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**Deconstructing the Hegemony of the State :
Dialectics of Domination and Resistance**

Sheo Narayan Singh

Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
2003

Sheo Narayan Singh, 2003

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Published by

Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

Teen Murti House

New Delhi-110011

e-mail : nmml@vsnl.net

ISBN : 81-87614-20-X

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Capitalist order has never been sustained (merely) by 'the dull compulsion of economic relations' (Marx) and State regulation is not something that can be relegated to the dark ages of 'primitive accumulation'; it was, is and continues to be an essential relation of capitalism, coextensive with bourgeois civilization itself. 'The State' is the form in which the bourgeoisie organizes its social power, but that power-and its fundamental violence-is not just the visibly and externally repressive one of 'prisons, bodies of armed men, etc. ' The enormous extent of that power cannot be understood unless State forms are understood 'as cultural forms, State formation as cultural revolution, and cultural images as continually and extensively State-regulated. A central dimension-we are tempted to say, the secret-of State power is the way it works within us.

Corrigan and Sayer (1985, 199-200).

What is the State? Is the State a thing or a myth? Writers like Cassirer (1969), following Plato, Machiavelli and Hegel, emphasis 'the myth of the State', "to Hegel the State is not only representative but the very incarnation of 'the spirit of the world' " (Cassirer, 1969, 263). However, History teaches us that the State is both a thing and a myth. Philip Abrams (1988), in his article on 'The difficulty of studying the State', after examining the literature on the subject from Marxist writers to the political sociologists, answered the question thus, "The State, then, is not akin to the human ear. Nor is it even an object akin to human marriage. It is a third order object, an ideological project. It is first and foremost an exercise in legitimating ... " and suggested for studying the State, as what he called as the 'the politically organized subjection'.

Corrigan and Sayer (1985), following Abrams have argued to treat the State formation as cultural revolution, the modern State being embedded in the meta-

narrative of capitalist social order. I propose to extend this approach in this paper, by applying Gramscian analysis to study the dynamics of the State-Society relations in the colonial and the postcolonial India. Although Gramsci himself did not examine the complexities of the State formation, in a colonial situation, his concepts of passive revolution, hegemony, relations of force, national popular, war of movement and war of position, etc., offer a powerful methodology to deconstruct the hegemony of the State, in conditions of peripheral or colonial capitalism. Gramsci postulated the concept of 'passive revolution' to explain the circumstances of State formation in Italy, without 'fundamental' transformation of the pre-capitalist social structure, "the important thing is to analyze more profoundly the significance of a 'Piedmont' -type function in passive revolutions i.e. the fact that a State replaces the local social groups in leading a struggle of renewal. It is one of the cases in which these groups have the function of 'domination' without that of 'leadership': dictatorship without hegemony" (Gramsci, 1971, 105-6).

During the historically specific period of colonization of India, in the mid-eighteenth century, the 'classic capitalism' in England was entering the phase of industrial-capitalism and State formation was acquiring the form of 'nation-State' . Ironically, as I will be discussing in the second chapter, industrialization of England was causing deindustrialization of India and the formation of the colonial State was taking place as the instrument of rising metropolitan bourgeoisie, not indigenous bourgeoisie. Thus, grounding the formation of the modern nation-State, in the conditions of the rise of capitalism and the Age of Enlightenment, this paper proposes to deconstruct the hegemony of the State in India from the age of *Company Raj* to *Swaraj*.

Historically, the nation-State, as an instrument of socio-political management of post-feudal societies is a product of the rise and worldwide expansion of capitalism. The emergence of modern nation-State, nationalism and politico-juridical technologies of modern regime of power developed simultaneously, in

the Western Europe and are rooted in the meta-narrative of Enlightenment. The liquidation of feudalism and the monarchical state system, occurred in the same temporal and spatial setting in Europe. Colonialism, however, caused a break in the independent and endogenous evolution of the society and the formation of the modern nation-State in India. Herein, lies the crux of the problematic of society, polity, economy and culture of modern India, colonial as well as post-colonial. Colonialism caused a rupture in the normal evolution of Indian society. State and society, herein after, were regulated as a periphery to the mechanism of ascending industrial revolution of the metropolis, i.e. the British Empire, till India's independence in 1947.

The formation of the colonial State, heralded fundamental changes in the State-Society relations in India. Pre-colonial monarchical States, worked on the principle of fair amount of autonomy for the socio-cultural life of people. The colonial State, involved in its legitimizing exercises 'entered' the zone of the centuries of 'autonomy' of the indigenous social structure by way of administrative, educational, medical and legal interventions. Interventions of the colonial State in the inner workings of indigenous social structure ignited nationalist protest. In 1885, the formation of Indian National Congress gave concrete platform to national liberation movement. Borchoy (cited in Munk, 1986) has postulated the concept of 'conditions of production', meaning thereby the sum total of geographic, historical and anthropological conditions of production of a country, to explain the material background of the 'national-question'. "Nationalism or national consciousness emerges from life under same conditions of production in the same way that relations of production shape the formation of social classes" (Munk, 1986,43).

Nationalism or national consciousness, in the colonial setting, thus emerged in confrontation with colonial State, for recovery of 'free' conditions of production, appropriated by the alien rulers. Therefore, in India, history of the independent State formation is coterminous with the development of nationalism in

confrontation with colonialism. I will be examining different facets of the dialectics of the hegemonic project of the colonial State and the counter hegemonic project of the nationalist movement in the third chapter. Colonial encounter was thus a confrontation of new modes of production (industrial capitalism with pre-capitalist mode of production); new modes of domination (rational-legal with traditional charismatic); new world view (modernity with indigenous cultural religious world view).

The Indian National Congress, which led the nationalist movement, was transformed into the State, after independence in 1947. (Gramsci 1971,226-7) observes, "party is an embryonic State structure ... classes, produce parties, and parties form the personnel of the State and government, the leaders of civil and political society". Thus even before acquiring the State, the dominant party exercised the hegemony over the dominant classes and presented itself as leading the subaltern classes as well. The problematic of the hegemonic project of the postcolonial State, will be examined as dialectics of capital and community in the fourth chapter. Final chapter will be the concluding remarks about the discussion and analysis in this paper.

The objective of this paper, is to explore a holistic perspective of the hegemonic processes, projects and apparatuses of the State, particularly in view of the contemporary context of the dichotomization of the 'executive' (mineralization and rolling-back) and the 'economic' (globalization and liberalization) functions of the State, by the current neo-liberal orthodoxy and its proclamation of 'withering away of the State', under the onslaught of the 'irresistible' and the 'invincible' global market forces. We may recall Gramsci, here again, "Thus it is asserted that economic activity belongs to civil society, and that the State must not intervene to regulate it But since in actual reality civil society and State are one and the same', it must be made clear that *laissez-faire* too is a form of State regulation, introduced and maintained by legislative and coercive measures" (Gramsci, 1971, 160).

Gramscian notions of Hegemony, have been applied, only recently to the study of the nature of the State power and the relationship between the colonial State and the native people. "It must be said that the history of the colonial State has not begun to be written" (Kaviraj 1994,24). Kaviraj, further, finds the concept of the hegemony to be inseparable from the question of the State, " they operate on the same level of generality or abstraction; and both of the concepts are relational: they do not indicate or refer to entities with clear boundaries, but fields with fuzzy edges. In them one must see the whole of the colonial world reflected in the grain of a term" (Kaviraj 1994,25).

The deconstruction of the hegemony of the State, is thus an investigation of the dialectics of domination and resistance, to account for the multilayered relationship of the State and the society, and the complex dynamics of the socio-cultural interplay between the dominant and the dominated classes and social groups. At the outset, I may clarify that I am not looking 'for' the hegemony, rather I am 'looking through' (deconstructing) the hegemony, that is, using it as a prismatic lens, to see and understand the complexities of the social reality, rather than find solutions to them, which is beyond the space and the scope of this work. This paper thus, is an excavation of the past to understand the present.

CHAPTER TWO

COMPANY RAJ: THE STATE FORMATION AND THE EXPANSION OF COLONIALISM

All the civil wars, invasions, revolutions, conquests, famines, strangely complex, rapid and destructive as their successive action in Hindustan may appear, did not go deeper than its surface. England has broken down the whole framework of Indian society, without any symptoms of reconstruction yet appearing. This loss of his old world, with no gain of a new one, imparts a particular melancholy to the present misery of the Hindoo, and separates Hindostan, ruled by Britain, from all its ancient traditions and from the whole of its past history.

Karl Marx, "The British Rule in India", *New York Daily Tribune*, June 25, 1853 (cited in R. Palme Dutt, 1940, 97).

2.1 Introduction

It is ironic that India, the country of the sub continental empires of ancient and medieval era, including the hegemonic States of Asoka¹ of third century B. C. and Akbar² of sixteenth century, could not witness the independent and endogenous transformation of its State and the society, in the modern age. The formation of modern nation State, under the alien conditions of the colonial rule of India, on the eve of the industrial revolution was a historic tragedy of epic proportions; the full implications of which on different facets of the culture, economy, polity and society of India, are reverberating in the postcolonial condition, in myriad paradoxes and contradictions, which will be discussed in the pages that follow. The break with the pre-capitalist past, in the modern era, thus coincided with the break with the independent and indigenous future.

The formation of the modern nation-State in India thus did not emerge out of the internal dynamics of the politics and culture of the indigenous society. In this

chapter, I will examine the different facets of the State formation in India, under the peculiar circumstances of the colonial conquest and as a consequence of the workings of the metropolitan bourgeoisie of England. The mid-eighteenth century, was a crucial period in the rise of the industrial revolution in England. The formation of the modern nation-State, in England was going through the critical phase of its becoming the concrete 'force' of the rising industrial bourgeoisie, capable of taking care of its overseas expansions. The formation of the colonial State, was taking place in India simultaneously, with the East India Company, obtaining *diwani* in 1765.

Pre-colonial Indian economy, which, according to Palme Dutt (1940) and Alavi (1989) was as developed as European economy, was reduced to an appendage of the metropolitan economy as a consequence of the colonial conquest. Further, as the scope and intensity of colonial exploitation increased, the metropolitan State took direct control of Indian society. "In the last quarter of the eighteenth century the central organs of the [British] State had to be invoked to regulate the operations of the Company in India" (Palme Dutt, 1940,120). The Governor-General appointed by the metropolitan State, exercised supreme powers over the colony. The problematic of the peculiar case of the State formation and its hegemonic project, in the colonial situation, will be discussed in the following paragraphs, in the context of the break up of the pre-colonial politico-economic and socio-cultural structures of indigenous society, as a consequence of the colonial encounter.

2.2 The Colonial Conquest: The Dialectics of Industrialisation of England and Deindustrialisation of India

According to writers like Palme Dutt (1940), the trade and manufacturing, in the precolonial India, were on a par with advancements, anywhere in the world. The land revenue obtained from the rural society financed flourishing pre-colonial urban society, comprising merchants, traders, artisans and clerks. During the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, Europe imported Indian cotton and

silk, by paying in gold and silver, as it did not produce anything which, could be bought for the requirements of Indian people. There was a scramble for trade with India, among French, Portuguese and English trading companies. It was in this context, that the East India Company, established in 1600, was engaged in trade with India.

