movement.

I believe that a similar convergence of movements is occurring in India too, though these are taking a course different from that predicted by the Marxists. To be sure, religious fundamentalism and communal violence are a source of worry, but very important struggles by the Dalits (the ex-untouchables), tribal people, national minorities and women and a growing movement for the environment do hold considerable potential. Kathleen often spoke of the need for arriving at an adequate theoretical understanding of these processes and issues. "The world," she said in the concluding statement of her last published article (1990b), "is open to new ideas as it has not been for many decades. We have a lot of work to do."

As ex-Christian believers Kathleen and I several times fell into religious discourse, mostly towards the end of other discussions. She always spoke of a deep love as motivating and sustaining her work. I believe and I know that in some indefinable way Kathleen's presence, a presence of extraordinary richness, brilliance and love, is deeply felt among us as we reflect upon the significance of her life and work.

Note

1. This is a revised version of a paper presented at the symposium, "Anthropology, Imperialism and Resistance: The Work of Kathleen Gough," Montréal, May 11, 1992. I wish to thank David Aberle for reading the paper and offering his helpful comments.

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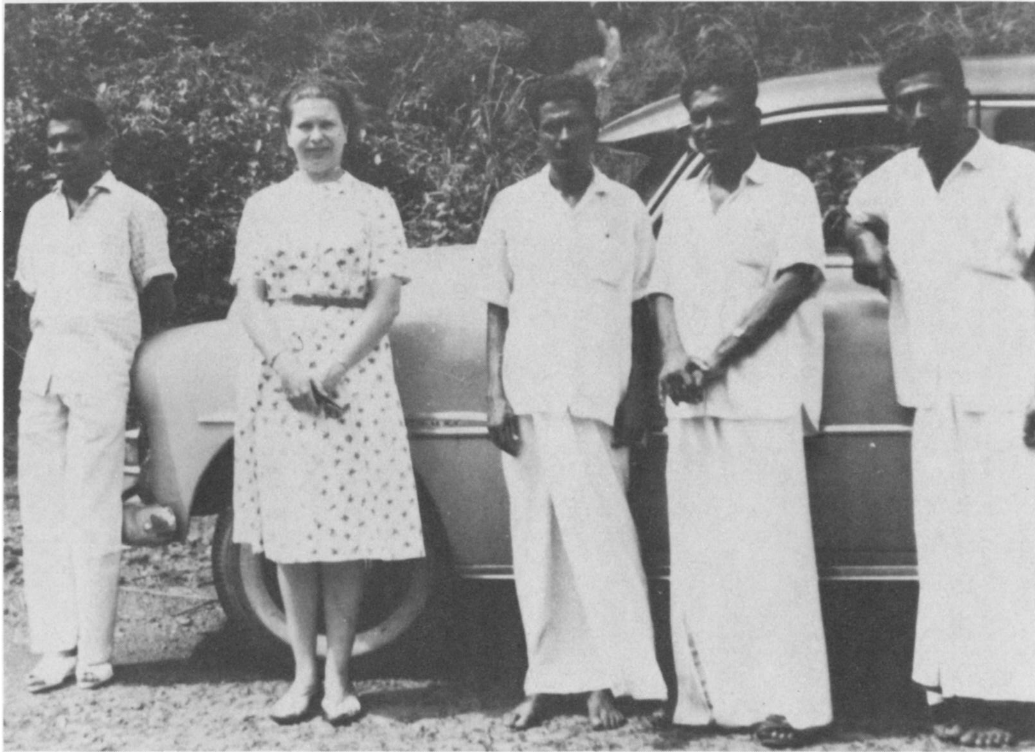

Gough with research assistants, and village notables,
Tamil Nadu, 1950s

KATHLEEN GOUGH AND THE VIETNAMESE REVOLUTION: IDEOLOGICAL VOICES AND RESISTANCE

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In the last 15 years of her distinguished career, Vietnam loomed larger than ever in Kathleen Gough's intellectual horizon. She first visited Vietnam for 10 days in 1976, and wrote *Ten Times More Beautiful*. In 1982, she returned to the country for six weeks of research on the Vietnamese socialist political economy, and conducted a three-week complementary study in Cambodia. This project culminated in *Political Economy in Vietnam*. In the last year of her life, Gough planned a major field project in six Vietnamese communities in collaboration with Vietnamese social scientists on the impact of reform on the Vietnamese class structure and gender relations. Gough's intellectual interest in Vietnam grew out of her active role in the opposition to the dominant ideology in the world capitalist system which seeks to marginalize or silence other voices, at times through blatant coercive measures, as in Vietnam during the war (see also Chomsky and Herman 1979; Herman and Chomsky 1988). Kathleen Gough brought to her research on post-1975 Vietnam not only the anthropologist's empathy with the marginalized other, but also a keen intellectual sense of historical dialectics in the modern world system, a perspective partly rooted in her active support for the oppressed victims of world capitalism. Kathleen Gough made notable contributions to Vietnamese studies, although I would also like to suggest that due to the historical and Vietnamese sociocultural constraints on her research, the represented and empowered voices were mainly the officially sanctioned voices from the northern part of the country.

In the context of heteroglossia in the modern world system, Kathleen Gough's sense of historical dialectics in the political economy of the modern capitalist system and her efforts to empower the voice of the victimized other serve to counter the dominant U.S. voice which ahistoricizes and decontextualizes virtually all differences between Vietnam and the West in order to mar-

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ginalize and silence the resistance from the peripheries of the world capitalist system. For example, the hegemonic voice in the U.S. mass media and scholarly circles constantly seeks to situate the relative lack of material possessions in Vietnam during the war and in the postwar era in the American capitalist matrix of meanings, i.e., as a sign of abject poverty and a symptom of a "pathological" socialist system on the verge of collapse. In this ahistorical view, the "ideological blind" of Marxism-Leninism has led to a misdiagnosis of what, in its ahistoricism, it projects as a universal human motivation based on the capitalist calculus of self-gain and profit. More specifically, dominant voices in the U.S. mass media and research circles have frequently cited the annual per capita income of U.S. $150-200 in Vietnam to reinforce their view on the "folly" of the Marxist experiment. However, as Gough pointed out, the conditions in the present Vietnamese social formation cannot be separated either from the starting point in the French colonial period or from the tremendous havoc that French and U.S. capitalist imperialism inflicted on Vietnam from 1946 to 1975, or from the hostile economic encirclement of the country since 1975. For example, Gough cited the devastation in South Vietnam alone of 10 million hectares of cultivated land and five million hectares of forests and the civilian losses of one million deaths and two million injured persons. In the north, all the railways, bridges, industrial centres, main roads, irrigation systems, sea and river ports were destroyed or seriously damaged during the American war (Gough 1990:3-4). This is not to mention the lasting effects of dioxin in Agent Orange and other toxic chemicals. Despite the earlier and pervasive sense of gloom and doom in the U.S. mass media, since 1989 Vietnam has annually exported on the average over one million tonnes of rice and resumed its pre-war position as a major rice exporter in the world. The Vietnamese national income grew at the average annual rate of 6.4 percent for the 1981-85 period, and 3.9 percent for 1986-90 (Vietnam 1991:5). The frequent citation of the annual per capita income in Vietnam in U.S. media also decontextualizes the meaning of this figure in an economic system in which, for example, the majority of people either own their dwellings or pay little more than a dime a month to the state for rent at the 1991 rate.

I find Gough's comparative data from her research in south India quite informative. Although India had started the "green revolution" earlier and its cultivated area per person (.23 hectare) in 1984 was more than double the Vietnamese figure (.11 hectare), Vietnam produced 55 percent more food grains per person (Gough 1990:105-106). Vietnam also had a considerably higher literacy rate (87% vs. 35%), lower mortality rate (10% vs. 14%) and more doctors (8 vs. 2.7 per 10,000 inhabitants). Gough suggested that it was the difference between socialist and dependent state capitalist development that accounted for the aforementioned differences between Vietnam and India

(ibid.:106). In other words, according to Gough, the post-colonial Vietnamese state constructed on the principle of the dictatorship of proletariat had strongly promoted the collective interests of formerly oppressed elements. It had basically eliminated the exploitative class structure and the subjugation of women characteristic of the French colonial and American imperialist periods. On gender relations, Gough emphasized the higher rates of women's labour participation in north Vietnam than in India or Canada (close to 100% vs. 14% and 36%) and of Vietnamese women's representation in decision-making governmental bodies (16.9% of the North Vietnamese National Assembly in 1971 versus 4% in the Indian lower house of Parliament and 9% in the upper house in 1976 and 0.4% in the Canadian Parliament in 1969). Gough also cited the state-promoted increase in the access of Vietnamese women to education, their living conditions and the legal protection of women's rights in Vietnam (1976:chap. 7; 1990:chap. 17). The achievements of the Vietnamese socialist state, consistently marginalized by the voices of capitalism, constitute a major point of convergence between Gough's and her speaking subjects' perspectives. They counter the dominant ideology in North America which attributes the so-called Vietnamese economic "malaise" to the interference of a "totalitarian" state with the invisible hands of the market.

The dominant ideology in the capitalist U.S. also accuses the one-party socialist Vietnamese state of having constantly violated basic human rights and of having sought to strangle the so-called universal aspirations for freedom and democracy. Gough countered the point on human rights with an informed discussion of Hanoi's humane treatment of the officers and officials in the former Saigon regime. It was humane in that none were executed, that most were returned to civilian life within a short period and that they were not maltreated in comparison to the material hardships of fellow citizens (Gough 1978:255; Gough 1990:300-302). Many in the dominant ideological circles will dispute Gough's point that in comparison to U.S. residents, Vietnamese citizens have as much opportunity to vent their grievances to authorities, both personally and through such mass media as newspapers. However, in my research in Vietnam in the late 1980s, I found an increasing openness: newspapers were openly critical of the state's policies (Luong 1989), and both members of local communities and the National Assembly readily challenged authorities on various issues (also Gough 1990:258).

To all informed observers, the Vietnamese economic and political reforms of the 1980s were also responses to pressures from below rather than an emulation of Soviet and Chinese models (ibid.:260-262). The open criticisms of state policies in Vietnam, at least in the 1980s, were all the more remarkable in the historical context of constant warfare and hostile encirclement by the U.S. and China. The voices from Vietnam which emerge strongly in Gough's

work challenge the dominant ideology in the capitalist West. They are testimonies to Kathleen Gough's empathy with the other, not as a disembodied object of inquiry, but as a speaking subject whose voice has been both violently and subtly silenced by hegemonic world forces. Gough's empathy and anthropological sensitivity also led her to engage in critical dialogues with Western feminist researchers on the state of gender relations in Vietnam in the past 40 years. In contrast to feminists' premises of individual rights and absolute egalitarianism through a breakdown of the gender-based division of labour, Gough emphasized Vietnamese women's sense of obligations to collective wholes, their acceptance of a certain degree of labour division and their perspectives on their significant gains under the socialist state (Gough 1990:296-300). This strong empathy notwithstanding, Gough also maintained enough of a distance from her speaking subjects to engage in critical dialogues with them on the Vietnamese historical experiences (1990:71-90). Gough pointed out, for example, the episodes of inhumane treatments of fellow Vietnamese and others in Vietnamese history (1990:72), and the problems with Vietnamese historians' conceptions of historical stages (ibid.: 76-90).

In my opinion, it was inevitable that Gough's representation of other voices was shaped by the historical and sociocultural contexts of her dialogues with her speaking subjects. They were not extended dialogues in the standard participant observation context. Her first visit to Vietnam in 1976 lasted only 10 days. The return research in 1982 included dialogues with 45 members of the Vietnamese intelligentsia and conversations with other citizens in chance encounters. It may be an irrelevant question whether, in 1982, Gough requested a more extended field period and the use of the anthropological participant observation method in one or two communities. I believe that at that particular juncture it was extremely difficult for a scholar from the West to gain from the Vietnamese permission for standard anthropological field work. Furthermore, from anecdotal information in her books, her interaction with Vietnamese subjects was also highly structured by north Vietnamese interactional ritualism. Vietnamese interaction with outsiders tended to be highly ceremonial in that the speaker role was initially reserved for authority figures and that it was pervaded with ritual speech (Gough 1977:23, 57). As a result, the represented voices from Vietnam were mostly the official voices of northern leaders and intelligentsia members. In my opinion, this led to an assumption of a *relative* ideological homogeneity in the Vietnamese social formation. It was on the basis of this premise that in her earlier book on Vietnam, Gough was optimistic about the result of a socialist transformation of South Vietnam. By 1982, this optimism had been tempered by Gough's knowledge of the difficulties of the Vietnamese state in collectivizing the southern economy. Gough touched on the historically shaped regional hetero-

geneity of ideological voices in attributing the collectivization difficulties in many southern areas to cadres' inexperiences and "the attachment of peasants to commercial farming and private profits" (1990:123-124). However, Gough also suggested that by late 1986, almost all southern Vietnamese cultivators had already joined co-operatives or mutual aid teams (ibid.:154, 233, 439). In my assessment, the collectivization of southern agriculture was only nominal in many communities because of cultivators' widespread subversion of state policy in the Mekong delta.

I would like to suggest that the strong incorporation of south Vietnam into the capitalist world economy in the French colonial period and its direct exposure to U.S. capitalism in the 1960s have left their deep marks on the southern Vietnamese ideological landscape with important implications for southern cultivators' responses to socialist development and capitalist hegemony. More specifically, the Vietnamese economic crisis of 1977-78 was exacerbated by the tendency of a large number of southern cultivators to feed surplus rice to their pigs rather than selling it to the state at approximately 12 percent of the market price. In the earlier periods of French colonialism and American intervention, the native armed resistance to capitalist imperialism was *generally* more limited in the south than in the north and the centre, despite the considerably more exploitative class structure in the south. In the French colonial period, the peasantry was most heavily dispossessed of the means of production in Cochinchina (south Vietnam) where at least two thirds of the rural population were landless. In contrast, the percentages of landless labourers in the centre and the north approximated 20 percent. However, in the 20th century, with the sole exception of the 1940 armed insurrection in certain areas of south Vietnam, at no point did the anti-colonial/anti-imperialist armed movement in the south exceed or even approach the intensity of the unrest in the centre and the north. In the pre-World-War-II period, it was in central Vietnam that the 1930-31 unrest posed the greatest threat to the colonial order. During the first Indochinese war (1946-54), the French encountered considerably greater resistance in central and north Vietnam. During the period of direct and massive American intervention (1964-75), it was not in south Vietnam but in the southern part of central Vietnam that the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam developed its strongest roots (Mitchell 1968). In other words, in comparison to the south, north and central Vietnam, despite their lesser degree of class polarization, constitute the areas with both stronger resistance to capitalist imperialism and greater socialist revolutionary potential. I argue in my work that in order to explain the divergent historical trajectories of the different parts of Vietnam in both the former and present eras, we need to examine in depth the historically structured ideological variation in the country (see Luong 1992:chap. 6; cf. Paige 1976; Paige 1983; Gough 1990:83-90).

Despite the constraints of historical contexts and northern Vietnamese sociocultural patterns on her dialogues with Vietnamese subjects and on the representation of their voices, Vietnamese studies in the West are greatly indebted to Kathleen Gough for representing and empowering these voices in a struggle against ideological hegemony in the capitalist world system. Her death was a significant loss not only to anthropology but also to Vietnamese studies and to the larger causes of justice and equality.

