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Production Assistant : Surajit Dutta
Prepress : Shongdor Diengdoh

Editorial

Following Prof. T. B. Subba's appointment as the Vice-Chancellor of Sikkim Central University, I have been given the responsibility of editing *The NEHU Journal*. A new editorial committee is constituted to carry ahead the task of bringing out the journal. We are happy to announce that from now onwards, the online version of the journal will also be available alongwith the print version.

The present volume has five articles and five book reviews. The first three articles fall within the social science disciplines. In the lead article, 'Disparities in the Globalization of World Economies', the authors S. K. Mishra and Binod Kumar undertake an ambitious task of constructing indices and globalization of 131 countries across the globe and investigate the trends and disparities in globalization. The authors argue that following the fall of the Soviet Union, even the second and third worlds have taken recourse to globalization, and as such the disparities in the process of globalization have been declining over the years. Countries like India and China found it necessary to globalize their economies in order to expand trade, to seek foreign assistance and to take advantage of the technological progress. Although the authors seem to believe that the process of globalization is inevitable, their concluding comments on poverty, which does not in any way follow from their data analysis, indicates that all is not well with the process of globalization, especially for the third world.

The second article by Ramana Murthy titled, 'Political Economy of Agrarian Crisis and Subsistence under Neoliberalism in India' discusses the status of marginal and small farmers in the context of changing nature of India's capitalist economy. Taking recourse to critical theories of political economy, Ramana Murthy argues that although the small and marginal farmers hold on to agriculture and contribute positively to the economy, they are subject to continued marginalization and exploitation in India's capatalist economy, which has of late turned to neo-liberalism.

The next article written by Debajit Dutta, 'King Nara Narayana's Military Campaigns in North-East India: An Analysis through Numismatics' throws light on the coinage during the regime of Nara Narayana to construct socio-economic and politico-military history of the Koch kingdom in medieval India.

The next two articles are from literature — the first throws light on the symbolism of mountains in the works of Mamang Dai and the second one on the poems of Yehuda Amichai. Based on her study of select poems of Mamang Dai, Harpreet Vohra in her article, 'Symbolism of the Mountains: A Study of Selected Poems of Mamang Dai' brings out the symbolic significance of mountains in tribal traditions and imagery. In the following article, 'The Manifestations of Cultural Memory in the Poetry of Yehuda Amichai', Ever E. F. Sancley reflects on the idea of cultural memory in the writings of Yehuda Amichai, a celebrated Jewish poet. In the light of different meanings and interpretations attributed to cultural memory, Sancley shows how Yehuda Amichai's poetry is interwoven with memories of the Jewish national traditions and history.

The journal carries book reviews by Geetika Ranjan, Jelle J. P. Wouters, Naveen, Prabhakar Prasad Singh and Dipankar Charkaborty. The books reviewed include an array of subjects such as from the contemporary people of northeast India, the Hereka movement, micro-finance, Swamy Sahajananda Saraswathi and a regional novel in Kokborok language.

The NEHU Journal solicits scholarly articles and book reviews. Although there is no bar on the themes of the papers, the journal welcomes insightful papers on the dynamics of northeast India. Committed to improve the quality and the reach of the journal, we solicit feedback from our readers.

H. Srikanth

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Disparities in Globalization of the World Economies*

SK Mishra and Binod Kumar**

Abstract

This paper constructs composite indices of globalization of 131 countries spread over the five continents and classified into World-I, World-II and World-III countries. KOF (or Konjunkturforschungsstelle), the Business Cycle Research Institute in the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology, Zurich is the source of data used in this study. The Composite Indices of Globalization have been computed by Pena's method, which attributes the most desirable properties to the indices so constructed. On the basis of these indices, the paper investigates into the trends of globalization and disparities in globalization for a period of 11 years (1999-2009). Disparities have been obtained as the Gini's coefficient as well as the coefficient of variation. The study finds that in all the three worlds, the trends in globalization are increasing while the trends in the disparities in globalization are decreasing, which suggest global integration and convergence of national economies to a global order. We also find that social indicators of globalization explain the variations in per capita income more potently than economic or political indicators of globalization do.

Keywords: Globalization, composite index, disparities, global integration, convergence.

I. Introduction

Globalization is the process of integration of economies and societies all over the world permitting international flow of people, culture, knowledge, technology, finance and physical resources as well as evolution of the communication system and political relations among the nations that facilitate such flow. It is the "process of creating networks of

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**SK Mishra teaches Economics in North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong. Binod Kumar is Associate Town Planner, working in Town and Country Planning Department, Faizabad, UP.

connections among actors at multi-continental distances, mediated through a variety of flows including people, information and ideas, capital and goods. Globalization is conceptualized as a process that erodes national boundaries, integrates national economies, cultures, technologies and governance and produces complex relations of mutual interdependence" (Dreher, 2006). The decision of a nation (or the government of that nation) to integrate herself in the globalization process is political, though such a decision may be an outcome of various apolitical forces. In action, such decisions, however, are reflected in breaking down of trade barriers or protective barriers such as tariffs and quotas, standardization of international economic laws and policies, establishment of embassies, rationalization of the policies on international communication and human migration, and promotion of a cosmopolitan culture.

While science & technology and the desire (or need) to manage the society on the principles of exchange (Boulding, 1973) or the market economy have been the most powerful force to promote globalization, geographical barriers, ethnic differences, plurality in the belief system as to management of economies and societies, injustice, drive of the some to dominate over the others, ill effects of an incompetent governance of socioeconomic processes, etc. have been the forces that restrict it. Globalization is necessarily a process leading to homogenization which has both plus and minus sides. An inability to balance the two restricts the scope of globalization. From the economic viewpoint globalization may contribute to economic growth through spread effect, increased specialization and appropriation of comparative advantages (Bhagwati, 2004), but if the process is not managed properly, it may induce back-wash effect and adverse social consequences (Bauman, 1998).

II. Globalization in a Historical Perspective

After the World War II the countries of the world were divided into two blocs, the World-I and the World-II. In World-I are the capitalist, industrial, developed countries, most of which have been highly advanced economies, wield greatest influence, enjoy highest standards of living, and are equipped with greatest technology - such as Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Portugal, Singapore, South Korea, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Taiwan, Turkey, UK, USA, West Germany, etc. In World-II were the countries that supported the socialistic or communist philosophy – mostly from Eastern Europe the countries such as Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Soviet Union (USSR,

Ukraine, Belarus, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Lithuania, Moldova, Latvia, Kirghizstan, Tajikistan, Armenia, Turkmenistan, and Estonia), Yugoslavia, etc. The countries that were neither aligned to capitalism and NATO nor did they ascribe to the communist philosophy (remained nonaligned to the Soviet Union) were classified into the World-III. Some economists (Manuel and Possums, 1974) further classify the poor, marginal countries having primitive economies into the sub-class of the World-IV countries. The World-III countries included most of Africa, Asia and Latin America and characterized primitive to less developed (developing) economies. Rostow (1960) argued that the World-III countries have mostly not yet reached the stage of 'take off' and, therefore, foreign aid was needed to help kick start industrialization and economic growth in those countries. Such an aid was also politically appropriate to lure the World-III countries to revolve around the World-I countries and keep a safe distance from the World-II countries. In matters of foreign aid, most of the development economists in the 1950s through 1970s were almost unanimous. According to Bauer (1981), therefore, the World-III countries have been very much prone to solicit and receive Western aid.

The division of countries on the planet into the three sub-worlds (World-I, World-II and World-III) was an event that found its origin in international power politics, which continued for over 40 years as the Cold War between the Eastern and the Western Blocs. The World-III countries continued to be the 'objects to acquire' for the two blocs, aiming at which political, social, economic and strategic policies were designed by both the blocs according to their suitability. This Cold War proved to be the greatest barrier to globalization. However, the cold war lost its vigour in the last decade of the 20th century on account of two historical forces; disintegration of the Soviet Union and international indebtedness of the World-III countries.

Disintegration of the Soviet Union: On account of many forces that weakened the Eastern Bloc, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) finally disintegrated in the end of 1991. The USSR economy rested on the state ownership of means of production, centralized economic and administrative planning, and undue favor to manufacturing of armaments and heavy capital goods at the cost of light capital goods, consumer durables and the consumer goods in general. Due to dictatorial and repressive tendencies of the government, the feedback system that could help formulate efficient plans remained underdeveloped, which led to overproduction of some goods on the one hand and underproduction of other goods at the other,

leading to wastage and shortage. Inefficiency, corruption, supply and use of false information, black marketing, etc weakened the soviet economy, leading to its stagnation. In the 1980s, Mikhail Gorvachev went in for liberalization to address the economic stagnation. Liberalization led to the emergence of long-repressed nationalist movements and ethnic disputes within the diverse republics of the Soviet Union. Ultimately, the constituent members of the union resolved to dissolve the USSR. This disintegration paved the way to globalization of the countries in World-II and World-III (Khan, 2009).

International Indebtedness and Insolvency of the World-III Countries: Most of the World-III countries (such as Afghanistan, Benin, Bolivia, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Republic of the Congo, Comoros, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Guyana, Haiti, Honduras, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Niger, Rwanda, São Tomé and Príncipe, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Zambia, etc) have been heavily indebted (to the extent of insolvency and debt overhang) to the international funding organizations and World-I countries. Some of them chose to be indebted in the name of promoting development although the funds borrowed to the said end were mismanaged and lost to corruption. In other cases, the funds were borrowed for the arms race. In some other cases, a heavy burden of debt was a legacy of colonialism, the result of the transfer of debts of the colonizing nations to those countries. In yet other cases they had a heavy burden of odious debt (Sack, 1929; Howse, 2007). In several developing economies, heavy international debt has led to economic crisis. In some others, structural adjustment is thrust upon them resulting into deformed public expenditure. In case of many countries, therefore, globalization was a result of economic arm-twisting.

III. Quantification of the Extent of Globalization

It is generally agreed that a composite index of globalization can be constructed by synthesizing many indicators of globalization, each representing a particular aspect, so as to compare different countries as to the extent of globalization attained by them. Several indices of the extent of globalization have been suggested, all of which are based on different formulas of synthesis of the indicators of different aspects of globalization, but the KOF index of globalization is considered to be the most comprehensive one (Samimi, et al., 2012).

The KOF Index of Globalization: As summarized by Mishra (2012), Business Cycle Research Institute KOF in the Swiss Federal Institute of

Technology (ETH or Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule), Zurich has, since 2002, been compiling a vast information on different aspects of globalization and constructing the KOF Index of Globalization, year-wise, for a very large number of countries (KOF, 2012). The KOF Index of Globalization synthesizes three aspects of globalization, viz. economic, social and political. Under economic globalization, actual economic flows (such as trans-border trade, direct investment and portfolio investment, ECO-1) and restrictions on trans-border trade as well as capital movement by means of taxation, tariff, etc (ECO-2) are included. In social globalization, trans-border personal contacts (degree of tourism, telecom traffic, postal interactions, etc, SOC-1), flow of information (SOC-2) and cultural proximity (SOC-3) are included. The political globalization (POL-1) includes the number of embassies and high commissions in a country, membership of international organizations, participation in UN peace missions, and the treaties signed between two or more states (Dreher, 2006; Dreher et al., 2008). The three sub-indices (economic, social and political) are constructed by the method of the Principal Component Analysis (PCA) so that the sub-indices explain the maximum possible variation in the data. At the subsequent level, the three sub-indices are synthesized into the overall index of globalization using the PCA. Thus, methodologically, the KOF Index of Globalization is an application of the Principal Component Analysis at two stages.

IV. Objectives and Methodology of the Present Study

This study aims at, first, constructing the composite index of globalization by a methodology different from the KOF and secondly to investigate how, in the recent years, the extent of globalization has been distributed over the regions. We have used the KOF data (available at KOF, 2012) for 131 countries and 11 years, 1999-2009, distributed over Asia, Europe, America, Africa and Australia, and classified into the three worlds – World-I, World-II and World-III. Thus, in this study we are concerned with the economic rather than the geographical regions.

The Method of Aggregation: It has been pointed out that, methodologically, the KOF index of globalization uses the PCA at two levels. This approach has two limitations; first that it is inefficient since it neglects the information on covariance (or correlation) among the constituent variables comprising the three aspects of globalization, viz. economic, social and political, and secondly that it is inconsistent because at the first stage of aggregation it presumes independence among the constituent variables across the different

aspects of globalization, but subsequently, at the second stage of aggregation, it considers the three aspects of globalization interdependent (Mishra, 2012). In the present study, we have used Pena's method of constructing the composite indices, applied on the pooled data (11 years) of all the constituent variables at one go.

Pena's method of construction of synthetic indicator is based on Pena's P2-distance (DP2) defined as:

$$Z_i = DP2_i = \sum_{j=1}^{m}\left[\left(\frac{d_{ij}}{\sigma_j}\right)\left(1-R^2_{j,j-1,\ldots,1}\right)\right]; i = 1,2,\ldots,n \qquad \ldots(1)$$

where: $i = 1,2,\ldots,n$ are cases (i.e. countries); m is the number of constituent variables, X, such that $x_{ij} \in X; i = 1,2,\ldots,n; j = 1,2,\ldots,m$; $d_{ij} = \left|x_{ij} - x_{rj}\right|; i = 1,2,..,n; j = 1,2,\ldots,m$; r is the reference case; σ_j is the standard deviation of variable j; $R^2_{j,j-1,\ldots,1}$; $j > 1$ is the coefficient of determination in the regression of x_j over $x_{j-1}, x_{j-2},\ldots, x_1$. Moreover, $R^2_1 = 0$. A synthetic indicator ($Z = XW$) constructed by Pena's method is claimed to have almost all desirable properties (Somarriba & Pena, 2009; Montero et al., 2010; Garcia et al., 2010). An iterative method (Montero et al., 2010) is used to synthesize the constituent variables into the synthetic (composite) indicator. A FORTRAN source code for the said iterative method (for cardinal and ordinal constituent variables) is free downloadable from http://nehu-economics.info/pena-synthetic-index.html.

The Measure of Disparity: The present study uses Gini's coefficient of variation as a measure of disparity. Gini's coefficient is computed by the formula:

$$[1/\bar{x}]\left[(1/(2n^2))\sum_{i=1}^{n}\sum_{j=1}^{n}\left|x_i - x_j\right|^{\alpha}\right]^{(1/\alpha)} \qquad \ldots \quad (2)$$

The formula in (2) is called Gini's coefficient (of variation) for $\alpha = 1$. For $\alpha = 2$ it is called the coefficient of variation (CV). As usual, $\bar{x}$ ($= [1/n]\sum_{i=1}^{n} x_i$) is the arithmetic mean of x.

V. The Findings

It has been found that among the indicators of globalization trans-border trade, direct investment and portfolio investment (ECO-1) obtains the largest weight. Indicator of political globalization incorporating the number of embassies and high commissions in a country, membership of international

organizations, participation in UN peace missions, and the treaties signed between two or more states (POL-1) obtains the second largest weight followed by cultural proximity (SOC-3) and restrictions on trans-border trade as well as capital movement by means of taxation, tariff, etc (ECO-2). Next, trans-border personal contacts such as degree of tourism, telecom traffic, postal interactions, etc, (SOC-1) and flow of information (SOC-2) follow the suit. The correlation coefficients of the composite index of globalization (Z) with the constituent indicators, however, do not reciprocate to the weights obtained by the latter. SOC-2 has the largest correlation followed by SOC-3, ECO-2, SOC-1 and ECO-1. The smallest correlation has been exhibited by POL-1.

Table-1: Weights obtained by the Constituent Variables and their Correlation with the Composite Index of Globalization

Indicators of Globalization	ECO-1	ECO-2	SOC-1	SOC-2	SOC-3	POL-1
Weights obtained by the Indicators	1.00000	0.48221	0.37849	0.34943	0.54400	0.65190
Relative weights (sum = 1.00)	0.29360	0.14158	0.11112	0.10259	0.15972	0.19140
Correlation with Composite Index	0.69612	0.83876	0.81560	0.91353	0.86174	0.54417

The standardized composite indices ($Z^* = (Z - Z_{\min}) / (Z_{\max} - Z_{\min})$) for globalization (for 131 countries and 11 years, 1999 through 2009) are presented in Table-2. The countries are arranged in the descending order of the magnitude of numerically measured index of globalization in the base year 1999.

Table-2: Synthetic/Composite Index of Globalization (Z^*) obtained by Pena's Method

Country / Year	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Belgium	0.9732	0.9897	0.9844	0.9878	0.9870	0.9862	0.9864	0.9902	0.9990	1.0000	0.9981
Netherlands	0.9343	0.9418	0.9397	0.9277	0.9401	0.9326	0.9402	0.9461	0.9610	0.9619	0.9509
Austria	0.8912	0.9172	0.9210	0.9159	0.9231	0.9136	0.9342	0.9388	0.9679	0.9551	0.9499
Canada	0.9368	0.9437	0.9380	0.9308	0.9211	0.9187	0.9122	0.9130	0.9122	0.9080	0.8996
Denmark	0.8816	0.9206	0.9251	0.9100	0.9205	0.9164	0.9287	0.9288	0.9344	0.9266	0.9089
Switzerland	0.9249	0.9425	0.9367	0.9299	0.9265	0.9054	0.9106	0.9067	0.9117	0.8962	0.8969
Singapore	0.8864	0.8903	0.9121	0.9123	0.9251	0.9145	0.8565	0.9127	0.9196	0.9245	0.9226
Ireland	0.8863	0.8959	0.9036	0.8951	0.8952	0.8834	0.9088	0.9067	0.9025	0.9026	0.9830
Sweden	0.8770	0.8814	0.8770	0.8847	0.8856	0.8925	0.8945	0.8997	0.8959	0.8924	0.8879
United Kingdom	0.8859	0.8914	0.8873	0.8892	0.8947	0.8867	0.8927	0.8862	0.8862	0.8816	0.8787
Finland	0.8793	0.8972	0.8983	0.8897	0.8843	0.8967	0.8731	0.8782	0.8950	0.8837	0.8583
Czech Republic	0.8039	0.8265	0.8484	0.8591	0.8656	0.8955	0.9124	0.9255	0.9282	0.9179	0.9160
Portugal	0.7997	0.8285	0.8379	0.8250	0.8357	0.9022	0.8982	0.9072	0.9177	0.9137	0.9093
Spain	0.8454	0.8677	0.8778	0.8722	0.8728	0.8650	0.8695	0.8755	0.8809	0.8809	0.8623
Luxembourg	0.7936	0.7980	0.8100	0.8422	0.8461	0.8621	0.8523	0.8499	0.9206	0.9188	0.9205
Hungary	0.8047	0.8047	0.8132	0.8006	0.8038	0.8483	0.8691	0.9007	0.9027	0.9068	0.9100
France	0.8093	0.8368	0.8278	0.8284	0.8316	0.8423	0.8431	0.8497	0.8597	0.8600	0.8605
Norway	0.8162	0.8178	0.8148	0.8069	0.8254	0.8126	0.7988	0.8176	0.8296	0.8302	0.8396
New Zealand	0.8138	0.8370	0.8293	0.8249	0.8107	0.8087	0.8074	0.8183	0.8147	0.8139	0.7913
Germany	0.7790	0.8028	0.8027	0.8155	0.8138	0.8160	0.8231	0.8279	0.8344	0.8247	0.8167