After the death of Aurangzeb, the Mughal Emperor in 1707, India was plunged in internal wars, and European competitors were engaged in alliances and counter alliances with the native princely states, for a maximum share of the Indian trade. The battle of Plassey, in 1757, however, sealed the fate of waning internal and foreign powers; the East India Company defeated Nawab of Bengal and in 1765 obtained the powers of the civil administration in form of *diwani*. Cohn (1983) has examined the power relations between the East India Company and the native rulers. Mughal Emperor remained the 'cultural-symbolic' sign of the 'King of Delhi', and East India Company acted as the 'protector' of the notional authority of Mughal emperor, till the trial and exile of the last Mughal Emperor following the Revolt of 1857.

Palme Dutt (1940), Alavi (1989) and Fuller (1989) have examined different aspects of the colonial encounter with the indigenous social structure. According to them, the pre-colonial indigenous society was based on mutual balance of rural and urban economy. The demographic composition of Indian society offered plenty of cultivable land to the population. Therefore, "throughout pre-British India, there was ... emphasis on controlling people, rather than land" (Fuller 1989, 20). There was a hierarchy of *ryots*, *zamindars*, *mukhias*, *mansabdars*, *jagirdars*, above the labourer or cultivator, right up to the Emperor. Any centralization of power, at lower, middle or what Fuller calls 'supra-local' level caused a 'circulation of elites', that is replacement of the weak power holders by the stronger ones.

Revenue extracted from land financed this entire power structure. The

distribution of land revenue within the members of village community was consensual, known as *Jajmani system*, thus, a kind of patron-client relationship existed between *ryots* and *zamindars*. Although, revenue extraction to 'supra-local' levels was based on coercion, the 'supra-local' level of power structure left villagers at peace, after extraction of land revenue. The monarchical State, provided some kind of guarantee to the smooth functioning of the *Jajmani* system. Further in cases of harassment, labourers, artisans and peasants could move away from the exploitative zamindars or other 'supra-local' authorities. "The customary modes of Jand tenure, are the heart of Indian society" (Stokes, 1959, 26, cited in Fuller, 1989,29). Fuller, thus analyses the relationship between land, caste, and power from the perspective of control over *produce* of land and *people*, as the crux of politico-economic system of pre-colonial India. Juxtaposing the conventional anthropological view of "caste system as the heart of Indian society", (a view enforced by authoritative, but basically Brahmanical and functionalist work of Dumont, 1972), Fuller raises the interesting question, "as to whether the 'traditional' caste system is not also a creation of the British" (Fuller, 1989, 38).

Without going into debate about Fuller's view, which is beyond the scope of this paper, it can safely be said that the privileging of 'enumerated', clearly defined divisions of castes and communities, is a product of the modern regime of power, which needs to rationally 'fix' everything in a definite way. The reality of castes and communities, in India can better be understood in their characterization as being "fuzzy" and "unenumerated", (to use Sudipta Kaviraj 's terms). Kaviraj (1994), explains that the distribution of political control, economic power and status, was 'asymmetrical' between different strata of the traditional Indian society. For example, political control of *Kshatriya* did not automatically translate into economic power. Economic power of *vaisya* did not guarantee status of a Brahman. "Traditional society seemed to work on a practical arrangement of a thin, rent-receiving, partly marginal state ... a circle of circles of caste and regional communities, with the state sitting at the centre" (Kaviraj, 1994, 29). This

was the pre-colonial indigenous socio- cultural order of Hindustan, which Marx saw broken down by England, "*imparting a particular melancholy to the present misery of the Hindoo*".

The first major intervention of the colonial State in the workings of the indigenous society was the change in the system of land tenure. Lord Cornwallis, in 1793 introduced *permanent settlement*, on the basis of principles of private property in land, an alien concept for the indigenous society. "What is important here is not the introduction of private property rights in land *per se*, but their universal introduction as the lynchpin of the revenue system, backed by statute law and the British power thus the granting of the property rights in land to those responsible for the revenue destroyed the structure of the distributive system ... thus the British at the same time as they destroyed the top half of the distributive system (the economic dimension) also destroyed the top half of the political system ... the British rule, just as it finished off the Mughal Empire, also finished off the smaller political domains, leaving only the 'little kingdoms' of the new landowners" (Fuller, 1989, 34-5). Colonial conquest thus, destroyed the sources of indigenous rural economy as well as urban trade. Land revenue, which used to accrue to numerous 'supra-local' channels, engaged in flourishing urban trade and commerce, stopped reaching them, as entire revenue was appropriated by the colonial State. Colonial conquest, thus, led to de-industrialization of India, by causing destruction of native industries.

"Very soon after Plassey, the Bengal plunder began to arrive in London, and the effect appears to have been instantaneous ... the industrial revolution ... began with the year 1760 ... Plassey was fought in 1757, and probably nothing has ever equaled the rapidity of changes which occurred" (Brooks Adams, cited in Palm Dutt, 1940, 119). The drain of wealth from India, and extraction of exploitative land revenue from cultivators, resulted in one of the worst famines of human history in Bengal in 1770. Let us contrast the changes occurring in two major centres of trade and commerce, of India and England during late-eighteenth and

early nineteenth century: "The population of the town of Dacca has fallen from 150,000 or 200,000 in 1787 to 30,000 or 40,000, in 1840 and the jungle and malaria are fast encroaching upon the town Dacca, which was the Manchester of India, has fallen off from a very flourishing town to a very poor and small one; the distress there has been very great indeed" (Sir Trevelyan and Sir Cotton cited in Palme Dutt, 1940, 127). Harrison (1984), completes the story, "Manchester-to start with that social setting which provides so many images for the period-had 27,000 people in 1773 and not a single cotton mill; by 1802 the population was 95,000 and there were fifty two cotton mills" (Harrison, 1984, cited in Corrigan and Sayer, 1985, 129).

2.3 The State Formation as Cultural Revolution: The Expansion of the Bourgeois-Capitalist Civilization

The formation of modern nation-State is closely linked with the rise and the expansion of capitalism. For Max Weber, it was the "closed nation-State which afforded to capitalism its chances of development" and for Karl Marx, "bourgeois society must assert itself in its external relations as nationality and must organize itself as a State" (Corrigan and Sayer, 1985, 1). The modern State formation, thus took place within the context of disintegration of feudal social order and emergence of the capitalist social order. Capitalism, therefore should not be seen just as industrial form of economy, rather it involved structural changes in the political, social as well as cultural spheres of life. Corrigan and Sayer (1985), therefore, have rightly characterized State formation as cultural revolution, describing how forms of social order are historically constructed, with special reference to relationship between State, nation and the bourgeois capitalist civilization.

I will be examining here, very briefly the views of Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim, Max Weber and Antonio Gramsci on various facets of the State formation, and its relationship with the bourgeois-capitalist civilization. Durkheim saw the break-up of the old feudal order, as progression of society from the form of mechanical

solidarity, to that of organic solidarity of capitalist system. As the names suggest, in the feudal system of mechanical solidarity, the individual's conscience was an integral part of society, or collective conscience like parts of an inanimate object. The individual was bound with the society, and therefore individual was not free. In organic solidarity, individual conscience gained freedom from the immobility of the collective conscience, that is individual became free for movement like different organs of a living organism. However, the individual's freedom from society, was now governed by the law, which is characterized by Durkheim as the 'nervous system' of the society, the 'expression of collective will'. The State, as enforcer and regulator of law thus, assumed its role in this context of break-up of the old social order. In words of Durkheim, "it is only through the State that individualism is possible" (Durkheim, 1904, cited in Corrigan and Sayer, 1985, 187).

Marx's view of the State, as the instrument of the bourgeoisie dominance in capitalist society, as a consequence of ownership and control over means of production, is well known. Marx has examined the complex relationship of the formation of the modern State, with the dissolution of feudal society in form of individuals, and the establishment of commodity relations as the fundamental features of the bourgeois civilization. Marx thus saw the State, as an instrument of domination of ruling classes, by coercion in view of the generalized context of social, political and economic inequality, in which the State operates, to regulate and maintain the dominant capitalist social order. For Marx the State, is 'the form in which bourgeoisie organizes its power', but he dwells on much wider implications of this phenomenon, "the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, the class which is the ruling material force in society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it" (Marx, cited in Miliband, 1969, 181). For Max Weber, the fundamental feature of modern capitalist civilization, is its

'rational-bureaucratic' organisation. The State, is the rational-bureaucratic organisation, par excellence. He says, "In fact, the State itself, in the sense of a political association with a rational, written constitution, rationally ordained law, and an administration bound to rational rules or laws, administered by trained officials, is known, only in the occident.. .. and the same is true of the most fateful force in our modern life, capitalism" (Weber, 1958, 16-7). Further, Weber describes three types of domination, 'rational' domination by law and regulations; 'traditional' domination by relying on the traditions and customs; and 'charismatic' domination by the charismatic qualities of leaders. While all three forms of domination coexist in all societies, the bureaucratic rationalization is the predominant form of organisation of modern society, irrespective of who controls the means of production.

Gramsci analyses the State, in terms of its multidimensional relationship with civil society. Capitalism, while 'freeing' the individuals of feudal system, as 'citizens' creates its own civil society. Gramsci articulates, different aspects and functions of the State, as 'ethical', 'educator' and 'interventionist'. The State, here, is seen beyond the 'class instrument', or 'rational-bureaucratic' organisation or enforcer of discipline. Gramsci says, "The State is the instrument for conforming civil society to the economic structure, but it is necessary for the State to be 'willing' to do this; i.e. for the representatives of the change that has taken place in the economic structure to be in the control of the State. To expect that civil society will conform to the new structure as a result of propaganda and persuasion, or that old *homo oeconomicus* will disappear without being buried with all the honours it deserves, is a new form of economic rhetoric" (Gramsci, 1971, 208).

What is relevant for the purposes of this paper, is that all the thinkers discussed above, link the State formation with the changes taking place in the social, political, economic and cultural dimensions of life, during the transition from feudalism to capitalism. The modern State thus represents the new social order of capitalism, embedded in the narratives of capital, rationality, individualism, bureaucracy, civil society, law and discipline.

As discussed earlier, the colonization of India coincided with the capitalist transformation of England. The colonial State, as subordinate arm of metropolitan State, therefore throughout reflected the changes taking place in the State formation in England. "State formation and cultural regulation reach a frenzy during the years of

Combination Acts of 1799-1800, what we can without exaggeration, call the English terror, when the working class was hammered and machined into acceptable relations" (Thompson, 1968, cited in Corrigan and Sayer, 1985, 115). This was the period of Company *Raj* in India, engaged in economic plunder initially, but with resources available, embarking on State formation, what Barrington Moore Jr characterises as 'evolution of British from piracy to Bureaucracy'. "In the middle of the eighteenth century the British were still organised for commerce and plunder ... by the middle of the nineteenth century they had become in effect the rulers of India" (Moore Jr, 1966, 341).

