

**Redefining Redistribution and Bargaining: *A study of
interface of Democratic politics and Development in
India***

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DECLARATION

I, Shilpa Surendra Pratap Singh, hereby declare that this thesis represents work which has been carried out by me and that it has not been submitted, either in part or full, to any other University or Institution for the award of any research degree.

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CERTIFICATE

I hereby certify that the above Declaration of Ms. Shilpa Surendra Pratap Singh is true and the work was carried out under my supervision and may be placed for evaluation.

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For my father, late Dr. Surendra Pratap Singh,
seeking inspiration to contribute towards
progressive social change

“The philosophers have hitherto only interpreted the world, in various ways. The point, however, is to change it”

Karl Marx

CONTENTS

<i>Chapter number</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Page Number</i>
1	Introduction: Theoretical analysis of interface between idea of democracy and development in India	1
1.1	Mapping the theoretical premise of origin of idea of democracy and development in India	1
1.2	Interface of Development strategy and democratic politics in India	9
1.3	Dismantling socialism: The knock of reinvented <i>laissez-faire</i> economics	14
1.4	Relative Autonomy of State and Social limits to Redistribution	21
2	Revisiting Capitalist Transformation: Mapping Structural Bases of Inequalities in India	29
2.1	Inequalities: Structural or Contemporary?	29
2.2	Theoretical considerations on pre-capitalist mode of production and potentialities of transition in India	30
2.3	Capitalism as revolutionary force: some insights on Creative destruction of capitalism	33
2.4	A failed revolution: Articulation of Feudalism with Capitalism	34
2.5	Caste enmeshed in Secular structure of Capitalist relations: Persistence of Structural inequalities	37
2.6	Peasant capitalism: Persistence of Caste entrenched 'Class Contradictions'	39
2.7	Caste and Entrepreneurs: Who becomes Capitalist in India?	47
2.8	Mirage of Dalit capitalism: Marriage of Semi-feudalism and Imperial elements shaping contemporary class relations	52

2.9	Conclusion	59
3	Passive Advent of The Bourgeois Revolution in India: Tracing Universalities in Trajectory	64
3.1	Conceptualising Bourgeois Revolution Through the lens of Historical Materialism	64
3.2	The Bourgeois Revolution in History	68
3.3	Ideology and Epistemes of Bourgeois Revolution	69
3.4	Sophistry of Liberal State and Reproduction of Capitalism	75
3.5	From Bourgeois Revolution to Passive Revolution	79
3.6	Growth of Bourgeois Modernity in India	87
3.7	Advent of Bourgeois Legality in India	89
3.8	Bourgeois Constitutional forms limiting Political Action from below	91
3.9	Bourgeois Paranoia of Social Revolution	92
3.10	Class Character and Ideology of Indian National Congress in throes of Passive Revolution	96
3.11	Indian State and Passive Revolution	100
4	Fascism as New Passive Revolution	104
4.1	What is Fascism?	104
4.2	Fascism as Historical Form: Anatomy of Different Fascism in a given Social formation	106
4.3	Passive Revolution and Seeds of Fascism	113
4.4	Historical conjuncture of Fascism in 21 st Century: The Role of Monopoly Capital	115
4.5	Unceasing Contention on Monopoly Capitalism and Retrograde Character of Fascism	116
4.6	The Working Class and Indian Fascism	121
4.7	The Fascist Conjuncture and Two ideas of India	122
4.8	The Fascist Conjuncture and Two Ideas of India	124

5	The Spectacle of Civil Society Beyond Representational Politics: Class Struggle and Bourgeois Politics in India	127
5.1	The Chimera of Civil Society	127
5.2	Farmers Movement and Left Populism: Navigating Intra-Bourgeoisie Class conflict	133
5.3	Navigating the Mandir and Mandal Politics: Disparagement of class struggle	135
5.4	Upstaging of Historical Materialism and New Epistemes of Fascism	137
6	Conclusion and Findings	143
	Appendix	148
	References	152

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Number	Title	Page Number
Table 2.1	Adoption of Productive forces in Indian Agriculture	52
Table 2.2 and 2.3	Average monthly income, consumption expenditure and net investment in productive assets per agricultural household during July 2012-June 2013 for each size class of land possessed.	165
Figure 2.1	Average area of land owned per household in each social group category measured in hectares	54
Figure 2.2	Percentage distribution of agricultural households by social groups for each size of land possessed	55
Figure 2.3	Ownership of non-agriculture establishment by each social group	66
Figure 2.4	Ownership of non-agriculture establishment by each social group	67
Figure 2.5	Relative share of land owned by households in each social group category	162

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF INTERFACE BETWEEN IDEA OF DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

1.1 Mapping the theoretical premise of origin of idea of democracy and development in India

Modern liberal democracies through their adherence to principle of Political equality necessitate equal distribution of political power identified in terms equal right of electoral participation. However, the question here arises is whether exercise of political power in democracy is limited only to electoral participation? The answer is absolutely pessimistic; the dynamism of modern liberal democracies is understood by way of quality of its political participation in democratic politics which involves active involvement in governmental processes such as policy formulation and decision-making on regular basis. Democratic politics also involves mobilisation and organisation of group interest to ensue selective policy response from state via process of bargaining in lieu of political support during elections. Another significant component of liberal democracy is its intricate link to its economic design, which discounts ideal of economic equality and denounces equal distribution of economic power in favour of basing its distribution on utilisation of equal opportunities through incentivising natural talent and hard work. It promotes economic freedom and open economic exchange. Interestingly modern liberal democracies emerged not for concern of social equality but for safeguarding interest of the propertied by recognising right to property as natural rights.

The declaration of American independence and publication of Adam Smith's '*Wealth of nations*' in same year was not incidental. Modern liberal democratic state's emergence is primarily rooted in idea of classical liberalism that spelt out principle of *laissez-faire* i.e., non-interference of state in economic activity of an individual. It asserted invincibility of the invisible hands of market in ensuring most efficient and effective allocation of resources. The urge for democracy emerged to promote freedom of enterprise and agency fuelled dissent against the monopolisation of political and economic power by despots and privileged few, culminating in revolutions which led to toppling of despotic monarchies, rejection of repressive bureaucratic regulations and

monopolising tendencies that shattered the basic creeds of mercantilism. India is also considered to be classified as liberal democracy in contemporary times; however, the foundational basis of the Idea of democracy in India has a far-reaching paradox with idea of liberal democracy especially with its over-bearing component of economic liberalism. Idea of democracy in India did not emerge to defend the right to property or to promote free enterprise capitalism. At conceptual level, idea of democracy in India found more congruence with Marxian social democracy than its liberal rival. Idea of democracy in India emerged as an appendage of final goal of nationalism i.e. freedom, the meaning of freedom despite vague variations freedom of self-determination against colonial subjugation and also freedom from economic wants and social inequality, therefore if Political freedom in India was primary goal of nationalism, the economic freedom was equally appalling goal, freedom here didn't meant freedom of capitalist enterprise or wealth accumulation but freedom from poverty, destitution, inequality and hunger which underscored need of a robust redistributive agenda. This idea was reiterated and was institutionalised with passing of Karachi resolution of 1931, which put forth elemental political and economic programme of Indian national congress during India's struggle for independence. The resolution stressed that in order to end the exploitation of masses political freedom was not considered to be sufficient, it should also include real economic freedom of the starving millions. The strong anti-imperialist and radical socialist underpinning of the resolution was reflecting upon the larger leftward inclination of young nationalists of the time¹. It has to be underlined that idea of nationalism in India had a profound basis on Marxian critique of colonialism and imperialism. Idea of Indian nationalism had strong derision towards exploitative economic conditions perpetuated by furtherance of both mercantilist and laissez-faire economic policies by colonial government, which led to development of nationalist contempt against power and wealth accumulation. This perception was further compounded by furtherance of indigenous philosophy of spiritual austerity which can also be seen as counter-reaction against the exploitative run towards wealth and power. It was these ideas of spiritual austerity led by Gandhi, Swami Vivekananda and others which led to creation of alternative considerations on idea of development when in post-independence phase Indian state. Consequently, the typical concerns of Indian nationalism were not wealth and power (Khilnani, 2013:156) rather it found greater consonance with Marxian critique of colonialism and imperialism. Colonialism

and imperialism was seen as larger design of capitalism which perpetuated exploitative economic relations. As the colonial state under the different stages of both mercantilist and laissez-faire policies had scant sensitivity and responsiveness to developmental needs of impoverished masses, thus limiting any scope of redistribution. But Idea of nationalism was highly receptive to existence of large scale poverty, hunger, social inequality and destitution; there was no clear cut economic design which was spelt by nationalism to bring about political and economic amelioration of masses, however it was clearly discernible that Marxist socialism and ideal of social equality will be given priority over laissez-faire economics in economic domain which would also inevitably spill over political domain shaping political economy of nation in later years.. However, Indian nationalist's inclination towards Marxian socialism didn't lead to acceptance of orthodox Marxian political economy position completely, if idea of dominant state in post-independence era actually had a Marxist proclivity it was limited only with respect to control of economic productions and prevention of concentration of material resources in few hands, but it would not mean absolute annihilation of private enterprises as right to property was well recognised as fundamental rights along with other set of civil liberties exhibiting due respect to the ideals of political liberalism of liberal democracies. There will be no bloody revolution but goals of social justice and equality would be achieved by peaceful means. The experience of colonial subjugation and repressive clampdown of dissent and civil liberties necessitated political leadership to reject authoritarian tendencies of communist government of the time; it was highly discernible that economic democracy will not be achieved at the cost of political freedom and civil liberties.

This complex intertwining of political equality of liberalism and economic and social equality of Marxian socialism was aimed to limit vices of both categories to bring real democracy and was dubbed as idea of democratic socialism. Idea of democratic socialism was pressed against social realities marked by hierarchies, exclusion, exploitative relations, caste and communal fragmentation. Extending Political democracy that entailed equal right of political choice in absence of any mechanism to check social inequality and ensure that ownership and control of the material resources was redistributed for bettering social existence, would have made political freedom a hollow reality. The continuance of wide social and economic inequality in political democracy would mean that state power could be largely appropriated by dominant

groups either by way of dominating the electoral competition or by using their social position to gain state's patronage influence the decision-making process of the state. Adherence to principle of democratic socialism was political necessity to claim political legitimacy as it was a moral obligation. The inheritance of impoverished peasantry, high social inequality was perceived as potential source of fuelling revolution. To curb this tendency political leadership had to follow the middle path to ensure sustenance of democracy.

The development strategy and nature of state of post-independence India had deep Nehruvian imprints. Nehru was in fact influenced by ideas of Marxism, Nehru considered Marxism as way of interpreting history, politics and economics (Maale, 2015:100). Nehru's ideas on political economy were influenced by Marxian critique of imperialism, and thus he saw imperialism as an inevitable consequence of capitalist mode of production which perpetuated exploitative social relations². It was because of this Marxian analysis he developed contempt towards capitalism, which also led him to reject the model of Bourgeoisie democracy. Nehru believed that in liberal capitalist democracies, the state is mere appendage of capitalist class and it represents only their class interest of capital accumulation. As he asserted: "The famous 19th century saying about government of the people, by the people and for the people failed to materialise because under capitalist system the government was neither by the people nor of the people. It was government of possessing classes for their own benefit.... A real government by the people and for the people can only be established when masses hold power .i.e. when all people really share in the government and wealth of the people (Nehru, 1964:34). This reflects that Nehru largely agreed with the Marxian position with respect to the nature of Bourgeoisie state, where state is regarded as superstructure to further the class interest of propertied and capitalists. In order to check concentration of economic power in few hands, State ownership of important means of production was considered as a key development strategy in Nehruvian model in consonance with Marxian socialism, for it stresses more on need of controlling production rather than distribution as it were sceptical about efficacy of redistributive measures of liberal democracies to undo class divide until ownership of means of production persists in private hands as despite equalization of incomes, the private ownership of productive assets will enable capitalist class to control lives of workers by regulating his working conditions, thus perpetuating existence of classes. The urge for strong state also had

considerable Marxian underpinnings, the strong nature of state with ownership of important means of production and commanding heights was deemed as prerequisite of maintenance of its status as an autonomous entity to prevent primitive accumulation of capital and imposition of the will of the possession classes on the state. It is evident from above that Nehru considered socialism as an essential condition to ensure that political democracy was translated into more substantive form by ensuring social equality and prevention of concentration of economic power in few hands in order to build an egalitarian society. However it was not only Nehru as a man of great influence who contemplated a development strategy for independent India, there was alternative Gandhian project of self-sufficient village economy with contempt for heavy industrialisation, the interwar period of colonial rule under laissez-faire policies has created new class of capitalist in India who put forth their plan of industrial development popularly called as Bombay plan³ which laid down agenda for shaping the economic structure of independent India seeking to promote the capitalist design. The Bombay plan conceded the paternal role of state in order to seek investment in basic industries and protection against foreign competition. (Mukherjee, 1976:67-73) However despite vast array of considerations on development, it was Nehruvian model which won greater acceptance of the time, though it shall not be overlooked that the alternative considerations on development did have a moderating effect on radical socialist strategy of Nehru. Dogmatism was something which never appealed to Nehru, and that's why he also insisted on dynamism and ever evolving nature of idea of Socialism in India marked by democratic adjustment. Due to Nehru's this tendency of accommodation he became victim to capitalist design of Bombay plan. As a consequence the socialist model was blended with capitalist freedoms, the Bombay plan which reflected the class interest of Indian capitalist class had succeeded in camouflaging their class interest with garb of democratic freedom, humanitarian and nationalist considerations, which led to acceptance of capitalist values within dominant socialist structure. This compromise of socialism with limited capitalism has led to creation of better structure for functioning of capitalism in India; conversely it was same close alliance of capitalist and state that lead to appropriation of licenses leading to industrial monopolisation by big capitalist houses (Mukherjee, 1976:67-71).

Thus Socialism in India was regarded "as a nebulous concept which was never rigidly defined; it had mild degree of Marxism, considerable amount of Gandhism... it

was rooted in idea of economic and social egalitarianism” (Palmer, 1961:161). Gandhism here meant adoption of non-violent methods to achieve goals of egalitarian society as opposed to violent class struggle of Marxism; considerably it also had room for capitalist freedoms as discussed earlier. Post independence India adopted a mixed economy model, which most of the democracy of time were following including USA, however unlike in USA; the public sector had to play a major role in the economy with limited role for private sector, which was just reversed for USA model. Indian state at the time of its inception inherited a ravaged economy, marked by widespread poverty, impoverished peasantry with under-employment in agriculture sector, low level of industrial development, high levels of social inequalities with society ridden by caste and communal fragmentation. The autonomous state inspired from communist Soviet Union adopted planned model of economic development, where state assumed commanding heights by putting in mechanism of state centric industrialisation marked by system of control and licensing and ownership rights over strategic industries was assigned to the public sector enterprises. Planning was considered necessary tool towards building socialistic pattern of society by ensuring efficient and effective allocation of scarce resources to the common good. These mechanisms of excessive state regulations and commanding heights of economy are often attributed to economic stagnation and stifling growth of competitive private business with India. Nevertheless, it will be absurd to argue that Indian state could have had afforded to adapt to Adam smith’s scheme of limiting the role of state to mere facilitator of open economic exchange. It is true that by the time we got our hard-earned independence there was already established capitalist class in India making great strides in private business, though not in major numbers which had certainly benefited from speculative trading and investment due to laissez-faire economic policies during inter-war period. Despite this It would had have been hard to imagine that Capitalist led economic growth would have been preferred as development strategy , besides national contempt against capitalism due to its relation with imperialism, the emergence of capitalist class in India can be regarded as colonial outgrowth, and historically there have been scant culture of private enterprise in India. The basic unit of economy .i.e. villages in ancient India were based on communal ownership; the Mughal period also had system of state owned royal factories similar to modern public sector and it was state which regulated and promoted private enterprise by extending loans and other assistance. (Spencer, 2012:39). Unlike

western countries marked by ideas of individualism, the culture conducive to laissez-faire policies was not at all visible in India. At the eve of our independence, the private enterprise in India reflected petty commercial capitalism of arrogant landowners, extortionate money lenders or the heartless avaricious speculator of recent inflationary period (Spencer, 1957: 18). The reckless speculative behaviour of short-sighted Indian capitalists during the inter-war period had exposed their considerations for short-term profit rather than long-term productive investment; hence they were looked upon with great sense of mistrust by Indian political class of the time. It was believed that if command of economy is tilted in favour of capitalist class, they may circumvent the greater development of productive forces for short-term gains as there was fear that rather than investing in further development of productive forces, they may hoard the capital for self-aggrandizement and person luxuries. It is also to be noted that the Indian business themselves supported the paternal role of the state to protect against foreign competition and invest in expensive industries.

As discussed earlier, the capitalism could not have been preferred as main driver of development strategy as there was a nationalist contempt against capitalism due to its inevitable link to colonialism and imperialism which were responsible for present debacles of India. The colonial government's laissez-faire policies inspired by David Ricardo's ideas comparative advantage⁴, which sought to impound India as provider of cheap raw material and labour led to dismantling of indigenous cottage industries and forced agrarian labour which further aggravated hardships of impoverished masses in India. It were reminiscent of Marxian understanding of primitive accumulation of capital by where capitalist modes of production relations with pre-capitalist modes of production led to divorce of producer from the means of production. The capitalist system presupposes the complete separation of the labourers from all property in the means by which they can realize their labour. It was due to this separation communal ownership of land was dismantled and dispossessed farmers were exploited for cheap labour for the meeting the commercial needs of supply of cheap raw materials for manufacturing industries based in England in India.⁵ Also The Indian society at the time was entrenched with social inequalities and hierarchies marked by social division of labour, if we analyse Indian social reality of the time with reference to idea of primitive accumulation idea in historical sense, the social relation in India were exploitative, the class character of society and social position of individuals was determined in terms of

their birth in a particular caste, the dominant castes by virtue of their special position in society would have had been able to convert their hoarded titles and privileges into capital, thus owning means of production and impoverishing those who had been victim of historical exploitative social relations, fuelling class struggles.⁶ Therefore in order to build egalitarian social order it was significant to check that the historical patterns of exploitative social relations were not translated into new form in future.⁷ The goal towards building socialist pattern of society by recourse to programme of redistribution was essential to gain legitimacy and support of masses in order to check the economic pressures of class divide that had potential of leading to revolutions lethal to legitimate sustenance of democratic structure. And for realisation of this, autonomy of state, state ownership and extensive economic regulations were a necessity. It must be however be understood that the early development strategy were not successful in this goal, the failures to land reforms in disrupting pattern of existing social relations is case to the point, the reasons for which will be discussed later in the chapter. It has to be understood that that India's adoption of socialism as a pre-eminent idea of developmental strategy and economic design was not a great radical experiment, as it was following the economic discourse of the day. Two decades prior, the great depression of 1930s in the west had lead to disbelief in infallibility of classical liberal economics and had exposed weakness of modern capitalism. The invisible hands of market and speculative market investors had led to dooms for economic efficiency. This had led to counter-reaction of emergence of Keynesian economics which called for greater state intervention as free hands of market had failed to rectify the economic mess it had created, it also called for macro-management of the economy by the state, state ownership of strategic industries enterprises and supported massive government spending during economic crisis to create jobs and boost consumer spending. The Keynesian ideas coupled with ideas of modern liberalism led to establishment of welfare state model with mixed economy principle in the west. The successful soviet example and proliferation of Marxian critique of capitalist exploitation had potential of fuelling workers revolution in the west, which inspired massive economic reforms in the west such as New deal programme in USA led by President Roosevelt that extended multiples socialist goals such as worker's protection, social security, assistance to tenant farmers and migrant workers. This programme later inspired great Society programme (1964-65) of President Johnson to end poverty and seek social welfare of

citizens in USA. This age of heavy taxation and high social sector spending by expansion of welfare state is dubbed as Golden age of controlled capitalism in USA. (Steger and Roy, 2002:1-7) The Europe also witnessed ascendancy of social democracy in the period after Second World War, with Britain establishing a welfare state model of its own often called as cradle-to-grave welfare state, which emerged primarily due to pressure of labour politics, there was great move towards nationalisation with conversion of key industries into public sector enterprise and a systems of planning controls were also put in place. It can be comfortably arrived at the time when India adopted a planned economy with an interventionist state; greater state intervention in economy was the world-wide accepted proposition. So in totality of all above analysis, it would have not been out of place for a nation who had suffered greatly due to imperialism and colonialism, to adopt a state centric-planned model of development aimed at creation of socialistic pattern of society.

1.2 Interface of Development strategy and democratic politics in India

The foundational values of Indian state were rooted in idea of nationalism which essentially sought to build an egalitarian social order to ensure greatest freedom of all Indian citizens, through recognition of political, social and economic equality and justice for all as primary end of the state. This end was identified to be accomplished through treading the path of democratic socialism. The state's foundational values don't avow permanence, rather are transitory, but they may get a creed of fixity through institutionalisation of these values by way of their assimilation in the constitutional document. Idea of democratic socialism came to be located in the constitutional scheme of independent India, envisaging a democratic model of the welfare state. The ideal of welfare state meant welfare of all and not a section of community and would seek to achieve socialist goal of social justice and equality. As a matter of fact, it was implicit that socialism in India would operate under the premise of parliamentary democracy. Socialistic pattern of society would not be realised at the altar of violent class struggle, but through the consent and affirmation of the political choice of the citizens. This marriage of democracy and socialism would also entail that any policies attempting redistribution would be circumscribed by pressures of democratic politics, and would be amenable to group contestations. In order to make certain that the state remains autonomous against the patronage tendencies of dominant classes and avoid concentration of economic power an elaborate system of strong and control was

envisaged. The congress party's manifesto for the first general election reiterated rejection of laissez-faire policies and laid out agenda of state control and ownership over basic industries. The easy victory of congress party started the phase of one-party dominance which continued till 1967, it reflected the nationalist goodwill for congress was to continue for some time that also entailed electoral support to their economic development agenda. Nehru often dubbed as high priest of Indian socialism, was influenced by successful model of soviet planned economy, his disdain for capitalist mode of production led India to adopt a development strategy of planned economy model. Nehru's understanding on the efficacy of industrialisation in generating welfare was at loggerheads with Gandhian idea against perils of industrialisation. Nehru perception of industrialisation was reflective of his love for modernity and his belief in Marxian notion of highest development of productive resources as a prerequisite of building egalitarian society. Marx believed that scarcity breeds and sustains class conflicts beyond scope of resolution, and thus he favoured need of abundance to built classless society; "an increase in productive power and high degree of development of productive forces is an absolutely necessary practical premise (of communist state), because without it... the want is merely made general and with destitution the struggle for necessities and all old filthy business would necessarily be reproduced" (Marx and Engels:1970:56). Nehru also underlined the need of abundance through development of productive capacity of nation; he stressed that nationalisation and transfer of ownership may just lead to distribution of poverty, until abundance was achieved, which was possible only through highest development of productive forces-that necessitated a robust state centric industrialisation programme catering to development of capital goods industries, technological advancement and infrastructural development⁸. The Avadi session of congress which led to adoption of goal of socialist pattern of society was followed up by second five-year plan which lay down state centric industrialisation strategy, which had strong backing and inputs of western educated technocrats such as P.C Mahalanobis. The strategy was to commit public investment in expensive capital goods industry in line with needs of capitalists as demarcated in Bombay plan, which had the long gestation period and infrastructural development, which incidentally acknowledged that it would benefit the rich segments of society in short-run but would trickle down to masses in long-term, which actually didn't materialise. Moreover, Nehru's romanticism with technocratic development and

modernity that led to coming up of temples of modern India.i.e., heavy Industries, Dam and power projects that also led to superfluous repercussions which would determine the course of democratic contestations in future as well. The over emphasis on highest development of productive forces had put India on path of western model of economic development which is being severely contested by Gandhians, green activist and tribal communities in India. It was reminiscent of a criticism often Marx had to face that his ideas led to imposition of western model of economic development in countries of global south.⁹ Development projects of Nehruvian era alone displaced nearly 5 million people who were forced to be internal refugees. The massive displacement of people without their consent or participation in development policy making for the project which impoverished tribal and marginalised people and largely benefited industrialist, rich farmers, upper crust of urban classes and consumers; and failure to put in place any institutional mechanism of rehabilitation set precedent for grand design of displacement of people in neo-liberal India. It was Nehru's era that had set precedent of imposition of state's economic wisdom on people against their will and consent. However Nehru's scientific outlook and believe in modernity let him to believe in utility of such infrastructure for common good in long term. But in era of neo-liberal economic policies, collusion of state and private MNCs are misappropriating natural and forest resources leading to forced displacement of marginalised communities for purpose of brute profit accumulation. Development planning was tool not only to ensure economic development but Nehru also believed that it would lead to modernisation and toning down of fissiparous tendencies¹⁰ which leads to mobilisation of people on parochial identity lines such as religion, caste, language and regionalism. However experience suggests that planning failed to realise this goal. The expansion of political democracy and realisation of the opportunities that it offered to diverse interests opened plethora of social antagonism, which led to greater mobilisation of social groups on parochial lines of identity, caste and region. Democratic politics rather than unifying the class interest of marginalised, aggravated caste and ethnicity based affiliations. Moreover as democracy matured, rather than poverty, it was discrimination that became rallying point of mobilisation of marginalised communities. (Kaviraj, 2012:104). The Nehruvian era development strategy was largely insulated from the pressure of democratic politics, as the goodwill of nationalism and popular support had enabled Indian national congress to dominate the political system of India, popularly

conceptualised as congress system by Rajni Kothari. (Kothari, 1964:1166-1167) This one party dominant system kept economic policy making largely unperturbed by pressure of electoral politics. The planning commission which was prime economic decision making body by way of making five years plans was kept beyond constitutional scheme to insulate economic decision making from popular scrutiny of electoral politics. The next important phase interface of democratic politics and development strategy came during Indira Gandhi's regime. The 1967 is regarded as watershed year in democratic politics since it ended one party dominance system of India. It was a sign that democracy in India was maturing for a new political change under the backdrop of failure of Nehru's development strategy to uplift poor, the state led industrialisation didn't reduce substantial levels of poverty in India as anticipated trickle down from the growth had not happened. Economist such as Jagdish Bhagwati questioned this conservative trickle-down growth strategy of Nehruvian era and rather seeks to present preference for a radical interventionist pull up strategy, which indicates there was need of strong interventionist state growth strategy to pull people out of poverty by generating employment (Bhagwati, 1993:32). This trend was coupled with failure of monsoon which engulfed eastern and northern India in tormenting hardships of food shortages and farm distress was background to the general elections of 1967. As democracy matured due to awareness about availability of universal adult franchise, the percentage of total voter's turnout increased substantially if we compare the total voter's turnout of 1951 elections with 1967 elections, which stood at 44% and 61% respectively. The 61% voter's turnout in fourth general elections was highest in all seven general elections from 1951 to 1980. The size of electorate also expanded the number of electors in 1967 doubled from that of in 1962¹¹ and the new voters did not share the nationalist goodwill for the congress as their predecessors did. With greater outreach of democratic aspirations, there was greater mobilisation and organisation of diverse group interest as electoral democracy had opened new avenues of political representation due to decline of the congress domination. There was growing unrest in country as democracy matured; the decade of 1970s saw socialism making headway in Indian electoral politics, with communist party government assuming state power in states of Bengal and Kerala; It also witnessed emergence of social movements in India to unprecedented scale in comparison to the past. Indira Gandhi was able to judge the nerve of the nation and thus sought to give a new socialist tilt to economic programme

in India. It was Indira Gandhi's regime that blurred or confused populism with socialism. Since Nehru's sophisticated socialist design was not appealing to unlettered rural masses, there was need of easy presentable populist rhetoric such as 'Garibi Hatao' which could attract strong support of masses, finally led her to an easy electoral victory in 1971 general elections. The rediscovery of poverty had lead Indira Gandhi to pursue socialist measures which could attract popular imagination, the push towards nationalisation of banking and insurance sector and attacking wealth symbols of princes through abolition of privy purses was to garner popular support. Indira Gandhi used socialism and rhetoric of redistribution as a pretext of resorting to authoritarianism. However, the rising state authoritarianism and failures of government to ensure social and economic democracy for marginalised led to discontent that fuelled revolutions such as total revolution led by Jayprakash Narayan which sought to redefine socialism by blending it's with Gandhian conception of sarvodaya. It led to effective mobilisation of marginalised and backwards and marginalised communities in Hindi heartland. With democratic deepening effective mobilisation of marginalised and poor communities, due to strength of their numbers since they formed majority, they became target groups to be swayed away by high rhetoric of socialism and populism to garner their new social base of political support. As a result of above changes, the economic policy and development strategy became susceptible to pressure of popular mobilisation. The confusing of socialism with populism to tame electoral support was one such change which was to persist in political economy discourse of later years as well, populism essentially misinterprets the essence of social justice that socialism sought to achieve by subverting popular consciousness from seeking substantive redistribution through partnership in the development strategy to the distribution or transfers of one-time benefits. The populism also lead to camouflaging of ideological affiliations in Indian politics as all political parties resort to populist promises to win elections, whether right, left or centre. The congress party under Indira Gandhi made another plunge to resort to populism to win over voters in general elections of 1980, by making around 175 promises in its manifesto, which including measures to end of poverty and unemployment, improving conditions of labour, farmers and rural development and others. (AICC, 1979:1-12) The resort to deficit financing to fulfil the welfare objectives later culminated into debt crisis in the end of the decade. This period of budgetary hardships led Indian state under Indira Gandhi and later Rajiv Gandhi to tilt towards

pro-business policies in 1980s (Kohli, 2006:1368) which led adoption of economic reforms towards liberalisation, though it were piecemeal and limited, they were neither marginal nor inconsequential, as they set precedent for full-fledged economic liberalisations in the 1990s period. This pro-business “liberalisation by stealth” from the period 1981-88 (Panagariya, 2008:78) provided confidence to Indian political leaders to manoeuvre policy changes in liberalisation era without attracting great commotion (Panagariya, 2003:4).

1.3 Dismantling socialism: The knock of reinvented laissez-faire economics

The worldwide rejection of idea of socialism in 1990s and triumph of liberal capitalism had far-reaching repercussions for a nation, which in the past had rejected the principle of laissez-faire capitalism, as the foundational values of nationalism had contempt for capitalism and therefore the new state had limited the role of private capital in the mixed economy model, through system of state control and ownership, had to do a complete reversal. The post second world war consensus on rejection of economic ideas of classical liberalism and embracing of ideal of welfare state had doomed. Laissez-faire principles were again knocking the doors at Washington consensus in form of rechristened avatar of neo-liberal economics. The idea of democratic socialism stood defeated as wide levels of poverty, unemployment, fiscal crisis and regional disparities stared the nation. The populist policies and discourse to deficit financing to meet the pressures of democratic politics had pushed economy to economic crisis in the year 1991. The balance of payment crisis made India on verge of defaulting its imports bills and borrowings. The US backed IMF agreed to bail out Indian economy by imposing much debated IMF conditionality of structural adjustment programme. The adoption of economic reforms-initiated retreat of socialism from India, it was now preparing to attune itself to the vagaries of free market and open international competition, though it had made limited yet significant attempt at liberalisation in 1980s. However signing off the imprints of socialism were not easy, even if in economic domain the utility of socialism was rejected, the political appeal and utility of socialism still exists due to its relation to idea of social justice and equality is still used as rhetoric to tame the voters preference in electoral politics. Before moving to analyse the changes that new reforms brought to the democratic politics of India it is important to understand the theoretical implications behind the ideas of neo-liberalism. Idea of neo-liberalism traces its origin in writings of Adam Smith which have reinterpreted in form of neo-liberalism primarily

in the works of libertarians/ neo-classical economist such as F.A Hayek and Milton Friedman who oppose state intervention in line with laissez-faire policies. Hayek is supporter of laissez-faire dogmas(Hayek,1944:33) that denounces any kind of coercive public intervention in economic life rather exalts liberal market based competition in rewarding the sincere individual efforts; he goes ahead in claiming that private monopolies are created due to collusion and state intervention (Ibid:38) and Milton Friedman sought to limit the role of state to that of only safeguarding right to property and provides insight into complementarities between economic freedom and political freedom and propounds that competitive capitalism is necessary condition for political freedom. And therefore economic freedom is vital to strengthening the democracy. He shared view with Hayek that centralised control of economic activity as in collectivised welfare states can lead to loss of both economic and political freedom. (Friedman, 2002:7-14) Thus, Neo-liberalism denounces state regulation in economic sphere as regards market based competition as the best way to reward talent, hard work and efficiency and therefore it regards state redistributive policies as disincentive to talent and hard work and limits political and economic freedom. Capitalist competition entails that those who are talented and hardworking will prosper; and those who lack talent are responsible for their own suffering, reflects its consistency with Social Darwinism. For instance Adam smith's theory of natural division of labour negated the social division of labour and sought to naturalise inequalities. Moreover the laissez-faire proponents have been charged of camouflaging the idea of primitive accumulation of capital to support the capitalism; Adam smith was very callous to suggest "otherworldly conception' of accumulation of stock in mythical past was precondition for natural division of labour and avoided analysis of social relations. It was Marx who rejected theological basis of primitive accumulation which regarded that present ownership of capital and subsequent natural division of labour is due to the primitive accumulation of stock in the mythical past by the hard-working and intelligent people as compared to those who could not as they were lazy and unproductive.¹² Marx gave theory of primitive accumulations in real historic sense which explained the nature of exploitative social relations shaping inequalities in ownership of means of production and property. This reflects that neo-liberalism does not consider the structural social inequalities, disabilities and circumstances that may evade equality of opportunity affecting outcomes of efforts. In absolutely equal society not marked by history of

exploitative social relations market based competition may lead to just outcomes and efficient allocation of resources, but in unequal societies such as India where social relations have been historically exploitative and are deeply entrenched with social inequalities, neo-liberal policies are likely to enforce exclusion of marginalised communities. Materialisation of equal social opportunities is pre-condition for free and equal competition in market-based economy, unequal market access is likely to increase disparities. However, the Burden of fact suggest that State and Market has failed to provide equal access as well as opportunities in large context, as majority of disenchanted youth even from dominant communities are seeking state based affirmative action. Due to above complexity in suitability of laissez-faire principles to the Indian democracy marked by different tradition of welfarism and socialism which emerged under background of history of exploitative social relations, the adoption of market based economic model has led to a complex interface between strategy of development and democratic politics in India.

Despite virtual rejection of socialism, Socialist goals of welfare and redistribution are still at core of popular mobilisations on the question of development shaping nature of democratic politics in India. The embracing of neo-liberal policies is often defended on premise of economic efficiency, rather than political and social values attached to it. None of the political party accepts adherence to the laissez-faire principle in their public discourse. The entire logic of neo-liberal development has been centred on enlarging the size and capacity of economy to divert greater resources for redistribution for eliminating poverty. This is indicative of conservative trickle down growth approach of socialist model, which failed to ensure that trickle down really happened. In absence of any other mechanism to ensure growth benefits trickle down to masses, the neo-liberal economic design in India also relies on the same trickle down growth strategy, which reveals half-hearted commitment of our statesman to alleviate poverty and also the tendency of our economists to not learn from their follies. The embracing of market led economic growth strategy reflected that policy makers accepted that growth and poverty alleviation measures can be complementary and that growth is instrumental in poverty reduction, which was reversal from early development strategy which underlined need of direct Anti-poverty measures and not growth for poverty reduction. The new wisdom was that even to finance anti-poverty measures growth is pre-eminent (Bhagwati, 1994: 87). The state asserted that the

benefits of higher growth rate will percolate down to the masses, as the subsequent increase in public expenditure will be redistributed by raising social sector expenditure. It was this argument that provided political mileage and sense of legitimacy for government of all hues i.e. left, right and centre to conveniently push through their agenda of economic reforms and legitimise their commitment to liberalisation programme. The united front government of 1996 with leftward inclination and rightwing NDA government (1998-2004) despite showing apprehensions in early years of reforms not only embraced the economic reforms agenda but also furthered it to greater heights. It has to be noted that the transition from socialist economy to market economy model in initial years had a narrow support base, the issue of privatisation of public sectors, industrial labour and opening of domestic market to foreign competition came under direct contestations and scrutiny of popular pressure and resistance shaping the nature of democratic politics. In order to avoid this political confrontation and subdue pressure of democratic politics resisting reforms, the economic reforms were brought about by stealth i.e., major reforms were gradually accomplished by political manoeuvring without attracting popular imagination (Jenkins: 2003: 172-176).

Another significant casualty of economic reforms was loss of state's autonomy in shaping development strategy or resource allocation, since market largely replaced the state in commanding economic growth, though some structural remnants of regulations were still in place led to collusion of state with capital. The centrality of state in economic decision making provided ample room for Rent Seeking behaviour to remain integral. To gain the control over land resources, rich water, minerals, hydrocarbons, forest etc. the business elites are lobbying to influence the public policy in order to get some substantial gains and concessions from the political class by offering them allurements in terms of bribes, nepotism and sharing spoils. The nexus between political class- bureaucracy- Corporate is rampantly exploiting Natural, Social and Human Capital, which had to series of Scams, Manipulation of rules and regulations and Spoils distribution among them at expense of public exchequer. The Plethora of scams ranging from 2G Spectrum Scam, Coal block allocation scam and KG-Basin Gas block allocation controversy has exhibited the same pattern of Political Class-Corporate nexus which resulted in loss to public exchequer. This pattern of covert rent-seeking and lobbying is not only confined to the national level but it also exists at the state-level. This lopsided development made mockery of the argument of

the Trickle-down from higher GDP, leading to rising disparities between the elite and marginalized. The failure of state to distribute growth outcomes led to brewing of dissent, which was further mobilised and concretized in form of protest politics led by civil society associations. The civil society activism aimed at pressurizing state to consider a more participatory and inclusive approach towards development and policy making has been constant feature of interface of democratic politics and development strategy in post-reform India.