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KATHLEEN GOUGH'S FIGHT AGAINST THE CONSEQUENCES OF CLASS AND IMPERIALISM ON CAMPUS[1]

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In 1961 the Kennedy Administration gave the green light to the CIA to reclaim Cuba by force for democratic capitalism's interests. The Bay of Pigs invasion which followed was a flop that subsequent administrations and the CIA could never abide. In October of 1962 the Kennedy Administration, smarting from its defeat at the Bay of Pigs, revealed that Soviet missiles were destined to be installed on launch pads in Cuba and effected a blockade of traffic destined for that island.

The "Cuban Missile Crisis," as it is known, generated small protests on several campuses, including Brandeis University where Kathleen Gough, an assistant professor there, was asked by students to give a speech at an open forum on campus.

Whereas the toppling of Arbenz's government in Guatemala and Mossadegh's government in Iran in the mid-1950s had created mild protests here and there in American universities, the Cuban missile blockade signalled a change in the size and number of political protests on several American campuses against the United States' imperialist military adventures. Even "free speech platforms," so common on campuses today, and professors willing to speak on controversial issues were few and far between three decades ago.

Kathleen Gough was sought out by students because of a speech she had given the previous year denouncing the above-ground testing of nuclear devices at the Nevada test site.

Kathleen complied and gave a speech lambasting the United States' government, expressing a hope that Cuba would successfully defend itself against an attack from the United States. She insisted that the United States was in violation of international law, and of Cuba's sovereignty, and threatened the world with a nuclear confrontation with the U.S.S.R. Kathleen Gough's protests of the blockade were based on scholarly critiques of Cuban political economic history and of the dictatorial regimes which had received

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succour and support from the United States. She sought fair treatment for Castro's socialist regime which had toppled Batista's dictatorship.

By 1962 it was apparent that United States policies in Latin America favoured oligarchies and dictatorships[2] over socialist governments or governments which raised the spectre of socialism. Thus, from 1959 the United States had sought to undermine Castro's Cuba by refusing to grant it aid, to grant it trade status or to recognize its legitimacy. The U.S.A's second big moment for the toppling of Castro's regime, the blockade, was not left to the CIA, but was delegated to the U.S. military and foreign affairs apparatus.

The protest of U.S. practices toward Cuba during the missile crisis must be put into perspective: it was small, but noticed. It preceded the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley by over a year,[3] and it preceded the electrifying University of Michigan teach-in on the Vietnam War by two years.[4] Protests of the Cuban blockade in 1962 were in step with civil rights demonstrations in the deep south, and were harbingers of campus protests of U.S. imperialist foreign policies for the next three decades.

Kathleen Gough's protests of United States' nuclear testing policies and its actions toward Cuba were regarded with repugnance by the Brandeis administration. She was called into the university president's office and upbraided. Kathleen was later given to understand that she had no future at Brandeis, but the president did not so inform her. Kathleen and her husband and colleague, David Aberle, decided to move from Brandeis. David was offered a position at the University of Oregon, which he accepted. There was no permanent ladder position available for Kathleen so she was made an "Honorary Research Associate."

Within a year after their arrival at Oregon, the United States, in violation of the Geneva Agreements and Accords, was hip-deep in open warfare against the revolutionary National Liberation Front insurgents and North Vietnamese troops. Kathleen worked informally with Students for Democratic Action, beginning in the spring of 1965. The student organization staged some small protest marches. The protest movement gained steam in the early winter of 1965 when Marshall Sahlins, then at the University of Michigan, called David Aberle and encouraged him to organize an all-day, all-night teach-in on the Vietnam War.

Kathleen joined David in an organization meeting of nearly a dozen faculty members, most of whom were already engaged in civil rights activities.[5] One of the people at the first meeting was Owen Dudley Edwards, who, as faculty advisor to Students for Democratic Action (SDA), had probably been the most active Oregon faculty member engaged in anti-Vietnam War activities. Kathleen also had contacts with SDA. Informed of the meeting by Kathleen, some of the students phoned during the first planning session to ask to participate. They were invited to the founding meeting and soon arrived. Their

early involvement initiated the relatively egalitarian relationships between faculty and student protesters reflected in the name selected that same evening: "The Faculty-Student Committee to Stop the War in Viet Nam," which began by planning and co-ordinating the Teach-In and went on to organize other protest meetings and to attempt to educate the campus, the wider Oregon community and Oregon's legislators and congressional representatives about the issues. (The Committee soon succeeded in getting Senator Wayne Morse to speak at the Teach-In.)

Kathleen knew no bounds to membership in the protest movement and argued persuasively to bring one and all to the battle, whether those persons were within or outside the university. As was her style, and David's as well, she pored over the history and ethnology of Southeast Asia, including Vietnam, and became expert in Viet Nam's pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial history. Her deep involvement in the anti-war movement kindled an interest in Viet Nam's civil war and in its revolutionary war against the United States and the United States' imperialist allies that never abated.

I met Kathleen during the fall of 1965, soon after my arrival in Eugene to begin a brief tenure on the faculty there. Working with Kathleen was a most interesting experience. During our "Faculty-Student Committee" meetings she usually chose to reason, when some of us chose to shout, although she, too, would shout when all else failed. Kathleen evaluated the suggestions of students and staff and working people from off-campus with the same care shown to suggestions of faculty. She was, however, well informed and passionate in her repudiation of the destruction of Vietnam, the Vietnamese people and the U.S. men conscripted to serve in imperialism's cause, so her positions were adamantly maintained when our most restrained colleagues sought to address issues of style rather than substance.

Although Kathleen had no appointment at Oregon other than Honorary Research Associate, she had a temporary teaching position in Anthropology for one quarter in spring of 1965, teaching Peoples of India. (I am indebted for this information to one of the graduate students who took the course: Sheldon Smith.) She was invited to teach again in the year 1966-67, but she advised the department chairman that she would not assign grades. Low grades could be a ticket to conscription, and she would have no part in contributing to an imperialist war in this fashion. The offer was withdrawn.

In retrospect, it seems to me that Kathleen Gough's style—openness to ideas, willingness to work with anyone, articulate even when fuelled by anger at the most recent reports of U.S. actions in Vietnam—influenced many faculty who were her associates on the "Faculty-Student Committee" in the mid-1960s.

In the following, I do not claim that Kathleen was responsible for all of the changes that came about among the relations of some faculty and students in

several departments at the University of Oregon, but many faculty were influenced by her opinion about grading in light of the war, even though few knew of her personal refusal to grade, which cost her a position, albeit temporary, on the faculty.

It is my recollection that within a year or two after joining the protest, a handful of professors—from distinguished seniors to fledgling juniors—addressed students on a first-name basis and expected to be addressed in a like fashion. Many questioned the value and the utility of grades, and not solely because low grades could be a ticket to war for struggling students.

Kathleen Gough was at the forefront of these changes. She was instrumental in causing faculty to analyze the power structure and protocol of the university and to work to alter both, and she caused faculty to recognize the responsibilities of intellectuals and to put their special knowledge and skills to use in ways many had not done previously. In short order, pockets within the University of Oregon—notably anthropology, political science, psychology, sociology, economics and biology—began to change as relations among faculty, students and staff became more open and departmental affairs more democratic. Each of those pockets, of course, had several faculty, students and occasionally staff involved in the movement.

After three years of protesting the war from her base in Eugene, Oregon, it was clear to Kathleen that no amount of collective action by anti-war forces in Eugene or elsewhere in the United States exercised much influence on Johnson Administration policies or that administration's resolve to carry those policies out. As I recall I said to Kathleen in the spring of 1967, on the basis of no evidence other than hope, that I saw some "light at the end of the tunnel." I felt rather foolish when she told me she didn't see that light.

Kathleen was fearful their son, Steve, would have to confront the draft in a very few years, and David and Kathleen feared that the immigration and naturalization bureau might seek to expel Kathleen, a British subject, because of her opposition to the war in Vietnam and other imperialist activities of the United States in the Dominican Republic and against Cuba.

In 1967, Kathleen and David left Oregon for professorships at Simon Fraser University and the University of British Columbia, respectively.

Simon Fraser University (SFU) was newly created in British Columbia by the Social Credit government. Kathleen, I think, assumed that the university was far more left-liberal in political persuasion than it was in fact. Kathleen was recruited to a multidisciplinary political science, sociology, anthropology department (PSA), a majority of whose 21 faculty members were leftists or left-liberals. They were the antithesis of conservatism in thought and in practice.

When Kathleen arrived in 1967, the faculty was in some turmoil over the Vietnam war, but the more important local issues were class conflict, labour

conditions, trade union concerns and international problems of imperialism and underdevelopment. Five SFU teaching assistants had participated in protest demonstrations over a freedom of press issue that was being played out in a local high school. The SFU Board of Governors fired them, prompting Tom Bottomore to resign his position of Dean of Arts because of the interference of the Board in academic matters, free speech and democratic process. The student association threatened to strike, prompting the Board of Governors to reinstate the teaching assistants. Bottomore requested to be reappointed as Dean, but the Board of Governors rejected his request.

The problems at SFU were sufficiently grave to summon the Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT) to the campus to investigate "faculty-administration problems and non-communication" (*The Peak* [June 21, 1971] 18[Special Issue]:4).[6] The CAUT investigators reported that administrators regularly interfered with faculty business, and that the Board of Governors frequently intervened in administrative decisions. The result was an undemocratic distribution of power that adversely affected the university.

During Kathleen's first year at SFU, she joined 14 of her colleagues (22 in all) in seeking to hire André Gunder Frank, then perhaps the best-known and most-often-cited political economist of dependency in the world. This appointment was opposed by some senior faculty on campus and brought a series of charges and countercharges.

In the spring of 1968, the stream of administrative interventions in affairs, normally regarded as within the domain of faculty, caused the CAUT to censure SFU for actions of its president and Board of Governors. SFU's president was put on indefinite leave of absence by the Board of Governors, but the Board refused to resign.

SFU students and faculty were exercised by far too many issues in 1968 to recount them all here, but undemocratic practices and violations of academic freedom were principal among them.

The majority of Kathleen's colleagues, with the approval of Simon Fraser's interim president, moved the department to structure itself in a fashion unlike any other on the campus, or perhaps any other campus for that matter. Kathleen's department specified three objectives it wished to achieve: (1) to teach radical understanding of social problems (radical was defined as determining the root or origin or ultimate source of a thing); (2) to change relationships within the department and between the department and the university; and (3) to relate to the struggles of oppressed people.

All three goals were achieved, but the second—restructuring the relations within the department and between the department and the university—was the department's undoing. In their new order, faculty formed one plenum, the graduate students and undergraduate students another. Each plenum could initiate policies, review tenure decisions and the like. Department meetings in

which administrative policy was established, degree requirements set, curriculum and grading policies fashioned and adopted, tenure and promotion cases discussed and recommendations forwarded to the administration were open to faculty and students—the decisions of each plenum on all issues were equal.

The new openness in the department and the parity between faculty and student plenums had fostered divisiveness among faculty over student participation in curricular and personnel issues and over a student initiative for student committees to evaluate disputes over grades. Kathleen recognized that her department's revolutionary organization were the seeds of its own destruction, reasoning that the university's administration could not tolerate its revolutionary structure. Stresses in the department did not arise with the new structure. A year earlier four archaeologists hived off from the department, in part because of turmoil within it.

A new president was appointed in the fall of 1968. He and his administration were especially displeased when decisions about promotions and tenure forwarded by the PSA department were found to include votes from students. The president demanded new votes which excluded student votes. The department demurred, informing the president that the recommendations had been passed by a majority of the faculty. The president placed the department in trusteeship, after which the dean of arts appointed his own tenure and renewal review committee, with only one representative from the department, a political scientist.

The recommendations from the dean's committee downgraded a number of recommendations from the previous departmental committee. The university Tenure and Promotions Committee downgraded a few more. The result was that in August, 10 out of 18 recommendations for PSA faculty were downgraded. Of this number, at least seven were self-identified radicals. Four, two of them well-established figures of whom Kathleen was one, were unequivocally refused tenure or renewal. Their present contracts were intended to be terminal. Three department members received conditional one-year renewals and three more were refused tenure or overdue promotions without definite notice to quit.

The trusteeship and the tenure recommendations led to a strike that began on September 24, 1969. It included eight department members, 12 graduate student teaching assistants and a great many students. Of the department members on strike, six, including Kathleen, had received unfavourable decisions from the University Committee. The University's response to the strike on October 3, 1969, was to suspend the eight strikers and set in motion the provisions of the university's Academic Freedom and Tenure procedures for dismissal. The strike was terminated by a Joint Strike Assembly on November 4.

In 1970, the 10 faculty who comprised the gutted department fired the 12 teaching assistants who had participated in the strike.

The University's procedures called for dismissal hearings by a three-person committee, one member chosen by the University, one by the defendant (or co-defendants) and one either by joint agreement of the first two members or, failing that, by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of British Columbia. Seven suspended faculty members, including Kathleen, chose to be heard by a single committee; the eighth went it alone. The faculty member who went it alone was reinstated in November, 1970, but was given notice of termination effective August 1972 after a negative review by the SFU tenure committee.

On July 24, 1970, the committee appointed for the seven found that there was no cause for dismissal. That committee had been denied access to certain documents and the opportunity to examine crucial administration witnesses. The president, whose actions had prevented a proper hearing, rejected the findings and called for a new dismissal hearing.

Although calling for new hearings, the president reinstated one of the seven whose contract was near expiration without such a hearing. Another of the seven strikers sought a separate hearing and was reinstated in June 14, 1971, but that person's contract was allowed to run out. Kathleen and another senior person refused new hearings. On June 17, 1971, the Board of Governors repudiated the dismissal section of the Academic Freedom and Tenure Brief. Either on June 17 or 18 the president dismissed the remaining three strikers. In sum, five individuals were dismissed outright, while in the three reinstated cases their contracts were allowed to expire.

Two other faculty members who sympathized with the strike eventually left when their contracts were not renewed, but neither of them had completed their doctorates.

On May 14, 1971, the CAUT censured the president and Board of Governors of Simon Fraser University for their summary dismissal of Kathleen Gough Aberle and a fellow professor and for the improper treatment of five others in disregard of academic due process and of the proper safeguards of academic appointments and tenure. Soon thereafter the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association, the Canadian Political Science Association and the Committee on Socialist Studies endorsed the CAUT decision and censured the SFU president and Board of Governors. The American Anthropological Association and the American Sociological Association at their plenary sessions in 1971 also censured Simon Fraser University for the actions of its president and Board of Governors.

Some of the dismissed strikers allege that they were subsequently blacklisted by the SFU administration in the sense that SFU provided information to prospective employers intended to deny employment to the dismissed fac-

ulty. The blacklisted faculty sought CAUT assistance but, according to the affected faculty, CAUT officials said they did not know how to prevent it.

Not all of Kathleen's initiatives resulted in principled losses for her side. It is of more than passing interest that in 1989 Kathleen made contact with a Vietnamese scholar whom she had known previously. She invited him to travel to British Columbia, housed him and introduced him to Peter Boothroyd at the Centre for Human Settlements at the University of British Columbia. Kathleen was especially interested in forming a long-term research project to be conducted in 12 rice-growing villages she had studied in earlier visits to Vietnam.

The upshot is that several scholars at the University of British Columbia became interested in joint research projects with Viet Nam. Kathleen and her colleagues were successful in gaining the interest of the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), which supplied some funds to embark on a series of joint projects with Vietnamese scholars that will continue for at least five years. The CIDA grant precipitated funding from the International Development Research Centre for research by the Vietnam National Centre for Social Sciences in co-operation with the University of British Columbia on the socio-economic impacts of Doi Moi, which advances Kathleen's interest in what was then being translated as "the New Thinking," but today is known in English as "Renovation."