2.4 The Problematic of the Hegemonic Project of the colonial State: The Paradox of the State without the Civil Society

The company Raj, the early colonial rule was marked by resistances in form of the direct battle with the native rulers over the control of the territory under their charge, as well as rebellions of peasants and tribals against the colonial destruction of native industries and exploitative extraction of land revenue. The first peasant rebellion of 1770, known as Sanyasi rebellion was a revolt against the Famine of Bengal, as a consequence of plunder of Bengal and pauperization of the peasantry. Resistances to colonial domination persisted, making Lord Metcalfe, Governor-General in 1835-36, say that "all India is at all times looking for our downfall" (cited in Palme Dutt, 1940, 274). Major direct resistances to British rule were in the politico-economic terrain, in form of rebellions and revolts³, which were crushed by virtue of superior political, economic and military strength of the colonial State.

Therefore, these resistances could not result in counter hegemony, as these were not constructed in politico-economic and socio-cultural spheres, simultaneously. Gramsci (1971, 349) has emphasized the importance of the "socio-cultural unity through which a multiplicity of dispersed wills with heterogeneous aims, are welded together with a single aim, as the basis of an equal and common perception of the world". I will be elaborating the role of the socio-cultural unity in the construction of the counter hegemonic project of the resistance of nationalist movement against colonialism, in the next chapter. At this juncture, reading Foucault and Gramsci together, I would like to illustrate my conceptions of the dialectics of domination and resistance diagrammatically, as follows:

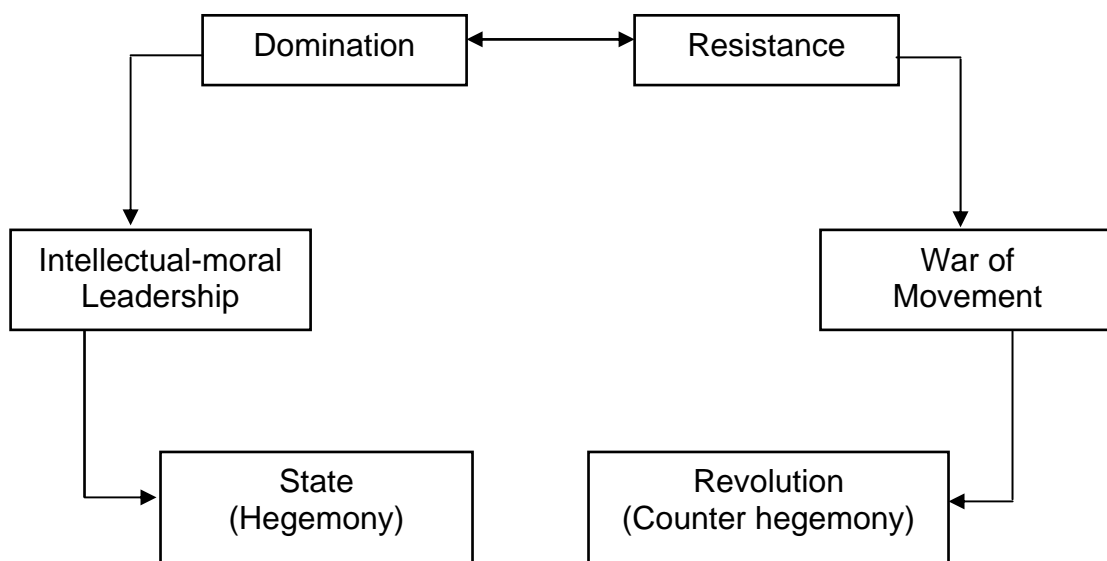


Fig 1. The Hegemony of the State: Dialectics of Domination and Resistance

If resistances, are organized as 'war of movement', these lead to subverting the dominant social order, resulting in the counter hegemony of revolution. The hegemony of the State, is established, if it's ethico-political and intellectual-moral leadership is consented by the ruled people.

In the colonial context, the State achieves the domination in politico-economic

terrain, despite the resistances of native rulers and peasant revolts. But colonial State does not succeed in dominating the socio-cultural-religious domain of the indigenous society. In order to organize consent for intellectual-moral leadership of its rule, that is, hegemony, the colonial State, therefore, attempted to rewrite the history and the past of the native society, by what Said (1979,3) has called as the 'orient list discourse', by which, "European culture was able to manage-and even produce-the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period".

The institutionalization of the hegemonic project of the 'orient list discourse' of the colonial State, took the concrete shape of the educational and cultural institutions like Asiatic Society (1784), the Archaeological Survey of India (1861) and huge body of the works of writers and reports, surveys and compilations of administrators. Thus, J. S. Mill, who was in the service of the East India Company, wrote the 'first' British History of India, proclaiming that "colonies should not be thought of as civilizations or countries at all, but as agricultural establishments whose sole purpose was to supply the larger community to which they belong" (cited in Madeley, 1992, 7).

Above discussion, clearly unveils the complexities of the State formation, and the problematic of its hegemonic project, under colonial conditions. Why could colonial State not extract surplus from land like pre-colonial States? Why did it require to 'intervene' in the 'inner workings' of the traditional social order and construct the hegemonic project of the universalizing claims of the superior West and the inferior East? Neither the liberal-functionalist concepts of the 'neutral' State, nor the orthodox concepts of the 'class' State, can explain the complex interplay of the power relations occurring in the politico-economic and socio-cultural domains, in the colonial context. Gramscian analysis provides us the methodology of de constructing the logic behind the hegemonic projects, processes and apparatuses of the colonial State. Kaviraj (1994) captures the issue in right perspective, "Once colonialism establishes itself in State or proto-

State form, it faces the problem of constructing a 'hegemonic' discourse in its favour" (Kaviraj, 1994, 34).

The colonial State, was thus engaged in constructing the hegemony over the ruled society, as a form of mediation of 'clash' of two contrasting civilizations, and organizing consent, by persuading the native population to accept its values and ideas to establish social authority of its rule, as a historical necessity. Hegemony, however, eluded the colonial State, as it was embedded in the very alien rule of colonialism. The colonial State, in India had not emerged as the 'executive committee' of the indigenous bourgeoisie. It was a vertical imposition, a product of the metropolis, and thus it had no corresponding civil society, to engineer the hegemony. Classic dilemma of the colonial State, lies here, that it was the modern State without the modern civil society. Gramsci comments, "State is political society plus civil society, in other words, hegemony protected by the arm of coercion" (Gramsci, 1971,262).

The colonial State thus lacked the sphere of hegemony, that is, the civil society and therefore had to create one. The colonial State, therefore entered into strategic alliances, with propertied classes of landlords, created via Permanent Settlement; educated middle classes, created through the English education; and militarily dependent native rulers. Alliance of the colonial regime with the native elites, was thus part of constructing a civil society, to establish 'ethico-political' and 'intellectual-moral' leadership over other social groups of the indigenous society. Governor-General Lord Lytton, while organizing 'imperial assemblage' comprising these supportive native elites, on the eve of the proclamation of Queen Victoria as the Empress of India on January 1, 1877, reacted in these words, "the Indian peasantry is an inert mass. If it ever moves at all it will move in obedience, not to its British benefactors, but to its native chiefs and princes, however tyrannical they may be" (Lytton, cited in Cohn, 1983, 191).

2.5 Conclusion

The formation of the colonial State, as the subordinate arm of modern nation-State, of England thus took place in the context of the rise and the expansion of the capitalist-bourgeois civilization. The indigenous urban and rural social structure, underwent the 'colonial transformation', as per the 'functional' requirements of the alien rule, and not 'fundamental' structural transformation. Native textile industries were destroyed, and instead of exporter of goods, India became the supplier of raw materials and the consumer of the goods manufactured in England. Massive colonial plunder financed the industrial revolution in England. The bourgeoisie in England 'crushed and machined' its own working class, in carrying out the capitalist revolution and the formation of the 'Great Arch' of the State. The colonial State suppressed the revolts and rebellions from the native elite as well as subaltern classes. However, the colonial domination in the politico-economic domains, could not engineer 'intellectual moral' leadership to its dominance, despite the orient list discourses of capital, rationalism, industrialism, improvement, along with its rational-bureaucratic coercion.

The peripheral capitalism, introduced by the colonial State in India, led to truncated social relations of production and power in the colony, in the absence of the fundamental 'structural' transformation, as happened in the metropolis. Social consciousness, therefore did not result into the class consciousness, accounting for the coexistence of the pre-capitalist and capitalist social formations, and thus failing to produce the modern civil society. The modern colonial State, thus lacked the corresponding 'sphere of the hegemony'. The native population, deprived of the 'free' conditions of production, awakened to the need of 'freeing' the colonized conditions of production. Therefore, 'national' consciousness grew stronger than the social consciousness. The colonial hegemony could be challenged only in the form of the counter hegemony of the national liberation movement, which was a resistance both in the politico-economic as well as the socio-cultural domains. This will be discussed in next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

THE COLONIAL STATE: THE DIALECTICS OF COLONIALISM AND DECOLONISATION

Decolonization never takes place unnoticed, for it influences individuals and modifies them fundamentally. It transforms spectators crushed with their inessentiality, into privileged actors, with grandiose glare of history's floodlights upon them.....Decolonization is the veritable creation of new men; the 'thing' which has been colonized becomes man during the same process by which it frees itself.

Frantz Fanon (1967, 28).

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the relationship of the formation of the State, with the bourgeois-capitalist social order, and the narratives of modernity, i.e., individualism (Durkheim); rationality (Weber); capital (Marx); hegemony (Gramsci) and power (Foucault), has been analyzed and discussed. In this chapter, I will be examining how the State acquires the territorial space for its existence and operationalisation, that is, the State becomes the nation-State. In the colonial context, consciousness of the native in a confrontation with the colonialism, finds concrete shape in the meta-narrative of the nation-State. Modernist conceptions of the nation, inter-play with the indigenous idiom of the *Bharat Mata*, that is, the mother India. The notion of the modern State, is refracted with the idioms of the traditional sub continental empires of the ancient and medieval ages.

The complexity of the State in a colonial situation, lies in the fact, that it represents progressive forces of rising industrial and financial bourgeoisie, in the metropolis, while in the colony it is an autocracy, allying with the conservative forces of the native princely rulers and landlords. This accounts for the dual

character of the colonial State, which poses the most serious challenge to its hegemonic project and provides the *raison d'être* to the nationalist movement to expose its hegemonic claims of 'the rule of law, the civilizing mission, the progress and the modernity'.

Anti-colonial consciousness, thus, articulates its counter hegemony, in the politico-economic domains (symbolized by the demand for independent State), as well as the socio-cultural domains (symbolized by the recovery of colonized nation). The 'imagined community' (to use Anderson's phrase), of the nation appeals to the dominant classes as well as the subordinate classes, as it constructs the project of the recovery of 'occupied' territory, and thereby unites people on linguistic-cultural identities. The State, acquires the concrete symbol of the agency of maintaining the security of the nation and ensuring its development in free India. The nation-State, thus, speaks for the whole community, cutting across the social differentiation. The national liberation movement, led by the Indian National Congress, mobilizes people, on this modern consciousness. Anti colonialism is combined with nationalism, which provides the ethical political leadership to the Congress party, thereby leading not only the dominant classes but representing the masses as well, thus claiming to speak for the nation as a whole. In this chapter, I will be examining multidimensional interplay of the constructions of the hegemonic projects and processes of the colonial State and the counter hegemonic projects and processes of the nationalist movement.