The agenda of economic nationalism, primarily identified with India's aspiration to be a superpower was co-terminus with coming up of era of economic reforms, peaked during BJP led NDA government in 1999, consolidation of economic power was seen as prime pre-condition to achieve super power status which brought in slew of drastic economic reforms. The economic nationalism was at root of their 'India Shinning' campaign; the economic growth had benefited the business elites and urban upper middle class, but had alienated the marginalised, which impacted their electoral fortunes in next general elections of 2004. It was UPA-1 a coalition of congress and left parties which gained the favour of voters, mainly due to their electoral promise of 'liberalisation with human face', presenting a delicate balance of market efficiency with provisions of welfare and other redistributive measures. It had striking semblance to an idea i.e. Third way¹³ that had made headway in Britain under the leadership of Prime Minister Tony Blair, where his party sought to reconcile business interest with concerns of the middle classes by harmonising free-market dynamics with common welfare. The Common Minimum programme of UPA-1 which was primarily a socialist document appealed more to the masses than the India shinning campaign of Rightist NDA, which glorified the growth story of corporate India, was rejected. The back-to-back victory of UPA in two general elections of 2004 and 2009 was largely attributed to its welfare measures such as the waiver of farmer's loans, MNREGA, Forest Right Acts and Right to education, the most relevant among many. The convergence between electoral gains and redistributive measures led the state to increase social expenditure. The marginalised voters formed social base of left and congress party, and it was due to this compulsion of electoral politics the State could not negate the demands and agitations of the marginalised groups and tried to accommodate it. The vested interest of the business elites tagged the redistributive schemes as populist, a potential hurdle in sustaining long term growth. Since the command of economic growth was still in the

hands of business elite, and growth was seen as instrumental in poverty reduction, the state had to do a tight-rope walking in balancing and accommodating the Antithetical interests of the business elites and the marginalised sections. This ensuing tussle and complexity wielded a great pressure on the Indian democracy leading to an impasse in Policy formulation commonly known as Policy Paralysis. The advocates of Market economy model had questioned the argument of inclusive growth, and had attributed the ever widening current account deficit and plummeting economic growth which almost halved to 4.5% in waning days of UPA-2 in comparison to the 8-9% of the average rate in earlier years, to the consumptive and business disruptive populist policies such as Subsidies and Rights based entitlements approach aimed at Human development aspect such as Right to food, Right to work (MNREGA), and Right to fair compensation and rehabilitation under Land Acquisition and Rehabilitation Act. These set of policy legislations were being labelled as anti-growth. The ensuing policy paralysis was also being ascribed to the activism of judiciary, new social movements and other civil society organisations agitating to safeguard the environment and interest of the marginalised especially that of tribal people. The quagmire of corruption and leakages associated with welfare schemes coupled with plummeting growth and ever rising inflation had forced the Indian state under UPA-2 to reconsider its stance on subsidies, public expenditure on social spending and flexing the laws that protects interest of the marginalized. However, these attempts on part of the state to reduce the public spending on social sector or go back on the pro-marginalised legislations had registered strong protest from their social vote base and civil society organization, aggravating the complexities in decision making. It was perhaps this failure of decision-making machinery of the state compounded by series of corruption charges and inability to deliver growth or adhere to economic efficiency principle which led to congress's defeat in 2014 general elections. The BJP's massive victory in 2014 general elections had presumably had signalled yet another rejection of socialist ideals shaping development strategy. The BJP's projection of strong leadership and quick decision making ability revived hope of economic revival. The BJP election campaign marked great reversal from the past; the reforms by stealth translated into reforms by storm¹⁴ the BJP leadership overtly flaunted commitment to economic reforms by swearing to maxim of 'minimum government maximum governance' hinting at downsizing interventionist state and its regulatory mechanism. This overtly publicised commitment

to economic reforms and economic revival resulted in boosting pro-business sentiments in the economy, evident from rising FDI even during final phase of campaigning before the results. The business-friendly successful Gujarat model to be emulated at national level became key electoral economic agenda of BJP which also received support of market economist from all the quarters. Prime Minister Narendra Modi's candidature was vehemently backed by market enthusiasts, who owe all financial problems of the country to consumptive expenditure of UPA's populist policies and its anti-growth policies primarily targeting land bill. The intellectual discourse of the country concerning economics generated debates on efficacy of right based entitlements such as Right to work under MNREGA, and Right to food, reflecting the neo-liberal line that treats any redistributive measures as 'Dolenomics'¹⁵- disincentive to competition and hard-work, not taking into considerations the social relations and structural inequalities that limits scope of free and equal competition. In line with Gujarat model of development, key policy concessions and ease of doing was assured to the business. Coupling of BJP's pro-growth with economic nationalism helped it to gain support of urban elites and upper middle classes and technocrats, who were direct stakeholder in chasing high economic growth. The wealth and power which were not goals of nationalism are now most chased after goals of cultural nationalist agenda. The new nationalism is catering to de-ideologization of the national consciousness against the idea of socialism which had been foundational value of our constitution. However it must also be factored in that BJP also reiterated agenda of inclusive development and tried to link growth with poverty alleviation, the argument that economic growth is instrumental; in funding anti-poverty measures is the prime intellectual argument of NDA to sustain popular support, there has been constant patchwork of welfarism being done along with aggressive economic reforms to subdue the pressure and contestations of democratic politics, the second Annual budget(2016) of government had a populist and socialist overtones to consolidate support of lower classes in upcoming assembly elections. Moreover, BJP never accept it is catering the laissez-faire economic agenda rather than to tame the popular pressure of working-class affiliates such as Bhartiya Majdoor Sangh and others which forms it core social base, it is camouflaging its economic policies under the garb of indigenous socialism of Gandhi and Hindutva socialist Deen Dayal Upadhyaya. Therefore, it can be inferred that the democratic politics in India limits and put constraint on neo-liberal economic agenda and exclusionary

policies at two levels. First level is the electoral democracy, since marginalised and poor forms majority of voters, populism and welfarism still forms the core electoral issue in India capable of shaping electoral outcomes. At second level it is civil society activism which is leading to mobilisation of marginalised who are channelling their social capital against exclusive policies of economic development and pervading inequalities leading to confrontational bargaining. This legitimation crisis is leading successive governments to implicit furtherance of neo-liberal economic development with a patchwork of welfarism to curb dissent and consolidate electoral gains. However, despite this vibrancy of democratic politics there has been no substantial recourse to ensure adoption of a strong redistributive agenda. For this a careful analysis of the nature and role of state has been discussed in the next part, along with social constraints that limit the scope of democratic politics being able to decide the course of redistribution in India.

1.4 Relative Autonomy of State and Social limits to Redistribution

“It is not the consciousness of men that determine their existence, but their social existence determines their consciousness” (Marx,1977). The Plurality of social existence and its parallel segmented consciousness in India is determined by history of social division of labour marked by heterogeneity of caste, class and identities. One of the most significant contributions of nationalism was collectivisation of national consciousness towards larger goal of independence beyond the difference of caste, religion, language, race and identity. However when democratic state extended equal distribution of political power in terms of equal voting rights, the collectivised consciousness shattered giving way to organisation of heterogeneous group interests and parallel consciousness along parochial lines of caste, religion, region and identity. The democratic politics became battleground for group contestations and conflicts. However, the heterogeneous nature of group interests provides more chances of group interests not being mutually exclusive and states response to such demands may be possible without resorting to a policy which may yield outcome in form of zero-sum game. Greater the heterogeneity of interest, greater the chances of various groups interests being accommodated. Thus through accommodation of diverse interests based on identities, state gains legitimacy (even if it is more receptive to class interest of dominant classes) and appears as an autonomous entity, this has been political manoeuvring of all Political parties who have consolidated state power in India. This

facade of legitimacy has led to negation of organisation of class character of group interest, which may be also heterogeneous yet collectivised in the sense that they entail bargaining for material concerns above identities which may lead to development of group coalitions of similar class interest to bargain with state on material lines. This collectivisation of Class interest may limit the heterogeneity of class interest which may deepen the chances of such interests being mutually exclusive and state's response is likely to yield outcome which may entail zero-sum game, where interest of one group may be accommodated only by rejection of others and thus poses threat to legitimacy of democratic state. In India the class consciousness and consequent political organisation in landed, moneyed and business is more than in marginalised, as their consciousness is based primarily on their material conditions and not on their social existence, whereas for marginalised class consciousness is shrouded as their consciousness is based on their social existence not on their material conditions. As discussed earlier, it is discrimination and difference rather than poverty which is mobilising force behind organisation of Marginalised interests in India. The three powerful social groups i.e. business elites, large landholder and managerial bureaucratic elites that India inherited at the eve of independence despite virtual autonomous character of Indian state, (marked by accommodation of marginalised interest through constitutional guarantee and affirmative action) were able to form coalition on basis of congruence of class interest to sabotage the redistributive measures aiming to prevent the primitive accumulation of capital which could have disrupted their dominant class position and privileges. They managed to get concessions due to greater access to government and due to their better political organisation were assimilated within party cadre of congress during -Nehruvian era which was furthered by Indira Gandhi. Due to coalition of these groups, The state regulatory mechanism of licensing was subverted by big business leading to monopolisation, landed interest within congress party staged failures of land reforms in ensuring distribution of land for social good was diverted to proliferation of capitalist farmers. The managerial bureaucrats belong to family of elites, showed apathy to implement redistributive programme. (Bardhan, 1984:40-52) This reveals that even when socialist state appeared virtually autonomous, it was relatively autonomous due to the fact that electoral politics necessitates assimilation of group interests within party cadres. The consolidation of power by political parties backed by social base

comprising groups or coalition of them implies that democratic state can never be absolutely autonomous, rather it is relatively autonomous. However, this analysis does not reflect the conventional Marxian position that state is relatively autonomous in the sense that it is the dominant economic class that captures the state power, the domination does not necessarily factor in class character, and rather it can be ability of better political organisation that can be reason of institutionalisation of dominant group interest within state, making it relatively autonomous. According to Francine Frankel, India can move ahead on path of Democratic socialist Development and ensure success of redistributive measures if rural poor can be effectively mobilised and organised as social base of Political parties, which entails that Political parties have to cultivate lower class constituencies to consolidate electoral politics (Frankel,2005). This reflects that state can be autonomous or in that case neutral if there is institutionalisation of Lower-class interest within state. The failure of land reforms is attributed to 'failure to institutionalise lower class elements within the state, primarily a failure of Nehruvian regime. (Kohli, 1987: 69) However it is simplistic to assume that Mere Political organisation of lower classes can make case for redistribution. The Liberalisation era saw greater Political Mobilisation of lower classes as all Political parties in order to diversify and strengthen their vote- Bank tried Co-opting the marginalised, Civil society activism also compounded new political assertion from marginalised communities, however it has to realised that mobilisation of these groups have driven more by caste and ethnicity factors rather than class character. There have been no substantial redistribution but only market based allocations as now command of economy shifted to market, rather state is losing its autonomy to business in terms of deciding trajectory of economic growth and development. The rise of Mandal Politics which lead to extension of affirmative action policies benefits to OBCs, was a conservative approach to ensure that market led inequalities and unequal competition are checked by state to ensure equality of opportunities. But from class perspective there were few significant redistributive measures to improve plights of migrants labourers and urban poor; the marginal farmers and tribals who are being displaced due to lopsided development strategies, if state colludes with capital and negates class interest of marginalised over interest of capital , it still claims autonomy and gains legitimacy by assimilation of Marginalised interests (which are based on discrimination rather class consciousness) within party ranks and cultivate as social base. The Agenda

of Cultural and Economic Nationalism of Present NDA government needs a closer scrutiny, where state with massive majority is being dubbed as Strong state with authoritarian tendencies, the presence of strong state means that its decision making process must be largely aloof from pressure of democratic politics, however it doesn't entail that State is autonomous, rather the Indian state is selectively autonomous to interest of marginalised; cutting down social sector spending and flexing pro- poor legislation such as Land Acquisition Act, Food Security Act and Forest right act is case to the point; since it's colluding with capital. The NDA government in its furtherance of Neo-liberal development agenda is covertly using Nationalism as a pretext towards collectivisation of social capital of one community against the other in order to subvert the issues of material deprivations and inequalities, to that of cultural differences and social cleavages; this is being done to abort class consciousness formation among masses. It has to be considered that BJP as a political party has been co-opting marginalised communities since liberalisation era within its party cadre to consolidate electoral politics, but it is again limited to acknowledging them as equal Hindus and not as a class, The BJP's banning beef was supported by sanskritised OBCs and Dalits within party-fold reflects the contradictions, where the mobilisation of lower caste Hindu's on a cultural nationalist agenda is leading them to themselves subvert class interests of their own community. The beef ban that has approximately led to loss of jobs for eight Lakh Dalits explains the paradox quite well (Times of India, 17th November 2015). The Social hierarchy and segmented nature of social consciousness in India, has negatively impacted the redistributive aspects of development strategy. Despite democratic politics taking a centre- stage in recent years, the gains to tilt development trajectory in favour of marginalised section has been very limited. Although it can not be discounted that better political organisation of Marginalised and action of civil society association through their deconstruction and contestations of lopsided development strategies have led to creation of class consciousness in marginalised, though largely localised based on immediate interests. This analytical framework to understand interface between democratic politics and development in India will be further investigated in course of this study.

Notes

1. The Karachi Resolution was adopted under the background of hanging of young radical Socialists i.e. Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Raj Guru, with the young radical socialist within congress such as Jawaharlal Nehru and Subash Chandra Bose supporting adoption of Radical Socialist goals as mandate of Indian National Congress , when majority of delegates to the session was youth enthused by Radicalism.
2. Excerpts from Nehru's Speech/ Presidential Address at Lahore Session of Indian National Congress on 29th January 1929: "*Peace can only come when the cause of war is removed. So long as there is the domination of one country over another or the exploitation of one class by another there will always be attempts to subvert the existing order, and no stable equilibrium can endure. Out of imperialism and capitalism peace can never come. And it is because the British empire stands for these, and bases itself on the exploitation of the masses, that we can find no willing place in it. No gain that may come to us is worth anything unless it helps in removing the grievous burdens on our masses*". **Source:** http://celebratingnehru.org/english/nehru_speech2.aspx
3. Bombay plan was popular name for document called as A Plan of Economic Development of India that sought modern industrial development of country which was formulated by leading capitalist of the time such as Sir J.R.D. Tata, G.D. Birla, Sir Shri Ram, Kasturbhai Lalbhai, A.D. Shroff and John Mathai and others, the plan endorsed greater state intervention and supported planning commission firstly to ward off threat of foreign competition as Indian capital was comparatively very weak, and secondly to seek state investment in expensive capital goods industry and other infrastructure necessary for industrial expansion. The plan was having striking similarity with plan prepared by National planning committee appointed by Indian national congress since committee worked closely with Indian capitalist of the time. (Mukherjee, 1976:67-73)
4. David Ricardo in his celebrated work i.e. On Principles of Political economy and Taxation (1817) gave theory of comparative advantages, where he propounded benefits of free trade, by suggesting that the country who is able to produce a good much cheaply in comparison to other countries must specialise in production of same good, which will be in long run beneficial to all free trading partners as it will reduce the cost of production. The colonies being specialised for supply of raw materials and primary goods in laissez-faire era and negation of development of manufacturing industries there was indicative of this principle at work.
5. Marx essentially explained Primitive accumulation of capital in relation to transition from Feudal to capitalist society; (Marx in his Work- Capital Volume One, Chapter 26- "The Secret of Primitive accumulation PP.506-509) he asserted that "*The economic structure of capitalist*

society has grown out of the economic structure of feudal society; it leads to transformation of feudal exploitation into capitalist exploitation. the marginal farmers who were producers of their subsistence farming in the feudal society were divorced them from their means of production to meet the needs of cheap labour demand in capitalist society in age of capitalism, He illustrates it with citing case of capitalism in England where forced eviction of subsistence farmers from their land lead to dispossession and finally culminated into proletarianization of farmers i.e. their servitude was now translated in form of exploited waged labourers of capitalist production. The relation of Colonisers which were having capitalist mode of production to their colonies also lead to dispossession of farmers in colonies from their means of production to meet the ever-rising need of cheap labour working in those sectors which could meet raw materials needs of capitalist production. This interpretation is developed by dependency theorist Samir Amin to understand relation of advanced capitalist economies with third world countries and former colonies. (Amin,1974:3)

6. To understand the primitive accumulation of capital in India, Maurice Dobbs analysis of Marx's Theory of primitive accumulation has been used, where Dobbs analysed the primitive accumulation in historical sense. This are excerpts from his Celebrated work: *"If any sense is to be made, therefore, of the notion of a 'primitive accumulation' (as per Marx's notion) prior in time to the full flowering of capitalist production, this must be interpreted in the first place as an accumulation of capital claims - of titles to existing assets which are accumulated primarily for speculative reasons; and secondly as accumulation in the hands of a class that, by virtue of its special position in society, is capable ultimately of transforming these hoarded titles to wealth into actual means of production"*.(Dobbs, 1963:PP. 178)

7. In pre- capitalist mode of production (or Feudal society) land were titles that could be hoarded or accumulated by Dominant castes due to speculative reasons, and due to their better social position in society marked by hierarchy, the hoarded titles can be translated into as means of production with ownership in hands of high caste. For instance, if land was used as means of production by high Caste during feudal society since they controlled and had ownership rights of the vast tract of land, in phase of transition to capitalist society they could have sold the hoarded land to gain capital to own secular means of production. If accumulation of capital in historical sense is based on social relations, how a socially excluded Dalit who had been victim of exploitative social relations will compete with higher caste to gain access the ownership of capital in market-based competition, as he didn't have any titles or privileges or social position in historical past using which he could have hoarded wealth, and therefore will always remain unequal, poor and oppressed. Land reforms in India were aimed to prevent this historic primitive Accumulation of capital to determine class relations of Present and Future.

8. Excerpts from Nehru's letter used in the analysis vide (Ramchandra Guha's *Makers of Modern India*) PP. 338-339. "
9. This criticism of Marxism as a euro-centric discourse has been put forth by post-colonial theorist such as Edward Said. He in classic work *Orientalism* provides critical insight of how in his work Karl Marx identified and derogated the notion of an Asiatic economic system in his 1853 analysis of British rule in India with a sense of orientalism, where he despite criticizing British colonial regime as degenerating, acknowledged the great social revolution it can foster in Indian society paving way for western modernity. (Said, 1978: 153-155) The imposition of western modernity leads to imposition of western model of economic development in countries of third world.
10. Excerpts from Nehru's letter used in the analysis vide (Ramchandra Guha's *Makers of Modern India*) PP. 336-337 *'if we adopt this approach (Planning) we shall be dealing with major disease of India...i.e. the fissiparous tendencies and parochial outlook...*
11. The numbers of total electors in 1962 election were 127719470 which doubled to 248904300 in 1967 elections. (Source: Election commission of India: Charts of Male/Female Vote Percentage & Number of Electors/PC for General Elections (1951 to 2004)
12. Marx criticism of Adam Smith is *"This primitive accumulation plays in Political Economy about the same part as original sin in theology. Adam bit the apple, and thereupon sin fell on the human race. Its origin is supposed to be explained when it is told as an anecdote of the past. In times long gone by there were two sorts of people; one, the diligent, intelligent, and, above all, frugal elite; the other, lazy rascals, spending their substance, and more, in riotous living. The legend of theological original sin tells us certainly how man came to be condemned to eat his bread in the sweat of his brow; but the history of economic original sin reveals to us that there are people to whom this is by no means essential. Never mind! Thus it came to pass that the former sort accumulated wealth, and the latter sort had at last nothing to sell except their own skins. And from this original sin dates the poverty of the great majority that, despite all its labour, has up to now nothing to sell but itself, and the wealth of the few that increases constantly although they have long ceased to work. Such insipid childishness is every day preached to us in the defence of property"* (Marx, 1887: 507-510)
13. *'Third Way'* is a concept given by Anthony Giddens in his famous work *'The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy'* where theorises a New Social Democracy which seeks to harmonize the neo-liberalism and social inclusion and common good through a synthesis of best principles and practices of neo-liberal economics and socialism. Though it cannot be certain whether this conceptual framework was actually guiding UPA-1 economic development policies, it is discernible that there is striking semblances in its approach towards building new social democracy in India.

14. Dolenomics is the word derived from the word 'Dole' which refers to the benefits that state pays out or distribute especially amongst poor in form of social security benefits and monetary benefits such as public assistance allowance, subsidies, pensions. Distribution of Dole is an essential feature of welfare states, Welfare state's economic policies are informally dubbed as Dolenomics, which perpetuates populist measures leading to ever increase in consumptive expenditure and resultant fiscal deficit and thus distorting efficient fiscal management.

15. *Reform by Storm* is the maxim coined by Jagdish Bhagwati to depict onset of economic reforms in India in early 1990s in his work *India in Transition: Freeing the Economy* (1993)

CHAPTER 2

REVISITING CAPITALIST TRANSFORMATION: MAPPING STRUCTURAL BASES OF INEQUALITIES IN INDIA

2.1 Inequalities: Structural or Contemporary?

Academic discourse on Political economy of Inequality all over the world has gain prominence due to rising disparities and ensuing dissatisfaction with the political and economic system among masses within the capitalist democracies. Significantly, this discourse has been further buttressed by publication of literature such as Joseph Stiglitz's *The Price of Inequality* and *Capital in 21st Century* by Thomas Piketty, also with global agencies such as IMF, World Bank coming out with several reports on negative impact of inequalities on economic growth and development of a nation: global civil society groups such as Oxfam international has also been coming out with several reports on deepening economic divide and inequities among people.

It is because of above development and growing interest in the area, it became imperative to investigate inequalities in India. In the beginning of research, it was presumed that inequality in India was far more complex owing to nature of social formations in India and caste and identities impinging upon class and power structures. To understand the structural bases of contemporary inequalities it was significant to trace its linkages with social formations of the past epochs. In this regard Marxian literature on transition debate i.e. transition from feudalism to capitalism was of special interest. The existing literature on inequality, treats it as a problem emanating mainly from dynamics of present capitalist order and how democratic process of redistribution must be chalked out, liberals investigate them as function of market mechanism and seeks it redressal via political action in liberal democracy.

Inequalities which exist in present phase of capitalist transformations are not external to pre Capitalist inequalities, rather they are structural. the probability of being Capitalist and worker as opined by Adam Smith in mythical past due to one set of them being talented and hardworking and other set of them being lazy rascals is a farce, merit and hard work alone do not satisfy the accumulation, as Marx said enrichment or accumulation is always based on Right and Labour, the process of primitive

accumulation of capital, which is often followed by a political revolution, is carried out by might of state in collusion of dominant classes. Primitive accumulation of capital does not completely disrupts old social and property relations, the landlord or other feudal elites who accumulated wealth by use of force or virtue of better social position are more likely to be a Capitalist than a small farmer or other marginal classes of feudal era, who are most likely to transform as free worker, with the emergence liberal democratic state and its institutionalization of property rights, accumulated wealth by use of force or labour exploitation gains legal legitimation which becomes structural basis of inequalities as capitalist transformations intensifies. Rousseau's insights on inequality is consistent with above analysis, where he opine that's inequalities are natural when we talk about traits which nature accords to individual in terms of age, health, bodily strength mind and soul, beyond this all other forms of inequalities are political since 'it depends on kind of convention and is established by or at least authorized by consent of men, consist of different privileges which some men enjoy the prejudice of others, such as that being more rich, more honoured, more powerful or in position to exact obedience of others' (Rousseau, 1984: PP.14) The above analysis is relevant to understand how right to property came to be naturalized through agency of political authority and that natural inequality is not a factor in political or moral inequality as such inequalities are enforced through state.

In Indian context class relations of feudalism or pre-capitalist forms persist in class relations of capitalism to a very large extent as capitalism failed to revolutionize mode of production and it is structural persistence of such class relations which forms Basis of contemporary inequalities. In India caste is deeply enmeshed in class relation and persistence of caste-based inequalities can be very significant indicators of class contradictions and how capitalism rather than transforming them is creating a complex pattern of deprivations.

2.2 Theoretical considerations on pre-capitalist mode of production and potentialities of transition in India.

Marxian literature has often delved upon significant questions on transition from feudalism to Capitalism, primarily which theorizes the transformation which went on European countries at first. Karl Marx in his classic preface to the Critique of Political Economy mentions various stages of historical development such as Asiatic, Ancient, feudal, Asiatic and modern Bourgeois mode of production, he designated these as

epochs marking progress in economic development of Society based on transformation in their mode of production. Marx identifies the pre-Capitalist economic formation of India as Asiatic mode of production, since the most accepted template of transition of feudalism to Capitalism cannot be applied to India. Marx's understanding of Asiatic society was relatable to later work.i.e., Witfogels's Oriental Despotism¹ in describing pre-capitalist social formations in India. However, Irfan Habib, Romila Thapar and R.S. Sharma have shown that assumptions made by Marx on Asiatic mode of production in India are not completely supported by available historical evidence. For matter of analysis, we keep aside the debate on classifying pre-capitalist social formations in India as either Asiatic and feudal, and for purpose of this study the scope of feudalism can be widened at expense of social forms classified as Asiatic. The Potentialities of Capitalist development in form of forces which led to economic development in Europe operated in India as well though under different social and historical circumstances. Irfan Habib has provided credible evidence hinting at Capitalist development Potentialities in Medieval India especially under the Mughal rule. The pre-colonial Mughal economy had strong Potentialities of Capitalist development as per Marxian theoretical framework which identifies development of certain features as pre-requisite of Capitalist development such as existence of moneyed rent, existence of capital relation in form of wage Labor and existence of merchant capital. In pre-capitalist Mughal economy, the appropriation of agrarian Surplus was largely money based rather in kind or Labor; the aggregate agrarian situation reflected move towards Capitalist farming with prevalence of hired Labor and economy was fairly monetized and capital formation by large was in form of merchant capital. (Habib, 1969: 77-78). However, it has been matter of great debate whether full blown flowering of capitalism would have been materialized purely by action of internal forces in India, if western capitalism had not intruded via forces of colonialism and imperialist expansion.

In context of Indian situation during Mughal economy when money rent and merchant capital both contributed toward development of trade (exchange) based on commodity production, it is difficult to say whether intensification of commodity production and trade would have led to development of Capitalist forces and breakdown of feudal forces. The development of Capitalist forces and replacement of feudal mode would materialize by way of process of Capital Accumulation which

Sweezy referred to as Prime mover in dismantling feudal mode of production and (which Marx also regarded as most necessary precondition for Development of Capitalist mode of production). But whether development of moneyed capital, trade and commerce and even accumulation of capital by itself can transform feudal society into Capitalist one has been subjected to complex debates. If we apply Sweezy classic question in transition debate (Feudalism to Capitalism) that is why not capitalism did develop from commodity production of ancient world in Indian context that is why capitalism did not develop from commodity production of Mughal rule?

As Rodney Hilton answers Commodity production would in itself not strong enough to destroy feudal forms. Feudalism in itself can fuel accumulation process and may diversify its Surplus for market-based exchange, the feudal drive for rent emanates primarily on its need to sustain class power of existing elites in both political and economic domain. Thus, feudalism or semi-feudalism can also lead to increase in total social Surplus of production over subsistence needs which later gets consolidated and intensified in capitalism. For this purpose, Marx opinion on Genesis of capitalism needs a closer analysis, though he believed in corrosive effect of money capital on feudal economy, and believed in revolutionizing tendencies of capitalist appropriation in form of capital accumulation (which he discussed in Capital Vol. 1 in chapters on primitive accumulation of capital), his other views on Genesis of capitalism need deeper scrutiny, Marx argues (despite conceding corrosive effect of moneyed capital on feudal economy) that widespread development of Commerce, money capital and even productive accumulation of capital by its own cannot transform feudal society. As per him disintegration of feudal society and its structure and speed depended upon its solidity and internal articulation as mode of production. It was rather the inherent contradictions within society that is primary reason for its collapse. (Marx, 2011:326-327). Thus despite emergence of certain potentialities of capitalist development in India, the capitalism would not have naturally grown out of its internal factors, with absence of nation as a coherent unit and non-development of industries on large scale, without colonial impetus capitalism could not have the transformative impact as colonial regime brought first revolution which had led to development of productive forces in history of country, though limited enough to bring massive transformation. Thus, it was colonialism that formally introduced capitalism in India.

2.3 Capitalism as revolutionary force: some insights on Creative destruction of capitalism

Capitalism is regarded as revolutionary economic system, due to its capacity of altering the old equilibrium and creates radically new conditions of change. Marx believed in creative destruction capabilities of capitalism; due to its ability annihilate feudal bondages and old society. in words of Marx capitalism destroys 'pre-capitalist economy and constantly revolutionizes it, tearing down all the barriers which hem in the development of productive forces, the expansion of needs and all sided development of production and the exploitation and exchange of natural and mental forces' (Marx:1973: P.410).

It because of the above rhetoric of creative destruction of capital, Marx considered capitalism emerging via colonialism as a historical necessity to bring the social revolution ever heard of in Asia, which will end stagnation and lead to annihilation of old Asiatic society.

In words of Marx, 'These Small Stereotypes of social organism have been to the greater part dissolved, and are disappearing not so much through the brutal interference of British tax gatherer and British soldier, as to the working of English Steam and English free trade'. He believed that forces of Capitalist development will revolutionize the mode of production and will subsequently cause first social revolution, which will led to transformation of existing social relation of production by blowing up economical basis of semi barbarian and semi-civilized communities (Marx, 1853 (June):5-6). Therefore, he considered the British colonial Empire has to fulfil double mission in India, one destructive and other regenerative. The Annihilation of old Asiatic society is pertinent since it is stagnant and paralyzes the productive power by not developing adequate means for Economic exchange. Marx Opined that British rule was capable in has breaking self-sufficient inertia of Indian village by destroying its native industry, and that railways will further end the isolation of villages as isolated units. The regenerative aspects of colonialism will depend upon ability of railway system to enable emergence of modern industry which in turn 'will dissolve the hereditary divisions of labor, upon which rest the Indian castes, those decisive impediments to Indian progress and Indian power (Marx, 1853(July): 4).

2.4 A failed revolution: Articulation of Feudalism with Capitalism

Colonialism failed to set off a social revolution in India as assumed by Karl Marx, it did not transform social relation of production and to a considerable extent led to creation of complex pattern of collaboration among existing power structure, as it failed to dissolve the old society and its power structures, Modern industry did emerge but without eliminating old social relations of production.

Namboodiripad gives a significant insight on why colonial power led revolution had grave limitation in causing any significant transformation of existing social economic formations. According to him, revolution was carried by a class (British) which for its own survival as a ruling class in foreign country had to forge alliance with political allies; these new allies whom they found were representative of dominant classes and strata, whose domination should have been completely eliminated if revolution was to succeed². This understanding also reflects in works of Shirokov and others that capitalism in India did not have to compete with feudal forces for its growth rather colonial power structure cultivated a Natural ally in feudal forces which led to class coalition of feudal landlords, emergent Bourgeoisie and imperial capital. This phenomenon led to integration of feudal and capitalist structures which retarded the revolutionary tendencies of capitalism.

For the purpose of this analysis of articulation of feudalism with capitalism in India, Philippe Rey's theoretical insights are very relevant³. According to him the main process of transition from feudalism to Capitalism i.e. Conversion of feudal rent to money rent was based on feudal property relations external to Capitalism. He contends that feudal property relations was significant for emergent Capitalist development since it was feudal form of coercion which facilitated primitive accumulation of capital through expropriation of peasants from their land holdings and ensured supply of cheap Labor, feudal power was pre-requisite for Capitalist development as early Bourgeoisie did not had means to carry out expropriation of peasantry without support of feudal power. The above theoretical understanding can well be applied to the Indian context as well. In infancy of capitalism as introduced by British colonial rule in India, the articulation of feudalism with capitalism assumed peculiar nature, the commercialization of agriculture during British rule led to development and consolidation of landlord and rich peasant agriculture along with pauperization of small peasant proprietors contributing to increase in landless Labor across India. During this

phase there was increase in parasitical pressure on expropriation of agricultural surplus through trade, finance and money lending capital, (Habib: 1975 PP.42-44) This intertwining of agricultural Surplus appropriation with merchant and money lending capital was vital factor in emergence of early Capitalist classes in India, (in the manner in which landlord accumulation contributed to rise of industrial capital in India) shall be discussed later in this chapter. The extension of revenue collection rights to feudal elites by colonial state in form of permanent settlement and other such institution perpetuated property relations of feudalism, it has to be noted here that it was feudal political power which compelled the colonial state to compromise with feudal forces and recognize feudal property relations though this dependency also had economic overtones as feudal Elites as political allies of colonial rule assisted in colonial plunder, for illustration British colonial state annexed Oudh in 1856 and merged it with North West province and sought to extend its village based revenue collection system in Oudh province as well, this new system led to erosion of Economic power of Taluqdars (who were de facto hereditary landlord of the previous times), and when mutiny broke out in 1857, British forged an Political alliance with Taluqdars and to win over them, after mutiny the old pattern of Landlord based revenue system was restored and lands were returned back to the Taluqdars, in 1859 they were accorded permanent, hereditary and transferable property rights. In Bengal too there was a great sense of continuity in Zamindari system of pre and post permanent settlement era with old feudal elites retaining land rights. Colonial authority also favored big landlords as they would provide more assured sum of revenue, since land revenue formed prime base of overall colonial revenue, in 1841, it being 60% of the total revenue source for British government.⁴ One significant factor which hints at peculiarities of feudalism and Capitalism articulation in India is that the feudal power elites had considerable Political power, even when Surplus improved the revenue rates for landlords didn't change. The British dependency on feudal power led to convergence in their class interest with that of feudal landlords. The squeeze of peasantry in form of extortionate Surplus extraction by way of land revenue demands assisted in colonial plunder and also factored in increasing wealth of Landlord. Also, the colonial economy of India despite being external to development of Capitalist forces in Britain, was coopted as internal with respect to massive Capitalist expropriation and accumulation and this colonial drain of wealth supporting rapid Capitalist development in Britain.⁵

The British imperial capital primary interest was to squeeze capital of non-capitalist economy of India in alliance with the ruling elites (mainly landowning classes); it had no interest to develop productive forces. As Amiya Bagchi writes colonialism inevitably retarded the capitalist development in India, one of the significant manifestations of this was coalition of British rule led imperial capital and feudal elites in India. The emergent indigenous Bourgeoisie class also depended upon this axis of colonial power and feudal elites, since they were not having means and power to carry out expropriation of peasants and farmers without support of colonial state and feudal Political power. Thus, the expropriation of peasants and tribal from their primary mode of production was carried out through alliance of colonial power, feudal elites and early Capitalist class, which also ensured supply of cheap Labour⁶.

The Imperial capital led to expropriation of petty producers making even simple reproduction impossible, which led the dispossessed and displaced labor to fall back to agriculture, over crowding of agriculture facilitated availability of cheap Labor and servitude which enabled feudal lords to squeeze the peasantry and increase rent which benefited colonial accumulation. One significant illustration of the above pattern comes from resource rich state of Odisha, where background of emergence of one of India's prime Capitalist enterprise Tisco in 1907 at Jamshedpur reflected such an alliance, Tata joined hands with Mayurbhanj Durbar under the colonial state framework, wherein a lease agreement was signed between the two parties for supply of iron ore from Mayurbhanj (iron ore was available there in plenty) to Tata steel factory at Jamshedpur. The most stark analysis here is that how this alliance of Bourgeoisie with feudal forces under aegis of colonialism shaped exploitative class relations in society, the lease agreement based supply of iron ore led to massive mining operation in Mayurbhanj which led to expropriation of tribals from their primary mode of production, the Labour requirements for mining operations was met through forced recruitment of dispossessed tribal people under a system which had no legal Labour safeguard, it was designed in line with *Bethi* a feudal form of bonded Labour system (which existed in most of the princely states of the time) readily assured the supply of cheap Labor to work in hazardous Labor intensive mining, This in line with Rey's and Meilloux's argument of feudal relations of production serving 'need of capital' in ensuring expropriation of immediate producers and supply of cheap Labour. Thus, primitive

accumulation of capital was carried out by combined might of colonialism, capitalism and feudal Durbar, which led to massive displacement and pauperization of tribals.

The above class coalition carrying out process of primitive accumulation of capital, hinted at tendencies of feudal mode of production to closely intertwine with Capitalist production compromising the very process of capitalist transformation. Pavlov understanding is apt to above analysis that the articulation of symbiotic relationship 'between Capitalist structures and pre-capitalist one runs through the sphere of accumulation'.

2.5 Caste enmeshed in Secular structure of Capitalist relations: Persistence of Structural inequalities

The presumption about idealized village society of pre-capitalist social formations as self-sufficient units and serving as commune with absence of property rights as been rejected, Historians such as Bipin Chandra and Romila Thapar have refuted such presumptions. The class relations of pre-capitalist social formations in India were deeply embedded in caste based social relations, the most marginal classes of agricultural Labour were drawn often from lowest castes. The emergence of private property in land from around sixth century onwards led to some transformation with respect to class caste articulation, if some of Shudra serf were released from direct servitude of higher castes and turned into marginal tax paying farmers by settling down on ex-tribal or state's land, the other significant majority of them became tenants and sharecroppers and hired Laborers on State or private land owned by wealthy individuals belonging to higher castes such as Kshatriyas, Brahmins and merchant families which indicated at exploitative. (Chandra:P. 50-51) In pre-capitalist social formations in India, Caste was used to create class of hired Labour, despite availability of Surplus land the lowest caste was forbidden from significant ownership of land, which enabled higher castes to dominate (as a class by virtue of their social position as a caste) social relation of production, through institutionalization of bonded Labour thorough combination of social pressure and usury. The colonial and post-colonial modernization and consequent transformation in economic structure as anticipated has not led to complete disappearance of caste as an ideological and social institution. Caste is rather clearly enmeshed in Secular structure of capitalism in India and it continues.