Australia	0.8072	0.8204	0.8242	0.8226	0.8280	0.8188	0.8072	0.8100	0.8130	0.7895	0.8052
Slovak_Rep	0.6693	0.7060	0.7215	0.7229	0.7267	0.8070	0.8678	0.8810	0.8871	0.8930	0.8909
Italy	0.7773	0.7955	0.7915	0.7911	0.7936	0.8022	0.7974	0.7909	0.7975	0.7925	0.7865
Greece	0.7151	0.7215	0.7683	0.7717	0.7831	0.7914	0.7904	0.8015	0.8269	0.8356	0.8176
Cyprus	0.6472	0.6630	0.6792	0.6856	0.7099	0.8041	0.8021	0.8147	0.9399	0.9336	0.9302
Poland	0.7090	0.7139	0.7048	0.7244	0.7581	0.8173	0.7979	0.8330	0.8454	0.8259	0.8438
Estonia	0.6872	0.7208	0.7360	0.7476	0.7544	0.7772	0.7776	0.8215	0.8394	0.8448	0.8387
Malta	0.6927	0.6920	0.6831	0.7203	0.7226	0.7750	0.7749	0.7969	0.8073	0.8032	0.8014
Slovenia	0.6422	0.6669	0.6885	0.6933	0.7200	0.7810	0.7694	0.7951	0.8310	0.8357	0.8132
Malaysia	0.7044	0.7142	0.7436	0.7432	0.7354	0.7433	0.7365	0.7476	0.7515	0.7558	0.7521
Iceland	0.7420	0.7571	0.7660	0.7556	0.7702	0.7106	0.7157	0.6904	0.6953	0.7554	0.7062
United States	0.7286	0.7364	0.7261	0.7150	0.7221	0.7315	0.7365	0.7468	0.7524	0.7372	0.7173
Croatia	0.5909	0.5996	0.6250	0.6475	0.6808	0.7290	0.7407	0.7543	0.7782	0.7792	0.7816
Chile	0.6160	0.6398	0.6596	0.6307	0.6462	0.6741	0.6946	0.7041	0.7212	0.7145	0.7045
Bulgaria	0.5891	0.6184	0.6210	0.6207	0.6538	0.6740	0.6565	0.7072	0.7593	0.7547	0.7265
Russian-Fedr	0.5511	0.6264	0.6453	0.6634	0.6773	0.6723	0.6706	0.6761	0.6829	0.6523	0.6686
Kuwait	0.6454	0.6310	0.6386	0.6329	0.6383	0.6409	0.6470	0.6564	0.6781	0.6739	0.6848
Latvia	0.5653	0.5815	0.6019	0.6203	0.6379	0.6759	0.6846	0.7174	0.7121	0.6985	0.6510
Israel	0.5762	0.5901	0.6315	0.6302	0.6299	0.6450	0.6516	0.6517	0.6626	0.7023	0.6948
Jordan	0.5765	0.5789	0.6010	0.5956	0.6157	0.6184	0.6361	0.6535	0.6916	0.7017	0.6872
Bahrain	0.6160	0.6192	0.6425	0.6509	0.6541	0.6432	0.6093	0.6217	0.6258	0.6300	0.6335
Lithuania	0.5187	0.5453	0.5740	0.6027	0.6160	0.6411	0.6591	0.6779	0.6956	0.7050	0.6672
Romania	0.5190	0.5332	0.5348	0.5467	0.5568	0.5996	0.6247	0.6377	0.7378	0.7293	0.7243
Panama	0.5833	0.5947	0.6022	0.5804	0.5890	0.6008	0.6010	0.6089	0.6279	0.6428	0.6582
Serbia	0.3951	0.4748	0.4728	0.5751	0.6261	0.6359	0.5645	0.6646	0.6915	0.7018	0.7027
Ukraine	0.4960	0.5332	0.5417	0.5438	0.5579	0.5740	0.5907	0.5997	0.6315	0.6508	0.6597
Turkey	0.4820	0.5021	0.5351	0.5258	0.5310	0.5388	0.6337	0.5986	0.6350	0.6372	0.6489
Barbados	0.4972	0.5066	0.5219	0.5504	0.5569	0.5551	0.5956	0.6115	0.6128	0.5684	0.5925
Argentina	0.5914	0.5999	0.5743	0.5820	0.5592	0.5683	0.5485	0.5418	0.5399	0.5310	0.5231
Costa Rica	0.5379	0.5340	0.5250	0.5362	0.5595	0.5152	0.5550	0.5868	0.6033	0.6031	0.5859
Japan	0.5065	0.5200	0.5230	0.5246	0.5408	0.5379	0.5436	0.6042	0.6119	0.5896	0.5898
Mauritius	0.4329	0.4295	0.4920	0.4704	0.5282	0.5254	0.5851	0.6426	0.6632	0.6742	0.6010
Bosnia&Hrzgvna	0.3923	0.4701	0.4849	0.4907	0.5090	0.5434	0.5495	0.6076	0.6342	0.6230	0.6163
Jamaica	0.5046	0.5204	0.4713	0.4505	0.5061	0.5879	0.5437	0.5582	0.5705	0.5645	0.5458
Thailand	0.4589	0.4925	0.5240	0.5197	0.5111	0.5246	0.5401	0.5542	0.5561	0.5497	0.5864
Uruguay	0.5004	0.5084	0.5223	0.4850	0.5087	0.5273	0.5374	0.5385	0.5474	0.5691	0.5674
Trinidad-Togo	0.5487	0.5588	0.5777	0.5185	0.5129	0.4830	0.5088	0.5106	0.5064	0.5041	0.5126
South Africa	0.4785	0.4971	0.5227	0.5201	0.5051	0.4997	0.5097	0.5253	0.5410	0.5480	0.5430
Korea, Rep.	0.4708	0.4946	0.5179	0.5086	0.5095	0.5224	0.5079	0.5193	0.5392	0.5442	0.5414
Tunisia	0.4624	0.4741	0.4895	0.4942	0.4955	0.5101	0.5312	0.5226	0.5337	0.5361	0.5292
Moldova	0.3874	0.4336	0.4443	0.4414	0.5200	0.5157	0.5074	0.5417	0.5788	0.5751	0.5906
El Salvador	0.4347	0.4282	0.4507	0.4793	0.4866	0.5099	0.5118	0.5318	0.5455	0.5706	0.5575
Mexico	0.4878	0.5010	0.4938	0.5047	0.4891	0.4834	0.5067	0.5025	0.5058	0.5034	0.5277
Venezuela-RB	0.5186	0.5170	0.5165	0.5253	0.5397	0.4797	0.4862	0.4743	0.4690	0.4574	0.4294
Brazil	0.4720	0.4640	0.4884	0.4828	0.4732	0.4851	0.4865	0.4866	0.5041	0.5073	0.5197
Morocco	0.3464	0.4252	0.4595	0.4736	0.4855	0.4838	0.5218	0.5122	0.5396	0.5446	0.5581
Peru	0.3796	0.4452	0.4508	0.4503	0.4615	0.4687	0.4898	0.5051	0.5397	0.5468	0.5391
Honduras	0.4121	0.4017	0.4072	0.4603	0.4784	0.4836	0.5079	0.5172	0.5233	0.5328	0.5250
Oman	0.4508	0.4592	0.5312	0.4508	0.4459	0.4632	0.4718	0.4683	0.5023	0.4869	0.5178
Guyana	0.4778	0.5188	0.5412	0.4762	0.4679	0.4451	0.4270	0.4724	0.4501	0.4577	0.4380
Ecuador	0.4340	0.4454	0.4348	0.4404	0.4886	0.4981	0.4985	0.4972	0.4963	0.4622	0.4375
Macedon-FYR	0.2607	0.3641	0.3844	0.4242	0.4225	0.4369	0.4966	0.5028	0.6319	0.5995	0.5784
EgyptArab-Rep.	0.4062	0.4225	0.4327	0.4369	0.4293	0.4472	0.4784	0.4942	0.5079	0.5031	0.5065
China	0.3554	0.3778	0.4082	0.4262	0.4365	0.4653	0.4975	0.4906	0.5022	0.4869	0.4902
Philippines	0.4089	0.4258	0.4473	0.4605	0.4461	0.4732	0.4653	0.4642	0.4523	0.4319	0.4343
Namibia	0.4205	0.4420	0.4510	0.4546	0.4240	0.4814	0.4451	0.4207	0.4536	0.4617	0.4540
Colombia	0.3984	0.3987	0.4151	0.4183	0.4400	0.4409	0.4350	0.4882	0.4972	0.4841	0.4827
Kazakhstan	0.3341	0.3876	0.4088	0.4232	0.4353	0.4417	0.4681	0.4571	0.5098	0.5097	0.5147
Kyrgyz-Rep	0.3521	0.4030	0.3924	0.3850	0.3759	0.4385	0.4550	0.5132	0.5417	0.5123	0.5097
Bahamas	0.4159	0.4272	0.4498	0.4366	0.4321	0.4434	0.4519	0.4503	0.4581	0.4434	0.4497
Guatemala	0.3806	0.3530	0.3769	0.3833	0.3851	0.4662	0.4812	0.4903	0.5014	0.5016	0.4947
Dominican-Rep	0.3265	0.4100	0.4333	0.3950	0.4087	0.4640	0.4592	0.4943	0.5095	0.4485	0.4499
Fiji	0.3969	0.3803	0.4173	0.4304	0.4207	0.4269	0.4318	0.4737	0.4631	0.4555	0.4302
Nicaragua	0.3855	0.4111	0.4086	0.4237	0.4388	0.4374	0.4066	0.4452	0.4373	0.4325	0.4492

Azerbaijan	0.2356	0.2950	0.3138	0.3634	0.3872	0.4352	0.5152	0.5101	0.5421	0.5265	0.5254
Bolivia	0.4368	0.4281	0.4200	0.3896	0.3935	0.4123	0.4217	0.4241	0.4251	0.4235	0.4183
Algeria	0.3629	0.3963	0.3922	0.4244	0.4241	0.4330	0.4467	0.4464	0.3815	0.4118	0.4662
Zambia	0.3639	0.3837	0.3905	0.4172	0.4108	0.4614	0.4308	0.4374	0.4419	0.4153	0.4060
Georgia	0.3018	0.3277	0.3479	0.3613	0.3753	0.4002	0.3962	0.4362	0.5011	0.5145	0.5124
Paraguay	0.2886	0.3308	0.4016	0.3881	0.3878	0.4157	0.4299	0.4394	0.4454	0.4387	0.4651
Senegal	0.3304	0.3482	0.3528	0.3882	0.4062	0.4215	0.4097	0.4183	0.4308	0.4376	0.4565
Armenia	0.3059	0.3841	0.3946	0.3479	0.3605	0.3765	0.4260	0.4375	0.4318	0.4495	0.4658
Indonesia	0.3827	0.3844	0.3844	0.3472	0.3533	0.3927	0.4196	0.4236	0.4254	0.4160	0.4148
Belize	0.3649	0.3719	0.3844	0.3701	0.3788	0.3740	0.3848	0.3893	0.3791	0.3757	0.3766
Botswana	0.3346	0.3687	0.3477	0.3757	0.3830	0.3659	0.3535	0.4037	0.4068	0.3713	0.3871
Nigeria	0.3082	0.3254	0.3241	0.3292	0.3560	0.3527	0.3758	0.3947	0.4292	0.4290	0.4398
Ghana	0.2830	0.3510	0.3441	0.3625	0.3758	0.3967	0.3987	0.3552	0.3817	0.3701	0.4075
Zimbabwe	0.3098	0.3295	0.3218	0.3432	0.3612	0.3618	0.3302	0.3773	0.3904	0.4121	0.4013
Sri Lanka	0.2568	0.3405	0.3514	0.3462	0.3624	0.3587	0.3660	0.3911	0.3983	0.3850	0.3590
Albania	0.2204	0.2180	0.2803	0.3363	0.3417	0.3190	0.3388	0.3752	0.4100	0.4385	0.4738
Cote d'Ivoire	0.3074	0.3215	0.3194	0.3458	0.3362	0.3395	0.3352	0.3476	0.3641	0.3639	0.3646
Pakistan	0.2477	0.2958	0.3143	0.3464	0.3374	0.3271	0.3461	0.3588	0.3776	0.3760	0.3723
Papua-N-Guin	0.2936	0.2621	0.3049	0.3591	0.3511	0.3275	0.3269	0.3434	0.3843	0.3695	0.3667
India	0.2483	0.2660	0.2759	0.2902	0.3011	0.3008	0.3203	0.3633	0.3726	0.3645	0.3656
Mongolia	0.1924	0.2224	0.2233	0.2832	0.3082	0.3123	0.3362	0.3807	0.3833	0.3892	0.4321
Mozambique	0.2526	0.2857	0.2630	0.2772	0.2676	0.3035	0.3198	0.3221	0.3221	0.3204	0.3628
Kenya	0.2544	0.2641	0.2745	0.2950	0.2798	0.3110	0.3110	0.3152	0.3315	0.3258	0.3289
Angola	0.2498	0.2536	0.2669	0.2726	0.2868	0.2824	0.3105	0.3276	0.3535	0.3337	0.3242
Cameroon	0.2551	0.2563	0.2496	0.2774	0.2775	0.3035	0.3051	0.2836	0.3126	0.3275	0.3283
Togo	0.3338	0.2542	0.2183	0.2138	0.2629	0.2806	0.3123	0.3261	0.3272	0.3128	0.3180
Vietnam	0.1780	0.2046	0.2249	0.2525	0.2669	0.2954	0.2934	0.3308	0.3671	0.3933	0.3463
Lesotho	0.2368	0.2541	0.2476	0.2778	0.2772	0.2800	0.2789	0.2770	0.2786	0.3428	0.2876
Mauritania	0.1751	0.2060	0.2154	0.2280	0.2309	0.2501	0.2681	0.2715	0.3093	0.3828	0.3648
Iran-Islm-Rep	0.1657	0.1927	0.1978	0.2721	0.2875	0.2722	0.2675	0.2867	0.2715	0.2715	0.2868
SyrianArab-Rep	0.1437	0.1615	0.1729	0.2039	0.2168	0.2461	0.2537	0.2735	0.2839	0.2692	0.2832
Mali	0.1390	0.1529	0.1893	0.2223	0.2346	0.2448	0.2371	0.2721	0.2577	0.2653	0.2897
Madagascar	0.1113	0.1353	0.1528	0.1411	0.1536	0.2575	0.2430	0.2728	0.2783	0.2887	0.2946
Malawi	0.1475	0.1528	0.1825	0.1762	0.1991	0.2156	0.2129	0.2118	0.2244	0.2599	0.2245
Burkina Faso	0.1500	0.1525	0.1592	0.1710	0.1870	0.1951	0.2074	0.2227	0.2404	0.2464	0.2654
Benin	0.1316	0.1495	0.1592	0.1617	0.1741	0.2058	0.2065	0.2193	0.2743	0.2561	0.2584
Uganda	0.0764	0.0994	0.1191	0.1344	0.1717	0.2473	0.2334	0.2447	0.2670	0.2970	0.3002
Bangladesh	0.0671	0.1051	0.1248	0.1359	0.1274	0.1477	0.1654	0.1969	0.2212	0.2270	0.2271
Nepal	0.0742	0.1881	0.1861	0.1830	0.1177	0.1264	0.1467	0.1537	0.1584	0.1631	0.1691
Chad	0.0462	0.0000	0.0285	0.1161	0.1263	0.1975	0.1967	0.2131	0.2191	0.2171	0.2385
Tanzania	0.0569	0.0765	0.0844	0.0952	0.1432	0.1594	0.1707	0.1791	0.1921	0.1879	0.1985
Sierra Leone	0.0429	0.0762	0.0743	0.0815	0.0857	0.1791	0.1770	0.1745	0.1846	0.1814	0.1878
Ethiopia	0.0373	0.0725	0.0788	0.0765	0.1344	0.1741	0.1713	0.1798	0.1753	0.1623	0.1504
Rwanda	0.0171	0.0293	0.0677	0.0705	0.0791	0.0877	0.1298	0.1505	0.1759	0.2063	0.2223
Niger	0.0632	0.0761	0.0804	0.0904	0.0935	0.1042	0.1110	0.1384	0.1304	0.1442	0.1765
Burundi	0.0147	0.0498	0.0528	0.0493	0.0816	0.1015	0.1167	0.1232	0.1891	0.1913	0.2093
Centrl_Afric_Rep	0.0082	0.0268	0.0337	0.0390	0.0413	0.0470	0.1071	0.1442	0.1213	0.1470	0.1789

Trends in Overall Disparities in Globalization: We observe (Fig-1, Table-3) that the disparities in the overall levels of globalization (in 131 countries) are gradually decreasing over time and signifies the tendency to convergence (Fig.-1).

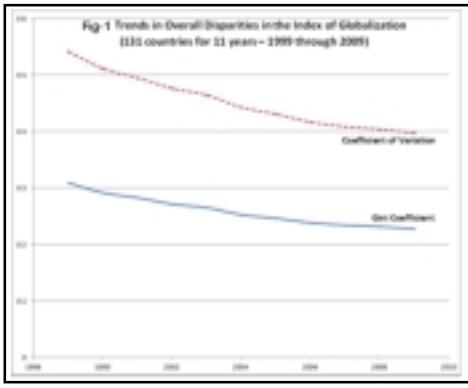


Table-3. Gini Coefficient and Coefficient of Variation of Overall Index of Globalization

Year	Mean	Gini	CV
1999	0.45721	0.30924	0.54167
2000	0.47773	0.29162	0.51155
2001	0.48877	0.28293	0.49534
2002	0.49520	0.27147	0.47653
2003	0.50438	0.26523	0.46474
2004	0.51986	0.25260	0.44290
2005	0.52713	0.24629	0.43077
2006	0.54137	0.23842	0.41675
2007	0.55680	0.23412	0.40853
2008	0.55645	0.23152	0.40408
2009	0.55630	0.22758	0.39738

Trends in World-wise Disparities in Globalization: The mean levels of globalization in all the three worlds are increasing (Fig.2, Table-4), though the rate of globalization is faster in the World-II. It may also be noted that especially after 2006 stagnation is observed. The stagnation is observed in case of World-I and World-III, too. This slow-down may be attributed to the world economic crisis (Chinn, 2011).

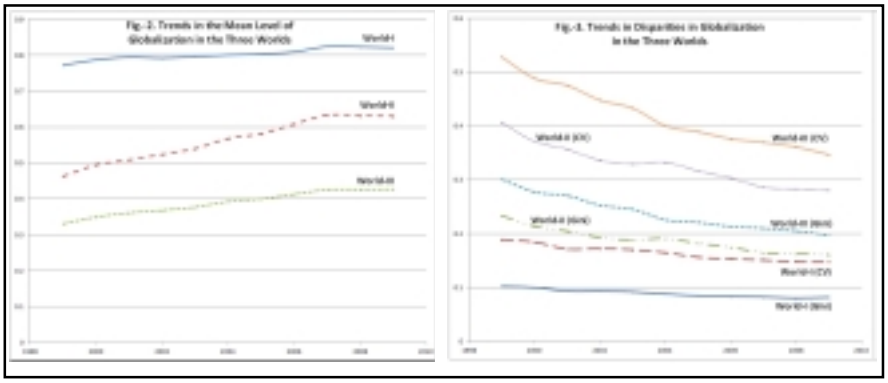


Table-4. Trends in the Mean Level and Disparities in Globalization in the three Worlds

	World-I			World-II			World-III		
Year	Mean	Gini	CV	Mean	Gini	CV	Mean	Gini	CV
1999	0.77237	0.10252	0.18875	0.46310	0.23297	0.40630	0.33087	0.30081	0.52789
2000	0.78748	0.10047	0.18398	0.49512	0.21345	0.37150	0.34974	0.27744	0.48836
2001	0.79496	0.09369	0.17136	0.50884	0.20471	0.35678	0.36131	0.27068	0.47524
2002	0.79239	0.09351	0.17219	0.52389	0.19259	0.33621	0.36845	0.25286	0.44788
2003	0.79689	0.09210	0.17023	0.53984	0.18841	0.32952	0.37724	0.24553	0.43299
2004	0.80079	0.08803	0.16480	0.56837	0.19081	0.33260	0.39301	0.22570	0.40011
2005	0.80345	0.08487	0.15645	0.58138	0.18213	0.31668	0.40021	0.22121	0.38929
2006	0.80973	0.08339	0.15322	0.60818	0.17453	0.30373	0.41347	0.21341	0.37611
2007	0.82503	0.08236	0.15120	0.63316	0.16463	0.28646	0.42581	0.21031	0.36943
2008	0.82385	0.08050	0.14813	0.63165	0.16256	0.28329	0.42616	0.20528	0.36106
2009	0.82147	0.08168	0.14752	0.63025	0.16078	0.28062	0.42731	0.19732	0.34674

Disparities in the level of globalization in the World-I are decreasing, but, especially in case of the World-III disparities are declining faster than in the other two worlds. The countries of the erstwhile World-II have gone in for globalization more vigorously.

Relationship between Globalization and Per Capita Income: Fig.-4 presents the relationship between per capita GDP (in US Dollars) and the Index of globalization in 2009. It is interesting to note (Table-6) that when Ln[PCGDP(USD)] is regressed on the (aspect-wise) KOF Indicators of Globalization (ECO-1, ECO-2, SOC-1, SOC-2, SOC-3, POL-1, presented in Table-5) for the year 2009, we find that SOC-1 and SOC-3 are the most influential indicators, followed by SOC-2. Economic indicators (ECO-1 and ECO-2) are rather poor and POL-1 is negligible at explaining the variations in per capita income.

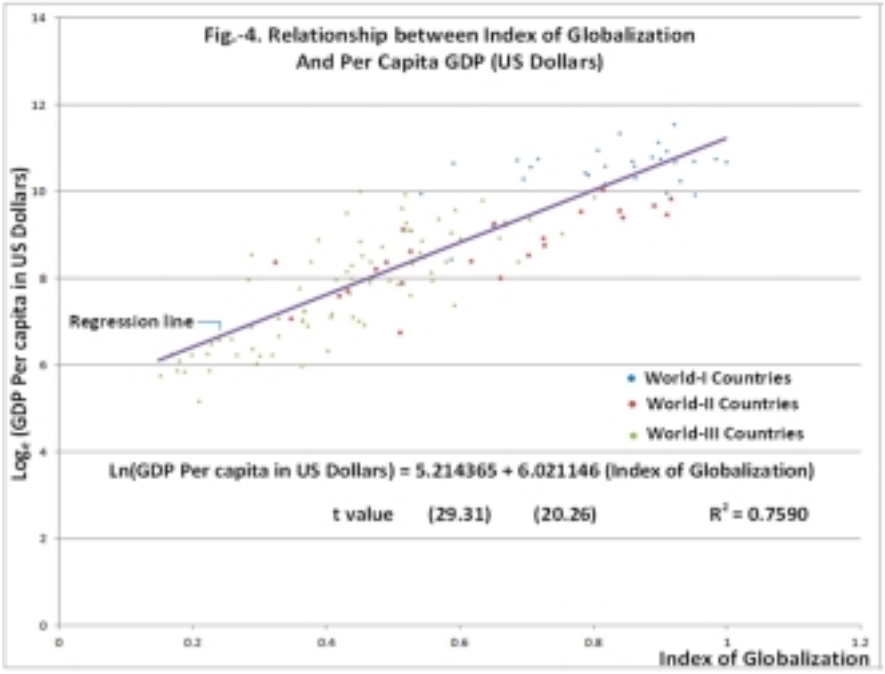


Table-5. Aspect-wise KOF Indicators of Globalaization and Per Capita GDP in Different Countries, 2009

Sl #	Country	Ln(PCGDP(USD))	ECO-1	ECO-2	SOC-1	SOC-2	SOC-3	POL-1
1	Albania	8.20985	0.61156	0.69732	0.56705	0.56276	0.03373	0.74695
2	Algeria	8.40581	0.55786	0.49747	0.36723	0.63184	0.03481	0.85456
3	Angola	8.37147	0.78027	0.49315	0.09858	0.53050	0.01000	0.50499
4	Argentina	9.12282	0.55497	0.33335	0.41731	0.63630	0.40596	0.93090
5	Armenia	8.01665	0.58671	0.72905	0.54907	0.71673	0.02834	0.51732
6	Australia	10.95289	0.73564	0.78960	0.71312	0.76514	0.91181	0.91773