3.2 Colonialism: The Institutionalization of the Bourgeois System as the Hegemonic Project of the Colonial State

Foucault (1981), has stated that as power gets knotted in the structure of the State, similarly resistances to domination also, get knotted in a kind of structure of the revolution. Domination, in the instant case, is knotted in the system of the colonial State, and resistances in the political organisation of the national liberation movement. It is therefore, very important to understand the technologies of colonial oppression and exploitation, to be able to understand the

dynamics of resistances to it. Colonialism is not just physical occupation of a native territory, it is everyday form of oppression, institutionalized in the colonial State.

The Governor-General, appointed by the metropolitan State, since the early colonial rule was vested with supreme powers in the colony. Smith (1981), characterizes civil service, as the 'right arm' and army as the 'left arm' of the Governor-General, while civil service was an exclusive domain of the British till 1864, Company's armies at the level of soldiers comprised both Europeans and Indians. British India was divided into Districts, each district had a collector for revenue collection; a judge for administering justice and a police magistrate to maintain law and order. The policy of the colonial State towards dependent States of native rulers, who formed about one-third of the Indian territory was, that of 'non interference'. These native rulers provided the bulk of support to the British Raj. They had to pay for their protection, to the colonial State and maintain their own army for their *izzat*, honour. In reality, they were totally dependent on the Raj.

The structure of the colonial State remained the same between the Company (1765), and the Crown (1858). The revenue collector, the police *daroga* and the judicial magistrates, 'entered' the life of the centuries of autonomy of village communities, through the 'measurements' of land for 'correct' and exorbitant extraction of revenue, fact-finding missions, surveys, and administration of justice. "The net result of all this activity was the gradual transfer of authority from the village elders to the agents of government. Whereas in medieval England the royal courts attracted cases from the baronial ones by offering better justice, *in Company India the new courts attracted cases by offering the chance of success to bad cases*" (Smith, 1981, 635). This is how the colonial State, institutionalized the bourgeois system of oppression and denial of justice in the name of law and intrusion in the everyday life of people, in the name of progress and modernization.

Colonialism has come under academic scrutiny in the recent works of Said (1994), Dirks (1992) and Cooper and Stoler (1997). Said and Dirks consider the pioneering work of Fanon (1967), as the classic text of resistance of the colonized against the colonial oppression. Cooper and Stoler, while recognizing Fanon's contribution make a plea for the study of the interpenetration of the 'metro pole' and the 'colony', that is, the 'tensions of empire'. Fanon's analysis of colonialism, however, provides the most penetrating insight into the workings of the whole phenomenon of colonialism. Fanon (1967) sketches the topography of the world of colonialism, with the compartmentalization of life, represented by the settlers' bungalows and the natives' quarters, with the police and the army depositing terror and violence in the natives' bones. For Fanon, colonialism is violence, political, military, cultural, and psychic which can be overthrown only by greater violence. He unveils the psychological and cultural degradation of the native, as a consequence of colonial exploitation. "By the time a century or two of exploitation has passed, there comes about a veritable emaciation of national culture the poverty of the people, national oppression and the inhibition of culture are one and the same thing" (Fanon, 1967, 191).

Fanon, draws on the entire operational framework of imperial hegemony, since the mercantile era and shows how colonies were exploited to provide cheap raw materials and labour as well as market for the industrial revolution of Europe. In the postcolonial world, we are living in today, it may sound horrifying to 'bourgeois rationality', (*for the native, objectivity is always directed against him*' Fanon, 1967, 61) that Fanon advocates violence as the humanizing force, as a vehicle of liberation from the yoke of colonialism. Some may object to this kind of analysis as a way of 'naturalizing' colonialism. But Fanon's analysis, is crucial to make sense of the 'senseless' killings of people in massacres, like those during the Revolt of 1857 Jallianwala Bagh⁴, 1919, and Quit India movement, 1942.

Mobilization of illiterate and poor masses, against the colonial regime may be

understood, in this historical background of colonialism, as a mechanism of violence, the worst form of coercion. Peasant and tribal revolts during nineteenth and twentieth century culminating in the Quit India movement of 1942, were an expression of the common people to overthrow the exploitative colonial power by force, so that the colonized Self achieves liberation and authentic humanity in the process.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the colonial State, had become institutionalized in a system, the *Raj*. "Where there is no local, parliamentary control, the administrative arm inevitably encroaches on a far wider range of issues ... the State is on the way to becoming stronger than the society in colonial territory ..it was this feature which gave colonialism such 'systemic' qualities" (Anthony Smith, 1983, 28). The colonial State, therefore, represented the concrete context of the nationalist struggle, with its actions, decisions, policies and programmes, providing the terrain of conflict and agitation. The problematic of the hegemony of the colonial State lies in the fact, that it failed to create a political community, and a civil society, which nationalist movement succeeded in creating, by presenting a multi-class political mobilization of different social groups, against the imperial oppression.

3.3 Decolonisation: The Counter-hegemonic Project of the anticolonial Nationalism

India was witness to numerous invasions in the past but the invaders were incorporated in syncretic social structure, according a new caste status to many of them, accounting for the multiplicity of the caste configuration in India. But the colonial encounter with the indigenous society, differed from the past invasions by persisting to be alien, racist and exclusivist, thereby creating the Manichaeian dichotomies of the colonizer and the colonized, the white and the black, the modern and the traditional, the West and the East, the entire Orientalist discourse of the Other. The colonial encounter, therefore, was characterized by politico-economic and socio-cultural conflicts and had different impact on

different social groups in India. The attitude of the masses was of aggressive and violent overthrow of the colonial system because their communitarian life and social order, was devastated. The educated middle class, was ambivalent towards colonial rule; while they benefited by way of employment in subordinate positions of bureaucracy, the racist attitude of administration, alienated them from identifying with the colonial regime. The five hundred odd princely states identified themselves with the colonial regime, as did the new class of landlords.

The first major resistance to the colonial regime came in the form of the military and civil Revolt of 1857, also known as the First War of India's Independence. The revolt was led by ex-feudal chiefs, both Hindus and Muslims, in alliance with the peasants, and the soldiers of the Indian army, again of both the religious communities. The revolt, originated from Meerut and spread all across northern and central India. Rani Laxmi Bai, Tantia Tope, Nana Phadnavis, Bakht Khan and other leaders of the revolt, strove to place the last symbol of Mughal Empire, Bahadur Shah Zafar on the throne of Delhi. The revolt lasted for about a year but was ultimately crushed by the superior military power of the colonial State. Nehru says, "the world knows about Amritsar and Jallianwala Bagh, but it does not know much that has happened since the days of Mutiny (Revolt) imperialism and racialism can only lead to horror and ultimately the degradation of all concerned with them ... the whole ideology of this rule was that of the *harrenvolk* and the master race, and the structure of the government was based upon it. .. generation after generation and year after year, India as a nation and Indians as individuals were subjected to insult, humiliatic¹ and contemptuous treatment I *would have preferred any kind of resistance to this, whatever the consequences, rather than that our people should endure this treatment*" (Nehru, 1981, 326).

The resolve of resistance to colonialism, became stronger, by the passing days. The Revolt of 1857, although widespread, was primarily an anti-colonial resistance, and not nationalist in its character in the modern sense of the term,

but it became the major milestone in the history of decolonization of India. The subject-object relationship of the colonizer and the colonized underwent fundamental transformation. The Revolt of 1857, awakened the native consciousness to the economic, political, and psychological consequences of colonialism and their ability to overthrow it, if organized properly. Western education had already introduced the ideals of French revolution among the educated middle classes. Leaders like Raja Rammohan Roy, known as the father of the modern India, were actively engaged in awakening the consciousness of the people, by appealing to the rational ideas, enshrined in indigenous literature like, *Upanishads*. He founded Brahma Samaj in 1828 and

worked for social reforms like abolition of *sutee* and early child marriage. Dayananda Saraswati relying on the propagation of ideas and worldview of *Vedas* founded Arya Samaj in 1875. Ramakrishna Paramhansa and his disciple Vivekananda, preaching *Bhakti* awakened the native consciousness for socio-cultural and the religious regeneration of people. Sayyid Ahmed Khan established an AngloArabic college at Aligarh to spread modern education among Muslims. The educated middle class, helped by the modern techniques of printing press, was thus, actively engaged in working out the synthesis of tradition and modernity, by intellectual and cultural analysis of the causes of the colonization of India and attempting to come to the terms with the narratives of modernity, by grounding these narratives in indigenous idioms, that is constructing the process of the Indianisation of modernity.

The experiences of the failure of the revolt of 1857, were a reminder that modern form of domination, that is colonialism, had to be resisted in the modern form of resistance, that is nationalism. Indian people had to become the subject of the history to contest the colonial hegemony. It is an irony that Indian National Congress, founded in 1885, the political organisation to lead the nation for independent State, was created with the idea of working as a 'safety valve' to contain the rising mass discontent against the colonial regime. "The years just

before the Congress were among the most dangerous since 1857 ... A safety-valve for the escape of great and growing forces, generated by our own action, was urgently needed and no more efficacious safety-valve than our Congress movement could be devised" (A. O. Burne, the first president of Indian National Congress, quoted in Palme Dutt, 1940,283). The genesis of the Congress, thus, gave it a two-fold characteristic of 'collaboration and resistance'. Whereas the bourgeois elements in the party called for and negotiated the constitutional reforms and Indianisation of administration; the progressive elements agitated for the right of the self-determination, that is, the '*swarai*' .

Breuilly (1982, 2), places the issue of nationalism in the overall context of the politics and the State, "Nationalism is, above and beyond all else, about politics, and that politics is about power. Power, in the modern world, is primarily about control of the State". Thus, the development of nationalism is interrelated with the formation of the independent State. Munk (1986), has examined the views of Borchoy, according to whom, as the 'relations of production', govern the social or class-consciousness, the 'conditions of production'; govern the national consciousness, or nationalism. "Nationalism seeks to control the material possessions of the nation; the assets of social body lying in its control of the conditions of production" (Munk, 1986, 43). Under conditions of colonial domination, the national consciousness is therefore awakened more than the social consciousness, because all classes have concrete interests in the 'recovery' of lost nationhood, to acquire 'free' conditions of production.

Anti-colonial nationalism, which arose in India in the late nineteenth century, and sharpened during the early twentieth century, can be understood in this background. Rising Indian bourgeoisie, was part of the national movement for 'free' capitalist expansion under conditions of independence from the metropolis; educated middle classes were looking for politico-intellectual leadership and professional expansion and subordinate social groups and classes wanted freedom from the exploitative trinity of '*sarkar, sahuakar, and zamindar*' . The

independent nation-State, thus, became the counter hegemonic project of the nationalist leadership. It is important to point out here that the 'French' model of the nation-State, following the revolutionary overthrow of the absolutist regime, has been applied in varying combinations elsewhere, first in Europe and then in the rest of the world. Although, it can nowhere be said to have been idealized in the sense of the 'nation-State' appropriating the whole life of the people, yet the nation-State, has emerged as the central focus of the movements for national liberation and the right of self-determination, during the modern age of bourgeois civilization.

According to Gramsci, in order for the dominating class to become the 'national-popular' class, involved gaining the political, ethical, intellectual and moral leadership, that is, the hegemony over other social groups. Nationalism, or national consciousness, articulated around the social, linguistic, and cultural cohesion, and the idea of 'nation-State' became the hegemonic ideology of the Indian National Congress. The national question encompassed, all classes and social groups with different concrete interests in the context of the nation-State for gaining free conditions of production. The formation of independent nation-State, following national liberation, is therefore the key moment of decolonization.