The Post-colonial state's relatively autonomous stature in early decades of post-independence period, provided legitimacy to its moral high ground of

highest Development of productive forces, The Primitive accumulation of capital was then carried out with full, legal and coercive powers of the state, which led to development of capitalist relation in the countryside.(Chatterjee, 2008:91) Development of capital relation reduced caste based patronages, which rendered Dalits as wage laborers depended on middle caste farmers, the movement of upper caste landlords and their capital to urban centers enabled middle castes to fill in the Brahmanical void and identify themselves with higher castes, making the classic caste relation of Non-Dalits Versus Dalits functional again. The class contradictions between the middle castes and Dalits due to Capitalist relation of production, manifests in exploitative social relations, leading to caste atrocities. (Teltumbde, 2011:PP. 10-11) But the question arises here is whether Capitalist mode of production in India actually generated free workers in same context as in Europe, and whether Capital relation in India completely altered social relation of production of pre-capitalist social formations. The answer of above question could be established from one significant case study on articulation of feudalism with capitalism, Jan Breman based on his field study of Surat had given significant contribution to understand how pre-capitalist social relations may persist and camouflage itself as a new form of Capital relation. In his study concerned with Hali System of bonded Labour which characterized the relations between Anavil Brahmins, (the dominant landowners class) and Dubla. Landless Agricultural Labour, where Anavil Brahmins enjoyed rural patronage as giver of riches and wealth exercising their class power, for whom debt serf Dubla worked. The Colonial and post-colonial modernization led to erosion of their patronage, but rather than making Dubla debt serf free from servitude, the new set of capital relation led to the institutionalization of the exploitative relationship into a Labour contract based on condition of debt , as most of Dubla debt serf were indebted to Anavil Brahmins, who now became major debt-provider, which enabled them to sustain themselves as ruling class riding in political support of agricultural labourers class., the old pattern of exploitative power relations transformed into new set of exploitative relations of production catering to capitalist need of cheap labor central to process of accumulation. Moreover, the breakdown of patronage further marginalized the Dubla debt serf as government had not taken any measure of social security to compensate for the loss due erosion of patronage. Thus the capitalist mode of production characterized by emergence of capital relation, may not generate free worker in context of social

relations, rather primitive accumulation of capital can take place within confines of old social relations.

The present phase of Capitalist transformation also exhibits similar pattern, where pre-capitalist social relations become basis of exploitative capital relation. In Kanan Devan Hills Plantations Limited tea plantations in Munnar, more than 90% of nearly 16,000 workers are Dalits Tamil Migrants , who are being exploited by Caste based feudal relations under camouflage of capital relation⁷, despite abolition of slavery, in Munnar tea plantations, a modern slavery prevails, the Labourers are confined to their Estates and Labour lines with Labour mobility being forbidden by way of laws and management policies, this forms of segregation and servitude where Labourers are not allowed via contract to seek other job opportunities amounts to bondage and abdicates of creation free workforce. This reveals that Neo-liberal Capitalism rather than reordering the pre-Capitalist Social relations is strengthening structural bases of Inequalities by sustaining casteism and feudalism in Social relations of production.

2.6 Peasant capitalism: Persistence of Caste entrenched ‘Class Contradictions’

Pre-capitalist social forms concentrated in Rural India, and therefore, peasant agriculture which again is concentrated in rural India can provide definitive insights on articulation of feudalism and capitalism. The probability of articulation of capitalism with feudalism in Indian context had generated an enriching Intellectual debate on semi feudal nature of mode of production in Indian agriculture, in late 1970s involving David Thorner, Ashok Rudra , Amit Bhaduri, Nirmal Chandra, Ranjit Sau, Utsa Patnaik,. The primary question was whether capitalism was developing in Indian agriculture or is it persistence of semi-feudal relations which defines it. However, the basic summarization of debate on peasant capitalism can be- Despite emergence of peasant capitalism in some selected regions of the country, the agrarian economy at aggregate level did not indicated presence of peasant capitalism, there existed a pattern where capitalism in agriculture co-existed with more dominant pre-capitalist relation. Basole and Basu in their recent work, have come to relive the debate on mode of production by drawing conclusion that “Relations of production in Indian agrarian economy have become increasingly capitalist; this conclusion emerges from the fact that predominant mode of surplus extraction seems to be working through institution

of wage labour” (Basole and Basu: 2011, PP.56). They perceive decline of feudalism as a market function which is akin to Paul Sweezy’s conceptualization.

For our purpose of analysis, it’s important to understand the theoretical basis of how peasant society undergoes the self-transformation setting the base for emergence of peasant capitalism, within Marxian tradition, Paul Sweezy gives an insight which is akin to the Adam Smith’s theory for capitalist development. Sweezy’s presumption that emergence of embryonic Capitalist mechanisms such as Trade and Town despite being external to feudal mode of production are likely to be an agent of transforming the feudal peasant economy marked by dominance of serfdom, as per him with appearance and intensification of Market mechanism and availability of new products in market, the lords consumption was expected to rise leading him to extract as much as possible surplus from peasants, but since feudal agriculture was inefficient and unsuitable for market production, the Surplus appropriation maximization necessitates development and adoption of new techniques of production and new social productive relations, which would aid capital accumulation and innovation, leading to appearance of free wage labour which will inevitably lead to decline of feudal serfdom. As Brenner has rightly pointed out that as per Sweezy’s analysis, ‘the free wage labour arises as a techno-economic adaption within the producing unit, the transformation of class relations emerges as consequence of Market-determined development of productive forces within individual productive units which akin to Smith’s historical problem of origin of capitalism becomes that of the origins of trade based division of Labour.’⁸This analysis completely ignores the non-market and extra economic coercion including force that played or can play an important role in history of primitive accumulation of capital and formation of new class relations.

Emergence of free wage labour often attributed to Profit maximization and market competition, indicates an existence of a system of exchange, but not (necessarily) Capitalist social productive relations. The Appropriation of agrarian Surplus generated by wage labour or even sale of produce for market cannot be the only criteria for emergence of capital relation in Indian agriculture. (As discussed earlier that commodity production for exchange can be present in pre-capitalist mode of production as well). For our analysis, to understand the class relations in Indian context, it is imperative to trace who accumulates in Indian Agriculture; As Patnaik contends that due to reeling agrarian crisis in India, there exists a very little accumulation. Even in

the area where accumulation do takes place, accumulation is not revolutionizing mode of production in favor of marginal classes. As per NSSO report “Some Characteristics of Agricultural household in India NSSO (2014: P.52) around 70% of agricultural household reported a deficit, where average monthly income was less than the sum of average monthly consumption expenditure and net investment in productive assets. The deficit is higher for marginal farmers whereas the farmers with big landholdings continue to make significant profits (See table 2.1 and 2.3 in Appendix).

As per study by Jens Lerche, Agrarian accumulation is much more substantial in old green revolution areas, especially in state of Punjab and Haryana where there exists highest Development of productive forces, they also have highest concentration of land holdings owned by Capitalist farmers, who have diversified into Agribusiness and Trading, however it is not market mechanism alone which is leading to accumulation in hands of Capitalist farmers, the coalescing of Capitalist farmers with State, is leading to state policies being more favourable to interest of capitalist farmers at the expense of marginal farmers. Moreover, The squeeze of marginal peasantry based on bondage of unequal exchange is taking place, traders are informal credit provider to marginal farmer, and this forms Basis of unequal exchange as their harvest is tied to traders and they are likely to pay them less than market price, for instance the non-productive semi-feudal trading agents such as arhatiyas levy commission on sale of produce, they are also Moneylenders to marginal farmers and charge extortionate interest and since the harvest of marginal farmers are tied to them on the basis of debt, they are under bondage to sell them their Surplus produce in less value, and thus they appropriate relatively less Surplus than otherwise based on market mechanism they would have. It is interesting to note that Landownership is concentrated in dominant caste and agricultural wage labourers and marginal farmers draw heavily from marginal castes. Such operation arising out of articulation of capitalist, non-capitalist and pre-capitalist forces is evident across the country. However the general view with respect to accumulation can be summarized in this manner, that large landowners they accumulate most Surplus and marginal farmers accumulate the least due to squeeze (who forms the core of agrarian population in India) , thus they still limiting to simple commodity production, exhibiting subsistence agriculture. The data gathered from Socio-economic caste census strongly suggest the persistence of subsistence agriculture at the aggregate national level, with no significant evidence of

agrarian surplus being invested to increase productivity of the forces of production, the squeeze of peasantry looks pre-eminent reality in face of emerging data.

Table 2.1 Adoption of Productive forces in Indian Agriculture

% of household who owns land ⁶	% of Un-irrigated land	% of HHs owning mechanized Three-four-wheeler or Agricultural equipment	% of HHs owning irrigation equipments (Diesel, kerosene, electric pump set, Sprinkler, Drip irrigation)	% of HHs having Kisan Credit Card: 50,000 and above limit
43.58	40.46	4.10	9.83	3.61

Source: Socio-economic caste census 2011

When capitalism penetrates rural society with full force, subsistence agriculture no longer exists as an attractive or even a viable economic option for lower class. But in India subsistence agriculture persists. Also, When Peasant capitalism arrives land ownership must cease to bring any distinctive Political and ideological power, and land gets reduced to one factor of production as land itself is turned into a commodity; Moreover in rural India, land ownership pattern is still indicative of Political and ideological power riding on caste hierarchies and caste based pattern of land ownership: even if we concede that with onset of capitalist rich and middle farmers across the regions of country, who own concentrated landholdings are capitalist landowners rather than semi-feudal landlords, the basis of this transition is not due to struggle between feudal lords and emergent capitalist class, rather feudal lords themselves transforming into the capitalist farmers with the support of the state.⁹

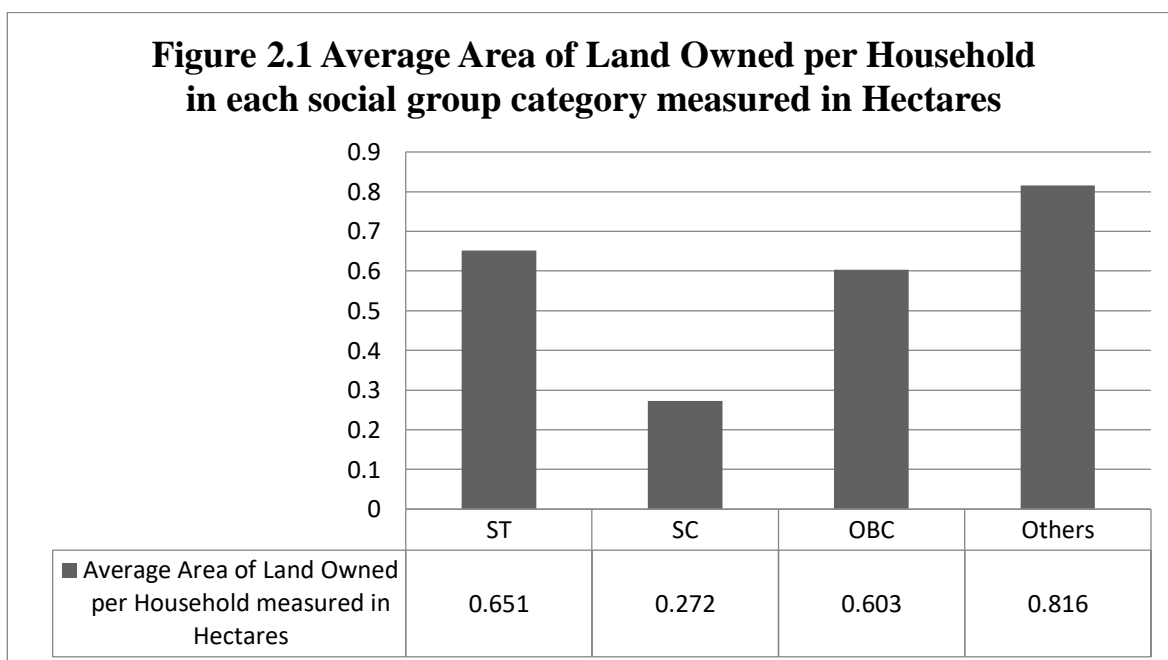
Furthermore, the capitalist classes gaining from squeeze of marginal classes' hints at creation of unfree relations by operation of capitalism,¹⁰ rather than it being relic of pre-capitalist past, however the manner in which unfree relations in form of unequal exchange and bondage are closely intertwined with persistence of pre-capitalist structures and property relations needs a further scrutiny.

Basole and Basu in their Relations of production take forward the mode of production argument in liberalization period. The main question which is asked by them is that whether 'Contradiction between feudalism and masses is not the principal contradiction in present society'. Their overall arguments hint that it is capital relation

which is causing principal contradiction in present society. The dissolution of feudal society sets free the element for capitalist society and this forms the basis of freedom of workforce, where exchange between worker and capital is guided by Bargaining and market-based exchange consciousness which is not pervasive phenomenon in Indian context.

Persistence of Caste based serfdom provides strong basis for semi-feudal exploitation, if capitalism is emerging in Indian agriculture, then small peasant economy should revolutionize production relation by destroying the old pre-capitalist relations. Are free workers or wage labourers indicative of emerging capital-relation are completely freed from pre-capitalist social relations of production and its property relations, Dalits as social group predominate as wage labourers, it is caste entrenched social relations which had led to their expropriation from objective conditions of ownership for realization of their Labour by blocking their land ownership rights. As per Socio-economic caste census data, out of total 18.45% SC households, 12.41% households depend upon manual casual labour as their prime source of income, which translate to nearly 67% of Dalits households drawing their major source of income being manual casual labourers. Dalit landless peasant working as wage labourers may not be entirely creation of Capitalist relation but a relic of semi-feudal property relations. Presence of wage Labour as a pre-dominant mode of Surplus appropriation cannot be indicative of emergence of capital relation completely independent of vestiges of semi-feudal relations of production. As discussed earlier that concentration of landholdings is proportional the high amount of agrarian surplus accumulated, and marginal farmers whose landholding sizes are small accumulate less, (See. Appendix Figure (11 and 12) the agriculture wage labourers who own no land are hit the hardest by agrarian stagnation, working at wages lower than their subsistence and exploited by usurious capital and unequal exchange creates complex pattern of bondage and inequalities. As per Socio-economic caste census data, the landlessness in highest among SC (Dalits) households, according to the given statistics based on land ownership of cultivated land, out of the 18.45% total Dalits households, about 12.98% are landless, which translates into 70.35% of Dalits households in India being landless. The data from NSSO 70th round also hint at similar pattern, with Dalits having least relative share of landownership see Fig.

As discussed earlier, the concentration of large size agricultural landholdings with big farmers and small size landholdings with small farmers, also manifests in form of caste based inequalities, and the higher castes dominates the relative profit share from cultivation due to their ownership of large landholdings, whereas the lower castes such as Dalits have relatively small landholdings, which can estimated through data provided in NSSO 70th Round “Land and Livestock Holding Survey” report. (See Fig 2.1, 2.3, also Fig 11 and 12 in Appendix)



Source: NSSO 70th Round “Land and Livestock Holding Survey”

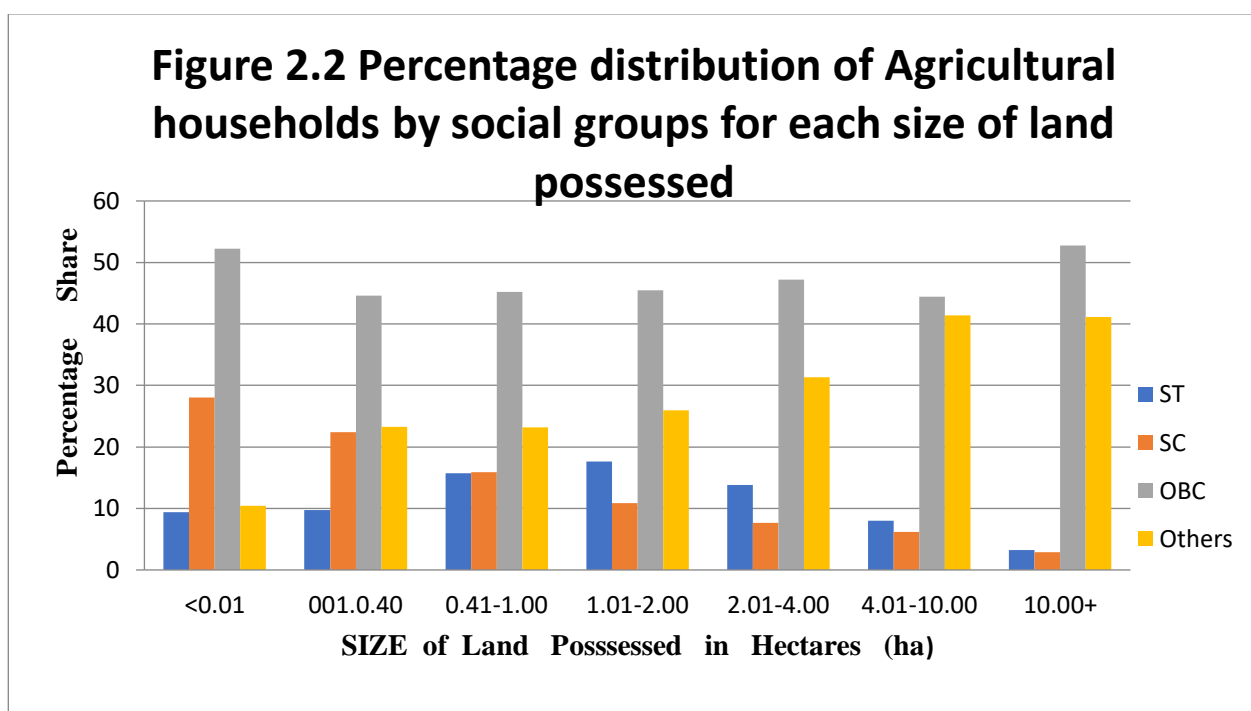


Fig. 3 Source: NSSO Report Some Characteristics of Agricultural household in India Jan-Dec 2013, 70th Round

Despite emergence of wage Labour as dominant force of Surplus appropriation at aggregate level representing formal freedom, the wage income can mask the bondages and un-freedom on basis of pre-capitalist Social inequalities. The Capitalist Mode of Surplus extraction in Indian Agriculture in form of usury is in consonance with Capitalism inherent dependencies on rate of investment return in Rural India, usury is exploitative form of Surplus extraction which leads to concentration of wealth. Usury has been part of Indian economy since medieval era, Irfan Habib has provided credible evidence how usurious moneylenders led to the further pauperization of peasants in India when Surplus extraction in agriculture was consolidated in form of rent. Resorting to usurious money lending for consumption has been feature of Indian economy since history. Historically, usury has caste based sanctions, the traditional Sahukar belonging to Vaishya caste has been recognized by Hindu traditions, as per Hindu traditions Vaishya communities are the permitted to indulge in usury, other Caste Hindus such as Brahmins and Kshatriyas may indulge in usury in times of distress, but Dalits were barred from usury. Even in present patterns of usurious money lending there is parity with the past, the merchant-and usurious capital nexus squeezing out marginal peasantry largely belong to traditional mercantile caste orders, moreover

the concentration of landholdings and more profits in higher castes enables them to reinvest their profit in form of usurious capital. Neo-liberal capitalism in India is further strengthening the class-divide in Indian peasant society, with onset of liberalization process; and reversal in the role of state with agriculture receding in priority to industry, the overall public investment and institutional credit to agriculture declined ¹¹. Considerably, there was significant diversion of direct agricultural credit away from rural farmers towards urban based dealers, urban based corporate and joint stock companies (Ramchandran & Chauhan, 2011: PP.50-77). The urban movement of agricultural credit has deprived small and marginal farmers and has intensified accumulation among big businesses. The drying out of rural credit to small and marginal farmers perpetuates agrarian distress, compelling Marginal farmers to depend upon vagaries of Traders and Moneylenders¹², and this unequal exchange forms the basis of bondage caused by Capital relation¹³, but this bondage is not independent of property relations of pre-capitalist social formations. The Persistence of unequal exchange among Dalits and non-capitalist agents such as Moneylender and trader s as compared to other communities is more, as indicative from NSSO sample as well, among all social groups in rural area as well urban area, the SC category is relatively most indebted to non-institutional credit agencies. The others category have the relative lowest dependence on non-institutional credit.¹⁴

The Caste based exploitative social relations, concentration of land and assets in hands of dominant classes, coupled with Indebtedness and usury (involving Capitalist and non-capitalist agents) agrarian crisis and inequality and poverty caused due to above factors and retreat of state from its welfare agenda prepares the base for persistence of bonded Labour. Bonded labour represents unequal exchange system, where there is absence of bargaining power and thus unequal relationship between the creditor and the debtor. (Shah. G: 2002 ,PP.351), Surplus appropriation based on exchange consciousness and carried on by non-productive forces such as usurious capital which includes Institutional lending agencies including banks, micro-financing agencies¹⁵ and Moneylenders, Merchant capital, both closely operating with imperial capital, leads to squeeze of peasantry without any significant transformation taking place in terms of Development of Social Productive relations.

The Indian State Aids in this peculiar process of primary accumulation of agrarian surplus in hands of ruling classes, and therefore its role needs a closer scrutiny

so as to ascertain in what capacity use of political coercion by state and through changes in policies, it can enable squeeze of peasantry, The Indian state has been aiding the dispossession of peasantry without their Proletarianization. The Neo-liberal states withdrawal from its developmental agenda due to its compulsion to manage fiscal deficit, has far reaching consequences on Indian Agriculture, the reduction of public investment in Agriculture, increase in prices of agricultural inputs due to work of imperial capital coupled with withdrawal of the support to petty producers has impacted marginal farmers and pushing them to very low level of subsistence, which makes even simple reproduction of peasantry difficult if not impossible¹⁵(Patnaik). Moreover the dispossession of peasantry from their land for capitalist expansion is shaping the course of contradiction between peasantry and capital. Thus, the Primitive accumulation in Indian peasantry taking place in terms of both i.e. flow aspect (squeeze of peasantry), as well as stock aspect (Transfer of their land and assets).

It is this process of accumulation which uproots peasants and facilitates their mobility from rural to urban set up where caste hierarchies and old societies breaks down, in case of England when peasants expropriation happened dispossessed were absorbed by industries, and remaining migrated to other countries, in Indian context, the dispossessed are not absorbed by industries as growth in contemporary India is capital-intensive, the surplus appropriation is carried without the need of mode of production, the dispossessed fall back to agriculture which further culminates in agrarian crisis. Liberalization era led to decline in Government support and public investment in Agriculture, Dalits major sufferer from agrarian Crisis, Liberalization breaking patronage but property relations of pre-capitalist social formations persist.

2.7 Caste and Entrepreneurs: Who becomes Capitalist in India?

Marx and Engels delved upon possibility of integration, of Power structures of old and new in emergent complexes of exploitation of power, Marx was equally concerned with the probability for any Bourgeoisie design to come to terms with vested interest of old order. Marx did not rule out possibility of integration of pre-capitalist with Capitalist ones, as he believed that the vested interest of pre-Capitalist forces can come to terms with emergent Bourgeoisie design. (Sen, 1983: PE.61). Genesis of Indian Capitalist class is closely tied to articulation of pre-capitalist structures and capitalist one running through the sphere of accumulation. Who becomes capitalist in India? Some presumption as Marx said capitalism emerges on basis of accumulated wealth, Marx

and Maurice Dobbs have right away rejected Adam Smith's Schema where accumulated wealth may be made out of savings of income or due to talent or innovation. In context of India, saving of income or talent may not have led to accumulation enough to develop capitalist enterprises; rather wealth must have been garnered on basis of primitive accumulation of capital. Thus, to analyze the process of primitive accumulation in Indian Context, Maurice Dobbs analysis of Marx's Theory of primitive accumulation has been used, where Dobbs analyzed the primitive accumulation in historical sense. In his words "If any sense is to be made, therefore, of the notion of a 'primitive accumulation' (as per Marx's notion) prior in time to the full flowering of capitalist production, this must be interpreted in the first place as an accumulation of capital claims - of titles to existing assets which are accumulated primarily for speculative reasons; and secondly as accumulation in the hands of a class that, by virtue of its special position in society, is capable ultimately of transforming these hoarded titles to wealth into actual means of production".(Dobbs, 1963:PP. 178)

In pre-capitalist social formations in India, Caste based Social and property relations provided strong basis for accumulation of capital claims and titles to existing assets in favor of dominant castes, The dominant caste by virtue of their social position in form of patronage, entitlements of land and Political and ideological power were able to coerce the marginal classes, extracting of Surplus aiding to primitive accumulation of capital. Kosambi's insights on caste system is relevant, his understanding that Caste is a class at primitive level of production, where religious method of forming social consciousness in such a manner that the primary producer is deprived of his Surplus with minimum of coercion, and it reduces the cost of forcible suppression of popular resistance for the exploiting classes depressed castes of manual labourers, peasants and artisans with varying degree of subjection were forced to accept a low level of subsistence, than they would have accepted under the economic relations based on monopoly over property. The Ruling castes by virtue of their social position and Political power appropriated Surplus which aided in concentration of wealth. The property relations provided strong basis for accumulation of capital in hands of dominant forces, the landlord accumulation was in fact based on caste based Social relations of production. As discussed earlier despite availability of Surplus land the lowest caste were blocked from ownership of land rights and had to subsist as wage labourers. The forms of capital formations in pre-capitalist Indian economy emanated

from semi-feudal Surplus accumulation which was based upon exploitative social relations. The dominating influence of merchant capital in Genesis of Indian Capitalism needs a closer scrutiny; Merchant capital formation was tied to feudal mode of agricultural Surplus appropriation and was employed and further strengthened as usurious money lending capital. Even Merchant capital which was external to feudal mode of production had to cope with authority of Landlords they being superior power in a given local economy.

Herbert Lloyd Spencer and Shirokov trace origin of early Indian Capitalist to commercial groups who had accumulated capital through trade finance and money lending, and these new Capitalist class kept links with agriculture through mechanism of rent, trade and money lending, and thus controlled fiscal apparatus of agriculture to a significant extent. In words of Spencer, the private enterprise in India reflected petty commercial capitalism of arrogant landowners, extortionate money lenders or the heartless avaricious speculator of recent inflationary period (Spencer, 1957: 18). The reckless speculative behaviour of short-sighted Indian capitalists during the inter-war period had exposed their considerations for short-term profit rather than long-term productive investment; even Shirokov has delved upon risk-averse feudal social mentality of Indian *Bourgeoisie*, who rather than looking for Development of productive forces, relied on caution and easy profits. Early Capitalist enterprises in British India such as indigo plantations and factories, worked under a joint coercive system in which the British government, the Zamindars and moneylenders played an important part, the coercive Political power of Zamindars (mainly from high castes) emanated from their ideological power based on caste hierarchies and also from their claims as superior right holders, furthermore the destruction of other employment opportunities for lowest classes/castes due to primitive accumulation of capital and working of imperial squeeze, made even simple reproduction of peasantry impossible, both of above process depreciated the reserve price of Labour aiding in accumulation of capital, benefited the axis of Landlords, British Bourgeoisie and Moneylenders. (Bagchi, 1988:56) We shall now further investigate the interface between caste, colonial state and Genesis of capitalism. The old merchant communities such as Marwaris, Baniyas, Parsis, Shikarpuri Lohanas, Chettiars, were prime collaborator of British rule; one land of the distinctive feature of these old merchant communities is the superior caste status enjoyed by them in comparison to other local

peddlers and retailers. Parsi merchants had collaborative working relationship with British era, they emerged as bankers and brokers to aid March of imperial capital, and they also enjoyed State patronage in form of grant of land and enterprise proposal. Marwaris and Baniyas too were major collaborator of British, their pre-eminence in business should also be analyzed in context of caste functions, as in Hindi Belt and Gujarat and Rajasthan, Baniyas and Marwaris belonging to Vaishya Caste dominated the businesses of all sorts, by virtue of their caste as they were traditional Moneylenders and Merchants and dominated hereditary mercantile order. The superior banking and trading connections enabled leveraging of their caste capital toward starting their business with much ease, as compared to others who do not had access to caste based hereditary mercantile order. The first wave of Globalization benefitted them, as they financed the growth of cash crops for the world market, as discussed earlier, through integration of agriculture, trade and money lending capital they carried out process of accumulation. In post independence period too, these caste Capitalist made huge progress in terms of spread of their caste capital through various Capitalist enterprises. Shikarpuri Lohanas wealth is also linked to usurious rural money lending, they borrowed from Russian banks at 6% rate and lent to peasants at 40-60% rate, this squeeze of peasantry enable them to establish indigenous banking network. Nattukotai Chettiars community Forte was moneylending, they appropriated huge Surpluses by exporting their capital to Burma, Ceylon, Malaya and Indo-China, in Burma they provided two-third of Burma's crop loans at usurious interest rates ranging from 18% to 45%, they also acquired huge swathes of fertile land there from defaulting cultivators, as per estimate due to peasants expropriation they owned up to 23.93 lakh Acres of land. They established a formidable marketing and credit network and also channelized surpluses to manufacturing in post-independence period.

The caste groups primarily involved with agriculture and allied activities without any significant experience in Business emerged as Successful Capitalist, such communities are Kamma, Reddy, Gounders, Patidars. These all communities were dominant landowning communities within their local set up, for instance majority of Kamma Capitalist belonged to the landlord class, which had access to education enabling rise of their human capital, The evidence of Landlord accumulation finding its way into industrial capital is evident from the Kammas case. The Kamma Zamindars who had appropriated lots of Agrarian Surplus

accumulated due to landownership rights had to divert their Zamindari capital into industry due to prospects of land reforms in face of anti-Zamindari and land to the tiller agitation of 1930s in madras presidency. Kamma's example provides significant evidences of linkages between Landownership and Entrepreneurship. Others communities such as Khattris, Jat-Sikhs are also benefited in terms of their superior caste position in establishing their Capitalist enterprises including Capitalist farming.¹⁷ Brahmin capital primarily in technocratic field is also emerging in Liberalization period, as due to early access to education Development of their human capital, has since long enabled them to dominate bureaucracy and cultivate connection which help them to overcome handicap of capital. The lowest caste in the caste hierarchies as discussed earlier were pushed to wage labourers and marginal farming classes. The accumulation process which was carried out in pre-independence period was deeply embedded in caste based Social relations of production, where the dominant caste dominated the production relations as the dominant class. These Structural bases of Inequalities are deeply ingrained in the manner, in which the feudal power relationships of which caste is an important element manifests and persists in present Capitalist structures.

The above select caste groups are the ones, who have established themselves as major capitalist class of India and dominate business, these capitalists are thus drawn from the traditional mercantile caste groups(Bania, Jain, Marwari, Agarwals) as well as upper castes such as Khatri, Kammas, Naidu, Reddys, Sindhi, Parsi, Brahmins, Jat-Sikhs. The start-up capital is dominated by these caste groups, especially the traditional mercantile caste group, for instance the e-commerce market of India is largely dominated by Agarwals and other Bania sub castes. Their success is largely attributed to social interactions, connections, community ties (which which are build over 100 of years, ascribed to them due to caste functionalities), enable them to raise capital much easily as compare to other social groups especially the marginalized castes.

The Post-colonial state's modern agenda of bringing Social justice through adoption of Socialist Redistribution principles necessitated massive reordering of semi-feudal production relations, but as the Democratic politics unfolded the democracy for its political survival had to depend upon pre-capitalist forces that resisted any substantial changes in Social relations of production. The three powerful social groups i.e. business elites, large landlords and managerial bureaucratic elites that India

inherited at the eve of independence despite virtual autonomous character of Indian state, (marked by accommodation of marginalized interest through constitutional guarantee and affirmative action) were able to form coalition on basis of congruence of class interest to sabotage the redistributive measures which could have substantially reordered the Pre-Capitalist social relations of production which could have disrupted their dominant class position and privileges. They managed to get concessions due to greater access to government and due to their better political organization were assimilated within party cadre of congress during -Nehruvian era which was furthered by Indira Gandhi. Due to coalition of these groups, The state regulatory mechanism of licensing was subverted by big business leading to monopolization, landed interest within congress party staged failures of land reforms in ensuring distribution of land for social good was diverted to proliferation of capitalist farmers. The managerial bureaucrats belong to family of elites, showed apathy to implement redistributive program. (Bardhan, 1984:40-52) This is consistent with Gramsci's idea of passive revolution of capital whereby Capitalist transformation could take place in such a way that it was possible to preserve the Political and economic position of the old feudal classes, to avoid agrarian reforms, and, especially to avoid Political masses going through a period of political experience such as occurred in France in years of Jacobinism¹⁸. (Gramsci, 1976 :303)

2.8 Mirage of Dalit capitalism: Marriage of Semi-feudalism and Imperial elements shaping contemporary class relations

Capitalism in India has not fully destroyed old social formations; neither has it revolutionized the mode of production. There exists a distorted capitalism, where capitalism rather than undermining pre-capitalist forms and relationship, had entered a compromise with pre-capitalist forces. Caste is a major issue where articulation of pre-capitalist and capitalist structures comes into question and is deeply visible. The basis of capital relation itself lies in pre-Capitalist social relations which lead to creating of structural socio economic inequalities. Dalits continue to remain most marginal group in terms of their socio-economic status. Neo-liberal Capitalism rather than reordering the pre-Capitalist Social relations is strengthening structural bases of Inequalities. The proponents of Creative destruction of capitalism consider distress migration of Dalits as a facet of Creative destruction of capitalism. The interface between Marxism and Liberalism is reached. Schumpeter says that Marx recognized Capitalist development

as a historical necessity to bring a social revolution (as discussed earlier in the chapter) due to its creative destruction abilities in uprooting old social formations and unproductive relations of production.

Schumpeter argued that Marx's Communist manifesto is “an account nothing short of glowing achievement of capitalism”(Schumpeter: 1994, PP.7). However, as per Marx, Capitalism despite being an agent of change (due to its capacity to break down feudal bondage), was primarily an agent of dehumanizing exploitation. In his capital Vol 1, Marx provide a severe Critique of accumulation process of capitalism which actually uproots old social formations, and claims that such forcible appropriation carried out with full force of state, forms the basis of conferment of property rights to Capitalist, rather than it getting accrued them to on basis of their talent or hardwork as espoused by Classical liberals such as Adam Smith. The Marx's Capitalist are the ones who accumulate riches on basis of exploitation of Labour and Right , whereas the Schumpeter's Entrepreneurs are individuals driven by a ' Dream and the Will to find a private Kingdom' and 'will to conquer, the impulse to fight, to prove oneself superior to others, and joy of creating' ¹⁹, they aid in revolutionizing mode of production and relations of production by adhering to Capitalist rationality or exchange consciousness for profit maximization by exploiting innovation, more productive techniques and producing a new commodity or new source for supply. An entrepreneur creates new industries, new productive forces alter the socio-economic structures of pre-capitalist formations, and this forms the basis of Schumpeterian notion of creative destruction of capitalism.

In 'fair competition' proposition of Capitalist Liberal democracies, owing to Equality of opportunity Any Individual belonging to any class, who may not own wealth, but with talent, hard work and business sense has equal potential of being a successful Capitalist, which erodes monopoly and enable expansion of social base of capitalism through recruitment of new Capitalist forces even from lower classes of society²⁰. This understanding forms the core of political and social legitimacy of Capitalism that it extends Equality of opportunity to all based on talent reward system. Moreover, in the developing societies such as India, the most significant aspect of political legitimation of capitalism comes in domain of economic policy making with reference to employment generation, (as capitalism was once presumed to be capable of generating full employment²¹, it being central to poverty alleviation and maintenance

of basic standard of living for masses. It has to be noted that it is not corporate or other big business entities which forms basis of this legitimation rather its small propriety capitalism in informal sector which generates maximum employment. These two constructs of political and social legitimation of capitalism, that is talent merit reward system and its propensity to generate small entrepreneurs who in turn generate employment for others forms the basis of Construct of 'Dalit capitalism', however Dalit capitalism cannot be analyzed purely in terms of economic change, rather it is often dubbed as agent of social change due to creative destruction ability of capitalism in dismantling old social formations and social relations of production.. the breakdown of old society, carried primarily by prime-mover i.e. accumulation of capital will creates free-workers by either making their simple reproduction impossible or by their dispossession, which leads to migration to urban centers and industrial jobs can dilute the caste based functionalities. Therefore, the proponents of Creative destruction of capitalism consider distress migration of Dalits (due to process of accumulation) to urban centers as a facet of Creative destruction of capitalism. The present phase of capitalist development is not capable of generating full employment rather dispossessed labour force is lacking access to wage employment which pushes them towards petty-self-employment in informal sector. The petty self-employment is often a disguised unemployment with below subsistence level incomes.

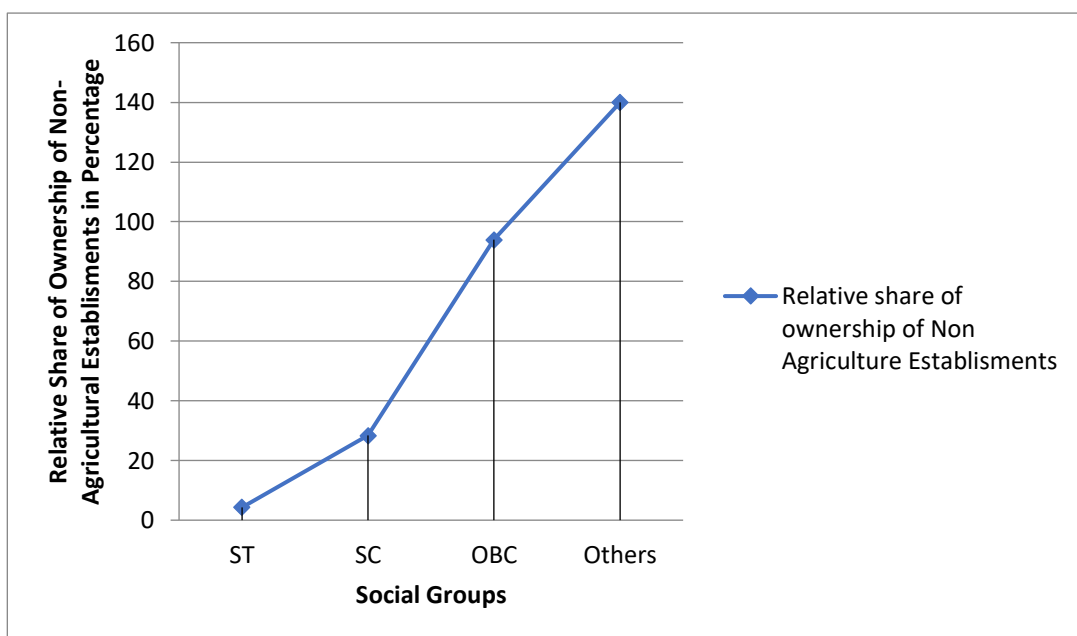
The low levels of employment generation persisting with rising capital accumulation is due to the fact that (unlike as Marx presumed) that labour is no longer prime source of surplus accumulation, rather he/she being 'unwanted possessor or occupier of economic resources from which she/he must be divorced to free resources for its use in circuit of capital. (Sanyal and Bhattacharya, 2009:35) This phenomenon is dubbed as 'dispossession without proletarianization'²². However one factor which needed to be added here which is reinforcing dispossession without proletarianization is capitalism need of permanent 'reserve army of unemployed labour' to discipline and regulate labour by creating fear of unemployment (through mechanism of easy replacement of labour since there are many plenty other unemployed labour). The non-exhaustion of labour reserve army has another functionality that it perpetuates and maintains lower wage rates.