Kathleen was felled by cancer before she could participate, but her efforts were honoured in Vietnam.

Notes

1. My thanks to my dear friend, David Aberle, for refreshing my memory about our Oregon past, for correcting some of my most egregious errors about Kathleen's (and her colleagues') struggles at Simon Fraser University and for keeping tightly buttoned lips when he wanted to make at least one more suggestion for a helpful change.
2. These were similar to the stable, "authoritarian" governments currently preferred by Jeane Kirkpatrick.
3. The Free Speech Movement at the University of California, Berkeley, is usually associated with one of its most vocal participants, Mario Savio.
4. The University of Michigan Teach-In is famous because it triggered similar teach-ins throughout universities and colleges across the United States, usually through direct solicitation and encouragement from Michigan professors to friends, former colleagues and former students located in universities across the nation.
5. Whereas I was elected as chair of the Faculty-Student Committee in the fall of 1965, I was teaching at Antioch College in the spring of that year, so I do not have a complete list of all faculty in attendance at the organization meeting. David Aberle recalls that he, Kathleen and Owen Dudley Edwards participated, as did Martin Acker from Social Work, George Streisinger from Microbiology, Robert Leeper from Psychology and several political scientists including Joel Fiszman, Lucien Marquis and Bob Agger.
6. *The Peak* is the student newspaper at Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, British Columbia.

A WOMAN OF INTEGRITY: KATHLEEN GOUGH'S "CAREER" IN CANADA, 1967-90[1]

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In 1988, Dr. Kathleen Gough, Honorary Research Associate at the University of British Columbia, was elected to Fellowship of the Royal Society of Canada. While such recognition was overdue, given Gough's anomalous position in the Canadian scientific community, her election to the conservative, male-dominated Royal Society was nonetheless remarkable. Like many women anthropologists before her, Gough was an independent scholar who was reasonably well funded and highly regarded, but who functioned outside the academic establishment. Although she began her Canadian career as an academic at Simon Fraser University, conflicts with the administration there resulted in her dismissal in 1969, and she never again held a permanent position at any university.[2]

It is my misfortune never to have met Kathleen Gough. Had I pursued graduate work in anthropology at McGill, the program into which I was accepted in 1969, our paths would have crossed at scientific meetings. An unexpected pregnancy delayed my graduate studies, however, and I soon realized the difficulties of conducting field work while trying to be a wife and mother. A decade later when I entered graduate school, I chose the history and sociology of science instead of anthropology, and studied the professionalization of ornithology. In this science, as in anthropology-archaeology and astronomy, a relatively high number of women have made important scientific contributions. Most of them functioned outside the institutional framework of these disciplines, as "amateurs," honorary research associates and/or collaborators or assistants to their husbands. Trying to ascertain why these productive women scientists were so rarely included in textbooks and reference books, and why so few even had paid positions, soon turned me into a feminist historian of science.

Since Kathleen Gough spent half of her professional life in this country, I wish to cast a feminist perspective on her Canadian career. This will lead to a

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better understanding of her professional experiences and raise some general questions about women's careers.

Born in 1925 in a small Yorkshire village, living in a household without modern conveniences such as electricity, Kathleen Gough passionately loved the green countryside. Her love of learning and the financial aid provided by scholarships enabled Gough, by her late teens, to make an important transition from a simple village life to the sophisticated intellectual environment at Cambridge. There she read English and anthropology and received an informal education from socialist students from Asia, Africa and the West Indies. At an impressionable age, she learned about different cultures. Life at Cambridge University was poles apart from her village home, and the revolutionary ideas of her new Indian and African friends prepared the ground for her lifelong interest in South Asia, kinship, colonialism-imperialism and the new anthropology.

As a university student, Kathleen received a number of scholarships and may have encountered no discrimination. After all, by the time she was ready to do graduate work, women could obtain Ph.Ds. at Cambridge.[3] There was also the precedent of woman anthropologists, such as Lucy Mair, Audrey Richards and Monica Wilson doing important field work, alone, with other women or with their husbands. After Kathleen married fellow student Eric Miller in 1947, the two conducted graduate field research in Southwest India, for which both were granted Ph.D.s in 1950.

Then, as a newly fledged professional, Gough found herself to be the "other" whose concerns and feelings were regarded as secondary to those of a man. Her first major encounter with ingrained sexist attitudes towards married women academics occurred in 1950 at Oxford University, where she and her husband sought employment. Nearly forty years later, she recalled a classic interview with Professor E.E. Evans-Pritchard:

> He warned me that if my husband obtained a university appointment I could not have one because of nepotism rules. On the other hand, if my husband failed to be appointed, so would I, as the authorities wouldn't want to humiliate him! (Gough n.d.)

This conversation had a major impact on Gough's life. The conflict that women professionals in the Western world faced since the late 19th century was still alive. In Britain and North America, the underlying attitude that a man's career takes precedence over his wife's continued to create serious problems for educated women. While at the turn of the century, and indeed up to the 1920s, professional women were forced to choose either a career or conventional family life, a change in mores led many educated women of a later generation to attempt to combine marriage with their chosen professions. To their dismay, most who sought academic careers found that because of lingering stereotypes and persistent discriminatory practices, married

women were unlikely to be appointed to appropriate positions and, if they were, these were rarely in the same department or institution as their husbands.

When Kathleen Gough's marriage to Miller broke up, she returned alone to South India, to study ritual and mythology in addition to kinship. She then spent a year at Harvard as a Visiting Research Fellow (Department of Social Relations) before taking up a teaching post at Manchester in 1954. She had started what promised to be a prestigious career. However, in 1955, she remarried, gave up her post and moved to the United States.

Options for married women academics were no better in the States than in Britain. For more than a decade, as the wife of anthropologist David Aberle and the mother of a small child, Kathleen saw her career stifled in a pattern typical of married women (Rossiter 1982; Abir-Am and Outram 1987; Ainley 1990). Aberle's career took precedence over hers as they moved from one university to another. Gough later recalled that anti-nepotism rules restricted her to limited-term teaching assignments, often at long distances from her home base (Gough n.d).[4] Finally, in 1961, both Kathleen and David were hired by Brandeis University, where she soon discovered that political activism did not lead to tenure. So, in 1963, the Aberles moved to the University of Oregon, where David obtained a regular teaching appointment, and Kathleen, who could not find one, became an Honorary Research Associate. Their involvement in sit-ins and demonstrations against the Vietnam war, and their later refusal to grade student papers inasmuch as failed students might provide potential cannon fodder for the draft board, eventually led to their decision to leave the United States (David Aberle, personal communication; Gough 1990:1706). In 1967, the Aberles moved to Vancouver where both Kathleen and David were offered regular teaching positions, at Simon Fraser University and the University of British Columbia, respectively.

In the 1960s, there were few full-time academic positions for women anthropologists in the United States (Fisher and Golde 1968[5]). Although this was a "period of great expansion of Canadian universities," women held a low proportion of academic jobs, and in "1969-70 only 9% of the full-time university teachers in the core social sciences were women" (Vickers and Adams 1977:101).[6] Interestingly, during this period several women social scientists who had experienced difficulties, particularly for political reasons, in finding positions in the U.S.A. were hired in Canada. Among them, in addition to Kathleen Gough, were Ruth Landes (McMaster, 1965) and Marlene Dixon (McGill, 1969) (Park and Park 1989; Dixon 1976). In view of her later experiences, it must be noted that not only was Kathleen hired as Associate Professor at Simon Fraser University, but within a year she was also granted the President's research award and promoted to full Professor! She was to

discover, however, that her excellent research record and the support of her students did not guarantee a permanent position.

Originally, Gough had hoped the atmosphere in Canada would be "more peaceful, less imperialistic" than in the United States (Gough n.d). She had looked forward to a productive career in a radical department at a new, open-minded university. But Simon Fraser was more conservative than she had expected, its administration unwilling to support student parity and other "*avant garde*" notions which threatened the power of conservative academics. In 1969, the administration refused to deal with recommendations for tenure and promotion which had been made by a student committee. The ensuing protest and repression has been well documented (see the Jorgensen chapter in this volume). Eleven radical members of the department were denied tenure or renewal.[7] Members of the new tenure committee, appointed to review the files, were unfamiliar with Gough's previous path-breaking publications. She later learned that they read only her "New Proposals for Anthropologists," part of a thought-provoking, three-paper Social Responsibilities Symposium published in *Current Anthropology* in 1968. Because of its radical tone, the paper was used against Gough in her fight for tenure. Characteristically, she was proud of having been fired because of that paper (Gough n.d.)!

There had been other instances in the past when Canadian university administrators questioned the academic freedom of well-known, highly productive teachers. In 1941, the historian Frank Underhill was almost dismissed from the University of Toronto for "public activities" which did not please the administration. In 1949, Dr. George Hunter, head of the department of biochemistry at the University of Alberta *was* dismissed after 20 years because he "made statements concerning his own political opinions during biochemistry lessons" (George Hunter Papers, University of Alberta Archives; Horn 1989). While Underhill and Hunter were tenured professors who acted alone, Gough was not the only one involved in the strike and the resulting dismissals. She was also in the unusual position of being an untenured full professor. When the university offered to rehire her, Gough proved her integrity: she refused to accept unless her colleagues were also reinstated. The administration would not consent and she was left without academic employment.

In 1971, she moved to the Institute of Asian Research at the University of British Columbia, where the only available teaching post in anthropology was that of limited-term visiting professor. Once again anti-nepotism rules were invoked, perhaps to mask the fact that it was her reputation as an agitator, leftist sympathizer and a charismatic teacher with the ability to mobilize students against arbitrary administrations that worked against her (Judy Whitehead, personal communication). Although she had job offers from other parts

of Canada, the United States and Europe, the only affiliation she obtained in Vancouver was that of Honorary Research Associate at the University of British Columbia.

Gough wrote later that she had become thoroughly disenchanted with the rigidity and bureaucracy of academic institutions by the mid-1970s. She did not like "the strait-jackets of their curricula" and found the "grading systems too confining and time consuming . . . to teach freely or devote energy to research" (Gough n.d.). But the loss of teaching opportunities, at age 50, hit her hard, and for a while she forgot the undesirable aspects of academic life, such as the unending meetings and administrative chores that sap one's energy and reduce time for research. She felt isolated from the community of students and scholars, and the lack of a paid job made her feel practically worthless (David Aberle, personal communication). Her Yorkshire background had instilled in her pride in a job well done and in recognition in tangible forms, such as a good pay cheque, as well as in the more elusive peer esteem and praise.

As a highly trained professional teacher Gough found it difficult to accept the lack of an academic future. Eventually she reconciled herself to a life of field work and writing and lectured sporadically "on demand" rather than on a regular basis like her colleagues who followed career paths usual among male academics.

In many ways, hers was a privileged position. Through David's faculty appointment and family inheritance, by the early 1970s the Aberles had financial security and Kathleen was freed from the restrictions imposed upon academics by university administrations. So, with the moral and intellectual support of her husband and friends, and with a number of grants from the Wenner-Gren Foundation, Shastri Institute and the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC), Kathleen Gough could turn her clear, analytical mind, her enthusiasm and her energies to research in India, Kampuchea and Vietnam. The recognition of her peers sustained her and she was delighted with her honours, such as the Iravati Karve Memorial lectureship in New Delhi in 1978 and her election to the Royal Society of Canada in 1988 (ibid.). Her positive response certainly indicates the importance of institutional recognition for improved self-esteem.

Kathleen Gough's career has parallels with those of other Canadian women in science. Before the institutionalization of Canadian science in the late 19th century, which coincided with the opening up of higher education for women, most scientific contributions were by "amateurs," people now referred to as independent scholars.[8] Anthropology itself was a by-product of the exploring and colonizing activities of France and Britain. The extent of early involvement by women in Canadian anthropology is not yet known. We do know, however, that in the mid-1820s, Harriet Sheppard, the wife of a colonial ad-

ministrator and a founder of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society (Canada's first learned society), presented and published papers on archaeology (Ainley 1990). In the early 20th century Alice Ravenhill, Margaret Bemister, Mabel Burkholder and other independent scholars published works on Indian myths and customs. Later, funded either by American sources or by the National Museum of Canada, several American folklorists and ethnographers (Frances Densmore, Frederica de Laguna, Eleanor Leacock) carried out research in various parts of the country (Geneviève Eustache, personal communication).

Before the 1960s, there was no woman anthropologist of international renown, such as Lucy Mair in England or Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead in the United States, who lived and had institutional affiliations in Canada. In fact the only women social scientists with good careers were the economist Mabel Timlin and the sociologist Aileen Ross at the University of Saskatchewan and McGill University, respectively.[9]

Canadian universities developed graduate programs for the training of professional anthropologists only after World War II (Inglis 1982). The details of the professional experiences of Canadian women anthropologists have yet to be published. From available evidence it appears that in the 1950s a few women found low-level, part-time or limited-term positions (June Helm McNeish, 1949-59, at Carleton University and Sylvia Stapleton, 1958, at St. Mary's University). Men, often their husbands, found more prestigious permanent positions.[10] During the 1960s, a few more full-time academic positions for women opened up: Jean Briggs at Memorial University, Ruth Gruhn and Regna Darnell at the University of Alberta, Eleanor Smollett at the University of Regina, Helga Jacobson at the University of British Columbia, Frances Henry and Fumiko Ikawa-Smith at McGill and Frances Burton, Maxine Kleindienst, Becky Sigmon and Roz Vanderburgh at the University of Toronto. There were no women anthropologists at the National Museum, though a few, including Katherine Capes (1959-60) and Sheila Joan Mini and Frances L. Stewart (in the 1970s), carried out contract research funded by the federal government (Eustache, personal communication). From my preliminary research it is clear that being a woman anthropologist married to a colleague was detrimental to the wife's career (Ainley, unpublished research data; Fumiko Ikawa-Smith, personal communication).

Born in the mid-1920s, Gough belonged to the third generation of Canadian women academics who obtained training during and after World War II (see Ainley 1990). In another study, I have examined the career paths of more than a dozen scientific couples in Canada during the 1920-70 period. In every case the husband was successful but not one of the wives had a comparable career incorporating the timing and advancement normally available to males. Some never had careers, while others, the so-called "late-bloomers," devel-

oped careers of their own only after their children were in school or as divorcees and widows. Not surprisingly, they never caught up with their male contemporaries in terms of positions, advancement, salary and recognition (Ainley 1991). Gough's career in Canada differed from these because she had done considerable field work previously and had published a body of important, frequently-cited work before coming to this country. Nevertheless, like other married women academics, especially those on the left, she experienced the lethal combination of gender and political discrimination.

> Academic freedom means that professors are free to challenge scientific or scholarly authority, and that they should not be subject to academic punishment when they challenge civil authority. . . . [T]hey must be free to challenge the authority of administrators and governing boards, to assert their own rights in relation to those legally set over them. (Horn 1989)

Kathleen Gough was certainly denied academic freedom. She was only able to find it outside the rigid structure of the modern academic establishment.

From the mid-1970s to her death in 1990, Gough pursued her research, and wrote and published on a number of crucial issues on Asian anthropology without a teaching post. While the students lost a challenging teacher, her written work and her occasional lectures to faculty and graduate students, feminist groups and a number of different organizations ensured that she continued to stimulate a variety of audiences and to influence anthropologists and anthropology.