7	Austria	10.71794	0.87887	0.84065	0.86246	0.89308	0.94751	0.97309
8	Azerbaijan	8.63728	0.65620	0.55721	0.44913	0.76559	0.33551	0.57854
9	Bahamas	10.01958	0.69662	0.13708	0.81262	0.63663	0.48326	0.48204
10	Bahrain	9.8083	0.96508	0.81420	0.85031	0.65570	0.43159	0.48650
11	Bangladesh	6.50728	0.32626	0.36345	0.20229	0.39100	0.01216	0.77418
12	Barbados	9.5817	0.90189	0.47397	0.77656	0.88725	0.10601	0.42252
13	Belgium	10.68773	0.96007	0.88299	0.82250	0.95976	0.90852	0.97912
14	Belize	8.41094	0.88754	0.24829	0.68551	0.50178	0.09738	0.45792
15	Benin	6.608	0.36711	0.42765	0.40476	0.35324	0.06825	0.75013
16	Bolivia	7.58984	0.62733	0.52180	0.39372	0.51783	0.04128	0.78407
17	Bosnia&Hrzgvna	8.40693	0.52037	0.70959	0.48916	0.92158	0.06610	0.77237
18	Botswana	8.90964	0.62706	0.61944	0.56908	0.47836	0.08552	0.59747
19	Brazil	9.27949	0.53740	0.53336	0.19817	0.63820	0.37120	0.94025
20	Bulgaria	8.75857	0.77785	0.72572	0.54313	0.83631	0.39397	0.86460
21	Burkina Faso	6.25383	0.32927	0.51703	0.33224	0.37974	0.07473	0.74778
22	Burundi	5.17615	0.23630	0.34544	0.14498	0.51514	0.06286	0.62520
23	Cameroon	7.09589	0.48419	0.43071	0.16501	0.53284	0.05207	0.73263
24	Canada	10.74421	0.72140	0.79955	0.79646	0.92821	0.94003	0.94161
25	Centrl-Afric-Rep	6.11147	0.40353	0.29269	0.15822	0.36631	0.03158	0.64319
26	Chad	6.58893	0.59349	0.29748	0.24514	0.36669	0.01000	0.64975
27	Chile	9.38328	0.82577	0.83940	0.38929	0.73761	0.40584	0.90179
28	China	8.37885	0.45227	0.57282	0.19526	0.54345	0.74942	0.86705
29	Colombia	8.73601	0.58410	0.43384	0.29971	0.61754	0.38656	0.81588
30	Costa Rica	9.06832	0.66526	0.68909	0.58120	0.75066	0.43867	0.61462
31	Cote d'Ivoire	7.05099	0.62422	0.42581	0.46223	0.54885	0.04884	0.58868
32	Croatia	9.53387	0.73334	0.72411	0.78624	0.90267	0.41123	0.86722
33	Cyprus	10.25288	0.90021	0.81669	0.85361	0.97750	0.91923	0.80283
34	Czech Republic	9.84368	0.88115	0.84532	0.68687	0.94107	0.91489	0.88438
35	Denmark	10.93007	0.85943	0.86067	0.83361	0.85326	0.90287	0.93758
36	Dominican-Rep	8.85666	0.57301	0.56800	0.53226	0.59821	0.36487	0.58938
37	Ecuador	8.31214	0.51592	0.39478	0.33544	0.55258	0.39411	0.82020
38	EgyptArab-Rep.	7.88382	0.48129	0.49466	0.38797	0.60082	0.35504	0.94022
39	El Salvador	8.13915	0.58557	0.70716	0.48164	0.63405	0.41712	0.79695
40	Estonia	9.55641	0.88055	0.88727	0.74963	0.97224	0.45246	0.74815
41	Ethiopia	5.78383	0.25941	0.27144	0.14773	0.26017	0.03913	0.82956
42	Fiji	8.17358	0.64736	0.27566	0.55956	0.51281	0.45439	0.68699
43	Finland	10.70329	0.78456	0.88080	0.69870	0.84019	0.89101	0.90896
44	France	10.58522	0.59193	0.85628	0.79669	0.87720	0.89862	0.98212
45	Georgia	7.89357	0.69068	0.84369	0.51801	0.62841	0.35828	0.52053
46	Germany	10.59305	0.61271	0.83760	0.74752	0.82561	0.89868	0.93151
47	Ghana	7.19519	0.52407	0.53484	0.60566	0.42429	0.06825	0.85407
48	Greece	10.18505	0.67281	0.80754	0.71849	0.83541	0.83555	0.92807
49	Guatemala	7.96624	0.49670	0.70205	0.39720	0.54003	0.44275	0.83069
50	Guyana	8.00503	0.73767	0.62494	0.56496	0.61328	0.10278	0.47103
51	Honduras	7.61382	0.68660	0.68139	0.40029	0.59642	0.42336	0.71386
52	Hungary	9.46374	0.93651	0.87349	0.66475	0.87274	0.88457	0.92708
53	Iceland	10.57842	0.91889	0.60608	0.81878	0.72423	0.50723	0.74089
54	India	7.2485	0.43417	0.44043	0.21715	0.41131	0.31777	0.91981
55	Indonesia	7.98922	0.52958	0.68970	0.14055	0.43579	0.32017	0.87101
56	Iran-Islm-Rep	8.56159	0.27100	0.30342	0.27779	0.59870	0.01108	0.70930
57	Ireland	10.74117	0.98653	0.87890	0.89252	0.94185	0.90679	0.90855
58	Israel	10.28575	0.74910	0.83079	0.74555	0.56935	0.86125	0.82403

59	Italy	10.43049	0.66624	0.83739	0.66956	0.73251	0.84243	0.98432
60	Jamaica	8.49679	0.77682	0.59467	0.66462	0.62988	0.11356	0.72371
61	Japan	10.67223	0.28268	0.69679	0.40461	0.70739	0.84058	0.88914
62	Jordan	8.39954	0.68527	0.61260	0.69049	0.77960	0.42695	0.87329
63	Kazakhstan	9.12337	0.81926	0.57009	0.54442	0.62605	0.04021	0.69353
64	Kenya	6.68711	0.31699	0.53841	0.35530	0.44059	0.06933	0.85272
65	Korea, Rep.	9.95475	0.63325	0.56942	0.42974	0.57431	0.40164	0.89197
66	Kuwait	10.72393	0.59831	0.76604	0.79114	0.78164	0.86944	0.61979
67	Kyrgyz_Rep	6.76273	0.70283	0.53135	0.44760	0.73282	0.04560	0.67760
68	Latvia	9.27454	0.55508	0.81681	0.70710	0.88706	0.44348	0.59190
69	Lesotho	6.88857	0.70878	0.41412	0.25089	0.53028	0.11248	0.37592
70	Lithuania	9.30338	0.63303	0.78364	0.61003	0.91017	0.41304	0.62068
71	Luxembourg	11.56262	1.00000	0.89259	0.93866	0.97476	0.48349	0.80999
72	Macedon-FYR	8.39706	0.63616	0.60837	0.62789	0.85524	0.39015	0.50717
73	Madagascar	6.04501	0.58139	0.40790	0.14044	0.45507	0.04560	0.68481
74	Malawi	5.87774	0.47906	0.42920	0.27580	0.38522	0.10817	0.54762
75	Malaysia	9.03277	0.90490	0.62279	0.64537	0.69366	0.86854	0.85045
76	Mali	6.39526	0.54706	0.45143	0.28270	0.35824	0.03481	0.75500
77	Malta	9.88323	0.96687	0.87767	0.78110	0.95792	0.50638	0.55064
78	Mauritania	7.03086	0.70982	0.48790	0.37081	0.47454	0.01000	0.65256
79	Mauritius	8.92106	0.71459	0.80143	0.65289	0.81218	0.41006	0.46054
80	Mexico	9.11614	0.58883	0.60591	0.44416	0.66402	0.40908	0.72864
81	Moldova	7.39388	0.67419	0.63600	0.51610	0.84066	0.39735	0.56736
82	Mongolia	7.71735	0.77036	0.69577	0.17411	0.52997	0.02834	0.71030
83	Morocco	7.96032	0.56325	0.44588	0.45282	0.69529	0.36799	0.89511
84	Mozambique	6.01127	0.59569	0.47053	0.21303	0.53747	0.11033	0.68069
85	Namibia	8.54189	0.75695	0.46103	0.74037	0.51222	0.09091	0.66141
86	Nepal	6.28227	0.15697	0.36682	0.26209	0.37166	0.04884	0.70908
87	Netherlands	9.91941	0.94234	0.89584	0.84728	0.87933	0.91247	0.93986
88	New Zealand	10.38505	0.73722	0.87852	0.78634	0.86744	0.50254	0.82733
89	Nicaragua	7.03174	0.55597	0.65133	0.38033	0.60521	0.42636	0.58796
90	Niger	5.88053	0.42308	0.24466	0.13144	0.30319	0.05747	0.73450
91	Nigeria	7.12287	0.71286	0.63727	0.27545	0.42226	0.04992	0.90901
92	Norway	11.34556	0.81333	0.72709	0.79263	0.79406	0.88902	0.93067
93	Oman	9.94228	0.76069	0.76507	0.76193	0.58654	0.38319	0.46524
94	Pakistan	6.91075	0.37095	0.45195	0.32563	0.44186	0.30795	0.89872
95	Panama	8.93774	0.92764	0.69849	0.52188	0.75758	0.48973	0.62494
96	Papua-N-Guin	7.26403	0.78689	0.63068	0.18242	0.56874	0.07149	0.44708
97	Paraguay	7.92696	0.54640	0.59126	0.37606	0.54719	0.37350	0.78287
98	Peru	8.59619	0.67112	0.79441	0.31433	0.53642	0.37230	0.85758
99	Philippines	7.66856	0.58928	0.51898	0.29209	0.45197	0.39601	0.85033
100	Poland	9.41434	0.73445	0.74479	0.57318	0.90701	0.84322	0.95171
101	Portugal	9.97292	0.81670	0.85407	0.76869	0.91086	0.85340	0.94359
102	Romania	8.92559	0.57378	0.81008	0.49929	0.76620	0.80328	0.91798
103	Russian-Fedr	9.24484	0.67538	0.41574	0.42881	0.79475	0.79111	0.85686
104	Rwanda	6.27664	0.26484	0.31811	0.32750	0.42247	0.09522	0.69575
105	Senegal	6.94022	0.50367	0.41882	0.47446	0.60417	0.06933	0.88421
106	Serbia	8.5415	0.60812	0.60028	0.60493	0.92842	0.40213	0.82597
107	Sierra Leone	5.86363	0.41634	0.40351	0.21577	0.33088	0.01000	0.63985
108	Singapore	10.687	0.98739	0.96044	0.90477	0.86774	0.96562	0.75100
109	Slovak_Rep	9.67884	0.82947	0.85180	0.64173	0.95976	0.86660	0.85658

110	Slovenia	10.04802	0.77125	0.77823	0.76765	0.94371	0.46780	0.83499
111	South Africa	8.88945	0.67428	0.64199	0.46020	0.53057	0.40560	0.87521
112	Spain	10.32689	0.75559	0.81923	0.72845	0.84475	0.86646	0.96684
113	Sri Lanka	7.77275	0.34688	0.44653	0.40296	0.49102	0.31993	0.77016
114	Sweden	10.79766	0.88684	0.89269	0.78617	0.77709	0.91095	0.95864
115	Switzerland	11.14012	0.91260	0.65519	0.91512	0.82989	0.94536	0.94125
116	SyrianArab-Rep	7.9831	0.42632	0.40515	0.50809	0.48367	0.01432	0.58642
117	Tanzania	6.24611	0.40872	0.46972	0.22973	0.35615	0.04560	0.58900
118	Thailand	8.43663	0.79547	0.59564	0.34739	0.66258	0.37181	0.81595
119	Togo	6.2634	0.62396	0.35741	0.36562	0.39507	0.03697	0.74197
120	Trinidad-Togo	9.62938	0.82544	0.71282	0.59136	0.67170	0.07473	0.51013
121	Tunisia	8.34806	0.70568	0.48960	0.45631	0.64962	0.03913	0.87474
122	Turkey	9.2198	0.51404	0.67114	0.48013	0.68893	0.76517	0.93212
123	Uganda	6.23245	0.46705	0.58793	0.23413	0.39005	0.06933	0.74339
124	Ukraine	8.01797	0.74735	0.60038	0.54323	0.75100	0.39219	0.86329
125	United Kingdom	10.50032	0.65644	0.89824	0.76245	0.88089	0.92740	0.96433
126	United States	10.7482	0.43834	0.77827	0.65905	0.76101	0.87784	0.92472
127	Uruguay	9.38865	0.63446	0.69089	0.51939	0.57820	0.42249	0.85823
128	Venezuela-RB	9.51067	0.42804	0.38096	0.37143	0.66904	0.40272	0.68661
129	Vietnam	7.07581	0.76680	0.46630	0.17020	0.53183	0.02079	0.56118
130	Zambia	7.12125	0.62010	0.61085	0.27770	0.49065	0.07581	0.78021
131	Zimbabwe	6.35089	0.72814	0.36390	0.41820	0.50146	0.05962	0.73552

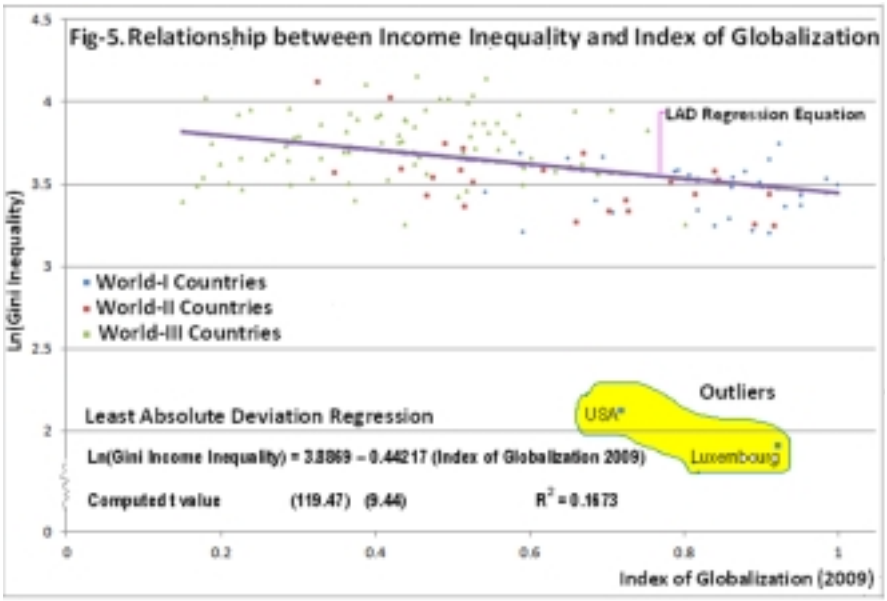
Source: (i) For Indicators of Globalization - http://globalization.kof.ethz.ch;
(ii) For PCGDP(USD) - http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_GDP_(nominal)_per_capita

Table-6. Summary for Regression Analysis of Ln[PCGDP(USD)] on Indicators of Globalization [R^2 = 0.80648408; F(6,124)=86.129; p<0.00000; Std.Error of estimate: 0.68997]

	Beta	See(beta)	Regr. Coefficients	See(coeff)	't' value	Prob
Intercpt	-	-	4.792618	0.487652	9.827945	0.000000
ECO-1	0.081665	0.056992	0.680335	0.474789	1.432920	0.154397
ECO-2	0.046562	0.064211	0.378833	0.522431	0.725135	0.469735
SOC-1	0.353264	0.070162	2.438098	0.484229	5.035012	0.000002
SOC-2	0.167647	0.073867	1.379214	0.607696	2.269580	0.024960
SOC-3	0.361336	0.072886	1.709941	0.344916	4.957553	0.000002
POL-1	0.037014	0.050773	0.370008	0.507542	0.729021	0.467364

Relationship between Globalization and Income Inequality: In Fig.-5 we present the relationship between the composite index of globalization (2009) and the income inequality (measured as the natural logarithm of the Gini coefficient of income distribution) in the countries under study. Unfortunately, the data for inequality in income distribution are not available consistently for any year. We have assumed, therefore, that the measures of income inequality (reported by the World Bank and some other organizations) available for the latest year (mostly for 2006-2009, but a few over a decade old) may serve as a proxy. With this limitation we regress the $\log_e$(Gini coefficient of income distribution) on the index of globalization-2009. The data have two outliers, namely USA and Luxembourg. So we have used the *Least Absolute Deviation* (LAD) *Regression*. We find that the level of globalization is (inversely) correlated with the inequality in income distribution and the

regression coefficients are statistically significant. R^2, though statistically significant, is small.



VI. Concluding Remarks

Globalization became a buzzword as well as the only path to economic survival of the countries in the World-II, especially after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The countries under the influence of the USSR also had to choose globalization as the only available path. The World-III countries that were colonies of the developed nations before their independence had a natural inclination to go in for globalization, especially to cope up with their needs of international financial assistance and the ever-increasing burden of international debt. For example, India, that claimed to have a faith in the 'socialistic pattern of society' but hatched capitalism in disguise (Jha, 1963), hurriedly opted for economic reforms leading to liberalization and globalization (Mishra, 2012). China that claims to be a socialistic economy has been taking progressively active steps in this direction to become a highly attractive destination to large foreign direct investment (Chen, 2011). They realized that technological progress, accessibility to financial assistance and expansion of trade depended on their choosing the path to globalization. The World-I countries also have a need to expand their markets, seek a source of cheaper manpower by outsourcing and expand the domain of multinational corporation as well as

to maintain their dominance in the world politico-economic sphere. This mutual need paved the way to world-wide globalization especially in the post-1990 years.

Consequently we observe the increasing trends in globalization of the World-II and World-III countries. The tendencies to integration, convergence to the world economic order and decrease in the disparities in the level of globalization are clearly discernible. Viewed differently, it is also a triumph of capitalism over the alternative philosophy of socialism. But, it has also shown that crisis in the World-I countries may easily percolate to the World-II and World-III countries. There is another subtle point in the world-wide acceptance of globalization as the only road to economic development (of the world-II and World-III) countries. It is inherent in the philosophy of globalization which indirectly suggests that the poor are the helpless victims of their environment or, in other words, poor people are at the mercy of external forces and thus without wills of their own. Such an implicite suggestion implies that the poor people are without the primary human characteristic of responsibility. Poverty is thus a condition caused by external forces and not by personal conduct. It also implies, therefore, that economic achievement does not depend so much on the institutional framework incorporating people's attributes, attitudes, motivations, mores and political arrangements (Bauer, 1981). These implicit suggestions of prescribing globalization as the only road to development have fundamental and long run implication as to the future of the World-II and the World-III countries.

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Political Economy of Agrarian Crisis and Subsistence Under Neoliberalism in India

R.V. Ramana Murthy*

Abstract

Indian State, in the neoliberal era, no longer intervenes in the agricultural markets and provides market stabilisation, input subsidies, technology and extension, etc. Instead, it offers various welfare schemes to the targeted sections of poor. Amidst all this, a steady groundswell of small farmers joining the petty commodity production is becoming the marker of Indian agriculture. This presents a rather curious picture of persistent petty production as a dominant mode of production, which differs considerably from the experience in agrarian transition elsewhere. Petty commodity production in agriculture becomes means of survival for a large majority under a particular historical-political conditions post-colonial capitalist democracy. The key questions in this context considered are: first, how does this petty production increase under conditions of distress? Second, how do small farmers cope with the conditions of distress? And third, how does the State address the distress and reproduce its hegemony and power over the masses? This paper engages with these questions in framework of neoliberal governmentality and political economy of agrarian transition.

Keywords: Small and marginal farmers, neo-liberalism, petty-commodity production, governmentality, agrarian transition.

1. Introduction

After the 'East-Asian-Miracle' story two decades ago, India's growth story has emerged as the latest fairy tale. According to the World Bank development classification of nations, in next one decade India is expected to be promoted from a Low-Middle Income country to Upper-Middle-Income country. India has received other medallions such as membership into the group of `BRIC' countries and has been credited as one of the `emerging economies'. Neoliberalism, the current global paradigm has brought not-so-easily reversible changes in India's economic structure. However, the mammoth unorganised/informal sector, the soft underbelly of

**R.V. Ramana Murthy is a Professor in the Department of Economics, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad.*

the shining India, continues to stare right in the face of this growth rhetoric. Agriculture constitutes a significant part of the unorganised sector, which is marred by a long silent crisis, manifesting itself in the form of farmers' suicides. A curious feature of this sector is the growing number of small and marginal farmers either owning tiny pieces of land or leasing tiny holdings, participating in fully commercialised agriculture drawing all the inputs from market and producing for the market, and getting subjected to primary accumulation by the rest of the capitalist system. This class, despite an acute crisis of viability, continues to grow in number.

Does this class of small and marginal farmers, apparently living under a crisis, continues to grow in number? Further, is this rise momentary or a durable feature of the current development model? Can the capitalist sector absorb the surplus labour that is likely to result from those who leave the agrarian sector? How do those who are trapped in agriculture survive and subsist? What are mechanisms of subsistence within and outside for this class? This paper raises some such rhetorical questions and searches for answers in a political economy framework.

2. Rise of Small / Marginal Farmer

A glaring feature of current structure of Indian agriculture, as stated above, is the rise of small and marginal farmers who now constitute 86 percent of the total farmers and own over 43 percent of land in India. If the land under tenancy is included, whose details are officially fully not available, the share of operational holdings could be even greater. Big farmers or landlords have dwindled in number and disposed considerable share of their holdings, though they still own 56 percent of land in 2002-03. There could be some diversity across regions with different agro-climatic conditions, irrigation endowments, etc, but the common feature emerging is that agriculture is predominantly done by small and marginal peasantry. Faster urban sector growth in the recent decades led to a steady migration. Landed big farmer class are exiting from agriculture, leasing good part their lands to small farmers in several parts of India. Growth of non-agricultural sector and education further provide opportunities to many to migrate.

The 55th round of NSS data shows that 40 percent of rural incomes are diversified, which implies growth of non-agricultural opportunities enabling some structural transformation in the rural areas. In spite of migration of rural workers, the number of small and marginal farmers has been on an increase. Even though the per capita landholding size is decreasing, the overall

share of operational holdings of the class in question is rising [see table no.1].