3.4A Contested Hegemony: The Dialectics of the Universalizing and the Indigenous Ideologies

All the revolts, and the rebellions of the nineteenth century by the native rulers, the feudal chiefs, the peasants and the tribals, were localized and pre-modern in character. These resistances were primarily targeted against the exploitative and alien colonial rule and were neither modern nor national. The conflict of tradition with modernity was engaging the educated classes, and while accepting the material superiority of the colonial regime in the politico-economic domains, the native intellectuals, were deriving sources of superiority in socio-cultural and intellectual-moral domains from *Vedas, Upanishads, epics of Mahabharat and Ramayana*. However, it was only during the early twentieth century, through the

articulations of Vivekananda, Tagore, Tilak, Aurobindo, Bharati, Iqbal and Gandhi that, the conflict could be resolved. The first political manifestation of the indigenous articulation of resistance was expressed in the Swadeshi movement of 1905-8, against the partition of Bengal.

After the success of the Swadeshi movement, the counter hegemonic project of the nationalist movement, was articulated more confidently in native forms, with modern contents. The nationalist movement could therefore contest the hegemonic claims of the colonial State, in both politico-economic and socio-cultural domains. Modern idioms were indigenized to reach out to the peasantry and the working classes, to mobilize hegemonic resistance to the colonial domination. The idea of 'people-nation' was expressed in the metaphors of *Hindustan Hamara*, *Bande Mataram* and *Bharat Mata*, the mother India; the modern nation-State, in the indigenous metaphor of *swaraj* and *ramrajya*. *Swadeshi* and social boycott of foreign goods were resistances to the penetration of foreign capital and demands for the protection of indigenous industries.

Mahatma Gandhi developed the whole new discourse of indigenous idioms and ideology. He spoke in the language of the peasants, invoking ideals of *ahimsa*, *satyagraha* and *charkha*. *Ahimsa*, the ideology of non-violence was a morale critique of the violence inflicted by Raj on natives in the everyday life of the colonial rule, reflected in massacres like Jallianwala Bagh, 1919. *Char kha*, spinning wheel became a constant reminder to the Raj, of having destroyed native textile and handicrafts industries and it spontaneously appealed to the people being close to their real-life. It emerged as a symbol of the traditional handicrafts against the hegemonic claims of the industrial capital. *Satyagraha*, pursuit of the truth was a critique of the untruth of alien illegitimate colonial occupation. *Panchayat*, was a call for return to the autonomous life of local self-sufficient village community. The nationalist movement of the twentieth century thus presented a powerful indigenous hegemonic ideology for 'reclaiming' the nation-State. The universalizing hegemonic ideology of capital, rationality, nation-

State, was contested as well as consented through the challenge of indigenous ideology of *Swadeshi*, *Satyagraha*, and *Swara*}. Herein, lies the ethico-political and intellectual-moral leadership of the Congress, during Mahatma Gandhi's period, "its ability to open up the possibility for achieving perhaps the most important historical task for a successful national revolution in a country like India, viz., the political appropriation of the subaltern classes by a bourgeoisie aspiring for hegemony in the new nation-state (Chatterjee, 1986, 100).

The success of India's anti-colonial nationalist movement was, thus, achieved by constructing the counter hegemony of resistance, both in political-economic spheres (*Swaraj*) as well as socio-cultural spheres (*Swadeshi*). The hegemonic national character of the movement was to a large extent the result of intellectual-moral, and ethico-political resistance to Raj, formulated by Gandhi, in indigenous idioms. Thus the dialectics of colonialism and decolonization, became the dialectics of the universalizing ideology and the indigenous ideology.

Gramsci comments, "Thus India's political struggle against the English knows three forms of war: war of movement, war of position, and underground warfare. Gandhi's passive resistance is a war of position, which at certain moments becomes a war of movement, and at others underground warfare. Boycotts are a form of war of position, strikes of war of movement, the secret preparation of weapons and combat troops belongs to underground warfare" (Gramsci, 1971,229-30). The movements like *Swadeshi* movement against partition of Bengal (1905-8); revolutionary movements of Aurobindo Ghosh, Bhagat Singh and Chandrasekhar Azad; Khilafat movement (1919-20); movement against Rowlatt Act; non-cooperation movement (1921-22); civil disobedience movements (1930-31 and 1932-34); Quit India movement (1942-6) were 'wars of movement' with massive mobilization of peasantry and working classes. Collaboration and participation in constitutional and administrative reforms were 'wars of position'. Congress Party, was thus successful in creating leadership over the dominant classes as well as the subaltern classes. Breuilly (1982, 150),

captures the hegemonic position of the Congress Party, in these words, "Congress looked like the image of nationalism ... the two images fused: A society (the Indian nation) demanded a democratic and independent State (the nation State). Congress both expressed the needs of the nation and the form, in miniature, which the new State should take."

Guha (1997) and Chatterjee (1983), have argued that there was a 'structural split' between the consciousness of dominant classes and subaltern classes and that there was an 'autonomous domain' of the subaltern resistance against colonialism. In my analysis, peasant uprisings took place, mostly, within the overall political and ideological framework of the leadership articulated by the Nationalist movement. For example, violent incidents of Chauri-Chaura and mass uprisings during the Quit India movement occurred within the momentum of the consciousness generated by Gandhi's call for no cooperation movement and Quit India movement, respectively. The words of a dying subaltern of Madhuban *thana*, Azamgarh district, during Quit India movement 1942, throw light on the 'interrelatedness' of the consciousness of subaltern classes and the dominant classes. Niblett, the district officer (cited in Henningham, 1983, 134), records, "constable did excellent work. His first shot missed Ram Nachhatar Tewari, *who shouted to his supporters that Mahatma Gandhi had, by miracle, rendered all fire harmless*. The next shot laid him low, and 8 or 10 men, who followed shared the same fate".

The consciousness of Gandhi himself developed in response to the workings of the colonial regime. Mahatma Gandhi, was a 'co-operator' as late as 1918 in the hope that equal rights could be obtained for Indians. He co-operated with the British efforts during the First World War. His disillusionment came with the horrors of the Rowlatt Act, 1919, an act prohibiting any kind of right of freedom for Indians and the Jallianwala Bagh massacre. It was against this background that he gave the call for non-co-operation movement against the Raj, which turned into violent incidents in Chauri Chaura, in 1922, following which Mahatma

Gandhi was charged for causing disaffection against His Majesty's government, in 1922. During the historic trial, Mahatma Gandhi explained the economic exploitation and degradation of life of Indian people and denial of justice to Indians as the causes of his non-co-operation movement. He said, "I wanted to avoid violence. Non-violence is the first article of my faith. It is also the last article of my creed. But I had to make choice. I had either to submit to a system which I considered had done an in "parable harm to my country, or *incur the risk of the mad fury of my people bursting forth when they understood the truth from my lips* I am here therefore to invite and cheerfully submit to the highest penalty that can be inflicted on me for what in law is a deliberate crime, and what appears to me the highest duty of a citizen. The only course open to you, the Judge, is, either to resign your post, or inflict on me the severest penalty" (Gandhi, 1968, 17-8).

Thus, the colonial hegemony was contested through a combination of forms of resistances, sometimes as 'war of movement' and sometimes as 'war of position'. Guha (1994) has characterized the colonial State, as dominance without hegemony. His analysis is based on, "historical articulation of power in colonial India in all its institutional, modal and discursive aspects as the interaction of these two terms-as D (Dominance) and S (Subordination)" (Guha, 1994, 229). He further illustrates, dominance to be consisting of interaction of C (coercion) and P (persuasion); and Subordination, consisting of interaction of C (collaboration) and R (resistance). Guha (1994, 270), examines the power relations between colonizer and the colonized within the organic interplay of colonial and native idioms of these terms, that is, coercion (*Order/danda*); persuasion (*Improvement/ dharma*); collaboration (*obedience/bhakti*); resistance (*rightful dissent/ dharmic protest*). Guha (1997, xii), reiterates that "the colonial State was non-hegemonic with persuasion outweighed by coercion in its structure of dominance". It is ironic that a critique of 'monist' views of 'colonialist' and 'nationalist' historiography, Guha turns the unidiomatic and non-monist notion of Hegemony into a deterministic concept, confining it to the outcome of

the interplay of persuasion and coercion. It is important to point out here, that in real life situations of the dynamics of power-play there may not always be such clear-cut distinctions between coercion and persuasion. A number of social relations of power may be of coercive persuasion or persuasive coercion.

Hegemony, therefore, is not a given or static deterministic 'moment' of power relations between the State and the society, rather it is constructed in a series of successful and failed hegemonic projects. Similarly the relationship between the native dominant classes and subaltern classes, are also an inter-play of contestation and consent. "Thus while Gramsci does not see subordinate populations as the deluded and passive captives of the State, neither does he see their activities and organizations as autonomous expressions of a subaltern politics and culture This is the way hegemony works. I propose that we use the concept not to understand consent but to understand *struggle ... what hegemony constructs then, is not a shared ideology but a 'common material and meaningful framework' for living through, talking about, and acting upon social orders characterised by domination*" (Roseberry, 1994, 360-1).

3.5 Conclusion

In view of the discussion and analysis in this chapter, it can be concluded that the attempts of the colonial State, to appropriate the whole gamut of everyday life of the people of colony within the rationalist discourse and the bourgeois system and framework of power and control, were complied with as well as contested. The institutionalization of the Enlightenment meta-narratives of capital, rationality, and individualism, in the structure and system of the nation-State, however emerged as the form of the hegemonic project of the colonial State, which was diffused in the nationalist consciousness and consented, albeit within the framework of the indigenous hegemonic ideologies and idioms. The hegemonic project of the bourgeois system and structure of the nation-State, thus became the 'common material and meaningful framework', of contestation as well as consent by the counter hegemonic project of national liberation movement.

The basic problematic of the hegemonic project of the colonial State as discussed in previous chapter, rested in lacking the sphere of civil society. Native civil society did not authorize its appropriation for the hegemonic project of the colonial State. The decolonization became the counter hegemonic project of the nationalist movement to achieve the independent nation-State, providing the free conditions of production for socio-economic and cultural regeneration of the native population. Chatterjee (1986, 161), characterizes it as 'the moment of arrival', "Nationalism has arrived; it has constituted itself into a State ideology; it has appropriated the life of the nation into the life of the State. It is rational and progressive, a particular manifestation of the universal march of Reason; it has accepted the global realities of power, accepted the fact that World History resides elsewhere. Only it has found its place within that universal scheme of things."

CHAPTER FOUR

SWARAJ: THE NATIONAL-STATE IN THE POSTCOLONIAL SOCIETY

Self-government means continuous effort to be independent of government control, whether it is foreign government or whether it is national. Swaraj government will be a sorry affair if people look up to it for the regulation of every detail of life. Real Swaraj will come not by the acquisition of authority by a few but by the acquisition of the capacity by all to resist authority when it is abused. In other words, Swaraj is to be attained by educating the masses to a sense of their capacity to regulate and control authority ... it means the consciousness in every villager that he is the maker of his own destiny.