Kathleen Gough's "career" in Canada challenges our conventional notions about the centrality of the academy to knowledge and to the disciplines. Gough's work was of major theoretical importance: it helped change anthropology. Her research and writing were of the highest professional calibre. She also had grants, citations, election to prestigious fellowships and international renown—all measures of the formal recognition of scholarly achievement.[11] A British-trained anthropologist friend told me that Gough's work was so well known in Britain that she was considered "the goddess of Canadian anthropology" (Homa Hoodfar, personal commmunication).

Despite Kathleen Gough's international stature, both sexism and political conservatism combined to make sure this radical woman anthropologist married to a man in her field never held a full-time tenured position. Although women had a better chance to be hired by the 1960s and 1970s, dissenting, radical women were not well tolerated by conservative university administrators. Like Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict before her, Kathleen Gough was able to function outside the academic establishment. Like them, she used alternative strategies to work out her visions of kinship and peasant societies. But these were exceptional people by any reckoning; they succeeded despite the odds. The majority of women—and the majority of men—need institutional support. In this context, the SSHRC's new policy of denying research

time stipends to independent scholars prevents highly trained people (mostly women) who have neither permanent positions nor private means from producing scholarship outside of academe.

Notes

1. My thanks to David Aberle, David Ainley, Sally Cole, Geneviève Eustache, Susan Hoecker-Drysdale, Homa Hoodfar, Fumiko Ikawa-Smith, Ellen Jacobs, Richard Lee, Eleanor Smollett, Elvi Whitaker and Judy Whitehead for providing data and insight for this paper. Research was funded by a SSHRC Women and Work Strategic Grant (1989-91).
2. Apparently, in 1984 the University of British Columbia did offer her a professorship, but she was no longer interested in an academic position (see Gough 1990:1706).
3. In 1948 Cambridge admitted women to "full membership" at the University (McWilliams-Tullberg 1975).
4. During this period, she wrote several chapters for *Matrilineal Kinship* (1961) which she co-edited with David M. Schneider.
5. Although the statistics presented in this paper are only broken down to pre-war and post-war trends, and not to annual statistics, it seems that in the early 1960s, approximately 18 percent of all new anthropology teachers were women. Most were employed in smaller institutions and/or undergraduate departments.
6. The Aberles were among the many American anthropologists taking advantage of the expansion of Canadian universities (Inglis 1982).
7. The CAUT Bulletin, between 1969 and 1971, contained frequent references to this ongoing controversy.
8. See essays in Ainley 1990.
9. In 1951 Timlin was the first Canadian woman social scientist to be elected to the Royal Society of Canada. There is considerable archival material on Timlin at the University of Saskatchewan archives. On Ross see Susan Hoecker-Drysdale (1990).
10. June Helm McNeish remained in a marginal position at Carleton University. Her husband was in a good permanent position as archaeologist with the National Museum of Canada. Another good example is Mary Jane Pi-Sunyer, lecturer in Anthropology at the University of New Brunswick in 1960 where her husband, Oriol, obtained a post as assistant professor of Anthropology in 1959. Ainley, unpublished research data.
11. According to Lutz (1990), most women anthropologists are cited less frequently than their male colleagues. Even a cursory look at the Social Science Citation Index reveals, however, that Gough's work was widely and often cited.

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REMEMBERING KATHLEEN GOUGH . . . HER STUDY AND SUPPORT OF SOCIALISM

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My relationship with Kathleen was a friendship of many years' duration, founded and maintained by our shared intellectual and political concern that socialist development should be studied, described and supported. Kathleen was committed to socialism. She considered it the road most likely to lead towards a more just and humane way of life. Consequently, she followed all socialist-oriented peoples' struggles with keen anxiety and hope.

In her writings on south India she faithfully reported the contributions of the communist movement to struggles for justice among the rural poor; she always named the political parties involved explicitly, regardless of how North American academia might be reacting at the moment to the word "communist."

After her first visit to Vietnam in 1976, she wrote the first of her two books on Vietnam (*Ten Times More Beautiful: The Rebuilding of Vietnam*, 1978), her loving portrait of the Vietnamese people's struggle to rebuild their devastated land and of their efforts, in the face of overwhelming obstacles, to maintain socialist principles as they did so. Kathleen was a realist. Her writings on Vietnam paint no utopia. Like all her work, they are full of the concrete details of people's everyday problems and circumstances and provide the full complexity of the context in which people chose how they would act. The errors, the contradictions, the carry-over of thinking from the past, the material limitations are all there. But her overall conclusion is clear. She observed. She listened to what people told her about their lives. And it was evident to her that the people were benefiting immeasurably through socialist development.

She was able to see this because of the nature of the questions she asked the people and herself. She did not arrive in Vietnam with a checklist of what a society must accomplish to be "really socialist," as so many Marxists in academia were wont to do. She looked at the direction of movement, at the

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concrete gains from where the Vietnamese had begun. And she compared what had been achieved in Vietnam with the situation she knew so thoroughly in India—the increases she saw in Vietnam in health care, education, pensions, in the diversity and availability of employment; improvements in agriculture that directly benefited poor rural people; improvement in conditions for women to develop their talents; advances in popular participation in solving problems; a sense of hope—she compared all these results of socialist development in Vietnam with India, and the picture was clear. Observing socialist development from the point of view of the Vietnamese themselves, rather than as judged against a hypothetical ideal system, she found the people's stated enthusiasm credible.

Kathleen's modesty and gentleness of character was combined with an absolute toughness in face of intellectual or political intimidation. She was scrupulously honest in what she said and wrote. When she was uncertain, she said so. When her thinking changed, she said so. If there were consequences, she bore them. Confronted with China's attacks on Vietnam, she found herself re-examining her views of Chinese foreign policy. This led to re-examination of Soviet foreign policy as well and to a comparison of what each had contributed to Vietnam. From there, she began also to re-evaluate some of her long-held negative assumptions about life within the Soviet Union. When this strained some of her long-term friendships, she bore it. Suddenly, she experienced difficulty in publishing some of what she had learned in a 1982 visit to Cambodia; the material remained unpublished for some time until we contacted *New World Review*, who gladly printed what they could of it.

Kathleen was one of my several mentors when I did a year of field work in India in 1964, and our friendship dated from that time. Since 1971, my own field work has been in Bulgaria. I did not return to work in India again, but comparison with what I had experienced there always affected my observations of socialist development in Bulgaria. So Kathleen and I had that common perspective to share.

Just as Kathleen expressed her own best understanding of social realities at any given time, regardless of the political winds of the moment, she also supported the work of other scholars whom she trusted, whether or not their views were popular with established experts. I experienced this personally in her consistent support through the years of my own research and writing about socialist development in Bulgaria. When I gave her articles, she read them at once, provided comparisons, criticisms and encouragement. When I wrote what I observed and what Bulgarian village people told me—of their devotion to socialist co-operative farming and the enormous improvement in standard of living and fulfilment at work that it brought them—I met the scepticism of the expert referees at journals and granting agencies, who rejected the work as naïve. Kathleen helped to get at least some of it into print.

I remember one moment in particular in the 1970s early in my work in Bulgaria. I had written about the early days of co-operative farming in the village of Kirilovo and had quoted directly from a tape-recorded life history account by Todora Eneva Mineva. Todora had detailed her former extreme poverty, the step-by-step building up of the co-operative, the easing of the farmers' labour as they mechanized, the new houses they were able to build for themselves. She described the pleasures of working in a team, that they could sing and act parts as they worked—one could be the bridegroom, another the mother-in-law—and she said that women go to work now with flowers in their hair. Beside the phrase "flowers in their hair," the rejecting referee wrote "heavy . . . !" It was only with the comfort and support of Kathleen that it was possible to continue working after moments like that. I stand personally bereaved at the loss of that support.

Kathleen herself knew about scepticism. In her 1977 article, "The Green Revolution in South India and Vietnam," in speaking about Vu Thang co-operative in Vietnam, she wrote:

> The result is a community which is still sparsely supplied by western standards, but is immeasurably more prosperous, comfortable, egalitarian, cheerful and optimistic than the villages of Thanjavur. I find it hard to describe the joy and pride, even the elation, that I found there, for fear I am not believed, so I will stick to material matters.

Kathleen's concern with life in socialist countries continued to the end of her life. Her last book was *Political Economy in Vietnam* (1990), her second book about Vietnam. I wonder how she felt about the headlong rush straight into the arms of the World Bank and the IMF, which had already begun before she died—as the socialist bloc began to come apart, and a generation of people began their slide into the Third World, confident that "the market equals democracy." I do not know what her thoughts were about this. I hope that her political work will bear fruit at a future time and that the present period of reaction will be followed by renewed endeavours to build socialism and new advances in its accomplishment.

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ETHICS AND RESPONSIBILITY: THEMES IN THE LIFE AND WORK OF KATHLEEN GOUGH

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Kathleen Gough epitomized the best anthropology has to offer: important and impeccable scholarship combined with courageous commitment to social justice. Her India research accompanied her admiration for India's freedom fighters; her Vietnam work grew from empathy for the Vietnamese people in their struggle for independence and her informed outrage at the United States' war upon them. Always Gough's actions spoke as loudly as her words. Her scholarship was unquestioned but for her conscience she paid the price of recurrent harassment and lost employment while earning the respect of colleagues, of students, of those about whom she wrote and among whom she struggled.

Before we had met, I knew about and admired Kathleen as a result of our shared research interest in India. I became acquainted with her personally through our shared commitment to social responsibility in anthropology, and especially through our participation in the anti-Vietnam War movement. We each organized (she with husband David Aberle) anti-war teach-ins on our respective campuses in Berkeley and Eugene—as did colleagues nationwide—on March 23, 1965, simultaneously with the prototype teach-in organized by Marshall Sahlins in Ann Arbor.[1]

Two years later, on March 24, 1967, we both delivered papers on the issue of social responsibility at the joint meetings in San Francisco of the Southwestern Anthropological Association and the American Ethnological Society.[2] We met frequently during the years that she, David Aberle and their son Stephen Aberle lived in Eugene directly across the street from my parents' home. There is no scholar whose intellect, courage and social conscience I have admired more, whose friendship I valued more.

In identifying ethics and responsibility as themes in her life and work I want to focus on the positive, assertive responsibility she shouldered to *act* on the understandings and insights she obtained as a research anthropologist and

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on the values she embraced as an empathetic, humane being. The Principles of Professional Responsibility, to which our professional association was committed during the last 20 years of her lifetime (i.e., from their adoption in May 1971 until their revision and dilution in 1991 [Newsletter 1970; 1989; cf. Berreman 1991]), included this paragraph under its second principle, "Responsibility to the Public":

> As people who devote their professional lives to understanding people, anthropologists bear a positive responsibility to speak out publicly, both individually and collectively, on what they know and what they believe as a result of their professional expertise gained in the study of human beings. That is, they bear a professional responsibility to contribute to an "adequate definition of reality" upon which public opinion and public policy may be based. (Newsletter 1970; American Anthropological Association 1983:1-2)

This principle, and the responsibility to act upon it, are what I mean by the "positive responsibility" which Kathleen Gough advocated and lived by. She was political in the truest sense, even as she was scholarly in the truest sense. Her values remind me most closely of those of my other hero, the great sociologist C. Wright Mills, whose commitment to the "politics of truth" she shared. As he put it:

> 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 such a world as ours, to practice social science is, first of all, to practice the politics of truth. (Mills 1959:178)

And again:

> The intellectual does not have any one political direction, but the work of any [person] of knowledge . . . does have a distinct kind of political relevance: his [*sic*] politics, in the first instance, are the politics of truth, for his job is the maintenance of an adequate definition of reality. (Mills 1963b:611)

> The political [person] does not need to wait upon more knowledge in order to act responsibly now. To blame . . . inaction upon insufficient knowledge serves as a cheap escape from the taking of a political stand and acting upon it as best [one] can. (Mills 1963a:301-302)

In this essay I will briefly characterize Gough's ethical, positively and proactively responsible, research and writing, bearing in mind that it was consistently, inextricably and uncompromisingly bound to direct social and political action in pursuit of peace and social justice; that is, she sought indefatigably to enhance the quality of human life. I will demonstrate this by quoting from the source: herself. By way of introduction, I want to quote a paragraph

written by her husband and colleague, David Aberle, together with their son Stephen. That will be followed by a few lines from a eulogy by Ronald Frankenberg. These quotations will lead us directly to the words, the work and the life of Kathleen Gough:

> [She] struggled valiantly for the rights of women, minorities, and the oppressed of the third world. She was active in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, the Civil Rights movement, and the struggle to end the war in Vietnam. Passionate in her commitment to social justice, she fought oppression wherever she encountered it, often at risk and cost to her academic career. Her vocal opposition to U.S. policies during the Cuban missile crisis led to her departure from Brandeis University. At the University of Oregon, together with her husband, she participated in and helped to organize marches, rallies, and an all-night Teach-In to stop the war in Vietnam. Their opposition to the war was a major factor in their decision to come to Canada in 1967, where they offered aid to American draft resistors. She and seven of her colleagues lost their positions at Simon Fraser University in British Columbia as a result of their attempts to organize faculty, staff and students in their department along democratic lines. (Aberle and Aberle 1990)

> Kathleen never joined any political party, although in India she had sympathized with the aims and policies first of the CPI [Communist Party of India] and then the CPI(M) [Communist Party of India (Marxist)]. While at Wayne State [University, 1960-61] . . . she met, and debated major political and humanizing issues with, black and other radicals in Detroit and she . . . came to understand and empathize with the problems of the powerless in the United States and, as [a] logical extension of her lifelong feminist consciousness and hatred of oppression, to embrace Black liberation and women's liberation. (Frankenberg 1991:24)

I turn now to Kathleen Gough's own words, beginning with excerpts from a paper entitled "New Proposals for Anthropologists," which she delivered before the plenary "Symposium on Social Responsibility" at the 1967 meeting in San Francisco of the Southwestern Anthropological Association (Gough 1968a). Thereafter I will quote at some length but still only fragmentarily from another, much longer, article (Gough 1968b) in order that the reader may achieve further appreciation of the power of her ideas and her prose:

> In this revolutionary and proto-revolutionary world, anthropologists are beginning to be in difficulties. From the beginning, we have inhabited a triple environment, involving obligations first to the peoples we studied, second to our colleagues and our science, and third to the powers who employed us in univesities or who funded our research. In many cases we seem now to be in danger of being torn apart by the conflicts between the first and third set of obligations, while the second set of loyalties, to our subject as an objective and humane endeavor, are being severely tested and jeopardized. (Ibid.:405)

> The question tends to become: what does an anthropologist do who is dependent on a counter-revolutionary government in an increasingly revolutionary world? (Ibid.)
>
> With all these demands many anthropologists bury themselves in their specialties or, if they *must* go abroad, seek out the remotest, least unstable tribe or village they can find. As Peter Worsley (1966) has recently pointed out, however, in a paper called "The End of Anthropology?" we shall eventually have to choose either to remain, or become specialists who confine themselves to the cultures of small-scale pre-industrial societies, or else, bringing to bear all our knowledge of cultural evolution and of primitive social institutions, embark fully on the study of modern societies, including modern revolutions. If we take the former path, as our subject matter disappears, we shall become historians and retreat from the substantial work we have already done in contemporary societies. If we take the latter path—which is the one some of us must inevitably follow—we shall have to admit that our subject matter is increasingly the same as that of political scientists, economists and sociologists.... Unfortunately, we have I think a serious drawback in our own history which makes it very difficult for us to approach modern society as a single, interdependent world social system. This is that although we have worked for over 100 years in conquered societies, and although for at least 50 of them we have emphasized the interconnectedness of parts of social systems, we have virtually failed to study Western imperialism as a social system. (Ibid.)
>
> Why have anthropologists not studied world imperialism as a unitary phenomenon? To begin to answer this question would take another article. I will merely suggest some possible lines of enquiry, namely: (1) the very process of specialization within anthropology and between anthropology and related disciplines, especially political science, sociology, and economics; (2) the tradition of individual fieldwork in small-scale societies, which at first produced a rich harvest of ethnography, but later placed constraints on our methods and theories; (3) our unwillingness to offend, by choosing controversial subjects, the governments that funded us; and (4) the bureaucratic counter-revolutionary setting in which anthropologists have increasingly worked in their universities, which may have contributed to a sense of impotence and to the development of machine-like models. (Ibid.:406)

Gough then goes on to say that if we are to do applied research, as she certainly thinks we should, let it be on real issues affecting real people in the real circumstances of their lives:

> We might compare revolutionary and proto-revolutionary movements for what they can teach us about social change.... We need to know ... whether there is a common set of circumstances under which left-wing and nationalist revolutions have occurred or have been attempted in recent years [in a wide variety of nations].... What are the types of peasantry and urban workers most likely to be involved in these revolutions? Are there typologies of leadership and organization? Why have some revolutions failed and others succeeded? How did it happen, for example, that some 1,000,000 Communists and their families and

supporters were killed in 1966 in Indonesia with almost no indigenous resistance, and how does this affect the self-assessment and prospects of, say, the Left Communist Party in India?