Table.1. Distribution of Agricultural Operational and Ownership Holdings in India

Size class (Hectares)	Operated Holdings			Operated Areas		
	1960-61	1982-83	2002-03	1060-61	1982-83	2002-03
Marginal (< 1)	39.1	56.0	69.7	6.9	11.5	22.6
Small (1.01-2.0)	22.6	19.3	16.3	12.3	16.6	20.9
Medium and Large (> 2.0)	38.2	24.7	14.0	72.9	51.9	56.5
All Sizes	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Size class (acres)	Ownership Holdings			Area Owned		
Marginal (0.01-2.49)	48.3	55.3	69.6	7.59	12.2	23.1
Small (2.5-4.99)	15.07	14.7	10.8	12.4	16.5	20.4
Medium and Large (5-25& >)	22.66	18.7	9.6	81.4	71.3	56.5
All Sizes		100.0	100.0		100.0	100.0

Note: *values are in ratio; **Source:** 37th , 48th; and 59th Round on Landholdings, NSS

3. The Agrarian Crisis

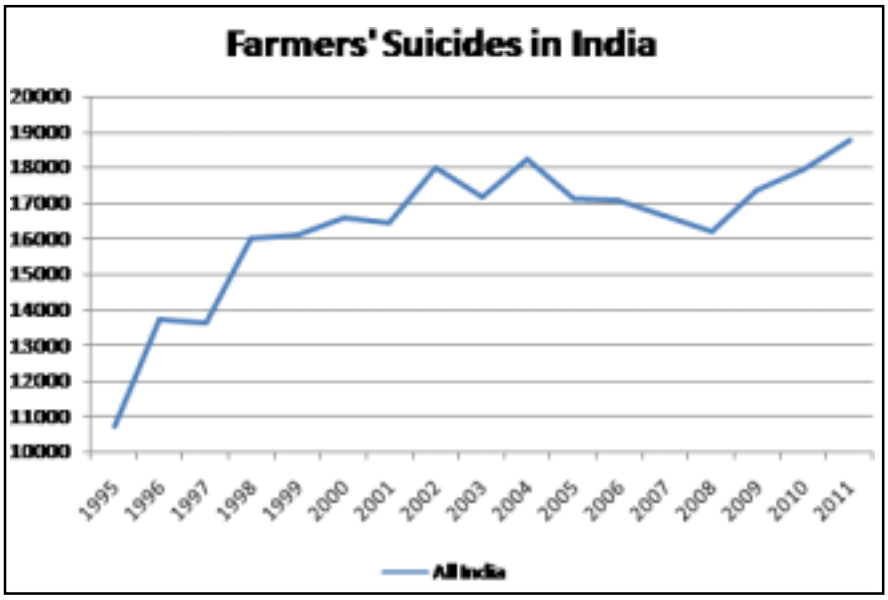
The contemporary agrarian crisis that began in the mid-nineties is much more than a mere outcome of neoliberal policies adopted since 1991 as contemplated by some scholars [Reddy, N and Srijit Mishra (2009)]. But the neoliberal reforms have certainly accentuated the crisis. Ecological strain resulting from an intensive mono-cropping and an extensive use of groundwater has imposed externalities [Reddy, Ratna et al (2001)]. As a result, the growth of agriculture considerably slowed down to 2.5 percent during 1991-2010 and its share in GDP declined to 13.4 percent in 2011-12. Both the labour productivity as well as land productivity have fallen by half in the last three decades and capital-labour ratio has doubled in agriculture [Behera (2012)]. As a result, employment growth has fallen to 0.16 percent. These are the symptoms of distress which compel the rural workers to migrate. Absence of adequate opportunities to migrate forces many to become subsistence farmers. And the vulnerability of losing subsistence lies in the very structure of 'petty commodity production'[1].

Over two and half lakh farmers have committed suicide between 1995 and 2011 across India, including in states like Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra, Karnataka, U.P., Punjab, Haryana and Kerala. Most of the victims belong to small and marginal farmers, and many belonging to backward class and scheduled castes. According to the data available from *National Bureau of Crime Record* the number of farmers suicides have been on increase year after year [Sainath,P (2012) in *The Hindu*]. Several scholars who have analysed the farmers suicides contend that these suicides are the legacy of the economic reforms [Parthasarathy, (2003), Revathi *et al* (2009), Mishra

Table No.2. Farmers' Suicides in India

	Maharashtra	AP	Karnataka	MP& Chhatisgarh	Total of five big states	All India
1995	1063	1196	2490	1239	6008	10720
1996	1981	1706	2011	1808	7507	13729
1997	1917	1097	1832	2390	7236	13622
1998	2409	1813	1883	2278	8383	16015
1999	2423	1974	2379	2654	9430	16082
2000	3022	1525	2630	2660	9837	16603
2001	3536	1509	2505	2824	10374	16415
2002	3536	1896	2340	2578	10509	17971
2003	3836	1800	2678	2511	10925	17164
2004	4147	2666	1963	3033	11809	18241
2005	3925	2490	1893	2660	10959	17131
2006	4453	2607	1720	2858	11638	17060
2007	4238	1797	2135	2856	11026	16632
2008	3802	2105	1737	3152	10796	16196
2009	2872	2414	2282	3197	10765	17368
2010	3141	2525	2585	2363	10614	17964
2011	3337	2206	2100	2326	8969	14027
Total	53818	33326	37153	42386	166685	270940

Source: National Crime Records



(2009), Karam Singh (2009), Nair and Menon (2009), Deshpande, R S (2009)]. Micro details of suicides apart, the big picture in the neoliberal phase is the rise of small and marginal farmers' undertaking high risk crops, with degraded resources, and unsupported institutional structures [Sainath (2000)]. The deflationary macroeconomics and 'structural reforms' of neoliberal state do not allow it to extend institutional protection to agriculture, institutional credit, affordable technology through public sector, disaster management and so on. Terms of trade are allowed to drift against the sector. Minimum support prices no longer cover the cost of cultivation of a capitalist farmer. They only accommodate the paid-out costs, with no profit when the cost of family labour, value of interest on own capital and rent own land, does not cover such full cost, forget about profit. Thus the prevailing market price which depends on the minimum support price set out by the state gives only subsistence to a self-exploiting farmer, not any re-investible surplus. This also means the prevailing prices do not allow a capitalist farmer to cultivate in the present technological conditions - a serious issue. The complacency of the state comes from the fact that the much needed marketed surplus for the modern sector is still unaffected by unremunerative prices, thanks to the teeming petty producers trapped in the sector who are ready to do agriculture with unpaid labour. Under the conditions of free market forces, untamed private moneylenders and manipulative monopolistic market structures, the 'petty' producer is only going to be distressed more and more, reproducing perpetual indebtedness. The paradox to this condition is the ever increasing army of small and marginal farmers, a putative antediluvian category under classical theory, but marching into the suicidal enterprise of agriculture.

The issue of agrarian constraint to capitalist growth is well-debated during the planning era. It was a widely prevalent view that modern sector's growth suffered an accumulation crisis during mid-sixties when no palpable agrarian surplus was forthcoming. Worse, the supply shortfalls in foodgrain production in the economy posed an inflationary barrier to growth[1]. Indian state resolved the problem to some extent through a technological means called Green Revolution. Institutional interventions were built to enable the necessary market surplus for the capitalist sector which ensure some basic viability for the farmer and productivity growth for the sector. In the neoliberal era, there are tendencies to withdraw mechanisms of intervention that involve subsidies and other expenditures, which tend to produce the crisis for the petty producers.

We need to search for structural explanations for this putative paradox of Indian political economy and make a prognosis about its future in order to attempt any emancipation project. Development economics, with in the discipline of economics, offers some directions. However, because of lack of political analysis about the nature of the state and society and its lame assumptions about the state, the approach can soon degenerate into populism. 'Mode of production' approach in Marxist frame, in spite of several limitations, offers a strong structural analysis. Given the crucial juncture of present times, it may be the time to revisit the approach, critique it in Gramscian sense, and reclaim the useful. Recent works of Sanyal (2007) and Partha Chatterjee (2008) offer fresh perspectives in political economy which are worth examining. Regarding the question of proliferation of 'petty production' in Indian agriculture, one may outline five features of current state of capitalist development to understand the issue in question.

4. Mode of Production Analysis as a Method

The issue of agrarian transition and mode of production in India was debated vigorously in various issues of *Economic and Political Weekly* and *Social Scientist* in the 1970s. Characterisation about the mode of production in Indian agriculture got pegged between two positions, i.e., dominantly pre-capitalist and semi-feudal with emerging capitalist relations at one end [Patnaik (1973), Bhadhuri (1976)] and dominantly capitalist relations with persisting subtle semi-feudal relations [Rudra (1978), Desai, A R (1984)]. There were other equally compelling views that capitalist relations had already entered under the colonial rule [Upadhyay (1988), Gunder (1996), Banaji (1975)], while some others held the opposite view that colonial rule introduced feudal relations and blunted growth of production forces by unequal exchange and drain of surplus against formation of potential capitalist relations [Bagchi (1998), Chandra (1984), Prasad (1987)]. The debate, as stated by Alice Thorner (1982), remained inconclusive from the diverse positions taken by the Marxist political economists and the practitioners.

The debate could not give clarity over the dynamics of change and also any clear agenda for political action. One view is that the debate on mode of production under historical materialist framework is bound to hit a dead end given its inherent obsession with the 'base' determining 'superstructure' mode. The idea of a unilinear movement of history from one epoch to the next was derived by Marx in the context of Western European historical context. While in fact, within the Europe itself, such a movement from one epoch to the other was so varied. Byres (1981) outlined at least six

distinctly different routes to capitalist transition, like, English, French, German, Russian, Japanese and American routes, and cautions against stereotyping any of them to replicate elsewhere in the same way. The transition route is largely determined by the specific historical, political and social conditions. The follies in historical materialism apart, the strength of the Marxist method lies in the moral and structural analysis of society and capitalism.

Sanyal (2007) argued that the problem with base-superstructure model is that it leaves little scope to understand the changes in the politics of society that lie in the superstructure. Antonio Gramsci called to abandon this framework for 'state-civil society' dichotomy which enables one to focus on the politics of the hegemonic state, while the superstructure is still not independent of the base. Stating the Italian context, Gramsci pointed out that the bourgeoisie which is too weak to overthrow feudal structures, entered into an alliance with the latter, and together form hegemonic leadership over the masses in the liberal democracies. The bourgeoisie progressively weaken the power of the feudal class through what he calls 'passive revolution'. Gramsci's characterisation suits most of the countries where bourgeoisie revolutions have failed to take place. Partha Chatterjee (2004), while accepting Gramsci's state-civil society model as a highly useful model to analyse the politics, provides a caveat to it for understanding post-colonial states. In developing countries civil society constitute a minute share of population; a huge section of population owning no property lie outside civil society, what he chose to call 'political society'. Political society is one which doesn't have all rights of citizenship, but has a right to franchise. Squatters, street vendors, urban slum dwellers, landless poor, *dalits* who may till assigned lands etc, constitute this political society (Chatterjee, 2004). Their means to survival do not often have legal entitlements, but the state would patronise them by protecting their otherwise illegal existence. Managing political society, for him, is a key to the politics of the third world developmental state like India. The competitive electoral politics gives some scope for the political society to negotiate incremental benefits. Chatterjee further argues that the state, as in the West, uses various governmental technologies that engage the populations, produced by statistics in various programme termed as 'development'. This is further helped by international capital through funding various Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) who supplement the governmentality[1]. Extending the Chatterjee's logic, it is plausible to argue that with the exit of upper caste landed sections from agriculture who were the last influential section on state policy, the newly arriving small and marginal

farmers from lower castes belong the political society who are in position to stake claims on development, instead content with welfare benefits in terms of NREGA, pensions, PDS, housing loans, etc.

5. Capitalist Development and Petty Production in India

India's path of capitalist development is perhaps distinct in five aspects. First of all, India took to liberal political democracy, even before any substantial capitalism developed as in classical Western capitalist countries. A liberal democracy in polity, without a bourgeoisie revolution, without adequate capitalist development in the economy, is perhaps unique to India. However, the progressive weakening of feudal sections and dominance of bourgeois is quite visible in Indian politics. It is interesting to observe coincidence of entry of global capital and acceleration of Indian economic growth along with the changing political scenario. The Indian state appears to have grown in size and statecraft and has acquired capabilities to practice governmentality. Activities such as extending marginal benefits to underclass such as free education, health, public distribution of cereals, old age pensions, student scholarships, girl-child oriented schemes, and several fringe benefits in name of 'development' are included in the political project of the state. The state succeeds in transferring part of tax resources for maintaining political equilibrium, acceptable to the capitalist class as long as the principal concerns of the latter are attended by the state. As Karl Polyani (1947) points out, the state always provided the subsistence whenever capitalism denied people access to survival. Even the colonial state implemented famine relief programs in India. Likewise the contemporary Indian state takes up different welfare and developmental activities to diffuse the possibility of an acute political crisis. Liberal political system succeeds in generating the hope for survival and the statecraft lies in reproducing the belief. The counter-hegemonic politics therefore cannot disengage with this process.

The second important feature is that India's capitalist development is spearheaded by the state through forcible mobilisation of small savings. The capitalist accumulation in the modern sector more or less predominantly funded by savings from within the sector and agrarian surplus did not play any leading role in the process. Nevertheless, agrarian sector retains its importance as being a major buyer of commodities of the modern sector and supplier of food and non-food commodities to the rest of the economy. The development of large scale capitalism in agriculture remained incomplete. While abolition of intermediaries in 1950s ended the phase of large feudal

estates, agriculture for a long time was dominated by the middle peasant. Implementation of land ceilings, however perfidious, discouraged keeping large holdings[2]. Green Revolution has enabled surplus accumulation by rich farmers in the regions with public irrigation in the Seventies and Eighties. Now more or less this class of farmers have diversified into non-agricultural occupations without giving up their ownership on land, leasing their land to small farmers in regions like Coastal Andhra. Landless labourers are becoming peasants by leasing-in these lands, even at highest rents up to 50-55 percent of produce. These tenant farmers in such regions are now the petty commodity producers. The state has distributed cultivable waste lands in several parts of the country to the landless labourers who have now joined the ranks of marginal farmers. These small owner-cultivators and the tenants, however, depend on *rentier* class of moneylenders, commission agents, millers, pesticide-fertilizer-seed dealers, etc., who fleece them. Thus the emergence of petty producers, either as owner-cultivators or tenants, dominantly in agriculture is a culmination of certain economic and political process.

The third aspect is concerned with state of technological conditions of development. India's entry into capitalist path of development took place in the post-War world, when highly capital intensive condition of production had already become the norm. The modern capitalist sector requires very little labour. Hence, there is no way the surplus labour in agriculture would ever be absorbed in the modern sector, including the service sector, as contemplated by Sir Arthur Lewis. On the top of it, given the demographic transition and the population rate acceleration during 1950-80, there has been a considerable expansion of surplus rural population, and the rural sector cannot absorb this growing labour force. The push and pull factors have contributed to increased urban migration. In terms of sheer numbers, recent studies have shown that while during 1950-90 only 4% of labour moved out of agriculture into non-agriculture, in the last two decades during 1991-2010, 12% of labour has moved out – a three time increase [Behera (2012)]! If one looks at where this 16% of labour migrated to, we find that 4% of them moved to manufacturing industry, while 12% moved to service sector. Further, within industry and services, 94% of them entered the unorganised sector and only 6% could enter organised sector. Again, in the unorganised sectors in industry and service sectors, 60% of them are in self-employment category, in other words, they have become urban petty producers. In sum, there are no signs that the surplus labour in agriculture can move into modern sector in any substantial proportion. The thriving capitalist sector has no place for

them. Even when they are forced to migrate, majority of them end up in the urban unorganised sector, a good proportion of them as self-employed self-exploiting petty commodity producers. Thus petty commodity production seems to have emerged as a substantial mode of production in India.

The fourth aspect is, even though primitive accumulation in agriculture is blunted in certain ways, it does not mean such a process is absent fully. The state facilitated primitive accumulation process, displacing people for construction of dams, public sector units and mining through land acquisition laws[3]. Since the scale of acquisition had been relatively low, the primitive accumulation process, understood as one that would dispossess the peasants of their means of subsistence, has remained relatively marginal. In the neoliberal times, there is a bid to expand the same process for Special Economic Zones, thermal and nuclear power projects, national superhighways, and mining. At the same time, there has been a militant resistance to it by the marginalised sections, in several places in India, for example, Singur and Nandigram in West Bengal, Dantewada in Chhattisgarh, in Narayanpet against POSCO in Orissa, in Sompeta against thermal plant and in Kovvada against nuclear plant in Andhra Pradesh, in Thane district against Reliance SEZ in Maharashtra, in Kundakulam against nuclear plant in Tamil Nadu, and so on. Several studies have shown that middle and big farmers are interested to give up their lands for market price, while small peasants are trying to resist acquisition. Overall, one could still say that direct primitive accumulation is still marginal, while it is practiced in indirect way through terms of trade. Given the lack of large scale primitive accumulation and political legacy of anti-colonial struggle, the petty producers as a class continue to prevail.

Fifth, Indian politics have undergone substantial change in the past six decades. The class coalition dominated by intermediate classes shaped the public policy in the early phase (K N Raj (1973). The dominant coalition of bureaucracy, industrial bourgeoisie and agrarian landed classes is negotiated by the state, which led developmental process in the planning era [Bardhan (1987)]. However, in recent decades the one-party dominance of Congress party in liberal politics has come to an end with the emergence of regional parties. Various social movements such as *dalit* movement, women's movement, anti-dam movements, anti-corruption movement, have added new dimensions of politics to public policy. It would be incorrect to ignore the contribution of these social movements to the politics of self-assertion. Some of them are partly co-opted by the state through governmentality, like

women's self-help groups. Lamia Karim (2011) has done an excellent work on microfinance enterprise in Bangladesh where she showed how the poor self-employed women are made to rally around for getting tiny loans, never sufficient to get out of poverty. It is perhaps a suitable model for global finance with 100 percent recovery rates, which also keeps the neoliberal state happy for transferring its public responsibilities. People's informal enterprises face more serious impediments to get out of poverty levels (NCEUS, 2008). In recent times Indian state has managed to innovate several schemes which include MNREGA, health insurance models, many couched in language of rights to attract popular vote [Chatterjee (2008)]. These measures, at best have been continuously pushing the boundaries of public policies and petty producers could be the beneficiaries, the doles will supplement the shortfalls income from their own enterprise to survive and subsist.

The final sixth aspect is the current phase of neo-liberalism of the world capitalism. After colonialism, perhaps as never before the capital has globalised and pushed the ideology of economic nationalism behind. After the fall of the Soviet Union, armed with the information technology, globalised capital has captured the twin-Brettonwood institutions, the IMF and the World Bank, to establish a new global hegemony over nations and has been compelling the nations to change their domestic policies to facilitate free entry and exit for the global capital in short and long term. This has created new opportunities for nations like India to access global capital and accelerate its growth rates, but at the same time compelled it to observe certain financial discipline required for the international solvency. All these are well known and well documented. But a point about the labour that did not receive enough attention so far is that this new global hegemony has reversed the project of formalising the informal sector. Through labour market flexibility and informalisation, the labour market dualism has nearly ended, including the so-called new economy [Breman (2002)]. Whatever rights the working class has won over the centuries have been pushed back to pre-industrial revolution times. What is the future of petty commodity production under neoliberalism? If we assume that institutional support structures built during the planning era gave the essential viability of agriculture, can the petty producers survive in their absence? Part of Indian agriculture still receives support in terms of fertiliser subsidies, power subsidies, minimum support prices (for rice, wheat, and sugarcane), procurement of food grains, etc. Various studies have brought clearly the fact that in spite of such support, the viability of farming has been severely affected [Ramanamurthy and Mishra (2012)]. In fact, most

agricultural households survive with kinship support. Therefore, the poor agricultural households survive and subsist from multiple support structures such as direct state support to agriculture, kinship relations and the state sponsored social welfare schemes such as MNREGA, public distributions, old age pensions, public education and public health. Therefore, the tenacity of the subsistence peasantry is rooted in complex social and political mechanisms.

6. Concluding Remarks

The growing number of small and marginal farmers –self-exploiting subsistence 'petty producers in a thriving capitalist system is perhaps the paradox to stay here for a long time to come. This is a result of a range of historical, political and economic factors that have shaped the trajectory of Indian development process. The present capitalist system has no capacity to transform this non-capitalist sector or absorb its dependents. Capitalist sector uses agricultural sector to produce foodgrains and raw materials, managed by the tiny subsistence producers; who are systematically pauperised in the exchange. However, the large section of people the sector for being stakeholders in the liberal political system, their subsistence gets addressed in a different way. State, under neoliberal phase, is no longer in a mood to set parity in prices, give subsidies or intervene in the markets as it did earlier. Capitalist development inevitably results in primitive accumulation, displacement and impoverishment. Poverty generated by the structural conditions of dualist economy becomes a subject of political management for the state. The liberal state reproducers its hegemony through though transferring welfare to prevent any large scale upheavals. Optimised welfare distribution through new governmental technologies marks a departure from stance developmental state. Economy will be decided by markets and state peddles welfare. Whether or not the neoliberal capitalism fumbles in this gamble, it is important to analyse the transition and push it towards more radical ends.

Footnotes

[1] Petty commodity production usually with no savings potential, depends on private borrowing at high rates of interest rates, buys inputs in small quantum at higher prices, and cannot afford high investments, thus gets trapped in a low equilibrium trap. The ability to bear market and production risk also is limited for not having enough capital base. Trapped in interlocked markets, paying premium prices, operating under extreme competitive conditions push market

prices below cost of production. It has a tenacity to exist by not accounting own labour and in short run subsistence is produced. But in the long run, the economic unit fails to earn the fundamental viability.

[2] Ashok Mitra (1977) argued that the kulak class prevails over the public policy through influencing agricultural price policy which kept the terms of trade to shift in favour of agricultural, affecting the industrial accumulation.

[3] Governmentality is Foucaultian term which refers to a process of dividing populations into groups which are amenable for statistical measurement, using Census and other methods, and fixing governmental programs to the targeted groups and thereby gaining a biopower over the groups, the participation of members in the program gives the state a positive power over the population besides the sovereign power it already has. This power over groups is a discursive power which keeps them fractured.

[4] In irrigation-endowed regions, middle and big peasants continued to hold land under *benami* titles, land holding size eventually came down in the natural mutation.

[5] Even after the recent amendment, it still allows forcible acquisition of land for public sector use, dubbed as 'public use' at slightly negotiated market price.