Mahatma Gandhi (1968, 441, 454).

4.1 Introduction

The struggle of nationalism, against colonialism succeeded. India became an independent, sovereign, democratic and secular republic. The structure and the system of the modern nation-State, formed during the colonial rule, within the hegemonic context of the new capitalist social order, however, retained the ideological consensus of the new ruling elite. In the early years of independence, most observers from the West were skeptical about the success of capitalist social order within the bourgeois democratic framework, particularly in the background of the colonial rhetoric of 'incapability of the Indians' to govern themselves. The observers, obviously failed to recognize the tradition of high 'state ness' in India, since the era of Mauryan Empire of fourth century B. C. The Kautilyan (Rangrajan, 1987), tradition of intellectual-moral-ethical order of *Dharma* propounded by the Brahmins and the *danda*, the coercion exercised by the Kshatriyas, provided the indigenous version of the consent - coercion ingredients of hegemony in the traditional state-system of India. Rudolph and

Rudolph (1987, 67), place the nation-State, in independent India in the historical perspective, "The founders of the modern India's constitution benefited from the legacy of 'stateness' bequeathed by the Hindu, Mughal, and British sub-continental empires. They combined centralized rule with a parallel state form, the regional kingdom".

The ruling elite in control of the State, ironically transferred the legacy of their legitimacy of freedom from colonialism, to the very bourgeois structure and system of the State, formed during the same colonial regime. The nationalist hegemonic projects of national security and development, justified the use of the colonial bureaucratic-military apparatuses. National security acquired a critical importance in the view of the partition of India and integration of princely states, at the time of independence⁵. National development, was articulated in form of rapid industrialization, both in private and public sectors, through the centralized planning with the public sector providing the 'commanding heights', in the overall ideology of the 'mixed economy'. The Congress Party, in power at the centre and in the most of the provinces, carried out land reforms, extension of universal adult franchise, creation of regional states on linguistic basis, and devolution of power through community development programmes and panchayati raj.

The authority and legitimacy of the State was sought directly from the people through democratic elections based on universal adult franchise. Here the postcolonial State, differs from the State in the West, in the sense that, universal adult franchise was granted to citizens much after the modern State was formed in the West. The pluralist participatory democracy, thus brought the State, in immediate dialogue with the society. The postcolonial State, therefore, started its life with the legitimacy from the citizens. The principle of territorial representation in parliamentary and assembly constituencies, provided the mechanism of overcoming the social divisions, as different castes and communities were required to forge alliances for the purposes of elections, thereby no one caste or community, in a particular constituency could overlook the others. Further,

special provisions were provided in the constitution for reservation of seats in parliament and legislative assemblies, for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, thereby laying the foundations of participation and empowerment of the weaker sections of the society, disadvantaged in the traditional hierarchical social order of Indian society.

Although, in practice this arrangement underwent various permutations and combinations, yet the mass mobilization and political participation has enhanced the process of political socialization, resulting in complex changes in the power structure in independent India. D. Apter, (cited in Miliband, 1969, 182), says, "political socialization means the process through which values, cognitions and symbols are learned and internalized, through which operative social norms regarding politics are implanted, political roles institutionalized and political consensus created, either effectively or ineffectively". In this chapter, I will be examining how political socialization of 'community', worked as means of the legitimating of the postcolonial State, in dialectical interplay with the role of accumulation provided by 'capital'.

In the early years of the independence during the leadership of Nehru, parliamentary and organizational wings of the Congress Party, worked as effective means of mediating the State-Society relations. Parliamentary wing provided the personnel of the structure of the State; the Prime Minister, ministers and other executive and consultative functionaries. The organizational wing, with the heritage of *swara* and *swadeshi* in the Gandhian tradition, identified itself with the feelings and aspirations of the society and brought about necessary changes in the workings of the State, in tune with the needs and aspirations of people, thereby playing the role of civil society, in constructing the hegemony of the State. The imposition of the Emergency, during 1975 - 77, can be attributed to be the cause as well as the effect of the break-up of this early hegemonic State-civil society relations, represented by the above arrangement. The problematic of the hegemonic project of the postcolonial State, in the post-Nehru

era will be analyzed in the holistic perspective of socio-economic and political consequences of development, industrialization, globalization, and democratic mobilizations of electorate on the basis of caste and community.

4.2 The postcolonial-State in the Global Capitalism: The Hegemonic Project of the National Development

Cooper and Stoler (1997,35) place the issue of the development in the historical perspective, "the concept of development serves as a kind of bridge across the period of decolonization, the last form in which colonial claims to hegemony were articulated and the first form in which independent regimes asserted the progressive nature of their rule". The decolonization of India and other countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America took place within the changing power relations in the World order, following the second World War, with the emergence of USA and USSR as the super powers in place of the Western Europe. The geopolitical economy of the postwar period witnessed restructuring of the international economic system, by formation of Bretton Woods institutions of the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the framework of GATT (General Agreement on Trade and Tariff now replaced by World Trade Organisation), in 1944, by "ending the regulated system of national economies formalized at Bretton Woods" (Leys, 1996, vi).

It is an irony, that while decolonization was taking place, the global capitalist system, under American hegemony was already articulating the needs and strategies of the 'developing' countries, through Bretton Woods institutions. Foreign aid and assistance, on the pattern of Marshall Plan postwar reconstruction of the Western Europe, was the initial strategy to keep decolonizing Third World markets in control of global capitalist system, particularly to check the influence of communism. As the time went on, the policy of foreign aid and assistance took the shape of the ideology of economic development. "Development discourse is thus rooted in the rise of the West, in the history of Capitalism, in modernity and globalization of Western State

institutions, disciplines, cultures and mechanisms of exploitation" (Crush, 1995, 11).

The creation of homogenized global economic system, thus necessitated reorienting socio-cultural framework of the traditional societies. Modernity, was to transform the traditional man into modern, rational, profit-maximizing consumer. Modernization and Development, therefore emerged as the main ideological consensus among the ruling elite, at the time of India's Independence. The long period of colonial rule in India, had shaped the social, political and economic functions of the State. As discussed and analyzed in the previous chapters, since the colonial State, was basically an instrument of capitalist system of the metropolis, it introduced peripheral capitalism in India according to 'functional' requirements of the metropolis, without carrying out 'fundamental' structural changes. "Colonial rule both introduced and arrested the flow of new values and institutions, and also that it both changed and froze their traditional counterparts" (Pieterse and Parikh, 1995, 2).

The independent nation-State, therefore, envisaged modernization as the key to the process of social, economic and political development. Preston (1996, 172), captures the issue succinctly, "The bridge across the Great Dichotomy between modern and traditional societies is the grand process of modernization". The theory of modernization, formulated by the synthesis of Keynesian theory of 'intelligent' State intervention in economy, Talcott Parsons' Pattern Variable Analysis of traditional and modern societies, Arthur Lewis' theory of economic growth (1955) and Rostow's theory of stages of economic growth (1960), provided the paradigm of development for 'developing' countries. Modernization and industrialization of 'traditional' and 'agrarian' Indian society became the process of 'catching up' with the developed countries. In the years following decolonization, State-intervention in industrialization created the basic infrastructure, for operation of free private enterprises. "Goal of development was growth, the agent of development was State and means of development were

macro-economic instruments" (Leys, 1996, 7).

During 1950s, import substitution industrialization was carried out as the strategy of developing strong capital goods infrastructure, by centralized planning. Agriculture and rural economy were assigned passive and secondary role to industry, in the process of 'inevitable' structural transformation of primarily semi-agrarian Indian conditions. Economic growth, achieved by the way of industrialization, was expected to 'trickle-down' to the poor people. However, increasing instances and deepening of rural poverty necessitated the realization that in India, economic development, had to walk on 'two legs' (to use Mao's term) of industrial-urban and agricultural-rural sector. Consequently, during 1960s technological changes in the form of High Yield Variety seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, and mechanization of agriculture were introduced in rural areas, known as Green Revolution. The commercialization of agriculture, introduced commodity relations, through the penetration of the State and private capital, giving rise to new agrarian bourgeoisie. At the same time, the policy of modernization and industrialization, created the urban bourgeoisie. The rise of independent urban and rural bourgeoisie, in India was thus, a creation of the State, and not otherwise, as is the case in classical capitalism. Rudolph and Rudolph (1987, 60) comment, "contrary to the prevailing assumptions of scholarship and policy in the generations since decolonization, States create nations and economies more than nations and economies create State".

'State' controlled development, however, met with challenges, during late 1970s and 1980s, both from the critiques of the Right as well as the Left. Leftist radicals, saw the bourgeoisie-bureaucracy nexus as major beneficiaries and Rightists held 'State' intervention in market economy as the cause of economic inefficiency, due to 'rent seeking' behaviour of politicians and bureaucrats. Further, first two decades following independence, were periods of consensus and reconstruction and therefore centrifugal forces of dissent were dormant. But the rise of agrarian bourgeoisie brought changes in political equations and the

rise of urban bourgeoisie and ascendant middle class, clamoured for 'opening' of the economy and 'minimalising the State'. The stage was thus set for unfettered flow and movement of capital across the national borders. Deregulation, privatisation and removal of trade and tariff barriers, as part of liberalisation and globalisation, were thus introduced in late 1980s and early 1990s. Vanaik, attributes these changes to the rise of the neoliberal orthodoxy, "If the State is to be rolled back from the economy (to a greater or lesser degree) it must be rolled into society to police the losers. Both the That cherisms aim at creating a privileged nation which lives in constant (but hopefully, always manageable) tension with a less privileged one. The one nation economic ideal of Keynesianism and Nehruvian socialism is gone" (Vanaik, 1990,56).

4.3 Swaraj: The Paradox of the Bourgeois Superstructure and the Indigenous Structure

The central paradox of the postcolonial India, can be understood in the characterisation by Alavi of the 'overdeveloped superstructure' and underdeveloped structure. Alavi (1979, 41), says, "It might be said that the 'superstructure' in the colony is therefore 'overdeveloped' in relation to the 'structure' in the colony at the time of independence weak indigenous bourgeoisie find themselves enmeshed in bureaucratic controls by which those at the top of the bureaucratic military apparatus of the State are able to maintain and even extend their dominant power in the society, being freed from direct metropolitan control". As discussed in the previous chapter, the bourgeois system and structure of the State, within the metanarrative of capitalism, was the hegemonic colonial legacy to the postcolonial State. The 'over developed' State, in India further invested heavily in the public sector and thus its dominance is not only ideological but material, "as far as gross domestic capital fonnation is concerned the state's contribution is even more important, accounting for 50-60 percent of the total in most years" (Vanaik, 1990,31).

The State itself employs about fifteen million people. The State, thus, is not only a major investor but also major employer, besides the 'legitimate' power enshrined in its apparatuses. The State, in India is thus a major actor, educator and interventionist. "India has adopted the model of the State, which exists for its own sake. It is a good in itself and the source of all goods. It exists to provide everything that Indians need and require: sovereignty, unity, welfare, jobs for all, social justice" (Brass, 1990, 20). Simultaneously with the capitalintensive, public-sector dominated, heavy industrialisation policy, the Indian State has been following new agricultural strategy with thrust on anti-poverty programmes. The role of state-building and penetration of the institutions of the State in remote areas of the country has been possible on the legitimacy of development and modernisation.