... I am asking that we should do these studies in *our* way, as we would study a cargo cult or kula ring, without the built-in biases of tainted financing, without the assumption that counter-revolution, and not revolution, is the best answer, and with the ultimate economic and spiritual welfare of our informants and of the international community, rather than the short run military or industrial profits of the Western nations, before us. I would ask that these studies be attempted by individuals or self-selected teams, rather than as part of the grand artifice of some externally stimulated master plan. Perhaps what I am asking is not possible any more in America. I am concerned that it may not be, that Americans are already too compromised, too constrained by their own imperial government. If that is so, the question really is how anthropologists can get back their freedom of enquiry and of action, and I suggest that, individually and collectively, we should place this first on the list. (Ibid.:407)

In another part of the same discussion, published as a separate paper in Theodore Roszak's *The Dissenting Academy* (1968), she explicitly addresses the issue of ethics in anthropology. She begins by referring to the resolution condemning the war in Vietnam which she and David Aberle had introduced at the business meeting of the American Anthropological Association's 65th annual meeting, November 1966. That resolution, as amended and adopted, was as follows:

Reaffirming our 1961 resolution, we condemn the use of napalm, chemical defoliants, harmful gases, bombing, the torture and killing of prisoners of war and political prisoners, and the intentional or deliberate policies of genocide or forced transportation of populations for the purpose of terminating their cultural and/or genetic heritages by anyone anywhere.

These methods of warfare deeply offend human nature. We ask that all governments put an end to their use at once and proceed as rapidly as possible to a peaceful settlement of the war in Vietnam. (American Anthropological Association Newsletter 1966:2)

Gough comments on the response elicited by the resolution's introduction to the Association's Council (i.e., the membership):

The Vietnam resolution had ... a history that illustrates some of the conflicts and strained loyalties among anthropologists. ... Its introduction [at the business meeting of the American Anthropolgical Association's annual meeting] was opposed by the President-elect [of the Association, Frederica De Laguna] and by a majority of the executive board. The chairman [President-elect De Laguna] felt obliged to judge the resolution "political," and hence out of order, since the Association's stated purpose is "to advance the science of anthropology and to further the professional interests of American anthropologists." A hubbub ensued at the conference in which the resolution was salvaged when one member [Michael J. Harner] suddenly proclaimed, "Genocide is not in the

> professional interests of anthropologists!" ... A motion to overrule the chair then passed by a narrow margin. Amendments were next introduced [and approved] that removed an allegation that the United States was infringing international law by using forbidden weapons, and transferred responsibility for the war from the United States government to "all governments." ... The proceedings showed that under pressure, most anthropologists are willing to put their profession on record as opposed to mass slaughter. But most are evidently unwilling to condemn their own government. (Gough 1968b:136-137)

On the next page she makes what I consider to be her *core* statement on the positive ethical responsibility of anthropologists—a statement which should be enshrined in the collective memory of our discipline. Having commented that much anthropological research, while legitimate and interesting, is irrelevant to issues confronting people in the world today, she goes on to say:

> [It bypasses] the most crucial problems of world society. Cumulatively [it] also evade[s] a central question: *Who is to evaluate and suggest guidelines for human society, if not those who study it?* It is as though the more we study the world's cultures, the less capable we feel of making judgments as citizens; certainly, the less able to speak or act collectively on the basis of our knowledge.
>
> This partial paralysis results, I think, from the way in which, over time, the social settings of anthropologists have affected their research problems, theories, and conceptions of social responsibility. (Ibid.:138, emphasis added)

She proceeds from there to a keen and extensive analysis of the history of the relationship between anthropology and imperialism, whereupon she concludes with a return to the broad ethical implications:

> It must be acknowledged that anthropology has not been and cannot be ethically neutral. Rather, what seems to have happened is that in circumstances of increasing specialization, bureaucratization, and management of research by governments, anthropologists have virtually ceased to ask explicitly what the human goals of our science are. More and more reduced to the status of hired functionaries, they have tended to make productivity of facts and of mutually unrelated hypotheses their goal. The fear of being speculative and "unempirical" (a fear that may bear some relation to the less conscious fear of producing politically or socially "subversive" theories) has made current anthropological work fragmented and dull. In abdicating the search for beneficent goals for our science, we have ceased to be its masters and have turned into its slaves.
>
> For a speculative and questioning anthropologist in America, the networks of research and teaching within which he must work are increasingly repressive.... While professors need not always actively support current policies, they may be handsomely rewarded if they do so and they are discouraged from effectively opposing them. The fact that constraints are usually unofficial and vaguely formulated, and that they operate within a rhetoric of democratic and academic freedoms, only adds to the bafflement and frustration of unconventional scholars. (Ibid.:149-150)

This last paragraph makes a point upon which Gough was writing from the authority of bitter experience. Nevertheless, she concluded the article, as she had the talk upon which it was based, on a hopeful note—a note of "optimism of the will" which always characterized her work despite the "pessimism of the intellect" which informed it:

> In the universities of the West, the anthropologist's best hope may be his students. These, far outnumbering their elders, are forcing us to reexamine our subject matter, theories, and aims. As they insist on creating a space in which to think freely and to grow in dignity, they will shake the foundations of our academic institutions. With them, we may be able to help in reshaping our own society, and in so doing to find new goals for the science of man. (Ibid.:156)

I will turn now to some words chosen from four more among Kathleen Gough's scores of published works—words which further exemplify her contributions to socially relevant scholarship: the breadth of her interests, the depth of her knowledge and understanding, the pervasiveness of her courage and social conscience.

In the Preface to *Imperialism and Revolution in South Asia*, co-edited with Hari P. Sharma (1973), we read:

> American social science research on South Asia is remarkably lacking in studies dealing with the dynamics of imperialism as well as with the revolutionary movements that have arisen to destroy this system. This book is a modest attempt toward meeting that lack. (Ibid.:vii)

That book contains two essays by Gough, the first of which comprises the initial chapter, "Imperialism and Revolutionary Potential in South Asia" (Gough 1973a).[3] I will characterize it by means of two quotations:

> It is noteworthy that in India the Communist movement has received strongest electoral support in states which have the poorest food supply and the highest proportions of landless laborers, and in which both these conditions have been exacerbated in the past twenty years: Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, and West Bengal, where between 45 and 89 percent of the people are estimated to lack the food *calories* (let alone the food content) necessary for adequate subsistence and where between 34 and 37 percent of the agricultural population were landless or near-landless laborers in 1963-64. By contrast, the right-wing Jan Sangh and Swatantra parties are strongest in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Uttar Pradesh, and Punjab—states where much lower percentages (between 13 and 26) of the people are estimated to receive inadequate food calories and where the percentage of landless or near-landless laborers is as low as 12-23 percent of the agricultural work force. It is not argued that absolute poverty or landlessness directly "cause" support for communism, but it is suggested that revolutionary ideology will be stronger and more widely accepted in states where the largest proportions of the people have suffered relative deprivation in food supply, living standards, and landholding over a period of years. Where smaller proportions have suffered deprivation, right-wing parties may

gain support from people of middle rank who are afraid of losing their security or being attacked by the poor.

Again, it is not argued that revolutionary movements will necessarily *start* among the poorest peasants and landless laborers. . . . Nevertheless it is argued that once an armed revolutionary movement has gained strength, it has large potential support in areas with masses of poor peasants and landless laborers, and that regions experiencing an increase in the proportions of these classes are ones in which revolutionary ideologies are most likely to take hold. (Ibid.: 12-14)

She concludes the essay with this paragraph:

Flexibility, a break with past South Asian Marxist groups, new alignments which crosscut some of these groups and some ancient enmities within the Marxist fold, and independence of external socialist mentors seem to be required of the South Asian revolutionaries in the immediate future, as do efforts toward unity with each other. During the resistance struggle in Bangladesh in the spring of 1971, a militant of the National Awami Party put the matter crisply to a reporter: ''We don't worry whether China openly supports us or not, whether Russia tries to mediate, or America tries to replace Yahya Khan [General and head of state, Pakistan, from 1969]. We have to wage our own battle, and we are sure to win.'' (Ibid.:33)

From Gough's classic study in two rural villages of Tamil Nadu, *Rural Society in Southeast India* (1981), I will quote two paragraphs from the Preface, followed by three excerpts from the Conclusion:

Preface:
This book is about changes in the political and economic structures of two villages in Thanjavur district of Tamil Nadu State in southeast India. It is an attempt to view the villagers' changing internal class relations in the context of change in the larger structures of the district, state, and nation, in which some members of each village participate and which affect all of them. (Gough 1982:vii)

I hope that this work . . . may have practical value for labour organizers in south India. Thus, I explore the conditions in which villages retain traditional hierarchies of authority through caste assemblies, and those in which such hierarchies disappear. I discuss conditions favourable to the rise of unions among agricultural labourers and the effects of such unions on the political consciousness of workers. I also consider obstacles to union formation, especially among tenant cultivators and smallholders. Finally, I note reasons why many village people, despite their poverty, support extremely conservative political groups. These and similar questions relate, of course, to the revolutionary potential of various classes of villagers, a potential yet to be realized in India. (Ibid.:viii)

Conclusion:
When I first worked there in the late 1940s I thought that India would soon become a socialist country because of world trends coupled with the misery of the people. The outcome was otherwise; India today is a major, if dependent, capitalist power with a large industrial establishment. But it is not a prosperous country, and especially in the present crisis of world capitalism, the conditions of the majority are deteriorating year by year.

Unfortunately, class struggle is at present often obscured or derailed by interethnic conflict, which is usually engineered by the more prosperous and is often the direct outcome of conflicts among the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie.

Class struggle, however, continues, especially on the part of agricultural labourers, dispossessed tribal minorities, and the most exploited industrial workers. At present, there is no nationwide revolutionary leadership capable of coordinating and directing such struggles in the country as a whole, but the need for it is widely felt. Whether or how India will proceed to socialism cannot now be predicted. That it will eventually do so still seems probable. (Ibid.:527-528)

Here, again, we see the optimism of Gough's will combined with her courage of her convictions. Eight years later she produced a follow-up book, *Rural Change in Southeast India: 1950s to 1980s* (1989). In the words of her Introduction:

This book analyzes economic and political change in Thanjavur District, and especially in two villages, between the early 1950s and the early 1980s. It forms a sequel to *Rural Society in Southeast India*, which dealt briefly with the colonial period in Thanjavur and then focussed on the results of my first fieldwork of 1951-53. (1989:ix)

And in her Conclusion:

The green revolution dovetailed with the actual operation of the land acts to promote capitalist farming. . . . In general, as has been noted for other areas of the capitalist periphery, green revolution farming had widened the income gaps both regionally and between large and small owners. (Ibid.:518)

Whereas the big owners hoarded paddy until the scarce seasons and then sold it on the blackmarket, the poor had to sell theirs at low statutory prices in the harvest seasons and then buy paddy at blackmarket rates in times of scarcity. . . .

Similarly, credit arrangements favoured the rich and mulcted the poor. Rich farmers had the benefits of institutional credit at relatively low rates of interest, whereas poor farmers and workers had to borrow mainly from private moneylenders. (Ibid.:519)

Inequality had increased not only among the villagers as a whole, but also among the landowners. In both villages, the top 25 per cent of the owners owned more of the land in 1952 than in 1897, and still more in 1976. . . . Land ownership had thus become more centralized as well as more concentrated in the course of capitalist development. (Ibid.:524)

Gough's most recent project was a continuation of her 20-year concern with and for Vietnam and its people. From its beginning the concern for Vietnam had constituted a major additional focus for the anthropological scholarship and social concern which had previously been devoted primarily to India. She relinquished none of her devotion to India, but added a similar devotion to Vietnam, applying her energies to both in her characteristic scholar-activist mode. Her last book, entitled *Political Economy in Vietnam* (1990), she dedicated "to the struggling people of Vietnam, with gratitude and love." It is grounded in extensive library research as well as visits to Vietnam in 1976 and 1982.[4] It covers history and ethnography, an evaluation of contemporary social and economic programs and a thoughtful (and not surprisingly controversial) analysis of Vietnam's internal and international political evolution from 1946 until the present, followed by her projections regarding its future. It is a passionate and compassionate work, one which required courage matched by few, together with creative energy and physical stamina more commonly associated with youth.

As yet another indication of Kathleen Gough's breadth of expertise, interest and moral concern I must mention her "Irawati Karve Memorial Lecture" (named for the late, great Indian anthropologist), delivered in New Delhi before the Tenth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences in 1978. The lecture was titled "Dravidian Kinship and Modes of Production," a fitting subject in view of Dr. Karve's work on Indian kinship and her expertise in Dravidian kinship in particular. When published by its sponsors, the Indian Council of Social Science Research, the lecture was received with high scholarly praise (K.G. Aberle 1978). I will not attempt to summarize her argument in that lecture, but I cannot resist characterizing and quoting from her final remarks therein.

After having discussed the implications of changing modes of production for traditional and changing features of Dravidian kinship and having noted that overall "changes in the position of women under the peripheral capitalist mode of production are too complicated for me to mention more than one or two points of interest," she proceeded to make those points and then to close her lecture with these socially and politically incisive and provocative comments:

> The opening up of wage and salary work for some women, and of female school education, appear to have brought a general disappearance of both taboos and formal privileges in relation to kinswomen, involving both a decline in the sexual connotations of womanhood and an increase in feminine freedom. . . .
>
> The changing position of women is not one of simple emancipation, however. . . . While more and more women are thrown on their own resources in small matrifocal or nuclear family households, unemployment makes the lives of millions wretched or insecure. . . . On the other hand, when women do en-

> gage in wage work outside the home, they are likely to have a heavier double burden of external and domestic work than was traditionally required of them.
> For the full emancipation of women, and for the end of unemployment and poverty, we shall have to wait upon a new mode of production. (Ibid.:18)

The Karve Memorial Lecture was a manifestation of the work which has doubtless been most responsible for the respect and lasting fame which Gough has achieved in the worlds of anthropological and Indic scholarship: her research and publication on social organization among the Nayar and other matrilineal castes of Kerala. These writings are to be found in a variety of places, but nowhere as sharply focussed nor as widely read and quoted as in her co-edited book, *Matrilineal Kinship* (Schneider and Gough 1961). Her essays not only comprise the bulk of that book (11 of the 17 chapters; 354 of the 727 pages), but are recognized as classics in the anthropology of kinship, of matriliny and of social organization in India. Four of those chapters are ethnographic accounts, two on the aristocratic Nayar castes, one on the low caste Tiyyar (or Irava) and one on the Muslim trading group, Mappillas. Her remaining seven chapters are incisive and broadly analytic comparative treatments of variation and change in matrilineal societies worldwide.