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King Nara Narayana's Military Campaigns in North-East India: An Analysis through Numismatics

Debajit Dutta

Abstract

Besides being an instrument of commercial transactions between individuals, coinage has the ability to tell socio-political history of the period. In medieval times, the issuing of coins was a prerogative to the rulers, as it symbolized political power and sovereignty. The Koch kingdom that ruled parts of North East India in medieval period also introduced currency with the motive of legitimizing its power. King Nara Narayana of the Koch kingdom who conquered large parts of the North East India during his military campaigns introduced his currency in the hill kingdoms. The present write-up focuses on the dual role of Koch coins which contributed to the political solidarity of the Koch kingdom, and at the same time helped in a monetary uniformity over a large part of the land, paving the way of transformation of North East Indian money economy.

Keywords: *Koch kingdom, coins, tribute, military campaign, money economy*

Kamata-Koch Behar was a state situated south of the Himalayas during the 16th to 18th centuries. The state was established in 1510 AD, in the vacuum created after the collapse of the Kingdoms of Kamarupa and Kamta[1] and became one of the great regional powers of North-East India. There is a great deal of obscurity leading to some academic controversies about the way it was established. Nonetheless, it was unique for its long existence and can boast of its remote antiquity, sustained continuity and survival down the centuries. The survival and expansion of influence of the state can be discerned from its coins. The present paper aims at to analyse the same. However, the evolution of money economy in the territories of Koch state is shrouded in deep mystery, just like its political history before Visvasimha, the first historical ruler. Because of the lack of proper historical information, it is not known to us that when and how coinage came to replace

Debajit Dutta is a senior UGC Fellow in the Department of History, University of North Bengal, Siliguri, West Bengal.

the barter mode of exchange. Although some other dynastic coinage like those of Maurya, Gupta and Sultanate Bengal were found within the Koch territory, they are not adequate to explain the kingdom's full-fledged exchange system.

The oldest available coins from Kamtapura were of Samsuddin Ilias Saha.[2] These coins recovered with other coins from Kamatpura in 1863 had the inscription of Kamru as 'Chaulistan'.[3] Besides, a large hoard of 13,500 coins spanning the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were also recovered.[4] Before the establishment of the Koch dynasty, the Khenas[5] ruled this area with Kamtapura as their capital. Nilambar[6] was the most powerful king of the Khena dynasty. As the archeologists are yet to discover any coin of the Khena kings, one may assume that Nilambar and other rulers of the dynasty did not take any initiatives to introduce coins to commemorate their political victory over the region. Though we have not found Khena coins so far, there are some literary references which spoke of their existence. For example, Radha Krishna Das Vairagi in his book *Gosanimongal*[7] mentions the introduction of 'Mohur' or gold coin by king Kanteswar. After Nilambara the last king of the Khena dynasty of Kamtapura, Visvasimha of Koch[8] clan became the ruler of Kamtapura. Visvasimha during his first few years of reign was busy in consolidating his position to the north of the Brahmaputra. After the departure of the Muslim rulers the whole country was ruled by a number of petty independent chiefs.[9] Visvasimha seized this opportunity and in course of time made himself the master of the country west of the *Bara Nadi*.[10] Visvasimha assumed the title of Kamteswra and declared himself an independent king after his formal coronation in 1496 A.D. It was the usual practice among the Indian rulers to issue coins in their own name, the moment they felt themselves independent and powerful enough to do so. But unfortunately no coins have so far been discovered. Neither *Darrang Vamsavali,* nor *Rajapakhyan* says anything whether Visvasimha struck coins. This may lead us to believe that unstable political condition of the time might have prevented Visvasimha from issuing any coins in his name.[11]

Though archeologically no coins of Visvasimha have been found as yet, but some literary sources both from Assam and Koch Behar inform us about Visvasimha's coins. The *Assam Burunji* by Rai Gunabhiram Barua tells us that the predecessors of Visvasimha did not issue any coins.[12] In another words the author suggests that Visvasimha was the first ruler of Kamtapura, who issued coins in his name. Again Durgadas Majumder in his *Rajavamsavali* says that Visvasimha enthroned himself in Saka 13 and struck

coins in his own name.[13] From the *Burunji* of Rudrasimha[14] we learn that one Ahom ruler sent an expedition against Visvasimha in about 1405 Saka i.e. 1483 AD. Visvasimha, who was only consolidating his position at that time, acknowledged the suzerainty of the Ahom king with many presents which have not been specified in the book. But Majumdar refers to a meeting between the Ahom king Suhunmun and Visvasimha in Saka 1419 (i.e 1497 AD) and the latter's presentation of 500 pieces of coins and five horses to the former.[15] After the death of Visvasimha Malladeva ascended to the throne after expelling his elder brother Nara Simha and assumed the name Nara Narayana.[16] In some of the old religious writings he is called Malla Narayana. Although there may be speculations whether Visvasimha issued coins or not, there is no doubt that his son Nara Narayana minted coins and his coins are discovered in large numbers from Koch Behar and adjoining areas. He issued numerous types of die struck coins, among them full rupees are found in plenty; but only a few specimens of half and quarter rupees are also discovered.[17] All his coins are of the same design with an invocation to Shiva on the obverse and the name of the king and the date 1477 (1555A.D) on the reverse.[18] It is probably that this merely represents the accession year and the coins were struck on several occasions and perhaps even in the several mints.[19] The coins of Koch rulers were known as 'Narayanimudr' after the title Narayana assumed by Nara Narayana.

Nara Narayana continued the aggressive warfare initiated by Visvasimha against the hill states of North-East India. Together with his brother Sukladhvaja (also known as Chilarai) whom he had appointed as his commander-in-chief, Nara Narayana continued the policy of expansion. The analysis of his military campaign will throw light on the amount of silver that Nara Narayana was reputed to have as the tribute and will also give us some clues as to when and where Nara Narayana's army had struck coins. Valuable information can also be obtained from certain hordes that have been discovered containing coins of this king.

Nara Narayana started to plan a military attack on the Ahom kingdom of Assam fairly early in his reign in view of aggressive policy of Ahom king Suhengmung.[20] After the failure of first attack in 1562, another attempt was made by Nara Narayana the following year wherein he ensured a resounding military victory over the Ahoms, A treaty was agreed in July 1563, whereby the Ahom king presented Nara Narayana with among other things a large store of gold and silver coins and the whole of the north bank of Brahmaputra.[21]

Nara Narayana annexed Kachar after conquering Assam. After the defeat of the Ahoms, Sukladhvja advanced towards Maibong the capital of the kingdom of the Kachar. The Kachar king quickly submitted and presented Sukladhvja with many valuables and 28 elephants. He accedes to Nara Narayana and promised to pay an annual tribute of 70,000 silver coins, 1000 gold coins and 60 elephants. Sukladhvaja established a colony in Kachar. [22]

Manipur was the next kingdom which acknowledged the Koch suzerainty. The then raja of Manipur too weak to oppose the powerful Koch kings and accepted the suzerainty without resistance. His tribute was fixed at an annual tribute of 20,000 silver coins, 300 gold coins and 10 elephants.[23]

The kingdom of Jaintia was next attacked and the raja was killed by Chilarai with his own hand. His son was placed on the throne after acknowledging the authority of Koch Behar and promising to pay regular tribute. The tribute was fixed at 10,000 silver coins together with some horses and weapons. It is said that the one of the conditions imposed on him was that he should not in future strike coins in his own name. This seems to imply that Jaintipur had struck coins prior to this date. It is also possible that the story was invented to reason out as to why virtually all Jaintipur coins even up to the end of the 18th century did not have the name of the ruler.[24] From Jaintipur, Sukladhvaja advanced to Sylhet and extracted an annual tribute of 3,00,000 silver coins; 10,000 gold coins; 100 elephants, and 200 horses before turning his attention on Tripura.[25]

A fierce battle was fought probably in the plains of Kachar near Khaspur, north of Silchar and the king of Tripura was apparently killed in the deadly battle.[26] It is said that the son of the slain king, who was crowned subsequently agreed to pay tribute of 10,000 silver coins, 100 gold coins and 30 horses.[27] There is no mention of this war in the Tripura chronicles and the only corroboration of the Koch Vamsavalies is found in an Assamese *Buranji* of uncertain date. This is not sufficient to establish it as an historical fact. [28]

Subsequently a body of soldiers was stationed in Brahmapur (now Khaspur) to maintain the authority of Nara Narayana. Later his brother, Gohain Kamal became an independent ruler of Kashpur and his descendants ruled the area until the early eighteenth century.[29] It is possible that coins may have been struck by Gohain Kamal in the name of Nara Narayana. The king of Khyrim then offered submission and tribute, and apparently sought permission to strike coins. Agreement was given on the understanding that the coins were in the name of Nara Narayana and that they had the symbol

of a mace to distinguish them from the normal Koch Behar coins and the king then set up a mint. [30] Annual tribute was fixed at 900 gold coins, 15000 silver coins, 50 horses and 30 elephants.

These victories on the one hand led to the defeat of rival neighboring powers in the region and on the other helped the Koch emerge as a strong state with tribute paying subordinate allies. All this enabled the Koch to raise a sustained amount of surplus from the region and strengthened the kingdom further. Continuity of 'aggressive warfare' under the commandership of Chilarai further extended the territory of the kingdom. The total collection of indemnity from the rulers of North Eastern states was Rs. 380000, 22100 gold coins, 264 elephants 370 horses and other valuable goods.[31] Not only so the rulers of North East India also agreed to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 422000, to the Koch kingdom which significantly contributed to the economic development of the Koch kingdom. It also accelerated the state formation and consolidation of *Narayani* rupees.

Silver was the main metal used in the making of coins. Trade was a major source of accumulation of silver. As there are no silver mines in northern Bengal or in the Himalayas, it is worth considering the source of the silver used by Nara Narayana for the large amount of coinage struck in the latter half of the sixteenth century.[32]During this period there was a major trade route between India and Tibet, passing through Koch Behar and Bhutan.[33] This trade route was recorded by the English merchant and traveler Ralph Fitch in 1583. It is reasonable to assume that the income generated from trade from this route was converted into silver coins by Nara Narayana. The existence of the coinage and the power and political stability of the new state would then have oiled the wheels of commerce and trade with Tibet through Bhutan and with Assam and this trade would in turn have ensured continuous supply of silver for the coinage. Silver was also obtained as booty or tribute during the successful military campaigns initially by Visvasimha, while he was establishing a viable political rule and subsequently by Nara Narayana as he expanded his influence over the whole of the region.

Due to the paucity of material culture it is hard to determine the actual location of the royal mint of Nara Narayana. But finding of plenty of Nara Narayana's coins in Koch Behar, we can presume that the main mint of Nara Narayana was perhaps located in the capital city of his empire that was Kamtapura. It is important in this connection that a mint of Khena dynasty is excavated from Gosanimari which was the capital city of Khena rulers.

As because we have no Khena coins in our possession, so it can be argued that the mint was perhaps used also by Nara Narayana for minting coins in his own name. Since excavation works are still going on in Gosanimari, we have to wait for definite clues regarding Nara Narayana's royal mint. But instead of this mint, there were some other mints in some other parts of Nara Narayana's empire. As Nara Narayana extended his territory in the far and wide areas of North-East India and his coins have been discovered from so many places of the region. Some of the significant places where some coins of Nara Narayana have been found plenty in number are Gawuhati the capital city of Kamarupa, Kashpur the capital city of Nara Narayana's younger brother Gohai Kamal and in the Khyrim state.

The introduction of a regularized currency system in Kamata-Koch state by Nara Narayana was not a mere event of history but it ushered a new era in political, economic and also in cultural spheres. These coins were the sign of Nara Narayana's personal glory as well as his political supremacy over the territory he ruled. He was a contemporary ruler to Akbar, but in the way he conquered different parts of North-East India and made the indigenous rulers as his subordinates it reflects his political wisdom and ability. These coins were the sign of sovereignty of Nara Narayana's military victory. As we have no specimen of state sponsored coinage before Nara Narayana in North-East India, so it is easy to presume that transaction depended on barter system. But with the minting of coins, monetary transactions appear to have replaced the barter system and enhanced volume of trade. By taking inspiration from the Koch rulers, the other princely states of North-East India also started minting their own coins and popularized the acceptability of coins as a better mode of transaction, ultimately paving the way for economic development of the entire region. Culturally also these coins are very significant as the close study of various legends engraved on Nara Narayana's coins, we can get a picture of cultural and intellectual environment of the Koch kingdom and as well as North-East India. By a minute analysis of the letters engraved in the coins we can know about the evolution of Bengali script and language. Besides the above mentioned importance these coins can be treated as primary source materials in reconstruction of the Koch and North-East Indian history. The information supplied by the literary sources can be corroborated with the numismatic sources and thus helps us draw a clear picture of the past. In conclusion, it can be stated that the coinage of Nara Narayana added a new chapter in the numismatic heritage of North-East India and also in the Indian subcontinent. By a study of these indigenous coins of Nara Narayana we

can learn about so many aspects of Koch and North-Eastern culture. When corroborate with the legends, symbols and language of the era, the coins of Nara Narayana suggest the continuity of the cultural legacy of the mainland India. The information offered by these medieval coins of Koch Kingdom certainly goes a long way to provide an antithesis of the 'colonial theory' that the region was 'completely isolated' from the rest of India.

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12. The Assam Burunji of Gunabhiram Barua says, 'aru veharate visvasimha rajar purve kono taka nachhila', meaning before Visvasimha, there were no coins in Behar. See, Barua, Gunabhiram, *op.cit*., p. 249.

13. It may be mentioned here that the Rajavamsavali is considered to be the second importance source, next only to the Rajopakhyana. The book says, (tera) Sakaya maharaja *Visvasimha simhasana prapta haiy aapana name chhirka jarap kariya chhenal*, meaning in 13 Saka, Maharaja Visvasinha acquired the royal throne and struck coin in his own name. See, Mazumdar Durgadas, *Rajvamsavali*, Cooch Behar State Press, Cooch Behar, 1863, p. 16.

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Apanajaravatadakarisehikshana//
Pancha sat a mudra dilapanchaturngama /
Manojavagatitaradrishtihayabhrama //
The passage means, 'Hearing this, king Visvasinha with his mind filled with great delight immediately presented a purse of coin struck in his own name. He gave 500 coin, and five horses'. See, Amanatulla Ahmed, op.cit,, pp. 280-283.

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Symbolism of the Mountains: A Study of Selected Poems of Mamang Dai

Harpreet Vohra*

Abstract

Mamang Dai, celebrated writer from Arunachal Pradesh often glorifies nature in its primordial form. She celebrates both the mystic as well as the commonplace that nature radiates; exploring myths behind the 'forces of nature', and thus leading the reader to ecological forests and magic drum beats. Mountains form a leitmotif of several of her poems, and they lead us to ancient myths and rich tribal folklore. Mountains are thus not a mere landform, but an intrinsic part of the collective psyche of the people of Arunachal Pradesh. The paper aims to examine the significance and the symbolism of the mountain in the following poems of Mamang Dai: "An Obscure Place", "The Voice of the Mountain" and "Small Towns and the River". In each of the poems the poet portrays the important place that mountains have in tribal pantheons. The antiquity of the mountains, their sacredness and mystique in Mamang Dais' poems adequately bring out their symbolism and significance. The poet weaves around them antique tales and myths, which are part of an ancient oral tradition and which also have a close connection to modern day concerns about environmental protection.

Key Words: Myth, Folklore, Indigenous, Primordial, Dreamtime.

Mountains play an important role in the quest for understanding interactions between nature and society. To study this mountain symbolism without a careful consideration of how mountain literature replicates and shapes geographical imaginations would only tell part of the story (Blake 527).

In Mamang Dais' poems the mystique and grandeur of mountains along with myth and folk lore surrounding them weave an ethereal story around these land masses. Mamang Dai is a celebrated writer of Arunachal Pradesh whose works are steeped in tribal folklore. A former bureaucrat, Mamang Dai has the prestige of being awarded the Padamshree for her contribution to literature. She has written many poems and two novels, one

* *Harpreet Vohra is an Assistant Professor in the Department of English, Panjab University Regional Center, Ludhiana, Punjab.*

of which deals with myths of her land. She writes of elements of nature like clouds, rivers and mountains and in her works can be felt that primordial search for a 'homeland' in the spiritual sense of the term. Coming from Arunachal Pradesh, she has seen the scourge of insurgency from close quarters and has been sorrowed over this long battle. She dreams of a peaceful vine and bamboo paradise where the cloud, the bat and the rain are in absolute harmony.

In fact recently, Arunachal Pradesh was reeling under an economic blockade and Mamang Dai's hometown was badly affected by such blockades (Naga). The people of Arunachal Pradesh were put to great inconvenience with prices of domestic commodities sky rocketing. Blockades such as these are common and accepted as the destiny of the people in this part of the world. While being awarded the Padmashree, YD Thongchi, President Arunachal Pradesh Literary Society said that Mamang Dai 'is firmly rooted with the soil of her birth place'. He also remarked that her heart was always in consonance with the rivers, mountains, trees, jungles, rituals, legends, mythology, dances, villages, prayer flags of her 'dear abode, Arunachal Pradesh'(Padmashree).

The hills also form a common theme of several writers of the North-Eastern states. Temsula Ao, Mona Zote, Robin Ngangom and YD Thongchi find it natural to write about mountains with their glory and pristine sublimity. The mountain is not merely another memory of childhood and youth but forms part of a continuing relationship with the environment. The insularity of the northeastern states are also related to the terrain in which hills and mountains constitute a formidable barrier. The 'mainland versus hinterland' debate follows also from the 'so called distance' in terms of miles and milestones. The North East has been unique in the way it has administered itself over the years. Sujata Miri says that none of the communities in the North East conceived of a law of peace which would apply to any other community but themselves. If there was a war it was always fought within the parameters of certain rules. In such a conflict, the main consideration was the preservation of one's own territory rather than "extension of it". Thus traditionally accepted actions were in consonance with the goal of peaceful co-existence (Miri).

The name Arunachal Pradesh itself represents the Sanskrit meaning of 'The Land of the Dawn Lit Mountains' as this state receives the first rays of the sun in the country. Hence, little surprise that the mountains form the

story lines of many a narrative here. Arunachal is a land of great beauty with soft snow covered peaks, which on melting tumble into rowdy streams and rivers. In fact, the state has the honour of being one of the greenest parts of the country (Dai, Oral Narratives, 1). In an article on Arunachal Pradesh, Dai says that Arunachal is still one of the 'last frontiers of the world' where indigenous faith and practices still survive in an almost original form as handed down by ancestors. It is, however, equally true that, because of the remoteness and historical isolation of this 'forgotten land', there is little dissemination of information about the goings on in the state (Dai, Arunachal Pradesh). There are several tribes in Arunachal Pradesh and they follow an indigenous lifestyle. Their beliefs in nature are very strong and by that corollary they become champions of the environment. Sacred forests, birds and beasts form part of their collective consciousness. The highest mountain peak in the Aka (one of the tribes of AP) inhabited area called Wojophu is considered a sacred mountain and removal of any resources from there and even hunting is strictly prohibited. Akas believe that breaking of such taboos will lead to bleeding from nose and mouth finally leading to death. So, even today this mountain is covered with dense forest cover (Chaudhari, 5).

In *An Obscure Place* (Dai, Muse India) the mountains provide a kaleidoscopic view of the area. The prayers of the people pass on the slopes of the mountains. There are cloud formations which appear to be chasing ants. In the patterns of the clouds and the imagination of the writer, there is a tussle between the ants and the wild cat. The mountains know all the deep secrets; they know that the 'hornbill'- a magnificent bird has been buried in her 'maternal sleep'. The mountains are omniscient and they know the past, the present and the future. The words of strangers lead the people into a deep mist, over grassy slopes where ancestors' bones lie buried amidst great beauty. Dai says that the people of the area climbed every slope and they spent their nights by the river. The hope was to find a new home but victory is a long drawn thought. The mountain thus not only embodies the collective consciousness of hope of a people but also embodies the fears and lost expectations in an increasingly complicated and changing society.

Again in *The Voice of the Mountain* (Dai, India International Centre) Dai says that the mountain can identify with the desert and the rain. It is also the bird that sits in the west. The past is recreated by the mountains. The mountain tells us of 'life with particles of life that clutch and cling for thousands of years'. Mountains represent life forms and contribute to a churning of life of 'thousands of years'. The mountains know the rocks that shine in the

sun. The mountains know the clouds intimately and have a clear inkling of the impending rain. The relationship between the mountain and the cloud is intrinsic. The clouds by shedding their moisture on the mountains share a symbiotic relationship with this landform. The mountain calls the cloud 'this uncertain pulse that sits over its heart'. The cloud may fall anytime but only with the connivance of the mountain.

The geographical concepts of mountains acting as rain shadow and rain shedding natural structures are interlinked with the philosophy of the hill tribes. The tribes through their traditional knowledge and experience understand the linkages between mountains and rains. Their belief systems are intrinsically entwined with nature and its preservation and their lifestyles replicates the traditional practices.

Mamang Dai in the article "The Nature of Faith and Worship among the Adis" remarks that the great forest, the mountains and the environment shaped the consciousness of the Adi people and made them decorate the Pator Gate (A gate made of leaves and branches and considered holy) with arrows tipped with ginger and the sacred branches of the 'Taan' tree to consecrate it against evil forces (Dai, The Nature of Faith among Adis).

A report on "Sustainable Mountain Development" by the UN Secretary-General in the year 2009, states that even after seven years from the International Year of Mountains, many of the challenges remain. In an increasingly globalized world, mountain communities and their environments continue to remain vulnerable to 'growing demands for water, natural resources, tourism, out-migration, incidences of conflict and the pressures of industry, mining and agriculture (United Nations 4). Thus tribal communities feel the heat as they derive their sustenance from the mountains which are their homes. Mamang Dai feels this closing in on the indigenous tribes, who experience a sense of loss and displacement.