Non-exhaustion of reserve of labour army also thus limits emergence of free workers who can bargain with the employers for fair wage and better work conditions,

it imposes new forms of slavery and dispossession without proletarianization and non-absorption of dispossessed labour also caters to preservation of conditions of slave labour with below subsistence wage rates in both urban set-up as well rural society, which compromises the very creative destruction capacity of capitalism by aligning feudal slavery forms with new hybridized forms of slavery. The existence of enormous reserve army of employed people helps in maintenance of caste functionality, since it due to existence of such large reserve that the restrictive function of caste does not have a dysfunctional impact on accumulation of capital, which sternly limits the capacity of capitalism to revolutionize mode of production and break old social relation of production.

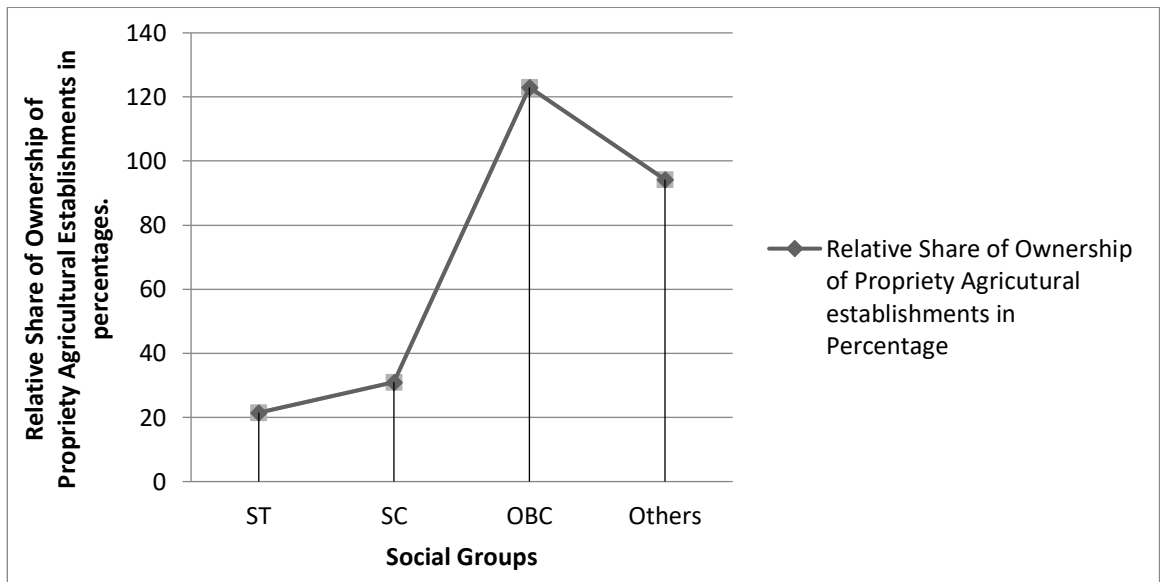
Majority of Dalits who are uprooted from their natural settings are disproportionately employed in informal sector and are confined to slums. Market capitalism does not enable them to experience upward mobility, the historical deprivations faced by Dalits as discussed earlier, also translates into their inability to emerge as Marx's petty propriety capitalists let alone Entrepreneurs of Schumpeter. Dalits owing to their place in Social relations of production are least likely to own economic establishment enterprises as compared to any other social groups in India, in terms of ownership of both agricultural and non-agricultural establishments, the Dalits have lowest relative share of ownership in comparison to other castes (Fig.2.3 and 2.4)

Figure 2.3: Ownership of Non-Agriculture Establishments by each Social Group



The Figure 2.3 shows relative share of different Social groups in ownership of Non-Agricultural Propriety Establishments, They have been calculated by dividing the percentage share of Non-Agricultural propriety establishment owned by each social group as provided by the Economic Census 2013 with their share in Workforce population as per NSSO 68th Round Data Report of year 2011-2012 Titled as 'Employment and Unemployment situation among social groups in India'. . (Relative Share value greater than 100 shows that a given caste group has more than proportionate ownership while relative share value less than 100 indicates less than proportionate ownership)

Figure 2.4: Ownership of Non-Agriculture Establishments by each Social Group



The Figure 2.4 shows relative share of in ownership of Proprietary Agriculture Establishments among different Social groups, They have been calculated by dividing the percentage share of Agricultural propriety establishment owned by each social group as provided by the Economic Census 2013 with their share in Workforce population as per NSSO 68th Round Data Report of year 2011-2012 Titled as ‘*Employment and Unemployment situation among social groups in India*’. (Relative Share value greater than 100 shows that a given caste group has more than proportionate ownership while relative share value less than 100 indicates less than proportionate ownership)

As discussed earlier, due to dispossession without proletarianization, and incapacity of neo-liberal capitalism to generate jobs, the policy push is being provided to boost self-employment and petty propriety capitalism, the recent initiatives such as Stand-Up India program and Mudra loans seeks to create propriety entrepreneur from ranks of marginalized groups such as SC, ST and women, it is based upon notion of financial inclusion and democratization of capital. The structural inequalities can be disrupted by the market-based solutions, which is retreat from the past when state tried to build an egalitarian social order based on affirmative action. The Dalits are least likely to own propriety enterprises as they have lowest relative share of self-employment. (See Fig.7 in Appendix) moreover ‘since good quality ‘formal’ employment is very rare, access to it is extremely unequal, deprived social groups such as Scheduled Castes (SCs), Scheduled Tribes (STs), and large sections of the Other Backward Classes (OBCs) are mostly concentrated in low-productivity sectors such as

agriculture and construction and in low-paying jobs as casual labourers. (See Fig. 9) whereas, upper-caste Hindus and 'others' (comprising minorities such as Jains, Sikhs and Christians), have a disproportionate share of good jobs and higher educational attainments. There is an overlap between poverty and poor quality of employment as well' (Labour and Employment report 2014).

Poor Socio-economic status of Dalits also impact their inability to meet their consumption needs, as per NSSO survey SC category have highest share of debt for consumption in form of household expenditure, when bulk of borrowing is used for household expenses, the possibility of wealth generation from that financial asset gets severely compromised and this explains why SC have lowest level of self-employment and ownership of economic establishments²³. The Dalits are also least likely to emerge as capitalist as they have lowest average value of assets, in both rural as well urban areas, see Fig. 7 in appendix. Dalit also have handicap of capital due to their caste based property relations, The Accumulation of capital in Rural set up due to sale of land, also concentrated in big landowners, who by large are dominant castes, and thus property relations which are rooted in semi-feudal order, persists aiding in Capitalist expansion. The Celebration of Dalit capitalism and their chamber of commerce on basis of some 100 odd individual(out of more than 170 million in business, the cumulative value of which may not be even a droplet in the Corporate Ocean(Teltumbde,10: 2011). The construct of Dalit capitalism thus appears to be an agenda to seek legitimation of neo-liberal policies, the very policies which are strengthening the structural bases of inequalities, the withdrawal of state from its welfarism which includes impetus towards privatization of education and healthcare which has potential of severely compromising development of human capital for marginal castes and classes, which restricts any scope for their mobility up the class ladder. More so over, the breakdown of old patronages, displacement and dispossession due to operation of international capital strengthens the marginality of lower classes. The talent merit reward system legitimizes Bourgeoisie right to wealth accumulation and property, which may have not been accumulated by virtue of hard work but rather through privileged social position as ruling class, through the use of force and exploitation, through colluding with state and coalition of other ruling elites . The conclusion drawn here is not to indicate that class position in contemporary phase of capitalist transformation in totality and rigidly is ascribed to caste, but caste do impacts

individual mobility along the class ladder, the restricted economic possibilities as a consequence of the stronghold and persistence of semi-feudal and imperialist elements on the economic structures helps in perpetuating the structural inequalities

2.9 Conclusion

The nature of Capitalist transformation in India has been peculiar, in colonial times the potentialities of capitalism to emerge as revolutionary force got severely compromised due to articulation of feudalism and capitalism, the dependencies of imperial capital on feudal classes for its survival, led to a class alliance between them and existing ruling classes of India, as a result of which the transformation of social relations of production in both peasant economy and capitalist enterprises, benefited existing elites and strengthened existing structural inequalities rather than rupturing it. The post-colonial socialist state inherited this complex economic order fused with feudal-capital alliance, the embedment of these forces in democratic politics as a coalition of ruling elites, and structural dependency of political democracy in India to co-opt these forces for political survival led to sabotaging of redistributive programs (which were very central to re-order the exploitative social relations of production), which enabled structural bases of inequalities to persist. The neo-liberal state and operation of international capital is creating delusions of capitalism revolutionizing peasant economy and recruiting capitalists from lowest rungs of society, the collusion of state, Imperial capital and Indian Bourgeoisie is leading to squeeze of marginal classes, their dispossession without proletarianization and non-exhaustion of large reserve of labor army is amplifying the class contradictions which appear to be borne out of capitalist relations, but actually are manifestation of non-capitalist semi-feudal property relations, which hints at persistence of structural inequalities closely embedded with caste functionalities and social relations of production.

Notes

1. Construct of 'Oriental Despotism' was used by Marx to depict the nature of pre-capitalist social- formations of India, as per Marx nature of Asiatic societies was despotic due to climatic factor, the large swathes of arid lands in Asia required that it was brought under a state managed large scale artificial irrigation and water works system to enable cultivation which can sustain the population, as the village communities lacked resources and had low level of civilization and productive powers to undertake such large scale irrigation on vast territories. This provided base for centralization of power with the state making it despotic in

nature. The concept has been further greatly developed by Karl Witfogel in his work *Oriental despotism* (1957).

2. See Nambooridipad (1977) Castes classes and parties in Modern Political Development.P.9
3. Philippe Rey's theoretical arguments have been sourced from work of Resch, Robert Paul. (1992) *Althusser and the Renewal of Marxist Social Theory*. PP132-135
4. See Banerjee, A., & Lakshmi Iyer (2005). PP.1190, 1197-1200
5. Manufacturing intensified and peaked in England only after colonial plunder, factory a creation of machine industry, emerged as dominant form of industrial organization only in last quarter of 18th Century when colonial plunder got consolidated, . The drastic technological improvements were linked to state of industry and economic resources, (See Dobb, Studies... P.56) he doubted technology being an independent factor in industrialization in England). Irfan Habib (also contends mainstream wisdom that industrial revolution is caused due to sudden mechanical inventions in post-60 England.) quotes Marx, that he was certain economic resources responsible for sudden expansion of industry could not come out of savings of income, but only through massive primitive accumulation from non-capitalist economies and sectors..
6. Philippe Rey in his work '*Les Alliance de classes* (1973) has conceptualized transition from feudalism to capitalism in the terms of the articulation and feudal mode of production with capitalism, exhibiting symbiotic relationship between feudal and capitalist classes leading to their class alliance
7. The Tamil Speaking Dalits are descendants of slave labourers brought by British colonial Empire from Tamil Nadu, the British involvement in Hills intensified with land acquisition from both princely state and feudal lords of Poonjar, which prepared ground for migration of slave labourers to work in tea plantations in Munnar, the migration of slave labourers peaked by mid of the 19th century, when British commercial expansion in region was reaching its peak. The slave labourers were brought in order to minimize the Labour cost and keep wage rates very low, so that exploitation and squeeze of Labour in Labour intensive tea plantations could be carried out to increase Surplus appropriation
8. Sweezy Calls exchange Consciousness for profit maximization among feudal landlords will led them to adopt more efficient social relation of production, which led to erosion of serfdom and emergence of free workers riding on development of productive forces. For this Sweezy has been criticized by Dobbs and Hilton, Robert Brenner has also critiqued Sweezy's assumption as Neo-Smith Marxism and that exchange Consciousness among feudal lords may

led them to further squeeze the serfs and their labor rather than adopting new effects techniques which may elude emergence of capitalist farming

9. Basole and Basu in their Relations of production have conceded that Capitalist Farmers have evolved from the ranks of feudal oligarchy; they said that "semi-feudal landlords have been replaced by rich and middle peasants as the ruling bloc in the agrarian structure of a large part of contemporary India. This..... was not so much the result of political conflict between a rising capitalist farming class and the feudal oligarchy; rather, the latter have, aided by a pliant State, gradually transformed themselves into capitalist farmers, among other things "P.55

10. Utsa Patnaik in her book Agrarian relations and accumulation: mode of production debate in India, identifies capital relation causing new complex forms if servitudes, rather than it being relic of pre-capitalist relations of production.

11. Total Bank Credit to Agriculture is 15.7% at present. It is interesting to note that growth of commercial bank Credit to agriculture was lower in 1990s (Early Liberalization Decade) compared to that in 1980s. It being 6.8% per annum during period of 1981-1990, and 2.6% per annum during 1991-2000. Also decline in agricultural credit was also evident from close down of 922 rural bank branches.(Ramakumar and Chavan)

12. Money Lenders in cotton bearing central plateau indulge in usury by charging 30-40% of interest for 4 months of tenure. 5% per month cumulative rate of interest reaches 80% annually; moreover there are instances indebted farmers have been compelled to force their wives and daughters into prostitution in order to pay off the debts to moneylenders. Indebtedness among marginal farmers is also leading their families towards starvation, school dropouts by their children and distress sale of all assets at their disposal.

13. As per recent report of National crime bureau on farmers-suicide data, among the total of 3097 farmers who committed suicide due to bankruptcy and indebtedness, 2474 of them had availed loans from Banks and Microfinance Institutions (which comes to around 80% of total suicides), which contradicts the general presumption that traditional moneylender or loan shark are main perpetrator in farmer suicides.

14. As per NSSO report 70th Round "Household Assets and Indebtedness among Social Groups' SC as a social group has highest level of burden of Non-institutional loans especially in rural areas, around 52.2% (more than half) of Dalits depends upon Non-institutional lending, whereas others category which comprise Higher castes have lowest dependence with 35% of them taking loans from non-institutional credit agencies. The figures for the two social groups SC and Others are 29.2% and 7% respectively.(PP.28-30)

15. Banks and Micro-finance institution of India's interest rate is high for small and marginal farmers to pay, with Banks rates ranging from 12% to 15%(PSBs) to 14%-20% for

private banks. Whereas microfinance institution charging up to rates of 24%. Source: (Various Loan portals of leading banks and MFIs.)

16. This argument was taken from VRPP lecture series of Emeritus Professor Prabhat Patnaik held at Goa University in October 2016.

17. The Genesis of early capitalist class have been referred from Harish Damodaran's work India's New Capitalists, see PP.8-22, P.50, P.65,92, PP.98-105

18. Years of Jacobinism in France were extremely politically turbulent period in the aftermath of French revolution, the Sans culottes (was an political organization of) the laboring poor, (regarded by Eric Hobsbawm as most important factor in French revolution) largely trained by Jacobins together set goal for revolution whereby there will be complete dismantling of old order dominated by property, and will pave way for Equality in all domains and access to bread for all, despite resistance the old forces who were set to lose out their privileges to new equal order, the Jacobinism period marked the most revolutionary left inclined movement in history of France, the revolutionary terrorism (popularly known as Reign of Terror) where food hoarders and property were attacked is seminal symbol of brewing wrath among laboring poor masses and peasantry who were the major sufferers of the aristocratic feudal order, (living in conditions of abject poverty and starvation) to overthrow the system of exploitation. The Jacobins main function was to sustain the revolutionary zeal in French society in post-revolution period so as to truly reform society and build an egalitarian order. Without sustenance of revolution the old elites will manage to reclaim their lost privileges and resist social changes.

19. See Joseph Schumpeter's The Theory of Economic Development, P.93

20. See Balinky, Marx's Economics: Origin and Development P.89 (Cited by Elliot in his Marx and Schumpeter on Creative destruction of capitalism

21. Capitalism's ability to generate full employment has been largely rejected since Keynes's General theory recognized that unemployment is persistent feature of capitalist society and there is no mechanism through which market on its own eliminates unemployment. This understanding in post-depression period it paved way for State controlled capitalism, the golden years of controlled capitalism in west when unemployment rates fell to minimum. However, with demise of socialism state welfare mechanism paved way for market mechanism and now market capitalism is tipped to be generating more number of jobs than what a state run economy can.

22. Kalyan Sanyal and Bhattacharya have discussed that dispossession without proletarianization as a form of exclusion, see Sanyal and Bhattacharya (2009:35)

23. As per NSSO report 70th Round "Household Assets and Indebtedness among Social Groups", entrepreneurial spirits among Dalits is lowest as they have higher inclination for

taking non-business loans in comparison to other social groups. Their percentage share of debt by broad purpose loan is 5% for business loan and 95% for non-business, whereas for others the figures stand at 18% and 82%.

CHAPTER 3

PASSIVE ADVENT OF THE BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION IN INDIA: TRACING UNIVERSALITIES IN TRAJECTORY

3.1 Conceptualising Bourgeois Revolution through lens of Historical Materialism

Can there be scientific theory to make intelligible, the histories and progression of human societies? How do different human societies evolve in history spanning from early primitive communism to Bourgeois republics of contemporary times?

Bourgeois Historiography primarily understand Human History as evolution of great truths and ideas that leads to epochal transformations. Marx on contrary see evolution of human history not divorced from natural history, human beings are rather in constant interaction with nature, as they act in different ways on nature for meeting their necessities, so does the new social relations evolves to carry out production and reproduction in different epoch of history. (Levin and Lewontin, 1985: 253). The former set of historiographical estimates are imbued with idealist notion that seeks to philosophize history based on intuitive understanding than its concrete analysis and are therefore ascribed as 'Philosophers of History'. (Althusser, 2015: 18)

Several Philosophers of History have analysed history in metaphysical ways replete with idealist crotchets. For Hegel, as per his idealist and teleological conception of historical development, history is nothing but a realization of an ultimate absolute concept. Idealist bias is visible even in the liberal strand of thought likes that of Adam Smith, where he not only laid aid bare the political economy of capitalism and its structure but also spoke of four stages of Human History (Smith, 1762:114). Despite these positive aspects, his analysis "was dominated by Ideological notions and depended on every instance on an idealist 'philosophy of history'" (Althusser :2015, 18). Capitalism for Smith, was not one out of several historically successive social formation or economic form, but a simple money economy which emerged naturally and that its seeds lay somewhere in prehistory. It was Karl Marx who solved the riddle of history obliterating every form of idealism which could not see beyond 'appearance' of historical events as being governed by chance, by unmasking the hidden interconnections and exploitative social relations behind those estranged outward appearances, thus separating appearance from essence. Adam smith regarded

capitalism as natural economy tracing its genesis to mythical past akin to legend of Adam and eve, as per him capitalism in an embryonic form existed in all societies, it had reached conclusive form owing to factors such as growth of population, expansion of trade, and culmination of natural division of labour. (Davidson, 2012: 61)

Whereas for Karl Marx the emergence of capitalism from the ruins of feudalism was a historically real, time-bound phenomenon, having its provenance in class contradictions rather than being an immutable, transhistorical feature of human society. In words of Althusser, with discovery of method of historical materialism, "Marx opened up the 'continent of history' to scientific knowledge", (Althusser, 2014: 18-19). by giving scientific concepts to understand development, decay and radical transformations of human society.

Historical materialism is a method of historical research, which enables us to grasp true nature of past and present, by enabling us to view present in historical perspective so that we can penetrate beneath the appearance and thus "perceive the profound historical forces which in reality control events". (Luckacs, 2016:224).

Karl Marx's famous quote from his magnum opus Communist manifesto "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles" (Marx, 1848:1), a significant dictum based on historical materialism, is central to make sense of and conceptualise the phenomenon of Bourgeois Revolution as class struggle in history that brought epochal transformations, from feudalism to capitalism.

Historical materialism view change/transformations in material conditions as prime mover of history, in other words the course of history underlying all significant historic events is determined by and is rooted in economic development of society. These transformation effect change in mode of production which in turn not only sharpen the existing class divisions in society but also create new ones, that set grounds for new forms of class struggles to emerge among classes against one another. (Engels, 1970: 153)

Basing argument in tradition of historical materialism, all political struggles in history are nothing but class struggles, and every class struggle is a political struggle in the sense that political power is instrumental for a social class to consolidate their economic interests. (Engels, 1946: 6).

Regardless of the overt political forms assumed by such class struggles, it's the class contradictions that undergird these historical movements, defining their political

trajectory, in the final instance. The depiction of Glorious Revolution and French Revolution, in mainstream academic writings are often presented as political struggles alone, without paying requisite attention to the economic and social changes at the core of such events. Such instances of scholarship scarcely do justice to the task of comprehensive analysis of historical transitions and moreover, such omissions are not more or less innocent but ideological. This shall be discussed as we proceed onwards. "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles", Karl Marx's famous quote from the Communist Manifesto, is central to understanding and conceptualising the phenomenon of Bourgeois Revolution in history. (Marx, 1848:1).

The revolutions of 1648 and 1688 in England, and 1789-93 in France were rooted in economic causes despite their appearance as political or religious struggles. These were class struggles waged between contending classes i.e., between a decadent landed aristocracy and an emergent Bourgeoisie over their realisation of their contending economic and social interests which necessitated consolidation of political power as a primary means in furtherance of the same interests. The new productive forces represented by the Bourgeoisie became incompatible with the mode of production represented by feudal landlords, nobility and therefore they rebelled against it. Henceforth, over the course of history and with the further progress of capitalism, the early half of the nineteenth century witnessed arrival and recognition of proletariats as a third competitor for power alongside the decadent feudal nobility and the Bourgeoisie. With these developments, the obviousness of the economic cause behind these radical developments, especially the emergence of the new Bourgeois order, as the prime mover (that compromisingly transformed State power and social relations) became apparent to all and Engels opined that "one would have had to close one's eye deliberately not to see in the light of these three great classes (Feudal landlords, Bourgeoisie and Proletariats) and in the conflict of their interests the driving force of modern history". (Engels, 1946: 6).

Thus, the Bourgeois Revolution is a manifestation of class struggle in history, marking the political-economic ascendancy of an emergent social class, the Bourgeoisie ushering in a new mode of production (capitalist), and leading the struggle against the landed feudal nobility of the old system. Indeed, when the feudal system and property relations became fetters to further development of capitalist forces of production, the Bourgeoisie led a revolution (a form of class struggle) to dissolve those

decadent fetters by capturing and rapidly transforming state power and corresponding social relations.

The emerging and decaying social classes in a given social formation are therefore, important actors in any study which undertakes investigation of a given historical epoch. The study of social classes brings into focus the question of their agency as actors and executors of their class interests.

Marx and Engels differentiated Human Agency from that of Nature, the latter being blind and unconscious until subjected to the former. Humans on the other hand, are endowed with consciousness, and that "every human is consciously aimed towards an intended aim, they are sensuous, thinking entities" (Engels, 1946: 3). However, despite the conscious desired aim of all individuals to get intended results, contingencies play an important part and results that emerge, are often found to be falling short of the intended aims. Marx had rightly pointed out that "Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances", (Marx, 1852: 1) the material circumstances being the level of development of productive forces in a particular epoch.

This entails that though humans have the agency and requisite autonomy to shape history, in the final instance, the course of history is governed by certain general laws and human will is not enough to get the desired outcomes independent of the material circumstances. Contrary to how several critiques dub historical materialist method as deterministic, the class struggles between two contending class doesn't lead to a definite outcome. The class struggle between oppressor and oppressed can end up anytime, "either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes." (Marx and Engels, 1865: 3).

For instance, the class consciousness that is shaped by the contradictions and antagonisms of Capitalist society would not emerge in the Age of Slavery/Slave mode of production as consciousness is determined by the level of Material development of production. Thus, the slave revolt of Spartacus could not find any supporters among the parasitic proletariat of Rome as both the proletariat and the patrician class of the Slaveholding Roman State depended on the thralldom of slaves and it was only the Germanic barbarian invasions centuries later that spelled Rome's doom and laid the foundations of the Feudal mode of production and established a new class contradiction, of that between the Feudal Lord and peasant Serf as the driving force of

European society. Thus, consciousness (represented by mind) and matter (development of material forces) is conceived in a dialectical fashion in historical materialism. Human society sets itself only those tasks that it can solve, as problem itself germinates only when material conditions for its solution exists already or are at least beginning to emerge." (Marx, 1859: 2).

3.2 The Bourgeois Revolution in History

The genesis of the concept of Bourgeois revolution can be traced to Karl Marx's treatment of the tumultuous period in English history between the two milestones of the English Revolution in 1648 and the Glorious Revolution in 1688. In the Capital, volume-1, Marx said that the Glorious revolution laid foundation for capitalist model of development and brought into power "the landed and capitalist profit-grubbers".(Marx, 1976: 884) Several scholars have interpreted Marx's usage of the concept of Bourgeois revolution as a theoretical tool, to characterise the relation of revolution to the general process of state formation in a given social formation i.e., the genesis of the modern Bourgeois state and its relation to the various social forces. To put it simply, the 'Bourgeois revolution' is a basic conceptual framework for understanding historical development of material forces and relations of production as well as state formation, overall structural and social transformation from Feudalism to Capitalism. The English revolution is often cited as a successful archetype of Bourgeois revolution since it was able to ensure dominance of capitalist mode of production over other modes especially in agriculture by preventing the peasantry from developing into a social force. In political domain, the revolution, however, did not the transform the leadership from nobility to Bourgeois for quite a long time and the Bourgeois had to work behind-the-scenes and collaborate with the feudal nobility. However, with the development of capitalist production and the coming of age of the Industrial Bourgeoisie, the balance of power in this coalition altered decisively. The resounding defeat of the Corn Law League, a pressure group of landed magnates at the hands of the Industrial capitalists in the mid of 19th century, was a visible instance of this change in power relations, to the latter's favour. The study of the British case is pertinent as it is difficult to interrogate the dynamics of Bourgeois revolution in India, without an analysis of the first instance of capitalist revolution in the world, in Britain, especially since, India was subjected to profound superstructure transformation, legal and otherwise, during British colonial rule and it is this legacy that has serious implications even on the post-

independence trajectory of the “passive revolution” in India. The French revolution was studied too as a model of Bourgeoisie revolution. The liberal and revisionist reading of the French Revolution, such as by those of Karl Popper, Cobban and Furet, depict the events as merely a political regime change and thus, occlude the significance of the changes occurring in the social formation of France due to the Revolution. To quote Soboul, “the Revolution marks the advent of Bourgeois capitalist society in French history. Its essential achievement was the creation of national unity through the destruction of the seigneurial system and the privileged orders of feudal society.” (Soboul, 1975: 3) The motive of the Bourgeois, as per Soboul was not merely achievement of political equality with the aristocracy but also seeking economic liberty, free enterprise and profit. Many latter day fashionable academic discourses have rejected the analysis and characterisation of the French revolution by distinguished historians like Soboul and Lefebvre, as a Bourgeois revolution. They negate the fact that ownership of property influences the development of institutions and that the landowning nobility impedes emergence of new social order and property relations. Their revisionist reading of French Revolution depicts it only as a political revolution for example, as per Furet, the revolutionary Jacobin Terror of 1793-94 was due to popularisation of Rousseau’s discourse and ideas about popular sovereignty. (Furet, 1981). Essentially, these novel trends speculate that the political development is determined by discursive dynamics rather than social forces. On contrary, Gramsci explained that the French Revolution provided grounds for Bourgeois hegemony through the role of the Jacobin dictatorship. The Jacobins provided a universal and mass character to the French Revolution, while remaining on the plane of Bourgeois ideology. Thus, a narrow movement transformed into a popular Bourgeois revolution. The present research, thus, rejects ahistorical, speculative discourses and adopts the readings of the French Revolution as per Soboul, Lefebvre, Gramsci. The purpose of the researcher is to underline the importance of the theoretical device or concept of ‘Bourgeois revolution’ in unravelling the historical evolution of Indian polity and social formation till this day, in its full concreteness.

3.3 Ideology and Epistemologies of Bourgeois Revolution

Since ascendancy of Neo-Liberal project, academic research that pertains to questions on historical development or transformation is mostly discouraged or rather abhorred, it's striking allegiance to ahistoricity here becomes quite evident. Consequently, today

significant majority of research in social sciences are ahistorical in their content as well as form.

The fall of Soviet Union acted as moment of validation as it enforced the ideological mythologies of the Bourgeoisie which was slowing transitioning from the phase of state interventionism, controlled capitalism and Marshall plan economics towards a novel variant known as Neoliberalism. The 'End of history' thesis of Francis Fukuyama was the crowning glory of this neoliberal ideological ascendancy whose proponents hubristically declared that humanity's quest for an ideal social order has ended and the events had proven that liberal democracy and capitalism reflect ultimate end point of humanity's socio-cultural evolution and hence, this any quest seeking to transform the world around us has no relevance here forth. The 'End of History' thesis though seen critically by many at the time of its inception had begun to make discrete ingress into academia across the globe, shaping the discourses and research therein. The Idea of Democracy and Capitalism as the final social order is naturalized as a common sense in such a measure that let alone empirical analysis, even academic researchers are compelled to conceive normative questions within limits imposed by the assumed finality of these two above Institutions.

Considering the fact that Bourgeoisie Ideology always hails the capitalist mode of production as the culmination of Human history, this line of thinking hailing Bourgeois inevitability fouree of Life after demise of Soviet Union, thus ideologues of neoliberalism lulled themselves into thinking that capitalism has survived its "grave diggers." It is sheer conservativeness and inertia of Bourgeois epistemological framework that compels them to make ridiculous prediction as above. Human history is a process of continuous change and despite the emergence of stable social formations, their eventual passing away shows that stability always gives way to change. Thus, there can't be a final moment in the evolution of human history and any intellectual claiming to discover absolute truth which is valid for all times is not tenable, as demonstrated by history itself. The scientific method of historical materialism, often wrongly ascribed as teleological by likes of Karl Popper, in reality rejects finality of any knowledge system, since it's against the very essence of dialectical reasoning. In the words of Engels, "A system of natural and historical knowledge, embracing everything and final for all time, is a contradiction to fundamental law of dialectical reasoning"(Engels, 1970: 57). The dialectical method of understanding historical

transformations explains that it's the contradictions within and between societies that leads to epochal transformations, for instance, it was the emergent contradictions of feudal society in face of embryonic development of capitalism within feudalism that culminated into the great Bourgeois Revolutions of Europe.

The Bourgeois Revolutions of 17th and 18th Century spanning across the continent of Europe were culminating moments of great historical transformations. These revolutions, especially in England where it sprang first in the 1640s, did not just restrict itself merely to the realm of economy and political forms but brought in its train a host of changes encompassing various other domains of society such as culture, philosophy and science. For instance, science which was then a mere branch of philosophy known as natural philosophy, specialized and branched out into an independent domain of knowledge under the influence of the changes brought in by Bourgeois revolutions. This reveals that social consciousness, within which one theorize is tied to social relations encompassing an economic structure. This relationship was elaborated by Karl Marx in his work A Preface to Critique of Political Economy; As per him the totality of relations of production "constitute economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness". (Marx, 1856:35).

This dialectical unity of base and superstructure entails that transformation in the base, i.e. the economic structure of society, in other words the social relations encompassing and being determined by level of science/technique and means in which a production and reproduction is carried out in a given historical stage of development; also leads to corresponding transformations at the terrain of superstructure, i.e. political and legal forms and structures, culture, religion and Ideological expressions and ideas-Philosophy and epistemological frameworks. Therefore, changing epistemological frameworks correspond to qualitatively changing social relations.

The Bourgeois revolution in Europe challenged the various philosophical and epistemological frameworks that dominated the intellectual landscape of feudal society. The presence of politically constituted social property relations under feudalism wherein both the fortunes of feudal lord and the serf were inalienably tied to land and where surplus was extracted through use of political force, was discernible from the unity of moment of coercion and accumulation, reinforcing the society above

individual. The existing order of feudalism did not require investment in productive forces/ technique that defined the latter-day society, as it was primarily concerned with maintaining social order through the commissioning of castles and cathedrals, in other words the social props that maintained the hegemony of existing order through military might and ideological control.

Philosophy of Scholasticism, mired in obscurantism, was closely associated with the mainstream Christian clergy and remained the dominant stream of thought throughout feudalism. This philosophical school fulfilled an important functionality by serving the ruling classes, the clergymen and the nobility as the dominant mode of thought and intellectual inquiry corresponding to the specific historical conditions of European feudal society.

The run up to the Bourgeois revolutions was marked by commercial and industrial advance of the Bourgeoisie as a social force wherein European society witnessed multifaceted transformation in the domain of technology, science politics, economics, culture and philosophy, which eventually led the Bourgeoisie to consolidate capitalist social relations and establish its political domination. Unlike feudalism, Capitalist Social relations thrive on freely entered contracts as surplus appropriation is exacted from the working class purely by economic means, since dispossession of direct producers 'frees' them from traditional modes of subsistence and then these property less direct producers, left without any means to ensure their simple reproduction, have to sell their labour power in exchange for wages. The system of wage-labour is not dictated by 'direct' coercion as the worker is as juridically free and deemed as an equal in Bourgeois society. It so appears that free individuals can enter free contracts with each other, and it's these atomised individuals who form the social whole based on their own choices and talents. This appearance of freedom however obscures the real relations of production where worker is condemned to a state akin to slavery, it's important to note that "all science would be superfluous if the outward appearance and the essence of things directly coincided". (Marx, 2012:34).

One of the most significant differences in the social ideology of the newly ascendant Bourgeoisie from that of the feudal aristocracy was that unlike feudal society where an individual activity was tied to their social position. Under Bourgeois society it was now deemed that it is qualities and actions of the individuals that make up the society and therefore in their theorisation an individual is always considered as

ontologically prior to social or part is prior to the social whole. The Bourgeois view of nature also reinforces Bourgeois view on social relations, where sum of constituent parts with their own intrinsic properties are deemed to be forming the whole.

This conception emanating from what is known as Cartesian method or presently critically known as Cartesian Reductionism, which prioritizes parts over whole and leads to rise of epistemological problem where it's not clarified if interaction between parts leads to new properties or whether whole can be more than sum of its parts.(Levin and Lewontin, 1985:2) and played an important role in shaping Liberal individualist political theoretical constructs such as 'Social Contract', where individuals supposedly enter contract to create a particular state power and determine its limits. This method and ontological belief continue to determine theory of knowledge to this date in various forms and measures, which shall be discussed in due course of this research.

Hence, the philosophy and discourses that fulfilled an important functionality specific to historical conditions under feudalism and served the ruling classes of such a society, no longer remained relevant as a tool in explaining the nature of a changing social reality, in the face of ongoing social transformation and impending ascendancy of the Bourgeoisie as a social class which sought to dethrone the aristocracy. In the run up to the great Bourgeois Revolutions of that era, new philosophy and epistemological frameworks emerged that challenged the Ideological superstructure of Feudal society and sought to displace it with their own newer forms of social ideology. It sought to dismantle and annihilate various props of feudal theology and philosophy by dismantling long entrenched idealism and promoting materialist undercurrents.

The nascent materialistic undercurrents in philosophy in that tumultuous era of the 17th century was being articulated in the empiricism of likes of Francis Bacon, He conceived separation between theology and natural philosophy and allotted each its own spheres where it could implicitly flourish unhindered and g this separation in turn paved the way for British materialism to march on ahead by undermining theological dogmas. Bacon's ideas envisioned a materialist conception of world where matter was active and ever changing motile without any supernatural interference playing any role with its causality. It has to be noted that bacon's philosophy was not metaphysical but depended upon observation of World and its natural phenomenon, experimentation and inquiry in contrast to the contemporary state of Scholasticism where unverified and

abstracts propositions were regarded as foundation of supposed truth and knowledge. In stark contradiction to philosophical doctrines of those times whose main function was to justify religious dogmas of Church rather than serving material needs of human society. Bacon's philosophy and scientific methodology sought to acquire heightened knowledge of nature and world around us and achieved as Bacon intended to expand the ambit of human control over nature. And this in turn propelled important invention and innovation which acted as catalyst in Kick-starting later day industrial revolution. It can be thus being established that Bacon's thought and methods created a firm ground for the entrepreneurial attributes that characterized the upcoming Bourgeois era. As mentioned earlier, Bacon's championing of experience through the sense as sole source of valid and practical knowledge makes him a forefather of empiricism.

However, it was the John Locke, who developed empiricism as a coherent theory of knowledge in his work '*An Essay concerning Human understanding*', while at one hand empiricism drew heavily from methods of natural philosophy, the term we know as science today. While claiming that sense experience is only the source of true knowledge which is closer to materialist interpretation, Locke also held that knowledge that emanates from sense experience is inferior to that intuition which makes us aware of God, spirit and soul. This reveals to us that Locke's theory of empiricism primarily gave precedence to practical necessity over theoretical consistencies. He sought to blend his theory with shades of both, the materialism and the idealism to arrive at practical compromises. Locke readily compromised his "theoretical consistency for the sake of arriving at practical compromises and ideological combinations that gained his ends..... the needs of the struggle against old order gave a radical sharpness to empiricism, while fear of lower classes blunted the edge of its criticism" (Novak, 1973: 26). This intellectual tendency of compromise was in turn undergirded by the social necessity of legitimising an uneasy new order, an unripe fruit of the alliance between the newly emergent and ascendant Bourgeoisie and the humbled but still powerful feudal aristocracy. This conservative turn was necessitated as a response to more egalitarian, democratic trends represented by Levellers, Diggers and so on during the English Revolution which could have enabled democratic action from lower classes jeopardizing class interest of Bourgeoisie.

Therefore, John Locke is rightly regarded as Father of Bourgeois Revolutions in England, since his ideas and epistemology served the interests of English

Bourgeoisie who were in difficult situation owing to peculiar nature of English Revolution where they were compelled to enter a compromise with the aristocracy. The presence of Constitutional monarchy and House of Lords in England (Remnants of Feudal Aristocratic order) to till this date reveals that the earliest Bourgeois Revolution witnessed in history did not abruptly established rule of Bourgeoisie, rather the compromise formed the bedrock of overall transformations that happened the revolution.