By 1970s, the bourgeoisie dominance, comprising urban-industrial capitalist class, rural rich and urban middle class, thus, is achieved along with the expansion of State power in the hegemonic project of development and modernisation. Following success of the green revolution, agrarian bourgeoisie has been fighting for and finding increasing representation in the State power, particularly at the level of the provincial governments. Rural rich are hegemonic agrarian class by way of negotiating prices of fertilisers and agricultural inputs, subsidies and prices for the agricultural produce, which benefit small and medium farmers as well. Although, State is of multi-class character, the dominant groups of urban bourgeoisie, rural rich and urban professional middle classes exercise domination over other classes. The domination of industrial-capitalist class, is because of the ownership of means of industrial production; rural rich because of control over land and labour and the power of mobilisation of electorate on caste and community considerations; and urban professional classes because of their dominance in the organs of modern civil society and the 'legitimacy' of expressing the 'public opinion', in 'free' and 'impartial' manner, in contrast to the propertied classes. Thus, predominant representation of these 'dominant classes' in major political parties in India is an expression of their

dominance in the civil society as well as in the State.

The year, 1977 can be described as a turning point in the State society relations in independent India. The 'total movement' , led by Jayaprakash Narayan (also known as J. P. movement), against corruption in the State institutions, combined with the threat of disqualification from Parliament following judgement of Allahabad High court, triggered Mrs Indira Gandhi, then Prime Minister, to impose State Emergency in June 1975, curtailing all fundamental rights. The resistance of J. P. movement took formal shape of coming together of all political forces opposed to Emergency, in the form of Janata Party. Janata Party defeated Congress Party in the parliamentary elections of 1977, after lifting of the Emergency, thus causing a break in the monopoly of Congress Party over the State. The victory of opposition forces against the imposition of State Emergency, was a democratic affirmation of the 'society' over the 'State'. Ever since 1977, the political leadership of different political configurations from the Left to the Right has been in and out of the power, in provincial and central organs of the State. Rising level of political socialisation has caused the State to become an arena of conflict and struggle, thereby coming under 'overload'. The claims of society over the State. have been increasing as a consequence of social mobilisation and political participation.

The mechanism of political competition in form of democratic elections, has acted to channelise people's actions and attentions to the State power. Various anti system movements including the movement led by Jayaprakash Narayan, (the J. P movement) against Emergency of 1975 -77, have been incorporated in the life of the State, in form of accommodating them in formal political parties and government structures at provincial and central levels. From the political representatives of the Left i.e. CPI(M) (Communist Party of India, Marxist), to the Right i.e. BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) and anti-upper caste organisations like BSP (Bahujan Samaj Party), all have been accommodated in the resilient power structures of the State. Miliband (1969, 1) rightly says, "More than ever before

men now live in the shadow of the State. What they want to achieve, individually or in groups, now mainly depends on the State's sanction and support. But since that sanction and support are not bestowed indiscriminately, they must, ever more directly, seek to influence and shape the State's power and purpose or try and appropriate it altogether. It is for the State's attention, or for its control, that men compete; and it is against the State that beat the waves of social conflict".

The resistances to the State power, have not been able to construct counter hegemony. Although, there have been class wars, particularly naxalite movement of 1967-72 and radical peasant mobilisations in parts of Bihar and Andhra Pradesh, but after analysing the agrarian radical mobilisations in India, Das (1983, 226), observes, " .. at the class level peasantry remained isolated the peasant movement and organisation became embroiled in party politics .. in this process it lost much of its strength derived from spontaneity by becoming encapsulated within formal party structures ... in order to mobilise itself, under these circumstances, it needed a political understanding; instead what it got was political organisational fetters".

4.4 The Hegemony of the postcolonial-State; The Dialectics of Capital (Globalisation) and Community (Localisation)

As discussed earlier, the year 1977 was a watershed in the Statesociety relations in independent India. Defeat of the Congress party following the State Emergency of 1975-77, marked the loss of 'relative autonomy' of the State, and the State came under growing influence of the bourgeoisie. Further, the very rational-formal structure of the bureaucratic apparatus came in conflict with the informal-community orientation of the indigenous social order. The dissatisfied elements of the bourgeoisie have, therefore, been forming new political alliances. Since 1977, three 'ruling class' Parties/Alliances have been in power; the Congress Party; Janata Party-Janata Dal-United Front; and the latest Bharatiya Janata Party led National Democratic Alliance.

The inherent contradictions of the Western form of the nation-State in the Eastern civilisation, are erupting only now, reflected in the social, political and cultural life of contemporary India. The contradiction, is further aggravated by the nature of the 'passive revolution' of capital, without revolutionary changes in the social structure, resulting in the coexistence of capitalist and precapitalist social formations. The growing conflict of caste (symbolised by *Mandal* issue, caste based reservations in government jobs) and community (*Mandir* issue, the rise of Hindu nationalism) mobilisations, simultaneously with accelerated liberalisation and globalisation, can be understood in this context of the formation of the modern nation-State, in India, under circumstances of peripheral capitalism. Nation-State, as an instrument of socio-political management of new capitalist social order emerged in the historically specific circumstances of the rise of industrial bourgeoisie, overthrowing the feudal classes, in Western Europe. In India, the modern form of Nation-State, was basically a creation of colonial regime, without fundamental transformation of the indigenous social structure.

The role of community in providing legitimation and capital in providing accumulation is captured in 'common-sense' statement of common people, about contemporary politics in India; '*vote aur note ki rajniti*' (politics of vote and money). Caste and communal politicisation, may be seen as 'cultural release' of economic misery' of subaltern classes living below poverty line. The hegemonic project of the State, is thus constantly constructed carrying out the balance between imperatives of the 'capitalist' system and the structural imperatives of 'community'. In view of these structural imperatives, "We can recognise cases where State action helps and accelerates capitalist development and cases, often against the background of a populist rhetoric, where it obstructs and slows it down without undermining the institutional and structural bases of capitalist economy" (Alavi, 1982, 295).

Gramsci's analysis, of the differences between formation of the modern-State, in France and Italy, was expressed in his concept of 'passive revolution', which is, a

revolution from the top, its main instrument, in Italy being the Piedmontese State. In Indian situation also, the establishment of a new capitalist social order, is carried out by the State. Gramsci (1971, 46), says "what was involved was not a social group which 'led' other groups, but a State [Piedmont] which, even though it had limitations as a power, 'led' the group which should have been 'leading'. What was involved was a 'passive revolution'". In a passive revolution, the State carries out the activity of dominant class in constructing hegemony. As discussed and analysed in this chapter, the State formation, in postcolonial India was far ahead of the formation of the fundamental classes and therefore, the State substituted for the political activity of 'dominant class', in integrating people in the framework of the State and organising consent for the ethico-political and intellectual-moral leadership. The Indian bourgeoisie could achieve only a limited measure of hegemony over other social groups and the subsequent developments have been marked by compromises and alliances among different social groups in India. Further, classes, of urban bourgeoisie, rural bourgeoisie and middle classes in India are, 'class in itself' rather than 'class for itself', that is the classes in 'economic-corporate' phase.

Gramsci's analysis of 'passive revolution' as a dialectical interpretation of 'every epoch characterised by complex upheavals' also, explains the context and consequences of State-directed changes in country's economic structure. During 1990s, the Age of Globalisation, three 'ruling class' Parties / Alliances, viz., the Congress Party; United Front (including the Communist Party of India for the first time) and Bharatiya J anata Party led National Democratic Alliance, have been in power and have 'unanimously' carried out the national consensus of 'economic reforms' and globalisation to 'attract foreign investment'. Gramsci (1971,160) comments " . .in the case of *laissez-faire* liberalism, one is dealing with a fraction of the ruling class which wishes to modify not the structure of the State, but merely government policy; which wishes to reform the laws controlling the *commerce* what is at stake is a rotation in governmental office of the ruling-class parties, not the foundation and organisation of a new political society, and

even less of a new type of civil society".

None of the three competing 'ruling class' parties and alliances, has any agenda of change in the structure of the State. The basic domination of 'ruling class' over other social groups, is highly contested among competing 'ruling class' parties and fronts and the hegemony of the State remains 'fragile', as the vast majority of subaltern classes have broken their 'attachments' as 'vote-banks' with anyone Party or Alliance and have been shifting their 'loyalties' causing the political 'instability', resulting in consecutive 'hung' parliament during 1990s. Huntington (cited in Gendzier, 1985, 157), says, "economic development increases inequality at the same time that social mobilisation decreases the legitimacy of that inequality. Both aspects of modernisation contribute to produce political instability" .

The 'political instability' of the 'ruling class', engages endless debates and discussions in the civil society and intellectuals of these parties and alliances are engaged in constructing hegemony over each other through market, media, academic and cultural institutions, formal and informal organisations. Hegemony is similarly constructed through the debates and discussions in Parliament, legislative assemblies, public rallies, ceremonies and memorials, national day celebrations, and competitive democratic elections. *"Hegemony is not simply something which happens, as a mere superstructural derivative of economic and social predominance. It is, in very large part, the result of a permanent and pervasive effort, conducted through a multitude of agencies, and deliberately intended to create what Talcott Parsons calls a 'national supra party consensus' based on 'higher order solidarity" (Miliband, 1969, 181).*

Hegemony has both a 'national-popular' dimension and class dimension, cutting across caste/class, urban/rural boundaries, as happened during the struggle for national liberation. In the Indian context, none of the dominant classes, is hegemonic in the sense of political, economic, intellectual, and moral leadership

over other classes and social groups. Therefore the State, has to substitute for the role of dominant class, in organising consent for its ethico-political and intellectual-moral leadership over dominated classes and social groups, reflected in series of alliances and counter alliances of different social formations, expressed in the multiplicity of political parties and fronts. (Gramsci, 1971, 181-2), captures the phenomenon succinctly, "It is true that the State is seen as the organ of one particular group but the development and expansion of the particular group are conceived of, and presented as being the motor force of a universal expansion, of development of all the 'national energies' ... and *the life of the State is conceived of as a continuous process of formation and superseding of unstable equilibria (on the juridical plane) between the interests of the fundamental group and those of the subordinate groups*".

4.5 Conclusion

The national-State, in the early years of decolonisation, enjoyed 'relative autonomy', as the industrial and agrarian bourgeoisie were still in the formative stage and needed State intervention. Anti-colonial struggle endowed the ruling elite with a high degree of legitimacy and popular support. The national security and the national development emerged as the 'national consensus' and thus, the hegemonic project of the postcolonial-State. Protection to indigenous industrial sector in form of the import substitution industrialisation and public sector in the 'commanding heights' of building up the infrastructural industries, gave rise to the indigenous bourgeoisie. Technological innovations, land reforms, community development programmes, and panchayati raj institutions provided the base for the rise of agrarian bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie. The State created material base, for itself, in the form of growth of public sector enterprises and expansion of the developmental bureaucracy. Chattelji (1993, 212), rightly comments, "it is by means of an interventionist state, directly entering the domain of production as mobiliser and manager of investable 'natural' resources, that the foundations are laid for industrialisation and the expansion of capital... ... seen in terms of the passive revolution, what the strategy called for precisely was promoting

industrialisation without taking the risk of agrarian political mobilisation. This was an essential aspect of the hegemonic construct of the postcolonial state: combining accumulation with legitimation while avoiding the 'unnecessary rigors' of social conflict".