The mountain is like an oracle, telling stories of change and yet bearing the nature of permanence. In the end of the poem *The Voice of the Mountain*, the mountain knows that the universe gives nothing but 'an appearance of being permanent'. Peace is a falsity, the mountain remarks. The last line of the poem is significant as it is a resonance of the conditions of the world. Regimes may change and the dream of a true homeland maybe fulfilled, but peace ever eludes. The existence of truth is an existential reality, but behind it is the turmoil and dissatisfaction of a nation. Several movements for peace over the ages have achieved peace on the ashes of violence and bloody

wars. History is a mere spectator to these violent revolutions and the innocence of peace has often been cloaked in the guilt of blood.

Bipin Patsani commenting on the style of Dai's writing says that Mamang is gracefully lyrical in both *River Poems* (Writers Workshop) and *The Legends of Pensam* (Penguin). She writes with "rare passion and flow, fresh and full like the Siang river that meanders through her valley". He also tells us that her poems are full of the essence of tribal myths, mountains and an intense emotional involvement with her land (Patsani).

In her poem *The Balm of Time* she, like the true animist that she is, asserts, "Yes I believe in gods, in the forest faith/ of good and evil/ spirits of the river/ and the dream world/ of the dawn." *River Poems* contains poetry which one can only describe as "old world, neo romantic in essence"(Daruwalla). "a race of fireflies bargaining with the night." 'Her poems are, engaging with landscape and nature, through a half-animist, half-pantheistic outlook. "I know where memory hides/ in the long body of the mountain." "The river has a soul," she says, "it knows the immortality of water." Folk lore of aborigines are also closely related to nature. For the aborigines the world was not created ex nihilo. Rather, the 'pre-existing ancestral spirits transformed a pre-existing world of things and conditions' into structures that are immutable today. This primordial period, called the 'Dreamtime', was the beginning of life itself and in it the ways of life, the law, the moral code were set down to be followed eternally (Dean 3). In Aboriginal mythology, Dreamtime is the sacred creation moment. Aboriginal people often interpret dreams as being the memory of things that happened during this Creation Period. Dreams are also important because they can be a time when we go back into that ancestral time. This linking of dreams to the Creation Period has led people to adopt the general term "The Dreamtime" in order to describe the time of creation in their religion. The term "Dreamtime" in Aboriginal mythology is not really about a person having a dream, but rather, a reference to this Creation Period (Layton).

In the poem *An Obscure Place* (Dai ,Muse India), Mamang Dai says that the history of the people of Arunachal Pradesh is an oral one and it is full of stories and myths. There is an uncertainty about the origins of the language. She ends the first stanza with words of doubt, "Nothing is certain'. However there is a certainty of the mountain. "There are mountains. Oh! There are mountains". She uses the pronoun we and exclaims that they knew each and every corner of the mountain. There are several myths related

to the mountains in tribal folklore and like the other aspects of nature, their glorification is related to their invincibility and their emanation of life. The intrinsic relationship between nature and human beings is primordial and has given birth to animalistic practices and nature worship. Ancient religions of the Romans, the Egyptians, Chinese, Hindus and the Greeks had their origins in nature. In the pantheon of the Arunachali people, glorification of the mountains becomes central to their belief system. The Aztec people too believed in the immutability of the mountains and their indestructibility.

In *Voice of the Mountain*, the writer speaks like an omnipresent voice; travelling the river, the towns and the estuary mouth. Dai says that the mountain is like an old man sipping the breeze that is 'forever young'. She says that nature is like an old man who has lived many lives. His voice is like sea waves and mountain peaks. Nature transfers symbols and is a 'chance syllable that orders the world with history and miracles'. In the poem, the mountain narrates the story of its omnipresence. The opening lines, 'from where I sit on the high platform I can see the ferry lights crossing, criss-crossing the big river'. The mountain claims to be all-knowing. It sees the towns, the estuary mouth and the bank of the river. The mountains are so ancient that they can 'outline the chapters of the world'.

There is a sorrow too related to the mountains as they stand mute witnesses to the pain of an indigenous people. Despite all the slopes that have been climbed and all the familiarity with the terrain, the people cannot talk of victory yet. Why is victory elusive? The mountain takes on different forms throughout the poem and sees all that takes place in a fickle-minded universe. It is a silent witness to all the activities of human beings, the birds and the beasts and even various land forms. The mountain remains an omnipresent leitmotif throughout the poem.

In An Obscure Place Dai throws in a feeling of doubt:

> The words of strangers have led us/into a mist deeper than the one we left behind
>
> Weeping, like the waving grassland/where the bones of our fathers are buried/ surrounded by thoughts of beauty. (Dai, *Muse India Archives*, Issue 8, 2006)

Who are these strangers? Are they the outsiders who infest the North- East with their alibi of livelihood and trade or are they the armed forces who push their way into the heartland? Dai is pained over them being pushed into the morass, and thus even being dislodged from their traditional environments.

Apart from the politics of the matter, the predicament of the northeastern states viv-a-vis the so called 'outsiders' is a reality that surfaces time and again.

In the poem, *Small Towns and the River* too Mamang Dai talks of the presence of the mountain even though the dominant theme is the river. The river knows the immortality of water as it sees the first drop of rain on the thirsty earth and then the same water rising as a mist on the mountain-tops. The mountain is shrouded in mystery and as it is covered in mist it gets a uniqueness of distance and enigma. Much like the invisibility of the northeastern states from the national radar, even the lofty mountains of Arunachal remain hidden in mystery from the so called mainland. The mountain as a metaphor for the mysterious, the unknown and the mighty can also be seen as representative of the resilient, the steadfast and the powerful.

The mountain speaks in different tones; sometimes as a young man and at other times as a senior citizen. The mountain recalls how a young man came from the village with a gift of fish from the river. For the mountain such an act is a repetitive one and it has seen such offerings in the past. The mountain then changes into a warrior or a hunter and leaves its spear leaning by the tree in order to 'try to make a sign'. Since the language the mountain speaks keeps changing with time, the etching with the spear is an effort at recording a truth that the mountain is aware of.

We live in territories forever ancient and new/and as we speak in changing languages/I, also, leave my spear leaning by the tree/and try to make a sign. (Dai, Poetry International)

The victory that the mountain experiences is a victory that has come after a long drawn battle. Victory cannot be spoken of prematurely. The warrior has returned with the blood of peonies. Dai is probably talking of the sun that has set.

"I am the child who died at the edge of the world/ the distance between end and hope/the star diagram that fell from the sky"

In the same poem, the poet announces that small towns always remind her of death and even though her hometown is ensconced in the trees, it has certain immutability, both in summer and in winter. She even finds that life and death too are transient and the only thing that is permanent are the rituals. Like the immutability of the mountains, ritualistic practices never die.

"Just the other day someone died. /In the dreadful silence we were

looking at the sad wreath of tuber rose/Life and death, life and death/only the rituals are permanent"

The mountain has in its recesses, memories of the sun rising and setting behind it. The sun is referred to as a child who died at the edge of the world but who will bring hope again when it rises in the east. It is also like a shooting star that has fallen from the sky. It is a summer that has brought doom to people probably because of the heat and the scanty rainfall. The mountain knows it all and is a silent witness. The mountain has also been beautifully compared to 'a woman lost in translation' and who still survives with the ability to be happy and carry on. The woman and the mountain are both symbolic of being lost in the quagmire of time.

It is from the mountain that so many natural processes emanate. The mountains carry wind to the mouth of the canyon which may otherwise be closed to any sort of visitation. The balmy sunlight from the mountains is thrown even to the highest tip of the trees and the mountain sends the wind even to the narrowest gorge. All these movements and memories are ensconced in the mind of the mountain. This land mass becomes symbolic of knowing even the deepest secrets and the most tormenting changes that have come about in nature. These memories hibernate in its mind and thus the mountain becomes symbolic of being a repository of traditions and events of the past. "I am the place where memory escapes/ the myth of time/ I am the sleep in the mind of the mountain".

Owing to the nature of the mountain to be all knowing and even all powerful, several myths and folklore are centered on these lofty landmasses. Several tribes believe in the sanctity of mountains owing to their seeming invincibility and protective nature. Even the forest growth on mountains is sacred because of medicinal properties and produce used by villagers for domestic and cottage industrial purposes. Ancient Hindu mythology holds the Himalayas as the abode of Gods and *rishis* who in their mystic robes spent years of *tapasya* in order to know the truths of the universe and the mystery of *karma.* Similarly, the Australian Aborigines believe in the immutability of the Mountain. A fine example of the Australian reverence to the mountain is the Ayers Rock or the Uluru Mountain which burns in the sunlight and changes hue with the timings of the day. This rock is revered by the Aborigines and many myths and legends have been inspired by it. The Aboriginal inhabitants of Australia, the Anangu, believe the Central Australian landscape was created at the beginning of time by ancestral beings. According to Aboriginal myth, the world was 'unformed and featureless' until ancestral

beings emerged from the void and journeyed across the land, creating all living species and the features of the desert landscape. Uluru is regarded as spectacular physical evidence of the ancestors' activities during the creation period. Aboriginal culture has its roots in the Tjukurripa or Dreamtime, when groups of ancestral beings crossed the landscape, leaving their mark in the form of hills, creeks and caves (Sacred Destinations).

In an interview with Nilanshu Aggarwal, Mamang Dai has explicated the beliefs of union among the Arunachali tribes. She says that the traditional belief of the Adi community to which she belongs is full of respect for nature. Everything has life - rocks, stones, trees, rivers, hills, and all life is sacred. This is called Donyi- Polo, literally meaning Donyi- Sun, and Polo- moon as the physical manifestation of a supreme deity, or what she calls 'world spirit.' She thus finds several similarities between ancient Indian philosophy or ancient Mayan / Aztec, Northern Europe, Egyptian, Chinese beliefs and traditional tribal ones (Agarwal).

Thus for Mamang Dai, the mountains are not merely a landmass or a hunting ground for tribal folk; it is a living oracle of the past and the future. The symbolism behind the mountain is not merely that of ritualistic practices of an indigenous people, but a reminder of history and the protector of the races. For the people of Arunachal Pradesh a life without the mountains would probably be like a world bereft of anything aesthetic and sanctimonious. Mamang Dai stands to represent Arunachal in a certain way and tries to explore her state for the others.

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The Manifestations of Cultural Memory in the Poetry of Yehuda Amichai

Ever E. F. Sancley*

Abstract

Yehuda Amichai has been widely extolled and universally accommodated for the simplicity and national integrity that is subtly knitted in his poetry. His writings serve as the point of departure and as a model and metaphor for reflection on the significance of literature in the cultural life of the Jewish society besides the construction of individual and national identity. The manifestations of cultural memory in Amichai's poetry reveal new dimensions of the parameters of the catastrophe following the perpetual atrocities of the Jewish race. The reminiscence of the past, the present and all of time is vividly captured within the ambit of cultural memory and hence a sophisticated study of Amichai's enormous contribution is obligatory.

Keywords: Cultural memory, Jews, Holocaust, Eternal present, Time

Yehuda Amichai is one of the most celebrated of Hebrew poets in recent years. According to Jonathan Wilson, "He should have won the Nobel Prize in any of the last twenty years" (172). However, politics and the fact that "he came from the wrong side of the Stockade" (*ibid*) have denied him that honour. Amichai was a man of humble origin, born to an orthodox Jewish family in Wurzburg, Germany, on 3 May, 1924. He migrated to Palestine in 1935 and consequently to Jerusalem in 1936 where he served as a member of the *Palmach*, the defence force of the Jewish community in pre-state Israel. He volunteered and fought in World War II as a member of the British Army, Jewish Brigade and also in the Israeli War of Independence on the southern front and in the Negev.

As a poet, he was first inspired by the works of Dylan Thomas, T. S. Eliot and W. H. Auden which he read during World War II when he was stationed with the British Army in Egypt. However, he began to write poetry seriously after the War of Independence in 1948. In the years following the War of Independence, Amichai studied Hebrew literature and the Bible (it

* *Ever E. F. Sancley is a Research Scholar in the Department of English, North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong*

may be mentioned that the terms "Biblical" and "Bible" are used by Amichai's critics only to refer to the Judaic scriptures) at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. It was here that he published his first book of poetry *Now and in Other Days* (1955) with the encouragement of one of his professors.

In his entire poetic career that stretches over a period of about fifty years, Amichai has published eleven volumes of poetry in Hebrew, two novels, and a book of short stories. His works have been translated into over a score of languages. His collections of poetry available in English include *Poems,* 1968; *Selected Poems,* 1971; *Songs of Jerusalem and Myself*, 1973; *Amen*, 1977; *Travels of a Latter-Day Benjamin of Tudela*, 1977; *Time,* 1977; *Love Poems,* 1979; *Great Tranquility: Questions and Answers*, 1983; *The Selected Poetry of Yehuda Amichai*, 1986; *Poems of Jerusalem*, 1987; *Even a Fist Was Once an Open Palm with Fingers*, 1991; and *Open Eyes Land***,** 1992. In 1982, Amichai received the Israeli Prize for poetry and he became a foreign honorary member of the American Academy of Arts and Letters in 1986. He died of cancer in Jerusalem on 15 September 2000 at the age of seventy six.

Amichai's poetry emphasizes the individual who is conscious and integrally part of the "collective memory," (Eshel, 151) from which, according to Eril Astrid and Ann Rigney, cultural memory has evolved. The turmoil of living in a country that is frequently at war and the conflicting memory of the blessed childhood and the terrible holocaust have always been a major impact on Amichai as a poet. Although the holocaust is not the thematic centre of Amichai's poetry, he does continually reflect upon this decisive caesura of Jewish history. Amir Eshel says, "His metaphors often connote the timeless spirit along the lines of cultural memory's eternal present, the spirit that links the remains of ancient times to those of the recent traumatic past and to the present" (152).

Over the last twenty years, the relationship between culture and memory has emerged in many parts of the world as a key issue of interdisciplinary research, involving fields as diverse as history, sociology, art, literary and media studies, philosophy, theology, psychology, and the neurosciences, and thus bringing together the humanities, social studies, and the natural sciences in a unique way. The importance of the notion of cultural memory is not only documented by the rapid growth, since the late 1980s, of publications on specific national, social, religious, or family memories, but also by a more recent trend that attempts to provide overviews of the state

of the art in this emerging field and synthesize different research traditions.

The concept of cultural memory is originally derived from archaeological studies, first introduced by an Egyptologist, Jan Assman in his book *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis* (1992) (Cornelius Holtorf). According to Assman it was the sociologist, Maurice Halbwachs and the art historian, Aby Warburg, who first dismissed "attempts to conceive collective memory in biological terms as an inheritable or 'racial memory'" (Czaplicka, 125) and instead shifted the discourse concerning collective knowledge into a cultural one. Elaborating upon this, Assman says, that the specific character that a person derives from belonging to a distinct society and culture is not seen to maintain itself for generations as a result of philogenetic evolution but rather as the result of socialization and custom. Cultural memory therefore, is seen as a collective concept for all knowledge that directs behaviour and experience in the interactive framework of a society which is repeated through generations in societal practice and initiation.

Jan Assman and Aleida Assman define the concept of cultural memory through a double delimitation that distinguishes it from what is called 'communicative' or 'Everyday memory' which they think lack cultural characteristic. Just as the communicative memory is characterized by its proximity to the everyday, cultural memory, the Assmans maintain, is characterized by its distance from the everyday:

> Cultural memory has its fixed point; its horizon does not change with the passing of time. These fixed points are fateful events of the past, whose memory is maintained through cultural formation (texts, rites, monuments) and institutional communication (recitation, practice, observance). (Czaplicka, 129)

Maurice Halbwachs thematises the nexus between memory and group (261) and Warburg thematises the one between the language and cultural forms (Gombrich, 323). Aleida and Jan Assman however, relate to all these three poles that is, memory (the contemporized past), culture and the group (society) they also stress upon certain characteristics which contribute to their explanation of cultural memory as a concept that comprises "the body of reusable texts images, and specific to each society in each epoch, whose 'cultivation' serves to stabilize and convey that society's self-image" (Assman and Czaplicka, 132).

Assman is of the opinion that, "cultural memory is no mere metaphorical extension of individual memory. Cultural memory is born of collective identity,

constitutes it in time, and in turn serves it, though usually not in straight forwardly instrumentalist ways. As such, Assman's theory provides a correction to the presenter's implications with which Maurice Halbwachs founded the contemporary study of "collective memory," as early as 1925 (Olick K. Jeffrey, 06). Though Assman seems to overemphasize the opposition of his "cultural" understanding of memory to Halbwach's more sociological emphasis, the difference could be traced through a reading of Sigmund Freud. On the same note that Freud dwells, Assman and a number of others have sought to show that there are many "unconscious" elements in cultures as well as in individuals and thus to theorise the "unconscious" aspect of memory at the level of the collective is to theorise "unconscious" dimensions of memory at a level that supersedes the individual. According to Jeffrey, Assman's theory seems to offer us a corrective approach much more than Halbwach's sociological approach.

However, certain concepts of cultural memory, arguments about its multiple roles and its importance in shaping human society need to be reconsidered before making any further assumption. The widespread impact that cultural memory has made as a tool of preserving culture and tradition is carried on the wings of time. Freud's concept of cultural memory goes beyond the boundaries of any prescribed tradition; his assumption is more of preservation rather than an influence. According to Freud, "What has been deleted or altered in the written version might quite well have been preserved uninjured in the tradition. Tradition", he notes, "was the complement and at the same time the contradiction of the written history" (Olick K. Jeffrey, 06). This arises perhaps because of the ensuing flexibility of the spoken or oral tradition and the aftermath of such conflicting poles that purport cultural memory is the suppression of many of the organic historical facts which have not been lost with time. He also takes into account the cogency of the suggestive ways of imitation and repetition incorporated and inscribed in cultural memory. This according to the Assman is Collective memory which includes much more than what can be explicitly acknowledged in the record or lore of a people because they believe that memories are deep and primal as well as manifest and contemporary.

Cultural memory in Amichai's poetry is not only related to the three poles but also to this body of reusable materials, which make it possible for his poetry not only to create "…new texts to be remembered but also recover suppressed knowledge, revives obsolete knowledge and reincorporates formerly rejected unofficial or arcane traditions of knowledge (Lanchmann,

173). Elaborating upon this Eshel maintains that cultural memory in Amichai's poetry implies the thread of cultural continuity. This continuity manifests itself through the most decisive mode of transmission found in a community's cultural archives: language. The continuity as Amichai himself has stated is the language:

> This language exists as long as the same language (Hebrew) is being written and used. Even if it is a language that tries new ways, that criticizes and goes against the stream. Actually it [this language] continues. A continuation which is not simply copying older forms. Real continuation is dialectic. Every Israeli and Jewish writer represents the continuation of Jewish culture. (Amichai, *Interview* by Yaakov Malkin, 23)

This cultural continuation serves as a foundation for the community and that is what Amichai's poetry is all about: personal documentation, a living museum in which the poet eternalizes his life.

Cultural memory as observed by Eril Astrid and Ann Rigney, "has recently emerged as a useful umbrella term to describe the complex ways in which societies remember their past" (111). This cultural memory has evolved from "collective memory" (ibid), which has a thematic focus and which is concerned above all with identifying the "sites of memory" (*ibid*). Essentially it involves the memories that one shares within generations and across generations, which is the product of public acts of remembrance using a variety of media like stories, images, museums and monuments which all work together in creating a sustaining site of memory. Literature is one memorial medium of contributing to the larger discussion of the ways in which societies recollect their past.

In the same way, Amichai has been striving to relocate the site of memory using poetry as a network in which the past and all of time are closely knitted into one moment, the present. His poetry, though circulated at later points in time, provides an important bridge between generations by making remembrance observable and by establishing a memory of its own. Reflecting upon the epistemology, ethics and the working of collective memory, Amichai's poetry confronts the readers with unsettling emotions and compels them to see:

> I have many times, like many watches
> On the walls of a clock shop, each one shows a different time.
> My memories are scattered over the earth
> Like the ashes of a person who willed before his death
> To burn his body

> And scatter his ashes over seven seas. ("Like the Streams in the Negev," *A Life of Poetry 1948-1994,* 10-15)

Referring back to the cultural memory of the Jews, Amichai shows that there is a unique combination of the profane and the sacred. According to Amir Eshel, "the crisis of Jewish identity at the onset of modernity, the rise of Jewish national movements and especially the holocaust seems to have only deepened the notion that every single event in the past remains a determining factor in the face of the present" (143). Amichai's poetry illustrates how all generations are fused as one and how they are involved in the ensuing material, spiritual, and even secular continuation. In the collection, *Time* (1978) he writes:

> Here on the ancient beach of Tantura I sit
> In the sand with my sons and my son's sons not yet born
> But they are assembled with me in my crouched squatting.
> The happiness of the water equals the happiness of Heaven,
> And the wave's foam penetrates my mind and becomes
> Clear here.
>
> And past's future is here and now in my rest. (Untitled, 1-7,)

Here the perspective of the narrative "I" reaches beyond the boundary of his own existence and extends into the temporal realm of all generations that is to come. The "I" here signifies both the collective and the personal consciousness which encounters the simultaneous layering of both the opposing personal and collective forces pointing towards the endurance of oblivion in the era of the most devastating catastrophe.

For the Jews cultural memory is also the remembrance that has been preserved in the scriptures. This sacred literature has been treated with reverence not only because it chronicles the origin and gives direction and identity to the Jews, but most importantly because it is the medium through which cultural memory is transmitted. As far as Amichai's poetry is concerned there is a shift in the continuity from the biblical into the secular. The memory of his childhood is the only remembrance that is warm to his heart in the midst of the atrocities of the Jews:

> He who remembers his childhood better
> Than others is the winner,
> If there are any winners at all. ("1924," *A Life of Poetry* 1948-1994, 20-22)

The events of the past are preserved in his mind. Therefore, cultural memory

remains potentially active in the present and it obliterates the conscious desires and interests in his poetic creativity. The essence of cultural memory in most cases emerges out of the transmissions from the recent past that is transmitted in his poetry in the shadow of 'Camouflage' as Professor Nilli Shaft Gold (*Yehuda Amichai*: The Making of Israel's National Poet) puts it. The problem to identify with this particular feature in his poetry testifies the fact that no long-term cultural implication can be preserved or repressed over millennia.