Bourgeois Revolutions in Europe helps us to clearly decipher the historical development of material forces and relations of production as well as state formation brought overall structural and social transformation. The onset of Capitalism not only revolutionized the mode of production but also brought corresponding revolutionary changes in political forms, the dismantling of absolutist state in Europe ushered in era of coming up of New Bourgeois Political forms, the ascendancy of Capitalist relation of production necessitated new set of legal relations centred around new forms of social property relations and Institutional forms to emerge.

From Liberal Democracy to New Constitutional forms fashioned around ideas of Liberalism and Individualism, were institutional forms necessitous to provide framework to new relations of production and emergent social property relations. Liberalism's ideal of freedom, individualism and juridical equality were Ideological ensemble pertinent to ensure class Interest of the new ruling classes that is Bourgeoisie, and were inherently rooted in logic that enabled reproduction of Capitalist mode of production.

It is our thesis that prime functionality of legal and constitutional forms in a society's is not to ensure democracy but to reproduce Capitalism and its relations of production and circulation while maintaining a formal/nominal edifice of rights to facilitate its core functionality.

3.4 Sophistry of Liberal State and Reproduction of Capitalism

Under pre-capitalist property relations, freedom of contract is an impossibility because state and ruling classes can appropriate surplus only through direct or extra-economic coercion. Capitalist property relations thrive on freely entered contracts as surplus appropriation is exacted purely by economic means, since dispossession of direct producers 'frees' them from traditional modes of subsistence and then these propertyless direct producers, left without any means to ensure their simple reproduction, have only

one option to survive, that is selling their labour power in exchange for wages. Thus, the dispossessed direct producers also known as free workers are hurled as wage labourer into the capitalist market, joining the ranks of the proletariat, working for a wage under capitalists to avoid starvation. The surplus labour produced in the factories are appropriated by the capitalists through economic coercion alone without any need for direct coercion. This juridical freedom of workers to enter 'free' contract with employer to sell his labour power is consequently sanctioned and embodied in Bourgeois legal forms and enshrined as right to liberty enabling the subordination of the working class to the imperatives of capitalism. The Bourgeois constitutional forms accord juridical equality to all in the form of equal legal personality and consequently the system of wage-labour is not dictated by 'direct' coercion as the worker is as juridically free and as equal in law as a member of the Bourgeoisie. The right to equality before law endows the worker with a legal personality which confers him with a political personality to become a member of a political society and it is this political recognition that obscures the reality guiding his economic life; the exploitative relations of production based on economic coercion is totally abstracted from the realm of Bourgeois politics. At the superstructural terrain, the private property appears to be annulled in political way, especially since arrival of popular sovereignty, when all individuals gain citizenship rights where they are filled with an unreal universality, a citizen is nothing but "an imaginary member of a fictitious sovereignty"(Marx, 1975: 220). Rather than reposing faith in the nominalism of legal forms, Marx offered a critique of the political sophistry shrouding the workings of the liberal constitutional state and according to him, the political annulment of private property does not mean its abolition. On the contrary, dissolution of all political distinctions presupposes that there are other non-political distinctions such as social property relations and relations of production that will have a legal force and permanent presence, mediated by the Bourgeois constitutional form. For instance, the civil liberties such as equal voting rights and right to equality are accorded to all as per fundamental rights in Indian Constitution, irrespective of property qualifications, while the lives of majority of workers remain fastened to the cruel vagaries of wage labour. This political elevation of the common masses as equal citizens, being juridically equal to the rich and propertied through political rejection of private property simply legitimises class rule of the Bourgeoisie in the particular society; existence of legal right of political equality

goes hand in hand with the glaring inequalities and economic coercion emanating from exploitative capitalist relations of production which are reproduced with a legal recognition as non-political distinction.

The major breakthrough that Bourgeois legal forms have historically achieved is in cementing the artificial separation of economic relations of commodity exchange from political i.e., democracy. It's important to assert here that the slogan of achieving economic and social democracy within structural forms of political democracy is futile as the democracy in existing Bourgeois Constitutional form is merely political by its very systemic design. Louis Althusser has further developed the critique of Bourgeois legal forms and implicated them in creating the illusion of democracy while being structurally flawed with an inegalitarian bias. According to Althusser, Bourgeois law in the last instance is a law of commodity relations that "formally regulates the interplay of capitalist relations of production" (Althusser, 2014:167). Delving into the formalism of law, Althusser argues that Bourgeois law is always formal, since it has bearing only on forms of contract and not on the content of what is exchanged. The forms are legal devices that enable free contract between two equal legal entities such as employer and employee, but the content that is the phenomenon where relations of productions determine appropriation of surplus labour by employer from employee is abstracted completely from law and thus, is made invisible. Thus, Bourgeois law expresses relations of production, while making those same relations invisibles. So, the right to freedom entails that all are free, but since it's silent on relations of production, it blurs unequal power dynamics of class society. The above discussion corroborates the argument that the liberal state through its legal and constitutional form, aids reproduction of Capitalism and its relations of production and it provides nothing more than a formal political democracy.

The Glorious Revolution in England and French Revolution in France while laying the foundation of modern Bourgeois states and its legal constitutional forms, pledged allegiance to safeguard ideals such as liberty, property and equality, parliamentary supremacy and allied rights in their Constituent Documents like the Bill of Rights (1689) and the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (1791) respectively. Thus, the popularisation of discourses on Liberty must be contextualised with the development of capitalism as change in mode of production brought forth corresponding changes in the superstructural terrain. The conception of Liberty, the

juridical freedom to enter contracts while shaping an entire gamut of Bourgeois legal forms, did not come to mind of philosophers through some divine revelation but were rooted in the dialectical unity of economic and political transformations. For instance, John Locke's anti-absolutist doctrine of consent that resisted centralised monarchy is often dubbed as democratic even though it didn't imply an extension of the political right of resistance to common masses but for merely affording recognition and legitimacy to the independent power of capitalist landlords that were undertaking 'improvement of land' and the municipal notables endowed with privileges and autonomy harkening back to the Feudal period. Locke's doctrine on legal forms were imbued with a partisanship for the "improvement thesis" i.e., a defence of the ongoing dissolution of feudal political and property forms in England and the subsequent conferment of Bourgeois property rights to these 'improving' landlords and tenant-farmers who supposedly possess the virtue of 'industriousness' and 'productivity for their role in ushering agrarian capitalism. (Wood, 1992: 679).

Bourgeois legal constitutional forms are a logical superstructural growth corresponding to a new mode of production i.e., Capitalism. As the stage was set for this new mode of production to consolidate itself and removal of every barrier that obstructed further development of productive forces and relations of production was deemed urgent, the politically constituted property under feudal/absolutist state became fetters to further development of capitalism, the direct producer's customary rights and unproductive landlords property rights were considered impediments to the development of a "unified, competitive national market" necessary for capitalism. Thus, the prime functionality of Liberal constitutionalism in history has been to separate and abstract "moments of political coercion from moments of accumulation." (Wood: 2002:172).

The idea of Bourgeois liberal state and liberal Constitutionalism emanates from social contract theory laden with social ideology of Bourgeois, as discussed earlier social contract theory heralded an era of conception of limited state as against the despotism of an absolutist state. This theory is imbued with an ontological belief that an individual is always prior to social and that it is individual actions that shape and determine social arrangements. The idea that individuals endowed with inalienable sovereignty came together and entered a contract to create a neutral referee styled state that upheld natural rights such as that of life, liberty and property and thus protected

social good without having any interest of its own. This philosophizing of history doesn't spell concrete historical fact but merely creates an abstraction that provides ground for political obligation besides legitimising the very edifice and substance of Bourgeois liberal democracy. A fictitious contract based on fictitious sovereignty having no provenance in concrete reality but abstraction is naturalized and passed on as a valid theory of origin and nature of Bourgeois state and is reproduced across world in practical forms and content of Liberal democracy and its representatives apparatuses which gives illusion of 'we the people' have created and carved a neutral state to promote overall social good by securing legal guarantees in forms of rights and orderly life. The reification of origin, form and content of Liberal democracy in social contract theory manifests through misidentification of causal origin of Bourgeois political forms, where an abstraction is treated and presented as if it were concrete.

Irrespective of the type of Bourgeois Revolution, whether in form popular radical movement or transformation brought through compromise or transfer of power, as per consequentialism approach, the eventual outcome of all Bourgeois revolution(s) that culminates in installation of Liberal Bourgeois state and its legal apparatuses should be considered as an important aspect of capitalist universality that evens the structural edifice of various social formations with their own peculiarities. And therefore, the intellectual discourses laden with Bourgeois ideology that came at a specific juncture in throes of Bourgeois Revolution in west and shaped political formations in entirety are pertinent to decipher in order to understand state formation, constitutional development and legal forms that continue to shape trajectories of capitalist development across the world in all Liberal Democracies including that of India. The parliamentary form of government which was an outstanding outcome of Glorious Revolution, adopted by India at inception of statehood is therefore a historic form of Bourgeois government.

3.5 From Bourgeois Revolution to Passive Revolution:

English Revolution and French revolution remain most significant archetype of Bourgeois Revolution in History. It was led by Revolutionary Bourgeoisie who challenged the status quo of absolutist monarchy and led a long struggle to overthrow it, its relations of production and to consolidate for themselves their very own political power.

Though English Revolution did culminate in compromise between aristocracy and Bourgeoisie eventually, nevertheless the Bourgeoisie as a social force did revolutionize mode of production as they struggled to consolidate political power. The French Revolution led by most revolutionary class of Bourgeois, petty Bourgeois and peasants revolutionized and transformed French society in totality by extinguishing all aspects of feudalism and even carved a republican Bourgeois polity.

Karl Marx and Engels in their magnum opus Communist Manifesto, wrote a glaring ode to Revolutionary character of Bourgeoisie taking into consideration these models of Bourgeois Revolutions. They argued that Bourgeois cannot survive without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, which in turn revolutionize relations of production and thus rejig entire social relations. (Marx and Engels, 1848) One important question arises what happened after these significant Bourgeois revolutions in Europe? Why did models of Bourgeois Revolution as witnessed in England and France didn't replicate itself in any other part of Europe. The revolutions of Germany and Italy didn't see themselves being led by Revolutionary Bourgeoisie but was identified by their non revolutionary character.

It has to be noted that the aftermath of the Bourgeois revolution is often presented as a glorious era of democratisation and modernisation, the one that extended the rule of democratic forms and modernised political-legal superstructure embodied in Bourgeois state. However, burden of history suggests that Bourgeoisie as a whole in Europe never managed to remain in power for long periods, rather was always intervened by reigns of kings and monarchs, though they remained firmly on the plane of proper Bourgeois consolidation of their social formations.

The 1848 Revolution of Germany, revealed the non-revolutionary character of German Bourgeoisie, the revolutionary upsurge didn't lead to materialization of Bourgeois Revolution in its classical incarnation. In National assembly Bourgeoisie entered a compromise with monarchy and stripped the revolution of its democratic fruits. (Draper, 1974:105). This mixture of Revolution and Reaction compelled Marx and Engels to reconsider the Revolutionary role of Bourgeoisie in bringing social transformation through democratic intervention. This peculiar path of German Revolution was ascribed to these factors, firstly the stunted pattern of development of German Bourgeois class lead to delayed advent and longer persistence of absolute monarchy, secondly, the late development of German Bourgeois class in history in

comparison to its European counterparts determined the course of revolution. The German Bourgeoisie realised importance of waging struggle against absolute monarchy at the time when stage of Bourgeois Revolution in its advanced counterparts had been already overlapped by those of Proletarian Revolution, where working class had emerged as the new competitor for political power and was involved in a violent struggle with Bourgeoisie. The Bourgeoisie's Illusions about necessity of democratic struggle had already waned (Marx, 1847).

The German Bourgeois late arrival meant that even before they could emerge as an independent social force and compete for political power with feudal monarchy, owing to its peculiar stage of semi-feudal estates running alongside industrial development, was already facing the modern contradictions between Bourgeoisie and working class, and thus facing threat from working classes who were leading struggle against them.

Alerted with potentiality of any democratic struggle being overtaken by already organised working class, the Bourgeois became wary of revolutionary struggle and thus sought to transform absolute monarchy into Bourgeois monarchy without a revolution in an amicable manner. (Ibid). This observation by Karl Marx attaches great importance to time in historical development. His analysis entails that classical Bourgeois Revolutions that happened earlier in History, were not emulated elsewhere other than advanced countries, mainly due to the fact that stunted development of Bourgeois class as political force in latecomers' countries. This stunted development coincided with wider spread of capitalist development from 19th century, that took place side by side with absolutist feudal powers in many countries. Capitalist industrialization led to primitive accumulation and consequent dispossession and transformation of significant majority as free workers provided impetus to emergence of urban centres. Workers plight in cities have been recorded in works like *Conditions of Working Class in England* by Engels. In cities such as London, labour movement had picked up immensely, starting from its nascent phase under leadership of Robert Owen also known as father of British Socialism. Even in Urban Centres of latecomer's countries, the working-class militancy and democratic struggle for better working conditions was on systemic rise, as was resistance against Capitalist exploitation.

This pattern of working-class struggle led to discovery of wisdom that democratic struggle that armed Bourgeoisie against feudal knights in stage of

Bourgeois Revolution, may well be emulated or hijacked by the rising working class in overlapping stage of proletarian revolution, who may now seek to overthrow the Bourgeoisie and advance their struggle towards building a socialist society. This historical pattern of development initiated a new era of Bourgeois "Revolution from above" as against the classical example of "Revolution from below". These Revolution from above are also known as "Passive Revolution" in Gramscian context.

The French revolution is considered to be most successful example of Revolution from below and it was here the Bourgeoisie remained revolutionary till the middle of 19th century, it was till then they tried to "construct an organic passage from the other classes into their own, i.e. to enlarge their class sphere 'technically' and ideology." (Gramsci, 1932: 260) The Bourgeoisie state became expansive and sought to assimilate all other classes into its own project. The Europe-wide revolts of 1848, and then Paris Commune of 1871 transformed the trajectory of historical development, when the working class refused to be subsumed pacifically into the expansive state of the Bourgeoisie but rather, they led revolt to establish their own alternative class project through their own political form that is socialism and dictatorship of proletariat respectively.

By this time, when capitalism spread on a global scale and became a universal phenomenon, the third competitor for power, the proletariat, had already emerged on significant scale and were struggling to establish their alternative social form i.e. Socialism. Despite the eventual failure of Commune, the Bourgeoisie across the world irrespective of the stage of Bourgeois revolution became conscious of the threat and potentiality of the proletariat. The Bourgeois henceforth altered their project of politically educating and elevating the consciousness of the masses and restricted all such educational programmes within the ambit of bureaucratic and technical questions concerned with the needs of capitalism regardless of their scale.

This pattern historical development where Bourgeoisie no longer remained revolutionary class has been critiqued by Lenin. As per him the trajectory of revolution to reaction is true for most of Bourgeois revolution, when Bourgeois betray themselves in the sense that they turn afraid of Bourgeois revolution. A revolutionary upsurge that is instrumental in dismantling the power of nobility that impedes consolidation of Bourgeois property relations and political forms. The Revolutions of 1848 spread across Europe and the Paris Commune of 1871 cautioned the Bourgeoisie from further

expanding their own political project of emancipation, and set their trajectory towards reaction. This led Lenin to state that the Bourgeoisie unlike proletariats are incapable of being consistently democratic, (Lenin, 1905:77) rather gradual transformation to the Bourgeois democracy that is reform suits Bourgeois more than the revolution.

After the events of Paris Commune, the next stage of proletarian upsurge that massively impacted the fortunes of the Bourgeoisie worldwide was the events of the October Revolution in which the proletariat for the first time established its own State in Russia led by the Bolsheviks despite its small composition within the population, by tactically allying itself with the democratic aspirations of the country's peasantry against semi-feudal absolutism in the land relations therein. The example of the Bolsheviks inspired simultaneous working-class movements in Europe to take advantage of the post-war weariness of the feudal and nobility led ruling classes of Europe to throw off their yoke and bring democracy and even temporarily establish working class rule before being defeated by ruling class manoeuvres. After the French Revolution which was a classical Bourgeois revolution that set the template for successful democratic political initiative from the masses, the Bolshevik victory in 1917 despite popular participation was a novel case of a proletarian revolution that occurred in a landscape where successive attempts for Bourgeois revolution had faltered in the face of Royal absolutism. This affirms Marx and Engels thesis that the stage of Bourgeois revolution may overlap with the stage of proletarian revolution.

The Experience of 1848 revolts and Paris commune, ushered in era of "Passive Revolutions" across the world, the Bourgeois Revolution of Jacobin type, relegated as a thing of past. Though all Bourgeois Revolutions in history had some measure of passive tendencies, the Passive Revolution was an archetype of Bourgeois Revolution where transformations were brought about by clever mix of reaction and revolution. In midst of divergence in trajectories and histories of economic development and enormous structural dualities across the different social formations, Passive Revolution as a conception serves as a general model of Bourgeois transitions. (Sen, 1988: 32).

Moving further ahead of German case as flagged by Marx and Engels as peculiar one, Gramsci cited the case of Risorgimento in Italy where Bourgeoisie showcased no revolutionary spirit and rather than spearheading radical transformation and unification of people, they entered compromise with feudal forces. And thus, embraced reformism to usher in realisation of their own goals.

The transformation from feudal form to Bourgeois one in countries where stunted development of productive forces prevailed was henceforth marked by absence of popular radical movement and compromising nature of national Bourgeoisie thus Gramsci defined these Bourgeois Revolution as 'Revolution without Revolution'. The refusal of Bourgeoisie to choose revolution over reforms and their urgency to drop altogether or minimize the method of mass democratic activity and upheaval didn't mere confine to latecomers in Europe. The Advent of Bourgeois transformation in Colonies.

In the history of West, where Bourgeois Revolution was relatively successful, the ascendancy of Bourgeoisie was coupled with rise of liberal democracy and together they constituted a historical bloc. While Bourgeois Revolution in Europe, even the most radical ones like French Revolution that dismantled absolutist state completely, did not assure unquestionable political domination of Bourgeoisie. The American case where feudalism was unknown, Bourgeoisie consolidated state power in entirety without any retreat thereof. Marx and Engels while reposing faith in revolutionary character of Bourgeoisie as a class, characterized capitalism as a revolutionary economic system that alters old society and creates radically new conditions of change. However, later they do concede that Bourgeois is not universally progressive in history all the time and in they may go in for reformism and reconcile with reactionary pre-capitalist forces while trying to work out capitalism from above. Gramsci, while acknowledging thesis of revolutionary capability of capitalism in domain of economic transformation in manifesto, stressed more on complementary political thesis, "these transformations have been accompanied...by revolutionising of nature of the 'political' and its concrete institutional forms". (Thomas, 2013: 143).

The dissolution of absolutist state ushered in era of capitalism and constitutionalism, it manifested itself in full form in France after French revolution when Bourgeois confident of their modernity project of achieving real historical progress, tried to assimilate and institutionalise it in their integral state form and thus assumed role of an educator. (Gramsci, 1932: 271). With subsequent rise of civil society this project of assimilation of entire society into Bourgeois mould was continued unabated, and ideological prowess of Bourgeois remained firm till the beginning of nineteenth century. Until Revolutions of 1848, idea of Bourgeois freedom and democracy had not been undermined, Bourgeoisie still had good faith that "this

democratic Bourgeois freedom and the supremacy of economics would one day lead to the salvation of the mankind." (Lukacs, 2016: 225).

In US, a former colony, where Bourgeoisie didn't have to wage assault against feudal powers, the Bourgeois project of democracy, constitutionalism and freedom remained successful throughout and assimilation of entire society into Bourgeois mould was easier. Alex Tocqueville's seminal text 'Democracy in America' was an ode to consolidation of Bourgeois project of democracy and freedom in America, where dialogues and exchanges takes place on equal terms culminating into vibrant public life possible due to juridical equality guaranteed by the Bourgeois Constitutionalism.

The Bourgeois modernity identified in terms of inroads of Capitalism and Constitutionalism came via the route of colonialism to countries such as India, the juridical plane for Bourgeois state to emerge with recognition of legal right to property was also laid during this time. The Bourgeois Revolution's functionality of subduing if not eliminating pre-capitalist social formations was conspicuous by its absence in context of India. Pre-capitalist social and ideological forms survived for long time in dearth of revolution. As discussed previously, the potentialities of development of capitalism on its own without external stimuli was meagre in India, the vegetative state of existing social formations crippled development of conditions that would culminate to onset of Bourgeois Revolution. The Development of nascent Bourgeois in India started only in mid nineteenth century, owing to basic minimum level of modernization brought by colonial government to aid their own expansion, appropriation and accumulation of colonial surplus.

Many scholars while denouncing the applicability of any universal template to trajectory development of capitalism in India, harp on it being a sui-generis case. However, 'Capitalism from above' despite presence of internal specificities of a given social formation, was rather general model of development from mid of nineteenth century onwards. Post-modernist/ post-colonial school's rejection of Enlightenment thought and arguments against universalising logic of Capitalism, their inverted logic of Bourgeois Revolution, that accords European capitalist development with an Universalising drive, but excludes the socio-political dynamic of past colonies like the Indian subcontinent from the same universal Capitalist logic, instead positing a particularistic trajectory. The critical literature penned by the likes of Partha Chatterjee, Ranajit Guha, Dipesh Chakrabarty and Gayatri Spivak, studies Politics and Society

from a subaltern perspective by seeking to displace economic/material embeddedness of social relations, claiming that the Subjects are capable of constructing critical reason and sensibilities outside the bases and structures that animate social reality. Consequently, the postcolonial approach obscures the source of norms it analyses, overlooks the fact that epistemological processes are dialectically linked to socialization processes infected by rationalised value orientations and thoughts rooted in material conditions.

While discussing the peculiar case of German Bourgeois revolution, it was emphasized that by mid of nineteenth century, phenomenon of Bourgeois Revolution in its classical variant like of French revolution which established capitalism from below ceased to replicate itself elsewhere. All the countries where capitalism arrived late had missed the exclusive early stage of Bourgeois Revolution when contradictions was sharpened only between two contending classes i.e., Aristocracy and Bourgeoisie, in which progressive Bourgeoisie naturally had an upper hand. Rather now, it was stage of overlap between Bourgeois and proletarian revolution, with progressive workers emerging as the third competitor for power and were involved class struggle against Bourgeois towards building a higher stage i.e., Socialism.

At the juncture when capitalism was becoming a universal phenomenon and contradictions between Bourgeois and working class was sharpening, Bourgeoisie cease to be a revolutionary force, sensing potential threat from organized worker's movement in face of rising workers' militancy. This journey of revolution to reaction, reformist compromise with feudal forces and revolution averse class of Bourgeois was universal trajectory of almost all Bourgeois revolution since last half of nineteenth century. Indian case despite peculiarities of colonialism and entanglement of national question fits this universal trajectory of modernization from above.

The 'Passive' form of Bourgeois Revolution in India saw modernization of state form without going through a Revolution of a Radical-Jacobin type. The indigenous big Bourgeoisie who largely worked as compradors class didn't wage a frontal assault against feudal landlords and colonial government. Even with the gradual realization of contradictions between their class interest and that of Feudal landlords and British colonist, and though they eventually acquired political consciousness about the need to organise themselves against the colonists and feudal shackles to further expand their

industrial base, they rejected scope of any democratic revolution from below to overthrow *status quo*.

3.6 Growth of Bourgeois Modernity in India

The growth of Indian Bourgeoisie signified a peculiar situation. On one hand, their genesis ties to the traditional, sectional commercial interests, on the other hand, they also made several attempts to organise themselves on modern lines. However, they met success only in the 1920s when they were able to organise themselves on a national scale. The colonial policy was largely responsible for the fragmentation of Indian businesses, as colonialism had disrupted the possibility of organic development of material forces of production. While at the same time, they also introduced those aspects of Bourgeois modernity which were essential for colonial appropriation. As discussed earlier, the Bourgeoisie emerged primarily from the ranks of traditional mercantile order based on caste and community networks and therefore, they lacked roots in modern development in technology and philosophical traditions. S.G. Sardesai in his work “Progress and Conservatism” in ancient India also points to the low technological development and lack of scientific advancement in Indian social formation primarily due to separation of intellectual knowledge systems from the manual know-how of technology due to caste-based functionalities. Modernisation and integration of Bourgeoisie on a national scale took a nascent form in 1850s, this decade was also defined by the historic revolt of 1857 that is largely read as India’s first war for Independence, while historians such as Kosambi, have characterised this revolt as a class struggle between feudal nobility of India and colonial State, the latter representing the interests of the British Bourgeoisie, to preserve the old society against modernisation initiated by British Colonial State in India.

This period also witnessed rise of educated middle classes in Presidency Towns who idealised and supported “British Liberal Rule” and various measures and reforms of modernisation that it brought in the field of jurisprudence and infrastructural development. Coming back to the 1857 revolt, a section of scholarship on this historic event sees it as a peasant uprising represented by sepoys against British Land Revenue models and surplus appropriation. However, historians such as Savyasachi Dasgupta have argued that “the rebel army” of the 1857 revolt were not motivated by outlook or desire to “reimpose the traditional order of things or espouse old peasant society from which many of them hailed.” The brief discussion over the 1857 revolt here was

significant as it impinges upon the factor that compounded the reactionary nature of Indian Bourgeois by shaping the trajectory of Indian development. D.D. Kosambi has argued that the aftermath of the revolt led British Colonial State to abandon policies of liquidating feudal principalities that also had a bearing on the moulding development and modernisation trajectory of Indian Bourgeoisie, thus putting fetters on forces of production that eventually led to articulation of feudal power within the British Colonial State. The princely states were given autonomy and separate representation which shaped the dynamics of constitutionalism and modernity in India. From 1858-Queen's proclamation to 1935 Government of India Act preserved "cosmetic" power of the feudal principalities as Princely State which were eventually dismantled as India chose path of Bourgeois democracy, though Landlord class continued to share power with Bourgeoisie through a class alliance in independent India.

This peculiar process of articulation of feudal power outlived the British colonial state and survived until the early decades of the Bourgeois democratic state of independent India. These are some significant, contributing factors that inform the lethargy and aversion of Indian Bourgeoisie as a whole to any form of revolutionary transformation. At the same time, economic basis of feudalism was facing persistent decline. Feudalism was getting ruined as visible from symptomatic factors such as by the construction of railroads, the decay of village industry, arrival of system of fixed assessment of land values and payment of Taxes in cash rather than in kind, and Import of English commodities, mechanized production in Indian cities. A section of the petty Bourgeois class or emerging middle class in colonial India, were now championing "British Liberal Rule", marked by Rule of law, Modern Jurisprudence, Infrastructural development etc. Also, with liquidation of feudalism, the "Communal" language and assertion of old society was also gaining momentum.

At this juncture when new forms of contradictions were emanating embryonic modernity was already incubating and activated in emerging middle classes. This influence of modernity was also making inroads with respect to Indian Bourgeoisie classes. Modern organisational forms started mushrooming since 1850s, the Bourgeoisie was metamorphosing into the corporate sector at a relatively fast pace. Modern legislations such as Company Act was passed, Native share and stock broker's association, now known as Bombay Stock exchange was established in 1875.

3.7 Advent of *Bourgeois* Legality in India

The Bourgeois Revolution in England had far-reaching consequences in terms of shaping the world's political economy and history. It was not only an archetype of the first ever or most successful capitalist Revolution underlining processes of transitional intersections at terrain of base and superstructure and thus, determining the genesis of Modern Bourgeois State and its relation to social forces but the juridical and legal premise spelt out in its Constitutionalism was exported to other countries with myriad forms of social formations. Thus, this case study can be used as a vantage point of references to study similar processes elsewhere. The British Bourgeois social forms spilled over to British colonies such as India not as an accident but as a conscious tool backed by military force and capitalist imperatives to transform the State in India, modernize its legal, juridical framework to aid colonial accumulation under the pretext of overall improvement of social conditions of colonial subjects. Though the juridical plane or superstructure, that the British set up in colonies was received, internalised and adapted as a natural trajectory underlying progression or 'improvement' of human society for a long time in history.

The right to property in India before the advent of British colonial government pertinent for capitalist consolidation and accumulation was not absolute, Karl Marx in future results of British India considers creation of Bourgeois property in land significant tool which may end India's vegetative development. The advent of Bourgeois juridical mechanisms started with Regulating act of 1773 and culminated to formation of India's constitution a Bourgeois one.

Constitution of India is also an archetypical manifestation of Bourgeois constitution. The Parliamentary, constitutional democratic form of government, adopted by the Indian State is historically a Bourgeois form of government in line with the victorious conclusions of the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688. Indian Constitution like any other Bourgeois constitution structurally aids reproduction of capitalist social relations. The constitution of India provides "abundant justification for the capitalist maturation of the Indian state and society". (Baxi: 1991:76). Sudipta Kaviraj also talked about Bourgeois nature of Indian state and legal system which came to India via cultural diffusion from Europe. His characterization of Indian State as Bourgeois, centred around three generalized outlines, firstly, the coalition of ruling classes between big Bourgeoisie, landlords and bureaucratic elites is led by the Bourgeoisie class. Secondly,

the parliamentary form of government being a historic Bourgeois form and lastly, the state expresses and ensure domination of Bourgeoisie and aid in reproduction of Capitalism (Kaviraj, 1988:2429).

Contrary to assertion that Indian Constitution is a document to usher Social Revolution as evident from works of Ana in India, Indian constitution represents the phenomenon of "democratic swindle", (Hall Draper, 1974:118) reminds us of the other Bourgeois constitution such as United States, Canada etc. from which we have borrowed inspiration for many of the key articles. This entails that the principle and practices of power embodied in the constitution of India are deployed in such a manner, in which the interests of the Bourgeoisie are represented as the interests of the entire nation. Contrary to the wider perception that Indian Constitution had a Socialist tinge The, Indian Constitution reflecting triumph of ascendant class "did not even envision the provision of land to the tiller or workers' participation in management". (Baxi, 1991: 78). The *Bourgeoisie* right to property was enumerated as legal guarantee in form of Fundamental rights, while ideas of social justice which was pertinent to gain mere legitimization was pushed as decorative directions in form of Directive principles of state policy. In Constituent assembly deliberations, the economic rights being made non-justiciable as compared to justiciable nature of other Bourgeois rights such as property rights was fiercely contested by members from historically marginalized communities such as Prathama Ranjan Thakur and from communist Somnath Lahiri, and latter even championed the need of nationalization of land as an justiciable socioeconomic right (Constituent Assembly Debate, 1947).

However, such interventions were not entertained and a pure Bourgeois constitution was installed. Even seemingly radical provisions such as Exceptions to property rights in Article 31A or 31B not against the class interests of ruling classes especially Bourgeoisie, or were not at all socialistic (Baxi, 1991: 73), (Menon, 2004: 1816). But were an attempt to expedite dissolution of feudal relations in agriculture so that reproduction and development of capitalism could be consolidated as prescribed in Bombay plan. However, the compromising and reactionary class of Indian Bourgeoisie lead them to compromise with landed interests and share power in the ruling class coalition which comprised landlords and bureaucratic elites too and thus Constitutional interventions lacked any passion to radically restructure the society and Agrarian relations which was then of semi-feudal character. Therefore, whether it's

Capitalism from below, that is Bourgeois Revolution lead by revolutionary Bourgeoisie in form of popular struggle or Capitalism from above, where capitalist modernity is imposed by a cautious ruling class, the Bourgeois Constitutional form accord them with a universal character and trajectory.

3.8 Bourgeois Constitutional forms limiting Political Action from below

The Bourgeois political and legal forms however are depicted as historically progressive as they dismantled the Patriarchal power of a feudal state, the concept of juridical equality needs more scrutiny since it's the kernel of the defence of liberal Constitutionalism. It's often argued that new political and legal forms that emerged in aftermath of Bourgeois Revolutions ushered in an era of vibrant public life. The idea that equal legal personality enables masses to actively participate in public sphere through associational politics received wide currency. The revolutionary tendencies of Bourgeoisie as a social class to consolidate historical progress into new political forms, however, ceased after middle of 19th century, the revolution was soon overtaken by reaction. This trajectory of revolution to reaction in Western Europe led Lenin to state that the Bourgeoisie unlike proletariats are incapable of being consistently democratic (Lenin, 1905:77) this phenomenon is also dubbed as 'passive revolution' by Gramsci wherein Bourgeoisie eventually chose reforms and not political revolution of the Jacobin type. The Revolutions of 1848 across Europe and the Paris Commune of 1871 cautioned the Bourgeoisie from further expanding their own political project of emancipation, and set their trajectory towards reaction. The constitutional forms in Germany and France deviated from the revolutionary ground and degenerated into Police States, where civil liberties such as freedom of press and right to organise were severely compromised. The French Constitution democratic facade was criticized by Karl Marx in his writing where he revealed how the various provisions of civil liberties contained their own anti-thesis. (Marx, 1851: 1).

Bourgeois legal forms act as a final bulwark against the unity of political action and class contradictions, as they set the legal limits to all political action from below. These legal forms actually not only derail the illegal political action from the masses, but even criminalises political actions that violate overarching laws of commodity exchange. The Indian Constitution was drafted in age of Passive Revolution, when Bourgeoisie ceased to be a revolutionary force in face of democratic threat from below lead by working masses and had all draconian provisions such as emergency and

exceptions to basic civil liberties effected through First Amendment of Constitution, such as those of association and assembly and that of preventive detention to repress any democratic threat from below. It's in this light of already meagre, every democratic provisions were invariably followed by a proviso- an exception. In words of Somnath Lahiri, only communist member of assembly, the "fundamental rights have been framed from the point of view of a police constable and many such provisions have been incorporated. Why? Because you will find that very minimum rights have been conceded and those too very grudgingly and these so-called rights are almost invariably followed by a proviso. Almost every article is followed by a proviso which takes away the right almost completely, because everywhere it is stated that in case of grave emergency these rights will be taken away." (Constituent Assembly Debate, 1947).

Even with the development and maturation of various Bourgeois Constitutional forms in 21st century, the democratic threat from below is managed in same manner as above and the Indian State's repressive legal apparatuses has all Draconian provisions to transform into a Police state overnight, if threat of class war or popular dissatisfaction against ruling class gains momentum.

Any struggle at the trenches of civil society aiming to revive and reclaim democratic control from below are also regulated and mediated by Bourgeois legal forms, thus, only peaceful protests and assembly are legal, even those legalized forms have several exceptions like public order, integrity of nation etc. which can be enforced easily to dismantle inertia of any significant political action. The existence of anti-strike laws, sedition law and Unlawful Activities Prevention act can get entire leadership of any political force of the masses imprisoned in event of any grave threat to Bourgeois order, thus, dissipating any scope of change within the confines of Bourgeois constitutional order. In other words, Bourgeois state machinery as delineated by its Constitutional form provides the ultimate coercive guarantee against any threat that may pose significant danger to the edifice of Bourgeois order and hegemony.

3.9 Indian *Bourgeois* Paranoia of Social Revolution

The Bourgeoisie as a social class are often dubbed as progressive force or even revolutionary as they play an instrumental and even historic role played in the revolt against feudalism and its fetters that hinder the development of capitalism. In Europe, especially England and France, the emerging Bourgeoisie had a critical role in the shaping of the Bourgeois revolution, they struggled against the antiquated forms of

society to usher in overall structural transformation, leading to new relations of production and correspondingly, coming up with new political institutional forms greatly suited to the full maturation of the capitalist mode of production. The Bourgeois revolutions of England and France are significant templates to understand the rise of capitalism ‘from below’ as the new social classes wrested power from the old world in a revolutionary manner. This revolutionary trajectory of historical development did not just usher in capitalism as the dominant mode of production globally but the legacy of the juridical and political institutions corresponding to these social revolutions in Europe left indelibly shaped the algebra of modernity for the rest of the world. Whereas in colonised societies such as India, the organic development of capitalism was prematurely stalled by colonial rule as well as factors peculiar to the social fabric of the subcontinent which led to development of capitalism ‘from above’ as it happened in Germany, known in Marxist lexicon as the Prussian Path of capitalist development. Unlike the revolutionary road that the Bourgeoisie adopted in France and England, the historical role of Indian nationalist Bourgeoisie was anything but revolutionary. Consequently, the Bourgeois nationalist movement against colonialism in India was not characterised by revolutionary momentum. The Bourgeois, rather than augmenting the revolutionary potential of the masses, aborted their development. The standard of revolts was not raised into a full-fledged revolutionary struggle against the feudal as well as colonial order. The Bourgeoisie did not pit itself against the old order of social production. M. N. Roy, in his work, “India in Transition” had dwelled on the reactionary character of the nationalist Bourgeoisie who had vested interests in the existing economic structure and therefore, fear of social revolution, the ensuing anarchy and the possible attack on private property led them to develop contempt for all forms of revolution. The fear of revolution shaped attitude of the Bourgeoisie primarily in two aspects, first, they were implacably opposed to any revolutionary political method against colonial rule and secondly, they also launched counter-revolutionary combat against the working class and any other social movement with revolutionary potential. The reactionary character of the native Bourgeois should not be mistaken with any notion that they did not have any antagonistic contradictions with the feudal relations of production in India rather the Indian Bourgeoisie including the middle classes had reposed their firm faith in liberal-colonial jurisprudence and the Bourgeois property relations introduced by British colonial rule.

The political ideology of the Indian Bourgeoisie remained tethered on the Bourgeois plane of the liberal traditions of the nineteenth century. From the beginning, the political demands of Bourgeoisie, as reflected by its representatives were premised around Bourgeois political forms and demands such as right to private property, recognition of individual rights, democratic means of representation. This inclination for Bourgeois juridical system could be deciphered from the fact that the first ever indigenous attempt of constitutional intervention, in form of the Constitution of India Bill, 1895, popularly known as Swaraj Bill, 1895, suggested a blueprint of individual rights such as right to property, right to privacy, right to franchise and election of members to the local legislative Councils and the parliament. One of the very pertinent features of this Bill was the demand for nomination of 30 members from all Chambers of Commerce to the proposed Local Legislative Council while excluding any representative from the princely or feudal estates revealing the self-awareness of the contradictions between the Bourgeois and feudal classes among the representatives of the former.