Gough concludes the final chapter, "The Modern Disintegration of Matrilineal Descent Groups" (ibid.: 631-652), in her familiar manner, with a paragraph which characterizes extremely briefly a very detailed, convincingly documented and persuasively argued analysis of the complex and important process described in the previous 20 pages. With characteristic attention to social relevance, and not a little understatement, she also suggests the practical significance of that process and her analysis of it:

> Although . . . absorption into the capitalist market system eventually appears to bring about the disintegration of both patrilineal and matrilineal descent groups as organized units, one may perhaps expect decay to become earlier apparent in the matrilineal system. There are also more intermediate steps in the process of change, and the end result shows greater discontinuity with traditional forms than appears to be the case in a patrilineal society. (Gough, *in* Schneider and Gough 1961:652)

A Concluding Tribute

In this brief essay I have quoted Kathleen Gough's own words at length because I think only they can adequately convey the tenor of her work; only they can demonstrate the magnitude and variety of her contributions to anthropological thought, to our collective social conscience and our individual political courage. We are privileged indeed—*graced* may be a more fitting word—to have had among us a colleague and role model of such profound compassion, courage, intellect and insight. Those who were her friends are doubly graced.

Having made my solemn tribute to Kathleen as a paragon of ethical, socially responsible, activist anthropology I will conclude on a lighter note, for she had her lighter moments as well and a warm sense of humour. I think she would appreciate my favourite personal memory of her, for it reveals something essential about her that is missing in what I have written above—something that those who knew her will immediately recognize.

That memory is of a fine spring day in the early 1970s when Kathleen was visiting Berkeley. It was also a day—one of too many such days—when tensions and conflict over the war in Vietnam were running high and riot police from a number of Bay Area cities were everywhere, patrolling the campus and the town. I was acting as her host-for-the day and, knowing her, I was not surprised when she suggested that we take a stroll down Telegraph Avenue, "To see what's going on." Neither was I very surprised when, a few blocks down the avenue, we encountered a police barricade and were told by an armed and helmeted Oakland cop, baton in hand, that the street was closed.

I was about to turn back when Kathleen, all matronly innocence with her British accent and flowered spring dress, stepped up to him and asked, "Whatever for?"[5]

"Security! You can't go. It's our orders," the cop announced.

To which she replied, "I don't see why not, it's a public thoroughfare," whereupon she firmly shouldered her way past the astounded officer, who shrugged uncertainly as I followed, equally uncertainly, and we proceeded to have our look at the nearly deserted avenue, the only souls to have crossed the police picket.

Notes

1. Sahlins, anthropologist then at the University of Michigan, was the inventor of teach-ins which were to become the hallmark of the anti-war movement on campuses nationwide.
2. Subsequently published in *Current Anthropology* as part of the "Social Responsibility Symposium" (Berreman 1968; Gough 1968).
3. Her other essay in the volume is a vivid account, based on her own field work, of the oppression of untouchables in rural south India and the resentment and resistance with which they respond. That essay, comprising chapter 2 of part 2, is entitled "Harijans in Thanjavur" (Gough 1973b).
4. See also her first book on Vietnam, *Ten Times More Beautiful: The Rebuilding of Viet Nam* (1978).
5. The public impression Kathleen conveyed was vividly suggested by Harriet Rosenberg when she spoke briefly at the memorial session from which the papers in this volume are drawn. She remarked that upon first meeting Kathleen she thought to herself, "This is how it would be if the Queen Mother were a communist!"

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SOME THOUGHTS ON KATHLEEN GOUGH'S CONTRIBUTION TO FEMINIST TEACHING IN ANTHROPOLOGY

Pauline Gardiner Barber
Dalhousie University
Belinda Leach
University of Guelph

Our contribution to this volume was prompted because the reflections we heard about the theoretical and political significance of Kathleen Gough's work seemed not to give sufficient attention to those aspects of her work that have had the most impact on us: her contribution to a politically engaged yet intellectually rigorous feminist anthropology.

One of the things which we believe it is important to communicate at the outset in our teaching is that anthropology is always and everywhere a political undertaking and that consequently the theoretical models we rely on are prone to ideological blindspots—a point of view that came all too slowly to the discipline.[1] For us as student anthropologists in the 1970s and 1980s, and for the students we now teach, Kathleen Gough's writing and her example help to impress upon us the political consequences of what we do (and do not do) in our research.

As teachers of anthropology charged with interpreting the discipline for our students in the mid-1980s through to the present, we continue to face the daunting, yet crucial, task of capturing the *historical* nature of socio-cultural anthropology. The present context for the teaching of anthropology provides us with opportunities to take theory and ethnography in new and appealing directions, as well as requiring us to negotiate a difficult route through some potentially paralyzing hazards. On the one hand we need to be sensitive to the deeply contentious issues arising from so-called post-colonial contexts, such as the question of voice, of subtle and not-so-subtle forms of domination and of our own role, as white academics, in the reproduction of inequalities. On the other, we must come to terms with the theoretical rifts which have developed between Marxists, feminists and those espousing the newer perspectives

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associated with post-modernism. While these recent developments open up promising avenues for refining the tools of the discipline, they can have the tendency to focus our attention more on the fragmented and complex present and away from a constructive critique of the ways the discipline has evolved through several decades. In this period of rapid and apparently paradigm-shifting change in the discipline, an historical approach to the production of knowledge is fairly easily overshadowed, yet it is essential to our analysis of the present that we recognize the various interpretative lenses through which theories of the past have been brought into focus.

Since neither of us developed subject specialization in South East Asia, the political implications of our research and that of others was most clearly communicated to us through Kathleen Gough's writings about marriage and family, gender and feminist scholarship. For her, the debates surrounding kinship and marriage were not simply intellectual, but were filled with political meaning and consequence as well. In her article on the "Origin of the Family" (1971b) she makes clear that we should not be swayed by our commitment to feminist goals to the point where we distort our interpretations of gender divisions of labour in favour of ideas/ideals of matriarchal societies. As subsequent feminist scholarship revealed, her measured approach and caution were appropriate.

Her "Nuer Kinship: A Re-examination" (1971a) was an important early step in establishing that under certain conditions women were political actors in their own right, rather than being assumed to be, by virtue of their gender, passively under the control of men. To come to this conclusion Gough recognized that in Nuer society, as in others, women do not constitute an homogeneous category, but are differentiated. In this case wealth and attachment to powerful and aristocratic lineages were deciding factors in shaping women's political activity. The recognition of differences between women was a lesson to be learned painfully by future feminist scholars.

Through careful argument "The Nayars and the Definition of Marriage" (1959) presents a definition of marriage which reached beyond the patriarchal definitions then current and in doing so was among the first anthropological challenges to the universality of the nuclear family. These particular articles stand as illustration of the importance of careful review of gender relations in particular contexts.

In her discussions of gender and family relations Kathleen Gough was mindful of the kinds of assumptions and projections that social researchers are likely to reproduce in their research. Most particularly it is in discussions of family and gender where, as over two decades of feminist scholarship demonstrate, research stops and ideology takes over.

For feminist anthropologists like ourselves, this then is the major area of influence that Kathleen Gough has and continues to have. She provides the

tools and examples for the teaching of gender relations and an awareness of the manner in which this particular subject matter has been historically produced within the discipline of anthropology. Yet she also provides us with hope for a feminist politics if we keep in mind her exhortation that we not forget ''that the past . . . does not limit the future'' (1971b:75). Teaching Kathleen Gough's work on gender and family in the context of the debates current at the time she was writing is teaching feminist anthropology at its best. Politically committed, yet theoretically and empirically balanced, hers is work that several generations of anthropologists, ourselves included, have learned from and taught with.

Note

1. The publication of *Reinventing Anthropology* (Hymes 1969) was one significant mark of healthy reflection and debate in the discipline. Perhaps *Recapturing Anthropology* (Fox 1991) will similarly constitute a new framing of these issues.

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REASON AND LOVE

Peter Boothroyd
Centre for Human Settlements
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Excerpts from a speech given on the occasion of the inauguration of the U.B.C./Republic of Vietnam Joint Project, Bo Ho Hotel, Hanoi, July 1, 1991:

President Ky, Vice-Presidents Nam and Tang, Directors, colleagues and staff of the National Centre for Social Sciences: The University of British Columbia warmly welcomes you to this dinner to celebrate our joint project with your Centre.

Today, July 1, is Canada's national holiday. So it is a particularly happy occasion for us. We are happy to celebrate our 124th birthday; and happy that on this birthday, Canada is beginning a new relationship with Vietnam. Our project has been supported by the Canadian International Development Agency. This means that the Canadian government now, officially, wants to increase contact with Vietnam, and is prepared to support co-operation between our two countries in this and other ways.

Our project, as many of you know, has a long history. The spiritual, and in fact practical, founder of our project is Kathleen Gough Aberle, a distinguished Canadian anthropologist and Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada.

Dr. Gough first came to Vietnam in 1979, then again in 1982, to study the evolving political economy of Vietnam. One of her colleagues here was Professor Nguyen Minh Luân who accepted Kathleen's invitation to visit Canada and attend a scholarly conference. Some of us in the U.B.C. delegation were privileged to meet him. A friendship developed immediately, and we were in the fortunate position to be able to apply for support from CIDA as soon as it began authorizing projects in Vietnam last year.

Kathleen worked very hard in putting together the proposals which led to this project. She was thrilled to think she would once again be able to work with her friends here.

To the shock of all of us she took ill and died in September.

In her book on Vietnam which was just published, her affection for the Vietnamese people shines through on every page. Several times in her book

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she notes that the ideals of the Vietnamese revolutionaries can be summed up in the words, "reason and love."

I am hopeful that these ideals will guide our project. As scholars, of course, we respect reason. But we must use our reason with love. We must develop knowledge to help create conditions in which life for the poor can be improved.

The more I get to know the scholars and staff of the National Centre, the more confident I am that our project will continue in the spirit that so impressed Kathleen.

Ladies and Gentlemen, on this day, Canada's birthday, and at the opening of the Canadian embassy in Hanoi, I ask that you join me in celebrating the spiritual legacy left by Kathleen Gough Aberle: "International scholarly co-operation in the spirit of reason and love."

KATHLEEN GOUGH

Peter Limqueco
For and on Behalf of the Journal of Contemporary Asia *Editorial Board*

In meetings members of *JCA* had with Kathleen Gough we discovered three major strands in her outlook, all very congenial to us politically.

First, she believed that we should take an intense interest in reforms and policies which could ameliorate the condition of the working peasant or workers in industry in rural areas: exploitation should be exposed, as should trends which denied the labour movement a just share in what economic growth *did* occur as a result of land reform, "green revolution," new capital investment, etc.

Secondly, she had the perspective that while we need to understand that a given social sysem is a fact of life in the short run and has to be taken as a starting point for analysis and reform, the continuing objective is to overthrow a social structure which has its origins in colonial times and even earlier during the Asiatic Mode of Production.

Thirdly, Kathleen insisted that Vietnam is a country which has suffered all the problems characteristic of the Third World *plus* a genocidal intervention by the biggest power ever known. Vietnam deserved our support and it deserves our continuing support in the period of its social reconstruction due to the cruel legacy of the War and U.S. blockades and intrigues against the peoples of Vietnam.

Concerning the first of these points we refer to Kathleen's arguments in her book *Rural Society in Southeast Asia* (1982) which Dr. C.A. Gregory reviewed in the *Journal of Contemporary Asia* 16(2):267-270.

The empirical data she collected in the Tamil Nadu villages of Kumbapettai and Kirripur was, as Gregory noted, of high quality.

It was this solid data base which allowed her to make judgments each time she returned (1951-53; 1976) concerning the effects of the green revolution and of Tamil Nadu's land reform legislation. Judgment required Marxian theory to be applied to the data—concepts applied were class and caste structure, differentiation among peasants and regions. Furthermore (as noted by Gregory), Kathleen Gough had the intelligence to use oral traditions, government

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records and family documents in order to "set the background," to have a good idea of the historical balance of forces in the region.

On the second issue of longer-term goals for the Left in relation to Third World struggle her arguments, as in her "Socio-Economic Change in South East India" (Gough 1987), boiled down to the observation that a way has to be found of helping those who are bullied by the rural elite and those who control the district's economy. She observed that a *new kind* of rural elite with different kinds of political connections was emerging in the 1970s by comparison with the political scene of the 1950s. The forces that could be united included some of the middle peasants, the large number of former village serfs and the people working as washerman, barber, oilmongers, builders, toddy tappers, smiths and peddlers. Communist organization of labour unions, formerly quite strong had, by the 1970s, been weakened by splits and personality clashes over strategies. There had developed a strong economism to the neglect of land struggles. This severely weakened what should be the long-term goal—to unite the peasantry, the urban workers, the petty bourgeoisie in a revolutionary struggle to overthrow the whole set of social relations by structural change and establishing a new form of state power.

Since Kathleen saw class struggle, national liberation, women's liberation and socialist transformation as interlinked, she visited Vietnam with a keen eye to all these issues. The results of her observations were set out in her book *Ten Times More Beautiful: The Rebuilding of Vietnam* (1978). She reports in detail on the improvements Socialism brought—not to the bourgeoisie but to those at the bottom end of the income pyramid. She mentions problems for women arising from traditionalist pro-family beliefs in State and Party, which had recognized the need to expand women's opportunities but tended to respond only when women insisted on extension of their rights. Although encouraged by the prominence of women in the work force and middle-level politics, she saw the need for women to develop a continuing struggle for more participation. Finally, coming from long acquaintance with agricultural areas in south India even poorer than those in Vietnam, she was able to perceive what solid progress had been made in Vietnamese agriculture. This was by contrast to the writings of visitors from Western countries previously acquainted only with more affluent conditions who were genuinely shocked by low living standards in the Indo-Chinese countries.

Finally, one should note that Kathleen Gough sincerely regretted the political fall-out from the great Sino-Soviet clashes of the 1960s. This led her, as someone who saw a certain degree of opportunism in Indian communism, to wonder why Vietnam thought that the U.S.S.R. had been a necessary condition for their successful expulsion of U.S. imperialism from Indo-China. While such a hesitation was understandable in one long immersed in village problems where people had little stake in a moribund system of exploitation,

Kathleen Gough respected the political judgment of Vietnamese political leaders and refused to fall for the Pol-Pot propaganda against Vietnam that influenced quite a few ''concerned Asian scholars'' among American academic researchers.

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KATHLEEN GOUGH WILL BE REMEMBERED FOREVER!