Amichai's artistic proclivity, according to Ted Hughes, takes into account the unique intensity of Jewish religious feelings, the prophets, Biblical history, the supernatural world of Jewish mystical tradition, and the symbolic role of Israel itself, and in particular of Jerusalem. The accumulated inner strength and wealth of Jewish survival throughout the Diaspora, and the peculiar election, imposed on them by Hitler, constitutes the fact of the holocaust. It is clearly the drama of a war of survival on every level, the culmination of a long Jewish history of fighting for survival on every level of a garrisoned last-stand people (Amichai; *Time)* hence, the regeneration of a paradigmatic religion which grows from primal fear, guilt and repression.

The dynamics of remembering and the functions of collective memory in Amichai's poetry are also reflected in the conclusive use of the image of photography which captures the moment of time in the specific orbit of the frame. The simplest demonstration of such a graphic focus would call attention to the relationship between the concealed realities within his witticism; wherein lies the question of what constitutes an outline or look when one is gazing at another person. This forms a significant attribute that is central to the acceptance and rejection of the Jews over the centuries around the world:

> How can we understand the origins of the physical, perceptual system that forms the basis for the face of horror, impurity, and shame that through the centuries has been attributed to the facial features and bodies of those who must be hated, assassinated, at all cost? (Mondzain Marie-Jose, 209)

According to Marie-Jose Mondzain, "that hideous moment in our history will for long exercise the minds of others who refuse to forget". And by further consideration of modest and simple texts and images his goal to demonstrate that strange complicity between science, fantasy, and sublimation in the structure of organized repulsion would additionally, and perhaps most importantly examine the ideological roots of those miserable, prejudiced graphics and their link to a more general history of caricature.

In much the same situation, Freud's analysis of the description of the problem reveals the urgency:

> Without the irrepressible, that is to say, only suppressible and, force and authority of this trans-generational memory… there would no longer be any essential history of culture, there would no longer be any question of memory and of archive, of patriarchive or matriarchive, and one would no longer even understand how an ancestor can speak within us, nor what sense there might be in us to speak to him or her, to speak in such an *unheimlich*, "uncanny" fashion, to his or her ghost. *With* it". (Olick K. Jeffrey, 08)

Similar to the unending interrogations that Amichai poses along the lines of his poetry, Mondzain's repeated questioning of the Jewish catastrophe kindles the fierce and ineffaceable event on the face of history:

> What are the indices that characterize the Jew's face? Where do they come from? Why do they form the intolerable portrait of a creature recognizable by its profile alone? Why can a Jew not have a face? Why are Jews unfit for a face-to-face encounter? How, according to their enemies, did their own God condemn them to this obliqueness, to this deprivation of the gaze, and is he too, perhaps, excluded from all frontality? All such questions are not only relevant to the viewfinder alone but to anyone who seeks to understand this supreme race of catastrophic consequences.
>
> (Mondzain, Marie-Jose: *Image, Icon, Economy*: the Byzantine origin of the contemporary Imaginary, 210)

The strange and imperative meaning of Amichai's name itself speaks volume for the poetry that seeks to identify itself with the nation and its people. Professor Scharf in her biographical assumption of the poet mentions that Amichai and his Israeli lover Ruth intended to change his name from the German *Pfeuffer* to a sweet sounding Hebrew name that would match hers. In this attempt Ruth ended up uttering the patriotic Hebrew name 'Yehuda Amichai' which she insisted is more poetic and appropriate (*Yehuda Amichai*: The Making of Israel's National Poet 2-3). According to Joshua Cohen, the name "Yehuda Amichai" as the sound carries, should communicate more than identifying him as a person, a Jew or a poet. The name *Yehuda* which in Hebrew means *Judah*, associates him to the Lion of Judah; symbol of ancient Israelite military and political strength (also imperative of the promised Messiah) and *Amichai* combines *Ami*, which means "my nation" and *Chai*, meaning "life": ultimately forming "My nation lives" *(The Poet Who Invented Himself-http//forward.com)* is a subject of importance when studying the

personal attachment and commitments he had for his nation, people and culture is considered.

It also has to be acknowledged that throughout his poetic career he promoted nationalism and sung the praises of cosmopolitan militarism that impulsively inspired national unity and integrity. His aspiration and desire is focused on the disconcerted condition of the entire Jewish race at the birth of their independent state and also at the moment of frantic search for something that could keep them one and unified. It is also worth mentioning that he seeks to display through his poetry something that cradles the entire race that would ultimately recompense for the lost and diversion of their culture and heritage.

According to Mordecai M. Kaplan (*"Plant in Their Hearts a Love of Zion"* Report of the Jewish Reconstructionist Federation Israel Policies Task Force Rosh Hashana 5765, September 15, 2004), the founder of deconstructionist Judaism, a civilization cannot exist with all of its cultural aspects, including language, history, traditions and art without a place in the world where that civilization is founded. A people cannot be challenged to create for itself an ethical nationhood if it is not autonomous and responsible for the fulfillment of the social, human and civil rights of the inhabitants of its land. For Amichai and the Jewish people, that primary place is Israel and 'Jerusalem the cradle city that rocks' ("Time: 52", *A Life of Poetry*, 289) him, is its centre. This city therefore is the fulcrum of the songs of lamentation and praise. Much to the tone of the Psalmist who seeks in the favour of humanity to pray for the peace of Jerusalem (Psalm 122:6; Ezra 7: 15: the dwelling of God is in Jerusalem) are Amichai's poems of Jerusalem. He indirectly satirises the ensuing conflict and tension over the city between the Jews and the Muslim communities. He also seeks to project his cherished love for this city of unrest and predicament through his eternal lines of poetry.

The nature of memory that Amichai deals with in his poetry may be equated with the imaginative faculty:

> I once thought it could be resolved like this:
> People gather at a bus-stop at midnight
> For the last bus that won't come,
> First a few, then more and more.
> It was a chance to be close to each other,
> To change everything and start together a new world.
>
> ("An Hour of Grace", *A Life of Poetry*, 343)

Memory itself being the facet of the imagination; the ability to recreate it in the mind is essentially one of the greatest gifts given to man. As far as Jewish history is concerned, this faculty of imagination is a double-edged sword, but when refined and structured by the creative mind it can assume a positive ontological power. The power that seeks to deliver, strengthen and re-establish the identity and cultural practices of the forerunners.

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Tiluttoma Baruah ed., *People of Contemporary North-East India*, 2011. Pratisruti Publication: Guwahati, 2011, 319 pp. ISBN 81-88s05-12-2. Hard Cover. Price: Rs.350.

The present edited volume brings a multitude of dimensions addressing the northeast India's cultural mosaic. The volume has 31 papers out of which ten discuss the biological, physical aspects of the human organism, fifteen papers are devoted to cultural perspectives of the human life and the last five focus on archaeological explanation to the human existence in North-East India. The volume attempts to bring together different yet integrated facets of man in one canopy. The papers on the biological dimensions of man range from discussions on Metabolic Syndrome emerging as a health problem, to understanding the correlation between the foot structure and body weight. Ranjan Deka while discussing the emerging health problem due to metabolic syndrome draws attention to the point that these health concerns have emerged due to civilization and modernity. In their study on the body mass index in the north east states, Suparna Shome et.al bring out that since North-East India was an area of neglect for a long time, the development schemes came in much late here and this is reflected in the BMI level in the people of the northeast states. Their findings show that while Assam and Tripura show prevalence of underweight. Sikkim and Manipur show more percentage of overweight or obese people. Specific communities have been empirically researched by some authors who present a very culture specific scenario of a health dimension. Bhaskar Das and Sarthak Sengupta assess the frequency of haemoglobin E variant present among the Khasi population of East khasi hills, Meghalaya and also study the fertility, morbidity and mortality pattern among them against various haemoglobin genotypes. Jyoti Ranjan Ghosh and Arup Ratan Bandopadhyay's study on Bengali females in the age group 20 – 26 years brings out the influence of overweight on foot structure. Chandana Sarmah and A.F. Gulenur Islam Barbhuiya discuss the nutritional status of the adult Dimasa Kacharis living in the rural areas of the Cachar district of Assam. The fertility and mortality differentials among the Khasi, Pnar, Garo and Mizo tribes, residing in Shillong have been researched by Dipak Kr Adak and Tilutttoma Baruah.

Annada C Bhagabati makes a very interesting anthropological overview of the socialstructure of Arunachal Pradesh. This paper, a perfect blend of

personal memoir and anthropological eye of Professor Bhagabati makes a very gripping and informative read. The theoretical construct of social structure and the dynamics involved therein is very well explained with reference to the different tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. The idea of 'sacred' against the backdrop of culture forms the topic of discussion in two different papers written by Indira Baruah and K. Jose SVD respectively. Indira Baruah analyses L.P.Vidyarthi's concept of Sacred Complex on the Deori and Tiwa of Assam. The institution of marriage forms the area of discourse in two different papers written by Lanu Devi and Nazeem Anan respectively. Lanu Devi discusses the marriage among the Karbis and Anan brings forth the marriage system among the Tahdous kukis. Kanta Chakravarty's paper on 'Tourism and Women Empowerment: An Experience of a Japanese Concept", attempts to throw light on the significant role which Mich-no-eki, a Japanese concept related to tourism can play in empowering women in the tourism sector in North-East India. The following paper also delves into the prospects of tourism in North-East India. This paper by Mrinmoyee Bhattacharyya and Manisha Bhattacharyya explores the potential of ecotourism in India's northeast in generating employment and in improving the economy of the region. The institution of marriage is the focus of two different papers, one on the marriage among the karbis by Lanu Devi, and the other dealing with marriage among the Thadous, written by Nazeem Anan. Both the papers lack in addressing the dynamics and changes which have been witnessed in the institution of marriage. Suparna Baruah's work, 'Indigenous Knowledge (IK): A Brief Note' and Jonali Devi's paper, 'Indigenous Knowledge Tradition in Agriculture: A Study on Few Practices in Nagaland' make very informative reads. A very exhaustive and excellent exploration on the *knowledge continuum* by Suparna Baruah in her paper enriches the theoretical constructs on Indigenous Knowledge Systems. Jonali Devi's paper on the indigenous knowledge tradition in agricultural practices of the Angami and Rengma of Dimapur and Kohima districts in Nagaland throws light on the blending of traditional and the modern technologies and practices used in shifting cultivation.

Section III of the volume is devoted to papers on prehistory. A.A.Ali's article 'On the Discovery of Prehistoric Site in North-East India' comes out as a very comprehensive and analytical piece of work. Dilip K Medhi's paper on the archaeological research in Karbi Anglong brings forth the current findings of tools and megaliths in North-East India, thus taking an important step forward in further establishing the interesting antiquity of 'man the tool maker'. Another paper devoted to the Karbis of Assam is by Kalpana Choudhurygives a

descriptive account of the megalithic assemblages in the area.

The edited work by Dr. Tiluttoma Baruah attempts to bring the researches on the integrated aspects of man – cultural, biological and archaeological, under a common canopy thus holistically addressing the quest about man and his being. There is no dearth of published work on this part of the country. Yet instead of passing as yet another volume on the oft beaten road, the present volume comes across as a fresh attempt to cater to the 'contemporary' look of the northeast. However certain areas needed more attention in editing the volume. In some articles, the references and citations are found incomplete. There is no mention of publishing house or place of publication in several articles. There is no uniformity in the styles in which the references have been mentioned after each article. The article by Kalpana Choudhury does not contain any list of references cited in the text. Care should have been taken to avoid such inexcusable errors.

Reviewed by
Geetika Ranjan
Associate Professor
Department of Anthropology
North-Eastern Hill University, Shillong

Arkotong Longkumer, *Reform, Identities and Narratives of Belonging: The Heraka Movement in Northeast India*, Continuum International Publishing Group: London and New York, 2010, xiv + 258 pp. ISBN: 9780826439703 (Hardback)., Price: $120.00.

Reform, Identities and Narratives of Belonging: the Heraka Movement in Northeast India is an ethno-historical treatise on the Heraka reform movement among the Zeme, a Naga tribe living in the North Cachar Hills of Assam, and part of the more generic Zeliangrong community spread over Assam, Nagaland and Manipur. Little post-colonial ethnography has come out on the Zeme, and since Ursula Bower's (later Ursula Betts) 'Naga Path' (1952) this is perhaps the most comprehensive work done among the Zeme. But this book is not only valuable for its original ethnography, but also equally for its wide theoretical engagement, situating, as it does, the Heraka reform movement in larger scholarly debates on reform and identity. In a complex, multi-layered, though lucidly expounded treatise, Longkumer traces the genesis and evolution of Heraka reform and identity, and its emergence into a contested

arena of competing ideologies of religion and ethnicity in India's northeast. This book is based on archival research and seven months of field-research in Hsongle village, from where the author also visited other villages. Hsongle is incidentally the same village as Bower conducted major parts of her fieldwork in the 1940s. The book consists of seven chapters, including the introduction and conclusion, and runs through 258 pages.

The Heraka movement found its genesis, the author argues, in failed colonial land, administrative and immigration policies, which caused land and food scarcity, and further swelled in reaction to proselytizing Christianity. In this context, the Heraka movement represented a 'new system of religious attitude in relation to economic realities' (p. 48). It provided practical remedies, like altering the agricultural cycle and minimizing expensive blood sacrifices, a cosmological rearrangement, from traditional pluralism to the adoption of one God, and a Millenarian promise in the form of *heguangram* (the free community) brought about by a *heguan* (he who brings that freedom). In the upshot, then, the Heraka movement provided new and evolving ideas of community, tradition, and self / identity among the Zeme, and the five main chapters of the book approaches this predicament from different angles.

In the introduction the author maps out his ethnographic and conceptual framework. In approaching the issue of identity, he sides with Stuart Halls' thesis, influenced by Derrida, that identity is primarily constructed through the articulation and negotiation of identity boundaries, through *différance,* which at once 'differs' and 'defers' (p.12). The author also importantly reflects on his positionality in the field, as a Naga scholar researching another Naga tribe, and introduces his research assistant and interpreter, a college-educated Heraka.

The second chapter, and the most ethnographically rich, narrates the author's participation in a pilgrimage to the Bhuban cave, the assumed starting point of the movement. It is the place where god Tingwang instructed the first reformers, Jadonang and Gaidinliu. Interestingly, the Bhuban Hill and its cave do not only hold religious significance to the Heraka, but represents a shared ritual space as it denotes ritual importance too to the Poupei Chapriak, who follow ancestral practices known as Paupaise and who maintain two separate temples in addition to their worshipping in the cave, and to Hindus who organise an annual yatra to the Shiva temple located a little up from the cave. These groups, the author argues, share both common grounds and contested spaces. As such, it reminds of Hertz classic study on the cult of St.

Besse (a roman legionary solider who converted to Christianity and was then martyred and beatified), an engagement of which would perhaps have benefited the author's argument. Hertz showed how St. Besse became the saint protector of five hill villages who were jointly responsible for the upkeep of the cult, but disagreed about how, why, where and when rituals should be conducted. Their disparate versions, however, united in shared opposition to Church hagiography and the 'plainsman's interpretation of the past, which they commonly reject (see Parkin 1996). Similarly, different groups ascending the Bhuban Hill share the same ritual space, agree on some points, but maintain competing versions of rituals and traditions. Criticising Turner's (1978) seminal concept of communitas, the author concludes that these differences, or contests over authenticity as he frames it, in fact supersede feelings of communitas in the Bhuban Cave.

Chapter three reconstructs the genesis of the movement in the 1930s. The author argues that the Heraka reforms gained momentum for two prime reasons. First, British failure to understand shifting agriculture and subsequent failed land policies and, secondly, their invitation of Kuki immigrants to settle in land 'owned' by the Zeme. This led to land shortages and food scarcity, to which the Heraka reform movement provided practical solutions, and which, in turn, brought about significant socio-economic changes and renewal in villages. This chapter also introduces the lives and millenarian activities of Jadonang (1905-1931) and Gaidinliu (1915-1931), the two main reformers that shaped the Heraka movement. They both acted against British rule. On accusation of murdering two Manipuri traders, Jadonang was arrested and hanged by the British. The second prophet, and the most venerated today, Gaidinliu, a woman, was arrested in 1932 for instigating the population against the British and released 18 years later. She was then bestowed with the honorary title 'Ranee' (queen) by Jawaharlal Nehru, but instead of endorsing India's independence, Gaidinliu went underground, as the author dwells on in more detail in chapter five, and renewed her struggle for the rights of the newly formed, in the year 1947, Zeliangrong Community (a combination of Zeme Laingme and Rongmei). Gaidinliu was not against India, as she had been against the British, but she opined that the Zeliangrong were unduly marginalised and their identity threatened since India's Independence.

Chapter four zooms in on how the Heraka movement altered the Zeme cosmology by dismantling the pantheon and by adopting one single, macrocosmic entity, god Tingwang. For this to come about the Zeme had to modify their creation story, a process illustratively reconstructed by the author. This new

religious attitude also came together with the introduction of a Heraka scripture, the Hinge Book which laid down the new Heraka way of life.

Chapter five then focuses on processes of identity-formation among the Zeme Heraka through the position and recognition of *différance.* The author argues that the Zeme Heraka's predicament today is that they are at once non-Christian and Naga, a combination which makes them a difficult fit into the Naga national movement, whose professed unity lies, to a significant extent, in a shared Christianity. By configuring the Heraka as *vanvasi* (jungle dwellers), Hindu organisations like the Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS) and the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) working among them, attempt to appropriate the Heraka into the Hindu-fold. In this scenario, Heraka reform and identity, the author elucidates, is best understood as the outcome of the continuous mutual articulation of difference between the Heraka and external forces, and, as such, Heraka identity, like identities elsewhere, is always evolving.

In Chapter six the author discusses the construction of Heraka community. In doing so, it takes a cue from Cohen's (2003) formulation of community as 'aggregating device'. It discusses the Millenarian Heraka ideal of *heguangram* (free community), which embodies life, hope and freedom, and *heguang* (the agent of that freedom). Gaidinliu was long imagined as the *heguang,* and some still wait for her return to lead the Heraka into paradise. As an ideal and hope, *heguangram* persists, and currently a new self-proclaimed *heguang* has emerged who now stages his identity as the Heraka saviour. This longing, however, now symbolises the rural Heraka more than the urbanised Heraka, warning, for one, that the Heraka ought not to be seen monolithic entity, but may imply different things to different sections of the Zeme Heraka population.

In the conclusion the author winds the various strands together, and summarises his main arguments and insights. It emphasises the current difficult transition the Heraka movement is experiencing as it shifts from the local to the regional, and even the national. In conclusion, the author reflects on the relation between religious reform and ethnicity, or, ethnographically speaking, the position of the Heraka in the national Naga movement. The case of the Heraka, he argues, shows that the term 'Naga' should be seen as an evolving concept, that when pinned down on certain characteristics like Christianity, may alienate some at the margins, like the Zeme Heraka who refuse Christianity, but who nevertheless identify as Naga.

As most studies on the Naga are grounded in the now somewhat stale trinity of ethnicity, nationalism and Christianity, the author aims to introduce

a new vantage point, one which shows how this trinity is also contested at the margins (p.17). In this aim the author well succeeds, and his treatise provides new pathways in approaching questions of identity among the Naga, and in North-East India more generally. This book is also innovative in that it is researched and written by a Naga scholar on a Naga tribe different from his own, a practice which, perhaps a little unfortunately, remains rare.

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Reviewed by
Jelle J.P. Wouters
Research Scholar,
Department of Anthropology, NEHU, Shillong

Hugh Sinclair, *Confessions of a Microfinance Heretic – How Microfinance lost its way and betrayed the poor*, Harper Collins Publishers India Ltd: Noida, 2012, pp. 268. ISBN: 9781609947668. Price: Rs. 350

Recent years witnessed a growing body of critical literature on mainstream 'developmental' thinking. The latest to emerge here is the book titled '*Confessions of a Microfinance Heretic: How Microfinance lost its way and betrayed the poor*' by Hugh Sinclair. Sinclair was directly involved in MFIs, rating agencies, transparency initiatives and investor agencies and watched the developments in the sector closely. The book is written in a popular style and drawn from real experiences in the sector. It exposes how 'microfinance turned out to be what it promised to be otherwise'.

The book argues that microfinance was one of the major 'development strategy' recommended by 'Britten-wood institutions' to developing countries. The grameen model initiated in Bagladesh has attracted the attention of the

World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF), international aid agencies such as USAID, DFID, SDC etc., and multinational commercial banks like Citi Bank, Standard & Chartered etc., have also been part of this set up.

As brought out in the book, Microfinance suggests 'commercial microfinance is a panacea' to the problems of poverty. The sector propagates a myth that microcredit lifts people out of poverty though small investments in microenterprises. This myth attracts governments, developmental institutions and social investors. The book points out that a select success stories of MFIs are used to hide the reality of high interest rates involved in availing credit, diversion of credit for consumption purposes, inability of micro-business to generate sufficient returns to micro-entrepreneurs, prevalence of child labour, and oppressive practices adopted by MFIs.

Contrary to the propagated social claims, Sinclair reveals that 'commercial interests' dominates the reality in the sector. Citing his personal experiences, the author shows show how MFIs deviate from its fundamental mission, adopt flawed practices in an un-regulated environment, how the 'commercial' interests get priorities over potential 'social costs'.

The case of 'Grameen Trust Chiapas' an MFI based in Mexico which deviated from its fundamental mission of 'serving the poor and women' to include 'people in need'; the case of Fondo de Credito Comunitario (FCC) an MFI based in Mozambique which under took 'forced savings' in the name of collateral and misused client savings enabled through an un-regulated environment; a range of microfinance players in development microfinance such as Triple jump, Oxfam Novib, Calvert foundation which never took action against an alleged Nigerian MFI named 'Life above poverty organization' (LAPO) despite its exorbitant interest rates and misbehavior with clients – each of these instances go on to show how the 'commercial interests' have overtaken the sector. MFIs like 'Compartmantos' an Mexican based MFI and 'Swayam Krishi Sangh (SKS)' an Indian based MFI, have reached such heights of commercialism that they have gone in for 'initial public offer' (IPO) and got enriched further.