In 1917, following the October revolution in Russia where Bolsheviks led by Lenin consolidated workers' and peasants power and overthrow capitalism and the Czarist autocracy, the governments and security establishments of prominent capitalist countries were thrown into a frenzy of paranoia and justified caution, as the working class movements in their countries as well as the democratic movements in the colonies ruled by these western powers received a fresh burst of energy and vigour from the events in Russia. In the colonies in India, socialism ignited immense interest among the nascent anti-colonial intellectual circles owing to their own struggle against colonialism and imperialism, the latter described by the Bolshevik leader Lenin as the "highest stage of capitalism". The groundwork for the formation of a Communist party of India was laid by emigres in Tashkent in October 1920 and thus, the spectre of Communism was not a fleeting phenomenon henceforth. In India, the October Revolution inspired wide sections of the nationalist intelligentsia, from poets to political leaders and caused severe alarm among the British Home Office and efforts were doubled by the colonial authorities with respect to surveillance of suspected Indian politicians and men of letters.

In the later decade, events like the Jalianwala Bagh Massacre, Kakori conspiracy, the founding of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army led by Azad and

Bhagat Singh led to the adoption of more and more stringent, authoritarian laws and measures by the panic-stricken British Colonial state against nascent communist activity in India. As a consequence, the anti-colonial movement witnessed the growth of a powerful socialist tendency sweeping through the breadth of its horizons leaving no existing political party untouched including the one that was spearheading the nationalist movement - the Indian National Congress. It was at this juncture that Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi suddenly sought to popularize the current of non-violence and that was to be used as a method of mass mobilization by the Congress. Gandhi's allegiance to the politics of non-violence was criticized by M.N. Roy where he said that the "cult of non-violence is inseparable from anti-revolutionary spirit" owing to his Marxist-Leninist convictions that the government maintained by violence and brute force can be overthrown only by violence and no revolution is possible by non-violent constitutional methods. Anti-Bolshevism or Anticommunism was not only a tool of paranoia for the Bourgeoisie and British Imperialists but also for several Congressmen from the ranks of the Bourgeoisie.

The middle class, since it formed the core of Indian National Congress, led the nationalist movement also. True to their class character, the petty Bourgeois represented by the Indian congress had developed a strong fear of Bolshevism. Petty Bourgeois' fear of revolution was also visible during the Glorious Revolution. though they played significant role in Bourgeois Revolution in Europe, the petty Bourgeois class got frightened when English Revolution turned chaotic and consequent unrest and radicalism reached their doors, thus aristocracy could survive the Glorious Revolution. After their initial participation in Paris Commune, the petty Bourgeois backed out along with Bourgeois Republicans when the wheels of radicalism reached beyond what they could digest as a class.

The Petty Bourgeois leaders of Indian National Congress who were sympathetic to socialist cause like C.R Das stuck to Gandhi's technique of non-violent mobilization and demonized Bolshevism and MN Roy's thesis of violent struggle. When Non-cooperation was about to assume revolutionary character, it frightened the petty Bourgeois leadership and thus it was suspended.

Petty Bourgeois though capable of Revolutionary sentiment, carry this sentiment only insofar as their existence as petty Bourgeois is not trampled or threatened, as their fear of being reduced to working class overpower their propensities

to rebel. Nothing reveals better the Class Character of Petty Bourgeois as this observation by Engels:

"faint-hearted, cautious and calculating as soon as slightest danger approaches, aghast, alarmed and wavering as the movement it provoked is seized upon and taken up seriously by other classes; treacherous to the whole movement for the sake of its petty Bourgeois existence as soon as there is any question of struggle with weapons in hand- and in the end, as the result of its indecisiveness more often than not cheated and ill-treated as soon as reactionary side has achieved victory". (Engels,1977: 149-151).

3.10 Class Character and Ideology Indian National Congress in throes of Passive Revolution

As the embryonic form of capitalism was developed during the colonial era- railway, telegraph, public roads, corresponding to this, new political forms had also started germinating. Indian national congress was the first Bourgeois political force in India that progressively acquired a national character and eventually led the command of India's national struggle. The early impetus for the formation of the national political force came from the ranks of Bourgeois and the petty-Bourgeois or 'middle classes'. As nascent industrialisation was taking place, there was also the rise of urbanised, educated middle class who championed the new values of modernity that were making inroads into Indian society under colonial rule. The formation of Indian National Congress occurred at the convergence of interests between the ascendant middle class and aspirational Indian industrial elites from the ranks of traditional mercantile castes. The Congress at its birth was therefore supported by segments of the Bombay based Bourgeoisie. One of the most outstanding characteristics of Indian National Congress is that it had firm faith in the parliamentary system practiced in Great Britain - a historic Bourgeois form of governance that became predominant in England after the Bourgeois revolution of 1640s.

The Congress Party's proclivity to the Bourgeois was evident within four years of its inception in its Allahabad session of 1888 where George Yule, a prominent merchant based in Calcutta was elected as the nascent organisation's fourth President. Yule, who was a pillar of the British Indian business community and a chief executive of Andrew Yule & Co. later on went to be the president of the Indian Chambers of Commerce. This representation from the ranks of the Bourgeoisie in India came at a

time when capitalism was suffering its first crisis in the form of the Great Depression of 1873-96 and was rapidly becoming a world system through free trade and colonialism. One of the significant demands of this session was the expansion of Legislative Council in order to give representation to industry.

When still Indian National Congress was yet to become a mass party but a front for native middle-class professionals, lawyers, civil servants and merchants, its relationship with the emerging Indian Bourgeoisie was getting further cemented. It's not in the common knowledge that origin of FICCI is rooted in industrial conference which used to take place every year along with annual session of Indian National Congress. Since the year 1901, the annual session of Congress was held in conjunction with Industrial Exhibit. It was in the same session of Congress that Rao Bahadur Mudholkar from Nagpur and Madan Mohan Malviya were appointed as committee heads to study and encourage Indian industry. This Industrial conference under the aegis of annual session of Indian National Congress continued until the party acquired a mass character. From 1920 onwards, there was transition in the social base of the Congress party.

By 1920, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the Congress party assumed a mass character, it was at this juncture that toeing the line of communism, MN Roy prepared a manifesto to form an opposition bloc within Congress to radicalise it by revolutionary sections of Indian society to join the Congress. However, MN Roy's plan of radicalising congress failed, it did alert several Congressmen to the potential threat of socialism by popularising socialist theory among them. One such Congressman was C.R. Das. He being of a liberal humanitarian bent was eager to do something about poverty of Indian masses and therefore was receptive to need of programmes of economic welfare of people. Though not a revolutionary, C.R. Das while retreating from his socialist stance at the Gaya session of Congress, in his address he spoke about widening the social base of Congress beyond middle-classes and to mobilize workers and peasants in order to avert potential of any movement of the Bolshevik kind.

This session heralded the victory of the non-violent, reformist brand of mass politics, characterised by its peculiar rhetoric of mysticism and moderation that was championed by M. K. Gandhi and his followers. This very movement confined Congress to being a typical Bourgeois party on the reformist hue. The utility of Gandhian methods of politics to the Bourgeoisie became very evident after the Chauri-

Chaura incident when a gigantic movement with revolutionary potential was abruptly aborted on the pretext of maintaining non-violence. This appeal to 'non-violence' by Gandhi helped quell a movement that even the British colonial state with all the repressive might at its disposal couldn't. (Overstreet and Windmiller, 1965: 56). In late 1920, with the rise of revolutionary figures such as Bhagat Singh and Left movements gaining pace, the nationalist movement was getting radicalised and this alarmed the British colonial government as well as the native Bourgeoisie that owed its good fortune to the British flag and thus, they were frankly expressed disapproval of any revolutionary movement gaining momentum in India. As the threat of radicalization was looming over, the Bourgeoisie also upgraded their organisational strength to articulate their class interest better. Historical precedent of Congress's proximity to business was replayed as FICCI born in Calcutta Session of Congress 1926-27. Even though Congress of late 1920s was different from its earlier avatar, it remained a typical Bourgeois political force which represented interest of ruling class. As it did not have any class specific social base but rather all heterogeneous groups had some representation in it, this universal appearance of Bourgeois political forces enables them to serve interests of ruling class in actuality while appearing to serve interests of all.

The moment of unrest and radicalization was coterminous with the period of Great Depression when natural working of capitalist economy stood exposed and socialist ideas were gaining immense popularity. This turn of events was dubbed as "A Critical situation" by Bipin Chandra Pal who alerted Indian Bourgeoisie and Indian National Congress of impending threat of "Red" Revolution devouring all traces of status quo in domain of Politics, economics and morality. Pal whom M.N. Roy considered foremost ideologue of Bourgeois Nationalism, made an earnest appeal to both imperialist and Indian statesmanship to form a counter-revolutionary front to quell all possibilities of class struggle going out of control. (Roy, 1929: 164).

The *Bourgeois* political forces of all spectrum became wary of the situation, All India Liberal Federation, unlike Congress was not a heterogeneous group but representative of heavy industries, trading and landowning interests, threw their weight behind techniques of Liberal Constitutionalism. The demand of dominion status was brought to focus to check threat of coming menace of socialism, something which

Congress leaders such as Gandhi and Motilal Nehru readily endorsed in good faith of Britain.

Indian National Congress as a political entity had an ambivalent stance to all the protests that was happening with the onset of radicalization because the mobilisation of such intensity was likely to extend beyond the ambit of the nationalist movement's Bourgeois character. Leftist faction within the Congress party formed the party known as the Congress Socialist Party in 1934. Henceforth, the labour movement picked momentum and several trade unions strikes were observed across the Industrial belt in India. In 1936 when waves of large industrial strikes swept across cities of Calcutta and Bombay, it was met with repression from the colonial state. This wave of radicalisation led to the government of India to make large-scale arrests of Left and communist leadership. In what seemed as a last-ditch attempt to alter the class character of Congress party, a proposal was raised by Nehru calling for direct affiliation of workers and peasants within the party but owing to majority of moderates in the working committee of Congress, this radical proposal was defeated. (Markovits, 1985: 108-109).

This conservative attitude of Congress formed the bedrock of passive revolution in India as the party did not want any substantial rupture in existing class structure and property relations through mass action. In 1937, the congress ministries in different provinces of British India were formed following elections based on the recently enacted Government of India, 1935. The Congress Ministries formed after spectacular success at polls did abide by manifesto of party program which made several appeals of reforms to poor and downtrodden, but only in modest proportions like reducing rents, better famine relief methods and educational opportunities. However, Congress continued to repress radical faction within the organisation, a peasant procession was fired at in Bihar on instruction of ministry, in Bombay right to strike was diluted greatly with several restrictions being introduced and in Madras, the draconian section of 124A of IPC of sedition was invoked to imprison S.C. Batlivala, a member of Congress Socialist party for his "seditious speech" he gave to address a gathering of poor people and asked them to rise rebellion against class exploitation. (Haithcox, 1971: 276).

3.11 Indian State and Passive Revolution

As seen from the above episodes, compromise and reformism characterised the core of Indian National Congress's politics throughout the British colonial era. Many scholars have identified Indian Bourgeoisie as the one who were committed to state led progress and therefore drafted Bombay plan. Chhibber, while dismantling the myth of developmental Bourgeoisie has questioned the institutionalised view in Indian economic history that proposes that Indian Capitalist class had not only endorsed but we're committed to state planning and therefore wholeheartedly backed regulatory role of state even before the independence via drafting Bombay Plan. He rather argues that Bombay plan was a document that was drafted to "forestall socialist attacks on business by opening the way for capitalist planning." (Ibid, 97) Through, it Indian Bourgeoisie aspired to shape and influence the direction of economic planning in future, and also due their due to Indian Bourgeoisie paranoia of Quit India movement (1942) assuming revolutionary mass character future trajectory of which may eventually jeopardize private property and hence assuming progressive image of being committed to social justice was pertinent for their own safety as a social class. (Ibid, 89).

The threat from any sort of radical democratic tendency or working-class forces were always sought to be sabotaged or co-opted by the Congress leadership. It led a constant struggle against the Left tendency, inside and outside its organisation. Furthermore, riding on popular support due to Gandhi's mystical charisma and tactics, Congress party, on hand, could rely on British imperial administration to repress the Left and at the same time, co-opt the radical socialist elements by projecting national unity as a precondition for all its political projects, (Riley and Desai, 2007: 829). Therefore, the independence of India was not accompanied by a revolutionary overthrow of the British Raj nor any Jacobin type of Bourgeois revolution but a mere transfer of power to a Congress-led government as the political successor of the British administration. The colonial bureaucracy, legal framework including the repressive state apparatus was left intact sans the British Raj. The system of representation and parliamentary form of government with First-past-the-post system. Even the drafting of constitution was undertaken by representatives elected on the basis of a limited franchise as per the electoral qualifications prescribed in the government of India Act, 1935 rather than universal adult franchise. India chose Bourgeois framework of

Capitalism and Democracy, it revealed to the world that “Planning can go on with property and can be harnessed for Capitalist accumulation” (Chibber, 2003:3).

The structure of the Indian state was that of a typical Bourgeois state albeit the ruling classes consisted of a class alliance between Bourgeois, landlord and bureaucratic capital at the dawn of independence. Despite the fanfare of a supposedly unique Nehruvian path of development, the Congress failed to install a successful model of developmental state in India compared to many other third world states. The Indian National Congress articulated the ruling class interests of the Bourgeois and landed caste elites while managing social dissatisfaction from the popular and working classes and thereby, enforced the writ of the former by using state machinery inherited from the British era. Nehru government gave in to interests of well organised Bourgeoisie and sought to give it the cloak of ‘socialism’, which the posterity of political scientists has erroneously characterised as “Nehruvian Socialism”.

Vivek Chibber in his well-researched book titled as 'Locked in Place', has shown that highly organized Indian capitalist class offered concerted resistance to disciplinary planning led by congress government on any policy or legislation that amounted to significant control on private business and investment and were only agreeable to subsidisation process. The resistance by capitalist class eventually lead to toning down of disciplinary planning and issuance of several concessions to them. (Chibber, 2003: 31). While dismantling the myth of developmental Bourgeoisie, his work reveals that Indian Capitalists were opposed to idea of giving state any real measure of power over private capital to control or channel the flow of investment. (*Ibid*, 86).

Contrary to several studies that see Indian state as a sui generis case, it was a typical Bourgeois system where despite intra-Bourgeois and intra-ruling class struggle, all the economic reforms and policies that Indian government brought since 1947 has been objectively directed towards strengthening and consolidating capitalist system in India. From land reforms to Monopolies and restrictive trade practices law to nationalisation of banks, all such measures were taken to benefit Indian capitalism that was trying to outgrow its comprador status. Even trade and friendship treaties with countries such as USSR were adopted in the interest of the native Bourgeoisie since it enabled them to secure infrastructural projects at concessional rates which western imperialist countries would never have done. Thus, the passive revolutionary trajectory

of India's capitalist development was aimed at strengthening its Bourgeois class with the aid of the State while throwing some half-baked concessions to the subaltern classes. However, Indian state also replicated to a great degree the tendency of repressing democracy from below which was evident in the first amendment to the Constitution that curtailed basic civil liberties to the adoption of draconian emergency provisions which can overnight transform democracy into a police state. Also, the continued usage of colonial laws of repression apart adopting newer ones like the Preventive detention law and armed forces special powers act, are aimed at giving life to Bourgeois state's impulses against revolutionary movement in the most authoritarian and undemocratic way possible. However, these tendencies of managing democratic control from below by clench of iron fist is not peculiar to only Indian state. The revolutionary tendencies of Bourgeoisie as a social class to consolidate historical progress into new political forms however ceased after middle of 19th century, the revolution was soon overtaken by reaction. This trajectory of revolution to reaction in almost entire Europe lead Lenin to assert that "Bourgeoisie are incapable of being consistently democratic" and was this modalities of Bourgeois transformation was dubbed as passive revolution by Gramsci, where Bourgeoisie eventually choose reforms and not political revolution of Jacobin type. Bourgeois Paranoia of revolution in face of radicalization of Indian Politics. The Intellectuals and political organizers of the Indian National Congress demonstrated in their political behaviour, an organic link to the classes they owed their provenance. The party was a coalition of Industrialists, Traders, Professionals and rich farmers. (Anderson, 2013: 23). In fact, the historical role of a real, organic vanguard of the upper classes can be ascribed to the Congress, on the basis of the provenance of its early (and later) leadership. The molecular permeation of Bourgeois Ideology of Congress in India, akin to the Moderates in Italy of the Risorgimento period (1815–1861), was a process where a plethora of Intellectuals of every degree and political shade in India got spontaneously drawn to the party, hinted at a distinctive, diffused molecular state of Bourgeois Ideology famously characterised by Perry Anderson as the 'Indian Ideology'. The National Struggle for Independence led by Congress, led to the universal socialization of its ideological content across the political spectrum and intelligentsia. Post-Independence, the Congress system furthered the molecular permeation of its ideology, also known as 'Nehruvian Consensus', even among the Left-leaning Intelligentsia. Molecular

permeation refers to the penetration of hegemonic ideas at such a level of consciousness, where the penetrated subject doesn't realise his/her intellectual transformation and therefore, does not actively protest against such reshaping of his/her consciousness.

The above factors characterise the passive revolutionary route of modern development of the Indian state since its inception having always shown similar tendencies of capitalist consolidation at one level and repressing popular movements on the other. That is why in order to understand historical events in the life of the Indian state such as imposition of Emergency in 1975 or to decipher the social reality concerning the rise of fascism in 21st century India, the theoretical template of Bourgeois transition through passive revolution is extremely important.

CHAPTER 4

FASCISM AS NEW PASSIVE REVOLUTION IN INDIA.

4.1 What is Fascism?

Liberal analysis of Fascism comfortably obscures its material basis. It studies Fascism as mere an aberration of Bourgeois Democracy, a temporary exceptional state which can be rectified by regime change. The Marxist analysis on the other hand treats Fascism as one form of regime of Capitalist State, to be precise a political regime which essentially belongs to the imperialist stage of capitalism, and therefore it's an inherent tendency of Bourgeois Democracy. It was in this context that Max Horkheimer in his work "Fascism and capitalism", sought to locate fascism within Capitalism in his words, anyone who does not wish to discuss capitalism, should also stay silent on the subject of fascism. Poulantzas referring to Horkheimer asserted that it's not only interconnection between fascism and capitalism that needs our attention but rather special focus is required on connection between Fascism and Imperialism. However, Most of th contemporary analysis on Fascism despises Historical Materialism and stick to analysis of fascism only with respect to professed fantastic Ideology. Fascism is no theory or philosophy in its own right, it's just one of the extreme manifestations of Bourgeoisie conservative Ideology in service of monopoly capital, in times of capitalist crisis. One cannot fight fascism without acknowledging its class content only in an imaginary world made possible by clinging to subjective idealism.. While There is no general definition of fascism which covers its various forms and characterisations as per different theoretical traditions. For the purpose of this study, we have used the template of historical materialism within the Marxist theoretical framework to study fascism. Within this template, there are disagreements among different Marxist intellectuals, political philosophers and institutions. According to the Third International, fascism grows organically out of Bourgeois democracy. It is an inevitable decomposition of Bourgeois democracy due to its internal contradictions. Fascism, short, is capitalism in decay (R. Palme Dutt, Fascism and Social Revolution: A Study of the economics and Politics of the Extreme Stages of Capitalism in Decay). Fascism was also described as the "open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital". (Dimitrov, The Fascist

Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle of the Working Class against Fascism, 1935 Main Report delivered at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International). While agreeing with the class character of fascism, Gramsci differs with his colleagues and puts forward a novel and dynamic character of the mechanics of fascism and how it reconfigures, reconstitutes the existing power blocs in Bourgeois hegemony. Gramsci refers to Fascism as a kind of Passive Revolution which emerges at the juncture of the defeat of working-class forces, resulting in intensified Bourgeois reaction. It is a mass movement which constructs a new equilibrium by shattering the political power of old, Bourgeois liberal forces as well as that of Left, by involving a permanently organising of the petty Bourgeois and subaltern masses, from the Right. Rosenberg says that Fascism is a modern form of Bourgeois capitalist counterrevolution wearing a popular mask. Max Horkheimer in his work "Fascism and capitalism", sought to locate fascism within capitalism in his words, anyone who does not wish to discuss capitalism, should also stay silent on the subject of fascism. Georg Lukács, in his seminal work, "Destruction of Reason", studies the philosophical trajectory of Germany and Europe from 19th century German Bourgeois idealist thought to 20th century Nazism and attributes the influence of irrationalism and idealist philosophy prevalent in the works of Nietzsche, Schelling, Schopenhauer and certain Social Darwinists towards the intellectual spadework of the German fascism. Alongside Gramsci's methodological framework of 'Passive Revolution' in the analysis of Fascism but at the same time, the works of the abovementioned other philosophers and institutions like Communist International have also been used to contextualise study of fascism with respect to India.

However, it will be an anti-intellectual and uninformed hyperbole that fascism in 21st Century will be exact replica of Fascism of 20th century or there is impending mass genocide of some communities. While Fascism is most typical tendency of modern capitalism in decay- a tactical method of Monopoly finance-capital. The development of fascism in each country doesn't necessarily take the same form in detail. Fascist forces at the helm of state here so far have operated within confines of Bourgeois Constitutional and legal forms and will continue to do so, there is no need for Fascist forces to go extra-legal/constitutional in near future and it has no real stake to indulge in any real genocide of any community beyond creating the spectacle of hate and communalism to divide working classes in order to tame economic discontent.

Monopoly-finance capital owns every domain of popular culture from media to cinema, they already have acquired hegemony at superstructural terrain, they can manage public opinion and discourses very well. Even the identity politics debates or communal politics that are being centre staged are "bait" is fuelled by money of monopoly capital who fund the fascist forces and thus control political power too.

Fascist forces commitment to Bourgeois Right to Property is as sacrosanct as any Bourgeois government, (so most rich are safe irrespective of identity) when this right is challenged and economic discontent can no longer be contained by any other tactic and means and situation deteriorates to that like of Sri Lanka, the possibility of extra-legal crackdown is imminent but it will heavily come against those who organize people on class line or try to create a revolutionary momentum of mass action.

4.2 Fascism as Historical Form: Anatomy of Different Fascism in a given social formation

Can we have generalized propositions to make sense of Fascism as it existed in History and the fascist movement of contemporary times? The answer to this question shall be answered in the due course of this chapter. To begin with, any major study of Fascism initially reverberates around identifying or articulating the most accurate definition that could be universally applicable for all times in history in different social formations and then proceeds to identify its core features. While this study claims no such expertise to define fascism in a few words, it is one of the entrusted tasks of this study to identify some core aspects of fascism which may have some universal elements of semblance despite the multiplicity of differences in their workings and also in respective social formations in which they incubated and thrived. While Liberal analysis regards Fascism as episodic degeneration or temporary aberration of Bourgeois Democracy where liberal values are considered to be temporarily under siege and stress due to the sudden rise of Authoritarian regimes led by some mad men at the helm or temporary breakdown of constitutional machinery, the history, and functioning of Liberal ideology, even embedded in constitutional and legal form is not an innocent one ruptured from dictatorial tendencies as often claimed by presenting it as a sin qua nan of Democracy and civil liberties.

Liberalism is a Bourgeois ideology that gives ideological expression to capitalism, its political, legal, and social forms, and therefore enables its reproduction. Liberalism as a tool of Bourgeois has been responsive to class struggle initially against

the nobility in throes of Bourgeois Revolutions and later against proletariats when they appeared as the third contender for power, after the realization of their objective state of existence under the Capitalist order.

The historical functionality of Liberalism has been to avert class struggle to safeguard the class rule of the Bourgeoisie against potential threats. The history of liberalism is replete with anti-democratic and dictatorial tendencies from the very beginning of the Bourgeois Revolutions to the Paris Commune to the age of Imperialist wars.

Liberal theory is conveniently silent on relations between the Capitalist crisis and the rise of right-wing fascist forces as they emerged parallels in History. Marx's famous quote, "History repeats itself, first as a tragedy and then as farce" augurs well with the history of Fascism in the Capitalist order. Fascism, a modern phenomenon emerged first on the global scene with the financial crisis of the early 20th Century.

Since Liberalism sees Fascism primarily from an ideological lens that hypes its historicity and misaligns it from concrete social development embodying materiality it is mandated to obscure its class dynamics. Contrary to this invisibilization of the social relation of production and class contradictions, the Marxist theory sees class conflict as a fundamental force in history and locates class struggle as that locomotive that undergirds in the final instance all forms of historical and social development. Consequently, the age of capitalism which is a manifestation of the class rule of the Bourgeois faces an imminent threat from the proletariat who have the potential of emerging as a revolutionary social force and overthrowing Capitalism. A major task for Bourgeoisie is to reproduce capitalism while blunting the revolutionary potential of the masses through firstly, developing mechanisms for exercising control over every level of our existence based on a blend of consent and coercion. Secondly, device counter-revolutionary strategies to conceal and distort the class conflict by embroiling masses in reaction to tame their class consciousness.

The Marxist theory accordingly accords no organic difference between Liberalism and Fascism as it regards both of these as alternative forms of the Bourgeoisie's response to the impending threat of class struggle in times of normalcy and crisis respectively.

This study employs Marxist theory and its method of historical materialism as it finds it most persuasive to decipher Fascism as one of the historical forms of the

Bourgeois order which may take different manifestations in different stages of development and specificities of each social formation.

Fascism as we understand it from its historical form's trajectory is more likely to capture state power in totality in social formations where Bourgeois Revolutions didn't take place but rather were supplanted by a passive form of Revolution where the Bourgeoisie entered compromise with aristocracy and social relations were not ruptured by revolutionary force. If we take Italian or German Fascism, this template is visibly well suited. However, Fascist movements are not restricted to societies where a stunted form of capitalism developed from above, but even in matured Bourgeois Democracies which saw great Bourgeois revolutions like those in the US which are exalted as "Great leaps of faith" in democratic practice and popular sovereignty.

In these Bourgeois Democracies with vibrant civil society, ever since the onset of the first Capitalist crisis the fascist movements have consistently incubated and persisted throughout history. These Fascist movements did not assume state power for a long time but remained on the margins while waiting and recalibrating for their moment of ascendancy in the Bourgeois Civil Society for the favourable moments of crisis to emerge within the Bourgeois order.

The Right-wing term for Fascists is organic to the functioning of Civil Society, as it's one of the ever-present latent social force, their reaction is validated by a liberal institutionalized mechanism where any form of political freedom like faith, ideology, and cult is guaranteed, and amenable to politicization, while relations of production are abstracted and depoliticized in Bourgeois Legal forms since private property is its Ultima Thule. Fascists movements therefore always have more conducive in vitro environment in the Bourgeois Civil Society than working class movements which by design are contained for their breach of legality in form of anti-strike laws, mystification of labour relations as free contract and labour codes.

So, while a fascist movement harping on identity, race purity or religious supremacy can have free hand in Bourgeois Democracy, class mobilization and struggle is contained and ceased with the use of force.

In simple terms, the Liberal analysis of Fascism comfortably obscures its material basis. It studies Fascism as merely an aberration of Bourgeois Democracy, a temporary exceptional state which can be rectified by mere regime change. The Marxist analysis on the other hand treats Fascism as one forms of Capitalist State, to be precise

regime which essentially belongs to the imperialist stage of capitalism, and therefore it's an inherent tendency of Bourgeois Democracy. It was in this context that Max Horkheimer in his work "Fascism and Capitalism", sought to locate fascism within Capitalism. In his words, anyone who does not wish to discuss capitalism, should also stay silent on the subject of fascism. Poulantzas referring to Horkheimer asserted that it's not mere interconnection between fascism and capitalism that needs our attention but rather special focus is required on connection between Fascism and Imperialism.

Therefore, coming to our previous argument about identifying the core universal feature of Fascism we can arrive at some conjectures which we shall corroborate.

Firstly, irrespective of social formation where it thrived, Fascist social forces ascendancy has been always coterminous with Capitalist crisis, whether we see 20th Century Fascist movements or the ones we are witnessing at this historical conjuncture. There is a long established link between Fascism and Capitalist Financial Crisis, we need to go deeper on nature of crisis

Secondly, Fascism historically emerges when there is an increasing contradictions due to transition to the Monopoly capital.

Thirdly it's inherent Tendency of Bourgeois state it's constitutional mechanism to adapt to fascism in times of crisis and intensification of class contradictions.

Fourthly, Fascism important mandate is to subvert class consciousness by using a ideological admixture of threat of the other based on religious or ethnic differences and residues of feudal ideology.

Fascism is not a sudden aberration but it is a specific form of Bourgeois state corresponding to the determinate policy of the Bourgeoisie in that given conjuncture. While social-democracy is also a determinate policy of the Bourgeoisie which comes into force in normal times whereas Fascism gains strength at the juncture of the crisis of monopoly capitalism. In the Indian context, however, it is doubtful if the Big Capital has ever undertaken class collaboration on social-democratic lines. Since Fascism needs to exert hegemonic domination of Big Capital over society, the need to co opt the leadership of the proletariat takes a backseat and an open offensive against the working classes is launched in different ways. Fascism also leads to the reorganisation of the ideological State apparatus wherein the civil society of the past liberal era is constantly attacked. In the Indian context, the rampant attack on civil

society associations and incarceration of left intellectuals and other progressive forces reflects this struggle by fascism to take over the terrain of civil society by obliterating the liberal milieu that has organically grown under the patronage of the anti-colonial political forces since independence.

The most pertinent question that we have to address here is that How Fascism became one of the natural and Inherent tendency of Capitalist State? Capitalism doesn't recover from general crisis it falls or have fallen since 1914, while Capitalism doesn't recover from its mortal sickness, it just passes from one stage of crisis to fall into a new stage by inventing a way out in cyclical manner. however, this capitalist way out is not a solution. Fascism is one such rescue mission of Bourgeoisie in times of general Capitalist Crisis. The so-called way out serves only the Bourgeoisie, but for ordinary masses it just increases destruction, joblessness, mass starvation, violence, war and overall social decay. Therefore, fascism is merely the expression of symptoms of an extreme stage of decay of the entire capitalist order. As witnessed in history, fascism of the 21st century Europe emerged as a reaction to the crisis plaguing capitalism, similarly, fascism in present day world is the product of the same crisis of capitalism despite having a longer gestation period as opposed to a sudden, catastrophic rise.

The seeds of 21st century fascism lies in the financial upheavals precipitating the so-called 1973 oil crisis. The facade of welfare capitalism had broken down and was now being replaced by austerity capitalism in the various Bourgeois democracies of the West. Plethora of economic hardships such as high inflation, unemployment, privatisation, reduction of public expenditure and tax cuts for monopoly large corporates characterised this new phase in global capitalism. This Neo-liberal conjuncture at the Global level that was under process of consolidation since 1970s, was not only catalyst, but rather the active ingredient at the level of base that lead to corresponding superstructural transformation in the form of the emergence of neo-fascists and right-wing political movements across the world. One of the important facets of 21st century fascism is that the political power becomes completely concentrated in the hands of monopoly capitalists who now control the political executive and pushes it towards a rightward direction. This is manifested in the legislative sphere in the form of enlargement of detention laws bypassing constitutional norms of habeas corpus in the name of exceptions provided within constitutional scheme. Thus, the anti-people terroristic essence of such legislation are concealed

under the propaganda of nationalist sentiments and security against terror threats. One of the very important work which enables us to understand 21st century fascism in Bourgeois democracy is Bertram Gross's work titled "Friendly Fascism" where he gave a holistic overview of the rise of fascist forces in the United States in the wake of the breaking down of the welfare state in the 1970s. While Gross's work i.e., "Friendly Fascism" does not represent a Marxist analysis but rather an eclectic blend, it nevertheless relies on centrality of structural and materialist analysis of power. Thus, it exposes how monopoly capital builds its 'castle of power' based on accumulation of wealth by managing intra-Bourgeoisie rivalry and suppression of working-class movements.

The Modern Capitalist State originated from the Bourgeois revolution of England and France. The Capitalist State initiated an educative program about new values of Bourgeois Society and tried to create an organic passage for masses through Civil Society to enable them to feel one with their hegemonic project. The Capitalist State originated from the Bourgeois revolutions of England and France which are also called the glorious revolution and French Revolution respectively. These Bourgeois revolutions led to political ascendancy of Bourgeois as a class and eroded the aristocratic power of nobility and feudal classes. Capitalist state sought to create new values centred around individualism, free contract and rights such as that of life, liberty and property in order to carve out a new political form which shall correspond to the emergent capitalist mode of production identified by ideas of accumulation based on free enterprise, free market and sacrosanct nature of private property. One peculiar aspect of Bourgeois state is that it presented class rule of the Bourgeois under the facade of democracy. therefore, the class rule that the Bourgeois wanted to establish required a semblance of popular participation to make their class rule appear consensual and beneficial to all. The Bourgeoisie in capitalist states such as France initiated an educative program about new values of Bourgeois Society and tried to create an organic passage for masses through Civil Society to enable them to feel integrated with their hegemonic project. However, from the middle of 19th century, the third class i.e. Proletariat emerges as a new social class which challenged the Bourgeois class rule due to inherent contradictions of capitalist mode of production. The Bourgeoisie now abandoned their progressive programme and devoted all their energy towards suppression of working-class self-activity. In this context, one important historical

episode was the 1848 Revolutions in Europe which represented the earliest examples of independent working-class political action in European history. Henceforth, Bourgeois political activity was to a great extent determined by its anti-democratic trajectory in opposition to the working-class consciousness. This Reactionary stance was also projected into various Bourgeois constitutions that were enacted after the Spring of 1848. For instance, the 1848 constitution of the French Republic curtailed democratic participation of below by listing several exceptions to various forms of civil liberties that could potentially empower working class self-activity. The Prussian Constitution of 1850, in the words of Marx, created a 'police state'. It was these developments that led Marx to pronounce that all Bourgeois Constitutions are safety valves to curb working class activity and Democratic control from below. However, though started in 1848, it was the event of the Paris Commune in 1871 that proved to be a watershed moment in the history of capitalism which forced Bourgeois to permanently abandon their progressive role in history and side with reaction. From then onwards, in western Europe, the cautious attitude developed by the Bourgeoisie towards its antagonist was permeated in all its efforts towards state formation and its interventions in civil society wherein the hostile consciousness evolved towards the working class slowly laid the basis for state-building in Europe that was amenable to a future takeover by conservative reactionary forces and eventually fascist forces. Indeed, it was in the wake of the 1848 revolutions in Europe that a certain obscure man of aristocratic origin, Arthur de Gobineau, wrote 'An Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races'. In it he argued aristocrats were superior to commoners, and that aristocrats possessed more Aryan genetic traits because of less interbreeding with inferior races. This book went a long way in becoming a guiding book for future fascist movements and theory exponents in the 20th century. In this context, modern irrationalism arose as a reaction to the Proletarian worldview and thus Dialectical and Historical Materialism became a major adversary to capitalist philosophy.

Bourgeoisie's project of 'political emancipation' and 'democratization' centred around- Liberty, Equality and Fraternity that started with French Revolution 1789 was decisively abandoned after Paris Commune 1871, The Bourgeoisie henceforth ceased to be a Revolutionary force but rather chose to sit in lap of reaction fearing threat of Proletarian Revolution. After Paris Commune they abandoned their project of politically educating and elevating the consciousness of the masses and restricted all

such educational programmes within the ambit of bureaucratic and technical questions concerned with the needs of capitalism regardless of their scale. It was this context that led Lenin to argue that the Bourgeoisie unlike proletariats are incapable of being consistently democratic.

4.3 Passive Revolution and seeds of Fascism

One significant question of the Study was to trace and analyse the historical period of capitalist formations within which Fascism emerges. As discussed in Chapter three of this research paper, 'Passive Revolution' is a form of Bourgeois revolution where a process of conservative capitalist modernisation takes place, a "revolution from above" wherein a new power bloc reconstitutes a capitalist order without a decisive attack on the privileges and status of the social elites, while prioritising these elites' anxieties and concerns about self-preservation. In such a "revolution without a revolution", popular initiative of the masses is restricted as much as possible. The research focusses on Italy and Germany, as two countries where the aforementioned "Passive Revolution" led to fascist catastrophes in the 20th century and it is the inference of this study that Fascism arrives on the political scene of those countries whose history is marked by "Passive revolution". The contemporary rise of fascism in India was investigated using the above theoretical framework of "passive revolution". In India, the seeds of contemporary Fascism can be traced back to the period of national struggle for independence during colonial times. As discussed in Chapter 3, the edifice of capitalist development was laid under colonial rule which entails that the national structures and institutions of India have been embodied and shaped by the dynamics of global capitalism. However, it should not be discounted that specific peculiarities, specific contradictions within the social formation of a country have an instrumental role in determining its historical trajectory. The research discusses the dynamics of the emergence of the Indian Bourgeois into a major force during the British colonial era. It is also found how the British Government cultivated and appeased the landed feudal classes of India after the failed uprising of 1857 against British capitalists. It is these landed feudal elites and Indian capitalists who exercised a profound, if not, overbearing influence on the dynamics and trajectory of the struggle for national self-determination. The research borrows from several studies to show how Gandhi's technique of mass mobilisation and his conservative politics corresponded with the interests of the class alliance between the feudal elites and capitalist class of India as witnessed in the conclusions of

the Kheda Satyagraha, Surat Mill strikes, Non-Cooperation Movement and so on. Furthermore, the Indian National Congress realised that if discontent among masses is not channelised under its leadership through Gandhian and reformist politics, it could be alternatively mobilised by radical forces representing peasants and working class. This also throws light on the class content of the Congress party, being the representatives of the Landed elite and Indian Bourgeois. It should be noted that the mobilisation for self-determination also transformed into a powerful ideological tool to incorporate broad sections of masses such as peasantry, factory workers and petty Bourgeois. The seeds of fascism in India was laid by Bourgeois Nationalism and mass mobilization of Indian National Congress to assimilate various sectional interests in the Indian society within its ranks which included both socialists and right-wing conservatives. Indian National Congress true to its class character colluded with British Imperial administration to suppress the left movement and the same time it got socialists on its side as national unification was a precondition for any revolutionary transformation. The left movement and revolutionary transformation of relations of production was aborted, akin to passive revolution in Italy where Fascism emerged in wake of rising left mobilization, the Fascist in Italy turned violent as they didn't enjoy great mass base, whereas Congress did. It's not a mere coincidence that Gandhi was very popular with the fascist elite segment of Italy, visited Fascist Italy and was well received by them. Gandhi could find parallel between his idea of "sympathy for poor," "anti-urbanisation" with that of Mussolini, and his contention that fascist violence was due to evils of Western society. The tendencies towards Fasciation were incubating in India even before the inception of Bourgeois Democracy. Presently, BJP is leading it being most reactionary element of Bourgeois.