Nguyen Minh Luân
Centre for Gender, Family and Social Relations, Hanoi, Vietnam

Kathleen departed from this life forever! But we, her Vietnamese friends, who had been happy to meet and work with her always remembered her, a women imbued with humaneness, compassion and energy, a noted scientist full of consciousness and ethics.

Especially, we have highly valued the soul and sentiment of Kathleen who had devoted almost all her life to valiantly struggling for the truth, social equality and the people's interests, although her own interest and her scientific cause were affected sometimes.

While she was still young, she actively struggled for the interests of women, of the minority ethnic groups and the oppressed peoples in the Third World. She joined in the campaigns for nuclear arms disarmament, and for human rights. Particularly, she, together with her life companion, Doctor David F. Aberle, actively took part in the movement against the Vietnam war.

With her profound sentiments for the Vietnamese people she overcame boundless difficulties and came to Vietnam in the period full of hardships caused by enemy and natural disasters. As she wrote in a letter to a Vietnamese friend on May 19, 1990: "During the past 25 years, Vietnam has always been in the centre of my life. I have loved and highly admired the country of Vietnam."

After the work *Ten Times More Beautiful: The Rebuilding of Vietnam* was published in 1978, she completed in 1990 the book *Political Economy in Vietnam* which was published some days before her death.

These two precious books, together with a series of her articles, have helped readers the world over understand more clearly and more correctly the realities of national building and defence in Vietnam and Cambodia in various historical stages, and encouraged our people to march forward, overcome all difficulties and obstacles to build a life in peace, freedom, well-being and happiness.

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With practical deeds she had served as a firm bridge for mutual understanding and scientific co-operation between Vietnam and Canada.

Thanks to her recommendations and active assistance, many scientists, organizations and universities in Canada expressed their wishes to establish co-operative relations with Vietnamese social scientists in scientific research, information exchange and personnel training.

Kathleen Gough passed away, leaving behind boundless regret to her friends and family. But the more we grieve, the harder we work to serve our people and mankind at large and to struggle against poverty, backwardness, oppression, exploitation of man by man, war and social unequality, etc.

Kathleen will have a good rest in eternity and live forever in our hearts.

KATHLEEN GOUGH—THE SPIRITUAL HUMANIST

Susheila Raghavan Bhagat

Kathleen, my mentor, friend, confidant and benefactor. She was all of these and much more, for words are inadequate to describe the depth of my feelings for her. She descended into my life at a time when I was going through culture shock and intellectual adjustment combined with financial troubles.

At Brandeis University, subsisting on a small graduate fellowship, my living arrangements off-campus were rather unpleasant and interfering with my studies. Kathleen, with her spiritual grace and caring, absolutely stunned me by offering to pay for the difference in costs of staying in the dormitory on campus. Much as I was touched and was extremely grateful to her for her magnanimous gesture, I just could not come around to accepting her generous offer. Somehow, I managed to work out other arrangements to move to the campus dormitory. The story did not end there. One fine day when I went to check my campus mailbox I found an envelope with Kathleen's neat handwriting. Enclosed with her lovely letter was a cheque for $100. She wanted me to have it, she said, as a token of her appreciation for the many kindnesses she received from the people in Tanjore, India, adding this was the least she could do. Needless to say, I was overwhelmed. In those days—the 1960s—$100 was a lot of money, especially for a struggling student.

I had written to my father in India, who also was overwhelmed by Kathleen's kindness and generosity: that from somewhere Providence had sent a caretaker for his youngest child in a faraway place without the comforts of home and family. Remember too that in 1962 there were not too many Indians living in the United States. Kathleen's generosity and caring have become legendary in our household in India.

The intellectual refinement I went through under Kathleen's tutelage is something for which I shall be eternally grateful. My master's thesis, based on my field work in the British Virgin Islands, was a product of her coaching and fine-tuning of my central thesis on the impact of migration on the Tortolan class structure. Just as I was relishing the intellectual challenges of studying with Kathleen as my adviser, chaos reigned on the campus as she became controversial with her pronouncements about Cuba and criticism of Ken-

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nedy's policy. The university administration's rift with her and all the mental agony she and David Aberle endured became our pain as well, since we students felt rudderless. Kathleen and David were leaving Brandeis, and each one of us tied to Kathleen in our intellectual pursuits had to make decisions about our own future studies.

On a personal plane, however, I feel fortunate that I kept the link with Kathleen as we exchanged annual Christmas letters. This continued until her last. The final expression of her caring was revealed to me when I received copies of her books on Tanjore and Vietnam from the Centre for Human Settlements. Even on her deathbed, as she lay fighting the cancer that ultimately claimed her, Kathleen left word that copies of her latest publication should be sent to a few of her friends. That I was one among the chosen few to receive her books was an honour from Kathleen that I shall always cherish. To me, Kathleen will live on forever.

SOME RECOLLECTIONS

Mordecai Briemberg
Douglas College, New Westminster, BC

In November last year, David invited me over to select a few books as mementos from Kathleen's library. A postcard on the bookcase shelving, with its faded-colour reproduction of a magnificent ancient temple, caught my eye. Turning the card over I surprised myself, for it was one I had sent Kathleen almost two years earlier from Thanjavur, Tamil Nadu, near the villages where she had done so much methodical and insightful field work.

What memories of India the card evoked for Kathleen, prompting her to put it in view, I of course cannot know. I want to speculate that her memories wove together many images of beauty and misery and political vitality: the remarkable stone carvings; the women who sit on endless roadsides smashing rock for hours with the frailest of tools in broiling sunlight; the energetic public debate that instantly exposes our own political culture's scandalous backwardness and monochromatism.

My first visit to India, four months as a traveller, deepened still further my appreciation of Kathleen's accomplishment of discerning, amidst that tangle of stimulating particularities and puzzles, the shapes of political economy and class struggle in village India. Hers was a very fine mind, penetrating and rigorous. With a gift for clear expression, she has left a lasting revolutionary intellectual contribution.

When I returned to Vancouver that spring of 1990, I phoned Kathleen full of my enthusiasms and now larger and more tangible curiosities—for India sharpens the senses. I brought warm greetings from the contacts Kathleen had given me before leaving, and expressed my own gratitude. For it was with her assistance that I had been able, among other things, to walk through rice fields, guided by a village communist organizer, meeting with Harijan families.

That spring Kathleen too was full of enthusiasm, and busy with practical preparations for her new project in Vietnam. She planned to study, in the combination of detail and scope at which she was so skilled, the complex efforts to revolutionize productive relations in the Vietnamese village. But practical preparation itself brought a sudden end to her planning. As she recounted to me so boldly: I took the car for a check with the mechanic, the

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cat for a check with the vet and so decided to take myself for a check with the doctor. Thereby she discovered her rampant cancer.

Kathleen approached this malignancy as she had approached other destructive forces in our world: with intelligence and courage. Nothing decent can be accomplished without that, but the tragedy we all know is that no success is assured by that either. In the tragedy of Kathleen's dying I feel deeply it was my very good fortune to have been able to have had time with her. We did not reminisce about our long and determined efforts, with many others, to construct a mentally rigorous, co-operative and empowering, authority-challenging milieu at Simon Fraser University. That was when we first developed our bond of comradeship. That bond endured without any need for its formal reaffirmation. It proved stronger than political disagreements and had outlasted periods of infrequent contact.

Perhaps it was this mutual gift that silently gave us the confidence and the wish to dialogue about the fate of this century's revolutionary struggles for emancipation. As Kathleen faced her own death, we speculated, as self-conscious humanity everywhere speculates, on the fate of the global struggle to eradicate the scourges of class oppression, patriarchy and racism—on the prospects for socialism.

Each of the three times we spoke, the horsemen of counter-revolution had loomed larger over the horizon. Kathleen died before they savaged the Iraqi people, before that formal annunciation of a world where the dogs of U.S. militarism roam unleashed and unrivalled, where frightened states rush to appease and where competition for the role of praising Caesar is fierce—from Gorbachev's pitiful fawning to delusionary liberals who herald a "revitalized" U.N. Meanwhile in the wings, holding their counsels in private, the imperial rivals of Europe and Japan plot their impending counter-moves.

In the difficult moment of her too-early dying, Kathleen was entitled to project despair or to seek solace in a maudlin gloss on history. She chose neither. Rather, manifesting her personal loyalty to comradeship, her thinking continued to challenge what is unwanted and evil with a passionate commitment to the needed and the good. She probed recent events with a still vital conviction that the communist internationalist heritage remains a most creative seedbed for practical emancipation from this inhumane world order.

We are a small, disorganized band today who draw sustenance from that revolutionary vision of egalitarianism. It is a vision which continuously has to be extracted with mental effort from the contemporary turmoil, and which has been fought for with pride and with courage in the past 150 years.

I believe Kathleen would want us to carry this vision forward, with clarity and fortitude; also with love for one another and with loyalty. She wrote that she learned these qualities from the Vietnamese. But my moments with her convince me she also knew something of them herself.

"ANTHROPOLOGY AND IMPERIALISM" REVISITED

Kathleen Gough

(Reprinted, by permission of the Editor, *Economic and Political Weekly*, Bombay, 25[31]:1705-1708, August 4, 1990)

An article by the author in the Economic and Political Weekly *in the late 1960s noted that Western anthropologists had neglected the study of imperialism as a world system. The author suggests below that this has been remedied, as various social and political movememnts catalyzed a corpus of social science literature and debate. This article examines demographic and economic indicators to highlight the changing character of developed and less developed capitalist and socialist countries and its significance for social scientists.*

In 1967 I wrote a paper "New Proposals for Anthropologists" for the Southwestern States Anthropological Association meeting in San Francisco. I couldn't think of a journal in the United States that might be likely to publish it, and it was published in *Economic and Political Weekly. Monthly Review* republished it in 1968, as "Anthropology and Imperialism," after which it was translated into several languages and reprinted many times.

I want first to briefly outline the problems that were bothering me when I wrote that paper and the historical background to it. I would then like to mention some of the kinds of work that have been done in North America since 1968 that are relevant to these problems. Finally, I want to talk about some of the major changes in the world which have an impact on our subject and our thinking.

"Anthropology and Imperialism" was written at the height of the war in Vietnam. My husband, David Aberle, and I, along with a number of other anthropologists, had become deeply disturbed by the evidence of wholesale destruction of territory, villages and people by U.S. forces in Vietnam, especially by the use of anti-personnel weapons such as napalm, and the defoliation of forests and cultivated land.

In 1967 David Aberle presented a resolution at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association which condemned those weapons. To

our dismay, it was ruled out of order by the then chairperson, Frederica de Laguna, and vehemently opposed by Margaret Mead, who argued that political resolutions were "not in the professional interests of anthropologists." There was a commotion on the floor. David Aberle, Gerald Berreman and others argued against the chair, but the day was won when Michael Harner rose and stated: "Genocide is not in the professional interests of anthropologists." Against the chair's ruling, the resolution was then passed by a large majority. It was one of the first published statements by a professional association against the war in Vietnam. There was of course an enormous outcry against the war by the U.S. public as well as by professionals in later years. The Vietnam war (or as the Vietnamese more properly call it, the U.S. imperialist war) came to an end in 1975, after about two million Vietnamese had been killed and perhaps another two million crippled.

By "imperialism" I mean any social system in which the government and/or private property owners of one or more countries dominate the government and people of one or more other countries or regions politically, militarily, economically or socio-culturally (usually all four of those) to the detriment of most of the subordinated people's welfare.

For the last 400 years, most imperialism has been capitalist. During this century, capitalist imperialism has wreaked the most harm and been responsible for the most deaths through two world wars and almost countless "minor wars," as well as through starvation, malnutrition, destruction of traditional agriculture and industries and political repression by dependent, dictatorial governments.

However, the Soviet Union and China have also practised forms of imperialism since their revolutions. In 1967 I tended to neglect this phenomenon because I am a Marxist and was somewhat biased in my outlook, and partly because I did not have evidence that the U.S.S.R. and China had extracted economic surplus from their dependencies, and so I tended to underestimate the political and cultural repression that they had practised. I agree, however, with those who argue that the Soviet Union *has* practised imperialism in eastern Europe and in some of its own republics (although not, I would add, in allied Third World countries such as Cuba or Vietnam). And I think that China has practised imperialism in Tibet, and has tried to do so through its invasions and encroachments on Vietnamese territory since the early 1970s. The Soviet empire is now clearly breaking up, while Chinese imperialist efforts in the Indochinese countries have met stiff and, one hopes, decisive resistance.

Capitalist imperialism, however, is still flourishing. It operates especially through the support, often covert, of governments which favour the interests of the U.S. capitalist class, and through the extraction of economic surplus from the dominated countries by such means as withdrawal of profits, unequal trade and, especially recently, foreign debt.

In my article, "Anthropology and Imperialism," I noted that Western anthropologists had neglected the study of imperialism as a world system. I argued that in most cases dependence on the imperialist powers of their own countries, yet also on the good will of the people whose cultures and societies they studied, had tended to produce either an attempt at value-free social science (which is impossible), or a kind of liberal benevolence in which anthropologists worked for reforms in dependent societies rather than confronting the governments and the total system in which they operated. I noted that because of anti-communism in the Western imperialist countries, hardly any Western anthropologists had done field work in socialist societies, and that anthropologists did not usually even use the work of journalists and others who had lived in and written about socialist countries or were associated with revolutionary movements.

I tried to do a numerical calculation of the so-called Third World or "under-developed" countries, the results of which are presented in the accompanying table. I argued that shortly after World War II it had looked as if at least 37 percent of the Third World population—for example in India, Indonesia, Egypt, etc.—might progress in mixed economies under relatively independent governments, but that by the late 1960s it seemed that those countries, which I classified as "less dependent capitalist," were also coming more and more under the sway of capitalist imperialism, especially from the U.S.A.

I noted that about one third of the Third World populations had had revolutions and were moving towards socialism in systems which I saw as relatively independent.

About 2 percent of the world's people still lived in outright colonies in 1967, while about 28 percent lived under governments which might be called "neocolonial," as they were largly beholden to one or more imperialist powers and were likely to collapse if imperialist military and economic support were withdrawn.

Within this global setting, I noticed that in the late 1960s at least 20 Third World countries with a total population of 266 million—11 percent of the Third World population—possessed armed revolutionary socialist movements, while another 21 percent of the Third World peoples had large, unarmed revolutionary movements or parties with considerable popular support.

It seemed to me that Western anthropologists were entering a dilemma because they worked increasingly in countries that were undergoing revolutionary upheavals, yet they were funded by and dependent on counter-revolutionary, usually Western, governments and universities. I suggested that in spite of this dilemma, anthropologists should try to study socialist countries and revolutionary movements with as little bias as possible. I also proposed trying to compare the effects of Western capitalist and industrial socialist forms of

influence on Third World peoples, for example, by comparing United States influence on the Dominican Republic with Soviet influence on Cuba. Another suggestion was that we try to test, through research, André Gunder Frank's belief that per capita food production in non-communist Africa, Asia and Latin America had declined, often to pre-war levels, since 1960, whereas it had risen above pre-war levels in China and Cuba.

Before turning to the present, I want to note that it is not easy for anthropologists to study imperialism and report their findings and hypotheses boldly. We may think we are free and independent, but often we are not, or have not been in my experience. I'd like to mention three incidents where this was brought home to me.