These developments, however, resulted in complexification of the power relations between the State and the society. The paradox is normally expressed in terms of 'strong-weak' State and 'rich-poor' nation, popularly known as India-Bharat syndrome. By late 1960s and early 1970s, the State dominance over society came under resistance from rising urban and rural bourgeoisie. The strengthening of the main proprietary classes, ironically, caused more demands on the State. The rising rural bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie, sought commensurate social recognition and power within the hegemonic framework of the State. Unlike in the West where dominant classes are homogenous and hegemonic and civil society works as 'fortresses' and 'earthworks' standing behind the State; in India, State has to carry out the functions of constructing hegemony over the dominated social groups. Development, socialism, democracy and secularism were the hegemonic ideologies of early postcolonial State. However, the abandonment of Nehruvian socialism and secularism in favour of globalisation and marketisation of economy and caste and communal mobilisations of society for elections, have exposed the fragility of the hegemony. The relative autonomy of the State of first two decades had already come under constraint, of resistance movements, like naxalite movement of 1967-72; separatist movements in the north east and Punjab and workers' strikes and peasant mobilisations during 1970s and 1980s. 1990s witnessed the anti-reservation agitation and Hindu nationalist movement. Traditionally, Indian State, has enjoyed secular character by balance between the king and the priest, however the society has tended to be based on the principle of the non-interference of the State in religious spheres of life. Although, modernisation and urbanisation have reduced the 'ritualistic' features of caste and community, but electoral mobilisations have increased their 'functional' utility. The Indian social

order, thus, has been witnessing dialectics of globalisation, as demanded by capital and localisation as demanded by community. The dialectic, is unresolved as yet, "in general, capitalist expansion has inverse effects upon the centres and the peripheries of the system; in the first it integrates society and in the second it destroys society, eventually destroying the nation itself, or annihilating its potentialities" (Amin, 1997, 68).

Each country, in the background of its tradition, culture, and specific history is engaged in developing unique and creative adaptations of seemingly similar 'universal' system and structure of the bourgeois-capitalist civilisation. Study of special characteristics of Indian capitalism, as it is developing in concrete conditions, involves detailed analysis of the 'relations of forces' as well as the 'relations of production' and 'conditions of production'. Discussion and analysis in this paper, brings out the complexity of the hegemonic project of State, in India. About fifty years of independent State formation, is embedded in two hundred years of colonial legacy, and heritage of the tradition of ancient and medieval sub-continental empires. Rudolph and Rudolph (1987,400-1), rightly observe, "Like Hindu conceptions of the divine, State in India is polymorphous, a creature of manifold forms and manifestations ... one is the third actor whose scale and power contribute to the marginality of the class politics still another is a capitalist State that guards the boundaries of mixed economy finally a socialist State is concerned to eradicate poverty and privilege".

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

There is a passive revolution involved in the fact that through legislative intervention of the State, and by means of corporative organisation - relatively far-reaching modifications are being introduced into the country's economic structure ... this could be the only solution whereby to develop the productive forces under the direction of the traditional ruling classes in competition with the more advanced industrial formations of countries which monopolise raw materials and have accumulated massive capital sums .. .It thus reinforces the hegemonic system and the forces of military and civil coercion at the disposal of the traditional ruling classes.

Gramsci (1971, 119-20).

The deconstruction of the hegemony of the State, in this paper, has emerged as Gramscian analysis of the multidimensional interpenetration of the State-Society relations, in the colonial and the postcolonial India. Looking at the problematic of the hegemonic projects, apparatuses and the processes of the colonial and the postcolonial State, has unveiled the hidden secrets of the multiple layers of the human struggle involved in the social realities of power relations. Gramscian concept of passive revolution has helped me to unpack the basic problematic of the 'functional' transformation, of the State and Society, in colonial and postcolonial India without the fundamental 'structural' transformation. The dialectics of industrialisation of England and deindustrialisation of India, during the early colonial rule; the dialectics of universalising and indigenous ideologies during the late-colonial rule; and the dialectics of capital (globalisation) and community (localisation), during the postcolonial India, discussed in this paper, are dialectical manifestations of this basic problematic, at different historical conjunctures.

In view of the discussion and analysis in this paper, the hegemony of the State

lies in the universalisation of the metanarratives of the bourgeois-capitalist civilisation. The State formation being embedded in the circumstances of passive revolution, the State substitutes for the role of the 'hegemonic' classes in constructing the hegemony. The hegemony of the State, at the macro-level, involves a continuous process of construction and reconstruction of series of successful and failed hegemonic projects at the micro-level, providing 'meaningful and material framework' for universalising expansion of the modern regime of power, contested and consented by the dominated classes and social groups. The colonial paradox of the 'modern State without the modern civil society', coupled with the postcolonial paradox of 'bourgeois superstructure and the indigenous structure', is being lived through in everyday chaos, confusion and contradictions, emerging out of the coexistence of the meta-narratives of the modernity, viz., capital, classes, rationality and individualism with the precapitalist social formations, traditions and customs. The 'bourgeois system' of the State, rooted in the metropolitan 'abundance' of capital, and 'developed' conditions of production, lives a truncated existence in the 'scarcity' of capital and 'developing' conditions of production in the decolonised society. The postcolonial State, thus, has emerged as the great bridge between the colonial past and the postcolonial condition, the West and the East, the capital and the community.

I have, using Gramscian methodology, attempted to 'demystify' the State, by showing the contestation of its hegemonic projects in everyday life of the people. I have looked at the multiple sites of contestation and struggle, rather than premeditated 'search' for the hegemony. The rhythms, ruptures, disruptions, gaps, contradictions, contingencies, incongruities and antagonisms have shown the realities of power struggle as much as the hegemonic dominances and counter hegemonic resistances, without losing the historical and socio-economic context of the sites of contestation. Herein, lies the beauty of Gramscian analysis of particularities, uncertainties and complexities, 'the life of the State is conceived of as a continuous process of formation and superseding of unstable equilibria' (Gramsci, 1971, 182).

I have looked at the literature, referred in the body of the text, and my own civilisational memory and cultural heritage, by 'reading' Gramsci, along with Gandhi, Fanon, Foucault and Freire. As I have progressed in this paper, the picture of the social reality of power relations has become clearer. The whole gamut of life in the colonial and postcolonial India has emerged in the form of the multifaceted engagement of culture and politics, knowledge and power, discourse and control, domination and resistance and oppression and liberation. I have not confined the notion of the hegemony to the deterministic outcome of the interplay of the 'coercion' and 'consent', I have rather, read the notion of the hegemony as part of the overall repertoire of the Gramscian vocabulary. I have thus been able to deconstruct the reality of the political economy of the State, culturally shaped by the unique history and the tradition of Indian society as well as shaping the same. In the process, the past has receded in the background and the present has emerged clear and visible. This is what I meant by saying in the Introduction (p. 14), that' .. this paper is an excavation of the past to understand the present'. "It is necessary," Gramsci also wrote, "to draw attention violently to the present as it is, if one wants to transform it".

Acknowledgements

In preparing and writing this dissertation, my sincere gratitude and appreciation goes to my supervisor, Dr. Kathy Powell, lecturer, Development Studies, Department of Sociology, University of Manchester, for her inspiration, encouragement, guidance and supervision. My thanks, also to Dr. Navtej Purewal, lecturer, Development Studies, for important discussions and suggestions. I am thankful to Ms. Lucy Entwistle, course administrator and Dr. Philip Woodhouse and Dr. Adam Ozanne, course directors for their help and support during the one year course. I am also thankful to the staff of John Rylands University Library and I. D. P. M. Library, for their constant help. Finally, I would like to thank all the study fellows of the Institute for Development Policy and Management. I will particularly cherish the memories of my friends, Ms. Laura Mendez (Columbia), Mr. Alexandre Cote (Canada) and Mr. Wendwessen Kitaw (Ethiopia).

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Notes

¹Basham (1981,55) writes that, "in place of the traditional policy of territorial expansion, he substituted conquest by *Dharma*. He claims to have won many victories by this method, even among the five Hellenic kings.....It seems that Asoka believed that *by setting an example of enlightened governmenthe might gain the moral leadership of the whole civilised world. He by no means gave up his imperial ambitions, but modified them in accordance with the humanitarian ethics of Buddhism*".

²Akbar propounded the Divine Religion of *Din Ilahi*, an ethical-cultural order close to the Hindu notions of *Dharma*, according to Smith (1958).

³The major resistences faced by the colonial State, from the native rulers were in form of battles with the following: Peshwa of Po on a (1802), Sindhia of Gwalior (1803), Holkar of Indore (1804), Sikhs (1846), Punjab (1849), Oudh (1856), (Breuily, 1982, 392); major peasant revolts and rebellions were in form of the following uprisings: Sanyasi Rebellion of 1770 (Bengal and Bihar); Ho uprisings of 1820 (Chhotanagpur); Kol uprisings of 1832; Titu Meer in 1831 (Bengal); Santhal uprising of 1855-7; (Banerjee, 1980, 14-17).

⁴Sarkar (1983, 190-1) writes 'on 13 April 1919, a peaceful unarmed gathering consisting in large part of villagers who had come for a fair and had not been told of the ban on meetings, was attacked by Dyer on an enclosed ground, Jallianwallabagh. Official estimates later spoke of 379 killed, unofficial accounts gave much higher figures. *Dyer s only regrets before Hunter Commission were that his ammunition ran out and that the narrow lanes had prevented his bringing in an armoured car- for 'producing a moral effect* '.

⁵I would like to point out here that, the issue of the birth of a separate nation-State of Pakistan, at the time of India's independence is a subject matter of vast political and academic controversy, which is beyond the space and scope of this paper.

GLOSSARY

<i>ahimsa</i>	Non-violence
<i>bhakti</i>	Devotion
<i>bharat</i>	India
<i>bharat-mata</i>	Mother-India
<i>charkha</i>	A spinning wheel Party
<i>dal</i>	Coercion
<i>danda</i>	Sub-inspector of police
<i>daroga</i>	The universal law or the moral ethic
<i>dharma</i>	Authorisation of civil administration and management of the Land estates
<i>diwani</i>	Honour
<i>ijjat</i>	A great soul
<i>mahatma</i>	Rank in the bureaucracy of Mughal
<i>mansabdar</i>	State Local village chief
<i>mukhia</i>	Currency- money
<i>note</i>	Village council
<i>panchayat</i>	Kingdom, the regime
<i>raj</i>	Politics
<i>rajniti</i>	Kingdom of Ram, the beneficent rule
<i>ramrajya</i>	Tenant cultivator
<i>ryots</i>	Moneylender
<i>sahukar</i>	Government
<i>sarkar</i>	Truth-force, pursuit of the truth Literally of one's own country
<i>satyagraha</i>	Self-rule, self-government, independence
<i>swadeshi</i>	Police station
<i>swaraj</i>	Ancient philosophical writings of the Hindus
<i>thana</i>	Scriptures of the Hindus
<i>Upanishads</i>	A landlord
<i>Vedas</i>	
<i>zamindar</i>	