Gramsci's concept of Passive Revolution identifies a process whereby a Social Group comes to power without rupturing the social fabric, rather than by adopting to it, and gradually modifying it. Gradual Capitalist Transformation mediated by Revolution from above in case of India is cited as Passive Revolution. Sudipta Kaviraj in his Classic Essay that is 'The Critique of Passive Revolution (1988)' applies the Gramscian analytical framework of Passive Revolution to understand the structural transformations in Indian politics. However, Gramsci's concept of passive revolution is rather extensive, he extends the analytical framework of passive revolution to the Liberal constitutional movements of 19th Century to the rise of Fascism in 20th. In his

words, Fascism is precisely the form of Passive Revolution proper to twentieth century as Liberalism was to nineteenth. As per Gramsci, Fascism is not merely a defensive reaction of the Bourgeoisie nor can be understood as corresponding to Capitalist stagnation and crisis – but as revolution-restoration. It is a mass movement which constructs a new equilibrium by shattering the political power of the old Bourgeoisie and Liberal forces, as well as that of Left and by involving and permanently organisation from the Right – the Middle classes and the Subaltern Masses. Gramsci asserts that rise of fascism is coterminous with ‘Crisis moment ’of Bourgeois Hegemony and that it liquidates ossified state and political structures. The above theoretical template though originally used in Italian context is being thoroughly researched to apply the same thematic to contextualize fascism in India. In Italy, Fascism’s prime functionality as passive revolution was that it effected transition from laissez-faire economy to planned economy without any revolutionary turmoil, whereas in India fascism is overseeing dismantling of every vestige of planned economy to subsume all mode of production within the capitalist mode of production by dissolving impediments like regulatory norms and old welfarism.

4.4 Historical conjuncture of Fascism in 21st century: The role of Monopoly Capital

It to be realised that fascism is nothing but Capitalist State's specific role in age of imperialism to facilitate particular transition to Monopoly Capital, which brings multifaceted crisis i.e. Economic meltdown, Intra-Bourgeoisie conflict, intensive class struggle etc. While all Bourgeois State have inherent Fascist tendencies, its extreme manifestation came in Italy and Germany. One peculiar feature about these two fascist states was that capitalism came late, in a stunted form in these countries. This was the Passive Revolutionary route of the Bourgeois Revolution. In these societies, because of the late arrival of capitalism, even before the Bourgeoisie Could Consolidate State power, Proletariat emerged as a threat, and thus Bourgeoisie never assumed a "Democratic" character and rather sought to compromise with Aristocracy. Similarly, the trajectory of Indian social formation bears similarities to this German and Italian path of capitalist consolidation or "passive Revolution" where a revolution was achieved without an authentic revolution. While the outer facade of fascism appears as the spectacle of irrational, obscurantist mad men are at the helm of affairs. However, the method of Fascism is meticulously designed as per the tunes

and interests of Monopoly Capital. The role of imaginary/ irrational Ideology is to simply guile the masses and the measure of inefficiency in terms of serving the interest of masses is an unfounded question as such fascist movements are designed to serve narrow interests of the monopoly capitalists. While Mapping Rise of Fascism in India within the historical conjuncture of capitalist transformation, few things are important to note. First, India did not witness any social revolution in its history of its social formations. Even the Capitalist State was created by the Passive Revolution or "Revolution from above". Secondly, India was never a Socialist State as often dubbed by neoliberal economists studying Indian economic history rather what dominated India in the initial decades after independence was a peculiar import-substitution driven State Capitalism. All Economic Policies since independence whether under State Capitalism or Neo-liberal period is thrust towards Capitalist maturation of Economy in face of several Class Struggles. Lastly, India inherited the Bourgeois Constitution which had several provisions to curtail Political action from below and double up as a Police State. Presently, the fascist juncture in politics came in India when the country was in a stage of transition from State Capitalism to Monopoly Capitalism and where crisis is imminent as existing relations of production have become fetter to full development of productive forces. Here, a crisis is imminent in the sense that small capitalists have no scope to compete with monopoly capitalists and that the existing protections that monopoly capitalists are rewarded by the government become a fetter to the full development of productive forces that can only happen under democratic control of the means of production. Thus, we are confronted with the question whether Fascism is merely systemic intervention to preserve "Old Feudal relations"? Disagreeing with this simplistic explanation it is put forward that rather Fascism seeks to shatter the old equilibrium of Social Forces in a way most favourable to Monopoly Capital in India.

4.5 Unceasing Contention on Monopoly Capitalism and Retrograde Character of Fascism

Marx and Engels in an ode to Capitalism regarded it as a revolutionary economic system in relation to the vegetative stagnant feudal society. However, Marx and Engels were also aware of reactionary aspect of capitalism since the emergence of proletariat as a third contender of power. This was clear from trajectory of several social formations like of Germany, Italy (this fact was evident from social formations where

capitalism emerged late) and the Bourgeoisie entered a compromise with nobility without altering the social base abruptly by revolutionary transformation.

When Capitalism emerged, its progressive aspect was most discernible since besides challenging feudal world view, it also gave impetus to scientific advancement and inventions. It was at this juncture, that entrepreneurial activities gained prominence and number of capitalist enterprises came into existence marking the dawn of what is called as pre-capitalism while Capitalism has never been free in totality for it always entered compromises and always have been dependent upon state or royal patronage, in terms of, looking towards the state for mediation of intra class conflict besides seeking favourable legal regime (based on private property) for capitalism's growth and expansion. However, it is pertinent to consider, unlike its later variants such as that of monopoly, this phase of Capitalism was marked by several small dispersed units of capital. The ownership and control were dispersed across several small businesses. Also, the access of these enterprises to credit and other facilities was available largely without any hassle or control by any significant group or cartel. And therefore, one Capitalist could not exercise the same degree of control over other enterprises and therefore there was a relative level playing field for free competition.

However, with 1873 Crisis, a process of collapse of small businesses started gaining momentum, the dispersed ownership and control now paved way for joint stock company and concentration of Capital. The above crisis reflected an inherent tendency of capitalism, known as "The Tendency of rate of profit to fall" where profitability of businesses tends to decline over time due to factors like intensification of competition and capital invested in production increases.

The seeds of Monopoly Capitalism lays in very design of capitalist system, which follows the competitive phase. The monopoly phase throttles competition, as marked by concentration of capital where large corporations dominate the markets, the tendency of the profit to fall is counteracted as Monopoly firms use their market power and greater exploitation of labour or investment in technology as strategy to sustain profit rates and maximise efficiency of production. Under Monopoly Capitalism, the subjection of productive forces to profit and accumulation gets intensified resulting in exacerbating class exploitation of various social classes in general and working class in particular and deepening social inequalities.

While this movement from Competitive phase to Monopoly Capitalism indicates the transformation at terrain of base i.e., the economic structure, it impinges upon the super-structural level as well. The Liberal Democracy which at once reproduced the logic of Capitalist exchange relations around free competition and freedom of enterprise through a broader representative mechanism laden with proverbial ideas of civil liberties moves towards Fascist tendencies.

The fascism since history always corresponds to time period when monopoly capitalism replaces the competitive stage as it happened in Italian or German Social formation, the same being true for ascendancy of Fascism in India.

Along with question of intensification of political repression, dissolution of basic democratic guarantees and intensification of dictatorship of ruling classes. A significant section of scholarship delves upon the retrograde character of fascism. In Indian context too, we have seen liberal public intellectual such as view fascism as retrograde movement towards old society with feudal tendencies. While Fascism does promote the remnants of feudalism in form cultural and social exchanges in popular discourses and in political liturgy, their call to create glorious past is an absolute contravention to their very specific role that they have in Capitalist Society with reference to Monopoly phase of Capitalism.

In India the turn towards monopoly phase was coterminous with greater consolidation of social base and consequent capture of political power by the fascist forces. The monopoly capital brings a halt in development of productive forces by containing competition, no scope of pluralities of power and control over spirit of enquiry free dispersal of scientific ideas, innovation and scientific technology that was necessary for competition to thrive in that stage and thus permitted by Bourgeois, becomes void under Fascism. This curtailment of freedom permeates to all aspects of social existence and manifest in myriad ways of fascist offensive.

The clamour to revival of the glorious past of India, promotion of superstitious idealism and fantastic explanation of a natural or social phenomenon, subversion and suppression of new inventions, ascendancy of pseudo-science, ridicule and subversion of scientific temper are necessitous conditions for monopoly capitalism to sustain itself in backdrop of deepening chasm and class contradictions in Society to avert formation of class consciousness that makes one conscious of conditions of their objective existence.

The enlightenment rationality that was bulwark of Bourgeois revolution against feudal reaction is rejected when Capitalism no longer remains a progressive force. Since the times capitalism ceased to be revolutionary and democratic, it no more needed ideas of progress or modernity or scientific temper as it could enlighten the ordinary masses about their objective condition of oppressed state, it needed reactionary epistemologies and theories, cultural/ religious revivalism and a popular culture around this to ridicule modernity, progress and reason. The lowering down of philosophical level marked by ascendancy of reaction and unreason in academic discourses and defying the very idea of progress and modernity is important historical conjecture for rise of Fascism.

Having put forth the above certain characteristics defining the retrograde aspect of Fascism, it has to be stressed that this is ultimate culmination of Capitalist system and does not reflect reversal of Capitalist mode of production or Social formation to feudalistic variant as argued by a section of intelligentsia. And in this context Marx's contention that "All science would be superfluous if the outward appearance and the essence of things directly coincided" needs our attention, the retrograde appearance should be clearly separated from its actual essence.

As argued earlier while Fascism stalls development of productive forces since it progressively eliminates competition, it doesn't abandon the development of productive forces but rather regulate it to the advantage of Monopoly capital towards further consolidation of Capitalist relations of production rather than recalibrating present to feudalism.

To corroborate the claims that trajectory of Fascism in India is towards greater consolidation of Capitalist relations and regulated development of productive forces despite the cosmetic clamour to old society, these instances shall be looked upon.

Firstly, the Industrial production in India saw a steady increase since 2014, as the conditions for working masses corresponded to hardships. Secondly, rather than going back to feudalism, fascism is modernising Capitalist State form in India with respect to greater push for consolidation of Bourgeois legal forms that concerns the private property. Whether it is doing away with Archaic law codes them hems the development of capitalism.

Taking Instance of State of Uttar Pradesh under BJP's dispensation is seen in popular culture as most acute case of retrograde direction some seeing Bulldozer Raj

as anathema to property rights. The demolition of illegal encroachments and elimination of "rogue" elements who indulged in extra-legal appropriation of private property in the past not for the sake of common peace and tranquillity as often claimed, but to cement and preserve Bourgeois legality which includes Bourgeois right to property so that capitalist forces can come with safe investments, exploit cheap labour power and other resources such as land.

The ongoing digitalisation of land records at National and State level is mandated to ease the transfer, buying, selling and Acquisition of land between the owners and the prospective business interests.

One very important policy intervention of Central sector for states that demolishes the claim of going back to feudal relations is "Svमित्वा Yojana", this scheme provide land records and legal ownership property rights to the village based households even delimiting the ownership rights on common land in Village areas. As rightly pointed out by critics, the threat of village common lands being usurped by dominant castes is really founded, however this doesn't indicates going back to feudal era but rather introduction of Capitalist relations and legality in land which certainly will reproduces the class power of ruling classes may or may not be rooted in remnants of Feudal order.

Thirdly, as steering the onward march of monopoly capital is mandate of fascist state, which necessitates concentration of power and resources in hands of Big Capital, the old ruling classes holding over economic resources and political power naturally enter in acute contradictions with interests of monopoly capital. The class struggle for achieving supremacy of big Capital over other dominant classes leads to intensification of intra-Bourgeoisie conflicts.

One important instance of this can be introduction of farms laws, an important for total consolidation of Capitalist relations in agriculture by gradually breaking away the hold and political influence of Kulak farmers. The big capitals pricing power ability of breaking down the profitability and sustenance of middle and small-scale-based production also reflects an ensuing tussle with class dynamic of Old Society.

Thus, we see the underlying contradictions that underlines the contention on retrograde character of Indian Fascism on whether it's retrograde or progressive in some aspects. Since Fascism represents the interest of monopoly capital it sharpens and manages the Class conflict between Monopoly capital and old Society to assuage the

interests of former and by purview of this role by default it comes in contradictions with old society. It's rather a paradox that for popular mobilisation it relies on values and cultural symbols of old society. The chasm of class conflict and ensuing dialectics of Capitalist transformation are rather blunted by the appearance of Fascist program hiding its very own essence. Fascism therefore can be dubbed as alternative strategy of Capital, especially big Capital to continue and consolidate the "Conservative modernisation from above" led by Bourgeois state in social formation where capitalist trajectory was defined by the above via passive revolution.

4.6 Social Class Analysis of Fascism in India

Gramsci's analysis of Fascism did touch upon the social classes, the big Bourgeoisie, Where he analysed the social base of Fascism with respect to different social classes such as Big Bourgeoisie, petty-Bourgeois, workers and peasants. As per Gramsci, it is the petty-Bourgeois class that brings to power fascists at first. For instance, in Italy, the middle classes, military veterans colluded together with big Bourgeois due to their anti-socialist stand and support for war. However, the trajectory of Fascism, as it proceeds, goes against the very class that is responsible for its ascension. A significant fraction of petty-Bourgeois class swing towards Social Democratic Ideas during peak fascism and decaying Capitalism, at this juncture they turn against big/ monopoly capital. Old rhetoric of welfare capitalism come to life, petty-Bourgeois starts attacking big capital, fearing possibilities of their proletarianization, but their fear of proletariats is always much bigger and real. Thus their Anti-Capitalism is always half hearted, they resort to ideas that "this version of Capitalism is bad", today they say "Neo-Liberal" capitalism and "Crony" capitalism are bad. Their fear of revolutionary transformation of society make them to defend Bourgeois Democracy Parliamentary cretinism is most secure political position for petty-Bourgeois in tandem with their class position and interests. The relationship between Fascism and Big Bourgeois is that of mutual dependence where Fascism is not subordinated to one particular monopoly capitalist concern but it rather maintains and takes care of the consolidated interests of the Big Bourgeois as a whole by imposing 'discipline' and helps it steer through capitalist crisis.

In post-world war Italy, workers and their unions were indeed repressed by the Fascist government, their rights to organise being crushed but at the same time, the workers were encrypted with ideas of syndicalism and corporatism to create a mirage of workers' representation. However, building from Gramsci's analysis, it is

Poulantzas, who has worked on the social basis of fascism in a concrete manner, wherein he had studied the aforementioned social classes to account for the rise of Fascism. In Indian context, like in Italy, fascist ideas historically gained ground among the ranks of the petty Bourgeois classes, even if they were upper caste initially. A glimpse at the various manifestos, party programmes and policies of Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) reveals that it had expressly sought to cultivate the petty Bourgeois class in India. When it comes to its relations with the Big Bourgeoisie or monopoly capitalists, the BJP serves its class interests by articulating their interests as the interests of the whole people of India, irrespective of class.

The Fascists in Nazi Germany in order to consolidate the social base comprising Petty Bourgeoisie (what we call as Middle Class) as well in their attempt to make inroads towards voicing concern of working class had calibrated several anti-capitalist measures (while still working towards interest of monopoly capital) like creation of labour front, nationalization and corporatism. In India, the Fascists in order to pacify and consolidate the disillusioned petty Bourgeoisie base in times of pandemic and economic hardships had come with anti-elitist rhetoric. In fact, populist anti-elitist rhetoric has been part of the arsenal of popular mobilization techniques of fascists in the past and also evidently seen in contemporary India like the rhetoric of demonetisation, Black money, corporate scams. The Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS), is an important arm of fascists, traditionally, to curtail class consciousness and prevent it from assuming revolutionary potential. As per research, it was found that BMS is the largest trade union in India.

4.7 The Working Class and Indian Fascism

The Historic role of Fascism with respect to working class is to neutralise them and dissolve their free trade unions. In historical context, the rise of Fascism presupposes a significant decline of working class movement. This failure of left movement is not only about inability to capture the State Power or make revolution but in terms of erosion of its very social base within the working class. Historically in Germany and Italy elimination of the class organisation of the working class was pre-eminent to ensure the rise of Fascism. In Indian context the working-class organisations were already decimated and turn the economistic even before the formal rise of fascist conjuncture therefore the question of elimination of class organisation of

working class didn't pose a significant threat to the rising mobilization around religious identity as class Consciousness has already taken a back seat.

While the fascism in India acquired mass character with the onset of Neo liberal era its incubation in Indian social formation dates back to the precolonial times when competing consciousness were churned around ideas of nationalism cultural revivalism and struggle against landlordism and industrial strikes. The cultural Revival tendency that had taken the form of Hindu nationalism survived and persisted in post-independence India led by organisations such as RSS and its political offshoot such as Bhartiya Jan Sangh. The Fascist character of these organisations have been long established, their trade union wing called as Bhartiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS) came into existence in 1950s. In line with the Fascist logic that tames working class consciousness and aborts Class Struggle. BMS not only rejected theory of Class conflict and Class Struggle but questioned the very conception of Class in itself, referring that it disintegrates society and sharpen the chasms leading to creation of hostile camps.

BMS was in actuality represented by petty Bourgeois class whose interests were tied to national capital and thus their policies always promoted class collaboration and conciliation. This class conciliation was sought to be cemented around evoking ideas of Nationalism and National interest as focal point of working-class mobilization. The communist conception of trade unionism is denounced as materialist, regimentative and against individualism, being in total contradiction with the ideal of Bhartiya Social Order conceived by BMS.

The BMS in 1950s started as a very weak trade union organization, however with the rightward shift in Indian Politics, it saw a massive expansion. The JP movement gave a significant fillip to expand the mass base of Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh (BMS). In fact, BMS functionary, Dattopant Thengadi was a secretary of JP's Lok Sangharsh Samity. As a result, in 1978, BMS became the second largest trade union in the country, as Bharatiya Jan Sangh shared power in the Janata Party Government, the popularity of Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh reached its zenith. Another important watershed movement for Bharatiya Mazdoor Sangh came at the neoliberal conjuncture when BMS asked its rank-and-file to participate in Kar Seva in Ayodhya towards the construction of Ram Temple as a national endeavour for workers to look upon. This is an important instance reflecting the transformation of the working classes into fascist foot soldiers. at the same time, BMS postured against new economic

policies and clamoured for Swadeshi against the ‘economic colonialism of IMF and World Bank’ and this enabled them to dent the ranks of the mainstream trade union movement and boost their numbers. On the theoretical plane, the BMS reflected the post-colonial aura of Indian Fascism where a Bourgeois and eclectic ideological myth of social discipline and elastic individual found consonance with the larger cultural turn against Eurocentrism. Its regard of industrial relations as family relations, similar to Gandhi’s idealist rhetoric of ‘trusteeship of industrialists’, was anchored in a crude, reactionary ideological mishmash that typified Indian Fascism. As of 2023, it is presently the largest trade union in the country. So, therefore, it can be inferred that building a working-class base definitely provides a popular character to Fascism even though consequently neutralises working-class subjectivity as an agent of progress.

4.8 The Fascist Conjuncture and Two Ideas of India

The ‘Idea of India’, often used interchangeably for ‘Nehruvian Consensus’ was a liberal project that is being dismantled today and alternative bloc that is ‘New India’ is in throes of its formation. The present work has analysed the various dynamics of ‘New India’ as an ensemble of material conditions, ideology, culture and Ethico-political constituents. However, the Idea of India and New India, both are class projects of Indian Bourgeois class. The Idea of India too have had its fascist momentum as evident from National emergency of 1975. And therefore Emergency being dubbed as "Anushashan Parva"- "Disciplinary Era" by Vinoba Bhave(An Gandhian disciple) requires greater scrutiny, which classes are historically mandated to be disciplined in a Bourgeois order through myriad legal forms? Obviously the working classes. Karl Marx in Capital Volume 1 had discussed with rise of capitalism and up to the throes of Bourgeois Revolution in England and France, how several terrorists laws fulfilled functionality of 'disciplining' the expropriated and newly created "free workers" into the system of wage-labour. It has been argued that since capitalism in Europe came before Democracy, the workers were already disciplined in industrial production process and Bourgeoisie there faced no significant democratic obstruction in initial years. Whereas in countries such as India, development of capitalism that required disciplining the expropriated and free workers faced democratic obstruction since sequential relationship between capitalism and democracy didn't exist here but was simultaneous. Though all Bourgeois Democracies, post-Paris Commune adopted a Constitutional scheme that managed democratic control from below by iron fist, and Indian

constitution was no different. Nehruvian developmental model was no democratic, however, in early 1970s, the Naxalbari movement had radicalised class question and trade union activities especially in Mumbai were gaining momentum, Emergency as often portrayed by Congress apologist as 'Socialist turn' was not socialist in any manner, it's been also read that emergency was significant offensive of Capitalist modernity to curtail rise of fascists and reactionary interest groups, but we all saw these forces only got emboldened post emergency period and Fascist forces such as Shiv Sena was stealthily strengthened by congress in the same period, what emergency actually ensured was overnight transformation of Indian Bourgeois state as a police state revealed to us that it would go at any length to manage democratic control from below, by brutally cracking down all civil liberties. Emergency was Anushashan Parva for working masses and their movements in India, from being forcibly sterilized like stray animals to dissipating inertia of working-class movements and centrality of class question, it did discipline the working masses. The Fascists today are repeating emergency theatrics of even more brutally disciplining the working classes towards full development of capitalism and infinite accumulation.

Shiv Sena lumpens cultivated by Bombay Business and Indira Gandhi murdered Communist Leader Krishna Desai, the most popular leader among working class of Bombay to throttle radical trade union activities that jeopardized capitalist accumulation by according bargaining power to working class of Bombay. Shiv Sena's Reactionary Politics came to challenge the Communist consciousness and working-class unity that was brewing in Bombay at behest of Indian ruling classes. This was one of the earliest start of Fascism destroying working class movements in History.

For Instance, the Idea of India which was ideological ensemble of national project of Indian Bourgeoisie for National Integration using values that reflected ideological foreground of India's struggle for independence. Achieving national cohesion and managing national question was of great interest to still nascent Bourgeoisie. However, RSS lead alternative political project if not class project that rejected Idea of India. For instance, RSS not hoisting Indian flag until 2002 should not shock anyone, they always have had alternative political project to that which was carved out in 1947 through transfer of power, though both are Bourgeois Class projects with varied specificities, the ideological ensemble of former centred around New India and latter known as Idea of India, however both these ensembles harmonized on strict

allegiance to Bourgeois economic form. To say in other words, the contradictions between Bourgeois Democratic project led by Congress and that of Fascist project led by BJP-RSS is merely cosmetic, they merely fulfilled specific functionality to get the Bourgeois Class project get going at different historical junctures responding to class struggle. However why it took BJP-RSS combine around five decades to assimilate itself within the Bourgeois National project- as defined as time of independence was not that it had change of heart, but that with onset of Neo-liberalism, the socio-economic transformations and run up to stage of monopoly capital necessitated greater concentration of economic resources to aid accumulation, the old equilibrium of social forces and consequent pockets of impending class struggle in face of Capitalist crisis became impediment that could be shattered only through a new political force that was ready to liquidate that old social equilibrium of various classes with little scope of class struggle. And BJP-RSS Fascist project was most ideal bet for ruling classes henceforth and thus to take a centre stage role, BJP-RSS's harmonized their Hindutva project with Bourgeois National Project by not only embracing Tricolour flag but also pushing hyper-nationalist discourses. Thus, both RSS and Congress are harmonized today as part of same historical bloc- The Bourgeois Class National project as they were earlier with different trajectories.

CHAPTER 5

THE SPECTACLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY BEYOND REPRESENTATIONAL POLITICS: CLASS STRUGGLE AND BOURGEOIS POLITICS IN INDIA

5.1 The Conceptual Chimera of Civil Society

Spanning across different disciplines of humanities, the concept of Civil Society has acquired wide currency especially since inception of Neo-liberal era. Hegel taken concept of civil society from Liberal traditions of French and British. The Liberals tradition is understood to have a pervasive presence in conceptual understanding of civil society, which found resonance not in works of Hegel, but also young Marx who took it forward from him but did not spare the Gramscian analysis of civil society though regarded as significant contribution to Marxist Political theory.

The paradox of presenting Gramsci as inadvertent votary of liberal conception of civil society as an arena of freedom and democratic contestation is ideological and involves of selective misinterpretations. Gramsci's conception of civil society was not to eulogize Western liberal democracies as bulwark of democratic control from below, rather it was a theoretical attempt in not only unravelling their anatomy but is an strong critique of mechanisms and modulations through which power is exercised by the capitalist state under garb of false universality.

Gramsci's assertion that the separation of political society and civil society is methodological and not organic, is a strong refutation of classic liberal version. In absolute contravention of the Liberal political theory, he regarded Civil Society as an integral element of the Bourgeois State, the most resilient component. In Gramscian sense, in the final instance, Civil Society can be deciphered as site of hegemony of ruling classes through which they maintain their class rule and sustain class oppression of subaltern masses.

The term 'civil society' as popularised in academia came into vogue after the collapse of the Soviet Union especially in Eastern Europe which was then exported to the U.S.A. It was opined that the collapse of Soviet Union happened because civil society was primordial and gelatinous and there was no proper relation between the State and civil society. Therefore, due to this alleged lack of democracy, the socialist

society collapsed. The popularisation of the concept of civil society was an ideological one in the emerging neoliberal order. The terrain of private sphere, where exchange relations and relations of production is both reproduced and obscured at the same time, was reinvented in the form of a civil society, especially in United States. In Bourgeois civil society, the class relations are depoliticised as encoded in the Bourgeois legal forms, which in turn provide for legal limitation on democratic participation from below.

Another aspect of civil society which is typically not discussed is how it reproduces commodity fetishism, where even the idea and practice of rebellion, reforms and social justice lose their social property and acquire a commodity form to be exchanged through social sector via the dynamics of corporate-social funding, NGOs and charities. This phenomenon of commodity fetishism actually, in reality, not only reduces an individual and citizen as a mere consumer but also depoliticises his class consciousness to abort the potential of class struggle.

The peak of organic absorption of Neo-Liberalism's new managerialism as it made leaps from capitalist enterprises to the superstructural terrain, is that masses are comfortably aligned with Idea and practice of 'management' of people, public opinions, voters base, elections and electoral democracy to the extent that they are hailing the successful managers as well. India political action committee led by Prashant Kishore is epitome of commodity fetishism of political participation and democratic swindle in Bourgeois democracy. From the days of scientific management in factories where most efficient insertion and regulation of workers body into the capitalist production was devised, to the political management of voters' agency, mood, public opinion, political choices in elections, the Bourgeois Democracy has completed the full circle reflecting unity of base and superstructure.

The commodity fetishism of has even engulfed the very idea and form of rebellion or 'Dissent'. The Dissent and rebellion (that doesn't challenge the finality of Bourgeois State and relations of Production) is lucrative career today in Bourgeois Civil Society. The returns for dissenting intellectuals can range from the extension of red carpet from Western Universities, offer to publish a book on their experience of repression, receive funds to organise a think tank, get paid appearance on News Channel debates, build Network with Bourgeois Political parties in exchange of clout

and monetary benefits. This separation of Intellectual labour and manual is also at root of problem. Since rebellion itself is monetized in higher echelons of civil society.

Most of the activist don't have to work for a living wage, their work is to just lead people, write in newspapers, appear on debates, money just comes without the need of wage labour, they have no commonality of experience with a Factory worker facing grind of twelve working hours.

One last point, need to be stressed in this point, one may assume like whether Lenin was true representative of working class though he himself was more an intellectual and not a wage worker most of his life, firstly Bourgeois Civil Society had not developed in Russia, and for Lenin to interpret Marx, laboriously write for Proletarian revolution and work to organise masses was not a lucrative career option rather was a constant risk of repression and threat to his life. So left Intellectuals in past didn't face the Contradictions that modern left intellectuals/leaders face in Bourgeois Democracy where Civil Society has matured and it's glamorous at times to engage with politics and even get flavour of state power. Modern left intellectual have nothing in common with real struggle of working masses as he/she is at too comfortable a position, and therefore any revolutionary project should either have exceptionally committed intellectual leaders who could go against their class Instinct or class position who could work with working masses. However, it appears extremely bleak to be a reality in this stage of saturation of left politics within framework of Bourgeois Democratic Politics. Rather, working classes themselves are capable of leading the revolutionary project in actuality, supported by the committed revolutionary intelligentsia towards organic amalgamation of new vanguard led by working masses from factories, jungles and farms.

Taking into consideration, the template of passive revolution, that has been utilised throughout this research, it can be assumed that the lack of successful Bourgeois revolution leads to a weaker civil society which in turn affects democratic control from below. However, in Western societies where successful Bourgeois revolutions have taken place, the civil society is deemed as strong and thus, amenable to democratic contestation. This abovementioned logic can be inverted using Gramscian conception which views civil society as bulwark of capitalist hegemony and therefore, stronger the civil society, stronger is the hold of the ruling classes over the subaltern subject. In this context, Hal Draper, therefore, regards Western democracy as

a case of 'democratic swindle' where interests of the ruling classes are manoeuvred and projected as the interests of the whole society. To substantiate this claim, a reference to draconian incarceration laws that curtail civil liberties should be considered which not only exist in the 'third world' states of the 'southern hemisphere' but are present, since inception, in Western democratic liberal states as well. 'State of siege' provisions in the French Constitution, provision for Martial law in United States law and the various legal provisions dealing with states of emergency in the laws of various western European countries are examples of the authoritarian underbelly of Western liberal democracy as discussed above. In essence, liberal democracies, by their very design, sabotage class struggle by depoliticization of masses and utilising the presence of punitive legal regimes that guard this depoliticization process with the threat of violence and loss of civil liberties.

Elections are in fact only enforceable 'constitutional'(Bourgeois Legal form) way of democratic control from below in Bourgeois democracy, there is no other way in which we can oust a political force from power except through elections, however Bourgeois Constitutional forms are not merely about elections, any struggle at the trenches of civil society aiming to revive and reclaim democratic control from below are also regulated and mediated by Bourgeois legal forms as in; only peaceful protests and assembly are legal, even those legalized forms have several exceptions like public order, integrity of nation etc. which can be enforced easily to dismantle inertia of any significant civil society movement, the presence of anti-strike laws, sedition law and Unlawful Activities prevention Act can be utilized to incarcerate entire leadership of a radical political force in event of any grave threat to Bourgeois order thus dissipating any scope of change within the confines of Bourgeois Constitutional order, in order words Bourgeois state machinery as delineated by its Constitutional form provides the ultimate coercive guarantee against any threat that may pose significant danger to edifice of Bourgeois order and hegemony.

Bourgeois Democracy through its Constitutional form reproduce relations of production and guarantees class rule of the capitalist class, it's democratic appearance is only 'democratic swindle'; making their class rule appear as beneficial to all. Civil Society activism or revolutionary movement that is restricted to domain civil society and that doesn't challenge the Bourgeois State machinery which includes the

Bourgeois Constitutional forms is fated to be impotent to bring any change and this is by design.

It can be contested here that, the various sections of Intelligentsia from liberal to subaltern studies to parliamentary left overestimated the scope Bourgeois democracy by believing that through mechanism of democratic control from below within terrains of civil society alone, they can achieve progressive social change or further revolutionary politics... Their overestimation of democracy is very well defeated by the ascendancy of fascism which utilise the same Bourgeois Constitutional form with full and extreme force to curb any scope of democratic control from below. Fascist state is most abled guarantor of coercive force which capitalism needs today when it is in crisis. Fascism contrary to popular conception is not against Bourgeois Constitutional form, it is just utilizing them in their extreme and final form at the time when scope of democratic swindle is meagre.

Representational logic of Bourgeois Democracy therefore should be critically studied and basic meaning of Class Struggle is required to be comprehended. Elections in Bourgeois Democracy has been dubbed as Democratic 'Class struggle' in words of US academic/ Propagandist Seymour Lipset. However, Class struggle is not economic categories i.e. some interests groups making demand upon Bourgeois state to give representation and economic concessions. Class Struggle is Dialectical unity of seeking alternative economic- (relations of production) and political forms)-(New State which is anti-thesis of Bourgeois State). Class centrality means that every transformation or struggle at the terrain of superstructure is determined by economic structure/ relations in final Instance. Neo-liberal academics using 'Class' as an identity doesn't invalidate the basic tenets of Scientific socialism that believes in Class centrality/ primacy. Class struggle is rooted in exploitative relations which are at the core of the capitalist system, regardless of the forms through which such exploitation is articulated. Ultimately, the system depends upon the exploitation of wage labour, so class is central here.

As per reading of relevant Marxist Literature, it can be inferred that Class centrality is a integral component of class struggle. In Fact, there has been an unnecessary attempt to wrest apart the concept of class centrality from class struggle in academic discourses at large. Class struggle shows the centrality of class in being the driving force behind struggle between different sections of society, between people

situated in different relations of production, even if they don't seem ostensibly class struggle. It means that for example, even if outwardly different reasons are given for an event where two sections of society where the dominant section and subordinate are clearly identified, the main driver of the contradictions between the two communities is class. For example, the Patthalgadi movement, where Adivasis are asserting themselves and being thrown in prison, class is the main driver where Adivasi's being peasants and primary producers are organising themselves in the post script to Primitive accumulation against an enemy which is actually the capitalist state. That may not be clear to those participating but the centrality of class in class struggle is driving this. Existence of relations of production and classes entails inevitability of struggle. And the absence of any coherent working class movement doesn't negate existence of class struggle, it rather comes out even in spontaneous forms. Like Surat diamond factory workers turning violent during covid crisis was a class struggle. Academics writing 'Class is dead' are actually responding to class struggle on behalf of ruling classes to tame the class consciousness and embroil people around discourse on identities. All Academic theories in history evolved as response to class struggle. And therefore Marxist estimate of Class and Class Struggle can not lose relevance till class society reigns supreme, though several Liberal Bourgeois write off its obituary every now and then. This again can be read as their response to class struggle. Moreover, The scope and pattern of contemporary resistance and social movements were studied and some inferences were derived at which are as follows. The basis of politics of resistance social/protest movement) in Neoliberal times has always appeared to be premised on questions that why Liberal Democratic state is not acting as a Neutral referee and that how can we rectify this anomaly. How can we ensure that democratic state works impartially to accommodate contentious claims by several interests groups like that of corporate and farmers? But seldom they realise how they have internalised logic of Bourgeois Ideology which exalts liberal state as an expression of aggregate will of the people and that it is impartial umpire and therefore is equally responsive to all claims society makes upon it. Anomaly is this internalisation of Bourgeois logic and Ideology ensuring legitimation of Bourgeois Democracy by popularising grounds of Political obligation rooted in liberal theory of state. Liberal Democratic State has always been an appendage of ruling Classes, it's main mandate is to use political power as tool of class oppression and to contain class struggle that goes beyond what is bare minimum

threshold of resistance that it digests towards ensuring consensual basis of their rule. Revolutionary politics is unlearning the grounds of Political obligation based on Liberal theory and not upholding it in order to win elections or seek regime change.

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5.2 Farmers movement and Left Populism: Navigating Intra-Bourgeoisie Class conflict

The trajectory of farmers protests so far in terms of nature and demand reveals that it is a moment of 'organic passage' for the subaltern classes towards the state of ruling classes to ensure consensual basis for domination of latter. The movement merely reinforces social basis of the political power of the dominant class of kulaks or capitalist farmers in the state apparatus.

Furthermore, the Farmers' protests do not challenge the Bourgeoisie's claim to universality or to promote 'common good' by posing alternatives to Bourgeois order. Furthermore, the Farmers' protests do not challenge the Bourgeoisie's claim to universality or to promote 'common good' by posing alternatives to Bourgeois order. Instead, the demands' charter of the Farmer's movement exposes the true nature of the protests and the narrow, particularistic class interests (under smokescreen of universality) that it shares with the ruling classes i.e. its own share in the accumulation of capital.

The farmers movement presented chasm between the big Monopoly Capital with that Old agrarian Bourgeoisie, a case of intra-Bourgeoisie conflict. While March of monopoly capital certainly affects small producers and intensify their proletarianization, this process has been underway since the 1970s due to disruptive dynamics of Capitalist transformation. The domination of Capital relations in agriculture has been established even before the unhindered March of big capital.

Farmer/ Peasantry is not one uniform ideal category there exist a massive class divisions. Capitalism has emerged to be primary contradiction for farmers, any movement which organizes them and doesn't make them of aware of this primary contradiction has rather done great disservice to realization of their objective class conditions, the economic demands cannot change or transform their reality by any

means, rather it serves the interests of Capitalist farmers. The Social- Democratic party like CPIM toying with Left Populism is actually aligning with their historical role as no Social Democratic party by its very design and the function can serve the interest of small peasantry or farm workers. One of major contention of Farmers organization back then and even before has been that they suffer due to faulty pricing and unfavourable term of trade *vis a vis* industry who have no price ceiling to meet need of social consumption, but price ceiling is only for agricultural commodities just to make food cheaply available to masses.

And that administered system of pricing policy adopted by govt. curtails the profitability of the agricultural product. And therefore, despite their opposition to all three farm bills, the major contention was centred around Minimum support prices, the Essential commodities act actually caters to long held demand of capitalist farmers and organisations representing them.

Even in times of Agrarian crisis, Kulak Farmers from Punjab, Haryana and Western UP have been buying and leasing land internationally like in Georgia and Ethiopia. And even in other Indian states. The core of Left Populism can be discerned from mere Semantics, the 'Annadatas' word endorsed by them for farmers is such an idealistic abstraction which not only obscures the fact that under capitalism, society is organized around commodity exchange and logic of capital where integrity of all use values are destroyed and exchange value is imposed upon all productions of value. But it also conceals the fact that exchange values of all commodities including the agricultural commodities are merely definite quantities of congealed labour time. Farmer is not one undifferentiated class category. There are Capitalist, middle and marginal farmers. And it's the Farm workers/ Agriculture labour, labouring on farms of middle and Capitalist Farmers who actually produce the agricultural commodities such as food grains. Left Populism is therefore emerging as a resilient wing of Bourgeois Politics serving certain fractions of ruling classes and not Class Struggle.