The first of these occurred in October 1962 when I gave a lecture at the request of students at Brandeis University on the day of the Cuban missile crisis. I must admit it was a fairly passionate lecture, as I had been studying the Caribbean, had visited Trinidad and, in general, supported the Cuban revolution. I condemned the U.S. threats to Cuba, which the U.S. had already invaded at the Bay of Pigs in 1961, supported Cuba's right to defend itself, and spoke warmly of some of the reforms that Fidel Castro had introduced. As a result of this talk, the university president came down on me very severely. He made it known that I would never receive a permanent appointment at Brandeis, and after a series of incidents my husband and I were forced out of the university. We moved to the University of Oregon, but I was unable to find another regular teaching post until 1967.

A different dilemma presented itself in early 1967. The U.S. government brought in a ruling that students in universities and colleges would be classified by their draft boards in accordance with the grades they received. In general, students in good standing would be exempt from fighting in Vietnam, but students who failed exams would have to go. Feeling that this compromised the integrity of his subject and gave him an unjustifiable right of life and death over his students, David Aberle refused to fail any of them, and I informed my department that I would not grade the students in some sessional lectures that I was about to give. As a result my appointment was withdrawn, and David faced the embarrassing prospect of having other faculty grade his students. In some other universities, a number of faculty members were fired for refusing to grade their students. This situation contributed to our decision to move to Canada. Ironically, the draft board regulation was withdrawn while we were leaving.

For me, however, Canada proved less than hospitable for revolutionary socialists. I taught for two years at Simon Fraser University in a department about half of whose faculty were Marxists or left liberals. Too many extraordinary events happened for me to recount, but when my contract came up for renewal, although I was a senior professor, I was turned down by the Tenure

Committee on the grounds of "serious doubts about her scholarly objectivity and academic procedures."

The "scholarly objectivity" ruling, I later learned, arose because the committee—which did not contain any anthropologists or sociologists—had read only one of my articles, "Anthropology and Imperialism." Apparently they didn't like it. The "academic procedures" objection was based on the fact that our department had instituted student committees on par with those of the faculty for recommendations on such matters as curriculum, promotions and hiring. The administration and most of the university disapproved, and 11 of us, or half the department, who had supported the student committees, were fired. Five of us were dismissed in mid-year after a strike by students and faculty, even though a series of independent faculty committees from outside the university had judged that we should be reinstated.

As a result of this fiasco, Simon Fraser University was censured and boycotted for 15 years by most professional associations in the social sciences worldwide. The result for me, however, was that I could not find a regular teaching position locally until 1984, when the University of British Columbia offered me a professorship. I didn't take it then, as I was nearly 60 and was in the midst of research in India and Vietnam.

Although these events were painful at the time, I must note that I don't have the need to self-pity, for I was able to obtain grants and have had a wonderful time for 30 years studying revolutionary movements and societies. At times, however, I have felt wistful because my contact with students has been so limited. Some professors fared much worse than I did, and some chose or were forced to leave the universities.

In spite of such obstacles, universities in North America are more open now than they were in the 1960s, and research on imperialism has increased enormously. During the 1960s, national liberation movements in the Third World, the Black Liberation movement in the United States, the Women's Liberation movement and the anti-war movement smashed the intellectual strait-jacket that North Americans had suffered under since the McCarthy period, when Marxists and many left-liberals were cleaned out of universities and colleges—indeed, out of most forms of employment. Because of the shifts in power that occurred as a result of these new social movements, radical scholars were again able to find a footing in universities, even if only temporarily in some cases. Inside and outside the colleges, a large body of radical social science literature and debate arose. Much of it was in sociology and economics rather than anthropology or political science, but all disciplines were affected.

Following the publication of Paul Barran's *Political Economy of Growth* (1957) and Harry Magdoff's *The Age of Imperialism* (1968), André Gunder Frank and Immanuel Wallerstein have done more than most authors to try to

grasp the dynamics of imperialism and its changes through the centuries. Eric Wolf's *Europe and the Peoples Without History* is a major contribution, as are the works of Noam Chomsky and Edward S. Herman, Edward Friedman and Mark Selden, John Bellamy Foster, Cheryl Payer, Eleanor Leacock and Susan George. Among studies of imperialism in particular regions, I have found Wolf's work on Central America, James Petras on Latin America, Thomas Hodgkin on Africa and Vietnam, and Gabriel Kolko, also Daniel Gettelman and his associates on Vietnam, among the most fruitful. My own work has been on the impact of imperialism in India and Vietnam.

A number of North American and other Western scholars have now worked in so-called communist countries, for example, Eleanor Smollett in Bulgaria, Michael Vickery and Ben Kiernan in Cambodia, a host of scholars in China, and Melanie Beresford, David Marr, Christine White, Jayne Werner and myself in Vietnam. But the list is too long to recount. And of course, as before, there have been excellent studies of imperialism, revolution and socialism by scholars in the Third World or outside Western universities by such authors as Paul Sweezy and Harry Magdoff, Darcy Ribeiro, Felix Greene, Wilfred Burchett, Arlene Eisen, Susan George and many more. In the late 1960s and later, journals sprang up that were devoted to radical scholarship on the Third World, for example, *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, *Journal of Third World Studies* and several on south Asia, Latin America and the Middle East. Although there are still anthropologists who would deny that imperialism exists, it must be hard now to go through a university education in the social sciences without some knowledge of it. There are still, of course, anthropologists and other social scientists who work actively, sometimes covertly, in support of imperialism, but their influence is less menacing than when I first came to the United States in 1953.

Lest I sound too optimistic, it must be stressed that imperialism is as bloody and cruel as it ever was. In the last decade, we have had the British invasion of the Falklands/Malvinas Islands, British repression in Northern Ireland, the U.S. invasions of Lebanon, Grenada and Panama, the U.S. attack on Libya, South African support for invasions in Angola, Namibia and Mozambique, and "low-intensity warfare" (which is never low intensity for those at the receiving end) in Afghanistan, Cambodia, Angola and Nicaragua. China, too, has joined the CIA in harassing Vietnam and supporting the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia. Some might count the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan as an imperialist adventure—one that the Soviets now regret. I am doubtful of that, for I think the Afghan government was worth supporting against the mullahs and the landlords. Some might also include the Vietnamese troops' warfare in Cambodia and the Cubans' in Angola, but I would not. My reasons are that, in both cases, those governments and troops went in to help the

working people of allied countries, much to their own cost and disadvantage. The allied governments had popular support, were trying to build more humane, egalitarian societies and were worth helping.

I want now to turn to the changing character of the world today and its significance for social scientists. The accompanying table gives a rough breakdown of the countries I have listed as "less developed" areas as of 1960, 1980 and 1990. Some of the countries I have listed as "less dependent capitalist" ought perhaps to belong to the "more heavily dependent capitalist" category, but I have given them the benefit of the doubt when I was uncertain. The category of "socialist countries" lists these as they are at present, but it may be that we shall shortly have to reclassify some of them, for example, Poland, East Germany and Hungary, as capitalist.

Tentative Categories of States as Percentages of World Population

	1960	1980	1990
"Developed" Countries			
Capitalist	23.11	16.89	14.12
Socialist	11.56	9.47	8.21
Subtotal	34.67	26.36	22.33
"Less Developed" Countries			
Heavily dependent capitalist	19.69	27.27	28.79
Less dependent capitalist	24.17	19.29	22.71
Socialist	21.47	27.08	26.17
Subtotal	65.33	73.64	77.67

The first important change is that the populations of developed countries, both socialist and capitalist, have shrunk as a percentage of the world population since 1960. Together they have fallen from nearly 35 percent of the world population to just over 22 percent. This change has come about mainly because of population growth in the Third World at a time when birth rates were falling in most of the developed countries.

The capitalist "less developed countries" have grown the most as a category. This growth has been mainly in the poorest, most dependent states. The states I have called "less dependent capitalist LDCs" have stayed at much the same percentage of the world population as in 1960.

Now, as then, there are some countries such as South Africa, Israel, Spain and Portugal among LDCs which some authors call "semi-peripheral." They contribute less than 5 percent of the world population. Their per capita incomes average about $4480 a year, as against an average of only $908 per year for the other capitalist LDCs. Some former "semi-peripheral" states,

such as Argentina, have dropped into the low-income category since 1960 and have been reclassified. A few, notably the four "tigers" of Asia—Hong Kong, South Korea, Singapore and Taiwan—have risen into the semi-peripheral category through industrialization or highly favourable trading positions. These countries are often cited as showcases for capitalist industrialization. They have, however, only a tiny percentage of the Third World population and are anomalies. In part, they were built up initially through capital-flight from China, or by industrial capital from the West as places of cheap labour to which transnational corporations could move their factories. There is little hope that the majority of Africans, Indians or Latin Americans could climb out of their deep poverty through the same route.

The number of socialist LDCs has grown as a percentage of the total since 1960, mainly through national liberation wars in Indochina and other previously dependent capitalist states. These countries, however, have not increased their percentage of the world population since 1980, for the 1980s saw few successful national liberation struggles except in Namibia.

In general, most socialist countries have not done well since 1960. Recently, we have seen the collapse of almost all communist governments in eastern Europe and severe conflict in the Soviet Union. The economies of the Soviet Union and all eastern European states are badly compromised, partly through too-heavy military burdens and the burden of aid to the Third World, partly through debts to the industrial capitalist states, but also no doubt because bureaucratic centralism has proved inadequate for building modern economies with high technology or for administering modern, highly educated populations.

In the Third World, too, a number of states like Ethiopia, Burkina Faso, Congo (Brazzaville) and Mozambique are giving up one-party rule and turning to greater reliance on the market in order to try to develop their economies. Cuba is the most successful of the Third World socialist countries, but it has relied on generous Soviet aid, and may not be able to continue on its present path as that aid is withdrawn. China has travelled far along the road to capitalism. Without China, less-developed socialist countries claim only about 5.8 percent of the world population. At least at present, the future of the socialist states with vanguard communist parties is problematic. The average per capita annual income of the developed socialist countries is only $4427, as opposed to more than $13 000 in the industrial capitalist states. The average per capita income in the less-developed socialist states is reported to be only $736, less than the $908 of the capitalist LDCs excluding the semi-peripheral states. It should be noted, however, that socialist per capita incomes are actually higher than is reported in dollar terms for they include, as well as cash incomes, substantial amounts in welfare facilities and subsidized rents and consumer goods.

Meanwhile, the gap in wealth and technology between developed and underdeveloped capitalist states is widening alarmingly. Many more millions of people in the Third World are very poor and many more are starving than in 1960. Today, 40 million children die needlessly each year in the Third World, while the developed countries do less and less to aid them and draw more and more of their wealth from those countries. Susan George's book, *A Fate Worse than Debt*, graphically illustrates these horrors.

The gaps in incomes within industrial capitalist states are also widening. The capitalist world economy has been in a crisis since 1973, and almost every country has seen a decline in the incomes of most workers, a progressive deepening of recessions and, on average, greater unemployment. While the socialist "world" is in an obvious crisis, the capitalist "world" may be teetering on the edge of an abyss of financial collapse and depression worse than has been seen in this century.

At the same time, major shifts are occurring in the distribution of power among industrial capitalist states. U.S. imperialism, which reigned almost supreme until the mid-1970s, is declining in the face of its enormous foreign debt and budget deficit and of rebellions within its satraps. The U.S. may still be able to "win" in small countries like Grenada and Panama, but it cannot take on the whole of Central let alone of Latin America, nor the Middle East nor the Pacific. Western Europe and Japan must share the "burden" in the 1990s. They may expand their empires temporarily, or may be submerged in a world of depression. What they cannot do is plunge into a world war, as they did in periods of comparable inter-imperialist competition in 1914 and 1939. Some other ways out of the world crisis must be found. The only way that I can see is some form of world socialism—ultimately, of world communism—in which production and distribution are organized rationally within and between nations and working people have the main voice in the running of their societies.

The immediate outlook is admittedly rather gloomy for socialists and for most of the world's population. Yet I don't believe for a moment that this means that socialism is dead, or that we are at Francis Fukuyama's "End of History." I also don't think it is true, as some authorities in the West are telling us, that we have seen the end of national liberation struggles. At least four are going on at present, with strong chances of success—in El Salvador, the Philippines, Palestine and South Africa. The enormous size of the underdeveloped world, and the increasing, totally unnecessary poverty of most of it, suggest widespread national revolutions in the not-too-distant future. For the time being, these movements may not get much help from the older "socialist camp." The Soviet Union and the countries of eastern Europe are likely to turn inwards in the next few years in an effort to solve their own problems. It may be some time before their people realize that capitalism, or

reliance on industrial capitalist loans, is not the answer to their political and economic problems, and before they start to struggle for a new national and a new world order. But in the Third World, some countries, notably in Latin America, may begin to struggle collectively against the deprivations caused by capitalist imperialism. In many low-income countries, we may see various forms of revolutionary movement, military or non-violent, according to the circumstances.

We can also expect struggles in the industrial capitalist states on the part of workers, minorities, women and the unemployed, as the capitalist crisis deepens. In eastern Europe too it is unlikely that the workers who built Solidarity in the early 1980s will sit down indefinitely under the crippling prescriptions of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

What is still more probable is that we shall see worldwide struggles. Such struggles are essential now because the world economy has become more unitary since the 1960s and its most serious problems affect many countries, or even the whole world, simultaneously.

Three worldwide struggles are likely to be significant and will probably interact. One is the struggle for a New Economic Order which will redistribute the world's wealth among the industrial and low-income states. It was prescribed by the United Nations in 1975, and spelled out again by Gorbachev in 1985, and is long past due. If it does not happen, millions more will die young in the Third World and international conflict will grow.

The second struggle is for disarmament, both nuclear and so-called "conventional." We can see the interaction of this struggle with that for a New Economic Order when we consider that all of Vietnam's dilapidated roads, bridges, ports, transport and other kinds of infrastructure could be rebuilt for the price of a single B-52 bomber. Again, we are learning that nuclear power plants, quite apart from their relation to nuclear war, are too dangerous by themselves. The peace movement has had encouraging success in recent years. The disarmament initiatives of the Soviet Union and eastern Europe result not only from those countries' economic problems, but from the pressures of the European Nuclear Disarmament Movement. Whereas they condemned it five years ago, the Soviets now adopt its phrases and publicize its slogans. The West cannot go on indefinitely building horrendously dangerous and costly weapons when the threat they are supposed to be countering has disappeared.

The third worldwide struggle is, of course, for the environment. It is growing rapidly in every country and will probably be the most urgent movement of the 1990s. As well as being for survival, environmental struggles are ultimately necessarily opposed to both capitalism and bureaucratic centralism and are for some form of democratic socialism throughout the world.

On the eve of her assassination, the Polish revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg surveyed a scene in which the struggle for socialism outside the Soviet Union had temporarily failed and most people around her were announcing the impossibility of world communism. A similar pessimism has gripped parts of the left today but I think it is inappropriate, for with the end of old-style state centralism and repression the way is open for a better, freer, more democratic socialism for the world. And the need for it has never been more urgent. In last summer's *Monthly Review*, Daniel Singer quoted Rosa Luxemburg's challenge in the final article. I can't do better than repeat it, for it is a singularly appropriate riposte to those who are predicting the end of socialism.

''Order reigns in Berlin,'' she wrote. ''You stupid lackeys. Your order is built on sand. Tomorrow the revolution will raise its head again and proclaim to your sorrow, amid a brass of trumpets: 'I was . . . I am . . . I shall always be.' ''

KATHLEEN GOUGH: A BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Newspapers and Similar Materials

We have followed Kathleen Gough's example by not listing her letters to the editors of daily newspapers and similar materials.

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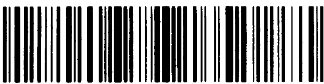
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