Sinclair, however, indicates that cracks are appearing in the Microfinance model. The happenings in Nicaragua, India and Bangladesh point out the same. The civil unrest in Nicaragua by MFI clients expressing their protest against MFI practices, the suicides by MFI clients in Andhra

Pradesh in India as a result of growing indebtedness and oppressive recovery practices by MFIs resulting in regulation and mass default by MFI clients and continuation of poverty in Bangladesh despite over three decades with microfinance experiments – all of them indicate that microfinance experiments have failed. Drawing from the academic critics on the 'economic theory behind microfinance', Sinclair demystifies the assumptions that abundant opportunities are available to the poor to invest in productive enterprises, that the micro-enterprises of the poor are immune to laws of competition and that the micro-enterprises can be accommodated within market framework.

While attempting to expose the role played by micro-lending in betraying the poor, Sinclair however seems to carry optimism and speaks of 'microfinance 2.0' – a model that draws on lessons from earlier experiences and is more pro-poor. A micro-lending model aiming at modest profit, charging lower interest rates and adopting right behavior towards poor clients are seen as a solution. He also draws a list of Do's and Don'ts for the investors, the microfinance funds, the management of MFIs, to the regulators, to the poor, for the microfinance whistle blowers in media etc., with piecemeal changes he seems to believe that a more pro-poor and humane microfinance is possible. Moreover, he seems to believe 'informalisation' of the economy to be a solution.

While rightfully bringing out an insider's perspective on 'microfinance' with its flaws and shortages, he fails to situate it in the context of 'politics of development' as pushed by the international aid agencies. Microfinance has particularly grown in an historical context during which World Bank and IMF pushed the neo-liberalism and globalization project – with pressure on developing countries to reduce the role of state / public institutions for the welfare of the poor, reducing public expenditures / subsidies for poverty reduction, promoting commercial models for extending welfare and encouraging private players towards the same. The emergence of privately run MFIs with 'cost recovery and for profit models' towards providing public welfare services isn't brought to the fore.

The book fails to appreciate the fact that 'commercialization' is not a result of 'individual behavior of MFIs' which wanted to get rich, but the result of 'neo-liberal project' which sees privatization and commercialization as a solution to poverty reduction.

Despite the shortages, this book is a must read for those who get carried away about the magic of microfinance. Microfinance still attracts

many. Md. Yunus, the father of MFIs, believed that in one generation with microfinance, poverty can only be seen in museums. The book under review convinces the readers that this is not so.

Reviewed by
Naveen
Microfinance Researcher

Neelanshu Ranjan, *Swami Sahajanand Saraswati (*Hindi), National Book Trust of India: New Delhi, 2012, pp.XX+100. ISBN: 978-81-237-6486-3. Price: Rs.60.

Biographical sketches are usually published on the occasion of birth or death anniversary/centenary of great historical figures with a view to commemorate their achievements. However, an intellectual inquisitiveness that looks into the past in order to remove the maladies of the present would certainly, without waiting for such an occasion, likes to focus on the life of the most befitting a historic figure of his choice. Such inquisitiveness led Neelanshu Ranjan to publish the biography of Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, the legendary name in the history of peasant movement in modern India.

The life of Swami Sahajanand appears full of diversities and shifting priorities. If his adolescence manifests a missionary zeal of a person exhaustively unfolding the pages of ancient Sanskrit texts with a view to understand the ethos of religion, his adulthood presents him as a person deeply diving into Marxist literature with a view to grasp the essence of revolution. If his social activity begins as a committed caste leader, it ends as a dedicated class leader. In fact, his life appears like a spectrum of contrasting ideological shades. In introduction the author himself mentions that Swamiji at different points of time developed comradeship with persons of different ideological orientations simply in order to strengthen his struggle against social injustice and economic inequality. Moreover, Swamiji was not only a social activist, but also a prolific writer with a distinctive critical analytical insight into contemporary theoretical debates. To accommodate the various important aspects of the life of such a dynamic and diverse intellectual social leader within one hundred and thirty pages, not exceeding fifty thousand words is certainly a tough task which the author has done successfully and precisely.

The book is neatly divided into eight chapters, along with an analytical introduction. The author finds three important turning points in Swamiji's life,

first as a caste leader, second as a nationalist and third as a peasant leader. While the first two chapters trace his childhood, education, marriage and wanderings, the third and fourth chapters deal with the beginning of his active social life as a caste leader and then joining the national movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The fifth one throws much light on how Swamiji almost created, moulded, inspired and engineered the peasant movement during emotionally charged moments of anti-colonial struggle. Swamiji remained involved for more than thirty years, almost half of his life, in struggles to materialise the ideals of social justice and economic equality of peasants and workers. That is why the author rightly devotes maximum number of pages (more than thirty six pages) on Swamiji's relationship with the peasant movement that remained his primary concern till the last days of his life. The description of three events related to peasant sufferings that transformed Swamiji into a rebellious peasant leader reminds us of three episodes that led Lord Buddha to renounce the worldly attachments for achieving salvation. Next three chapters take into account respectively Swamiji's friendship with Rahul Sankrityaan, his interpretation of *Bhagvad Gita* and his contributions as editor and author. In brief, the book touches upon the crucial markers of Swamiji's life.

After going through the work the reader would feel himself well equipped to rationally counter the malicious design of power brokers who never hesitate in projecting Swamiji as a caste leader for parochial ends. In fact, Swamiji was an epitome of an endless struggle for social justice and economic equality. The author clearly states that Swamiji due to his own vision and insight could not remain an uncritical adherent to any kind of ideology and so shifted his priorities over social problems.

In professional historiography, it is generally accepted that sources of history, after being cross-cheeked and cross-referred, become more reliable. Keeping this in view, the author, while evaluating historical events, does not simply rely on Swamiji's autobiography, but also refers to other source materials written by Swamiji's contemporaries like Rajendra Prasad, Rahul Sankrityaan and others.

Had the author consulted archival records related to caste, national and peasant movements, it would have certainly substantiated and enriched the explanations. While dealing with Bhumihar caste movement, it would have been better to refer to other parallel caste movements that may throw greater light on social history. The author also lacks maintaining a uniform pattern in preparing footnotes. An index, missing in the book, would certainly

have made its reading easier. An exclusive chapter on Swamiji as an author and editor is expected to publish a complete list of his works, partially missing in the book. On the whole, the work is praiseworthy, because it is easily comprehensible and so general readers would be well acquainted with a unique leader of mass movement in modern India.

Reviewed by
Prabhakar Prasad Singh
Associate Professor, Department of History
BMD College, Dayalpur
BRA Bihar University
Muzaffarpur, Bihar

Hachuk Kurio **Vol.I, Kokborak Bhasha-Sanskriti Samsad, Agartala,1987. Price: Rs 25/-**

Hachuk Kurio **Vol. II, Akshar Publication:Agartala, 1994. Price: Rs. 35/-**

Hachuk Kurio**, Vol. III, Akshar Pubication: Agartala,1999. Price: Rs. 35/-**

Hachuk Khurio by Sudhanna Debbarma is an epistolary regional novel depicting the life of tribal communities in the state of Tripura. It views the genesis of the problems of indigenous tribes in the break-down of traditional social order and absence of proper political alternative. Limitless consumerism along with aversion to work has looted the natural treasures of the indigenous people of the state converting them into economic refugees. A salvation is possible only by generating political consciousness and by reinvigorating indigenous life style of the past.

Naren – the hero of the novel is a farmer's son who nourished an ambition in life. Naren's father, a hardworking farmer sends his son to the town of Agartala for education. It is the time when, in the princely state of Tripura, Janashiksha Samity has started movement in the hills for the spread of education and removal of illiteracy. Many tribal youths have responded to this call. Naren stays in the Umakanta Boarding House and pursues his study in Agartala institutions. The winds of change are now blowing through the hills; educated tribals have started challenging many of the age-old

customs and beliefs, many of them have turned into the harbingers of Renaissance in the hills under the kings. At Agartala, Naren observes the way of life of the Bengali urban middle and lower middle class people. He achieves a better vision of life. Mita, a girl from a lower middle class Bengali family develops admiration for his simplicity and honesty. During the holidays, Naren returns home in the hills and becomes the original self. He works as a farmer in the field along with fellow tribals. He speaks his mother tongue Kok-Borok and becomes a part of his milieu. The author gives a pen-picture of this milieu which protects the community and, at the same time, subdues it. The inhabitants live in certain ways, engage in certain occupations and keep alive certain customs. *Hachuk Khurio* can be read as the first ever full-length regional novel in Kokborok language as it is set in a specific area with its indigenous specific way of life. Characters are all away from the metropolis. People in the novel are meant to be like any other place, the beings whose hearts and minds are apparently local but actually universal.

The Princely state of Tripura resisted the onslaught of the British Capitalism for a long time. The British did not think it profitable to arrange the merger of the state with the Union. Whatever may be the reason, Tripura remained under the Kings till the time India became free and the indigenous people of Tripura had to fight against the kings for their rights and privileges. Popular movements against the Kings gained momentum in the early part of the twentieth century. *Jana Shiksha Parishad* was one such movement which aimed at establishing schools in the interiors of the state. This type of social movement was responsible for the spread of education among the people. Sudhanya Debbarma was an active participant, or rather, one of the pioneers in this movement of social upliftment of the indigenous tribal communities of the state. After the Indian Independence, tribal population of Tripura experienced a turmoil vis-à-vis the influx of people of Bengali origin from East Pakistan. These people were mostly lower middle class persons, tradesmen and other skilled individuals. A tension was generated and confrontation between different classes of immigrants and tribals developed in different parts of the state. There was pressure on land and limited resources but this social tension only helped the advanced section of the tribals to embrace a more materially developed culture. Tribal youths, on the other hand, felt that they had been pushed towards an area of competition. This encourages a stagnant society living at an underdeveloped stage of production level, to move out of the stagnant stages. Sudhanya Debbarma's novel *Hachuk Khurio* caters to the taste of the middle class or lower middle class living in the urban centers of the state.

In *Hachuk Khurio* Sudhanya Debbarma portrays the rural landscape which nurtures and nourishes the tribal folk. They owe to Nature their simplicity and straight forward attitude towards life. Though Nature in Sudhanya Debbarma succumbs to change and social pressure there are sufficient warnings about the unhealthy alteration of Nature and the natural. Naren, the hero of the novel observes the palpable change all around. He has witnessed nothing except the false promises of the politicians being revered by the suffering community in the hills of Tripura as in the other parts of the country. Population explosion, thanks to the migration from East Pakistan, poses a challenge to the wild forests and hills. Wild animals like deer etc. have disappeared from the hills. Tiger's abode is replaced by refugee camps. Man encroaches the depths of the forests and hence chirping of birds like Maina, Dhanesh are no longer heard. Nature too is undergoing transformation along with the changes in the tribal society. Rivers do not remain navigable round the year. Rain water stagnates and floods occur. Many of the ills have a reference to the unscientific partition of the subcontinent which was forced upon the people to make room for the greed of the unscrupulous politicians. This cruel and inhuman act of partitioning the country on the basis of religion has been responsible in many ways for the unnatural migration and concomitant ills which till date are plaguing the life of the hills. Tribal economy and culture based on jhum cultivation undergoes transformation. Women folk have forgotten the use of handloom. Naren's neighbors do not use the indigenous cloth. Jhum is out dated. Thread is not available and the beautiful cloth the tribal women weaved called *Rignai Barak* exists in memory alone. Hence, tribals have become accustomed to the use of cloth produced by cotton mills. The wind of change sweeps over the countryside. The semi urban tribals have given up their simple food habits and are taking to the rich and delicious dishes which the Bengalis prefer. Even the marriage system of the tribals has become complex. Earlier the grooms had to give bride price in order to marry. However, now the bride's father gives dowry to the groom's family. It has become difficult for the poor fathers to give their daughters in marriage because they are too poor to arrange dowry for the bride-groom. Naren has a sister named Malina. He is unemployed and his father is a poor farmer. He is tormented with the thought of his sister's marriage. Naren observes a gradual drift from traditional values taking place among the tribal people. His inability to arrest the changes lead him to loneliness and frustration.

He visits his former beloved Sabita who is married to Bimal at his instance. Bimal's poultry farming is in bad shape. The domestic fowls are ill

but no veterinary surgeon is around. The government hospitals do not come to the rescue of the poor. Meaningful Government encouragement to private enterprise remains absent. Bimal cherishes a desire to sell his farm and to take up a Government job even if that is of a peon. Government service was and is the goal of the unemployed. This is a pointer to the death of all private initiative and eventual degradation of the country with respect to capital formation. The then Congress Government appears to make no worthwhile effort for the upliftment of the vulnerable section of the society in terms of initiating such welfare schemes as the protection of arable land from the erosion of rivers, management of fisheries and the like. It appears, that the Government's focus is on robbing the state treasury and proliferating corruption. Naren becomes sad and morose. He looks around and finds his friends and countrymen gone astray, given to gambling, card-playing and such other vices. Naren's ancestral house is situated in Mataidangar para. The villagers are drifters. His neighbours such as Bharat Chandra, Harajay, Katagdiari and others assemble around Naren for advice. Naren observes that the poor among them have become poorer. More and more people are coming down from the poverty line and swelling the ranks of the day labourers and of part time farmers. Bharat Chandra is the link between the town and the village. He accosts court officials as a broker and squeezes money from fellow tribals in the name of Jumia rehabilitation and passes the share to the town- babus like the Circle inspector, Amin Babu etc. Deceit and bribery, precisely urban vices make their place in the persona of Bharat Chandra. In the character of Bharat Chandra and urban babus, the tribal society meets its nemesis.

Naren is seized with the keen desire to lead the people to have an identity of their own. The tribals could take pride in their glorious past. They once defeated the designs of the Delhi emperors and until the other day, were a free people. Freedom of the tribals from various vices and superstitions became Naren's only motive. To materialize his dreams Naren joined the Communist Party. He found that the tribals, the sons of the soil are firm supporters of the ideology of the Left. However, the ruling Government is indifferent towards the upliftment of the poor tribals. There are some negative attitudes resorted to by the Government. Efforts are there to bribe some tribal leaders who, in turn, will cheat the fellow tribals and pauperize them. Naren finds that he is to take bigger responsibility but it is not possible on his part to go against the system so it appears that he is given to inaction like the prince of Denmark. He is unhappy of the surroundings and naturally, cannot

think of a faithful personal relationship at the moment. After a long wait he gets an offer of appointment as a physician under the Government but is in a dilemma whether to join the service or not. He finally decides to play a bigger role. He has a mission to lead his people towards the goal of self-sufficiency. The tribal leaders are going after ministerial positions in the Cabinet and wish to enjoy the loaves and fishes of the office. The plight of the downtrodden remains unchanged.

We see this change in the terrains of Tripura through the eyes of Naren. He is the central figure and other characters move around him. Naren comes across as a matured young man with a degree in medicine and yet is unemployed. Unemployment is a curse in the life of an educated young man and soon his dreams about life start fading. Memory of Mita, an urban girl does not make him happy anymore. In the rural surroundings Mita is a misfit. This episode in the opening chapter of volume II illustrates the complexity of life that haunts the educated sections of the lower middle class or poor tribals who have received exposure to the Western model of education. By training - Naren is a physician and he tries to gather first- hand experience of the quality of life of his people in the hills of Tripura. He could see the ills that have long plagued the lives of the tribes who are leading a life on the fringe, far away from the benefits of the so called 'mainstream' life. The novel thus caters to a sound understanding of the various dimensions related to race, class and gender. Gradually, Naren realizes that the tribals, as a racial group should embrace an appropriate political ideology. He meets many friends from among the tribals who are political activists. It dawns upon him that a substantial change in the lives of his people can only be achieved through collective participation and action. Individual can never think of his fulfillment in isolation from the community.

Left political parties have remained active in the hills and have pioneered popular movements for amelioration of the quality of life of the tribal folk. There are four major characters in the text, which propagates Marxist ideology among the people. They are Radhamohan, Surya, Harinath and Sumanta. Naren's residence at Kamalpur becomes the hub of political discussions and debates. The topics of discussion included the issues emanating from the partition of the country into India and Pakistan and also the question of the uplift of the tribals of Tripura. Change of habit and habitat usually becomes a dominant discourse. The act of merger of the princely state of Tripura with the Indian Union is of enormous significance to the tribal people of the state of Tripura which has border with East Pakistan (now Bangladesh)

on three sides and, hence immediately after the partition this small state experiences large scale migration of mostly Bengali Hindus from East Pakistan. The people who migrated to Tripura are farmers, artisans, barbers, traders and other professionally skilled workers. As a result of migration, the tribal society which is otherwise static undergoes turmoil. There is much tension and apprehension in the minds of the tribals regarding the fate of the indigenous people of Tripura. Discussions across the table veer round this burning topic of the day, namely the influx of the refugees. Issues are debated as to whether the people who have migrated from East Pakistan into Tripura after 1949 should leave the state. The activists are divided on the basis of religion and, hence religious and sectarian views surrounding the influx of the refugees constitute the major argument of the day.

Leftists are also not untouched by the storm and hence topics like clan sanctity and group interests, play riot in their minds. The struggle for existence is what defines the thought process of both the migrants as well as the indigenous people. Everyone is seriously engaged in this struggle but little attempts are there to translate all such struggle into a collective proletarian one cutting across race, linguistic or other affinities. Kalicharan, thus, opines that political promises regarding the enshrined clauses of the Constitution for uplifting the indigenous people as lectured by the political parties before the election, including the Leftists, should be preserved in ink and the ' tribals should build up right kind of agitation to realize their rights and privileges' (Hachuk Khurio : 16-170). There is much energy among the leaders who are self-less and dedicated to the cause of the uplift of their own people. Political discussions occasionally become heated. Socialism and other ways are discussed in details and sometimes these political ideologies are found to be wanting.

> 'Buidey sini raajniti tatal bujoganu samaajtantro Marxism bujoganu
>
> obtui kok bai tauma ongnai'(*Hachuk Khurio* : 76).

Main argument of the novel proceeds through a process of thesis , anti-thesis and synthesis. Radhamohan is another activist who supports the role of Ganamukti Parishad in the hills. He is of the opinion that but for the activities of the Ganamukti Parishad and Jana Shiksha Samity, the tribals of Tripura would have remained ignorant and superstitious as they had been before. That these organizations are instrumental in the spread of education and political consciousness among the tribals is universally recognized. Naren himself and many other young persons are beneficiaries of the popular

movement pioneered by these organizations. Naren's exposure to better vision of life makes him a complex character. He has intimacy with Bengalis, he loves a Bengali girl. But he is aware of his own culture and heritage. He does not favour the deliberate attempts of neo-elite tribals to ape or mimic the Bengali way in matter of food or dress. The value he cherishes comes to control even inter-familial relationships. Much of the action is carried on by letters. Naren and Mita, Malina, Naren's sister and Naren develop epistolary friendship. The letters give a view of the inner workings of the minds of the characters, male and female. Female characters in *Hachuk Khurio* may be read as a testament to the author's belief in feminism. Malina, a girl of the hills is deprived of formal education but she is allowed to possess cultural accomplishment. She is also allowed to choose her marriage partner. Naren arranges birthday party for his sister which gives Malina a chance to meet the would-be groom before the marriage. Malina can sing, read novels, write letters. She fits in the label of a cultured lady. The author prescribes education for the women of hills because education alone can pave the way for liberation. Similarly Mita, Naren's lady-love, personifies the literary variety of the feminist heroine which became fashionable in English fiction after Ibsen under the caption of *new woman.* Mita, a shy Bengali girl of feudal parents of Agartala desires personal freedom which is denied to the women of the class because of traditions and the laws of patriarchy. Her love for Naren matures into selfless love. It transcends narrow domestic walls. She embraces the role of a nurse and involves herself in the activities of the larger world, becoming a part of the social milieu. In the process she shares the agony of Naren and his commitment and her love for him goes beyond the flames of mere passion. An emancipated woman as she is, she plays in a bigger role. She becomes successful both in the private and public sphere.

Madhabi, a girl of the same hills, engages herself in the popular movement for gaining a solid identity for the tribal women. Madhabi's relationship with Promode, a tribal youth who leads a life of luxury, is found to be dictated by an urgency which is at odds with the existing order of patriarchy. She is deprived of the benefits of higher education. Yet she is endowed with social and political consciousness. Unfortunately, she falls prey to the clever tricks of a Bengali urban boy. Yet she does not succumb to this relationship of deceit and she overcomes her heart break by turning to her indigenous roots and searching for a meaningful life. The author places her in her milieu and Madhabi takes the role of a new woman. She becomes an activist in the hills championing the cause of the illiterate tribal women,

fighting for their identity in the society. In this process Madhabi finds her freedom. She joins political activists like Promode, Kalicharan and others in their goal towards self assertion and development. Malina and Madhabi represent those women of the hills in the early part of the twentieth century who oppose the customs and prejudices of the tribal society which retarded their progress.

It is observed from the discussion that the narrative begins with a note on the identity crisis faced by the tribal people of the hills of Tripura and this is attributed mainly to the influx of refugees from East Pakistan. The large scale migration in the scarcely populated region as well as in the forest land of the state shakes and disturbs the natural habit and habitat of the tribals of Tripura. The skilled tradesmen livelihood of the local tribals is also threatened. Jhum and other traditional customs are becoming extinct. The drive to earn money leads to an indiscriminate exploitation of the natural resources like bamboo and other flora and fauna in the forest. Under the pressure of a neo bourgeois tribal community the ordinary mortals of the tribe become further marginalized. So the main journey of the novel is the cherished journey of political consciousness among the indigenous tribal community of the state and Naren plays role of a savior in the days of darkness to usher in a better life for the indigenous tribal community of the state.

Hachuk Khurio is claimed to be the first novel in Kokborak language (tribal language of Tripura). The novel received appreciation for realistic characters, socially relevant themes and sub-themes. All the characters in the book reflect the ideals, dilemmas and aspirations of the community. The language is lucid and straight forward and supports an effortless reading. The novel is translated into Bengali language also. The book helps to understand the socio-political changes taking place among the tribal people in Tripura and seek solution for tribal problems in the progressive movements of the tribal people.

Reviewed by
Dipankar Chakrabarti
Principal, Government Degree College, Khumulwng, Tripura

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