A significant fraction of petty-Bourgeois class swing towards Social Democratic Ideas during peak fascism and decaying Capitalism, at this juncture they turn against big/ monopoly capital. Old rhetoric of welfare capitalism come to life, petty-Bourgeois starts attacking big capital, fearing possibilities of their proletarianization, but their fear of proletariats is always much bigger and more real. Thus, their Anti-Capitalism is always half hearted, they resort to ideas that "this version

of Capitalism is bad" or "Neo-Liberal" capitalism and "Crony" capitalism are bad. Their fear of revolutionary transformation of society makes them to suffice with the workings and structures of Bourgeois Democracy. The petty-Bourgeois support to farmers movement reflects this tendency. And therefore, Parliamentary cretinism is most secure political position for petty-Bourgeois in tandem with their class position and interests.

5.3 Navigating the Mandir and Mandal politics: Disparagement of class struggle

The Indian social formation despite having a passive revolutionary route showed signs of gradual transformation due to the process of capitalist consolidation of society. Starting from the Nehruvian era to the rise of Indira Gandhi, socio-economic reforms especially land reforms that were administered in a top-down manner by successive governments led to relative upward mobility of peasant communities and many other historically marginalised communities. After experiencing the fruits of such partial reforms, the intelligentsia and politically conscious section of these historically deprived and backward communities started seeking political representation that was otherwise denied to them by the upper caste leadership of the Congress party which was in power since independence. The leadership of these socially backward and historically marginalised communities sought intervention only at the superstructural level without seeking change in social relations of production. However, these mobilisations came under the banner of 'social revolutions'. This is true for both J.P.'s 'Total Revolution' and V.P. Singh's pedestalling of Mandal Commission Report as the cornerstone of a new social revolution. However, J.P.'s Movement dissipated into electoralism and V.P Singh's Mandal politics was eventually reduced into nominalism around demand for political representation of backwards classes in the highest political offices of the State. Mandal politics actually paved way for the rise of Mandir politics with the rise of Mulayam Singh Yadav, Kanshiram and Laloo Prasad Yadav disparaged the social base of communist party in backward peasantry of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. For instance, Kanshiram's radical rhetoric swept off entire swathes of Dalit working class base from the Left parties and annihilated their political presence in those constituencies. The above analysis points to an important facet of capitalist transformation in India where social movements may marginally change the social composition of the ruling classes to make it seem more 'inclusive' without affecting any progressive change to the condition of the working classes which contain a lion's share of the historically marginalised castes and communities of India.

The Mandir politics incubation also started in early years of Post Independence Indian state, The decisive Right-ward shift of Indian Politics can be ascribed to the Anti-Cow Slaughter movement of 1966. For the unversed, after this agitation led by sadhus of all hues, Indira Gandhi constituted a committee to pronounce upon feasibility of enacting a constitutional law to ban cow slaughter. This committee had stalwarts like M.S. Golwalkar, Sancharacharya of Puri, H.P. Mookherjee among other hard-core RSS leaders. The so-called left of centre Congress gave a high table to RSS, knowing the Fascist ideology they professed. Bourgeois Democracy by design, always gives room to and responds to politicization of Identity.

The Rajiv Gandhi's Ayodhya debacle gave greatest boost to the Hindutva forces to carve out the bedrock of their political and social mobilization around the Hindu Identity, the demand for Ram Mandir gained character of mass movement and was an watershed movement defining the rise and capture of state power by the Hindutva forces, a cultural turn embedding new form of politics that upstaged class. Fascism in India surely has an post-colonial aura, for it eulogizes (though while distorting) pre-modern indigenous/nativist values cultural symbols and icons, however they are merely an eyewash as Fascists project is purely a Modern one. Post Colonial aura works out in a way that there has been sudden upsurge of invention of icons/ values from our mediaeval pre-modern pasts, and more than often it comes in form of exaggerated iconographies. In their quest to create a Post-Colonial image of National Culture, a realization is not dawned upon that the aspirational classes both working or lumpen-proles living in urban centres divorced from their actual social settings cannot be mobilized around that Mediaeval 13th Century Sage or reformer writing on Equality beyond a small momentum. The most pressing question for them is material on how their income can and work/ living conditions can be improved. There is nothing Eurocentric about capitalist contradictions that creates more or less universal values that is of intensification of class contradictions and widening wealth inequality. The socio-economic situation changes, new contradictions arise and in the new situation new philosophy is born for their resolution which surely learns from its heritage as well but does not expect from them the solutions of today's problem. There can't be solution to major contradictions facing capitalist social formation today from philosophy or icons of mediaeval or pre-modern past. But through mobilization of working masses on class lines.

5.4 Upstaging of Historical Materialism and New Episteme of Fascism

A drunkard in a gutter is in a place he ought to be" said a Bourgeois Public Intellectual sanitizing inequalities of class society and putting entire onus of one's misery on oneself as case of sheer individual failure rather than alienating and exploitative social relations. As per historical Materialist analysis it's our Social existence that shapes our consciousness and not the other way round. The Bourgeois Democracy proliferated sheer reaction to the challenge of the Paris Commune since 1871 and degenerated into police state, in epistemological arena too several irrational theories and discourses were invented that acted as precursor to religious/ ethnic fanaticism culminating in fascism. Before the age of "Passive Revolution(s)" when capitalism was still progressive, Bourgeois-idealist dialectics competed and engaged with Historical materialism, but after Paris Commune, irrational Bourgeois philosophies beginning with Nietzsche became the new norm (in face of class struggles) which were downright unwilling to study the opponent and engage in honest scientific polemics. These irrational philosophical undercurrents in imperialist period rejected the very idea of socio-historical progress, uncritically glorified intuition and disparaged 'reason'. These philosophies were instrumental in rise of fascism in History. With the ascendancy of Soviet Union and the eventual onset of the 'cold war' aimed at countering communism, irrational philosophies incubated and gave birth to new episteme such as Post-Modernism, Post-Structuralism and Post-Colonialism, Idealist Critical theory, post-Marxism.

Their defiance of Modernity, Universality and idea of progress suited the impending Neo-liberal onslaught to mar the centrality of Class question in order to dismantle the very inertia of class struggles in face of extreme class exploitation and misery.

Today in name of Critique of Eurocentrism, Reason, Decolonising mind, primacy of Intersectionality- the very idea of progress and modernity is problematized. Historical materialism- the only weapon to liberate working masses is condemned as untouchable orthodoxy.

Moreover, all those who say Class is dead and people prefer "identity recognition" over class, should understand that Bourgeois Democracy has no avenue for amelioration of Class Question, as private property is Ultima Thule of Bourgeois

legal form which includes Constitution. There exists a crude separation of Political rights (Democracy) from Economic rights (Relations of Production) in Bourgeois Democracy, while former has legal backing the latter has no guarantee. This crude separation of economic and political is instrumental for reproduction of capitalism and legitimation of Bourgeois Democracy.

Free Choice in Capitalism emanates from the fact that every citizen is entitled with a equal legal personality institutionalised in form of Right to Equality. Thus, right to equality before law endows the worker with a legal personality which confers him with a political personality to become a member of a political society and it is this political recognition that obscures the reality guiding his economic life; the exploitative relations of production based on economic coercion, where he/she has no control over his economic life is totally abstracted from the realm of Bourgeois politics. A worker has no real agency or free choice when it comes to job, whether it's recruitment, termination or working conditions of job is exclusively decided by capitalist management. Even for basic demands against exploitative relations of production and poor work conditions, workers have to unionise, but trade union activities have suffered a significant blow in age of Neoliberalism, where contractual jobs and hire and fire policy prevails. Moreover, majority of Indians are jobless today, there is massive reserve of potential labour army- something that capitalism needs to depress wage rates in capitalism.

The scope of class struggle is extremely constricted by very design and structure of Bourgeois Democracy, whereas Bourgeois Political parties which are at core of ruling classes love to obscure class question and has been mobilizing masses on question of identity, religion and ethnicity for ages altogether in whatever garb of populism. A jobless/underpaid person alienated in economic life take shelter in religion and identity- (Remember they are rights guaranteed by Bourgeois Constitution) and there are social and political forces ready to channelize it to obscure class question.

Religiously charged Lumpen-proles aiding Fascist reaction and violence from either side of majority or minority unleashing reactionary violence on each other are products and victims of class society. Religious feelings and affiliated superstitions beliefs emerged when human beings didn't understand the forces of nature, their ignorance and helplessness in face of forces of nature that caused events such as diseases let them to submit to only fantastic explanations to understand the forces of

nature, like Measles is caused due to Curse of Goddess etc., these forces of nature were often personified.

In this age of scientific advancement and progress, when forces of nature had been significantly brought under control of humanity and it been greatly revealed to us how they work, and mysteries and riddles shrouding them have been largely solved. Religious feelings, reaction and irrationality and superstitious dogmas are not diminishing but coming stronger in refurbished variants. Religion will persist in class society, as majority of masses live in precarious circumstances, and being absolutely powerless to change their destinies, they rely on "Supernatural entities" to change their misfortunes that emanates from the wretched conditions of existence they are caught in. The Ruling Classes find this helplessness and submission to an Supernatural entity and ideas like fate and karma an elixir to sustain their class rule and creates a systemic design to embroil masses in religious questions in midst of glaring inequalities and class oppression of millions of people.

The monstrous precarity that Neo-liberalism creates is filled through Ideologies and discourses that defy logic, reason and idea of progress and attack primacy of materialist method. Subjective idealism and other idealist mystification makes us believe that ideas move the matter. The Ramayana telecast on TV in run up to Neo-liberalism was not incidental, nor the shows reiterating supernatural dogmas like Nagin and other mythological trend ruling television today are not mere incidental.

Epistemes such as Post-Structuralism, Post Modernism and Post-Marxism or Hermeneutics which critiques "Historical Materialism" as pedantic and deterministic, and claim that approximately true facets of history and politics can be revealed only through discursive method, reproduce continuation of Liberal Political theory rather than rupture contrary to claims. They don't see class struggle as primary contradiction which acts as locomotive of history, through which several historically successive social formations emerge. But rather present a hunky-Dory story of discursive dynamics that shapes History, by erasing class struggle from history they see Liberal democracy as natural culmination in history which can be studied by revealing multiplicity of claims, agencies, political actors involved through discursive approach. Same as how Adam Smith saw Capitalism as internal development of natural economy from times of pre-history.

So as Alfred Soboul and Georges Lefebvre through their seminal work with empirical details studied French revolution from lens of Historical Materialism, that is Revolution is to be explained in the last analysis by a contradiction between the social basis of the economy and the character of the productive forces.

Thus for them class struggle and contradictions between emergent Bourgeois and feudal nobility lead to "French Revolution", whereas for likes of Francois Furet who undertook Revisionist and Ideological reading of Revolution published through "Cambridge University Press"the French revolution can be studied only through discursive dynamics and not at all through the role of social forces and that it was not class contradictions but internal struggle between political and cultural elites that lead to Revolution. As per him, the popularization of Rousseau's concept of popular sovereignty that led to Revolution which was primarily Political and not a Social. The word class is replaced by political and cultural elite. So, if French peasants were blood sucked by rising taxes by feudal absolutist state or new petty Bourgeois or Bourgeoisie who were emerging due to development of productive forces didn't find themselves in contradictions with absolutist state.... It was not this material contradictions in last instance (with other specificities/ heterogeneities- which Marxists study too) which should describe Revolution, but that Petty Bourgeoisie and Bourgeoisie grew in harmony with feudal relations, yes that is possible in their fanciful world. Yes in Every Social Formation, Political Elites and Cultural elites grow naturally they don't suck blood of Workers and peasants to extract surpluses and hence no class contradictions are involved.

The language of Post-Marxist approach which borrows heavily from Furet is same, Class is replaced by Political/ Cultural Elites, materials questions are totally displaced, every class is deemed with an fantastic uniformity as Political subjects of Liberal State as a broader category of 'People', so how they bargain with state within domain of representational politics is all that we should study from discursive method, of course. So Monopoly Capital wanting to squeeze Workers by new labour code and disposes small peasantry and tribal is not a question of class contradictions in final instance but that specific castes with (erased class) within larger umbrella of "people" are pro- Hindutva and those Pasanda Muslims/ tribal communities are being well received and represented by BJP. Hindutva is this and that, Political Elites are making a good alternative project of New India. What is Hindutva without Monopoly

Capital??? Why this Ideological ensemble of "New India" was not possible until we reached stage of transition to Monopoly Capital, which requires greater concentrated appropriation and exploitation of resources and thus creating a homogenised universal- for unflinching accumulation of surpluses without any challenge by merging various aspects of particulars.

The absolute intellectual bankruptcy of epistemes such as post-Marxism, of course Ideological, is revealed so immanently but still academics can't see the obvious. Post-Marxism augurs well with Neo-liberalism's staunch ahistoricity and also essentialize plurality of subjective positions (while seeking to dismantle class essentialism) and therefore social heterogeneity-- that was to become hallmark of post-Fordist era, yes production process does spill over to social form forming totality of Capitalist reality. Its primary bankruptcy is revealed through its clamour for generalization and extension of Liberal democratic logic, by seeing power 'within' system as necessary consequences of social division and antagonism which can establish true condition of freedom. Here Liberal Democratic/ Capitalist state's class character and power is exonerated by and large as that of neutral referee not only receptive to plurality of political subjects but also exalts it as an ideal model where social divisions and antagonism are mediated. Understandably derived from this position, their idea of social change is merely shifting relationship between constitutive elements within the system. Their discarding of Revolutionary break with Capitalism and vision of emancipated society as 'empty talk' provides strong thrust to liquidate the very idea of Revolution.

However, it's most vulgar manifestation is seen in contemporary discourse on Populism. Populist reasoning not only legitimise inherent Fascist tendencies of Liberal State by romanticising fragmented and plural subjectification creating 'universal' through mass mobilization. Thus Hindutva Politics creating universal- by creating cunning mix of plurality of political subjects and fragmented identities without allegiance to larger social relations qualifies to be interpreted as the very ideal they propose that is "Radical Democracy"- A democracy with defined limits of radicalization- nothing beyond that questions capitalism. There is thin line of separation between Idea of Radical Democracy and Fascism which they call as Right-wing Populism. Can there be a system preserving (Capitalism and Liberal democracy) farce as ugly as this one??? Jacobinism of French Revolution, Paris Commune and 20th

Century Fascism for them are on same pedestal of Authoritarianism. But 21st century "Fascism" is mere Right-wing Populism: something technically closer to Radical Democracy. A form of analysis that sanitizes political action from material questions and contradictions that emanates from this stage of monopoly capital and Imperialism. Besides eulogizing the Democratic facade of Bourgeois Democracy which is purely procedural in their own terms. No doubt monopoly Capitalist will give fortunes to promotes such discourse in Bourgeois Civil Society and their agents will readily agree to this.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND FINDINGS

This study explored the interface between developmental strategies of post-independent India and Democratic Politics, in other words to an what extent democratic control from below impinges upon or shapes the developmental trajectory i.e. the modulations and mechanism of capitalist transformation and consequent class questions concerning material lives of Indian masses. While the Liberal theory regards Bourgeois state as a neutral referee, amenable to various class interests represented by the various social classes, Marxist theory sees it as an appendage of the ruling classes and the latter is of interest to this study. The Marxist theory traces the origin of Modern Capitalist State to various Bourgeois revolutions marking the start of all pervasive ascendancy of capitalist classes in domain of economics, politics, culture and scientific which dismantled the feudalism. However, the trajectories of ascendancy of capitalism and dissolution of feudalism differs in different social formations, the late and stunted development of capitalism often led to articulation of feudalism with capitalism or compromise between Bourgeoisie and Feudal forces against the threat of emergence of third contender for power that is proletariats. These compromised trajectories of Capitalist development without undergoing Revolution and consequent emergence of Bourgeois State, is called as Passive revolution.

The Passive Revolution or Revolution from above marked the creation of Bourgeois State in India, the Congress government led nation building was an emergent class project which reproduced the domination of ruling classes. The ruling coalition comprised of powerful social groups i.e., business elites, large landholder and managerial bureaucratic elites that India inherited at the eve of independence despite virtual autonomous character of Indian state, (marked by accommodation of marginalised interest through constitutional guarantee and affirmative action) were able to form coalition on basis of congruence of class interest to consolidate their class interest.

It therefore came as no surprise when Nehru's vision of socialism was ultimately reduced, in the final analysis, to the politics of administering capitalism through the public sector wherein the State supported a mixed economy in tandem with the needs of an emerging Bourgeoisie, whose profound need for primitive accumulation was satisfied by the Nehruvian socialism. By gaining access to the centralised wealth reserves, Nehru's policies of import substitution, bank nationalisation, and protectionism helped create the state framework necessary for Indian capitalism to develop and prosper. With the advent of neoliberalism around the world, it was this centralization of capital and resources obtained under "Nehruvian socialism" that was held captive to privatisation and acquisition by the same capitalist organisations and more. Even in Indira Gandhi's tenure, the state regulatory mechanism of licensing was subverted by big business leading to monopolisation, landed interest within congress party staged failures of land reforms in ensuring distribution of land for social good was diverted to proliferation of capitalist farmers.

Moreover, in Indian Social formation the "revolution without a revolution", popular initiative of the masses is restricted as much as possible, as it was in Italy and Germany, the two countries where the aforementioned "Passive Revolution" led to fascist catastrophes in the 20th century and it is the inference of this study that Fascism arrives on the political scene of those countries whose history is marked by "Passive revolution". The contemporary rise of fascism in India was investigated using the above theoretical framework of "passive revolution". In India, the seeds of contemporary Fascism can be traced back to the period of national struggle for independence during colonial times.

The 'Idea of India', often used interchangeably for 'Nehruvian Consensus' was a liberal project that is being dismantled today and alternative bloc that is 'New India' is in throes of its formation. The present work has analysed the various dynamics of 'New India' as an ensemble of material conditions, ideology, culture and Ethico-political constituents. However, the Idea of India and New India, both are class projects of Indian Bourgeois class. The Idea of India too have had it's fascist momentum as evident from National emergency of 1975. And therefore Emergency being dubbed as "Anushashan Parva"- "Disciplinary Era" by Vinoba Bhave requires greater scrutiny. The working-class led democratic contestations from below are historically mandated to be disciplined in a Bourgeois order through myriad legal forms. . Karl Marx in

Capital Volume 1 had discussed with rise of capitalism and up to the throes of Bourgeois Revolution in England and France, how several terrorists laws fulfilled functionality of 'disciplining' the expropriated and newly created "free workers" into the system of wage-labour. It has been argued that since capitalism in Europe came before Democracy, the workers were already disciplined in industrial production process and Bourgeoisie there faced no significant democratic obstruction in initial years. Whereas in countries such as India, development of capitalism that required disciplining the expropriated and free workers faced democratic obstruction since sequential relationship between capitalism and democracy didn't exist here but was simultaneous. Though all Bourgeois Democracies post Paris Commune adopted a Constitutional scheme that managed democratic control from below by iron fist, and Indian constitution was no different. Nehruvian developmental model was no democratic, however in early 1970s the Naxalbari movement had radicalised class question and trade union activities especially in Mumbai were gaining momentum, Emergency as often portrayed by Congress intelligentsia as 'Socialist turn' was not socialist in any manner, it's been also read that emergency was significant offensive of Capitalist modernity to curtail rise of fascists and reactionary interest groups, but we all saw these forces only got emboldened post emergency period and Fascist forces such as Shiv Sena was stealthily strengthened by congress in the same period, what emergency actually ensured was overnight transformation of Indian Bourgeois state as a police state revealed to us that it would go at any length to manage democratic control from below, by brutally cracking down all civil liberties. Emergency was Anushashan Parva for working masses and their movements in India, from being forcibly sterilized like stray animals to dissipating inertia of working-class movements and centrality of class question, it did discipline the working masses and contained Democratic control from below. Shiv Sena's Reactionary Politics came to challenge the Communist consciousness and working-class unity that was brewing in Bombay at behest of Indian ruling classes. This was one of the earliest start of Fascism destroying working class movements in History. The Fascism is an important intervention to undertake more brutal disciplining the people's mass movement and working-class organization due aid the interests of big capital.

For Instance, the Idea of India which was ideological ensemble of national project of Indian Bourgeoisie for National Integration using values that reflected

ideological foreground of India's struggle for independence. Achieving national cohesion and managing national question was of great interest to still nascent Bourgeoisie. However, RSS lead alternative political project if not class project that rejected Idea of India. For instance, RSS not hoisting Indian flag until 2002 should not shock anyone, they always have had alternative political project to that which was carved out in 1947 through transfer of power, though both are Bourgeois Class projects with varied specificities, the ideological ensemble of former centred around New India and latter known as Idea of India, however both these ensembles harmonized on strict allegiance to Bourgeois economic form. To say in other words, the contradictions between Bourgeois Democratic project led by Congress and that of Fascist project led by BJP-RSS is merely cosmetic, they merely fulfilled specific functionality to get the Bourgeois Class project get going at different historical junctures responding to class struggle. However why it took Hindutva right around five decades to assimilate itself within the bourgeois National project- as defined as time of independence was not that it had change of heart, but that with onset of Neo-liberalism, the socio-economic transformations and run up to stage of monopoly capital necessitated greater concentration of economic resources to aid accumulation, the old equilibrium of social forces and consequent pockets of impending class struggle in face of Capitalist crisis became impediment that could be shattered only through a new political force that was ready to liquidate that old social equilibrium of various classes with little scope of class struggle. And Hindutva Fascist project was most ideal option for ruling classes henceforth and thus to take a centre stage role, BJP harmonized their Hindutva project with bourgeois National Project by not only embracing Tricolour flag but also pushing hyper-nationalist discourses. Thus, both BJP and Congress are harmonized today as part of same historical bloc- The bourgeois Class National project as they were earlier with different trajectories.

Moreover, the Civil society in India today reproduces the representative logic of bourgeois State while obscuring the class question in totality. Even the praxis appearing to be posing the class question is economistic and reeks of left Populism. For instance, the trajectory of farmers protests so far in terms of nature and demand reveals that it is a moment of 'organic passage' for the subaltern classes towards the state of ruling classes to ensure consensual basis for domination of latter. The movement

merely reinforces social basis of the political power of the dominant class of kulaks or capitalist farmers in the state apparatus.

Furthermore, the Farmers' protests do not challenge the Bourgeoisie's claim to universality or to promote 'common good' by posing alternatives to bourgeois order. Instead, the demands' charter of the Farmer's movement exposes the true nature of the protests and the narrow, particularistic class interests (under smokescreen of universality) that it shares with the ruling classes i.e., its own share in the accumulation of capital. Therefore, some important findings of this research are enumerated in the following paragraphs.

The bourgeois State in India has since inception undertaken the process of 'Conservative modernisation' from above serving the interests of Ruling Classes. Structural Inequalities in India, despite the modulations of Capitalist transformations pervades and reproduces itself mainly due passive Route of bourgeois Revolution. Every Social- Political upheaval in Independent India changed the composition of Ruling Classes without changing its hegemonic role. to an important facet of capitalist transformation in India where social movements may marginally change the social composition of the ruling classes to make it seem more 'inclusive' without affecting any progressive change to the condition of the working classes which contain a lion's share of the historically marginalised castes and communities of India.

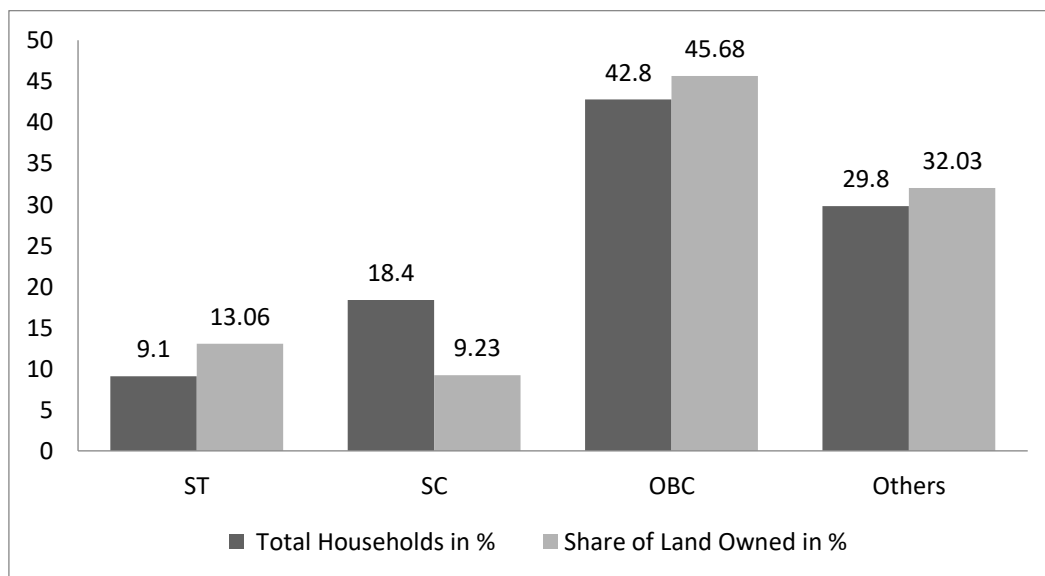
The Fascism as a historical form with certain universal core features had very high probability of ascension despite some peculiar specificities of India Social Formation since history.

The Civil Society in India while bargaining for the super-structural transformations and reproducing commodity relations has conveniently eluded question of relations of production.

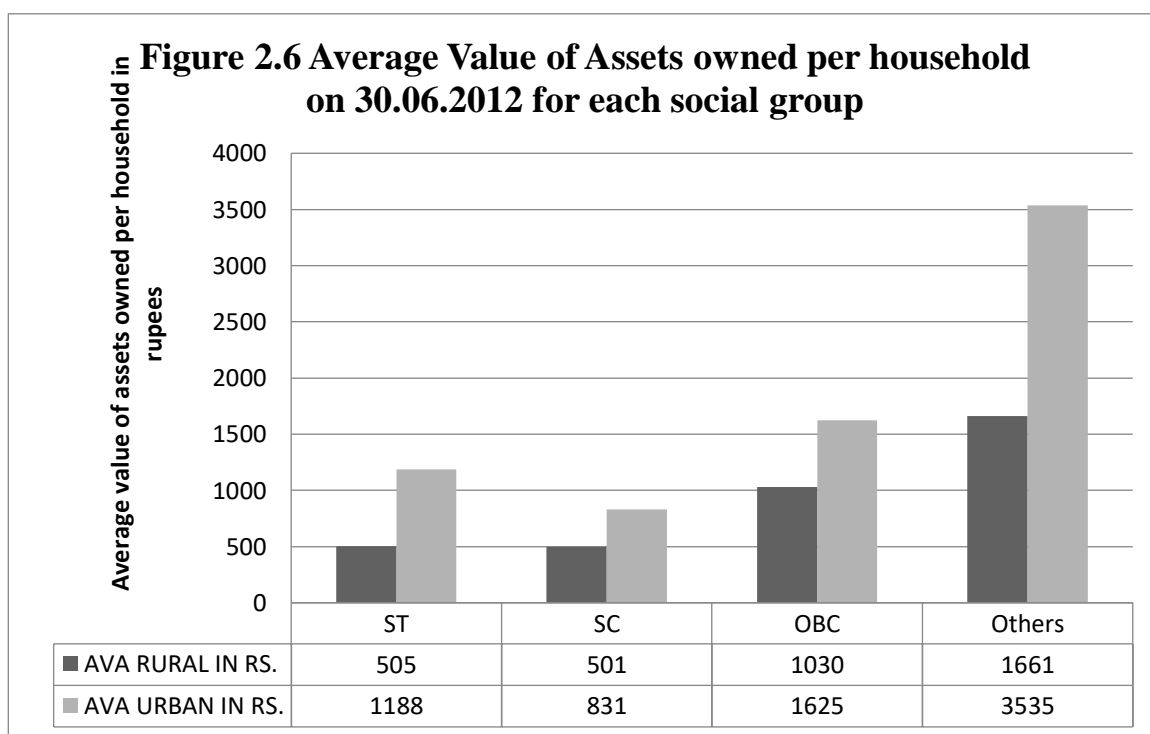
The Democratic control from below in India is circumscribed by very designs of Bourgeois Constitutional form.

Appendix

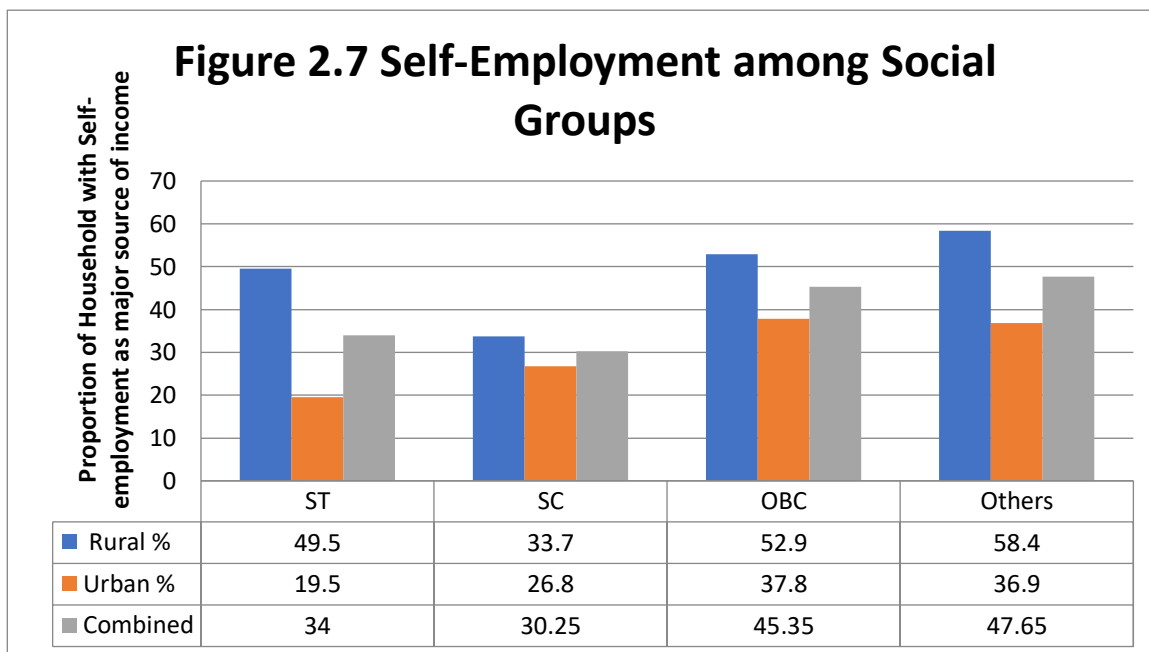
Figure 2.5 Relative share of Land owned by households in each Social Group category



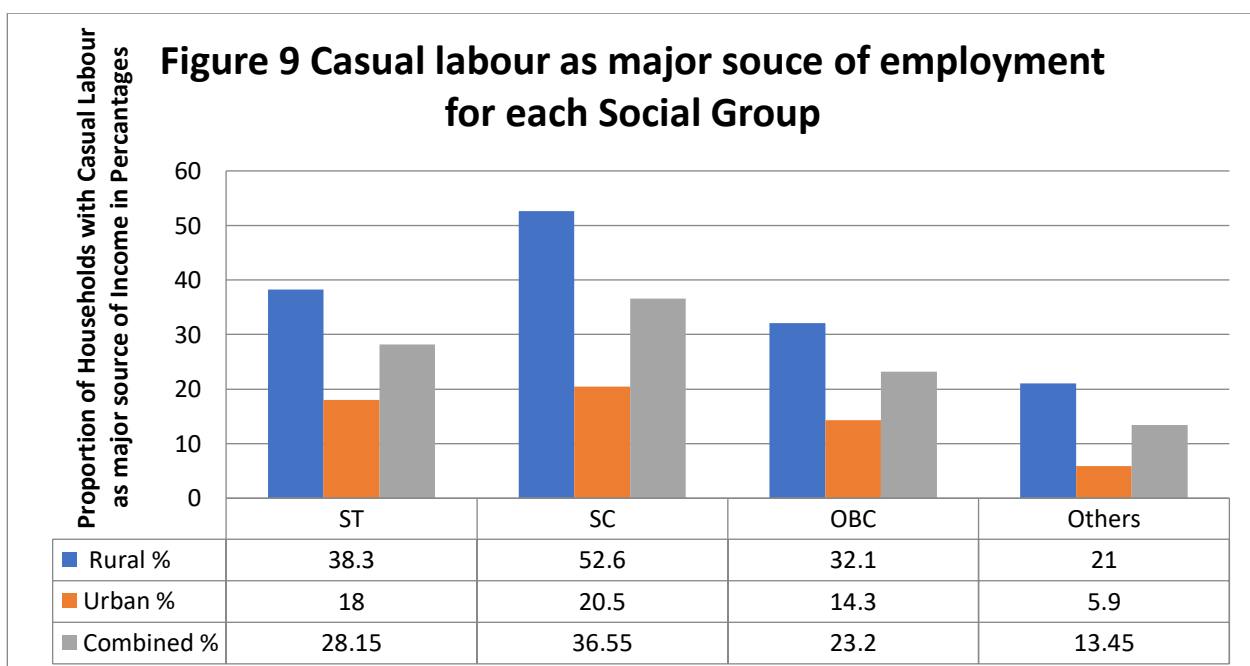
Source: NSSO 70th Round “Land and Livestock Holding Survey”



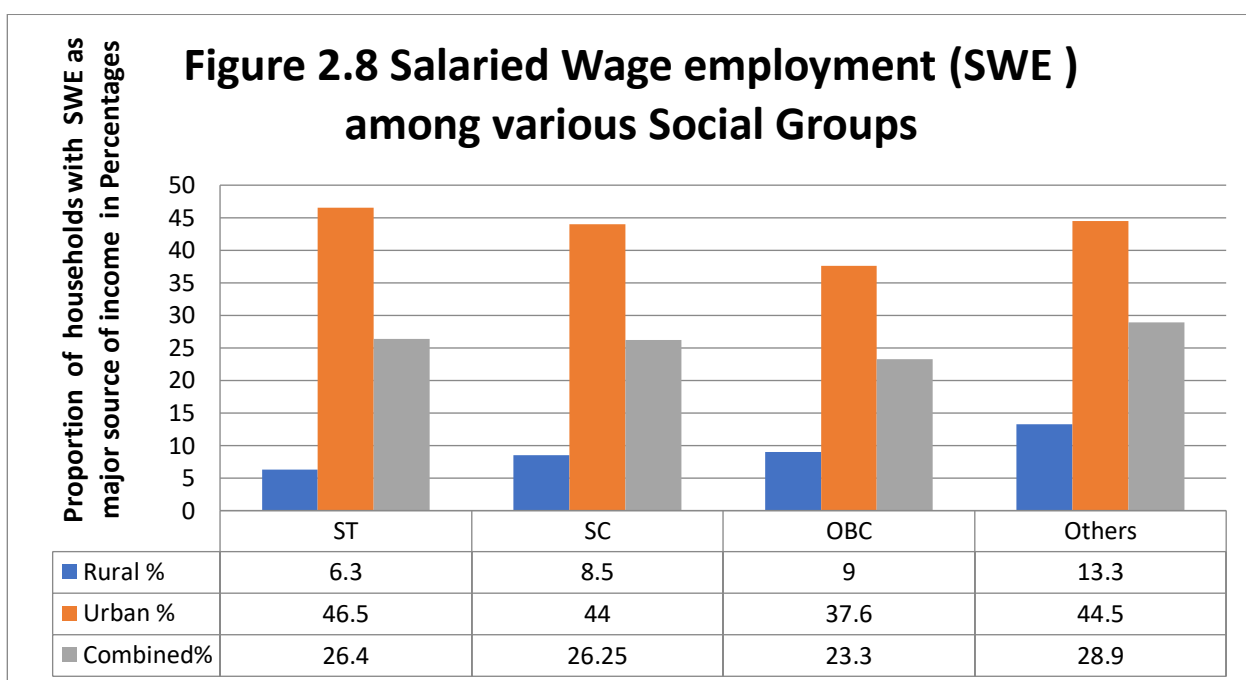
Source: NSSO 70th Round (Jan-December 2013) “Household Assets and Indebtedness among Social Groups”.



Source: Figure 8 Employment and Unemployment Situation among Social Groups in India, National Sample Survey Organization, NSSO 68th Round (July 2011-June 2012)



Source: Employment and Unemployment Situation among Social Groups in India, National Sample Survey Organization, NSSO 68th Round (July 2011-June 2012)



Source: Employment and Unemployment Situation among Social Groups in India, National Sample Survey Organization, NSSO 68th Round (July 2011-June 2012)

*The higher incidence of salaried wage employment among ST and SC categories in urban areas can be explained due to affirmative action of state, where government sector jobs are reserved for these categories in proportion to their population

Table 2.2 and 2.3 Average monthly income, consumption expenditure and net investment in productive assets per agricultural household during July 2012-June 2013 for each size class of land possessed.

Size class of land Possessed (ha)	Total Income in Rupees (Rs.)	Total consumption expenditure (Rs.)	Net investment in Productive assets (Rs.)
<0.01	4561	5108	55
0.01-0.40	4152	5401	251
0.41-1.00	5247	6020	540
1.01-2.00	7348	6457	422
2.01-400	10730	7786	746
4.01-10.00	19637	10104	1975
10.00+	41388	14447	6987

Source: NSSO Report Some Characteristics of Agricultural household in India Jan-Dec 2013, 70th Round.

Size class of land Possessed (ha)	Per 1000 Distribution of Agricultural household by Social Groups					
	ST	SC	OBC	Others	All	
<0.01`	94	280	522	104	1000	
0.01-0.40	97	224	446	233	1000	
0.41-1.00	157	159	452	232	1000	
1.01-2.00	176	109	455	260	1000	
2.01-400	138	77	472	313	1000	
4.01-10.00	80	62	444	414	1000	
10.00+	32	29	528	411	1000	
All Sizes	134	163	454	249	1000	

Source: NSSO Report Some Characteristics of Agricultural household in India Jan-Dec 2013, 70th Round

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